

UNIwersytet Gdański
Wydział Historyczny

Anna Podciborska

**“Pixie Dust.” *Ameryka* Magazine within USIA’s Programming for
Poland 1959-1992**

Praca doktorska
wykonana
pod kierunkiem
dr hab. Anny Mazurkiewicz, prof. UG

Gdańsk 2025

Table of Contents

LIST OF FIGURES	3
INTRODUCTION	4
1. USIA 1953-1999	19
1.1. HISTORY AND MISSION	19
1.2. TELLING AMERICA’S STORY TO THE WORLD	39
1.2.1. <i>International Broadcasting</i>	40
1.2.2. <i>Exchange Programs</i>	52
1.2.3. <i>Cultural Diplomacy</i>	60
2. AMERICA ILLUSTRATED.....	73
2.1. MULTIPLE EDITIONS.....	73
2.2. AMERYKA	83
2.2.1. <i>Format and Design</i>	100
2.2.2. <i>Ameryka – Quantitatively</i>	102
2.2.3. <i>Ameryka within Strategic Influence and Soft Power</i>	104
2.2.4. <i>Ameryka within Public Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy, and Propaganda</i>	113
3. READING AMERYKA – PROSPERITY, PROGRESS, AND RELIGION.....	122
3.1. THE AMERICAN DREAM: PROSPERITY, OPPORTUNITY, AND UPWARD MOBILITY	122
3.1.1. <i>Representation of Economic Success and Promise of Social Upward Mobility</i>	123
3.1.2. <i>Consumerism and Material Culture</i>	142
3.2. SOFT POWER THROUGH KNOWLEDGE AND INNOVATION	155
3.2.1. <i>Scientific and Technological Advancement</i>	155
3.2.2. <i>Modern, Progressive America</i>	168
3.3. POLISH AMERICANS, HISTORICAL FRIENDSHIP, AND RELIGIOUS MESSAGING	180
3.3.1. <i>Polish Americans and Shared Values</i>	180
3.3.2. <i>Religious Messaging and the Pope</i>	195
4. FRAMES OF BELONGING: LIFESTYLE, INEQUALITY, AND GENDER IN AMERYKA	206
4.1. LIFESTYLE AND CULTURE	206
4.1.1. <i>The Image of Life in America</i>	206
4.1.2. <i>Literature, Cinema, Music, and Art</i>	218
4.2. LIMITS OF INCLUSION	233
4.2.1. <i>Framing Racial Issues</i>	234
4.2.2. <i>What About the Working Class?</i>	244
4.3. GENDER: BETWEEN TRADITION AND PROGRESS	258
4.3.1. <i>Polish American Women</i>	258
4.3.2. <i>Feminism and the American Woman</i>	269
CONCLUSIONS.....	284
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	289
ATTACHMENT 1	304
ATTACHMENT 2	308
ATTACHMENT 3	310
ABSTRACT.....	313
STRESZCZENIE	314

List of Figures

Figure 1 Corpus size per year.....	103
Figure 2 Total Frequency of Selected Themes in Ameryka 1959-1992.....	104
Figure 3 Frequency of Economic Success & Upward Mobility Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992.....	141
Figure 4 Frequency of Consumerism and Material Culture Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992.....	155
Figure 5 Frequency of Scientific and Technological Advancement Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992	168
Figure 6 Frequency of Progressive America Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992.....	179
Figure 7 Frequency of Polish Americans and Shared Values Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992.....	195
Figure 8 Frequency of Religious Messaging and the Pope Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992.....	205
Figure 9 Frequency of the Image of Life in the US Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992	218
Figure 10 Frequency of Art & Culture Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992	233
Figure 11 Frequency of Race Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992.....	243
Figure 12 Frequency of Class Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992.....	257
Figure 13 Frequency of Polish American Women Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992	268
Figure 14 Frequency of American Women and Feminism Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992.....	283

Introduction

While public media echoed party ideology under the watchful eye of censors, a glossy magazine landed quietly in kiosks and reading rooms across the country in 1959, showcasing suburban homes, supermarkets, jazz bands, and NASA engineers. *Ameryka* presented a polished, aspirational image of the United States – a vision of freedom and abundance – behind the iron walls of restriction and surveillance. This magazine was not an isolated phenomenon. Rather, it was part of a broader U.S. government effort to promote its values and culture abroad – a mission largely coordinated through the U.S. Information Agency (USIA).

When asked about the reality of public diplomacy “on the ground,” the legacy of the USIA in shaping the global image of the United States and influencing foreign policy, Marti Estell, a Senior Foreign Service Officer at the Department of State and former USIA officer – reflected: “We used to laugh about PD – public diplomacy, it’s like pixie dust, you just sprinkle it on whatever problem you have until it goes away.”¹ She explained that the main goal of public diplomacy is to encourage foreign audiences to think critically about the United States, question their preconceived notions, and develop a genuine curiosity to learn more. This strategy is based on the idea that “if you know us and if you understand us, you are going to like us.”² Marti also illustrated this with an example from one of her overseas postings, where showing the peaceful transfer of power between an outgoing and incoming president on TV made a profound impression on local audiences. In some contexts, such demonstration alone was astonishing – How is it possible that such transitions occur so peacefully in America? Although the term “pixie dust” was initially used humorously, the metaphor effectively captures the role played by the *Ameryka* magazine. Visually striking, produced in high quality, with a carefully designed narrative, the magazine subtly yet consistently “sprinkled” ideas behind the Iron Curtain. By spreading its messages relentlessly over time, the magazine’s influence, much like glitter, lingered in the Polish public imagination.

The historiography of the USIA reflects an evolving debate over whether the agency functioned primarily as a propaganda machine, as a facilitator of mutual understanding and cultural diplomacy, or perhaps as both. The most comprehensive and detailed scholarly account of the agency’s history and functions is Nicholas J. Cull’s *In The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945–*

¹ Marti Estell, interviewed by the author, 03 September 2024.

² Estell, interview.

1989.³ Cull examines how each successive U.S. administration used information strategies to influence global opinion and challenge Soviet narratives. His research reveals the USIA's missions' fluidity as it continuously adapted to new geopolitical challenges, navigating the balance between persuasive messaging and the more dialogue-oriented elements of public diplomacy. In *The Decline and Fall of the United States Information Agency: In American Public Diplomacy, 1989–2001*, Cull delves into the final decade of the agency, tracing the bureaucratic, political, and ideological shifts that culminated in significant cutbacks – particularly detrimental in the Middle East – and eventually led to the agency's dissolution.⁴

The USIA is depicted as a meticulously designed institution of American soft power in Wilson Dizard's *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the US Information Agency*.⁵ He delves into the agency's internal structure, strategic initiatives, and outreach efforts through international broadcasting, exhibitions, educational exchanges, and printed materials. Instead of portraying the USIA just as a crude instrument of Cold War propaganda, Dizard emphasizes its new and central role in shaping perceptions of the United States abroad through image-building and information dissemination – “USIA added new dimensions to the old craft of propaganda, under the new rubric of public diplomacy.”⁶ His analysis is still essential for comprehending the institutional logic that informed American public diplomacy efforts since World War II.

Adding a critical sociological dimension to the debate, Leo Bogart's *Cool Words, Cold War* challenges the premises underlying USIA's operations.⁷ Drawing from internal reports and interviews, Bogart dissects the assumptions embedded in the agency's messaging, from its faith in rational persuasion to its promotion of American individualism and consumerism as universally appealing ideals. His analysis reveals the agency's operational sophistication as well as its blind spots, including a recurring disconnect between its optimistic portrayals of American life and the complex realities of its audiences. Bogart challenges scholars to consider not only what the USIA said but also how and why the agency believed such messages would resonate.

³ Nicholas J. Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁴ Cull, *The Decline and Fall of the United States Information Agency: American Public Diplomacy, 1989–2001* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

⁵ Wilson P. Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the US Information Agency* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004).

⁶ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, xiv.

⁷ Leo Bogart, *Cool Words, Cold War: A New Look at USIA's Premises for Propaganda, Revised Edition* (The American UP, 1995).

Former Foreign Service Officer Yale Richmond provides a vital on-the-ground perspective that complements these more top-down analyses. In his memoir, *Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey* and his scholarly work *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain*, he offers vivid accounts of cultural diplomacy in practice.⁸ Having served in countries such as Poland, the Soviet Union, and Laos, Richmond demonstrates how soft power was lived and negotiated in practice and how long-term engagement through educational and cultural exchanges fostered trust and openness, often being more successful in eroding ideological barriers than overt propaganda. Richmond's belief that public diplomacy's most enduring power lies in sustained personal contact provides a compelling counterpoint to the more program and strategy-focused narratives emphasized by Dizard, Cull, and Bogart. It also echoes the testimonies of other Foreign Service officers I had the pleasure to interview for this research project.

Psychological warfare was at the center of the Cold War – in a contest where open conflict was largely off the table, perception became the decisive terrain.⁹ Anna Mazurkiewicz emphasizes that psychological warfare became “perhaps the most important instrument” of U.S. policy because every significant act – military, economic, or diplomatic alike – carries psychological effects (i.e., it shapes opinions, emotions, and will).¹⁰ Interpreted this way, an illustrated periodical like *Ameryka* is not peripheral cultural magazine, but rather a primary delivery system for cumulative effects - monthly cadence, visual rhetoric, and captions are designed to normalize specific interpretations of everyday life in the United States and render alternative interpretations in Poland intellectually challenging. Through this lens, design, layout, themes and topic placement, lexicon and tone can be seen as operational choices within a psychological campaign rather than mere editorial style.

Despite such grand significance, existing scholarship on *Ameryka* tends to situate the magazine within broader studies of the USIA and U.S. Cold War public diplomacy rather than treating it as a subject in its own right. Key works by Cull, Dizard., Laura Belmonte, and Walter L. Hixson primarily discuss USIA's press initiatives – including the *America Illustrated* series – through the lens of the Russian-language *Amerika* edition, which, in

⁸ Yale Richmond, *Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey* (Berghahn Books, 2008); Richmond, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain* (Penn State University Press, 2003).

⁹ One shall not forget, however, about the series of deadly proxy conflicts that killed millions of people across the world during the Cold War, See: Paul Thomas Chamberlin, *The Cold War's Killing Fields: Rethinking Long Peace* (Harper, 2018).

¹⁰ Anna Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w amerykańskiej polityce zimnowojennej (1948-1954)* (IPN and University of Gdańsk, 2016), 36.

comparison, has attracted the most sustained scholarly attention.¹¹ The Polish edition is generally mentioned only in passing, subsumed under accounts of USIA's global publishing programs or the broad activities in the Eastern Bloc. References to the magazine can also be found in the writings and reminiscences of former U.S. diplomats and USIA officers, such as Dick Virden, Leonard J. Baldyga, and Yale Richmond, which have been published on platforms like *American Diplomacy* or recorded in the *Foreign Affairs Oral History Project* of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training.¹² A search of Polish academic repositories reveals no monographs or doctoral dissertations devoted exclusively to the Polish edition of *Ameryka*, nor any widely cited, peer-reviewed journal articles offering comprehensive analyses of the magazine.

One notable exception is Krzysztof Wasilewski's 2015 article, "Obraz Kobiety w Propagandzie Amerykańskiej i Radzieckiej 1958–1960" ("The Image of the Woman in American and Soviet Propaganda, 1958–1960"), which compares *Ameryka* with *Kraj Rad*.¹³ Through a gendered lens, Wasilewski shows how both sides of the Cold War used the image of women to convey ideology – American women were portrayed as glamorous consumers and nurturing homemakers, while Soviet women were depicted as hardworking and ideologically committed. This approach resonates with more recent studies of Russian *Amerika*, such as Diana Cucuz's *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*, which explores the gendered dimensions of Cold War cultural rivalry.¹⁴ Thus, the state of research is characterized by synthetic treatments in which Polish *Ameryka* is but a minor element of more extensive institutional or thematic studies. To date, there has been no scholarly analysis of the Polish edition that is both exhaustive and book-length in scope.

A comprehensive discussion of USIA's full range of activities in Poland during the Cold War exceeds the capacity of this thesis. The sheer scope and variety of these programs – which include audiovisual media, broadcasting, film production and screening (including documentaries), visual arts, music, theater, exhibitions, educational and cultural exchanges, institution-building, English-language programs, book publishing and translation, as well as

¹¹ Laura Belmonte, *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*; Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*; Walter L. Hixon, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1997).

¹² American Diplomacy, <https://americandiplomacy.web.unc.edu/>; ADST's Oral History Collection: <https://adst.org/oral-history/>.

¹³ Krzysztof Wasilewski, "Obraz Kobiety w Propagandzie Amerykańskiej i Radzieckiej 1958–1960," *Naukowy Przegląd Dziennikarski*, vol. 1 (2015): 62-76.

¹⁴ Diana Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds: Selling Cold War Culture in the US and the USSR* (University of Toronto Press, 2023).

the development of university American Studies curricula – create a vast and multifaceted field of inquiry.

Furthermore, pursuing a complete USIA history in Poland proves difficult, since there was no separate USIA/USIS office in Poland between 1959-1992.¹⁵ The full story of USIA in Poland should, thus, be either a story of diplomatic relations, already covered by both Polish and American scholars,¹⁶ with cultural diplomacy,¹⁷ or an analysis of separate programs and mechanisms of soft power – tool by tool. Traditional studies of Cold War cultural diplomacy have examined individual thematic elements in separate analyses – such as jazz diplomacy,¹⁸ the space race,¹⁹ and scientific propaganda.²⁰ Studying their impact requires different methodology and cannot be separated from the conglomerate of the diverse programming, spanning from academic exchanges,²¹ radio broadcasting,²² to supporting surrogate opposition,²³ book smuggling,²⁴ and eventually supporting underground.²⁵ Thus, although this thesis is not an exhaustive study of the USIA's initiatives, it sketches them all to offer a proper context for the analysis of the *Ameryka* magazine.

This research focuses on a Polish-language primary source, the content of which remains largely unknown to the American soft power scholars. This thesis is written in English in order to introduce research findings into academic circles both in Poland and abroad, thereby challenging the existing view of American soft power through the prism of

¹⁵ The USIA was often referred to as USIS which stands for United States Information Service. "USIS was the overseas arm of the USIA. USIS offices were folded into the Embassy's public affairs sections." *United States Information Service Seal*, c. 1999, National Museum of American Diplomacy, Washington, DC, <https://diplomacy.state.gov/items/united-states-information-service-seal>. Accessed: 29 September 2025. "Ameryka," the magazine published in Poland, appeared under the USIA logo.

¹⁶ The most recent and important works in the field are: Jakub Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu: Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych Wobec Polski 1945-1989* (PWN, 2015), Andrzej Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service w polityce zagranicznej USA lat gorącej i zimnej wojny 1939-1989* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2019). The classic reference remains: Piort S. Wandycz, *The United States and Poland* (Harvard University Press, 1980).

¹⁷ Victoria Phillips, *Martha Graham's Cold War: The Dance of American Diplomacy* (Oxford University Press, 2020); Robert H. Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s* (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.)

¹⁸ Lisa E. Davenport, *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era* (University Press of Mississippi, 2020).

¹⁹ Douglas Brinkley, *American Moonshot: John F. Kennedy and the Great Space Race* (Harper, 2019).

²⁰ Audra J. Wolfe, *Freedom's Laboratory: The Cold War Struggle for the Soul of Science* (John Hopkins University Press, 2018).

²¹ Oleksandr Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha: Historia Programu Fulbrighta w Polsce w latach 1945-2020* (PWN, 2024).

²² Alan L. Heil Jr., *Voice of America, A History* (Columbia University Press, 2003.)

²³ Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*.

²⁴ Alfred A. Reisch, *Hot Books in the Cold War: The CIA-Funded Secret Western Book Distribution Program Behind the Iron Curtain* (Central European University Press, 2013).

²⁵ Mazurkiewicz, "Review of Seth G. Jones, *A Covert Action: Reagan, the CIA, and the Cold War Struggle in Poland*," *H-Net Reviews*, October 2019.

language and region. This work in history, can also be useful for scholars of American strategic influence and propaganda, for historians and political scientists studying Cold War public diplomacy (political, culture, and media history), and for the scholars of social history of Poland, who examine Polish unique fascination with the United States. Obviously, further investigation into other USIA's activities in Poland, particularly through interdisciplinary and methodologically diverse approaches, remains both necessary and promising.

The dissertation's objective is to address the historiographical gap by offering the first comprehensive study of *Ameryka* as a distinct media phenomenon published by the U.S. government in the cultural and political landscape of the People's Republic of Poland. *Ameryka* is reframed, positioned not as an isolated American propaganda program, but as a long-term cultural diplomacy platform carefully tailored to Polish audiences, simultaneously and continuously integrating multiple strands of U.S. soft power into a single medium – serving as “a virtual embassy” behind the Iron Curtain. Moreover, the study provides a longitudinal analysis of this medium from 1959 to 1992, shedding light on how the thematic blend of American cultural diplomacy in Poland evolved in response to changing political and cultural contexts. With its broad thematic scope, this work makes a significant contribution to the field of Cold War media scholarship by bringing attention to a previously overlooked, kaleidoscopic medium.

This study is guided by the following research questions: How did *Ameryka* consistently weave together diverse strands of U.S. cultural diplomacy into a coherent ideological package? Which American soft power messages were highlighted, muted, or omitted throughout time? What was the image of the United States as projected on Poles? Did *Ameryka* maintain a consistent image of the United States, or did it adapt in response to changing circumstances between 1959 and 1992? What can the magazine's three-decade history reveal about U.S. strategies for presenting an integrated vision of American life to foreign audiences? How did the magazine function as a “virtual embassy” or cultural center behind the Iron Curtain?

It is important to note that this study does not focus on the reception of *Ameryka* – how Polish readers or the Polish government responded to the magazine.²⁶ The focus here is

²⁶ The author could not locate any evaluations by the Polish authorities of America's impact. The fact that the magazine's distribution was permitted in the PRL suggests that further studies are needed on the reasons why the Polish authorities would allow this instrument to operate in Poland, besides the letter of the reciprocal agreement. Was it considered not impactful? Innocuous in the eyes of domestic propaganda? Relatively harmless bow to American request in exchange for the *Poland* publication in the U.S.? These questions, however, pertain to the Communist propaganda system and not the American soft power, which is the subject of this study.

on the magazine itself as a cultural diplomacy instrument, examining its content, structure, and strategic intent. American assessments of its soft power impact posed and continue to pose a methodological challenge. Research conducted in regard to radio broadcasts produced results that still await verification.²⁷ In regard to the Polish edition of *Ameryka*, no known studies of readership were found.

Throughout its history, *Ameryka* sought to engage directly with its readership through surveys, which were an additional page attached to the table of contents in various issues. Such surveying of readers offered insight into the magazine's editorial strategy and its eagerness to position itself as an interactive medium rather than a one-way channel. The "human terrain analysis," as Garfield explains, would also allow for a better-tailored messaging, which would maximize resonance and minimize rejection of the messages.²⁸ For example, in issues 88 and 89, readers were asked to share their feedback on topics of interest, reading habits, and demographic information, such as age, profession, and gender.²⁹ The USIA researchers posed several questions to the participants, seeking answers regarding their regular engagement with *Ameryka*, the preferred access methods (kiosks, subscriptions, or reading rooms), and the articles that had particularly resonated with them. The questions also probed their preferences regarding themes such as science, history, youth issues, economics, art, music, architecture, and everyday life, as well as their opinions on the magazine's use of photographs and the English-language texts (English-language focus expanded since late 1960s and early 1970s, corresponding with the new policy recommendations).³⁰ Interestingly, issue 89 contained the same questionnaire as issue 88, but with an updated return address (the old address appeared in print but was crossed out), no longer as the US Embassy in Warsaw, but the *Ameryka* Editor's Office in Washington, D.C., suggesting logistical adjustments in managing reader correspondence.³¹

A later survey included in issue 176 explicitly marked the 15th anniversary of *Ameryka* – the questionnaire asked readers about their educational background, circulation habits (whether they kept, shared, or discarded issues), and which articles from the past year

²⁷ See: Part 2: Jamming and Audiences in A. Ross Johnson and Eugene R. Parta, *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. A Collection of Studies and Documents* (CEU Press, 2010), 49-144.

²⁸ Andrew Garfield, "A Comprehensive Approach to Information Operations," in *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare*, J. Michael Waller, ed. (The Institute of World Politics Press, 2008), 258-359, 361-364.

²⁹ *Ameryka*, no. 88 (1966); *Ameryka*, no. 89 (1966).

³⁰ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxix, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 130, *Airgram From the Embassy in Poland to the Department of State, Subject: United States Policy Assessment-Poland*, Warsaw, January 20, 1969.

³¹ *Ameryka*, no. 89 (1966).

sparked the greatest interest.³² Readers were once again encouraged to provide free-form comments, which not only would enhance their ability for successful audience-targeting with political messaging, but also reinforced the magazine's self-image as responsive and adaptable. No collection of those forms sent by Polish readers could be located in the archival collections, nor a policy paper summarizing them either.

This research does not take a comparative approach with other language editions of the magazine, such as the well-known Russian version, *Amerika*. While comparative studies are valuable and represent a promising avenue for future research – including editions produced for Thailand, Yugoslavia, and possibly other countries – the Polish *Ameryka* merits a full, dedicated analysis in its own right, within the specific context of U.S. public diplomacy toward Poland, due to its distinctive character.

This thesis is grounded in extensive archival and library research, as well as in-depth interviews, conducted across Europe and the United States. This research was possible thanks to the Polish National Science Center (NCN) *Preludium 19* Research Grant no. 2020/37/N/HS3/03621, which provided funding for conducting research in the U.S., Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, and Poland, as well as thanks to the generous support of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars during the Cold War Archives Research (CWAR) Fellowship in 2022-2023 (research in Hungary) and as an alumna in 2025 for the Age of Reagan conference and research stay at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in California. A significant part of this research was conducted under restrictive conditions during the Covid-19 pandemic. These conditions included closed borders, limited people-to-people contact with interviewees, and archives operating at limited capacity, and closures of research facilities (such as the sudden closure of the U.S. National Archives during a research stay).

Primary collections consulted include USIA and State Department holdings at *the National Archives and Records Administration* in College Park, Maryland, as well as USIA materials at *the Roosevelt Institute for American Studies* in Middelburg, the Netherlands. Additional crucial sources were accessed at the USIA Publishing and IIA Documentary Studies Section of *the United Nations Library and Archives* in Geneva, Switzerland; and *the Historical Cultural Files*, compiled by the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs and held at the University of Arkansas in Fayetteville. This thesis also draws on *the Foreign Relations of the United States* (FRUS) collection at the Office of the Historian,

³² *Ameryka*, no. 176 (1973).

as well as documents from *the Wilson Center Digital Archive*. Notably, the newly published 1981-1989 volumes of FRUS (released in the summer of 2025) were consulted, and to the best of the author's knowledge, this thesis is one of the first scholarly works to utilize these sources.

Other significant repositories included *the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library* in Simi Valley, California; *the Vera and Donald Blinken Open Society Archives* in Budapest, Hungary; *the John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies* at Freie Universität Berlin in Berlin, Germany; and *the Polish National Digital Archive* in Warsaw, Poland. These public archives were complemented by private collections of Leonard J. Baldyga, who served as Public Affairs Officer (Warsaw, 1972-1975) and the Director of the Office of European Affairs, and Dick Virden, who served as Foreign Service Officer (USIA's Officer in Poland in the 1970s and 1990s) which were accessed through correspondence. *The Polish National Library* in Warsaw provided foundational primary sources, several of which are also part of the author's private collection. Out of 243 issues of *Ameryka* published between 1959 and 1992, 240 issues (each ranging from 58 to 99 pages depending on the period) were systematically analyzed, and the three missing issues are numbers 239 (1991), 242, and 243 (1992). Library and archival research were supplemented by semi-structured and in-depth interviews with retired and active American diplomats and cultural officers, a former editor of the Polish *Ameryka*, and selected oral histories from *the Foreign Affairs Oral History Program* of the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training.

Grounded in heuristics, external and internal criticism of sources, and historical synthesis based on the inductive method, this work follows the diachronic approach. It combines historical research in the field of American-Polish relations in the area of public diplomacy with media studies and critical discourse analysis. The research process, therefore, employs a multi-method approach. The analysis of *Ameryka* employs qualitative and quantitative strategies to capture the full scope of the magazine's content. Part of this study is descriptive in character, focusing on systematic method for analyzing information as objective, quantitative way over extended periods, enabling the detection of longitudinal changes.³³ Following Walery Pisarek, the fundamental unit of analysis is the press message itself, which serves as an ideal source for discourse and textual linguistic studies.³⁴

³³ Roger D. Wimmer and Joseph R. Dominick, *Mass media: metody badań* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2008), 213

³⁴ Walery Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy* (Ośrodek Badań Prasoznawczych, 1983), 358; Tomasz Goban-Klas, *Media i komunikowanie masowe: teorie i analizy prasy, radia, telewizji i Internetu* (Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2000), 200-201.

Linguistic strategies, including lexical, syntactic, semantic, and narrative structures, are examined to understand how language contributes to meaning-making.³⁵ Media are understood as dominant actors in political communication that selectively frame and often distort information according to their own criteria.³⁶ The analysis further addresses the functional, textual, and graphic structure of each content unit, adopting Pisarek's approach of treating magazine and newspaper content as distinct wholes.³⁷ Considering Marshall McLuhan's media theory, the study also examines the evolving format of *Ameryka* and its possible influence on the creation, transmission, and reception of the messages.³⁸ Since press content combines text and visual information, the study also evaluates how imagery complements, emphasizes, or contrasts with the text.³⁹

The dissertation employs a systematized content analysis to categorize thematic areas within *Ameryka*, followed by diachronic, in-depth qualitative analysis of selected articles to examine sequential meaning-making and ideological construction.⁴⁰ Inspired by Wojciech Bednarski's adaptation of Lincoln and Guba's constant comparative method, this methodology involved assigning events to categories, refining these categories, identifying inter-category connections, and consolidating data into a coherent theoretical framework.⁴¹ Thus, qualitative analysis focuses on the nuances of individual content units, supplemented by quantitative analysis with a data-oriented perspective, allowing for a more comprehensive

³⁵ Jerzy Bartmiński, "Tekst jako przedmiot tekstologii lingwistycznej," *Tekst: problemy teoretyczne*, vol. 9 (1998): 17; M.A.K. Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Fourth ed. (Routledge, 2004), 176-195.

³⁶ Robert M. Entman, "Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication*, vol. 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58, DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x; Stanisław Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne, Skrypt dla studentów dziennikarstwa i komunikacji społecznej oraz politologii* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2022): 47-50.

³⁷ Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*, 80.

³⁸ Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man* (Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2001), 7-23.

³⁹ Piotr Witek, "Metodologiczne problemy historii wizualnej," *Res Historica*, vol. 37 (2014): 166.

⁴⁰ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis, An Introduction to Its Methodology*, third ed. (SAGE, 2013), 39.; Maria M. Brzezińska, Piotr Burgoński, and Michał Gierycz, *Analiza dyskursu politycznego. Teoria, zastosowanie, granice naukowości* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2018), 35.

⁴¹ Yvonna S. Lincoln and Egon G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (SAGE, 1985) qtd. in Wojciech Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy'ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona w świetle polskiej prasy. Studium języka i mechanizmów propagandy*. PhD thesis supervised by prof. dr hab. Jakub Tyszkiewicz (Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2023), 39.

understanding of the magazine's discourse.⁴² The qualitative and quantitative approach reflect contemporary media studies recommendations.⁴³

The textual, close reading analysis of *Ameryka* is guided by Stuart Hall's theory of representation, which proposes that the media actively produce and circulate meaning within cultural and ideological frameworks rather than merely reflecting reality.⁴⁴ Key discursive codes such as *freedom*, *progress*, *modernity*, and *innovation* are examined for if and how they are naturalized within the magazine and for their ideological significance.⁴⁵ Particular attention is paid to what is omitted from representations, following Hall's extension of Michel Foucault's power/knowledge concepts to examine the role of silences and exclusions in shaping discourse.⁴⁶ Drawing on Ferdinand de Saussure, "the father of modern linguistics," and Roland Barthes, semiotics is employed to differentiate between denotative and connotative meanings, as well as to examine how myths and ideologically charged messages are embedded in the magazine's content.⁴⁷ The concept of thick description, following Clifford Geertz, is applied to uncover layers of meaning within the magazine's content and contextualize it as a cultural system of symbols that shapes readers' perceptions of America.⁴⁸ This symbolic analysis links representations to broader political and ideological messages, thereby highlighting the cultural work performed by the magazine.

The thesis employs critical discourse analysis to identify dominant discourses within *Ameryka* and their alignment with or challenge to Polish societal norms.⁴⁹ Fairclough's methodology, supplemented by M.A.K. Halliday's *Functional Grammar*, is used to analyze vocabulary, grammar, modality, textual structures, intertextuality, and interdiscursivity to reveal how texts reproduce or challenge power relations and ideologies.⁵⁰ Complementary,

⁴² John W. Creswell, *Projektowanie badań naukowych: metody jakościowe, ilościowe i mieszane*, Joanna Gilewicz, trans. (SAGE, 2013), 164-166; Robert Szwed, "Nieswoistość analizy dyskursu w nauce o komunikacji. Dyskurs jako przedmiot i metoda badań," in *Zawartość mediów, czyli rozważania nad metodologią badań medioznawczych*, Tomasz Gackowski, ed. (Instytut Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2011), 13-30.

⁴³ Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska and Paulina Barczyszyn, ed. *Zmiana w dziennikarstwie w Polsce, Rosji i Szwecji. Analiza Porównawcza* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2016), 29-31.

⁴⁴ Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation," in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (SAGE, 1997), 15-21.

⁴⁵ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," in *Representation*, 21-24.

⁴⁶ Hall, "From Discourse to Power/Knowledge," in *Representation*, 47-51.

⁴⁷ Hall, "The Work of Representation," in *Representation*, 39-41.

⁴⁸ Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (Basic Books, 1973), 3-30; Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System" in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 193-233.

⁴⁹ Norman Fairclough, "Discourse, common sense and ideology," in *Language and Power* (Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1989), 77-108.

⁵⁰ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," in *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language* (Longman Group Limited, 1995), 182-213; Fairclough, "Critical discourse analysis in practice:

James Paul Gee's approach provides tools to trace intertextual references, identify social languages, and analyze discourse models across the magazine's articles.⁵¹

Visual analysis takes a layered approach, examining the literal, cultural, and ideological levels of meaning. Barthes' concepts of denotation, connotation, and myth are used to decode how ideological messages are conveyed by imagery while appearing ordinary or neutral.⁵² Using compositional interpretation, the interplay between text and images is examined, focusing on layout, salience, and the interrelation of visual and textual elements, to understand how meaning is constructed and ideological messages are naturalized.⁵³ Techniques include analyzing gaze, social distance, perspective, and framing to evaluate power relations and reader positioning.⁵⁴

As for the preparation and methodology of the corpus analysis, constituting the quantitative part of this study, to create the *Ameryka* magazine corpus (1959–1992), the original volumes had to be digitized under careful conditions. Corpus analysis is an empirical research method used in linguistics and other fields, focusing on the study of large collections of digitized authentic language data (corpora) to reveal patterns and structures in actual language use. Through corpus analysis one can measure, for instance, the annual corpus size of a magazine, meaning the number of content (how many thousands of words) were published in all issues in a given year. Since the issues are preserved in the Polish National Library in Warsaw and could not undergo invasive scanning, each page was photographed manually using a mobile phone scanner application. While time-consuming, this method protected the fragile originals while providing digital copies of each page for further processing. The resulting image-based PDFs required optical character recognition (OCR) to extract the text.⁵⁵

description,” in *Language and Power*, 109-139.; Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

⁵¹ James Paul Gee, “Building Task,” in *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, Second ed. (Routledge, 1999), 10-19; Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, 71-93.

⁵² Roland Barthes, “Mythologies,” in *Mythologies*, translated by Annette Lavers (The Noonday Press, 1973), 15-108.

⁵³ Gillian Rose, “‘The Good Eye:’ Looking at pictures using compositional interpretation,” in *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, Fourth Ed. (SAGE, 2016), 56-84; Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, Second Ed. (Routledge, 1996), 79-214.

⁵⁴ Robert M. Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” *Journal of Communication*, vol 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58, DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x.; Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” in *Reading Images*, 114-153.

⁵⁵ The OCR processing proved particularly challenging in this case due to several factors – first, most OCR programs are based on the English language, and encounter difficulties with Polish, a language with extensive diacritics; Second, the variety of fonts and layouts used in the historical magazines throughout the years posed

Four different OCR tools were tested to address these challenges – *Adobe Scan*, *Tesseract batch scripts*, *OCRmyPDF*, and *GImageReader*. Among them, only reliable results were consistently produced by *GImageReader* – an open-source graphical interface for the Tesseract OCR engine. The program accepts scanned images or PDFs as input, uses Tesseract's recognition models, and converts the page content into machine-readable, editable text. The process involved loading each PDF, selecting “Recognize (Polski),” applying recognition to multiple pages, and exporting the results using the “Save as plain text” function. Although *GImageReader* is slower than other options, it ensures the highest fidelity to the original text in comparison to other tested possibilities. Nevertheless, the extracted text should be considered an estimate. The margin of error for the results is likely to be 5–10%, which will affect individual word counts but not so much the overall thematic patterns.

For the corpus analysis, the text files were processed using *AntConc*, one of the most widely used tools in corpus linguistics. Created by Lawrence Anthony, AntConc is described by its developer as an open, cross-platform resource designed for corpus linguistics research, for introducing corpus-based methods, and for supporting data-driven approaches to language learning.⁵⁶ *AntConc*’s Keywords in Context (KWIC) feature was useful for identifying thematic patterns across the whole corpus. *Python* was also used to perform quantitative analyses of thematic trends over time that were too complex for *AntConc*.

Regular expressions (*regex*) were carefully constructed with the help of AI out of a list of predefined keywords per subchapter. The keywords have been selected through the previous linguistic analyses. The regex expressions were then applied to the corpus for each of the six themes and their twelve subchapters. These grouped related lexical items and morphological variants together, enabling consistent, keyword-based searches across all issues. The results were then aggregated by year (1959–1992). Two metrics were calculated to account for the varying word count over the years: absolute frequency (the raw number of keyword occurrences in a given year) and normalized frequency (the number of occurrences per 10,000 words). In the context of public diplomacy, the raw figures can be broken down to show how often the U.S. message on a given topic could be communicated each year. Normalization, on the other hand, compensates for variations in corpus size, since the number of issues per year, the length of the magazines, and the proportion of text to images varied

another challenge for the OCR. Yet another difficulty was the difficult lighting conditions in the library, which prevented clean scans, without shadows.

⁵⁶ See: Laurence Anthony, “Addressing the Challenges of Data-Driven Learning through Corpus Tool Design – In Conversation with Laurence Anthony,” in *Corpora for Language Learning* (Routledge, 2024).

significantly. Through this dual approach, it is ensured that comparisons across different years are not distorted by fluctuations in text quantity, allowing for a more accurate assessment of long-term thematic trends to be made.

The keyword frequencies presented in this study are estimates that should serve as additional quantitative indicators. They are also based on the OCR of manually scanned issues of *Ameryka*. Although OCR is a useful tool, it has its own limitations, especially in languages like Polish, such as misreading diacritics (ł → l, ś → s), broken lines, and words merged together. Processed manually, although the quality of the scans is relatively low, the OCR digital tools have improved them. However, similarly to the corpus analysis, the results on keyword frequencies include a margin of error estimated at 5–10%. The regex patterns were designed separately for this analysis to capture as many relevant forms as possible, but some instances may still be missed or falsely included. The level of accuracy is further complicated by the presence of overlapping keywords, which means that themes are not always distinct. Rather than final answers, the numbers provide a guide for future, more detailed qualitative research into the presentation of these themes in *Ameryka*. The technical aspects of the OCR and text-file processing, as well as *Python* code and regex construction processes have been supported and guided by Florian Hoppe, a political scientist and the European University Institute, Florence, Italy.

The dissertation is arranged in four chapters covering the key area of interest: main characteristics of the USIA system, the history of the *Amerika* magazine, and its role within the said system, followed by two chapters with detailed content analysis. Chapters three and four are divided into sections in accordance with the dominant themes identified by the Author: the “American Dream,” knowledge and innovation, Polish Americans, lifestyle and culture, social diversity including issues of race, class, and gender. All analyzed articles were clustered around identified themes to advance comprehensive portrayal of *Ameryka*’s ideologically-embedded narratives. The text consists of bibliography and three annexes with: the multi-step pipeline for the corpus analysis, a spreadsheet of some of *Ameryka*’s covers, and examples of *Ameryka*’s visual messages. Bibliography and footnotes have been prepared in accordance with the new edition of the Chicago Manual of Style.¹

In the spirit of academic transparency and integrity, I acknowledge the use of various artificial intelligence (AI) tools and digital platforms in the research and writing process of this dissertation. These tools were used to improve efficiency, accuracy, and quality while

¹ *The Chicago Manual of Style*, 18th ed. University of Chicago Press, 2024, <https://doi.org/10.7208/cmos18>.

preserving the originality of ideas. The following AI and digital resources were used: *Canva*, *Zotero*, *Python*, *DeepL*, *Visual Translator Iphone App*, *AdobeScan OCR*, *Tesseract batch scripts*, *OCRmyPDF*, *ChatGPT*, *GImageReader*, and *AntConc*. Although AI tools and digital platforms were valuable resources, the original thoughts, analysis of discourse, historical sources, and scholarly works in this dissertation are the result of the researcher's intellectual efforts. AI was used for supporting purposes only and did not replace human insight or academic integrity in the research process. Academic honesty is upheld and the evolving landscape of research methodologies in the digital age is acknowledged by this declaration.

1. USIA 1953-1999

A comprehensive examination of the U.S. Information Agency's history or its activities in Poland during the Cold War exceeds the scope of this thesis. The USIA's global history has been thoroughly chronicled, particularly by Nicholas J. Cull, and the wide range of its initiatives worldwide underscores the potential for dedicated research on each region, and often each individual country. In Poland, as in other countries, the USIA's activities included audiovisual media, broadcasting, film screenings, exhibitions, music, theater, book translation, English-language teaching, cultural and educational exchanges, institution building, and creating American Studies curricula. This diversity makes for a vast and complex field of inquiry.

Despite this richness, Poland rarely appears in scholarship as a distinct case. Studies of U.S. public diplomacy typically view it within the Soviet-controlled Eastern Bloc, overlooking the unique cultural and political conditions that shaped the reception of American initiatives. Although Polish and American historians have carefully explored bilateral relations, the USIA's presence is often only mentioned in passing. The key reason is that the USIA did not have its office in Poland but rather was embedded with the Embassy cultural programming. As such, it remains a subject of study in diplomatic bilateral relations.

This subchapter offers an overview of the wide range of activities and programs of USIA with references to the Polish case, paying close attention to the unique institutional, cultural, and political environment in which they unfolded. While not exhaustive, the analysis addresses a historiographical gap by showing the spectrum of USIA's programming in Poland. Continued historical and interdisciplinary research in the area remains both necessary and promising.

1.1. History and Mission

The establishment of the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1953 was the culmination of over a decade of evolving U.S. government efforts to carry out international information and propaganda campaigns. Tracing American public diplomacy from the wartime efforts of the Office of War Information (OWI), through the Cold War and into the post-Cold War global media landscape,² reveals how public diplomacy evolved as a formal component of U.S. foreign policy, shaped by shifting political priorities, technological advancements, and global ideological contests.³ The OWI, headed by Director Elmer Davis,

² Wilson P. Dizard Jr., "USIA's Wartime Origins," in *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 17.

³ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*.

was established to inform the public in the U.S. and abroad about the war efforts and current events, based on Executive Order no. 9182 of June 15, 1942.⁴ Active since 13 July 1942, acting mainly as part of American psychological warfare, it was responsible for the oversight of radio broadcasts, including the early Voice of America (VOA), press releases, film production, and cultural materials designed to enhance morale and garner support for the Allied cause.⁵ By the end of the war, OWI established its physical presence in over 40 countries and a global VOA network.⁶ However, following criticism of its domestic propaganda activities and postwar budget cuts, the OWI was dismantled by President Harry S. Truman's *Executive Order 9608* in 1945.⁷

The U.S. information's story in the Truman presidency can be divided into four phases with different names for the information program.⁸ In the first phase, from 1945 to mid-1947, following the closure of the OWI,⁹ its international information functions were transferred to the Department of State and in December 1945 the Department established the Interim International Information Service (IIS), operating under the direction of the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs and responsible for maintaining international broadcasts and informational publications,¹⁰ and then in January 1946 the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC), which was under the Office of the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs (PA).¹¹ In the second phase – from late 1947 to 1949 – the administration was quickly preparing for the Cold War “but neglected key aspects of the information program” with OIC being reorganized and its name changed to the Office of International Information and Education Exchange (OIE).¹²

Then, in April 1950, a top-secret policy paper was drafted by the U.S. National Security Council in the context of escalating tensions and approved by Truman, now

⁴ Andrzej Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service w polityce zagranicznej USA lat gorącej i zimnej wojny 1939-1989* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2019), 80.

⁵ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 15-21; Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 123.

⁶ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 34.

⁷ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 23; For a comprehensive account of the OWI as the most prominent U.S. propaganda agency during World War II, including its operations, as well as some critical views of its mission and effectiveness, see: Justin Hart. “The Projection of America’ Propaganda as Foreign Policy at the Office of War Information,” in *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy*, (Oxford University Press, 2013), 71–106.

⁸ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 22.

⁹ Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 173.

¹⁰ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 38.

¹¹ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 22, 27; Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 363; Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy Polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 43.

¹² Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy Polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 23.

commonly known as NSC-68, which became one of the most influential documents shaping American foreign policy in the postwar era.¹³ Originally titled *United States Objectives and Programs for National Security*, NSC-68 portrayed the Soviet Union as an expansionist and monolithic threat and called for a significant military and ideological buildup to counter communist influence worldwide.¹⁴ Robert P. Joyce in NSC-68 not only urged containment through traditional diplomacy, but also emphasized the importance of psychological and informational strategies to influence global public opinion.¹⁵ The aim was to develop programs “designed to build and maintain confidence among other peoples in our strength and resolution, and to wage overt psychological warfare calculated to encourage mass defections from Soviet allegiance” and to intensify “affirmative and timely measures and operations by covert means in the fields of economic warfare and political and psychological warfare with a view to fomenting and supporting unrest and revolt in selected strategic satellite countries.”¹⁶

This laid the conceptual groundwork for expanded U.S. propaganda and public diplomacy efforts. NSC-68 played an important role in establishing the perception of a total ideological struggle, where the cultural and moral superiority of the United States was considered a key weapon in the Cold War.¹⁷ The Department of States’ efforts culminated in 16 January 1952, in the formation of the U.S. International Information Administration (IIA or USIIA) in 1952, called Truman’s “semi-autonomous” agency, but nonetheless important in transitioning from wartime propaganda to peacetime public diplomacy.¹⁸ The IIA was the

¹³ The State Defense Review Group, consisting of 11 permanent members and occasional participants, was responsible for preparing the document – six members represented the Department of State and four represented the Department of Defense, Paul Nitze oversaw the entire project. In August 1949, the Russians conducted a successful nuclear weapons test and Nitze received data from the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) that by mid-1953, Russia would have 135 bombs. The final version of NSC 68 was approved by the president on September 30, 1950, after the outbreak of the Korean War in June 1950. For a detailed analysis of this context, see: Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 146–147; Melvyn P. Leffler, “Limited War and Global Strategy, 1950–1953,” in *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917–1953* (Hill and Wang, 1994), 97–130.

¹⁴ U.S. Department of State, NSC-68, 1950, Milestones in the History of U.S. Foreign Relations, Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/NSC68>.

¹⁵ CIA, *The Role of the CIA’s Information Services Staff in Support of the U-2 Program*, CIA FOIA Electronic Reading Room, doc. CIA-RDP83-00764R000300060011-2, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/document/cia-rdp83-00764r000300060011-2>.

¹⁶ CIA, *The Role of the CIA’s Information Services Staff in Support of the U-2 Program*.

¹⁷ See: John Lewis Gaddis, *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy* (Oxford University Press, 2005), 88–91; Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford University Press, 1993), 351–357.

¹⁸ FRUS 1952-1954, National Security Affairs, vol. 2, part 2, doc. 294, Department of State Departmental Announcement No. 4: *Establishment of the United States International Information Administration (IIA)*, Washington, Jan. 16, 1952, 1952-1595.

predecessor of the United States Information Agency (USIA), led by Republican educator Wilson Martindale Compton, and reporting to the Secretary of State.¹⁹

In early 1953, for the implementation of activities promoting American values, President Eisenhower established the Advisory Committee on Government Organization, led by J.D. Rockefeller, and the Committee on International Information Activities (also known as the Jackson Committee), chaired by William H. Jackson.²⁰ The Committee was tasked with evaluating the fragmented structure of U.S. information and psychological operations, and it held closed-door hearings and reviewed classified material from over 250 government officials.²¹ The report submitted on June 30, 1953, dramatically rebuked the existing scattered approach, advocating for a unified, dynamic information service as essential to national security.²² The recommendation was to shut down the Psychological Strategy Board (PSB), as it was operating on the mistaken assumption that a psychological warfare strategy could be developed independently of the national (political) strategy.²³

Following the report, Eisenhower acted quickly – through *Reorganization Plan No. 8* and *Executive Order 10477* on August 1, 1953, the USIA was established, combining the responsibilities of the Department of State's IIA, the Technical Cooperation Administration (TCA), and the Mutual Security Agency (MSA).²⁴ These formally established USIA as a centralized institution for cultural diplomacy and informational outreach, and greater facilitation of propaganda activities, directly responding to the Jackson Committee's call for coherence and strategic direction in U.S. information operations.²⁵ During this period, academic exchange programs were separated from the USIA and placed under the Bureau of

¹⁹ Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 126.

²⁰ See: Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy Polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 62-63.

²¹ Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 207; See: David W. Guth, "From OWI to USIA: The Jackson Committee's Search for the Real 'Voice' of America," *American Journalism* vol. 19, no. 1 (2002): 13-37. doi:10.1080/08821127.2002.10677858.

²² FRUS 1952-1954, National Security Affairs, vol. 2, part 2, doc. 370, *The Report of the President's Committee on International Information Activities*, Washington, June 30, 1953, 1795.

²³ Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy Polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 79; Jakub Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu: Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych Wobec Polski 1945-1988* (PWN, 2015), 68.

²⁴ Mutual Security Act, 1951 – a law signed by Truman on October 10, 1951 (65 Stat. 373) and June 20, 1952 (66 Stat. 141), approved \$7.5 billion from the budget for foreign military, economic, and technical assistance to US allies, mainly in Europe. Under this act, the Mutual Security Agency (MSA) was established, which de facto replaced the ECA, which administered the Marshall Plan. The agency ceased operations as part of Eisenhower's reorganization (Reorganization Plan No. 7, 1953). Its tasks were taken over by the Foreign Operations Administration (FOA) (1953–1955) and the International Cooperation Administration (ICA) (1955–1961). The Kennedy administration replaced them with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID): Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy Polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 51, 410.

²⁵ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 70.

Educational and Cultural Affairs at the State Department (ECA).²⁶ A tacit agreement between the USIA and the CU delineated separate functions for the subsequent decades – USIA officials administered CU programs on the ground, and the CU compensated the USIA for a share of their salary costs.²⁷ Despite being excluded from the jurisdiction of the State Department outside the U.S., the agency continued to be referred to as USIS (an information program coordinated by PA that had existed since the 1940s).²⁸

USIA was the most important tool in the “battle for minds” in U.S. history.²⁹ It operated a vast global public diplomacy infrastructure from its headquarters in Washington, D.C., what Dizard calls “an unassuming gray brick building” two blocks West of the White House, at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue.³⁰ The agency’s centralized leadership consisted of a director, deputy director, and three associate directors who headed its principal bureaus: Information, Educational and Cultural Affairs, and Management.

In terms of oversight, the USIA operated under the U.S. Department of State’s broad policy guidance, as mandated by the Smith-Mundt Act, while maintaining operational independence.³¹ The United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, signed by Truman, commonly known as the Smith-Mundt Act, served as the first statutory charter for government-sponsored information programs abroad.³² The Act empowered the State Department to disseminate educational, cultural, and policy-related information while imposing strict restrictions on domestic dissemination to avoid influencing U.S. public opinion. The Act recommended to “promote mutual understanding between the people of the United States and the people of other countries, in full recognition of the fact that a free interchange of information and of persons and of skills would contribute immeasurably toward the promotion of world peace.”³³ Additionally, since “in all parts of the world, the United States is subject to a continuous propaganda campaign,” such free interchange would also allow to “correct misunderstandings and misinformation about the United States.”³⁴ This

²⁶ Oleksandr Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha: Historia Programu Fulbrighta w Polsce w latach 1945-2020* (PWN, 2024), 47.

²⁷ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*.

²⁸ Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy Polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 83.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 63.

³¹ Public Law No. 80-402; Bogart, *Cool Words, Cold War*, 13.; Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 251.

³² Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 32.

³³ *United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948*, Public Law 80-402, U.S. Statutes at Large 62 (1948): 6–12, https://www.usagm.gov/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/US-InformationEducational-Exchange-Act_1948.pdf

³⁴ U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, *United States Information Educational Exchange Act of 1947*, 80th Congress, 1st Sess., introduced 1948, 3-4.

dual purpose – both idealistic and strategic – was the foundation of much of the United States’ public diplomacy during the Cold War.

The agency director reported directly to the president, giving the USIA a degree of flexibility while ensuring alignment with national objectives.³⁵ Additionally, USIA programs were reviewed by the U.S. Advisory Commission on Public Diplomacy (also established by the 1948 Act), and periodic evaluations and recommendations to improve efficacy and accountability were reported to Congress and the President.³⁶

To oversee this global effort, USIA was divided into six geographic offices: African Affairs; Inter-American Affairs; East Asian and Pacific Affairs; West European and Canadian Affairs; East European and Newly Independent States (NIS) Affairs; and North African, Near Eastern, and South Asian Affairs.³⁷ Thus, the agency was strategically positioned to influence geopolitical dynamics – USIA’s actions were moving across three distinct maps – the East-West map, with the U.S. going against the USSR, China, and their satellites; second, the West-West map, with the USIA developing and maintaining relationships within the Western alliance; and third, the North-South map, with the USIA reaching out to the developing world.³⁸ Each of the three maps, as pointed out by Cull, would tell its own history of USIA’s evolving engagement.³⁹ Over the years, the USIA’s “programs touched literally billions of people.”⁴⁰ It is, thus, beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss USIA’s global engagement in detail.⁴¹

One of the first USIA reports, which was to provide the basis for the new agency’s program, was written in June 1953, still commissioned by Robert Johnson (director of the IIA), and the final version, ending with 136 questions was submitted to the first director of the USIA, Theodor Streiber.⁴² While the report, declassified nearly forty years, never became the

³⁵ *United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948*, Public Law 80-402, U.S. Statutes at Large 62 (1948): 6–12, https://www.usagm.gov/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/US-InformationEducational-Exchange-Act_1948.pdf

³⁶ FRUS 1952-1954, National Security Affairs, vol. 2, part 2, doc. 356, *Report to the National Security Council by the Executive Secretary (Lay): NSC 165/1 Note by the Executive Secretary to the National Security Council on Mission of the United States Information Agency*, Washington, October 24, 1953; enclosed: *Statement Policy by the National Security Council: Mission of the United States Information Agency*, Washington, undated.

³⁷ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, xv.

³⁸ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 493.

³⁹ *Ibidem*.

⁴⁰ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, xv.

⁴¹ For a detailed account on the American public diplomacy in the developing countries, see: Jason C. Parker. *Hearts, Minds, Voices: US Cold War Public Diplomacy and the Formation of the Third World* (Oxford University Press, 2016).

⁴² Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy Polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 84.

official basis for USIA activities,⁴³ it is significant because it shows the internal dilemmas accompanying the creation of the agency's programming to achieve the largest possible impact. The official mission for the USIA, which the NSC agreed to on 24 October 1953, read as follows:

1. The purpose of the U.S. Information Agency shall be to submit evidence to peoples of other nations by means of communication techniques that the objectives and policies of the United States are in harmony with and will advance their legitimate aspirations for freedom, progress and peace.
2. The purpose in paragraph 1 above is to be carried out primarily:
 - a. By explaining and interpreting to foreign peoples the objectives and policies of the United States Government.
 - b. By depicting imaginatively the correlation between U.S. policies and the legitimate aspirations of other peoples in the world.
 - c. By unmasking and countering hostile attempts to distort or to frustrate the objectives and policies of the United States.
 - d. By delineating those important aspects of the life and culture of the people of the United States which facilitate understanding of the policies and objectives of the Government of the United States.⁴⁴

Though it is argued that the U.S. government initiated an international public diplomacy campaign already in the first action of its existence, declaring its independence,⁴⁵ the establishment of the USIA and its agenda is the first time when America both purposefully and consciously creates a long-term mission for building its image on the international stage.

Streibert, expressed strong approval of the agency's mission statement – in a letter to President Eisenhower, he emphasized the statement's success in “avoiding a propagandistic ton” and praised its focus on highlighting “the community of interest that exists among freedom-loving peoples” and demonstrating “how American objectives and policies advance the legitimate interests of such peoples;” Streibert also emphasized that the agency would

⁴³ Ibidem.

⁴⁴ FRUS 1952-1954, National Security Affairs, vol. 2, part 2, doc. 356; enclosed: *Statement Policy by the National Security Council: Mission of the United States Information Agency*.

⁴⁵ J. Michael Waller. “The American Way of Propaganda: Lessons from the Founding Fathers,” in *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare*, J. Michael Waller, ed. (The Institute of World Politics Press, 2008), 28.

prioritize “objective, factual news reporting and appropriate commentaries,” aiming to provide a comprehensive and truthful exposition of significant U.S. actions and policies.⁴⁶

However, the diplomatic objectives of the USIA were also meticulously interwoven into the Cold War foreign policy framework of the United States, and “disseminating images and ideas about the United States was, by definition, foreign policy.”⁴⁷ As stated in its motto, the agency sought to “tell America’s story to the world,” but did it in a way that would promote U.S. national interests and complement official diplomatic efforts. That would suggest the agency’s work was not merely cultural or informational but rather political and strategic. Such strategic orientation, which emphasizes the use of international information activities as part of national security strategy, is reflected in key National Security Council documents such as NSC 59 and NSC 88, both from 1950.⁴⁸

Moreover, Eisenhower’s strategic use of propaganda during the early Cold War is quite clear, not treating it as a peripheral concern but rather as a central pillar of Cold War statecraft, psychological war (also called *psywar*) was integrated into both foreign and domestic policy.⁴⁹ Eisenhower deliberately blurred the lines between domestic persuasion and international propaganda, aiming to create a unified ideological front that would project American values of freedom, progress, and democracy. Thus, the American Cold War narratives, and therefore largely USIA narratives, can be seen as strategically constructed, contested, and disseminated.⁵⁰

The scope and scale of the USIA’s operations already in 1953 reveal the agency’s strategic significance in the American information apparatus. Under the direction of Streibert, the USIA organized its global operations into four geographic regions, with each region being managed by an assistant area director and supported by a substantial staff and budget – Europe and the British Commonwealth were prioritized, receiving \$22.5 million (nearly half of which was dedicated to Germany alone) and a substantial personnel base of around 3,500

⁴⁶ FRUS 1952-1954, National Security Affairs, vol. 2, part 2, doc. 358, *The Director of the United States Information Agency (Streibert) to the President*, Washington, October 27, 1953.

⁴⁷ Hart, “Epilogue: The Creation of the USIA and the Fate of U.S. Public Diplomacy,” in *Empire of Ideas*, 198.

⁴⁸ FRUS 1950-1955, The Intelligence Community, doc. 2, *National Security Council Report: The Foreign Information Program and Psychological Warfare Planning*, Washington, March 9, 1950; FRUS 1950, Central and Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, vol. 4, doc. 27, *Memorandum by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Secretary of Defense (Johnson)*, Washington, October 6, 1950, 58.; See: Mania, *The National Security Council i amerykańska polityka wobec Europy wschodniej w latach 1945-1960* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1994).

⁴⁹ Kenneth Alan Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad*. (University of Kansas, 2006); Krugler, David F. *Journal of Cold War Studies* 10, no. 3 (2008): 149–53. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26922786>.

⁵⁰ See: Osgood, *Total Cold War*.

people.⁵¹ Such allocation of people and funds clearly suggests the urgency of public diplomacy efforts in a divided, postwar Europe. The Far East received a \$2.7 million budget and 1,300 personnel and the Near East, South Asia, and Africa region was similarly well-resourced with a budget of \$2.9 million and 1,200 staff members, while the American republics received only \$1.5 million and 500 staff members.⁵²

The U.S. Information Service (USIS) field operations in the Soviet bloc were virtually nonexistent at the time.⁵³ USIS offices were first created abroad as outposts of the wartime Office of War Information and were incorporated into the foreign policy system after 1945.⁵⁴ They assumed lasting functions as overseas branches of different State Department agencies dealing with cultural and information work and were later absorbed into the worldwide network of the USIA.⁵⁵ The absence of USIS meant that information efforts targeting the “Soviet orbit” had to be primarily channeled through the VOA, which operated with a separate, dedicated budget of nearly \$18 million.⁵⁶ Such early institutional structure and allocation of resources highlight the scope of the USIA’s ambitions and the central role the agency was to play in executing American soft power globally.

The Polish Section USIS London (formerly OWI-London) was already preparing for a future Warsaw outpost in 1944.⁵⁷ However, the USIS post in Warsaw, set up as a branch of OWI during the war, “persisted precisely as a sort of cultural point of observation, despite Polish authorities setting up obstacles,” continued to be unstaffed until late 1946 – the arrival of Walter K. Schwinn as a Public Affairs Officer (PAO) and Chester H. Opal as an Information Office – and collapsed in the spring of 1949, as Embassy leadership – Stanton Griffis – did not show interest in cultural programming, Schwinn left, and Opal became a *persona non grata*.⁵⁸ Although voluntary staff reductions, in accordance with State Department instructions from 1950, had almost brought the mission’s activities to a halt, military attachés remained in Warsaw, and the USIS library, cinema, and information service continued to operate.⁵⁹ As the bilateral tensions were growing stronger, the Embassy stopped its contact with the Church, the UNICEF office was closed due to lack of funding, and the

⁵¹ USIA 1st Review of Operations, August – December 1953, 4.

⁵² *Ibidem*.

⁵³ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 103.

⁵⁴ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 39-40.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁶ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 103.

⁵⁷ NARA, Microfilm Publication M1945, General Records of the American Embassy in Warsaw, 1945-1947, Reel 1, *Memorandum: USIS London Policy Division, Polish Section*, FW, September 19, 1945.

⁵⁸ See: Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 39-40.

⁵⁹ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 86.

New York Times correspondent (1948-1950), Edward Murrow, was expelled from Poland.⁶⁰ USIS post in Warsaw was closed in 1951.⁶¹ As part of the reorganization, the State Department ordered the Polish Research and Information Service in New York to cease its activities.⁶²

The lack of a formal USIS post resulted in USIA officers being reassigned as the Press or Cultural attaches under State Department titles (they had to resign officially from USIA and find new positions at the Department of State),⁶³ not as the Public Affairs Officers (PAOs) (a title associated with USIA), similarly to other then-communist countries.⁶⁴ Operating as part of the Embassy enabled them to persist in carrying out USIA operations while evading the scrutiny of Communist authorities, who naturally associated the agency with propaganda.⁶⁵ Although the Polish authorities monitored and sometimes restricted their activities, they permitted limited engagement either to maintain trade or political ties with the West or to present a façade of openness. Consequently, both Washington and the American diplomats and cultural officers “on the ground” had to navigate a constantly shifting landscape of risk and opportunity, often relying on carefully prepared cultural content to avoid direct provocation while offering compelling alternatives to the official Communist narrative.

In most countries, a standard USIA team consisted of three key officers – a Public Affairs Officer (PAO), an Information Officer (IO), and a Cultural Affairs Officer (CAO), answering to the Ambassador.⁶⁶ The PAO served as the U.S. ambassador’s senior advisor on public affairs strategy and implementation, overseeing the mission’s information and cultural programs.⁶⁷ The IO and CAO reported directly to the PAO and were responsible, respectively, for media relations and cultural diplomacy initiatives.⁶⁸ Foreign Service Officers (FSOs) are career diplomats within the U.S. Foreign Service, with its establishment dating back to

⁶⁰ Ibidem.

⁶¹ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 39-40.

⁶² Mania and Józef Łaptos, “Dyplomacja polska wobec zimnowojennego podziału świata” in *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, Tom 6: 1944/45-1989 (2010), 385-386.

⁶³ Richmond, interviewed by Charles S. Kennedy (2004) in *ADST’s Oral History Collection*, 35.

⁶⁴ Dick Virden, correspondence with author, 21-29 September 2025.

⁶⁵ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 56.

⁶⁶ USIA, Office of Public Liaison, “USIA: An Overview,” August 1998.; Estell, interview; Virden, correspondence.

⁶⁷ For a detailed account on American Public Diplomacy Staff abroad, the work of PAOs, as well as PAOs coordination with the Ambassador and with Washington, see: William A. Rug, “The Public Affairs Officer,” in *Front Line Public Diplomacy: How US Embassies Communicate with Foreign Publics* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 43-63.; For a detailed account on the American Foreign Service, see: Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*.

⁶⁸ USIA, Office of Public Liaison, “USIA: An Overview,” August 1998.

1924.⁶⁹ Along with political appointees, who sometimes hold high-level diplomatic positions, FSOs comprise the professional diplomatic corps of the United States and represent U.S. policy abroad – FSOs are distinguished from other categories by their professional recruitment, career system, and permanent role in diplomacy.⁷⁰ In January 1961, the State Department’s attention was focused on the process of building the agency’s staff with the quickly defined goal of creating a *statutory career officer corps* (an idea initiated by USIA’s director George V. Allen), namely USIS.⁷¹

In Poland, the structure was similar. As Virden recalls, the overall public and cultural operation was led by the PAO, whose subordinates included a CAO responsible for cultural and academic programs such as Fulbright exchanges, and an IO, who directed press and publication activities.⁷² There was also an Assistant Country Administrative Officer (ACAO) and an American Information Officer (AIO) along with Polish assistants called Foreign Service Nationals (FSNs).⁷³

In the interviews with and memoirs of such Cultural Officers as Virden, Leonard J. Baldyga, and Yale Richmond, Poland is often recognized as an exception amongst the Eastern European countries of the Communist Era. According to Baldyga, Poland was exceptional because of the historical friendship with the U.S., and also because it was the only country in the Soviet Bloc that allowed for an independent university to exist – the Catholic University in Lublin, the only one that in some cases allowed the U.S. to conduct cultural and informational programs without the need for a formal, often restrictive agreement, the only one that seemed to respond to the U.S. Government’s policy on differentiation as part of “building bridges to Eastern Europe” declaration,⁷⁴ and also because Poland had the advantage of having a large Polish diaspora living in the U.S., influencing the Government’s policies towards Poland.⁷⁵ Last but not least, Poland was an exception due to the existence of the powerful institution of the Catholic Church which “had a membership that far exceeded that of the controlling Communist party.”⁷⁶ In the perspective of USIA officers, it was such relatively positive bilateral political framework, based on historical sentiments, that allowed

⁶⁹ Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 11.

⁷⁰ Ibidem.

⁷¹ Ibidem, 327.

⁷² Virden, correspondence.

⁷³ Ibidem.

⁷⁴ See: Tyszkiewicz, “Mozolna ‘budowa mostów’: 1964-1968,” in *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 233-288.; Mania, *Bridge Building. Polityka USA wobec Europy Wschodniej w latach 1961-1968* (Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1996).

⁷⁵ Leonard J. Baldyga, interviewed by the author, 10-14 January 2022.

⁷⁶ Ibidem.

for broadening of the cultural and informational efforts of the U.S. foreign service officers in Poland.⁷⁷

Typically, USIA personnel were stationed within the U.S. embassy, but when security and local conditions permitted, they also operated from off-site posts located in the capital or other major cities, which allowed for greater outreach and visibility. Such deployment structure reinforced the agency's grassroots engagement with foreign publics and ensured alignment with U.S. broader diplomatic goals. In Poland, outside of Warsaw, there were branch posts in the consulates in Kraków and Poznań.⁷⁸

By 1960, the U.S. had only a small cultural presence in Poland – three officers, a secretary, and several local staff in Warsaw, as well as one officer in Poznań, who oversaw information, media, and educational exchange programs – the Polish operation was plagued by chronic staffing shortages due to the country's complex political environment.⁷⁹ Despite its limited size and different title, though burdened with paperwork, the Warsaw unit carried out the full range of duties typical of a USIS post.⁸⁰

During the Kennedy administration, with Edward R. Murrow appointed USIA's director, new forms of international activity emerged, linked to the Department of State, but with a separate scope of activity – the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, established in 1961, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID/AID), based on the provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Executive Order issued in November 1961.⁸¹ AID operated in three categories: Development Lending – general aid for roads, energy, industry, Development Grants – funds mainly for human resources, institution building, health services, education, agriculture, etc., and Supporting Assistance instead of Defense Support – for all other purposes not covered by the two previous sections, e.g. to prevent economic collapse.⁸² Although President Kennedy was an avid reader of USIA's reports on world opinion, Murrow's influence on decision-making remained minimal.⁸³

⁷⁷ For a detailed account on U.S.-Polish bilateral relations in the 20th century see: Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*; Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*.

⁷⁸ Virden, correspondence.

⁷⁹ In contrast, the USIS office in Yugoslavia was much larger that same year, with 15 officers and 97 local employees.; Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 56.

⁸⁰ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 56, 121.

⁸¹ Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 328-322, 659.; Samuel Hale Butterfield, *U.S. Development Aid—An Historic First. Achievements and Failures in the Twentieth Century* (Praeger, 2004), 35–40.; Cull and Juliana Geran Pilon, "Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy: The Demise of U.S. Information Agency," in *Case Studies Working Group Report* (2012): 554-555.

⁸² Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 329.

⁸³ Cull and Geran Pilon, "Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy," 555.

The most crucial part of legislation enacted into law by President Kennedy in terms of American public diplomacy, was the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 (Public Law 87–256), more commonly known as the Fulbright–Hays Act, expanding the U.S. government’s ability to facilitate cultural and educational exchanges.⁸⁴ The legislation’s clear objectives included increasing mutual understanding, showcasing the achievements of diverse nations, and promoting peaceful international cooperation, and its implementation authorized the exchange of students, scholars, professionals, and scientific and cultural materials, becoming the legal basis for USIA-run programs such as American Corners, international visitor exchanges, and cultural exhibitions abroad.⁸⁵

In 1961, despite claims that cooperation with Poland was the most active in the field of scientific and cultural exchange, “unique in its kind” and “on a large scale,” the dynamics of these activities were limited by the attitude of the communist government and the availability of funds on the American side.⁸⁶ In the spring of the following year, the State Department and USIA seriously considered further projects to increase informational and cultural activities in Poland, such as the unrealized idea of establishing a U.S. Information and Cultural Center in Warsaw.⁸⁷ Yet, exchanges remained highly limited, and it was considered certain that restoring the USIS office in its pre-1951 form would not be possible.⁸⁸

After the Bay of Pigs, the construction of the Berlin Wall, and the Cuban Missile Crisis, a new mission statement was finally issued for USIA in January 1963: “To achieve U.S. foreign policy objectives by influencing public attitudes in other nations,” – serving the agency, only with adjustments, until 1978.⁸⁹ Thus, the shift was a matter of degree, and not kind – not serving as the new course, but emphasizing the role played by the USIA in the American foreign affairs and legitimizing its programming.⁹⁰

In 1965, Leonard Marks, a communications expert and lawyer was appointed by President Johnson as USIA’s new director; Meanwhile, Johnson stressed that truth was central to USIA’s mission – “The United States has no propaganda to peddle ... We are neither advocates nor defenders of any dogma so fragile or doctrine so frightened as to require it.”⁹¹

⁸⁴ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 29.

⁸⁵ Public Law. 87–256 (Fulbright-Hays Act), §101, Sept. 21, 1961, 75 Stat. 527; Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 101.

⁸⁶ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 222.

⁸⁷ Ibidem, 154.

⁸⁸ Ibidem, 223.

⁸⁹ Lois W. Roth, “Public Diplomacy and the Past: The Search for an American Style of Propaganda (1952–1977),” in *The Fletcher Forum*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1884): 370, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/45331162>.

⁹⁰ Ibidem.

⁹¹ Lyndon B. Johnson, qtd. in Roth, “Public Diplomacy and the Past” 372.

In reality, the USIA's focus was on "waging psychological war in support of the U.S. mission in Vietnam," and the notable establishment in 1965 of the Joint United States Public Affairs Office (JUSPAO).⁹² Compared to Kennedy, Johnson had even less tolerance for USIA world opinion reports because they revealed extremely negative sentiment – although Kennedy and Johnson both included the USIA director on the NSC (following Eisenhower's practice) it was merely as a guest rather than a mandated member, resulting in the gap between creating policy and sharing it with the public growing during Johnson's time in office.⁹³

The War in Vietnam significantly worsened also the state of the U.S. bilateral relations with Poland, which was also reflected in the cultural and information programming – for instance, Warsaw refused to host the "Atom in Work" exhibition in Poland, canceled its participation in the roundtable conference in Williamsburg, as well as youth exchange and sporting events, and did not hesitate to make open, scathing remarks about US actions in Vietnam.⁹⁴

President Nixon named Frank Shakespeare from CBS the new head of USIA, triggering new discussions and questions on the agency's mission and goals.⁹⁵ Both Nixon and his National Security Advisor, Henry Kissinger, "had little tolerance for public diplomacy in the foreign policy process," and shortly after Kissinger assumed his post, he sidelined the USIA director to an obscure NSC subcommittee.⁹⁶ When Shakespeare got replaced by James Keogh in 1973, the agency, according to Lois W. Roth, could triumph – "it had become the focal point for debate about *its* mission, *its* objectives, and *its* methods, as contrasted with past discussion of the issues."⁹⁷ In 1973, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the State Department's Cultural Advisory Commission urged a reexamination of the division of responsibilities between the USIA and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs.⁹⁸ Frank Stanton's 1975 Report further fueled the debate by recommending that VOA become an independent entity – the issue remained unresolved when President Ford left office in 1977.⁹⁹

⁹² See: Jeffrey Whyte, "Psychological War in Vietnam: Governmentality at the United States Information Agency," in *Geopolitics*, vol. 23, no. 3 (2017): 1-29. DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2017.1342623.

⁹³ Cull and Geran Pilon, "Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy," 555.

⁹⁴ See: Tyszkiewicz, "W cieniu konfliktu wietnamskiego," in *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 252-254; Tyszkiewicz, "Tajna współpraca na rzecz pokoju w Wietnamie," in *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 263-264.

⁹⁵ Roth, "Public Diplomacy and the Past," 373.

⁹⁶ Cull and Geran Pilon, "Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy," 556.

⁹⁷ Roth, "Public Diplomacy and the Past," 373.

⁹⁸ Cull and Geran Pilon, "Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy."

⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, 557.

President Carter was more open to changes in public diplomacy – in April 1978, Carter’s *Reorganization Plan No. 2* merged the USIA with the State Department’s Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, forming the U.S. International Communication Agency (USICA).¹⁰⁰ This reorganization brought broadcasting, cultural exchange, and informational services together under one umbrella and introduced the agency’s “reverse” or “second mandate” for the first time:

“The new agency will have two distinct but related goals:

To tell the world about our society and policies in particular our commitment to cultural diversity and individual liberty.

To tell ourselves about the world, so as to enrich our own culture as well as give us the understanding to deal effectively with problems among nations.”¹⁰¹

Although USICA maintained its core programming focused on foreign affairs, the reorganization reflected a shift toward bidirectional public diplomacy that aimed to address domestic needs as well.¹⁰² Internal discussions and General Accounting Office (GAO) reports emphasized that this expanded mission would require new approaches and closer coordination with the State Department, anticipating possible structural and policy tensions in the future.¹⁰³ In view of the critical assessment of the inclusion of aid programs in the policy toolkit, Carter also decided to remove AID from the authority of the State Department and place it under the leadership of the newly created International Development Cooperation Agency (IDCA), which existed from 1979 to 1998; AID continued to cooperate with the State, albeit in a different form, making aid more dependent on relations with communism.¹⁰⁴

Ronald Reagan’s 1980 presidential campaign was largely focused on restoring America’s image.¹⁰⁵ During his presidency, one of the first legislative initiatives of the new USIA director, Charles Z. Wick, was to change the agency’s name back to USIA – a measure he considered essential despite its estimated \$150,000 cost.¹⁰⁶ He argued that the USICA

¹⁰⁰ FRUS 1977-1980, vol. xxx, Public Diplomacy, doc. 181, *Draft Staff Study Prepared in the General Accounting Office*, Washington, undated. 524-535; Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 192; Cull and Geran Pilon, “Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy,” 557.

¹⁰¹ Carter speech to Congress, 11 October 1977; PPP JC 1977, Vol. II, pp. 1765-72, qtd. in Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 370.

¹⁰² Cull and Geran Pilon, “Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy.”

¹⁰³ FRUS 1977-1980, vol. xxx, Public Diplomacy, doc. 85, *Memorandum From the Director of the Office Management and Budget (Lance) to President Carter: Reorganization of State Department’s Exchange Program, the U.S. Information Agency, and Related Programs*, Washington, August 26, 1977; FRUS 1977-1980, vol. xxx, Public Diplomacy, doc. 181.

¹⁰⁴ Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 483, 515-516.

¹⁰⁵ Cull and Geran Pilon, “Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy,” 558.

¹⁰⁶ Ronald Reagan Library, White House Office of Records Management, Box, subject file FG 298, 032656, *Wick to Frey (OMB)*, 7 July 1981.

acronym caused damaging confusion abroad, referencing a situation in which agency employees were taken hostage in Iran because their captors confused “ICA” with the CIA.¹⁰⁷ Beyond restoring its recognizable identity, the Reagan administration and Wick strategically elevated the agency – already in 1982 the USIA’s reputation was restored and it was making what Cull described as “satisfactory progress” and especially later in supporting major initiatives, such as the Strategic Defense Initiative and signing the National Security Decision Directive (NSDD) 77 (to strengthen U.S. public diplomacy) in 1983.¹⁰⁸ The NSDD 77 directive integrated the USIA into the core of the decision-making process by establishing it within the White House, it established a Special Planning Group (SPG) at the NSC level to “oversee the development and implementation of all public diplomacy,” as well as an International Broadcasting Committee.¹⁰⁹ This marked a reinvigoration of American public diplomacy in the 1980s.

“Satisfactory progress” was not made in Poland, however. The Polish crisis of the early 1980s became the central test for American policy in Eastern Europe, shaping not only Washington’s relations with Warsaw but also with the entire Soviet bloc., and even questioning whether the long-term goals of non-confrontational increased contact for “evolutionary change” should be abandoned.¹¹⁰ U.S. officials viewed the developments in Poland as unprecedented, with a mass movement emerging with nearly ten million members, backed by the Catholic Church, private farmers, and intellectuals, creating what one White House memorandum called “a fundamental, long-term threat to Communist totalitarianism” and to the cohesion of the Warsaw Pact itself.¹¹¹ Between 1982 and 1983 Warsaw suspended a number of programs and restricted relations with the US in the fields of culture and science, suspending visas for USIA employees and announcing the suspension of cooperation with all organizations that pursue an “anti-Polish policy.”¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ Ronald Reagan Library, White House Office of Records Management, Box, subject file FG 298, 032656.

¹⁰⁸ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 419; Cull and Geran Pilon, “Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy,” 558.

¹⁰⁹ Cull and Geran Pilon, “Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy,” 558-559.

¹¹⁰ FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. XXVII, Western Europe, doc. 282, *Telegram From Secretary of State Muskie’s Delegation to the Department of State*, Sector 10021, London, December 13, 1980, 1001z. See: Tyszkiewicz, “W zamrożeniu: 1981-1988,” in *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 454-520.; FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. XXVII, Western Europe, doc. 147, *Telegram From the Embassy in the Federal Republic of Germany to the Department of State*, Bonn, December 19, 1980, 1758Z.

¹¹¹ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 80, *Memorandum From the President’s Assistant for the National Security Affairs (Allen) to Secretary of State Haig*, Subject: Romania, Washington, September 21, 1981.

¹¹² Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 479.

This did not stop the American side from conducting information activities in favor of Poland. For example, at the request of the USIA, Belgian radio and television broadcast a film of an international conference organized by *the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions* in Brussels on the second anniversary of the registration of *Solidarność*, which was also broadcast by the USIA to Latin America; They also produced and distributed a 50-minute chronicle entitled “Crisis in Poland” and VOA was broadcasting reports on the situation in Poland.¹¹³

CIA assessments indicated that the unrest in Poland had encouraged dissent elsewhere, ranging from the peace movement in East Germany to the broader questioning of the legitimacy of communism.¹¹⁴ State Department officials concluded that, despite intense pressure from the Soviet Union, Poland’s “fundamental refusal to accept the Soviet-imposed political system” set it apart from other bloc states and determined that U.S. policy should promote “evolution within Poland along the lines of Kadar’s Hungary as opposed to Husák’s Czechoslovakia.”¹¹⁵ Despite repression, officials insisted that Poland’s example demonstrated “the weakness of the existing system” and inspired the West to pursue “a new offensive using all of the economic, cultural, and ideological weapons in our arsenal.”¹¹⁶ Thus, the Reagan administration kept to the “step-by-step” framework established after martial law, which called for the gradual relaxation of sanctions in response to genuine liberalization measures.¹¹⁷ The policy was clear – support the Catholic Church’s foundation to strengthen private agriculture, leverage sanctions to promote “national reconciliation, particularly union pluralism,” and consider enhanced political dialogue, but only if Warsaw demonstrated real progress.¹¹⁸

¹¹³ Ibidem, 481-482.

¹¹⁴ FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. XXVII, Western Europe, doc. 146, *Memorandum of Conversation: Summary of the President’s Luncheon Meeting with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt*, Washington, November 20, 1980, 12:12-1:20p.m.; FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 259, *Intelligence Assessment Prepared in the Central Intelligence Agency, EUR 83-10129C, Subject: East Germany: A political Prognosis*, Washington, May 1983.

¹¹⁵ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 22, *Information Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs (Burt) to Secretary of State Shultz, Subject: U.S. Policy Toward Eastern Europe: Difficulties and Opportunities*, Washington, October 25, 1983.; FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. XLIV, Part 1, National Security Policy, 1985-1988, doc. 21, *National Security Decision Directive 161: Soviet Noncompliance with Arms Control Agreements*, Washington, February 6, 1985.

¹¹⁶ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 22, *Information Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs (Burt) to Secretary of State Shultz, Subject: U.S. Policy Toward Eastern Europe: Difficulties and Opportunities*, Washington, October 25, 1983.

¹¹⁷ See: Tyszkiewicz, “Krok po kroku,” in *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 485-492.

¹¹⁸ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 31, *Action Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs (Burt) to Secretary of State Shultz, Subject: Action Plan for Eastern Europe and the GDR*, Washington, September 29, 1984.

It was not until October 1986, after the release of all political prisoners in the People's Republic of Poland, that, in accordance with the suggestion of the State Department, Polish diplomats regained access to the higher echelons of the American government, and talks were also to begin on renewing the agreement on cooperation in the field of science and technology.¹¹⁹ By 1987, the U.S. had lifted most sanctions, yet a central dispute over restrictions on USIA programs persisted. American officials regarded information and cultural exchanges as vital tools of influence and as rights guaranteed under the Vienna Convention and the Helsinki Final Act,¹²⁰ but the Polish government limited the distribution of USIA publications and blocked exhibitions. Internal memoranda emphasized that “restoration of U.S. information and cultural activities should be an integral part of the normalization in [U.S.-Polish] bilateral relations” and warned that “further progress in Polish-American relations cannot be made without full normalization of bilateral cultural and information exchanges.”¹²¹

By late 1988, much of the cultural and information exchanges were restored and Washington had recognized that profound change was underway. At a National Security Planning Group meeting in October, CIA Director William Webster emphasized that, unlike in the Soviet Union, where reform came from above, in the Eastern Europe “the push for change... came from below;” Poland, he observed, offered “the best chances for change,” with roundtable negotiations under discussion between the government and Solidarity, “a kind of constitutional convention.”¹²² Deputy Secretary John Whitehead, fresh from Warsaw, where he had also met with Walesa, reported that new Prime Minister Mieczysław Rakowski had offered cabinet posts to non-Communists and even to Solidarity, though the latter refused

¹¹⁹ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 511-512.

¹²⁰ The Helsinki Act of 1975 was a significant agreement signed by 35 countries, including all European nations, the United States, and Canada, aiming to reduce tensions between the Soviet bloc and the West by recognizing post-World War II borders and committing to human rights, fundamental freedoms, and cooperation in economic, scientific, and humanitarian areas. Although non-binding, the Final Act provided a framework for international dialogue and the protection of human rights, inspiring dissidents and democrats in Eastern Europe. The importance of the Helsinki Act is stressed both by scholarship and USIA officers that served behind the Iron Curtain; Dick Virden, interviewed by author, December 2024.; See: Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 661-662.; FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. XLIV, Part 1, National Security Policy, 1985-1988, doc. 21, *National Security Decision Directive 161*.

¹²¹ Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I, 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Folder 8705780, *From Secretary of State to Embassy Warsaw: USIA in Poland: Demarche on Polish Programs*, August 4, 1987; Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I, 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Folder 8705780, *Memorandum from Marvin L. Stone, Acting Director, for the Honorable Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the White House, Subject: Polish Government Restrictions on USIA Programs*, August 3, 1987.

¹²² FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 61, *Memorandum to the File, Subject: Eastern Europe: NSPG Meeting October 25*, Washington, November 4, 1988.

them pending systemic reform.¹²³ “Pluralism was beginning to take place,” Whitehead told his colleagues, suggesting that the U.S.’s “step-by-step” policy¹²⁴ – linking progress on human rights and reform to economic engagement – was beginning to bear fruit.¹²⁵

Internal policy reviews echoed this sense of a historic opportunity.¹²⁶ A June 1988 National Security Council memorandum stated that U.S. discussions with Moscow must encompass Eastern Europe, emphasizing that “over the past 40 years, no one area or set of issues has so consistently soured U.S.-Soviet relations as Eastern Europe;” Regarding Poland, where a “new era of ferment” was underway, Washington sought to encourage diversity and independence without implying acceptance of Soviet hegemony.¹²⁷ By the end of 1988, senior U.S. diplomats had concluded that the Eastern Bloc regimes, including Poland’s, were being “forced toward political change in order to make economic reform work.”¹²⁸ The initiation of roundtable talks with Solidarity signified, according to Deputy Assistant Secretary Tom Simons, “the exhaustion of small-step political reform and acceptance of the risk of direct talks with Solidarity.”¹²⁹

The 1989 political changes were widely celebrated as a triumph of U.S. public diplomacy,¹³⁰ with USIA being influential in the birth of the new political order in Eastern Europe, yet this did not strengthen the USIA’s importance in the eyes of policymakers and legislators – “on the contrary, senators seeking a peace dividend increasingly viewed USIA as

¹²³ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 416, *Telegram From the Embassy in Bulgaria to the Department of State, 538/Depot 10039, Subject: Deputy Secretary Whitehead’s Meeting With Charter 77 and Other Human Rights Activists and Visit to Old Jewish Quarter*, Sofia, February 5, 1987, 2223Z.; FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 61.

¹²⁴ See: Tyszkiewicz, “Krok po kroku,” in *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 485-492.

¹²⁵ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 61.

¹²⁶ It is crucial to acknowledge that, although many new documents were released in the Summer 2025, a significant portion of the internal communications of the U.S. government regarding Poland, spanning both the Reagan administration and the subsequent period under President Bush, remains classified. Even in the declassified documents discussed in this thesis, significant sections regarding Poland are withheld, while material on other Eastern European countries is more fully available. Consequently, our current understanding of American perceptions, debates, and the atmosphere of decision-making is incomplete. The full scope of Washington’s internal deliberations about Poland during these pivotal years in the U.S.-Polish history remains an untold story, waiting to be uncovered as more files are declassified in the future.

¹²⁷ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 59, *Memorandum From Nelson Ledsky and Peter Rodman of the National Security Council Staff to the President’s Assistant for National Security Affairs (Powell), Subject: Discussing Eastern Europe with the Soviets*, Washington, June 23, 1988.

¹²⁸ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 62, *Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassies in Hungary, Romania, the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Poland, 355003, Subject: Eastern European Overview: DAS Simons Presentation to Berlin COM Conference*, Washington, October 31, 1988, 2051Z.

¹²⁹ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 62.

¹³⁰ For a detailed study on American media responses to Polish 1947 and 1989 elections, see: Mazurkiewicz, “*Wolne i Nieskrępowane*”? *Prasa Amerykańska Wobec Wyborów w Polsce w Latach 1947 i 1989* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2010).

a relic of the past.”¹³¹ Furthermore, internal disputes weakened the USIA, and many specialists embraced the idea of an “end of history;” Consequently, ideological conflict was viewed as an outdated and unnecessary expense.¹³²

In the final decade of the agency, the bureaucratic, political, and ideological shifts culminated in significant cutbacks – particularly detrimental in the Middle East -and eventually led to the agency’s dissolution.¹³³ According to Cull, this absorption represented a shift away from a cohesive, deliberate public diplomacy strategy – he highlights this shift by referencing the 9/11 attacks as a stark example of America’s deteriorating global image, describing the “smoking ruins in New York” as “abundant evidence of widespread mistrust of the United States around the world.”¹³⁴

By 1999, the agency still operated 190 USIS posts in 142 countries, staffed by 520 Officers, 2,521 Foreign Service Nationals (FSN) hired locally, and with a budget of over \$1.1 billion.¹³⁵ The officers worked in embassies, consulates, and USIS libraries, engaging foreign audiences with materials and programs reflecting American ideals, policies, and culture. The USIA operated with a high degree of independence – maintained its own recruitment, assignments, and career tracks (distinct from the State Department).

In the final decade of the agency, the bureaucratic, political, and ideological shifts culminated in significant cutbacks – particularly detrimental in the Middle East -and eventually led to the agency’s dissolution.¹³⁶ This absorption represented a shift away from a cohesive, deliberate public diplomacy strategy – Cull highlights this shift by referencing the 9/11 attacks as a stark example of America’s deteriorating global image, describing the “smoking ruins in New York” as “abundant evidence of widespread mistrust of the United

¹³¹ Cull and Geran Pilon, “Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy,” 560; Cull, “Speeding the Strange Death of American Public Diplomacy: The George H. W. Bush Administration and the U.S. Information Agency,” *Diplomatic History*, vo. 34, no. 1 (Oxford University Press, 2010): 47-69.

¹³² Cull and Geran Pilon, “Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy.”

¹³³ Cull, *The Decline and Fall of the United States Information Agency*.

¹³⁴ Ibidem, 189; For more on American foreign policy and public diplomacy after 9/11 See: R.S. Zaharna, *Battles to Bridges: U.S. Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy after 9/11* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Scott Laderman and Tim Gruenewald, *Imperial Benevolence: U.S. Foreign Policy and American Popular Culture Since 9/11* (University of California Press, 2018); Liam Kennedy and Scott Lucas, “Enduring Freedom: Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Policy,” *American Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 2 (John Hopkins University Press, 2005): 309-333; Jadwiga Kiwerska, “Ameryka w walce z terroryzmem,” in *Światowe Przywództwo Ameryki w XXI Wieku* (Instytut Zachodni, 2015): 43-70.

¹³⁵ USIA Budget in United States Information Agency, *Fact Sheet*, Washington, D.C., February 1999, <http://dosfan.lib.uic.edu/usia/usiahome/factshe.htm>.

¹³⁶ Cull, *The Decline and Fall of the United States Information Agency*.

States around the world.”¹³⁷ In the 21st century, though American economic and technological capabilities seem strong despite the “surfacing financial and economic problems,” American political impact in the world, and thus, American power, had significantly declined.¹³⁸

The Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998, enacted during Bill Clinton’s presidency, mandated that most of the USIA’s functions be absorbed into the U.S. Department of State, effective October 1, 1999.¹³⁹ The agency’s responsibilities were divided between the Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) (the broadcasting function) and the Under Secretary for Public Affairs and Public Diplomacy within the State Department (the information and exchange functions).¹⁴⁰ Transferred to State Department (not fired), many of the former employees still regard the dissolution of the agency as a great loss for American public diplomacy.¹⁴¹ The dissolution of the USIA, thus, symbolized not only the end of a Cold War institution, but also the loss of a long-term, dedicated and highly successful mechanism for the U.S. government to engage global publics.

1.2. Telling America’s Story to the World

“Telling America’s story to the world” was more than a slogan. In Cold War Poland, it was an integrated strategy blending information, education, and culture to present U.S. ideals in a relatable and appealing way behind the Iron Curtain. While it is beyond this study to provide both USIA’s global and Polish-specific programming in 1953-1999, this subchapter traces the USIA’s engagement through three interconnected pillars, referencing the Polish case.

First, international broadcasting included the Voice of America’s Polish-language section with film libraries and, later, satellite television, which used credible news and culturally resonant programming to widen access beyond shortwave. Second are exchange programs, from the Fulbright Program and the International Visitor Program to summer language school, and the growth of American studies – programs which built dense person-to-person networks that outlasted political cycles. Third, cultural diplomacy, including

¹³⁷ Ibidem, 189; For more on American foreign policy and public diplomacy after 9/11 See: Zaharna, *Battles to Bridges*; Laderman and Gruenewald, *Imperial Benevolence*; and Liam Kennedy and Scott Lucas, “Enduring Freedom: Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Policy.”

¹³⁸ Jadwiga Kiwerska, “The United States in the World of Diversified Powers,” *Przegląd Zachodni*, no. 2 (2013): 32.

¹³⁹ Public Law 105-277; William J. Clinton, Executive Order 13118—Implementation of the Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998, The American Presidency Project <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/229911>

¹⁴⁰ See: Cull and Geran Pilon, “Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy,” 543-642.

¹⁴¹ Estell, interview.

exhibitions, performing arts, and especially music, offered vivid, accessible encounters with American modernity.

While Johnson's 1953 report ending with 136 questions did not serve as the official basis for USIA's mission,¹⁴² as discussed previously, some of the dilemmas included seem particularly interesting for the agency's programming overview:

1. Is the character and content of the information program shaped primarily by target requirements or by media potentialities?
2. Is American cultural achievement substantial enough to provide an effective propaganda weapon in advanced and sophisticated countries, or does USIA's program in the arts have only the defensive purpose of offsetting unfavorable stereotypes of American culture?
3. Do the moral and spiritual values of American life make a suitable and effective subject for USIA in making people more favorable to America?
4. Should the program accurately reflect all aspects of life in America, or should it selectively emphasize favorable aspects?
5. Should USIA dramatize the differences between the Communist and Free World sides by painting a 'black-and-white' picture, or should it show 'differing shades of gray'?
6. Do the peoples of the satellites want liberation at the risk of war? How much hope of liberation should be held out to them?¹⁴³

Choices guided by these questions collectively would determine the USIA programming's focus, highlighting, targeting, and messaging, as well as its alignment with broader foreign policy while achieving maximum impact and maintaining audience's trust.

1.2.1. International Broadcasting

During both World Wars, the United States established institutions to promote wartime information and propaganda – in World War I, the Committee on Public Information, established in April 1917 and led by George Creel, coordinated these efforts, and in World War II, the OWI, created on June 13, 1942, under Elmer Davis, and the Voice of America (VOA),¹⁴⁴ founded on February 1, 1942, with regular broadcasting beginning on July 13, 1942, took the lead.¹⁴⁵ The VOA Polish service begun in 1942 and was an open, public,

¹⁴² Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy Polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 84.

¹⁴³ Bogart, *Cool Words, Cold War*, 229-236.

¹⁴⁴ For a comprehensive study of Voice of America, see: Alan L. Heil, Jr. *Voice of America: A History* (Columbia University Press, 1893).

¹⁴⁵ Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 123, 207.

government broadcast.¹⁴⁶ On August 31, 1945, the president transferred the overseas information functions of the OWI to the Department of State and in the immediate postwar period,¹⁴⁷ VOA faced a crisis when budget cuts reduced its output from 118 programs in 32 languages to 64 in 24; On December 31, 1945, VOA was placed under the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (OIC) of the State Department.¹⁴⁸ The United States then pursued new information campaigns and VOA drew sharp criticism from several quarters, such as critics such as Walter Lippmann condemning it a “propaganda machine,” thus, many argued that it would not have survived without the onset of the Cold War and radio’s usefulness in that struggle.¹⁴⁹

As early as in 1951, the Soviet Council of Ministers formally approved jamming Western Polish-language broadcasts, including VOA, labeling them “anti-Polish propaganda” and a threat to socialist stability in the region, simultaneously revealing Moscow’s early recognition of the strategic importance of controlling the information environment in Poland during the Cold War.¹⁵⁰ For example, during the 1952 U.S. congressional inquiry into the Katyn Massacre that provided clear evidence of Soviet guilt, VOA devoted substantial airtime to the story, which compelled the regime to issue defensive counter-statements, demonstrating VOA’s ability to effectively influence the situation when necessary.¹⁵¹

Taken over by USIA, VOA reduced its programs from 41 to 34 languages, with 42% of broadcasts consisting of regular news and the rest consisting of analysis.¹⁵² Program changes were made and the head of the Polish section, as well as the managers of other sections, were prohibited from broadcasting information and commentaries about the satellite states.¹⁵³ The prime targets for VOA Cold War broadcasting were “the denied areas,” that is,

¹⁴⁶ Andrzej Antoszek and Kate Delaney, “Poland: Transmissions and Translations,” in *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and the Anti-Americanism after 1945*, ed. by Alexander Stephan (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2007), 220.

¹⁴⁷ For a detailed account of early post-war broadcasts of Radio Berlin and the Polish Radio, see: Anne Applebaum, “Radio” in *Za Żelazną Kurtyną*, trans. by Barbara Gadowska (Wydawnictwo Agora, 2012), 218-234.

¹⁴⁸ Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 363.

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁰ “USSR Council of Ministers Decree Instituting Jamming of Anti-Polish Propaganda via Radio on Polish Territory”, October 24, 1951, Wilson Center Digital Archive, State Archive of the Russian Federation, GARF, F. 5446, Op. 59, D. 1724, p. 12. Translated by Gary Goldberg.; “Report to USSR Minister of Communications on Western Broadcasts to Poland”, September 15, 1951, Wilson Center Digital Archive, State Archive of the Russian Federation, GARF, F. 5446, Op. 59, D. 1725, pp. 6-3 [sic].

¹⁵¹ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 64.

¹⁵² Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 363.

¹⁵³ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 175.

the Soviet Union, China, and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe.¹⁵⁴ As the official broadcasting arm of the U.S. government, VOA played a significant and evolving role in U.S. efforts to reach Polish audiences throughout the Cold War. Although VOA was a key element of public diplomacy, it operated distinctly from other U.S.-backed stations, which often employed more overt propaganda.¹⁵⁵ VOA offered a blend of straight news and political commentary aligned with U.S. policies, while CIA-funded radio stations, like RFE (CIA-funded until 1971), broadcasted more aggressive messaging under the guise of local liberation movements.¹⁵⁶

By the mid-1950s, the VOA network was broadcasting in over 40 languages and targeting key regions in Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa with content blending news, American culture, and ideological messaging.¹⁵⁷ Washington believed that the “battle for hearts and minds” required consistent, high-quality messaging from a centralized agency – a belief clearly reflected in the scale and ambition in the agency’s broadcasting endeavors – VOA was listened to on average by over 100 million people weekly in the Cold War years.¹⁵⁸ Although VOA did report on the riots in Poznań,¹⁵⁹ following the political thaw of 1956, the broadcasts were no longer intensely jammed by the Polish government, which saved \$17.5 million and allowed greater access to American-produced content, including a documentary on the presidential election that was aired on Polish television.¹⁶⁰

Among VOA’s most fruitful endeavors to engage with Eastern European listeners, including Poles, was the beloved jazz program *Music USA*, hosted by Willis Conover six nights, starting on January 6, 1955.¹⁶¹ Conover’s nightly broadcasts became a cultural lifeline for those living behind the Iron Curtain. In Poland, as elsewhere in the region, people instantly recognized Conover’s voice and deeply associated it with American freedom, modernity, and creativity. Conover’s show elevated listenership not only across the Eastern

¹⁵⁴ Hans N. Tuch, *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas* (Georgetown University, 1990): 92.

¹⁵⁵ For a detailed account on the Polish section of Radio Free Europe, see: Jan Nowak Jeziorański. *Wojna w Eeterze*. (Wydawnictwo Znak, 2000); Rafał Habielski and Paweł Machcewicz. *Rozgłośnia Polska Radia Wolna Europa w latach 1950-1975*. (Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 2018).

¹⁵⁶ Tim Weiner. *The Folly and the Glory: America, Russia, and Political Warfare 1945-2020* (Henry Holt and Company, 2020): 39.

¹⁵⁷ Krugler, *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945-1953* (University of Missouri Press, 2000), 139; Mania, *Department of State i Foreign Service*, 363.

¹⁵⁸ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 4.

¹⁵⁹ Heil, Jr. *Voice of America*, 65.

¹⁶⁰ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 131.

¹⁶¹ Antoszek and Delaney, “Poland: Transmissions and Translations,” 220; Dizard Jr. *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 70.

Bloc but also globally – his encyclopedic knowledge of jazz, his explanations of the meanings behind American songs, his on-air elegance, and his interviews with popular artists gave him legendary status in Eastern Europe that far exceeded his recognition in the U.S. – “Willis Conover was the most influential single USIA employee in reaching out to overseas audiences, especially younger people, about American ideas and values.”¹⁶² As former Warsaw embassy officer David J. Fischer recalled, “Everyone – and I mean everyone who counted – listened to that program.”¹⁶³

However, debates over the tone and credibility of VOA persisted within the U.S. government. During the early years of *Music USA*, the effectiveness of VOA in Eastern Europe was evaluated by the NSC and Arthur Flemming, the director of the Office of Defense Mobilization and a Rockefeller Committee member, criticized VOA’s lack of influence compared to the BBC.¹⁶⁴ President Eisenhower pushed back, warning against the combination of propaganda and factual news, and arguing that once the VOA lost its credibility, people would no longer trust it, even in emergencies.¹⁶⁵

Eisenhower’s stance helped establish the long-standing policy that the VOA should strive for objectivity, accuracy, and credibility. This policy was eventually formalized in the VOA Charter, promulgated in 1960 (written into law in 1976, Public Law 94-350), which required the broadcaster to serve as a reliable source of news, represent the diversity of American life, and provide balanced coverage of U.S. policy.¹⁶⁶ Endorsing the Charter’s mandate in 1962, Edward R. Murrow stated: “The Voice of America stands upon this above all: The truth shall be the guide. Truth may help us. It may hurt us. But we shall never be free without knowing the truth.”¹⁶⁷ This principle enabled the USIA to claim the moral and journalistic high ground over communist propaganda outlets, thereby reinforcing trust among listeners.

Following the Cuban Missile Crisis, on 23 October 1962, the USIA used new communications satellites Telstar to broadcast Kennedy’s speech to Europe and on 25 October, VOA “mounted a ‘Truth Barrage’ using fifty-two transmitters and 4,331,000 watts

¹⁶² Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*.

¹⁶³ Weiner, *The Folly and the Glory*, 100.

¹⁶⁴ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 108.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶⁶ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 87-88.

¹⁶⁷ As Tuch explains, “a formal statement of principles to guide VOA was commissioned in 1959 by VOA Director Henry Loomis and approved in 1960 by USIA Director George V. Allen, who had it issued as a VOA directive. By the time Edward R. Murrow endorsed it in late 1962, the directive had become known as the VOA Charter”; Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 87-98.

of power to send Kennedy's speech ... in 10 Eastern Bloc languages deep into the Soviet Sphere," showcasing along the way their growing technical capabilities.¹⁶⁸ Kennedy, a proponent of VOA's mission, reaffirmed the radio's commitment to authenticity on its 20th anniversary: "The news may be good or bad. We shall tell the truth."¹⁶⁹ Additionally, in the 1960s, VOA employed a strategic approach that gave it a distinct advantage over its competitors in international broadcasting.¹⁷⁰ Instead of depending exclusively on shortwave transmissions, VOA developed tape recordings of news, commentary, and programs that communicated U.S. policies and viewpoints, which were then distributed to radio station managers for local broadcasting.¹⁷¹ As a result, listeners tuning in to their national radio stations could encounter VOA-produced content seamlessly integrated into domestic programming, thereby broadening their reach and the subtle influence of U.S. messaging.

Yet, VOA was not immune to harsh criticism. During the height of the Cold War, hardliners in Washington often considered it too lenient, especially in comparison to RFE and Radio Liberty (RL), which were intended to deliver more aggressive anti-communist content.¹⁷² Within the VOA, only some émigré staff members from Eastern Europe, haunted by memories of repression, infused the broadcasts with harsh anti-communist tones.¹⁷³ Although it was RFE that played a critical role in U.S. ideological operations,¹⁷⁴ the VOA service also gained attention with programs such as *West Berlin Today: A Refugee a Minute*,¹⁷⁵ a program that portrayed the human cost of the East and West divide, which was translated from German to Polish, Czech and Russian.¹⁷⁶ In practice, VOA constantly negotiated the balance between objectivity and government messaging. Especially during crises such as the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, VOA's response was carefully measured and balanced. Although it expanded regional language services and condemned Soviet actions, U.S. policymakers insisted on avoiding overt Cold War rhetoric and

¹⁶⁸ Cull, "The Cuban Missile Crisis," in *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 215.

¹⁶⁹ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 206.

¹⁷⁰ FRUS 1917-1972, vol. vii, Public Diplomacy, 1964-1968, doc. 106, *Minutes of a Meeting of the President's General Advisory Committee on Foreign Assistance Programs: USIA*, Washington, September 12, 1966.

¹⁷¹ FRUS 1917-1972, vol. vii, Public Diplomacy, 1964-1968, doc. 106.

¹⁷² Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 142-143.

¹⁷³ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 22.

¹⁷⁴ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*.

¹⁷⁵ See: Mazurkiewicz, "Political Emigration from East Central Europe During the Cold War," *Polish American Studies*, vol. 72, no. 2 (University of Illinois Press, 2015): 65-82.

¹⁷⁶ For Polish RWE sections' Jan Nowak-Jeziorański's account on the RWE auditions of Józef Światło "Za kulisami bezpieki i partii", see: Nowak-Jeziorański, "Rewelacje Józefa Światły," in *Wojna w Eterze*, 135-156; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 200.

maintaining cultural exchanges with the Eastern Bloc, signaling a continued commitment to “bridge-building.”¹⁷⁷

Although VOA English was broadcasted 16 hours a day in Eastern Europe, it was logistically challenging to broadcast into Poland.¹⁷⁸ Its programs were mostly available only on shortwave frequencies, which were often difficult to tune and vulnerable to atmospheric interference, and daily broadcast time in local languages was limited to a couple of hours at most.¹⁷⁹ According to the Soviet officials, the daily number of “anti-Polish broadcasts” was 30, 13 of which were from VOA, (RFE was also highlighted)– “exceptionally hostile in nature and directed against the current political system of the Polish republic.”¹⁸⁰ Access was further restricted through jamming by the Soviets, although it was not as harsh as in the case of RFE.¹⁸¹ Paradoxically, partial jamming made the VOA more appealing to the (also Polish) listeners who associated it with forbidden information.¹⁸² Nevertheless, technological advances significantly expanded VOA’s reach and by the 1960s, medium-wave transmitters in Munich helped reach Polish audiences more effectively.¹⁸³

By the 1970s and 1980s, VOA’s broad reach was also confirmed by audience research. Internal estimates placed its global daily audience at 50 million, approximately 10 million of whom, according to the CIA, were in the Eastern Bloc.¹⁸⁴ Although VOA’s audience research unit was smaller than those of the BBC and RFE, it collected data and shared insights with other Western broadcasters and U.S. intelligence services.¹⁸⁵

Significant changes took place in the late 1980s as jamming of Western broadcasters was gradually phased out in Eastern Europe. This, alongside more advanced technology, allowed VOA to offer more dynamic programming, including live call-in shows and partnerships with local stations. Notably, Radio Warsaw began airing daily VOA newscasts in

¹⁷⁷ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 291.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem, 154.

¹⁷⁹ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 135.

¹⁸⁰ “Report to USSR Minister of Communications on Western Broadcasts to Poland”, September 15, 1951, Wilson Center Digital Archive, State Archive of the Russian Federation, GARF, F. 5446, Op. 59, D. 1725, pp. 6-3 [sic].

¹⁸¹ The Polish authorities were not jamming VOA – Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 190; For a detailed account on the Polish officials’ fight against Radio Free Europe, see: Machcewicz, “*Monachijska Menażeria*” *Walka z Radiem Wolna Europa* (Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2007).

¹⁸² Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 175-176; For an account on the receptive audiences of Western broadcasts in Poland, see: Mazurkiewicz and Anna Podciborska. “‘I wanted to Know the Truth’: Listeners to Western Radio Broadcasts in Poland during the Cold War: A Pilot Study,” in *Cold War Europe: A Space of Communication*, Ed. Tobias Nanz and Hedwig Wagner (De Gruyter, 2024), 179-196.

¹⁸³ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 95.

¹⁸⁴ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 175-76.

¹⁸⁵ Ibidem, 487.

both English and Polish.¹⁸⁶ In 1989, VOA and Radio Warsaw launched an innovative program in which Polish callers asked questions about market economy practices that were answered live by Polish-speaking experts in the U.S.¹⁸⁷ Another landmark moment occurred when Lech Wałęsa delivered his historic address to the U.S. Congress on November 15, 1989,¹⁸⁸ which was broadcast live to Poland via VOA and followed by a transatlantic discussion involving Polish and American citizens in Washington, Chicago, Warsaw, and Katowice.¹⁸⁹

By the late 1990s, U.S. international broadcasting had grown into a vast, multilingual enterprise – according to *The USIA Program and Budget in Brief for Fiscal Year 1999*, VOA produced approximately 660 hours of programming each week in 53 languages.¹⁹⁰ Its record broadcasts to Cuba included 24 hours of radio and 4.5 hours of television programming in Spanish each day.¹⁹¹ Meanwhile, surrogate broadcasters such as Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) transmitted over 500 hours per week in 23 languages to audiences in Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, Iran, Iraq, and the Newly Independent States (NIS).¹⁹² Despite its limitations and occasional controversies, VOA was an essential component of U.S. public diplomacy in Poland throughout the Cold War. Its credibility, especially when compared to more polemical outlets, helped it survive and adapt to changing political contexts. In the words of Edward R. Murrow, it served as a platform guided above all by truth.¹⁹³

From its early years, USIA for its public diplomacy efforts recognized not only the importance of radio, but that of film and audiovisual materials as well.¹⁹⁴ The audiovisual output of USIA, with nearly 20,000 titles and without legal basis for domestic distribution

¹⁸⁶ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 208.

¹⁸⁷ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 92-93.

¹⁸⁸ See: Agnieszka Budzyńska-Daca, “Wałęsa i Havel w Kongresie USA – Wielkie Mowy Początków Transformacji” in *Dyskursy Polityczne w Polsce i Czechach Po Roku 1989. Gatunki, Strategie Komunikacyjne, Wizerunki Medialne*, ed. By Agnieszka Budzyńska-Daca and Renata Rusin Dybalska (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2022), 15-41; Cezar M. Omatowski, “‘I Leapt over the Wall and They Made Me President’: Historical Context, Rhetorical Agency and the Amazing Career of Lech Wałęsa,” *Advances in the History of Rhetoric*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Penn State University Press, 2005): 155-192.

¹⁸⁹ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 93.

¹⁹⁰ USIA, *USIA Program and Budget in Brief, Fiscal Year 1999*, 3.

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁹² See: A. Ross Johnson and R. Eugene Parta. *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe* (Central European University Press, 2010); Arch Puddington. *Rozgłoszenie Wolności: Tryumf Radia Wolna Europa I Radia Swoboda w zimnej wojnie* (Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 2009); USIA, *USIA Program and Budget in Brief, Fiscal Year 1999*, 3.

¹⁹³ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 88; See: Michał Karbowski, “Edward R. Murrow – postać amerykańskiej dyplomacji publicznej,” in *Historia w Dyplomacji Publicznej*, ed. Beata Ociepka (Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar Sp. Zo.o., 2015), 31-46.

¹⁹⁴ See: Cull, “Film As Public Diplomacy: The USIA’s Cold War at Twenty-Four Frames Per Second,” in *The United States and Public Diplomacy: New Directions in Cultural and International History*, ed. By Kenneth A. Osgood and Brian C. Etheridge (Brill, 2010), 257-284.

until the 1990s, was multi-genre, as well as “thematically and stylistically heterogeneous.”¹⁹⁵ By the early 1950s, the agency had amassed what was then the world’s largest library of documentary films, acquiring content from a wide variety of sources – the agency’s film inventory included a significant number of productions created under contract by U.S. commercial film companies, accounting for about 40% of the total, and the any others were produced abroad by USIS posts, utilizing local commercial facilities or, in larger locations, the in-house production units.¹⁹⁶ As early as 1953, the global reach of USIA film distribution was staggering, with the agency claiming an annual audience of 500 million worldwide and maintaining 210 film libraries abroad.¹⁹⁷ With a stockpile of 6,000 projectors and 350 mobile movie units, USIS posts had the logistical foundation to bring film to the people, especially in areas with limited access to commercial screenings.¹⁹⁸

The USIA was also broadcasting television content abroad already in 1954, and with programs such as *This Is the United States*, which showcased American history and landscapes, as well as weekly news features, were broadcasted by 24 stations in 19 countries.¹⁹⁹ The VOA oversaw the television division, but the lines between broadcast and visual propaganda were often blurred.²⁰⁰ The regular monthly newsreel *Our Times* introduced in 1954, was translated into 31 languages and screened in 84 countries, highlighting current events relevant to U.S. policy.²⁰¹ These films could be divided into two categories: those designed to expose Communist propaganda and those intended to promote American foreign policy objectives. For instance, *My Latvia* used authentic footage to document Soviet repression, and *An Unpleasant Subject* depicted atrocities committed by Communist forces during the Korean War.²⁰² Another notable example is *Poles Are Stubborn People*, the film that told the stories of “the two defectors Korowics and Hajdukiewics,” focusing on Polish resistance to Soviet domination.²⁰³

¹⁹⁵ Hadi Gharabaghi and Bret Vukoder, “The Motion Pictures of the United States Information Agency: Studying a Global Film and Television Operation,” *Journal of e-Media Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Dartmouth College, 2022): 1-37, DOI: 10.1349/PS1.1938-6060.A.475.

¹⁹⁶ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 168.

¹⁹⁷ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 108.

¹⁹⁸ Ibidem, 108-109.

¹⁹⁹ USIA, *2nd Review of Operations*, Jan–June 1954, 12–13; also qtd. in Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 111.

²⁰⁰ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*.

²⁰¹ Ibidem, 108-109.

²⁰² Ibidem, 109.

²⁰³ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 168; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 108-9; Cull seems to be using Americanized spelling “Korowics and Hajdukiewics,” Polish surnames should be spelled as *Korowicz* and *Hajdukiewicz*.

Since 1954, more than two-thirds of anti-communist films were produced locally at USIS posts, utilizing regional settings and talent, thus, much of the USIA's film production was decentralized. In the first half of 1956 alone, posts produced 65 documentary and feature films along with 100 newsreels, while the agency only centrally produced nine documentaries in Washington.²⁰⁴ These practices allowed for cultural localization and increased resonance with foreign audiences, including those in Eastern Bloc countries.²⁰⁵ Along with educational and cultural programming, the Washington-based film division also produced many shows focused on conveying U.S. foreign policy priorities, such as disarmament, peaceful uses of atomic energy, and criticism of communism.

Despite the scope and ambition of the audiovisual propaganda efforts, the USIA recognized the potential drawbacks of American visual culture abroad. In 1961, Edward R. Murrow, the USIA director during the Kennedy administration, was concerned about the portrayal of America in U.S. commercial films; Murrow pointed out that these films presented the nation in a negative light, depicting the country controlled by either wealth or crime.²⁰⁶ In response, he committed to elevating the standards of USIA film production and fortifying its alliance with the film industry, embarking on initiatives such as a film on Jacqueline Kennedy to redefine global perceptions.²⁰⁷ USIA shaped by Murrow used polished documentary films, such as *Nine from Little Rock*, through *Night of the Dragon* – considered the most propagandistic of all USIA's films (dir. Charles Guggenheim), to *Years of Lightning*, to promote U.S. policy abroad by spotlighting Civil Rights progress,²⁰⁸ scientific prowess, and presidential leadership.²⁰⁹ Following the Cuban Missile Crisis,²¹⁰ the USIA motion pictures made multiple film versions of Kennedy's crisis speech with a commentary on the developments of the situation to be distributed by the agency for television stations around the

²⁰⁴ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 109.

²⁰⁵ For a detailed account of USIA's film diplomacy, see: Cull, "Film as Public Diplomacy".

²⁰⁶ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 207.

²⁰⁷ Ibidem, 131.

²⁰⁸ The USIA attempted to address criticism regarding American race relations by creating film portraits of five renowned Black individuals, using their success stories as visual evidence that U.S. democracy fosters individual freedom and mobility. Melinda M. Schwenk's study contextualizes this tactic within the political landscape of the Cold War, demonstrating that the USIA relied heavily on Horatio Alger-style uplifting narratives and celebratory rhetoric when depicting African Americans. See: Melinda M. Schwenk, "'Negro Stars' and the USIA's Portrait of Democracy," *Race, Gender & Class*, vol. 8, no. 4 (2001): 116-139.

²⁰⁹ Richard Dyer MacCann, "Film and Foreign Policy: The USIA, 1962-67," *Cinema Journal*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1969): 33.

²¹⁰ For Cuban Missile Crisis' influence on U.S. domestic media reporting, see: Kelcie E. Fay, *Rewriting History: The Impact of the Cuban Missile Crisis on American Journalism* (Department of History, University of Kansas, 2018).

world.²¹¹ Beginning in 1963, the USIA expanded its broadcasting abilities by producing television programs for the first time and integrating them with its already substantial film services.²¹²

Although Johnson's "first USIA problem was the retirement of Murrow," the motion pictures division of USIA kept flourishing during the LBJ years.²¹³ One of the most widely acclaimed productions in the history of the USIA's film division was *John F. Kennedy: Years of Lightning, Day of Drums*, a documentary written and directed by the then-young Hollywood producer Bruce Herschensohn.²¹⁴ This cinematic work paid tribute to Kennedy's presidency through a poignant montage of pivotal addresses on Civil Rights, Berlin or the Cuban Missile Crisis, notable public appearances, policy achievements, and the national mourning following his assassination. Some of the scenes were quite unexpected, for instance, images of protesters outside the White House – attesting to America's "tolerance of dissent."²¹⁵ The film's emotional and symbolic resonance secured its status as the most acclaimed documentary ever produced and distributed by the USIA; Having seen the movie, a speaker of Iceland's parliament declared: "This is the only picture I have ever seen during which I wanted to cry,"²¹⁶ and in South Africa, the deputy-chief editor of the Johannesburg Star wrote: "This film makes one want to be American."²¹⁷ The film was quickly distributed commercially in over sixty countries and additionally shown by USIS posts in special screenings.²¹⁸ By the end of the year, the film had been screened in 114 countries, and its reach was further expanded through the production of 29 foreign-language versions; As of January 1965, the USIA had 352 copies in English in circulation, along with an additional 290 foreign-language prints that had either already been distributed or were awaiting delivery.²¹⁹

²¹¹ 19th Review of Operations, 1 July – 31 December 1962, 6-8.

²¹² U.S. International Broadcasting: Background and Issues for Reform, Congressional Research Service, Dec. 2016 <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/R43521.html>.

²¹³ Cull, "Auteurs of Ideology: USIA Documentary Film Propaganda in the Kennedy Era as Seen in Bruce Herschensohn's 'The Five Cities of June' (1963) and James Blue's 'The March' (1964)," *Film History*, vol. 10, no. 3 *The Cold War and the Movies* (1998): 306, 308.

²¹⁴ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 94-5.

²¹⁵ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 231.

²¹⁶ Qtd. in Dizard Jr. *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 95.

²¹⁷ Qtd. in Cull, "Film as Public Diplomacy," 270.

²¹⁸ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 167; See also: Amanda Laugesen, "American Publishers, Books, and the Global Cultural Cold War: Alfred A. Knopf Inc. and the United States Information Agency, 1953-1970," *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2016): 19-37.

²¹⁹ NARA RG 306 A1 (1066) USIA historical collection, box 157, Years of Lightning file, Memo to Carl Rowan, 16 November 1965, "CBS Interview" and memo for I/R, "response Newsweek inquiry," 22 January 1965.

By the mid-1960s, the USIA's International Motion Picture (IMG) program,²²⁰ implemented in Poland in February 1958, had subsidized nearly \$7 million worth of American books, films, newspapers, magazines, and other media in Communist Poland.²²¹ According to internal surveys, by 1965, USIA films, addressing U.S. foreign initiatives, covering topics such as the AID program, achievements in space exploration, American educational system, or "the efforts being made to rehabilitate the economy and people of Vietnam," were being used by over 2,000 television stations and reached a regular audience of approximately 350 million people across 120 countries.²²² Meanwhile, American television shows such as *Robin Hood* and *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* became the most popular series on Polish television, suggesting that USIA programming was highly influential.²²³

The sensitive role of the agency in influencing American film content was acknowledged by a secret internal USIA summary from the late 1960s. Although the USIA did not have complete control over commercial movies, it could influence the types of films screened under the IMG agreements with major U.S. film companies through which the agency operated in four countries, one of which was Poland.²²⁴ The agency tried to reduce negative portrayals of the United States (also by blacklisting certain films) and increase the foreign policy value of its film exports.²²⁵

Under the USIA leadership of Charles Z. Wick in the Reagan era, television emerged as an increasingly powerful tool, as he viewed it as central to the agency's mission.²²⁶ Wick's strategy involved using television to enhance President Reagan's global leadership image and depict "the evil nature of Soviet Communism."²²⁷ The most famous USIA production from

²²⁰ As early as February 1957, the State Department decided on the need to start talks on the IMG during economic negotiations, and the authorities in Warsaw expressed interest in purchasing materials from the US. In November, important negotiations on the dollar exchange rate were concluded (the rate of 1 dollar = 24 zlotys was adopted), which enabled the first agreement to be concluded in February 1958, providing for the allocation of one million dollars (350,000 for books, 300,000 for films, 250,000 for periodicals, and 100,000 for recordings and films). The next two agreements, in 1959 and 1960, provided for the expenditure of 1.2 million dollars each. – Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 169.

²²¹ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 131, 141; Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 164; The initial focus of IMG was on Europe, particularly West Germany, Yugoslavia, and Poland, accounting for 26 million U.S. dollars of the 31 million paid out to publishers in Europe – See: Greg Barnhisel, "Cold Warriors of the Book: American Book Programs in the 1950s," *Book History*, vol. 13 (2010): 185-217.

²²² FRUS 1917-1972, vol. vii, Public Diplomacy, 1964-1968, doc. 106, *Minutes of a Meeting of the President's General Advisory Committee on Foreign Assistance Programs: USIA*, Washington, September 12, 1966.

²²³ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 164.

²²⁴ The other three countries were: Yugoslavia, Turkey, and Vietnam; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 185.

²²⁵ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 175, 185.

²²⁶ Glenn Alexander Crowther, "One Hundred Years of U.S. Information Competition," *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 43, no. 1 (2019): 111.

²²⁷ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 100.

that time is *Let Poland be Poland*, a 90-minute program was broadcast live on January 31, 1982, in celebration of Solidarity Day with the Polish people.²²⁸ Sixteen heads of state took part, including President Reagan, French President François Mitterrand, Margaret Thatcher, many other prime ministers, as well as well-known actors and musicians. The program's title was based on a famous cabaret song written by Jan Pietrzak in 1981 titled "Żeby Polska była Polską," which became the Solidarity movement's theme song.²²⁹ Thanks to satellite transmission, the film was watched by 185 million viewers and listened to by approximately 165 listeners of Voice of America and RWE worldwide.²³⁰

Another notable example from the 1980s is *Solidarność*, a short audiovisual montage telling the story of the Solidarity movement, or a film discussing the potential involvement of the Communist bloc in Pope John Paul II's attempted assassination.²³¹ With advances in satellite broadcasting technology, the agency launched the WORLDNET satellite television network in 1983, which enabled the transmission of its programming via USIS posts, American embassies, and foreign television and cable networks²³² – WORLDNET remained a key component of U.S. public diplomacy until its merger with VOA in 1983.²³³

The Institute of Modern Culture at the Faculty of Philology – University of Łódź provides a valuable database of foreign feature films distributed in Polish cinemas between 1945 and 1989, with a search-tool including setting the country, production year, Polish premiere, and means of distribution. A search for USA-produced films released in Poland between 1953 and 1989 reveals 667 positions (with the first one – *The Adventures of Martin Eden*, directed by Sidney Salkow in 1942 and screened in Poland in 1954), constituting 11,4% of all foreign films screened in Poland at that time.²³⁴ The number of American films shown in Poland drastically increased in the 1980s; the most popular ones during the decade were:

²²⁸ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 468.

²²⁹ Baldyga, interview; Baldyga, "Letting Poland be Poland": *An Overview of American Public and Cultural Diplomacy in Poland* – Speech at the Institute for Management, Warsaw, May 18, 2011 – courtesy of Baldyga, correspondence with author, 23 September 2025.

²³⁰ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 468.

²³¹ Ronald Reagan Library, The White House Office of Records Management, *Project Truth progress report September to December 1982: USIA television and film services, productions and acquisitions supporting Project Truth*. Subject File FG 298, 128779; Ronald Reagan Library, The White House Office of Records Management, *USIA initiatives since June 9, 1981*, 26 June 1984, Subject File FG 298, 257944.

²³² Glenn Alexander Crowther, "One Hundred Years of U.S. Information Competition," in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 43, no. 1 (2019): 111.

²³³ *U.S. International Broadcasting: Background and Issues for Reform*, Congressional Research Service, Dec. 2016 <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/R43521.html>; For a detailed account on the Worldnet see: Tuch, "Worldnet," in *Communicating with the World*, 99-105.

²³⁴ *Oglądanie w PRL*, Katedra Filmu i Mediów Audiowizualnych, Instytut Kultury Współczesnej (Wydział Filologiczny Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego).

Enter the Dragon (17,268 mln tickets sold), *Raiders of the Lost Ark* (8,881 mln) and *Indiana Jones* (6,909 mln).²³⁵

The USIA's strategy for film and television was all about addressing the information gaps left by the commercial media world while shaping how foreign audiences viewed the United States.²³⁶ Through decentralized film production, a global distribution infrastructure, and strategic television programming, the agency used audiovisual media as a flexible and extensive tool of Cold War diplomacy. Although the specifics of USIA film and television releases and reception in Poland have still not been well documented, available evidence suggests that audiovisual programming played a crucial role in U.S. soft power strategies also within the Eastern Bloc. Modern tools, as the one provided by the University of Łódź, seem promising to help fill this historiographical gap with interdisciplinary research.

1.2.2. Exchange Programs

Throughout the Cold War, the U.S. government increasingly relied on exchange as a powerful public diplomacy tool. Embassy-level "veterans of public diplomacy" overwhelmingly recognized it as one of the most effective instruments at their disposal.²³⁷ Although USIA did not have formal jurisdiction over exchanges nor complete control over all international outreach – the State Department oversaw exchange and cultural programs – the USIA personnel administered key programs of the Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU).²³⁸ Thus, while CU funded the exchanges, and the Soviet and East European Exchange Staff (SES) coordinated policy and approvals, USIA staffed and operated them in the field.²³⁹ Notwithstanding the success of such initiatives, the administrative structures underlying educational exchanges in Eastern Europe were complex. The SES, formerly known as the East-West Contacts Staff within the State Department's Bureau of European Affairs, was established in 1956 as part of the implementation of NSC 5607, headed by William Lacy, to coordinate interagency collaboration and ensure alignment with U.S. foreign policy – the SES held weekly inter-agency meetings with representatives from CU, USIA, CIA, and Department of Defense to conduct negotiations and plan policies, it approved visas, and ensured political oversight.²⁴⁰ Key early achievements included the U.S.-Soviet

²³⁵ *Filmowy serwis prasowy. Mały rocznik filmowy 1988*, qtd. in Box Office'owy Zawrót Głowy, <http://boxoffice-bozg.pl/>

²³⁶ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 344.

²³⁷ *Ibidem*, 490.

²³⁸ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Duchą*, 47; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 133, 491.

²³⁹ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Duchą*.

²⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, 55-56.

cultural treaties of 1958 and 1959, which officially opened the door to large-scale exchanges in the scientific, technical, educational, and cultural domains – a significant moment in Cold War diplomacy.²⁴¹

Academic and intellectual exchanges between American scholars and their Polish counterparts were a central element of U.S. public diplomacy efforts. These exchanges promoted the sharing of knowledge, expertise, and research and advanced American academic excellence and intellectual leadership across ideological lines.²⁴² Over the years, the USIA, in collaboration with the CU administered a wide array of initiatives, including visiting scholar programs, collaborative research projects, student exchanges, educational institution partnerships, English-language training programs, and large-scale book donations.²⁴³ The State Department considered educational exchanges too valuable to taint with overt propaganda and thus kept them under its oversight; Nevertheless, it was the USIA officers administering them programs on the ground.²⁴⁴

Another important part were the USIA's overseas libraries, educational print media, American Studies centers, and English language instruction initiatives. Many of those efforts were possible through the Information Media Guaranty (IMG), facilitating the export of U.S. newspapers, magazines, and films, effectively opening new international markets for American media companies.²⁴⁵ The international circulation of American films and other cultural products was constrained by the weak purchasing power of postwar European currencies and the IMG enabled select foreign countries to purchase U.S. films and publications with their local currency – such mechanism allowed audiences abroad to access American cultural exports without depleting their limited dollar reserves.²⁴⁶

Already by 1955, 160 USIS libraries served 38 million users annually borrowing 11 million books, and the USIA had translated 2,500 books and supported over 120 English-language programs in 55 countries.²⁴⁷ The agency also frequently used content from AID projects and distributed millions of pamphlets each year on topics related to the United States; Such materials were widely circulated through USIS posts, sent to schools, and sometimes

²⁴¹ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 162, 170.

²⁴² Avramchuk, *Budujac Republika Duch*,: 60.

²⁴³ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 195-196; Avramchuk, *Budujac Republika Duch*, 47.

²⁴⁴ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 195-196.

²⁴⁵ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 7.

²⁴⁶ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 45.

²⁴⁷ Ibidem, 112.

used at universities and colleges.²⁴⁸ By the mid-1960s, the USIA already operated 223 libraries worldwide that offered curated access to books, periodicals, and reference materials.²⁴⁹ A significant example of USIA's actions in the publishing sector was its support for Franklin Publications, a "cartel" of American publishers that was able to distribute tens of thousands of books, both in English and in local translations, through USIS posts worldwide.²⁵⁰ This initiative provided the U.S. publishers with their first substantial international reach, particularly in regions such as Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Textbooks played a central role in these efforts as well – AID handled global production and distribution and USIA employed them as teaching tools in both the regular English-language courses, in the *America Häuser* in Germany,²⁵¹ and in the binational centers across Latin America.²⁵²

The U.S. exchange landscape had started to take shape with the launch of the Fulbright Program in 1946.²⁵³ The Fulbright Program, the flagship American international exchange program, played a pivotal role in shaping postwar U.S.–Polish intellectual and cultural relations.²⁵⁴ Over the years, the program became both a model of "trust-based diplomacy," gradually building enduring personal and institutional connections despite Cold War constraints, and the most prestigious and enduring academic exchange initiative between the two nations.²⁵⁵

Early exchange mechanisms for Poland were financed via Smith-Mundt (PL-402) funds until the Fulbright-Hays act (1961) consolidated State's exchange authority.²⁵⁶ Although initial proposals for academic exchange with Poland were unsuccessful, a small program (two people per year) for the exchange of teachers and students (as part of the Teacher

²⁴⁸ FRUS 1917-1972, vol. vii, Public Diplomacy, 1964-1968, doc. 106, *Minutes of a Meeting of the President's General Advisory Committee on Foreign Assistance Programs: USIA*, Washington, September 12, 1966.

²⁴⁹ FRUS 1917-1972, vol. vii, Public Diplomacy, 1964-1968, doc. 106.

²⁵⁰ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 6-7.

²⁵¹ Ibidem, 42. Dizard spells America Houses incorrectly, as "Amerika Häuser," the correct spelling is *America Häuser*; For a detailed account on the American Houses in Germany see: Tuch, "The Methods-the Media," in *Communicating with the World*, 65-68.

²⁵² The Binational Center was a corporation run by a board of directors and jointly operated by Americans and local partners, and it charged tuition for language courses. The underlying premise was that a wider English proficiency would create a more receptive audience for U.S. publications, broadcasts, and cultural products; FRUS 1917-1972, vol. vii, Public Diplomacy, 1964-1968, doc. 106.; For a detailed account on the history of American Binational Centers see: Tuch, "The Methods-the Media," in *Communicating with the World*, 68-70.

²⁵³ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 7.

²⁵⁴ For a detailed account on the history of the Fulbright program in Poland, see: Avramchuk. *Budując Republikę Ducha*.

²⁵⁵ Avramchuk's recent book provides the first full, historical account on the Fulbright Program in Poland in the years 1945-2020, See: Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*.

²⁵⁶ Ibidem, 18.

Development and Student Program) was launched in 1959.²⁵⁷ It is now accepted that the academic exchange program implemented by the US government since 1959 was coordinated as part of the Fulbright Program, although this name was not used in the American documents.²⁵⁸

Assuming initiating academic exchange between Poland and the U.S. as his first priority, Yale Richmond worked closely with Polish academic leaders, such as Margaret Schlauch, to create a program that would send graduate students to the U.S. and invite American lecturers to her department.²⁵⁹ As Richmond explains, an “advantage we had in working with Poles was their flexibility and tendency to seek accommodation rather than confrontation. Unlike a Russian *nyet*, which was usually firm and irrevocable, a Polish *nie* often let to a ‘maybe’ if you talked a little longer at the negotiating table.”²⁶⁰ Although exchanges with Eastern Europe were politically sensitive, they were strategically indispensable.²⁶¹ Commenting on an unprecedented scale of the U.S.-Polish exchanges in the 1970s, the Cultural Officer John Scanlan exclaimed, “the only thing missing to happiness is a USIA center in Warsaw, an objective that seems also attainable.”²⁶² By the late 1970s, the U.S. Embassy in Poland was effectively operating a USIA-style cultural program under a different name.²⁶³ Fulbright scholars visiting Poland during the Cold War often engaged in people-to-people diplomacy, distributed books from the USIA, all the while monitored by the Polish authorities.²⁶⁴

Scholarships from private American foundations were an important addition to cultural and academic cooperation activities; In April, the Ford Foundation launched an exchange program, awarding 158 grants to Polish scientists in 1957-58.²⁶⁵ Overall, the Ford Foundation also played a pivotal role in facilitating Polish-American academic exchanges – between the late 1950s and 1962, over 300 Polish intellectuals received Ford grants – an initiative that Avramchuk cleverly calls the “Intellectual Marshall Plan.”²⁶⁶ The Rockefeller Foundation also operated in Poland from 1958 and by 1960, approximately 400 people had benefited from

²⁵⁷ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 171.

²⁵⁸ Ibidem.

²⁵⁹ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 84.

²⁶⁰ Richmond, *Practicing Public Diplomacy*, 47.

²⁶¹ Baldyga, interview.

²⁶² Qtd. in Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 196.

²⁶³ Ibidem.

²⁶⁴ Richard (Chip) Harman, Fulbright Scholar at the Wrocław Technical University before joining USIA, interviewed by the author, 05 September 2024.

²⁶⁵ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 171.

²⁶⁶ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 60.

scholarships from both foundations.²⁶⁷ The Kosciuszko Foundation also carried out slightly more modest activities.²⁶⁸

Katarzyna Pisarska, a Fulbright Scholar herself, exemplifies the program as a public diplomacy tool that “reaches out directly to the ‘human factor,’ engaging individuals in a life-changing experience potentially resulting in a shift of self-conception and dislodging previously fixed notions” on both sides of the exchange.²⁶⁹ Over the decades, Fulbright alumni in Poland have occupied prominent academic, diplomatic, and political positions, underscoring the program’s long-term impact on developing an informed transnational intellectual elite. The Fulbright Program served as a model for a wide array of bilateral academic exchanges. The Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961 further institutionalized these efforts as countries such as Germany and Japan began co-funding bilateral exchanges with the U.S.²⁷⁰ As of 2025, the Fulbright program awards around 9000 grants annually, operating in over 160 countries, while its alumni achieve distinction in multiple fields, becoming MacArthur Fellows, and winning Nobel and Pulitzer Prizes.²⁷¹

In Poland, the American efforts included supporting summer language schools, developing university departments, and eventually establishing the American Studies Center in Warsaw.²⁷² One very successful project was the English-language summer seminar in Poznań, combining English classes with an opportunity to build relationships with foreign students and professors, as well as exposure to Western culture, literature, and arts. By 1965, the program had been expanded by USIA officer Carl Sharek,²⁷³ whom Baldyga calls “our super officer,” through the organization of book shipments that included anthologies and American literature texts, with each student being offered a two-volume World Book

²⁶⁷ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*.

²⁶⁸ Ibidem.

²⁶⁹ For a detailed account on the domestic dimensions of public diplomacy, see: Katarzyna Pisarska. *The Domestic Dimensions of Public Diplomacy: Evaluating Success Through Civil Engagement* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

²⁷⁰ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 491.

²⁷¹ Fulbright Program, Fulbrightprogram.org

²⁷² Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 117.; Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 356.

²⁷³ Carl Sharek was born in Manchester, New Hampshire in 1925. He enlisted in the US Army on his 18th birthday and later was assigned as liaison with the Polish military mission at General Eisenhower’s Allied Headquarters in Frankfurt, Germany. He became a State Department specialist in Displaced Persons Affairs. Sharek’s Foreign Service assignments abroad included Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Greece. He received the President’s Distinguished Service Award, as well as high awards from Poland’s President Lech Walesa and Knighthood as Commander in the Order of Pope St. Sylvester from Pope John Paul II. Sharek was the past president of Polish American Arts Association of Washington, DC, a member of the Polish American Congress, and the Polish Roman Catholic Church in Silver Spring, among others.

encyclopedia-dictionary set.²⁷⁴ Thanks to Sharek's "dedication and persistence," 10,000 books were donated within the program's first two years.²⁷⁵

Additionally, in response to a request from Professor Jacek Fisiak, Sharek organized for 20,000 specialized American textbooks to be donated to the English Department at the University of Poznań – Sharek not only made all the necessary arrangement, but also convince the then hesitant agency to engage in book donations at all.²⁷⁶ With huge English-language summer seminars supported by State Department travel grants for students and visiting professors and a USIA-furnished language laboratory at the consulate, Poznań became a key spot on the U.S. map of educational presence in Poland.²⁷⁷

From the beginning, USIA posts promoted American studies through library collections, conferences, and visiting lectures (also consolidated under the Fulbright-Hays Act) at European universities by helping to establish academic chairs and departments, often with the support of philanthropic organizations such as the Ford Foundation.²⁷⁸ A Special Currency Program was also passed by Congress, which set aside a special fund of \$40 million to promote American studies around the world.²⁷⁹

The American Studies Center (ASC) at Warsaw University first came to discussion informally in 1969 and in 1971 a Fulbright-supported exchange between Warsaw University and the University of Illinois facilitated it.²⁸⁰ The USIA's Public Affairs Officer (PAO) Leonard Baldyga and Cultural Affairs Officer (CAO) Robert Gosende²⁸¹ led difficult negotiations that resulted in the ASC – the negotiations with Polish officials lasted nearly three years and concluded with a formal agreement in 1976.²⁸² Indiana University was selected as the U.S. institutional partner.²⁸³ The ASC was the first institution of its kind in Eastern Europe, symbolizing Poland's intellectual autonomy from Soviet doctrine. It also

²⁷⁴ Baldyga, interview.

²⁷⁵ Ibidem.

²⁷⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷⁷ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 117.

²⁷⁸ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 154, 195-196.

²⁷⁹ Ibidem, 181.

²⁸⁰ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 186.

²⁸¹ Robert Gosende had a distinguished career in the Foreign Service in the USIA and the Department of State. He served as Cultural Affairs Officer in Libya, Somalia, and Poland and as Minister-Counselor for Public Affairs in South Africa and in Russia. Being on duty in Washington, D.C., Gosende served as the Associate Director of the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs of the USIA and the Agency's Deputy Director and Director for Sub-Saharan African Affairs. In 1989 he received the Annual Distinguished Service Award from the American Institute of Polish Culture and Art for his immense contributions to the expansion of educational and cultural relations between the U.S. and Poland.

²⁸² Baldyga, interview.

²⁸³ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 186.

exemplified the USIA's strategic emphasis in the early 1960s on expanding American studies globally.²⁸⁴ Due to its International Fair and Foreign Languages Seminar, Poznań emerged as a key site of U.S. cultural investment. Scholars such as Jacek Fisiak and Andrzej Kopcewicz, who are both Fulbright alumni, played a leading role in the institutional development.²⁸⁵ Fisiak's political position made him a valuable partner for the embassy, which considered him a "young Turk" of American studies in Poland – his influence facilitated a partnership between the University of Kansas and the University of Poznań, helping the latter become a dominant hub in the U.S. educational outreach network.²⁸⁶

The USIA expanded its support during the U.S. Bicentennial, with early financial estimates at \$15 million.²⁸⁷ This included the American Studies Bicentennial Project, which the State Department coordinated but the USIA supported – the project funded research libraries, conferences, and inventories of American historical documents abroad.²⁸⁸ Additionally, USIA created guidelines encouraging field posts to invest in academic credibility and stable growth – "to help lay the foundation for objective awareness of the development and diversity of American culture" – and eventually set up an American Studies Support Staff to coordinate Fulbright lecturers and curriculum development.²⁸⁹ The growing institutionalization of American studies was reflected in USIA training protocols. Officers were required to complete six-to-eight-week "American Experience" courses before being assigned to posts overseas – a policy shift guaranteed that field personnel would embody the academic values they were promoting.²⁹⁰

The U.S. government has acknowledged the broader significance of the academic exchanges in its reports. For example, the 1963 report *A Beacon of Hope: The Exchange of Persons Program* by the United States Advisory Commission on International and Cultural Affairs, which was based on surveys of nearly 2,700 grantees in 20 countries and detailed inquiries in U.S. posts, concluded that exchange programs were an "essential and valuable part of America's total information effort."²⁹¹ A subsequent review by Commission member

²⁸⁴ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 154, 356.

²⁸⁵ Baldyga, interview.

²⁸⁶ Wilson Dizard to Frank Shakespeare, 3 VII 1969, NARA, RG 306, P 397, box 36., qtd. in Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 117.

²⁸⁷ NARA RG306 A1 (1066) USSIA historical collection subject files, box 142, file: Bicentennial Planning 1973, Towery to Keogh/Kopp, 2 March 1973.

²⁸⁸ NARA RG306 A1 (1066) USIA historical collection subject files, box 142, file: Bicentennial Planning 1970-72.

²⁸⁹ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 355.

²⁹⁰ Ibidem, 353.

²⁹¹ Ibidem, 221.

and University of Chicago historian Walter Johnson advocated for structural reforms and greater financial support for American Studies.²⁹²

In the 1970s, new diplomatic relationships, such as those between China and the United States,²⁹³ created new opportunities for exchange – new programs were gradually integrated into the structural framework of the then newly established USICA.²⁹⁴ The 1970s also saw the emergence of new exchange programs that reflected the need to extend beyond elite academic circles. For example, the Hubert Humphrey Fellowship Program, which began in 1979, provided mid-career professionals from developing countries with the opportunity to complete one year of university studies and administration training in the U.S.²⁹⁵

As the Cold War escalated again in the 1980s, exchange diplomacy remained the central point of U.S. soft power strategies. The USIA shifted some of its focus toward engaging the youth of Western Europe more, as they began to be seen as critical to shaping future transatlantic relations.²⁹⁶ A major milestone in youth-focused public diplomacy, thus, occurred during the Reagan administration when USIA Director Charles Wick helped launch the President's International Youth Exchange Initiative in 1984. With \$10 million in government financing and a matching amount from the private sector, the project far exceeded expectations, enabling over 22,000 exchanges in just three years.²⁹⁷ Wick's efforts highlighted the significance of collaboration with established nonprofit organizations like Youth for Understanding and AFS International – their extensive networks and expertise were crucial for the success of this large-scale people-to-people diplomacy.²⁹⁸

Similarly, the USIA's Central American Program for Undergraduate Scholarships (CAMPUS), launched in 1986, focused on identifying and supporting talented young individuals from disadvantaged backgrounds in Central America and the Caribbean.²⁹⁹ The program's goal was to shape future leaders of that region by providing them with the opportunity to pursue higher education in the United States.³⁰⁰

²⁹² Ibidem, 222.

²⁹³ See: Dalton Rawcliffe, "The 'Special Relationship,' and the Overseas Chinese: The Information Research Department (IRD) and the United States Information Agency (USIA) Cold War Partnership in East Asia, 1950s-1970s," in *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 40, no. 1 (2024): 129-150; Harry Harding, *The United States and China since 1972* (The Brookings Institution, 1992).

²⁹⁴ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 492.

²⁹⁵ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 77.

²⁹⁶ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*.

²⁹⁷ Ibidem, 420.

²⁹⁸ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 78.

²⁹⁹ USIA, "Central American Program for Undergraduate Scholarships (CAMPUS)," Fact Sheet, 7 Jan. 1988.

³⁰⁰ Ibidem.

Among those key programs was the Foreign Leader Program, renamed the International Visitor Program (IVP), remained an important means of influencing foreign leaders and opinion makers in various fields. The program was administered in cooperation with U.S. embassies, and selected current and emerging leaders were allowed to travel across the United States on customized itineraries, thereby deepening their understanding of the American society and American institutions of their choice.³⁰¹ The IVP brought over 100,000 emerging leaders to the U.S. in its first 50 years, including nearly 200 future heads of government or state.³⁰²

At the height of the Cold War, education exchanges were considered a “diversionary” method of infiltrating Communist societies by offering alternative narratives to Soviet ideology.³⁰³ Using informal networks and cultural goodwill, key diplomats like Baldyga and Gosende, “highly skilled in establishing formal-informal ties with the Polish intelligentsia,” were able to work around the bureaucratic resistance in Poland.³⁰⁴ Overall, these exchanges, whether long-term educational placements or short-term visits, formed the foundation of America’s public diplomacy strategy. They fostered lasting connections with future global influencers and increased the global visibility of American academic institutions, values, and culture. These USIA’s activities in Poland came together to make education and cultural exchange the most influential and lasting aspect of U.S. soft power. Polish-American academic relations today are still defined by the lasting institutional frameworks they created, the generations of scholars they trained, and the entire fields of study they helped develop.

1.2.3. Cultural Diplomacy

USIA facilitated a wide array of cultural diplomacy programs worldwide, tailoring them to regional conditions and U.S. foreign policy objectives. To promote mutual understanding and friendly relations between the U.S. and other countries, the agency, for instance, organized exhibitions, film screenings at U.S. embassies, and events featuring American artists and performers, hosted festivals showcasing American music, dance, cuisine, fashion, and traditions. Such events would not only engage the general public and allow people to engage with American culture in an immersive way, but they would also promote cross-cultural dialogue and collaboration among musicians, writers, and cultural ambassadors on both sides.

³⁰¹ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 78.

³⁰² Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 491.

³⁰³ Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*, 196

³⁰⁴ Ibidem, Richmond. *Practicing Public Diplomacy*, 48-9.

USIA strategically used large-scale exhibitions to present American technological achievements and cultural heritage to international audiences, especially those behind the Iron Curtain. Showcasing American progress in fields such as science, technology, and industry, highlighting the advances the U.S. had made in various fields and demonstrating its leadership in innovation and creativity, these expositions would also be a testament to American economic strength and industrial prowess, as well as advertisement of American businesses and their contributions to global markets.³⁰⁵

Such USIA initiatives were generally implemented within the framework of reciprocal cultural agreements negotiated between the U.S. and foreign governments, such as the earliest and most emblematic U.S.-USSR exhibition exchange in 1959.³⁰⁶ Even seemingly trivial features, such as distributing free Pepsi Cola to every visitor, contributed to shaping a more approachable and consumer-friendly image of the United States.³⁰⁷ Simultaneously, the exhibitions would also become networking events, fostering international collaboration and knowledge sharing, exploring potential joint projects, and stimulating curiosity and ambition in the intellectual community of the host countries – the public's enthusiastic reception also revealed underlying tensions between the governments.³⁰⁸ On one of the first days of the American Books exhibition, six hundred books were stolen, leading Soviet authorities to demand that all literature be displayed under plexiglass – the American government opposed the idea and negotiated that only a few books would be locked.³⁰⁹ The Americans were glad to distribute books this way because that was a clear proof of the public's interest to learn about the U.S. – so much so as to be willing to face the possible consequences of theft if they were caught by the Soviet authorities.

The U.S. also used trade fairs to promote its agenda with exhibitions.³¹⁰ At the 1957 Poznań International Fair (MTP),³¹¹ for example, the U.S. presented a consumer-oriented

³⁰⁵ See: Jack Masey, and Conway Lloyd Morgan, *Cold War Confrontations: U.S. Exhibitions and Their Role in the Cultural Cold War*, (Lard Mullers Publishers, 2008).

³⁰⁶ See: Ralph K. White, "Soviet Reactions to Our Moscow Exhibit: Voting Machines and Comment Books," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 4 (1959-1960); Tomas Tolvaissas, "Cold War 'Bridge Building': U.S. Exchange Exhibits and Their Reception in the Soviet Union, 1959-1967," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4 (2010): 3-31.

³⁰⁷ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 73.

³⁰⁸ See: Richmond, *U.S.-Soviet Cultural Exchanges, 1958-1986: Who Wins?* (Westview Press, 1987); Susan E. Reid, "Who Will Beat Whom? Soviet Popular Reception of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959," in *Kritika, Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2008).

³⁰⁹ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 74.

³¹⁰ See: Haddow, *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s*.

³¹¹ At the end of October 1956, the Trade Fair Committee, as part of the OCB, decided that the Department of Trade should immediately begin work on plans for the following year's exhibition. The exhibition at the MTP mainly presented consumer goods and was the most popular among visitors, attracting around 1.5 million

exhibit called “Built in USA,” which displayed American architectural innovation.³¹² It was the first big U.S. government exhibition behind the Iron Curtain (Czechoslovakia refused to host it), and it was visited by approximately 70,000 Polish visitors only in Warsaw.³¹³ Other notable early U.S. exhibits include “Atoms for Peace” in 1958, one on American XX-century graphic design, and the “America in Photographs,” which was shown in four provincial cities and attracted 28 thousand visitors.³¹⁴

Although also early, perhaps the most enduring and globally resonant exhibition was “The Family of Man,” a sweeping photographic project originally curated by Edward Steichen for the Museum of Modern Art in New York.³¹⁵ Showcasing an array of 503 images captured by 273 both professional and amateur photographers representing 68 countries, including the Soviet Union, the exhibition celebrated universal human experiences – birth, death, work, love, and community – across cultural and political boundaries.³¹⁶ The political undertones were also evident in some images such as a photograph from the Warsaw Ghetto, embedding historical trauma within a broader narrative of shared humanity.³¹⁷ “The Family of Man” functioned as a visual manifesto for liberal humanism, implicitly contesting the ideological claims of communist regimes.³¹⁸ The exhibition toured globally for several years and was also presented in Poland under the title “Rodzina człowiecza” in 1959-1960 in Warsaw, Kraków, Wrocław, and Dąbrowa Górnicza, visited by a quarter of a million of people and attracting significant scholarly engagement.³¹⁹

These early exchanges laid the foundation for more extensive programming under formalized initiatives such as the “East–West Exhibition Exchange Program,” launched in 1961.³²⁰ Nine major U.S. exhibitions toured the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe under this

people, with the library organized at the pavilion also enjoyed considerable interest. The Americans were also successful the following year – See: Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 172.

³¹² Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 141.

³¹³ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 170.

³¹⁴ Ibidem, 170-171.

³¹⁵ See: Eric J. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and the 1950s America* (University of New Mexico Press, 1995).

³¹⁶ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 115.

³¹⁷ Ibidem, 116.

³¹⁸ Ibidem, 1.

³¹⁹ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 170 (Tyszkiewicz mentions the number of 6 cities but does not enlist them); For a detailed account on the reception of “The Family of Man” in Poland see: Kamila Dworniczak, *Rodzina człowiecza. Recepcja wystawy „The Family of Man” w Polsce a humanistyczny paradygmat fotografii* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2021); For a modern critical commentary on “The Family of Man” and other Cold War exhibits’ use and portrayal of American Indigenous culture, art, and imagery, see: Jessica L. Horton, *Earth Diplomacy: Indigenous American Art, Ecological Crisis, and the Cold War* (Duke University Press, 2024).

³²⁰ USIA “East-West Exhibition Exchange Program” courtesy of Dick Virden.

framework, ultimately attracting over ten million visitors across the region. The exhibits offered insights into American technological progress, industrial design, domestic life, and cultural innovation. In exchange, smaller-scale Soviet exhibitions were hosted in the United States, although they generally drew far less attention, an imbalance that reflected both logistical disparities and varying levels of public interest in the respective host societies. The magnitude and reception of these exhibitions, meticulously organized by the USIA, served to underscore American soft power capabilities while also demonstrating the strategic role of visual and material culture in Cold War diplomacy.

The inaugural USIA exhibition of this program, “Plastics-USA,” opened in May 1961. It was first shown in Kiev, Moscow, and Tbilisi, where it attracted an audience of 375,000.³²¹ The exhibition showcased technological advancements in plastic manufacturing and its diverse applications in American consumer culture. Following its tour of the Soviet Union, “Plastics-USA” traveled through Eastern Europe, including Romania, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece. The total number of visitors to the exhibit across the region exceeded 2.2 million, including those who attended under the auspices of the Office of International Trade Promotion (OITP) in the U.S. Department of Commerce.³²² The transnational trajectory of the exhibition demonstrates the extensive logistical coordination and regional tailoring involved in such USIA programs.

The “Plastics-USA” exhibit in Warsaw was on view July 6-24, 1962, and it “was given a warm reception by the biggest crowds ever seen at the exhibit site, totaling two hundred and thirty thousand Polish visitors.”³²³ Every visitor of “Plastics USA” received “a bag, a button, and plastic cup to remind him or her of the experience.”³²⁴ After the exhibition closed, “its souvenir lapel buttons were still being seen on... sweater fronts throughout Poland, and articles on the U.S. exhibition were still appearing in the Polish press,” proving the event to be a big success in swaying hearts and minds of the Polish people.³²⁵

Six Polish Americans, who previously learned about plastics factories traveling around the Washington area, were responsible for guiding the Polish crowds through the exhibition. One of them was CAO Baldyga.³²⁶ Asked about the “Plastics-USA” exhibit, Baldyga recalls,

³²¹ Ibidem.

³²² Ibidem.

³²³ Baldyga, interview.

³²⁴ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 170.

³²⁵ Baldyga, interview.

³²⁶ Leonard J. Baldyga, born in Cicero, Illinois, in 1932. His father, Stanislaw, came to the U.S. before WWI, but then returned to fight in the Blue Army of General Jozef Haller; his mother, Frances Gorzynski, was from a small town near Mława, and came to Chicago in 1921. Leonard Baldyga grew up in, what he calls, a typical Polish American home and a “solidly Polish” community, very much tied to the church. He didn’t speak English

“as guides we stood there for 12 hours talking to Poles about life in the United States but faking it in terms of what kind of plastics were used in the exhibit.” The most interesting items on the display included “a portable television set, a motor boat, ... two plastic-bodied cars – Corvette and Firebird,” as well as “a space flight uniform from one of American astronauts,” frying pans, and cookware. However, the value of the exhibit was not just in the displayed objects. As Baldyga explains, “the opportunity of talking 12 hours a day to hundreds of Poles from all walks of life was invaluable. And then in the evening we were invited to the apartments of students and others to continue our conversations. That was the most important part of the exhibit experience, the interaction with the Poles.”³²⁷ When discussing USIA’s exhibitions, Hans Tuch also points out the importance of communication between American exhibit guides and audiences behind the Iron Curtain – he emphasizes that the Soviets tried opposing further exhibits with new cultural agreements throughout the Cold War because of how immensely effective was such people-to-people diplomacy.³²⁸ The same observation is made by Dizard when discussing the U.S. exhibits in the Soviet Union.³²⁹

Subsequent exhibitions built on this model, each emphasizing a distinct narrative theme aligned with American values and achievements. “Transportation-USA,” for instance, exhibited the annals and prospective trajectory of U.S. transportation systems, while “Medicine-USA,” though initially restricted by the communist authorities, showcased the accessibility and innovation of American medical care.³³⁰ In 1962 alone these two exhibitions attracted 3 million visitors in the Eastern bloc.³³¹ A curated library of 7,000 volumes representing the diversity and quality of American scientific and technical publishing was presented at “Technical Books-USA.” Other exhibitions spotlighted American graphic arts, communication technologies, contemporary architecture, hand tools, and industrial design. The “Graphic Arts-USA” exhibit toured not only the USSR but also traveled extensively

until he was 6 years old, as a young boy, encouraged by his mother, he read Sienkiewicz and sang the Polish religious anthem “Boże coś Polskę” – “God Save Poland” during World War II at every Sunday mass. Baldyga later became an exceptional American diplomat and international consultant, decorated with many awards such as the Polish Order of Merit Republic of Poland (1994), Presidential Merit Award (1988), and Presidential Distinguished Service Award (1984) for his incredible achievements in the Foreign Service. Baldyga retired as Career Minister from USIA, served as a Minister-Counselor in New Delhi and Rome, as well as Public Affairs Officer in Mexico and Warsaw. He held senior positions in Foreign Service, including the Head of Press and Cultural Section of the American Embassy in Warsaw and the Director of the Office of European Affairs in USIA.

³²⁷ Baldyga, interview.

³²⁸ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 65.

³²⁹ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 198; Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 73.

³³⁰ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 206.

³³¹ Ibidem.

throughout Eastern Europe, including Romania, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, drawing a total audience of over two million.³³²

The exhibition “Communications-USA” was particularly significant because it addressed the United States’ advancements in telecommunications and space technology, including the satellite program, which was a pointed juxtaposition to Soviet narratives of technological supremacy. Although the exhibit was dismantled after its tour of the USSR, its sections were repurposed for presentations in Hungary and West Germany.³³³ That would indicate the strategic reuse of cultural materials for regionally tailored messaging.

While massive audiences across the Eastern Bloc were reached by the U.S. exhibitions as part of the East-West Exhibition Exchange Program, considerably more modest content and scale were featured by the Soviet reciprocal exhibitions in the United States. They typically featured children’s art, medical services, technical books, and public health, and generally attracted no more than 175,000 visitors per exhibit.³³⁴ This asymmetry reveals the comparatively higher public interest in American exhibitions in Eastern Europe. Such displays often represented still rare opportunities to engage directly with Western consumer products, art, and people. These exhibitions served as platforms to highlight the advances the U.S. had made in various fields and to demonstrate its leadership in innovation and creativity. The technological expositions would be a testament to American economic strength and industrial prowess, highlighting the country’s capacity for innovation and production while promoting American businesses and their contributions to global markets. However, as Baldyga emphasized, the exhibitions would also become networking events, fostering international collaboration and knowledge sharing, exploring potential joint projects, and stimulating curiosity and ambition in the intellectual community.³³⁵

USIA exhibitions also highlighted the depth and continuity of American intellectual traditions. “The World of Franklin and Jefferson,” for instance, was a notable initiative that highlighted the Enlightenment values of the American Revolution and the strong historical connections between the United States and France.³³⁶ The exhibit was a resounding success in Paris in 1975, with record-breaking attendance, before it was moved to Warsaw and London, where even larger audiences were drawn.³³⁷ The educational exhibition “Educational

³³² USIA, “East-West Exhibition Exchange Program” courtesy of Virden.

³³³ Ibidem.

³³⁴ Ibidem.

³³⁵ Baldyga, interview.

³³⁶ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 115.

³³⁷ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 335; Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*.

Technology-USA,” which first gained popularity at the Osaka Expo, toured Eastern Europe from 1971, further reinforcing U.S. innovation and pedagogical leadership in contrast to communist education systems.³³⁸

Artistic exhibitions remained one of key parts of the USIA’s soft power arsenal well into the 1970s. In 1976, as part of America’s bicentennial celebrations, the Baltimore Museum of Art curated the exhibition “Two Hundred Years of American Painting” for a tour through Europe.³³⁹ The exhibition was held by the National Museum in Warsaw from November to December of that year and was supplemented by a 144-page USIA-published catalog on American paintings translated into Polish, further expanding its cultural impact and availability.³⁴⁰ Through such efforts, the USIA promoted American creativity and built a transatlantic cultural bridge that humanized the U.S. image in communist-controlled societies.

The tone of these exhibits varied from celebratory to solemn, illustrating the USIA’s multifaceted strategy for cultural diplomacy. However, the American exhibition programming would not be without controversy. As early as 1947, the State Department canceled a U.S. painting exhibition, fired its young curator, and auctioned off the artwork after members of Congress and the press claimed that 20 of the 45 artists were “sympathetic to Communism.”³⁴¹ Following the American National exhibition in Moscow in 1959, Eisenhower also expressed that he would like to “have a say on the choice of paintings” for the USIA’s exhibitions.³⁴² There were also many instances of important exhibits being cancelled by the USIA’s directors, for instance, Streibert cancelled overseas exhibitions on American painting for instance, when American Federation of Art (AFA) refused to remove paintings of several artists in their exhibit that the USIA deemed “‘social hazards’ by virtue of their ‘front’ associations,” or the one by the College Art Association, because of the inclusion of pieces by Picasso.³⁴³ Many artists whose work has been shown in Eastern Europe, especially the New York young generation of painters, were seen as embodying the very freedom denied to their peers behind the Iron Curtain, and their works were hailed as

³³⁸ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*.

³³⁹ NARA RG306 A1 (1066) USIA Historical Collection Subject Files, box 142, file: Exhibits/Fairs, 200 Years of American Painting, Kleforth (USIA Bonn) to USIA Washington, “200 Years of American Painting,” 18 August 1976.

³⁴⁰ Joshua Taylor (introduction), *200 lat malarstwa amerykańskiego*, (Warszawa: USIA, 1976).

³⁴¹ Jane de Hart Mathews, “Art and Politics in Cold War America,” in *The American Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 4 (1976): 770-771; See: Frances Stonor Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (The New Press, 2000).

³⁴² Marilyn S. Kushner, “Exhibiting Art at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959: Domestic Politics and Cultural Diplomacy,” *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2002): 15.

³⁴³ Jane de Hart Mathews, “Art and Politics in Cold War America,” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 4 (1976): 770-771.

distinctly, even “quintessentially,” American.³⁴⁴ During the Cold War, exhibitions became powerful tools for public diplomacy, combining art, technology, history, and ideology to create experiences that bypassed state censorship and appealed directly to the people, not only through the content of the exhibits, but also through the skillful communicators – the USIA officers serving as exhibition guides.

Recognizing the strategic potential of culture as a soft power tool in the Cold War, the U.S. government began actively sponsoring international tours by American performing arts groups. This represented a significant change from the period before World War II, when U.S. cultural exports were virtually non-existent internationally, to an era where American artistic expression, from symphonic music to modern dance, became a central component of foreign policy.³⁴⁵ Touring companies, including the New York Philharmonic and the American Ballet Theater were dispatched across the globe to entertain and signal American cultural vitality and democratic openness.³⁴⁶ Already in 1957, cultural tours included the Glenn Miller Band, the José Limón Dance Company, and the Cleveland Orchestra, and more tours were planned for 1958, illustrating the broad and sustained commitment to American cultural diplomacy in Poland.³⁴⁷

U.S. policymakers understood the symbolism embedded in such performances. They saw cultural displays, especially in music and theater, as a means to elevate American prestige, counter Soviet narratives, and inspire admiration for U.S. democratic values. Cultural activity played a dual role: first, such performances evoked gratitude for the entertainment and aesthetic appreciation, and second, more importantly, the artistry impressed upon foreign audiences that U.S. foreign policy was crafted by “cultured and civilized people.”³⁴⁸ This logic was especially powerful in regions formerly dominated by European colonial powers, where cultural capital still carried significant geopolitical weight. However, officials were cautioned to tread carefully, celebrating American prosperity without “boasting,” appearing arrogant or trying to impress overseas audiences by overly emphasizing spiritual and moral values of the American society to counter the widespread perception of Americans as materialistic.³⁴⁹ These performances were often met with surprising interpretations abroad. For example, Polish audiences watching “The Grapes of Wrath” were

³⁴⁴ Mathews, “Art and Politics in Cold War America,” 780.

³⁴⁵ Dizard Jr. *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 7.

³⁴⁶ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 82; Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 192.

³⁴⁷ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 141.

³⁴⁸ Bogart, *Cool Words, Cold War*, 91.

³⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 92-93.

struck not only by the play's artistry but also by the fact that even the poorest Americans could own cars – an implicit advertisement for the American way of life.³⁵⁰

The American success in the Cold War space race with the Soviet Union was also exhibited by the agency.³⁵¹ Following the U.S. moon landing in 1969, one of the most memorable events was the international tour of the Apollo XI astronauts,³⁵² coordinated by USIA across 22 countries.³⁵³ The campaign extended also to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, where both countries' government officials relaxed restrictions on Apollo promotion to allow public displays of moon rocks – a gesture, perhaps signaling a rare moment of symbolic détente for the promotion of interest in scientific advancement. One particularly memorable instance occurred in Poland, where a half-sized model of the Apollo lunar capsule placed outside the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw was “blanketed with floral tributes as if it were a shrine.”³⁵⁴ These emotionally charged moments demonstrate how the USIA transformed scientific achievement into human connection and admiration, even behind the Iron Curtain.

The cultural Cold War was most evident in the realm of jazz; Jazz occupied a distinctive position in the context of U.S. cultural diplomacy as it represented a synthesis of artistic excellence and political symbolism. As Willis Conover famously explained, the improvisational structure of jazz mirrored American democracy: musicians agreed on a framework within which they were free to innovate – a metaphor for liberty and individuality.³⁵⁵ Recognizing its subversive potential in authoritarian societies, the USIA sent jazz legends like Louis Armstrong (with his concert being even broadcast on Polish television in 1975),³⁵⁶ Dizzy Gillespie, and Sidney Bechet on tours across Eastern Europe and the Soviet

³⁵⁰ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 192.

³⁵¹ For the account on the U.S. Space Program as part of the Cold War, See: Rita G. Koman, “Man on the Moon: The U.S. Space Program as a Cold War Maneuver,” *OAH Magazine of History*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1994): 42-50.

³⁵² Karsten Werth argues that Soviet “firsts” – from Sputnik (1957) to Gagarin (1961) – posed security and propaganda challenges that prompted the United States to launch the Apollo program, the largest peacetime technology project, to demonstrate national superiority. By surveying U.S. discourse from the mid-1950s to 1972, including policymakers, strategists, NASA, and the media – Werth reveals how the early space race blurred the lines between military and civilian activities and transformed superpower rivalry into a symbolic, non-nuclear competition. See: Karsten Werth, “A Surrogate for War – The U.S. Space Program in the 1960s,” *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, vol. 49, no. 4 (2004): 563-587.

³⁵³ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 113; For a detailed account on the display of Apollo program's infrastructure in museums in the U.S. and abroad, see: Roger D. Launius, “Abandoned in Place: Interpreting the U.S. Material Culture of the Moon Race,” *The Public Historian*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2009): 9-38.

³⁵⁴ Dizard Jr., *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 113.

³⁵⁵ Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 107-108.

³⁵⁶ Penny von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Harvard University Press, 2009), 241.

Union.³⁵⁷ Jazz was not just entertainment – it was ideology in musical form, and the State Department “missed no opportunity to promote jazz in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.”³⁵⁸

Jazz diplomacy had a particularly profound impact particularly in Poland, which emerged as a cultural bridge between East and West. Adam Makowicz, a famous jazz pianist, reminiscing about listening to VOA’s *Jazz Hour* in his teenage years, expressed – “that music, open to improvisation and coming from a free country, was our hour of freedom... it helped us to survive dark days of censorship and other oppression.”³⁵⁹ Jazz began to flourish in Poland earlier than in other Eastern Bloc countries, starting with government-approved festivals such as the *Sopot Jazz Festival* in 1956 and the *Jazz Jamboree* in Warsaw in 1958.³⁶⁰

The Dave Brubeck Quartet³⁶¹ was particularly famous in Communist Poland, far exceeding the State Departments expectations as an ambassador, with a big tour of 7 Polish cities, with 13 concerts, already in 1958.³⁶² Having become fond of the Polish fans, Dave Brubeck made special jazz recordings for U.S. consulates and USIS offices to “stay in touch with Polish musicians,” wrote a song “Dziękuję” (“Thank you”), recognizing the Polishness of Chopin, with a “Chopinesque introduction;” Having performed the song, a Polish government employee asked backstage “Why don’t the artists rule the world?” with tears in his eyes and “Brubeck almost wept.”³⁶³

These events attracted not only Polish musicians but also U.S. performers, who received logistical and personal support from figures like Conover. Conover’s influence was very significant also outside the music itself – he provided networking opportunities and established contacts with music institutions, arranged shipping of records, and invited some of the promising Polish musicians to the U.S., all while maintaining an ostensibly private status.³⁶⁴ The Polish regime saw strategic value in permitting these events – supporting jazz made the regime appear modern and liberal while preventing potential development of “anti-

³⁵⁷ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 82; Dizard Jr. *Inventing Public Diplomacy*, 193.

³⁵⁸ Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 241.

³⁵⁹ Adam Makowicz, qtd. in James E. Dillard, “All That Jazz: CIA, Voice of America, and Jazz Diplomacy in the Early Cold War Years, 1955-1965,” *American Intelligence Journal*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2012): 41.

³⁶⁰ Rüdiger Ritter, “Between Propaganda and Public Diplomacy: Jazz in the Cold War,” in *Popular Music and Public Diplomacy, Transnational and Transdisciplinary Perspectives*, Mario Dunkel and Sina A. Nitzsche, ed., (Transcript, 2018), 101-102.

³⁶¹ For a detailed account of Dave Brubeck Quartet’s 1958 tour on behalf of the U.S. State Department, see: Stephen A. Crist, “Jazz as Diplomacy? Dave Brubeck and Cold War Politics,” *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2009): 133-174.

³⁶² Dillard, “All That Jazz,” 45-46; Crist, “Jazz as Diplomacy?” 135.

³⁶³ Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*, 51.

³⁶⁴ Ritter, “Between Propaganda and Public Diplomacy: Jazz in the Cold War,” 105-106.

state oriented political actions.”³⁶⁵ Thus, importantly, the Polish case illustrates the broader tension between ideological control and cultural exchange. Polish officials believed it was safer to allow American musicians into the country, where their impact could be monitored, than to risk letting more of their own citizens tuning to western broadcasting stations.³⁶⁶ Beginning with his 1959 visit to Poland, Conover started broadcasting live jazz performances of overseas bands, exposing their work to global VOA audiences and demonstrating “that a successful cultural exchange was taking place;” Skilled local musicians transformed what they heard into original compositions, contributing to a transnational jazz dialogue.³⁶⁷

Though jazz initially captivated young audiences, the genre’s demographic shifted over time and by the 1960s, it had evolved into an elite, middle-class art form in both the East and West. Rock and roll became the music of the young, while jazz assumed a prestigious cultural status – something that governments in the Eastern Bloc could support without fear of mass mobilization.³⁶⁸ This progression influenced where and how the U.S. allocated its cultural funds; By the 1960s, the State Department prioritized funding for highbrow performances in regions such as Eastern Europe and some countries of the developing world, where such initiatives could have the most pronounced ideological effect.³⁶⁹

One notable example of American music soft power was the 1970 tour of the rock group *Blood, Sweat & Tears* through Eastern Europe, which included a stop in Poland. Sponsored by the State Department, due to a deal with Nixon (for no charges for drugs, they agreed to do the tour) the concerts attracted massive audiences – 18,000 in Poland, over 20,000 in Romania, and 15,000 in Yugoslavia – and generated unprecedented enthusiasm; According to reports from U.S. embassies, this was the first time they were able to reach and influence youthful audiences directly.³⁷⁰

Observers described the reception in glowing terms – Ira Wolfert, a journalist who accompanied the tour, called it “A plus” and noted that it presented “a very bright aspect of the quality of present-day American life to peoples whose own media have been enjoying a

³⁶⁵ Ibidem, 104.

³⁶⁶ Ibidem, 108.

³⁶⁷ Maristella Feustle, “‘Liberated from Serfdom’: Willis Conover and the Tallinn Jazz Festival of 1967,” in *Popular Music and Public Diplomacy, Transnational and Transdisciplinary Perspectives*, Mario Dunkel and Sina A. Nitzsche, ed., (Transcript, 2018), 124.

³⁶⁸ Ritter, “Between Propaganda and Public Diplomacy: Jazz in the Cold War,” 100.

³⁶⁹ Tuch, *Communicating with the World*, 82.

³⁷⁰ FRUS, 1917-1971, vol. viii, Public Diplomacy, 1969-1972, doc. 104, *Memorandum From the President’s Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon, Subject: American Rock Band in Eastern Europe*, Washington, August 24, 1970.

field-day coloring it all horrible.”³⁷¹ The concerts also had a reciprocal effect on the musicians, altering their perceptions of the communist system. The band’s drummer reflected on this in the *New York Post*: “Communism is a drag. Before the trip, I thought all that stuff about Communism was American propaganda. But now I know I could never live that way,” while the saxophone player emphasized how the audience’s chants of “USA” had “turned our heads around.”³⁷² The success was even noted in Congress. William Buckley, in his testimony before a House subcommittee, described the tour as “a smashing success,” suggesting that its most significant impact may have been at home, as evidenced by the fact that “some of the members of Blood, Sweat and Tears, having returned from Eastern Europe, have a renewed appreciation for America.”³⁷³ At the same time, the tour sparked criticism from the American radical left, with Abbie Hoffman’s Yippies denouncing the band as “pig-collaborators” and calling on youth to disrupt their concerts.³⁷⁴

Despite its successes, U.S. cultural diplomacy faced ongoing institutional and ideological challenges.³⁷⁵ There were heated discussions within the U.S. government about which cultural forms to support, how to present them, and who should be responsible for cultural programming – “strategic judgement” was being made about “how best to capitalize upon American culture to enhance the nation’s image.”³⁷⁶ Modernist art and avant-garde performances were especially controversial,³⁷⁷ as critics feared they misrepresented American values or alienated traditional audiences (a sentiment expressed particularly by conservative

³⁷¹ FRUS, 1917-1971, vol. viii, Public Diplomacy, 1969-1972, doc. 104.

³⁷² *Ibidem*.

³⁷³ *Ibidem*.

³⁷⁴ Abbie Hoffman – Abbot Howard Hoffman – an American political and social activist, co-founder of the Youth International Party, proponent of the Flower Power movement, and a member of the infamous Chicago Seven; FRUS, 1917-1971, vol. viii, Public Diplomacy, 1969-1972, doc. 104.

³⁷⁵ Gordon Johnson treats the Cold War as formative for national cultures, drawing a useful distinction between the Cultural Cold War (a state-led cultural contest) and Cold War culture (“patterns of behavior and attitude, structures of thought, and meaning,”) using examples from the reception of high culture also in Communist Poland, See: Gordon Johnston, “Revisiting the Cultural Cold War,” *Social History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (2010): 290-307.

³⁷⁶ Justin Hart, “Foreign Relations as Domestic Affairs: The Role of the ‘Public’ in the origins of U.S. Public Diplomacy,” in *The United States and Public Diplomacy, New Directions in Cultural and International History*, Kenneth A. Osgood and Brian C. Etheridge, eds., (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010), 216-217.

³⁷⁷ Greg Barnhisel traces how U.S. institutions weaponized high modernism in the Cold War—deploying museums, magazines, and agencies to market it as proof of American freedom—while archival detail reveals factional fights over modernism’s value and contrasts it with Soviet cultural policy. See: Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy* (Columbia University Press, 2015).

American art groups and Congress).³⁷⁸ As a result of the long-standing conflicts, in 1965 the Smithsonian Institution took over the America's international art program.³⁷⁹

While American cultural programming targeted elite audiences, it also reached broader publics through careful coordination with USIA officers, tailoring publicity campaigns to local contexts.³⁸⁰ The Polish American community networks were mobilized for people-to-people exchanges and cultural specialists like Virginia Inness-Brown conducted targeted visits to assess and expand U.S. outreach.³⁸¹ The cultural officers' engagement, though, was due to their "deep attachment to the idea of cultural projection for its own sake" and their advocacy for long-term engagement based on mutual appreciation and artistic merit.³⁸²

These dynamics were evident in highly choreographed tours, such as Jerome Robbins' ballet, and Martha Graham's 1962 tour in Eastern Europe.³⁸³ Backed by the State Department and other institutions, Graham and her company toured countries such as Poland, Turkey, and Yugoslavia with a program designed to appeal to artistic elites and young people alike.³⁸⁴ The symbolism was rich – in Warsaw, Graham performed in a theater named after Stalin, with her dance offering a stark visual and ideological counterpoint to both the Soviet architectural design and cultural rigidity.³⁸⁵ Although marketed with provocative imagery combining sensuality, athleticism, and modernity, Graham's repertoire in Poland emphasized religious themes and personal liberation, resonating with a society where Catholic identity remained strong despite communist repression.³⁸⁶

Layered, adaptive strategies that blended performance, ideology, and symbolism shaped the Cold War cultural front. Through music, theater, dance, and design, the United States projected an image of democratic creativity and modern sophistication, countering Soviet narratives and creating real (yet often subtle) ideological resonance among foreign audiences. These cultural initiatives, whether through jazz festivals, modernist ballets, or photography exhibitions, served as powerful instruments of persuasion – soft power in its most elegant and enduring form.

³⁷⁸ Michael L. Krenn, "Domestic Politics and Public Diplomacy: Appalachian Cultural Exhibits and the Changing Nature of U.S. Public Diplomacy, 1964-1972," in *The United States and Public Diplomacy, New Directions in Cultural and International History*, Kenneth A. Osgood and Brian C. Etheridge, eds., (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010), 319-320.

³⁷⁹ Krenn, "Domestic Politics and Public Diplomacy," 319.

³⁸⁰ Phillips, *Martha Graham's Cold War* 69.

³⁸¹ Ibidem, 148.

³⁸² Cull, *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency*, 489.

³⁸³ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 171.

³⁸⁴ Phillips, *Martha Graham's Cold War*, 126.

³⁸⁵ Ibidem, 150.

³⁸⁶ Ibidem.

2. *America Illustrated*

This chapter examines *America Illustrated*, the USIA's flagship print publication during the Cold War. An illustrated, multilingual magazine merged news, cultural and political features, and visual spectacle into a portable kaleidoscope of "Everyday America." The first section maps the magazine's international scope, including its different language editions, publication negotiations, and distribution. The second section focuses on *Ameryka*, the Polish edition published 1959-1992, examining its history, format, design, circulation, editorial team and its strategies, as well as quantitative depiction of corpus size and themes, for engaging readers living under censorship.¹ The chapter then frames *Ameryka* within strategic influence and soft power theories, as well as the overlapping fields of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, and propaganda, treating the magazine as a hybrid instrument of statecraft – neither pure journalism nor blatant propaganda.

2.1. Multiple Editions

A central component of the USIA Cold War public diplomacy strategy was the international publication of *America Illustrated*, a glossy magazine focused on culture that was originally produced for the Soviet Union under the name *Amerika*. While the Russian-language edition has been documented in scholarship, the mere existence of other national versions of the magazine, let alone their content, have received far less attention, if any.² However, archival and diplomatic sources indicate that the magazine had a broader reach in countries beyond USSR or Poland.

A compelling example of this phenomenon is found at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library in Simi Valley, California – a single issue of *Pregled* (Review), the Yugoslavian version of *America Illustrated*. The specific issue, number 219 and dated 1982, visually mirrors the Polish magazine *Ameryka* from the same year (issue 224). Despite the language difference, the two magazines contain several overlapping articles and shared graphic elements. While the issue was published in Serbo-Croatian, the English-language insert

¹ See: Jane Curry, *The Black Book of Polish Censorship*, (Random House, 1984).

² *Amerika* – A publication by the USIA distributed in the USSR through *Soyuzpechat*. Conceived in 1944 through an agreement between U.S. Ambassador Averill Harriman and Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav Molotov. First published in January 1945 at a price of 10 rubles per copy, with an initial circulation of 10,000. Due to its popularity, permission was obtained to increase circulation to 50,000 copies by June 1946. However, distribution delays and mounting circulation problems, largely caused by the Soviet authorities, led to its suspension in July 1952. *Amerika* was relaunched in October 1956 during the Khrushchev-era thaw and continued throughout the Cold War, with the final issue published in 1994; Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*.

included with the magazine confirmed article titles such as “Will We Run Out of Energy?,” “American Conservatism Today: A Portrait,” “Ralph Ellison’s Invisible Novel,” and “American Poet James Emmanuel in Yugoslavia,” among others.³

Pregled was a monthly periodical with a reported circulation of 15,000; In addition to this flagship magazine, the U.S. public diplomacy apparatus in Yugoslavia disseminated daily bulletins in Serbian and Croatian, with circulations of 4,000 and 6,000 copies, respectively, as well as various pamphlets and smaller periodicals.⁴ The publication of *Pregled* confirms that *America Illustrated* was not confined to the USSR and Poland, as previously thought, but was also localized and rebranded for other national audiences of Eastern Europe. The challenge in tracing such editions lies partly in the fact that their titles, just as is the case with Yugoslavian version, often bore no linguistic resemblance to the original *Amerika*, reflecting local cultural preferences and political sensitivities. However, even when called a derivative of *America Illustrated*, as in the Polish and Russian versions, the term “Ameryka” or “Amerika” in many Eastern European languages means the “United States,” resulting in millions of documents concerning or mentioning the U.S. as a country.

While exploring the possibility of other editions, there are repeated, though ultimately inconclusive, references to a Romanian-language edition of *America Illustrated*. While no physical copies or archival evidence of its publication were found in the collections examined by the author, there is evidence of negotiations regarding such an edition dating back to at least 1957. During a meeting between U.S. diplomats and Romanian Foreign Minister Grigore Preoteasa, American representatives presented sample issues of *Amerika* and suggested that, if such material could circulate within the USSR, a Romanian version would be equally viable.⁵ The Romanian side expressed cautious interest, emphasizing the potential for reciprocal cultural exchange, yet noting the differences in Romanian and Soviet capacities for high-quality publication and distribution.⁶

Further developments appeared in a Nixon-era document, which noted that alongside bilateral efforts in scientific and educational cooperation, negotiations were underway for an “America-type magazine” as part of a series of initiatives to improve U.S.-Romanian cultural

³ Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State: Publications Series XVI, Bureau & Agency Publications, Box 143.

⁴ FRUS, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe, Finland, Greece, Turkey, vol. x, part 2, doc. 158, *Operations Coordinating Board Report: Operations Plan for Yugoslavia*, Washington, June 24, 1960.

⁵ FRUS, 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 243. *Despatch From the Legation in Romania to the Department of State, no 417, Subject: Conference with Foreign Minister Preoteasa March 26, 1957*, Bucharest, March 27, 1957.

⁶ FRUS, 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 243.

relations.⁷ Despite these promising discussions, however, no firm documentary or bibliographic evidence confirms that a Romanian-language edition ever came to fruition.

In the case of Czechoslovakia, however, the archival record reveals an even more complicated trajectory. As early as 1949, the U.S. State Department identified the distribution of a Czech-language edition of *America* as a key priority – the Department hoped to establish the magazine as a “long-range medium and line of contact” between the Czech public and the United States.⁸ Initially, there was cautious optimism. U.S. officials believed that a new ambassadorial push could persuade the Czechoslovak government to allow distribution – several precedents bolstered this hope: Soviet approval of *Amerika* after much resistance, growing U.S.–Czech cultural interactions, and the recent U.S. allowance of Czech information bulletins within the United States.⁹

Indeed, a tentative agreement was reached in March 1949 to begin distributing the magazine in Czechoslovakia. The State Department publicly announced the release of the Czech-language edition, scheduled for May 1949.¹⁰ However, distribution never commenced. By early 1950, U.S.–Czechoslovak relations had significantly deteriorated, and the communist regime formally withdrew its previous approval, citing Voice of America broadcasts as justification.¹¹ Internal communications from the U.S. Embassy in Prague lamented this development, linking it to a broader pattern of harassment against American diplomatic and cultural efforts in the country, including interference with USIS libraries and the expulsion of American personnel.¹² Therefore, it seems that despite its initial presence in the planning and negotiation stages, the Czech edition of *America Illustrated* was ultimately never distributed to the public in Czechoslovakia.

Although a 1967 document discussing U.S.–Hungarian cultural negotiations mentions a broader expansion of media exchanges, including a version of *America Illustrated* in Hungary, this appears to reflect aspiration rather than accomplishment.¹³ No evidence has

⁷ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxix, Eastern Europe, Eastern Mediterranean, 1962-1972, doc. 181. *Memorandum From the Chairman of the National Security Council Under Secretaries Committee (Richardson) to President Nixon, Subject: Improving Relations with Romania*, Washington, July 15, 1969.

⁸ FRUS, 1949, Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. v, doc. 236, *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Czechoslovakia*, Washington, February 4, 1949.

⁹ FRUS, 1949, Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. v, doc. 236.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ FRUS, 1950, Central and Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. iv, doc. 276, *The Ambassador in Czechoslovakia (Briggs) to the Secretary of State*, Praha, February 8, 1950.

¹² FRUS, 1950, Central and Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. iv., doc. 277, *The Secretary of State to the Embassy in Czechoslovakia*, Washington, February 10, 1950.

¹³ FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. xvii, Eastern Europe, doc. 112, *Telegram From the Embassy in Hungary to the Department of State, Budapest*, November 20, 1967.

surfaced indicating that a Hungarian-language edition was ever produced. Given the concurrent decline in U.S. access to public media channels in Eastern Europe, it seems likely that this effort was unsuccessful.

Unexpectedly, *America Illustrated*'s geographic scope extended well beyond the Iron Curtain. In Southeast Asia, the magazine was published in Thailand under the title *Seripharb*, which translates roughly from Thai to "freedom" or "free world." An issue available at the Ronald Reagan Presidential Library – volume 60-2 from 1983 – shared visual and stylistic similarities with the 1980s Polish and Yugoslavian editions of *America Illustrated*, supporting the idea of a shared editorial lineage.¹⁴ According to the description in the front matter, the magazine was a quarterly publication presenting "intellectual articles on various topics of current interest and art in the United States."¹⁵ It explicitly disclaimed representing the views of the U.S. government – a standard formula in U.S. public diplomacy publications.

This issue's table of contents included pieces such as "News Is a Resource," "Space and the Future," "Why Is John Irving So Popular?," and "Opportunities in America: Historical Terms," underscoring similar focus on culture, science, and thought leadership that characterized the European editions. According to the PAO Conference Report Summary Prepared in the USIA on a 1969 USIA East and Pacific Pao Conference in Manila, *Seripharb* was published monthly under the title translated as "Horizons" in Thailand and several Southeast Asian languages, thereby confirming of a wider distribution in several countries beyond Europe. The report also mentions that "*Horizons* was praised highly by many PAOs. However, the magazine has less appeal in the more sophisticated countries, such as Japan," suggesting another – Japanese version of *America Illustrated*.¹⁶ Thai distribution of *Seripharb* reached 43,000 subscribers; The magazine was marketed commercially, with each issue offered to subscribers for approximately \$0.20 and it was also frequently used to promote U.S.-published books in Thai translation.¹⁷

An USIA readership survey confirms that *Seripharb* was in print as early as the 1960s. A 1963 detailed study by the USIA's Research and Reference service, reported on an overall

¹⁴ Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State: Publications Series XVI, Bureau & Agency Publications, Box 143.

¹⁵ *Seripharb*, vol.60-2 (Thailand, 1983) in Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State: Publications Series XVI, Bureau & Agency Publications, Box 143.

¹⁶ FRUS, 1917-1972, vol. viii, Public Diplomacy, 1969-1972, doc. 31, *Letter From the Assistant Director, East Asia and the Pacific, United States Information Agency (Oleksiw) to all USIA Public Affairs Officers*, Washington, August 5, 1969; enclosed: *PAO Conference Report Summary Prepared in the United States Information Agency*, Washington, undated, *USIA EAST AND PACIFIC PAO CONFERENCE* Manila, May 9-11, 1969: 72.

¹⁷ FRUS, 1917-1972, vol. viii, Public Diplomacy, 1969-1972, doc. 31.

high readership, with a number of readers per copy, as well as high credibility and low suspicion of propagandistic tendencies.¹⁸ Without documentation found proving a possible hiatus in the 1970s, we can assume that the publication ran for at least 30 years. This broad temporal span, coupled with its monthly frequency, places *Seripharb* among the most sustained and institutionally supported regional versions of *America Illustrated*, despite having received comparatively little academic attention.¹⁹

Although *America Illustrated* is best known for its Russian (*Amerika*) and Polish (*Ameryka*) editions, extensive archival research reveals a still unexplored broader network of multilingual adaptations influenced by local political circumstances and U.S. diplomatic objectives. The Yugoslavian *Pregled*, the proposed but unrealized Romanian and Hungarian editions, the aborted Czech-language version, the supposed other Southeast Asian and the Japanese versions, and the long-running Thai *Seripharb* all point to the complex and sometimes fragile negotiations behind U.S. cultural outreach during the Cold War. These varied manifestations, often obscured by local titles and language barriers, demonstrate the enormous scope of U.S. soft power strategies and their vulnerabilities across ideological blocs and geographic regions. They also underscore significant gaps in existing scholarship regarding the USIA's public diplomacy initiatives in many of the targeted countries, the scope and influence of USIA's publications, and the absence of comparative analyses of projects like *America Illustrated* within a regional and even global contexts.

Published by the U.S. government for distribution in the Soviet Union, the *Amerika* magazine served as a vivid and often contested medium of soft power, public diplomacy, and cultural exchange throughout the Cold War. Designed to present American life to Soviet readers, the Russian-language periodical offered richly illustrated, supposedly apolitical

¹⁸ United States Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. *Readership Survey of Seripharb* (Thai-language Edition of Free World), Washington, 1963.

¹⁹ Three scholarly sources referencing the Thai version of *America Illustrated* have been identified. The first source is a 2016 article by P. Michael Rattanasengchanh published in the *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* that investigates U.S.-Thai public diplomacy, P. Michael Rattanasengchanh, "U.S.-Thai Public Diplomacy: The Beginnings of a Military-Monarchical-Anti-Communist State, 1957-1963," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, vol. 23, no. 1, (Brill, 2016): 56-87. The article offers helpful context for the magazine's dissemination strategy. A second source is a PhD thesis from 2019, written by the same author, from the College of Arts and Sciences at Ohio University, which appears to explore broader themes of U.S. cultural outreach and references *Seripharb* within that framework, Rattanasengchanh, "Thai Hearts and Minds: The Public Diplomacy and Public Relations Programs of the United States Information Service and Thai Ministry of Interior, 1957 – 1979," The College of Arts and Sciences of Ohio University, May 2019. The third source is another 2019 Ph.D. thesis, by Rungchai Yensabai from the University of Leeds, offering a Cold War-era perspective on how U.S. media and narratives – including *Seripharb* – influenced Thai identity politics, Rungchai Yensabai, "Competing Narratives in Cold War Thailand: Identity Politics and the Construction of Foreign Others," The University of Leeds School of Politics and International Studies, July 2019.

content that aimed to convey the everyday realities of life in the United States while subtly challenging Soviet narratives about American society.²⁰

Amerika was initially launched in 1944 by the Department of State and quickly became immensely popular among Soviet citizens despite strict limitations on access to Western publications.²¹ According to Ambassador Walter Smith, demand for the magazine far exceeded supply in 1947, and he estimated that a subscription list of a quarter of a million would have been possible if Soviet authorities had permitted it; Individual pages of *Amerika* reportedly sold on the black market for the price of a full magazine in the U.S.²² Public sales were initially limited, so, for instance, when issue no. 8 went on sale at only 12 kiosks in Moscow, it rapidly sold out with very long lines forming at newsstands.²³

Despite its popularity among Soviet readers, *Amerika* encountered frequent bureaucratic and political obstacles from the Soviet authorities.²⁴ For instance, in 1949, the official distributor, *Soyuzpechat*,²⁵ delayed the acceptance and sale of issue no. 35 for unclear reasons; While Soviet officials cited logistical constraints, including December inventory and publishing congestion related to Stalin's birthday, U.S. diplomats suspected deliberate efforts to suppress the magazine by reducing its visibility and frequency.²⁶ This was consistent with the Soviet strategy of administrative "throttling" noted in a Department of State policy paper from the early 1950s, which described *Amerika* and Voice of America as the only two U.S. media with significant impact inside the USSR, both of which faced substantial Soviet resistance.²⁷

In official communications, the Soviet government routinely denied obstructing the magazine.²⁸ In 1950, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko addressed American concerns, stating that there was no prohibition or limitation on *Amerika's* distribution and that *Soyuzpechat* was under no obligation to distribute copies independently of actual reader

²⁰ Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*, 3-4.

²¹ Ibidem, 104; Creighton Peet, "Russian 'Amerika,' a Magazine about U.S. for Soviet Citizens," *College Art Journal*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1951): 17.

²² FRUS, 1947, Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. iv, doc. 376, *The Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Smith) to the Secretary of State*, Moscow, March 31, 1947.

²³ FRUS, 1947, Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. iv, doc. 376.

²⁴ Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*, 108.

²⁵ *Soyuzpechat*, or Союзпечать (Russian) – a former Soviet administrative body that was responsible for distributing periodical print publications and comprised a system of organizations and businesses.

²⁶ FRUS, 1949, Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. v, doc. 406, *The Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Kirk) to the Secretary of State*, Moscow, December 19, 1949.

²⁷ FRUS, 1951, Europe: Political and Economic Developments, vol. iv, part 2, doc. 302, *Draft Department of State Policy Statement: Policy Statement – USSR*, Washington, undated: 1540.

²⁸ Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*, 108.

demand.²⁹ Earlier that year, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs had dismissed similar U.S. complaints, claiming the observed decline in sales necessitated the return of unsold copies and that the ministry had no influence over public demand.³⁰

While discussing facing these challenges, American officials consistently emphasized the strategic value of *Amerika* as a psychological and cultural tool. In reports from the early 1950s, the U.S. International Information Administration (IIA) underscored the magazine's symbolic significance in providing Soviet citizens with uncensored views of American life.³¹ The publication was suspended in 1952 and returned in 1956 under USIA.³² Internal planning documents even called for the revival or expansion of *Amerika*-type publications during periods of suspension or reduced circulation as part of broader U.S. information penetration strategies behind the Iron Curtain.³³ As previously discussed, these efforts flourished in some, but were harshly suppressed in other regions of the Eastern Bloc.

By the mid-1960s, the magazine's popularity among Soviet readers remained undiminished. In 1966, a U.S. embassy cable from Moscow noted the extraordinary demand for *Amerika*, reporting that a Swedish correspondent had seen the longest queue he had ever witnessed outside a Moscow bookstore, stretching 150 meters – "I joined the line to find out what sensational items could possibly be on sale. Maybe nylon stockings, foreign woolen sweaters, bananas, Polish beer or newly pickled cucumbers? . . . At long last, I elbowed myself to the objective—an ordinary news stand, where they were selling the American magazine 'America.' The buyers literally snatched the magazines out of the hands of the clerk, started leafing through the publication and discussing it among themselves."³⁴ Meanwhile, Soviet authorities were growing frustrated with the magazine's wide circulation of 60,000 copies monthly, especially compared to the relative failure of their own magazine,

²⁹ FRUS, 1950, Central and Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. iv, doc. 675, *The Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Kirk) to the Secretary of State*, Moscow, June 23, 1950.

³⁰ FRUS, 1950, Central and Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. iv, doc. 634, *The Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Kirk) to the Secretary of State*, Moscow, April 4, 1950.

³¹ FRUS, 1952-1954, National Security Affairs, vol. ii, part 2, doc. 300, *Memorandum by the Administrator of the International Information Administration (Compton) to the Secretary of State*, Washington, July 29, 1952, attached: *Report by the Administrator of the United States International Information Administration (Compton) to the Secretary of State*, Washington, undated.

³² Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*.

³³ FRUS, 1955-1957, Foreign Economic Policy, Foreign Information Program, vol. ix, doc. 185, *Report Prepared by the National Security Council, NSC 5509*, Washington, March 2, 1955, *Status of the United States Programs for National Security as of December 31, 1954*: Part 6 – The USIA Program; FRUS, 1955-1957, Foreign Economic Policy, Foreign Information Program, vol. ix, doc. 190, *Report Prepared by the National Security Council, NSC 5525*, Washington, August 31, 1955, *Status of United States Programs for National Security as of June 30, 1955*: Part 6 – The USIA Program.

³⁴ FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. xiv, Soviet Union, doc. 150, *Telegram From the Embassy in the Soviet Union to the Department of State*, Moscow, January 26, 1966; Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*, 183-184.

Soviet Life, in the United States.³⁵ Thus, they were suspected of maneuvering diplomatically again to reduce *Amerika*'s circulation by citing returned copies as evidence of waning interest.³⁶

U.S. officials were determined to resist Soviet efforts to restrict the magazine's reach. Ambassador Kohler strongly advocated maintaining the full 60,000-copy circulation, recognizing *Amerika* as the only U.S. periodical with access to Soviet readers and an essential wedge in the broader strategy to open Soviet society to American ideas.³⁷ Tensions over *Amerika*, however, were part of a broader diplomatic dynamic surrounding U.S.-Soviet cultural exchanges. In 1966, during deliberations over Soviet violations of exchange agreements, such as delays in granting visas for U.S. exhibits, American officials cautioned against reacting too harshly for fear that the Soviets might retaliate by terminating *Amerika* or resuming the jamming of Voice of America broadcasts.³⁸

Throughout subsequent negotiations, the Soviets preserved *Amerika*'s place in the exchange framework and agreed to a valuable new provision allowing its distribution at American exhibitions in the USSR – a significant step in increasing the magazine's reach behind the Iron Curtain.³⁹ Leonid Brezhnev himself admitted that he and his wife “personally read ‘America’ in [their] house,” concluding that “there is no problem about that publication in this country.”⁴⁰ The new development, coupled with modest expansions in cultural exchanges in the following years, indicated that, despite political obstacles, the Soviets recognized *Amerika*'s symbolic significance within the context of détente and controlled cultural diplomacy.

Meanwhile, U.S. agencies continued to emphasize *Amerika*'s strategic role in “building bridges” with Eastern Europe. A 1964 USIA internal paper suggested that the magazine's sale be pursued again in other Eastern Bloc countries, noting its strong circulation in Poland and the USSR.⁴¹ *Amerika*'s maintained visually rich, (supposedly) non-political

³⁵ Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*, 185-186.

³⁶ FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. xiv, Soviet Union, doc. 150.

³⁷ Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*, 186-187; FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. xiv, Soviet Union, doc. 150.

³⁸ FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. xiv, Soviet Union, doc. 168, *Memorandum From the President's Deputy Special assistant for National Security Affairs (Bator) to President Johnson, Subject: The Soviet-US Exchange Program*, Washington, July 19, 1966.

³⁹ FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. xiv, Soviet Union, doc. 280, *Memorandum From the Executive Secretary of the Department of State (Read) to the President's Special Assistant (Rostow), Subject: US-USSR Exchanges Agreement for 1968-69*, Washington, July 13, 1968.

⁴⁰ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxxix, European Security, doc. 196, *Memorandum of Conversation*, Moscow, March 26, 1974, 5:09-9:43p.m.

⁴¹ FRUS, 1917-1972, vol. vii, Public Diplomacy, 1964-1968, doc. 21, *Memorandum From the Assistant Director for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, United States Information Agency (Brady) to the Director of the United States Information Agency (Rowan)*, Washington, June 19, 1964.

content offered an alternative narrative about American society, emphasizing prosperity, family life, technology, and freedom without directly challenging Soviet ideology in ways that could trigger outright bans.

Throughout its existence, until 1994, *Amerika* served as a consistent, yet controversial, cultural presence within the USSR.⁴² As an internal communication already from 1949 explained, the magazine's real power lay in its ability to show Soviet citizens "how Americans live and allow the reader to reach his own conclusions."⁴³ *Amerika* withstood diplomatic tensions, administrative obstruction, and Cold War hostilities, not due to any illusions about Soviet openness, but rather because American policymakers, diplomats, and cultural strategists recognized its unique value in the ideological battle for hearts and minds.

As one of key parts of Cold War cultural diplomacy, propaganda, and ideological competition, *Amerika* has increasingly drawn scholarly attention in the recent years. New studies examine the magazine as both a vehicle of U.S. soft power and a multilayered textual and visual artifact shaped by shifting diplomatic goals, ideological imperatives, and gendered narratives.

A major theme that emerges from scholarship is the duality of *Amerika* as both a tool of cultural outreach and a contested object of Soviet control. Especially in its early trajectory (1944-1952), we can see *Amerika* as a fragile alignment between the U.S. and the Soviet Union at the very beginning of the Cold War, with the magazine serving as a platform to present the American way of life to Soviet citizens through stories, photographs, and the translated literature. Literature played a crucial role in this portrayal with works by new and canonical American authors translated into Russian for the first time.⁴⁴ These narratives emphasized shared cultural values, prosperity, and artistic achievement, creating the illusion of kinship between American and Soviet societies. While the USSR continued to circulate *Amerika*, it simultaneously condemned the magazine in the domestic press, demonstrating how propaganda could be both adopted and rejected within a single ideological framework.⁴⁵ Later transformations of the magazine, particularly under the Kennedy administration, reveal an important shift in its ideology. In the early 1960s *Amerika* moved away from the capitalist

⁴² Cucuz, *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds*, 16-17.

⁴³ Jack C. McDermott, the Chief of the International Press and Publications Division of the Office of International Information in a communication of November 16, 1949, qtd. in FRUS, 1949, Eastern Europe, The Soviet Union, vol. v, doc. 406, *The Ambassador in the Soviet Union (Kirk) to the Secretary of State*, Moscow, December 19, 1949.

⁴⁴ Aleksandra Fisenko. "Amerika and Literature: on the History of the Magazine in the Postwar USSR (1944-1952)," *Literature of the Americas*, no. 16 (2024): 271.

⁴⁵ Fisenko, "Amerika and Literature," 271.

messaging of the Eisenhower era toward a more transcendent and idealistic narrative rooted in civil rights, human potential, and American exceptionalism.⁴⁶ This “transcendent turn” framed the U.S. not simply as materially superior, but as morally and intellectually progressive, thus offering a more potent ideological counterweight to Soviet communism.⁴⁷ The Kennedy-era *Amerika* drew on American intellectual traditions such as transcendentalism, and it incorporated critiques of mass society, effectively redefining American values in ways that might appeal to Soviet intelligentsia while simultaneously posing a more subversive ideological threat.⁴⁸ The framing is consistent with the late 1960s recommendations for USIA’s media in Poland, to project “an image of a lively, young, progressive America where sophisticated problems are tackled by democratic means” to appeal to educated Polish youth.⁴⁹

Beyond the textual and ideological meaning, the visual dimension – the magazine’s reliance on imagery to shape perceptions was crucial. As argued by Elise Crane, the magazine should be seen as a “full-format” propaganda tool that prioritized visual content, particularly photographs, to bypass linguistic and ideological barriers – by showcasing images of everyday American life, consumer goods, and personal freedoms, *Amerika* silently but powerfully challenged Soviet narratives, enabling readers to “see” what their government attempted to obscure.⁵⁰ Such focus on visual persuasion amplified the emotional appeal of American lifestyles, making them aspirational in a way that mere rhetoric could not.⁵¹

One of the most striking aspects of *Amerika* is how firmly it anchored its ideological appeal in gendered imagery. Although the magazine was not marketed directly to women, its content consistently focused on domestic comfort, consumer abundance, and family life, effectively placing women at the core of its cultural message.⁵² The version of womanhood on display was deeply conservative – fulfillment was imagined through homemaking, consumption, and stability, mirroring the norms that had circulated in American media since the 1950s, and by doing so, *Amerika* did more than just showcase the “American way of life,”

⁴⁶ Christopher Rasmussen, “Kennedy’s Amerika: The Transcendent Turn in American Propaganda, 1961-1963,” *Journalism History*, vol. 42, no. 3 (2016): 130.

⁴⁷ Rasmussen, “Kennedy’s Amerika,” 130; Robert M. Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm,” *Journal of Communication*, vol 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58, DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x.

⁴⁸ Rasmussen, “Kennedy’s Amerika.”

⁴⁹ RIAS, Records of USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 4, 0572 S-27-68: *Impression of Political Attitudes in Poland*, 1968.

⁵⁰ Elise Crane, “The Full-Format American Dream: Amerika as a Key Tool of Cold War Public Diplomacy,” in *American Diplomacy* (2010), <https://americandiplomacy.web.unc.edu/2010/01/the-full-format-american-dream/>.

⁵¹ Crane, “The Full-Format American Dream.”

⁵² Cucuz, *Winning Women’s Hearts and Mind*.

it turned womanhood itself into a political symbol.⁵³ The contrast was deliberate – stylish, prosperous, and seemingly free American women were pitted against Soviet portrayals of women as workers and revolutionaries, thereby folding gender into the larger ideological struggle of the Cold War.⁵⁴

Amerika, *Pregled*, *Seripharb*, and *Ameryka*, as well as other possible language versions, were part of a broader family of *America Illustrated* magazines produced by USIA for different national audiences. Each magazine was tailored to its respective audience, but the overarching strategy seems clear – to present a polished visual narrative of American life that could transcend linguistic, cultural, ideological, and political boundaries. USIA conducted extensive behavioral research to refine its communication strategies – Studies examined Polish audience reactions to films,⁵⁵ the cross-cultural semantics of key concepts such as “democracy” and “capitalism,”⁵⁶ and the distribution and impact of publications such as *America Illustrated* (only the Russian version mentioned), which despite tight controls, was widely read and highly prized.⁵⁷ These efforts also reflected in Washington’s approach to Poland and its belief that cultural diplomacy and information programs were the most effective means of achieving long-term influence behind the Iron Curtain.⁵⁸

2.2. *Ameryka*

The Polish-language edition of *America Illustrated*, titled *Ameryka*, emerged amid the political opening that followed Władysław Gomułka’s rise to power in 1956.⁵⁹ U.S. policymakers had long advocated for encouraging greater autonomy for Poland from Moscow without provoking repression. Within this framework, the *Ameryka* project was conceived as one of several information initiatives intended to present a favorable yet realistic image of the United States while respecting Polish political sensitivities.⁶⁰ By the late 1950s, U.S. agencies

⁵³ Ibidem.

⁵⁴ Ibidem.

⁵⁵ RIAS, Records of the USIA, Part 3: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series A: 1953-1963, Reel 1, 0077 R-460, *Audience Reaction to Films in Poland*, February 9, 1960.

⁵⁶ RIAS, Records of the USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series A: 1953-1963, Reel 16, 0526 S-20-62, *Behavioral Science Research in USIA*, 1962.

⁵⁷ RIAS, Records of the USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B: 1964-1982, Reel 2, 0398 S-30-65, *Research at American Exhibits in the USSR and Eastern Europe*, 1-7-65.

⁵⁸ FRUS, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe; Finland; Greece; Turkey, vol. x, part 2, doc. 8, *Despatch From the Embassy in Poland to the Department of State, No. 274, Subject: Report on Cultural Activities for 1957-58 with Special Reference to the Educational Exchange and Cultural Presentation Programs*, Warsaw, January 29, 1959.

⁵⁹ Baldyga, interview.

⁶⁰ FRUS, 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 250, *Operations Coordinating Board Report: Operational Guidance with Respect to Poland*, Washington, May 8, 1957.

recognized that Poland's climate was relatively more receptive toward Western cultural and informational activities than elsewhere in the bloc, as reflected in the success of exhibitions such as "Built in USA" and the establishment of reading rooms.⁶¹

In 1957, the Polish government approved the creation of a Polish-language edition of *America Illustrated* in principle.⁶² U.S. officials treated Poland as a model to emulate – a U.S. Embassy assessment in Czechoslovakia expressed that the U.S. government's aim "which might be achieved within five to ten years, is to bring the CSSR to the level of intellectual receptivity which characterizes present-day Poland."⁶³ By 1958, reports emphasized that a significant information program was operating in Poland with the government's tacit consent, and an official agreement was reached to distribute the Polish edition under the IMG program estimated at \$1.2 million per year, which helped U.S. newspapers, magazines, and movies reach new international markets, that Poland itself had sought to join since 1956.⁶⁴ Yale Richmond noted that despite ongoing restrictions, the agency had already established a library of USIA films and quickly concluded an agreement to sell the magazine.⁶⁵ A State Department dispatch comparing negotiations elsewhere noted how permissions for such information and cultural programming were "freely granted" in Poland but denied in other Eastern European countries.⁶⁶

In 1959, *Ameryka* launched with a circulation of 32,000 copies per month and appeared as a line item in *the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications*, reflecting its formal status within U.S. information programs.⁶⁷ As part of the reciprocal agreement, an English language *Poland* magazine was published in the U.S.⁶⁸ The *Ameryka* magazine's

⁶¹ FRUS, 1955-157, Foreign Economic Policy, Foreign Information Program, vol. ix, doc. 207, *Report Prepared by the National Security Council, NSC 5720, Status of United States Programs for National Security as of June 30, 1957, Part 6-The USIA Program*, Washington, September 11, 1957.

⁶² FRUS, 1955-157, Foreign Economic Policy, Foreign Information Program, vol. ix, doc. 207.

⁶³ FRUS, 1958-1960, vol. x, part 1, Eastern Europe Region, Soviet Union, Cyprus, doc. 35, *Paper Prepared in the Embassy in Czechoslovakia, Subject: Some Aspects of U.S. Policy Toward the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic*, Prague, November 18, 1960.

⁶⁴ FRUS, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe, Finland, Greece, Turkey, vol. x, part 2, doc. 45, National Security Council Report, NSC 5808/1, U.S. Policy Toward Poland, Washington, April 16, 1958.; FRUS, 1961-1963, vo. xvi, Eastern Europe, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, doc. 47, *Memorandum From Secretary of State Rusk to President Kennedy, Subject: Pending PL 480 Agreement with Poland*, Washington, November 15, 196.; FRUS, 1955-1957, Foreign Foreign Economic Policy, Foreign Information Program, vol. ix, doc. 207.

⁶⁵ Richmond, *Practicing Public Diplomacy*, 48.

⁶⁶ FRUS, 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 268, *Despatch From the Legation in Romania to the Department of State, No. 171, Subject: Conference with Deputy Foreign Minister Alexandru Lazareanu*, Bucharest, October 9, 1957.

⁶⁷ FRUS, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe, Finland, Greece, Turkey, vol. x, part 2, doc. 64, *Operations Coordinating Board Report: Report on Poland (NSC 5808/1)*, Washington, February 11, 1959.; *Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications*, no. 772 (US Government Printing Office, May 1959): Entries 5470-7003: ix, 101, 107, 161.

⁶⁸ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 170.

enthusiastic reception upon its release in 1959 was noted at one of the OCB meetings; Despite (or perhaps due to) the Polish public's positive response, Warsaw did not agree to increase the print run by 10,000 copies.⁶⁹ In the years that followed, the IMG sustained a steady flow of American cultural materials to Polish consumers – literary works, magazines, films, music recordings, *World Almanacs*, and *Sears Roebuck* catalogs – while the broader opening gradually increasing since 1956 enabled more direct dialogue between Warsaw and Washington, expanded cultural exchanges, and the consolidation of American information initiatives in Poland.⁷⁰

A later State Department document revealed that a gradual broadening of the spectrum of activities was possible because Poland was unlike other Eastern Bloc countries – “The U.S. has been able to develop a far more extensive exchange program with Poland than with any satellite country.”⁷¹ It was firmly within the Soviet Bloc, tied to the USSR through the Warsaw Pact, geographic vulnerability, economic dependence, fears of German resurgence, and the presence of Soviet troops, and in any crisis, Poland would have to follow Moscow's lead, its foreign policy would mirror the Soviet position.⁷² However, according to the Department of State's Review, Poland was “the softest spot in the Soviet system” – since Gomułka, Poland has enjoyed limited but significant autonomy, rooted in historic anti-Russian sentiment and a Western cultural orientation. Agriculture remained largely uncollectivized, religious freedom was significant, and the Catholic Church operated rather openly. The arts and intellectual life were comparatively free, police repression less severe, and travel, cultural exchange, and emigration to the West were more common than in other Soviet satellite states.⁷³

USIA had large regional printing facilities in Beirut, Manila, and Mexico City, as well as a smaller one in Vienna – the decisions where to print in a given period were based on practical budget circulations and they were not political.⁷⁴ *Ameryka* was printed in Beirut and Manila and its operational distribution in Poland depended on reciprocal agreements with the state distribution network RUCH.⁷⁵ The reciprocal agreements determined the number of

⁶⁹ Ibidem.

⁷⁰ Alfred A. Reisch, *Hot Books in the Cold War: The CIA-Funded Secret Western Book Distribution Program Behind the Iron Curtain* (Central European University Press, 2013), 254.

⁷¹ FRUS, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe, Finland, Greece, Turkey, vol. x, part 2, doc. 64.

⁷² FRUS, 1961-1963, vol. xvi, Eastern Europe, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, doc. 45, *Paper Prepared in the Department of State: Review of Policy Factors Concerning Licensing of Exports to Yugoslavia and Poland*, Washington, October 11, 1961.

⁷³ FRUS, 1961-1963, vol. xvi, Eastern Europe, Cyprus, Greece, Turkey, doc. 45.

⁷⁴ Virden, correspondence.

⁷⁵ University of Arkansas, Special Collections: US Government Cultural Archives, MSC468, Box 227, Folder 23, Airgram from Embassy Warsaw to Department of State: *Press and Cultural Section (USIS) Preliminary*

copies allowed into Poland, based on the volume of Polish publications permitted for sale in the United States – as Virden recalled, “the number of copies of *Ameryka* permitted into Poland was tied to the number of Polish publications that could be sold in the U.S. – a straight reciprocity deal.”⁷⁶ One of the exceptions was during the Poznań Trade Fair in 1962, a special press office was set up in the pavilion, enabling the distribution of an additional 20,000 copies of *Ameryka*.⁷⁷ This reciprocity was a constant factor in negotiations through the 1970s, when U.S. officials in Warsaw sought to renew agreements to keep *Ameryka* in kiosks – Virden as IO negotiated the continued limited sales of *Ameryka* with the head of RUCH in the late 1970s. He recalled the negotiations friendly but businesslike – I am sure that the number of Poles interested in reading the magazine was far greater than the number who could get their hands on a copy (...) The RUCH director was not about to grant our request to increase circulation of *Ameryka*, he stuck strictly to the principle of reciprocity (...) These negotiations were only about circulation, not content.”⁷⁸ Meanwhile, USIA officers on the ground would sometimes secretly engage in a hand-to-hand distribution of other publications like *Dialogue* and *Problems of Communism*.⁷⁹

Dialogue was a quarterly cultural magazine published in English, French, and Spanish by USIA. Established to reach “sophisticated audiences,” *Dialogue* primarily reprinted articles from major American publications and concentrated on American literature, arts, and intellectual life, with occasional coverage of U.S. politics and foreign policy.⁸⁰ In Poland, *Dialogue* was distributed in the 1970s largely by hand, bypassing official kiosks, and was part of a broader USIA effort – alongside *Ameryka* and *Problems of Communism* – to chip away at the communist party’s monopoly on information.⁸¹

1969 Budget Plan and 1970 Budget Estimates, Aug. 16, 1968, Poland: Press and Publication Activities, 8; Virden, interview; Baldyga, interview and correspondence.

⁷⁶ Virden, interview; Virden, “Keeping a Dream Alive: U.S. Work with the Polish Opposition in the ‘70s and ‘80s Showed What Public Diplomacy Can Do,” *Foreign Service Journal* (June 1999): 38; courtesy of Virden.

⁷⁷ Tyszkiewicz, *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 228.

⁷⁸ Virden, correspondence.

⁷⁹ University of Arkansas, Special Collections: US Government Cultural Archives, MSC468, Box 227, Folder 23, Airgram from Embassy Warsaw to Department of State: Press and Cultural Section (USIS) Preliminary 1969 Budget Plan and 1970 Budget Estimates, Aug. 16, 1968, Poland: Press and Publication Activities, 8; Virden, interview; Virden, “The Uses and Abuses of Public Diplomacy: Winning and Losing Hearts and Minds,” in *Nontraditional U.S. Public Diplomacy: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Deborah L. Trent, (Public Diplomacy Council, 2016), 87.

⁸⁰ FRUS, 1917-1972, vol. viii, Public Diplomacy, 1969-1972, doc. 31, Letter From the Assistant Director, East Asia and the Pacific, United States Information Agency (Oleksiw) to all USIA Public Affairs Officers, Washington, August 5, 1969; enclosed: PAO Conference Report Summary Prepared in the United States Information Agency, Washington, undated, USIA East and Pacific PAO Conference Manila, May 9-11, 1969.

⁸¹ Virden, “Keeping a Dream Alive,” 38.

Based on the numerous copies held at the United Nations Library and Archives in Geneva, Switzerland, the 1970s *Dialogue* appeared highly intellectual and mature, text-heavy, featuring analyses and reprints of works by figures such as Susan Sontag, William Faulkner, Emily Dickinson, Frederick Douglass, Sylvia Plath, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Vladimir Nabokov, and Arthur Miller, as well as essays on American architecture, foreign policy, painting, and economic thought.⁸² The tone was serious, the design plain and mainly black and white with little visual content, clearly targeting a well-educated reader. By the late 1980s and 1990s, however, the magazine adopted a more modern, magazine-like appearance, incorporating more images and reprinting articles from outlets such as *The New York Times*, *Science News*, *The New Republic*, and *Harper's*.⁸³

Problems of Communism was a bimonthly USIA publication intended for limited circulation among policymakers, academics, and other specialists concerned with the theoretical and political aspects of world communism, particularly the policies and aims of the Soviet Union. According to its 1954 front-page description, the journal aimed to provide “significant background information and documentary material” on developments within the communist bloc and other communist countries and could be republished internationally, except in the United States and Canada.⁸⁴ The issues were entirely textual, visually austere, and serious in tone, covering subjects such as Soviet agricultural and economic policy, nationality issues, political purges, Sino-Soviet relations, Eastern European politics, and communist influence in regions like the Middle East and China.⁸⁵

Both *Problems of Communism* and *Dialogue* fit within the covert and overt U.S. information programs described in CIA and NSC documents of the period – initiatives that sought to exploit ideological vulnerabilities inside the Eastern bloc through the selective dissemination of ideas, books, and periodicals that were otherwise unavailable under communist regimes.⁸⁶

During the Cold War, *Problems of Communism* was distributed overseas through USIS posts, but its circulation in Eastern Europe was extremely restricted. Dick Virden recalled that, in Poland during the 1970s, he handed copies directly to his acquaintances,

⁸² *Dialogue*, (United States Information Agency, 1972-1994), United Nations Library at Geneva.

⁸³ Ibidem.

⁸⁴ *Problems of Communism*, Issues 1-6, vol. 3, (United States Information Agency, 1954), United Nations Library at Geneva.

⁸⁵ Ibidem.

⁸⁶ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xii, Soviet Union, January 1969-October 1970, doc. 149, *Memorandum From the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger) to President Nixon, Subject: Exploitation of Tensions in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, Washington, undated.

select members of the intelligentsia, such as scholars and opinion leaders, as distributing them through official channels was not possible.⁸⁷ An early 1977 CIA assessment emphasized that underground operations distributing literature and periodicals were “effective in terms of reaching their targets and sustaining the existence and growth of democratic movements.”⁸⁸ However, the same report also warned that “the growth of dissidence in Eastern Europe, especially in Poland, could reach crisis proportions insoluble by the regime and intolerable to the USSR,” potentially provoking Soviet repression.⁸⁹ Brzezinski relayed similar warnings to President Carter, emphasizing that unrest would likely grow throughout Eastern Europe over the next three years and that Poland was “the most volatile of the Eastern European states.”⁹⁰

In late 1978, the CIA reported that increased funding had enabled the publication of more Russian- and Polish-language works intended for distribution in the Soviet bloc; In Poland, with high demand in particular, “eight additional titles [were] in various stages of publication... five volumes have already appeared and been distributed.”⁹¹ Internal U.S. government correspondence shows that the *Ameryka* magazine faced chronic funding and policy pressures. In 1978, for example, Paul Henze of the National Security Council warned that staff cuts and restrictive guidelines would reduce the publication from six to four issues annually despite growing interest in developments in the communist world.⁹²

Together, *Ameryka*, *Dialogue*, and *Problems of Communism* represented complementary aspects of U.S. public diplomacy toward Poland and the Eastern bloc of the Soviet controlled nations. *Ameryka* presented an appealing, humanized, optimistic portrayal of the American way of life, offering an alternative to state-controlled depictions through accessible stories, photographs, and cultural features. *Dialogue* targeted a significantly narrower, more educated audience with literature, essays, and intellectual commentary that highlighted the breadth of American high-culture and ideas. In contrast, *Problems of Communism* delivered dense, analytical treatments of communist systems and policies aimed at scholarly and political elites capable of interpreting and disseminating its content.

⁸⁷ Virden, interview.; Virden, “The Uses and Abuses of Public Diplomacy,” 87.

⁸⁸ FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. xx, Eastern Europe, doc. 3, *Paper Prepared in the Central Intelligence Agency for the Special Activities Working Group*, Washington, February 4, 1977.

⁸⁹ FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. xx, Eastern Europe, doc. 3.

⁹⁰ FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. xx, Eastern Europe, doc. 9, *Memorandum From the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Brzezinski) to President Carter, Subject: Prospects for Eastern Europe*, June 24, 1977.

⁹¹ FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. xx, Eastern Europe, doc. 28, *Memorandum From Director of Central Intelligence Turner to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Brzezinski)*, Washington, December 15, 1978.; Parts of this Memorandum are still classified.

⁹² FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. xxx, Public Diplomacy, doc. 140, *Memorandum From Paul Henze of the National Security Council Staff to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Brzezinski), Subject: Problems of Communism Still in Distress*, Washington, July 17, 1978.

Ameryka's editorial structure reflected its open and international character, with content assembled in Washington by the USIA's Press and Publications Service and Polish staff adapting translations and captions to suit local sensibilities.⁹³ One of the editors of the Polish section was Henryk Grynberg – (b. July 4, 1936, Warsaw) a Polish-Jewish novelist, poet, playwright, and essayist who, as a child, spent 1942-44 in hiding and whose life and work center on Holocaust memory and its aftermath.⁹⁴ He decided not to return to Poland while touring the U.S. with the Warsaw Jewish State Theater in 1967. He later settled in America, where scholarship situates him among post-1968 émigré writers and reads his prose as testimony-driven, ethically focused literature of exile.⁹⁵ His early books, *Żydowska wojna* (*The Jewish War/Child of the Shadows*) and its sequel, *Zwycięstwo* (*The Victory*), have become touchstones in Polish-language Holocaust fiction.⁹⁶ After moving to Washington in 1971, Grynberg joined the USIA's *America Illustrated* editorial team, where he worked from 1971 to 1973, returning in the early 1980s before moving on to the Voice of America.⁹⁷ These experiences shaped his later thoughts on public diplomacy and the limitations of Cold War cultural work.

According to Grynberg, the Polish section operated in a subdued, bureaucratic environment in the early 1970s: “I never saw any Americans, except my boss, who was Polish, and once a week, at an editorial meeting, an American editor-in-chief, who spoke no Polish.”⁹⁸ The emphasis was on “adaptation” rather than translation, aiming to make captions and phrasing every article as culturally Polish as possible – editors avoided foreign-sounding terms, replacing them with native equivalents, for instance, the Americanized *frustracja* (“frustration”) became the Polish *rozgoryczenie* (“bitterness”).⁹⁹ As Grynberg explained,

“[s]pecialist magazines were imported from Poland for us so that we could draw on their professional terminology and phraseology and use it as much as possible in our translations of articles on American agriculture, horticulture, forestry, construction, metallurgy, and aviation, so that our America would read like a Polish magazine.

⁹³ Virden, interview.

⁹⁴ Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, “Grynberg, Henryk,” *Cyfrowy Słownik Pisarzy i Badaczy XX i XXI wieku*.

⁹⁵ Frajlich, Anna, “Henryk Grynberg: The Quest For Artistic And Non-Artistic Truth,” in *Living in Translation* (Brill, 2003).

⁹⁶ “The Jewish War and The Victory (*Żydowska wojna, Zwycięstwo*),” in *Handbook of Polish, Czech, and Slovak Holocaust Fiction: Works and Contexts* edited by Elisa-Maria Hiemer, Jiří Holý, Agata Firlej and Hana Nichtburgerová, (De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021), 233-236.

⁹⁷ Henryk Grynberg, correspondence with author, 20 July 2025; Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, Grynberg Henryk, *Cyfrowy Słownik Pisarzy i Badaczy XX i XXI wieku* (biobibliographic entry).

⁹⁸ Grynberg, correspondence.

⁹⁹ Ibidem.

Unfortunately, American technology and terminology were faster than Polish magazines and their native word formation, so we were still threatened by the Americanization of the language, for which the previous boss had been demoted.”¹⁰⁰

The editorial mantra was, as he remembered, “My nie tłumaczymy, my adaptujemy” (“We are not translating, we are adapting”).¹⁰¹ The editorial team often devised new, colloquial and catchy headlines for articles and photo spreads – Grynberg vividly recalled winning a headline contest for a photo spread on American ice fishing with “Rybka na zimno” (a cold fish) and renaming the article “An Ego Trip” with “Po własne ja.” As another example of “adaptation,” office jokes and cultural references were deliberately recalibrated for Polish readers (e.g., rendering the U.S. “WPA” into Zarząd Robót Publicznych (ZRP) and giving it a locally intelligible, tongue-in-cheek expansion).¹⁰²

American editors selected and assembled the magazine’s features and visuals, while Poles and Russians handled the language work, preparing their own respective language editions. The majority of content was prepared by the same persons for years, for instance, Antoni Koper edited the Polish *America Illustrated* magazine from 1958 until his retirement in 1972.¹⁰³ While at times, some Polish translators were contacted through the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, which supplied paid translation projects into the system. Therefore, the editorial autonomy on the Polish side was limited to linguistic and cultural adaptation, and not the content selection.¹⁰⁴ According to Grynberg, the Poles approached their work with deadly seriousness, “as if they had left their sense of humor somewhere behind in Poland.”¹⁰⁵ He juxtaposes this with the more lighthearted atmosphere among the Americans and the informal, humorous banter on the Russian desk.

The Polish section occupied two rooms: the first room was occupied by the boss, his deputy, and a secretary; the second room housed an English teacher from Warsaw who had recently arrived from England, an elderly veteran – not of the army or war, but of the postwar military press – and Henryk Grynberg, whose desk had once belonged to Zygmunt Haupt.¹⁰⁶ Haupt (1907-1975) was a Polish émigré writer, painter, and translator who was widely

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem.

¹⁰¹ Ibidem.

¹⁰² Ibidem.

¹⁰³ Baldyga, correspondence.

¹⁰⁴ Grynberg, correspondence.

¹⁰⁵ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem.

published in *Kultura* (Paris) and *Wiadomości* (London) and honored with the *Kultura Prize* (1962) and the *Kościelski Foundation Award* (1971); In the 1950s, Haupt wrote scripts for the Voice of America and the USIA, using radio to promote Polish and American literature.¹⁰⁷ Between 1962 and 1967, he contributed reports and essays to the Polish *Ameryka*, with his pieces covering topics such as a New York congress of scientists of Polish origin, Paderewski, and the Kościuszko Foundation.¹⁰⁸ Other sources state that he accepted an editorial position at the *Ameryka* office in 1958, relocated to Washington for the job, and worked there as an editor and translator until his early retirement in 1969.¹⁰⁹

Also present in the Polish section was “the warm and aristocratic” Jula Bnińska, who was always sitting with the Americans.¹¹⁰ In the corner of the Polish *Ameryka* office still stood the desk of Tadeusz Wittlin.¹¹¹ Wittlin (1909-1998) was a lawyer trained in Warsaw who became a poet, satirist, and editor of the prewar weekly *Cyrulik Warszawski*. A survivor of the Gulag and a soldier with Anders’s Army, Wittlin lived in London and Paris after 1945 before settling in the United States in 1952.¹¹² In Washington, he worked in U.S. public diplomacy, preparing cultural programs for the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe in 1952-1958, while from 1958 to 1971, he edited the Polish-language *Ameryka*.¹¹³ Grynberg recalled that Wittlin had earlier lost the top editorial position after “Warsaw experts” criticized the magazine’s use of Polish language “foreign” and hard to understand.¹¹⁴ This episode that sharpened the team’s later insistence on native lexis and heavy adaptation (the day he was demoted, a colleague even left a dictionary open on his desk at the entry “degradacja” – *degradation*).¹¹⁵

For the first several years, the magazine’s pages did not contain any information about the editorial staff. The name of the editor-in-chief, Ruth Adams, appeared for the first time in issue no. 38 (March 1962), and continued to be listed until issue no. 64 (May 1964). For a long time, issues were also undated. The month and year of publication were included only

¹⁰⁷ Barbara Krupa, “Zygmunt Haupt – pisarz, tłumacz, redaktor ‘Głosu Ameryki,’ popularyzator książek i czytelnik,” *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi* 11 (2017): 231-232.

¹⁰⁸ Krupa, “Zygmunt Haupt,” 241.

¹⁰⁹ Wojciech Lipowski, “‘Powraca do nas dawne życie...’ Doświadczenie pamięci w opowiadaniach Zygmunta Haupta,” *Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie* 65 (2020): 175; Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, “Haupt, Zygmunt,” *Cyfrowy Słownik Pisarzy i Badaczy XX i XXI wieku*.

¹¹⁰ Grynberg, correspondence.

¹¹¹ Ibidem.

¹¹² Mirosław A. Supruniuk, “Kronikarski obowiązek: Tadeusz Wittlin (1909-1998),” *Archiwum Emigracji. Studia – szkice – dokumenty* 2 (1999): 237-238.

¹¹³ Zbigniew A. Judycki, “Wittlin Tadeusz,” in *Mazowszanie w świecie: słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1 (CAN, 2016): 299-300.

¹¹⁴ Grynberg, correspondence.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem.

beginning with issue no. 96 (January 1967). More detailed information appeared starting with issue no. 103 (August 1967), which listed the editor-in-chief, John Jacobs, and the other members of the editorial team;¹¹⁶ Leonard Reed was the editor-in-chief from January 1971 (issue no. 144) to June 1974, succeeded by Albert Roland from issue no. 181 (July-August 1974) until issue no. 187 (July-August 1975) when Robert J. Korengold took over. Mary Boyken was the editor-in-chief from issue no. 203 (March–April 1978), and then Albert Roland took the magazine over again from issue no. 218 (Winter 1981), when the magazine became a quarterly. The magazine was revived in Fall 1988 with issue no. 227 under the editorship of Stephen Espie, succeeded by Peter J. Leiné with issue no. 236 in Winter 1990.

Photography and visual presentation were consistently prioritized as they appealed to younger readers and because letters from Poland indicated that images were frequently collected and preserved (for instance, put on the walls as posters), sometimes being valued more than the accompanying texts. As Grynberg put it, “the main attraction of the magazine, if not the only attraction, was its illustrations.”¹¹⁷ The magazine’s layouts were visually polished, and its imagery was occasionally repurposed (or rather stolen) by Polish media; For example, one 1972 issue of *Perspektywy* used an *Ameryka* farm photograph for a cover story on Polish agriculture.¹¹⁸ About a year later, the monthly publication was reduced to a bimonthly, staff was cut, and Grynberg was transferred to Voice of America. Grynberg did not reveal why such changes were made.

The magazine’s thematic scope fit within the USIA’s broader Cold War information strategy, presenting “Americana” – optimistic depictions of U.S. life – to counter the distorted portrayals in the state-controlled Polish media. As Virden noted, the magazine offered “a positive but truthful, objective, picture of our country and society.”¹¹⁹ Articles were supposed to highlight U.S. prosperity, technology, cultural achievements, and democratic values while avoiding content that might suggest U.S. encouragement of violent opposition in Poland.¹²⁰

The magazine featured articles, essays, photographs, and illustrations that presented a narrative that was an alternative to communist propaganda, one that told a positive story about the United States – showing it in a favorable light, emphasizing freedom, democracy, and

¹¹⁶ Editorial Team: John Jacobs, Sherwood Harris, Mary Boyken, Jan Erdman, Lee Battaglia, David Moore, Ellen Walhay, Blanche Edington, in *Ameryka*, no. 103 (1967).

¹¹⁷ Grynberg, correspondence.

¹¹⁸ Grynberg, Letter: “Do Redakcji Szpilek, Warszawa, plac Trzech Krzyży 16, Polska,” Diary entry March 02, 1972, courtesy of Grynberg.

¹¹⁹ Virden, correspondence.

¹²⁰ FRUS, 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 250, *Operations Coordinating Board Report: Operational Guidance with Respect to Poland*, Washington, May 8, 1957.

individual rights. A typical issue of *Ameryka*, especially through the 1960s and mid-1970s before changes in the format, issues were structured around recurring thematic categories. Issues began with a section called “News from the USA,” which updated readers on current events. This section was followed by articles on various topics, such as “Americans at Work,” literature, sports, science, and the arts. Other recurring sections included features on fashion, “The World of Knowledge,” fun facts and puzzles, and “The American Kaleidoscope,” which offered a broad selection of topics related to life in the United States. Other sections covered youth, medicine, agriculture, American politics, space exploration, technology, cars, entertainment, jazz, religion, history, architecture, and Polish-American relations. While the topics varied from issue to issue, the magazine consistently presented an incredibly diverse view of the American society, simultaneously portraying a full kaleidoscope of American soft power narratives.

This kaleidoscopic structure changed in 1974, with the shift in the table of contents from a rigid taxonomy of themes to a straightforward listing of longer articles on various subjects. The focus turned toward depth, with individual articles covering culture, science, politics, medicine, and economics in greater detail. In 1981, the magazine partially reverted to a thematic organization with a new twist – the new table of contents now concluded with two fixed sections – “Recenzje” (reviews of art, literature, and music) and “Kontakty” (profiles of figures or institutions). This structure continued into the late 1980s and 1990s with the addition of theme-centered clusters of articles within each issue. For instance, one issue might contain articles about a chosen topic such as American politics, modern ballet, African-American literature, higher education, capitalism and ethics, or American folklore. In the 1990s, these thematic clusters became more analytical, addressing urgent global and national issues; Examples include The Earth and Its Energy, The Role of America in the World, Social Welfare in America, The U.S. Supreme Court, Science in the 1990s, Economy and Society, Perspectives on Foreign Policy, and Our World and Environment.

The visual and editorial strategies of *Ameryka* were designed to captivate – the layout, photography, illustrations, and tone were carefully constructed and deliberately juxtaposed with the grim reality of life under socialism.¹²¹ In contrast to the rather monochromatic, low-contrast austerity of Polish magazines such as *Kobieta Radziecka*, *Przyjaciółka*, and *Kobieta i Życie* for women, *Pan*, *Horyzonty Techniki*, and *Sportowiec* for men, and *Polityka i Kultura*,

¹²¹ For a detailed account on USIA’s visual strategy and U.S. Cold War photographic diplomacy in Africa from mid-1950s to the late 1960s, see: Darren Newbury, *Cold War Photographic Diplomacy: The U.S. Information Agency and Africa* (Penn State University Press, 2024).

Razem, and *Świat Młodych* for a general readership, *Ameryka* presented a colorful, dynamic, and aesthetically refined world shaped by democratic ideals.¹²² Its pages, printed in high quality on a first-rate paper, did not merely deliver information, they seduced the reader. The magazine's glossy visual culture offered Polish readers an alternative model of modernity, prosperity, and freedom. Importantly, the visuals in *Ameryka* never contradicted the text – rather, they supplemented, reinforced, and often expanded upon it. Examining the magazine through the frameworks of Kress and van Leeuwen's *Reading Images* and Barthes's *Mythologies*, the magazine emerges as a carefully orchestrated visual rhetoric designed to elicit admiration and naturalize ideological myths about the United States.¹²³

A magazine cover not only announces the main topic of the issue and encourages readers to buy it, but is also a kind of programmatic declaration of the magazine's political line.¹²⁴ Therefore, there is no question of the message contained on the cover being accidental – one can also speak of a certain regularity in the use of symbolism, the selection of topics, and the ideology presented on the covers, which is why the covers themselves can be treated as political messages.¹²⁵ *Ameryka*'s covers featured photographs of American cities, roads, and airports, cultural and sport activities, theater, dance, and artistic imagery, American politicians and famous persons, agricultural, space-race, and technical pictures, and graphic designs, among others, often referring to one or more articles in a given issue, or its general theme. The imagery operated similarly to the pictures and graphics inside the magazine and conveyed the same messages – consistently emphasizing prosperity, individuality, and freedom through its visual grammar.

The recurring imagery of American cities, such as New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles, established a visual lexicon of modernity and power. Through Kress and van Leeuwen's lens of representational meaning, skyscrapers symbolize economic success and technological mastery, while bird's-eye views of highways or road systems suggest rational order and control over space; Photographs of satellites, rockets, and medical procedures or equipment emphasized America's capacity to explore the vastness of space and the minutiae of microbiology, reinforcing the idea of American science as comprehensive and commanding.¹²⁶ The concept of interactive meaning, as defined by Kress and van Leeuwen, is

¹²² Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy'ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 73.

¹²³ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*; Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159.

¹²⁴ Marcin Kotras, "Problem migracji na okładkach polskich tygodników opinii," *Interdyscyplinarne Studia Społeczne*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2016): 58-59.

¹²⁵ Kotras, "Problem migracji na okładkach polskich tygodników opinii," 58-59.

¹²⁶ Kress and van Leeuwen, "Conceptual representations: designing social constructs," 79-113.

also crucial here.¹²⁷ High-angle shots positioned viewers as omnipotent observers, reinforcing the superiority associated with American technology. Meanwhile, images of dynamic urban street life invite fascination and identification, subtly encouraging Polish readers to imagine themselves participating in the vibrancy of capitalist modernity. Scientific photographs rendered in hyper-detailed close-ups worked to convey authority and trustworthiness by offering a visual grammar of objectivity. In terms of compositional meaning, skyscrapers or rockets were often placed at the center of the frame, which granted them visual and symbolic prominence.¹²⁸ Clean framing and polished aesthetics reinforced the sense of clarity, order, and control associated with American modernity.

Denotatively, a skyscraper is simply a building, and a satellite is merely a machine in orbit; However, connotatively, skyscrapers signified prosperity and ambition, and satellites connoted futurism, exploration, and a pioneering spirit.¹²⁹ At the mythical level, these images helped to normalize the idea of the United States as a land of progress, freedom, and abundance.¹³⁰ For readers in socialist Poland, skyscrapers were not just architecture, but also mythical symbols of capitalist ambition, while images of space exploration became allegories of America's leadership in human destiny.

Alongside images of urban spaces and scientific achievement, *Ameryka* devoted equal attention to everyday consumer life, showcasing refrigerators, televisions, vacuum cleaners, and supermarkets brimming with goods. Suburban homes with neat lawns, modern architecture, and colorful cars in the driveway projected a vision of stability and comfort. Following Kress and van Leeuwen's framework, these photographs would convey the idea that appliances symbolize technological progress, suburban homes represent prosperity and family happiness, and supermarkets demonstrate abundance and consumer choice.¹³¹ Cars of various colors and models symbolized individuality and mobility, linking consumer goods to freedom itself. The interactive meaning was encoded through perspective – eye-level images of supermarket aisles placed viewers in the role of consumers, as if they could also reach for the goods.¹³² Bright colors, cheerful families, and sunlit settings evoked positive feelings, while close-ups of products emphasized their tangibility and accessibility in America.

¹²⁷ Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer," 114-153.

¹²⁸ Kress and van Leeuwen, "The meaning of composition," 175-214.

¹²⁹ Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159.

¹³⁰ Ibidem.

¹³¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, "Conceptual representations," 79-113.

¹³² Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction," 114-153.

Compositional meaning was conveyed through centering and contrasts.¹³³ Families or goods served as focal points of value, and the variety of shapes, shades, and packaging highlighted the richness of consumer choice.

Barthes' semiotics illuminate the ideological layering at work – denotatively, the images showed refrigerators or homes; Connotatively, they suggested liberation from domestic drudgery, middle-class stability, and personal mobility; At the mythical level, they made abundance seem normal in capitalist life.¹³⁴ The notion of myth helps us understand how consumer choice was elevated to a symbol of freedom, with cars and appliances standing not merely as goods but as emblems of individuality and liberty.¹³⁵ For readers living in a system marked by scarcity and uniformity, these images carried deeply subversive ideological weight. There was no need to attack socialism directly because the abundance and variety on display spoke louder than any argument could, presenting capitalism as the natural condition of modern life.

Beyond consumer goods and technology, *Ameryka* frequently depicted scenes of creativity, democracy, and leisure. Photographs of jazz musicians, artists, and writers emphasized individuality and cultural richness. Images of voting or protests, often drawn from the Civil Rights Movement, emphasized democratic participation and political agency. Outdoor activities such as skiing, hiking, and sports, together with breathtaking natural landscapes, emphasized vitality, balance, and abundance.

The images celebrated individuality, democratic engagement, and harmony with nature.¹³⁶ The interactive meaning invited readers to immerse themselves – close-ups of performers created intimacy, panoramic shots of protests positioned viewers alongside citizens, and wide vistas of landscapes evoked awe.¹³⁷ Compositional meaning centered on people rather than institutions, presenting democracy as grounded in individual agency.¹³⁸

Such imagery would operate ideologically.¹³⁹ For instance, a photograph of a protest with people holding signs connotatively suggests political freedom and a collective voice. Mythically, it naturalizes democracy as vibrant and self-correcting.¹⁴⁰ Images of artists connote tolerance of difference and freedom of expression, constructing the myth of America

¹³³ Kress and van Leeuwen, "The meaning of composition," 175-214.

¹³⁴ Barthes, "Mythologies," 15-108.

¹³⁵ Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159.

¹³⁶ Kress and van Leeuwen, "Conceptual representations," 79-113.

¹³⁷ Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction," 114-153.

¹³⁸ Kress and van Leeuwen, "The meaning of composition," 175-214.

¹³⁹ Barthes, "Mythologies," 15-108.

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem, 109-159.

as naturally diverse and culturally rich. Nature photography connotes purity and openness, mythologizing the United States as technologically advanced yet anchored in unspoiled beauty.

The Cold War function of these images is quite clear – by portraying protests as organized and inspiring, *Ameryka* challenged socialist narratives of American chaos, by celebrating creativity, the magazine contrasted cultural vibrancy with socialist conformity, and by emphasizing leisure and nature, *Ameryka* pitted American vitality and abundance against the industrial bleakness associated with socialism. Together, these visual strategies reveal how *Ameryka* functioned as a sophisticated instrument of Cold War propaganda. Its visual strength did not lie in overt political confrontation, but rather in seduction. Through glossy images of skyscrapers, refrigerators, jazz clubs, and mountain vistas, the magazine presented America as the future – modern, prosperous, democratic, and free. The images naturalized ideological assumptions, portraying abundance as normal, democracy as natural, and freedom as inherent. For Polish readers, such imagery served as an invitation to a different world – one that made socialism seem not just undesirable but also obsolete.

The readers were also sometimes addressed directly by American presidents and ambassadors in a short section, usually appearing next to the Table of contents. For instance, in the foreword to issue 227, the Ambassador John R. Davis, Jr. explicitly pledged that *Ameryka* will cover political life, capitalism, ethics, technology, and culture, portraying America as a land of ideas and opportunities rather than a single ideology.¹⁴¹ In issue 208, President Carter addressed the readers, stating: “I am glad that I can once again convey my greetings to the Polish people. My wife and I fondly remember the warm hospitality we received during our visit to Warsaw in December 1977. I know that many of you have been reading *Ameryka* regularly since its first issue, which appeared 20 years ago. I hope that this magazine will continue to be a vital and lasting link between our countries, and I am convinced that our close ties will continue to grow stronger.”¹⁴² Such greetings and messages printed in *Ameryka* conferred legitimacy and prestige on the magazine, signaling that it received attention from the head of state. By calling the periodical a “vital and lasting link,” the presidential message reframed *Ameryka* as cultural infrastructure, or a surrogate embassy, thereby raising its diplomatic meaning in the bilateral relations.

¹⁴¹ Ambassador John R. Davis, Jr., “Letter to the Readers,” *Ameryka*, no. 227 (1988). Ambassador Davis played an informal role in advancing American cultural influence. His wife described American movie screenings, meetings, and parties in their residence. Mazurkiewicz, *Dyplomacja Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec wyborów w Polsce w latach 1947 i 1989* (Neriton, 2007), 177.

¹⁴² Jimmy Carter, “A Word from the US President,” *Ameryka*, no. 208 (1979).

Circulation in Poland continued through the 1970s, at times with special issues, such as the July 1972 edition, featuring U.S. Bicentennial themes.¹⁴³ However, the publication of *Ameryka* was abruptly suspended from mid-1982 to 1988. In the aftermath of the Martial Law, the last issue published was the issue no. 224 (1982). As bilateral relations were dominated by U.S. sanctions since 1981, the Polish government halted the distribution of the magazine.¹⁴⁴ The editorial work on the Polish edition did not stop. The team, then headed by Grynberg, was preparing content for the issues once the magazine would be restored. The nearly 7 year hiatus in publication was partially initiated in response to U.S. criticism of the martial law and of General Jaruzelski, including statements by U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who called Jaruzelski “a Soviet officer in Polish uniform.”¹⁴⁵ In June 1984, a CIA memo judged Poland a continuing weak link in the bloc, noting that the economy was broken and the society-state conflict was unresolved.¹⁴⁶ The administration maintained a step-by-step approach, relaxing sanctions only in response to verifiable liberalization. Publicly, Washington and Reagan himself called the sanctions “reversible” and tied small concessions (fishing rights, Christmas charters, LOT landings, the resumption of scientific exchanges) to continued progress.¹⁴⁷

However, continuous efforts to restore *Ameryka* in the mid-1980s were met with resistance from the Polish government.¹⁴⁸ U.S. officials repeatedly raised the matter, linking it to broader negotiations on cultural exchanges, though the Polish government “stubbornly continue[d] to deny formal permission” to resumption of the magazine and tied the issue to

¹⁴³ FRUS, 1917-1972, vol. viii, Public Diplomacy, 1969-1972, doc. 174, *Memorandum Prepared in the United States Information Agency: USIA's Report on Bicentennial Planning*, Washington, August 18, 1972.

¹⁴⁴ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 31, *Action Memorandum From the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs (Burt) to Secretary of State Shultz, Subject: Action Plan for Eastern Europe and the GDR*, Washington, September 29, 1984.; FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. I, Foundations of Foreign Policy, doc. 158, *Editorial note: Secretary of State George Shultz testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee concerning U.S.-Soviet relations*, June 15, 1983.

¹⁴⁵ Grynberg, correspondence.

¹⁴⁶ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 28, *Memorandum Prepared in the Central Intelligence Agency, EURM84-10136, Subject: Eastern Europe-USSR: Rising Discord Within the Soviet Bloc*, Washington, June 26, 1984.

¹⁴⁷ Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State, Publications Series: II Current Policy 557-631, Box 9, Current Policy no. 621, *U.S. Relations with Poland*, October 11, 1984.; FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 31.

¹⁴⁸ Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I, 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Folder 8705780, *From Secretary of State to Embassy Warsaw: USIA in Poland: Demarche on Polish Programs*, August 4, 1987; Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I, 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Folder 8705780, *Memorandum from Marvin L. Stone, Acting Director, for the Honorable Frank C. Carlucci, Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the White House, Subject: Polish Government Restrictions on USIA Programs*, August 3, 1987.

disputes over Radio Free Europe broadcasts.¹⁴⁹ In 1986 and 1987, Warsaw was still restricting USIA publications and exhibits, while internal guidance emphasized that the full restoration of information and cultural programs was essential to normalization and cautioned that further progress would stagnate without it.¹⁵⁰ With Vice President George H. W. Bush scheduled to visit Poland in 1987, Washington planned to address the issue of USIA's directly.¹⁵¹ Grynberg, the editor-in-chief at the time, recalled: "We prepared the issues, but they never reached Poland. Not a single copy."¹⁵² Thus, he eventually returned to work at Voice of America under the pseudonym Robert Miller.¹⁵³ Internal U.S. memos noted that "the absence of *Ameryka* is a glaring omission in our cultural presence in Poland."¹⁵⁴ The U.S. government considered *Ameryka* a "major USIA activity" in Poland, alongside extensive cultural exhibitions, and viewed its absence as significantly limiting outreach behind the Iron Curtain.¹⁵⁵

The publication was restored in 1988 and returned with a new editorial energy, as well as a broader and more nuanced perspective than during the early Reagan years, presenting multiple perspectives and even including counterarguments in an apparent attempt to avoid another shutdown, while promising readers an authentic portrayal of the United States as a culturally vibrant, intellectually diverse, and economically dynamic nation. This reflected the more cautious American approach of the mid-to-late 1980s, which emphasized conditional engagement, pressure for political reform, and defense of instruments of U.S. cultural diplomacy, all while navigating the unstable and shifting political landscape of Poland.¹⁵⁶ *Ameryka* continued with such pace and tone until 1992, when geopolitical shifts and evolving information strategies brought its long Cold War mission to an end. Over its decades of

¹⁴⁹ Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I: 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Subject File 8706807, *Memorandum for the Honorable Frank C. Carlucci Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, The White House, from Marvin L. Stone, Acting Director, Subject: Polish Government Restrictions on USIA Programs*, Washington, August 3, 1987.

¹⁵⁰ Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I, 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Folder 8705780, *From Secretary of State to Embassy Warsaw: USIA in Poland.*; Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I, 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Folder 8705780, *Memorandum from Marvin L. Stone.*

¹⁵¹ Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I, 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Folder 8705780, *Memorandum from Marvin L. Stone.*

¹⁵² Grynberg, correspondence.

¹⁵³ Jarosław Anders, correspondence 12 April 2025.

¹⁵⁴ Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I: 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Subject File 8706807, *Secretary of State to Embassy Warsaw, Consulate Krakow, Consulate Poznan, Subject: USIA in Poland: Polish Embassy Response*, Washington, August 1987.

¹⁵⁵ Ronald Reagan Library, Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I: 8705432-8708269, Box 15, Subject File 8706807, *Memorandum for the Honorable Frank C. Carlucci.*

¹⁵⁶ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 31.

intermittent publication, *Ameryka* was used as a visible artifact of U.S. soft power in Poland – it was highly visual, officially sanctioned yet locally adapted, functioning at the intersection of public diplomacy, propaganda, and cultural exchange.

Distributed through a combination of official channels, personal contacts, and sometimes covert means, American publications distributed in Poland – whether glossy and popular or austere and academic – were all part of a sustained effort to undermine the monopoly on information in communist societies and to seed alternative ways of seeing the world. The U.S. officials' continued insistence on maintaining and later resuming publication of *Ameryka*. The Polish authorities' firm resistance to its return after circulation was halted in the 1980s. Both attitudes could be a testimony to the magazine's significance as a medium of U.S. cultural diplomacy in Poland.

2.2.1. Format and Design

Between its inception in 1959 and its final issues in the early 1990s, *Ameryka* underwent a series of striking transformations in both format and design – changes that reflected shifts in publishing policy and resources, as well as broader strategies of cultural diplomacy. The magazine sought to present the United States as a dynamic, multifaceted society and remain attractive to Polish readers despite shifting political conditions.

From the first issue until the end of the 1960s, *Ameryka* maintained a relatively stable structure.¹⁵⁷ Each year, twelve issues were published, typically containing 58 to 64 pages, with 62 pages being the most common length. The format projected consistency, reliability, and a rhythm similar to that of other illustrated cultural magazines circulating in Poland at the time. Minor variations in page numbers from issue to issue suggested some flexibility in content planning, yet the overall impression of a solidly produced periodical remained intact.

The 1970s saw more pronounced experimentation with format and design, but maintained cautious approach with the narrative (especially given the risk of unrest) following recommendations of USIA Special Reports.¹⁵⁸ Between 1970 and 1972, the magazine maintained a monthly publication schedule but reduced its typical length to approximately 58

¹⁵⁷ *Ameryka*, no. 1-131 (1959-1969).

¹⁵⁸ RIAS, Records of the USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 8, 0767 S-1-70: *Attitudes Toward Key Political Concepts in East Europe*, January 30, 1970; RIAS, Records of the USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 10, 0290 S-19-71: *Evaluation of a Radio Free Europe Report – Polish Expectations, Hopes, and Fears Concerning East-West Relations in the 1970s*, October 6, 1971.; FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxix, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 142, *Telegram From the Embassy in Poland to the Department of State*, 1430Z, 3501, Subject: Gdansk Riots, Warsaw, December 16, 1970.

pages, very occasionally expanding to 64 pages.¹⁵⁹ A major shift occurred in 1973, *when Ameryka* was published only ten times that year, with issues ranging from 58 to 66 pages.¹⁶⁰ This foreshadowed further disruptions in 1974, when publication frequency was cut in half and only six issues appeared, establishing it as a bimonthly publication; The first three issues of 1974 (nos. 178, 179, and 180) were printed in the previous size with 58 pages each, then, starting with issue 181, *Ameryka* adopted a smaller physical format and increased its page count to 66, signaling a new stage in its development.¹⁶¹ This transition was both technical and symbolic, suggesting an adaptation to material and political constraints while refreshing the magazine's identity.

From 1975 to 1977, *Ameryka* stabilized again, producing six 66-page issues annually.¹⁶² This pattern of reduced frequency and expanded length continued through 1978 (five issues), 1979 (six issues), and 1980 (five issues).¹⁶³ Thus, the late 1970s established a new standard of fewer issues with more substantive content per volume, aligning with a growing emphasis on longer, in-depth articles.

The early 1980s brought a dramatic rethinking of *Ameryka*'s visual identity – in 1981, the cover was redesigned so that the title, “Ameryka,” appeared as a large, bold sign visually separated from the cover image by a background band.¹⁶⁴ This design contrasted with earlier ones, in which the title, still in bold, floated directly above the photograph or graphic at the top of the page. The new style created a more structured, modern look, signaling a deliberate rebranding at the dawn of a turbulent decade. The Polish crisis of 1980-1981, with the emergence of the Solidarity movement, created grounds for more possible influence.

This redesign coincided with a sharp increase in size and a reduction in frequency to a quarterly publication – four issues were published in 1981, with page counts ranging from 90 to 96 – substantially more than in previous years. Three more oversized issues followed in 1982 containing between 92 and 98 pages.¹⁶⁵ This shift toward longer, weightier editions reflected the magazine's mission to broaden horizons and provide in-depth intellectual substance, not focusing as much on the visual appeal as previously.

¹⁵⁹ *Ameryka*, no. 133-167 (1970-1972).

¹⁶⁰ *Ameryka*, no. 168-177 (1973).

¹⁶¹ *Ameryka*, no. 178-183 (1974).

¹⁶² *Ameryka*, no. 184-201 (1975-1977).

¹⁶³ *Ameryka*, no. 202-206 (1978); *Ameryka*, no. 207-212 (1979); *Ameryka*, no. 213-217 (1980).

¹⁶⁴ *Ameryka*, no. 218-221 (1981).

¹⁶⁵ *Ameryka*, no. 222-224 (1982).

After just three issues in 1982, publication of *Ameryka* was halted for several years, resuming in 1988 with two issues – nos. 227 and 228.¹⁶⁶ The discontinuity of the issue numbers (from 224 to 227) might be explained by the fact that, as Grynberg explained, the editorial team continued preparing issues throughout the time of martial law and long negotiations of the U.S. government to bring *Ameryka* back, but none were able to reach Poland.¹⁶⁷ It is not clear what happened with the unused content.

From 1988 onward, the cover format featured a clean white background, a large *Ameryka* logo at the top, and an image or graphic occupying roughly a quarter to a half of the page. Below the image was a large-font text listing the main topics, functioning almost like a miniature table of contents on the cover itself. This schematic, modernist design conveyed clarity and order, aligning with the editorial strategy of offering Polish readers a direct, more confident and accessible entry point into American themes during the late Cold War. In this late phase, content volumes were consistently high – the two issues in 1988, each 98 pages, followed by four issues in both 1989 and 1990, each 98 pages long.¹⁶⁸

The early 1990s marked the ending phase of *Ameryka*'s time. Three issues appeared in 1991, though one (no. 239) is missing from examined collections, and the remaining issues contained 98, 98, and 82 pages, respectively.¹⁶⁹ Three issues were produced in 1992 – two of which are unavailable (nos. 242 and 243). Issue 241 consisted of 82 pages.¹⁷⁰ The reduction in length compared to the late 1980s suggests a gradual winding down of the project (and likely relocation of resources to support the emerging democracy as Dick Virden suggested), as Poland entered a new democratic era, rendering *Ameryka*'s role as a cultural window less significant.¹⁷¹

2.2.2. *Ameryka* – Quantitatively

The following graph illustrates the annual corpus¹⁷² size of the *Ameryka* magazine from 1959 to 1992, with a break between mid-1982 until 1988. The graph, thus, shows how much content (literally how many thousands of words) were being published in *Ameryka* each year. The x-axis represents the years of publication, and the y-axis shows the number of words (tokens) collected each year. Each bar represents the size of the corpus for that year

¹⁶⁶ *Ameryka*, no. 227-228 (1988).

¹⁶⁷ Grynberg, correspondence.

¹⁶⁸ *Ameryka*, no. 227-228 (1988); *Ameryka*, no. 229-232 (1989); *Ameryka*, no. 233-236 (1990).

¹⁶⁹ *Ameryka*, no. 227, 238, 240 (1991).

¹⁷⁰ *Ameryka*, no. 241 (1992).

¹⁷¹ Virden, correspondence with author 13 April 2025.

¹⁷² Corpus is a large collection of all language texts.

(the number of words published in *Ameryka* in all issues published in a given year). Thus, the data shows that the largest amount of content was published in 1968 and the least in 1981 and 1988. The data for 1992 was not fully available (issues 242 and 243 were missing), so this year could not be accurately represented. Although the number of pages increased by nearly one-third, this did not compensate for the reduction in issues, which declined from 12 per year in 1976 to 6 and then to 4 in 1981.

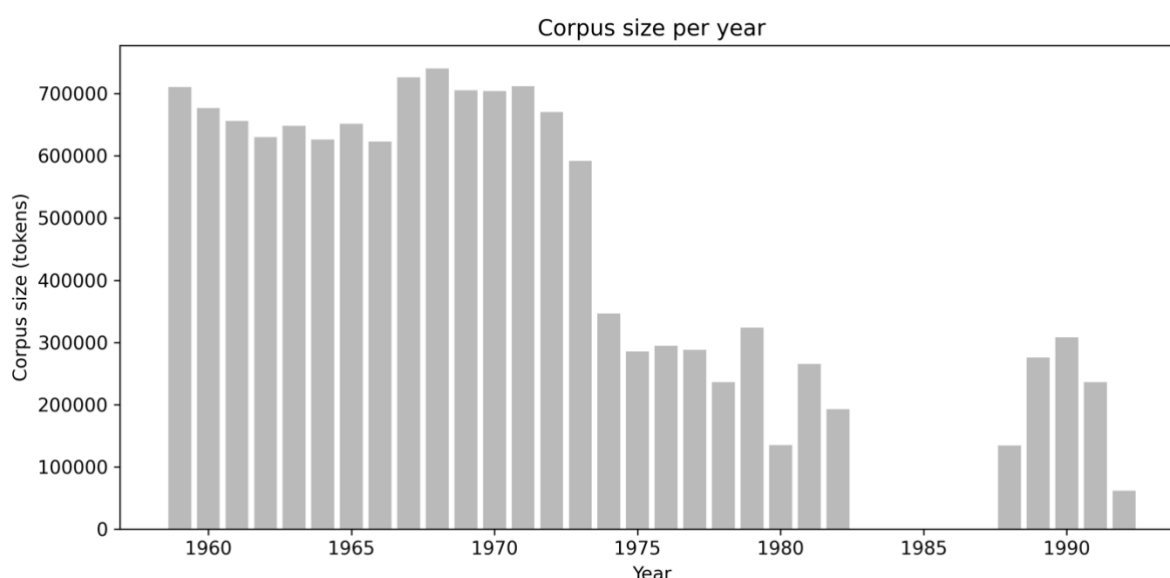


Figure 1 Corpus size per year.

Figure 2 illustrates the total frequency of themes that appeared in *Ameryka* throughout all the years of its publication. The x-axis represents different themes, with bars indicating the total number of “hits” of a given theme, and the y-axis represents the number of hits across all years. The data shows that the three most frequently discussed themes were: Americans, Polish Americans, and women, and the least frequent were: communism, socialism, and Christianity. The Polish American theme taking second place clearly suggests that, although America Illustrated appeared in multiple language versions (with a presupposition of the same content just translated across editions) the Polish version was distinctly adapted content-wise for its readership behind the Iron Curtain. In addition, the strong presence of women-related themes supports Wasilewski’s argument about the significance of female representation in America, which he observed through the frequency of women on its covers (approximately every third issue) and the numerous photographs of and themes related to women in his 1959–1960 research sample.¹⁷³ Freedom stands out as the most frequently discussed value, narrated

¹⁷³ Wasilewski, “Obraz Kobiety w Propagandzie Amerykańskiej i Radzieckiej 1958–1960,” 62-76.

almost 3 times more frequently than equality. The graph also indicates that the themes on ideological systems of Capitalism and Communism were scarce. The words – prosperity and progress – were included in the analysis as the most Americanized phrases used in the magazine.

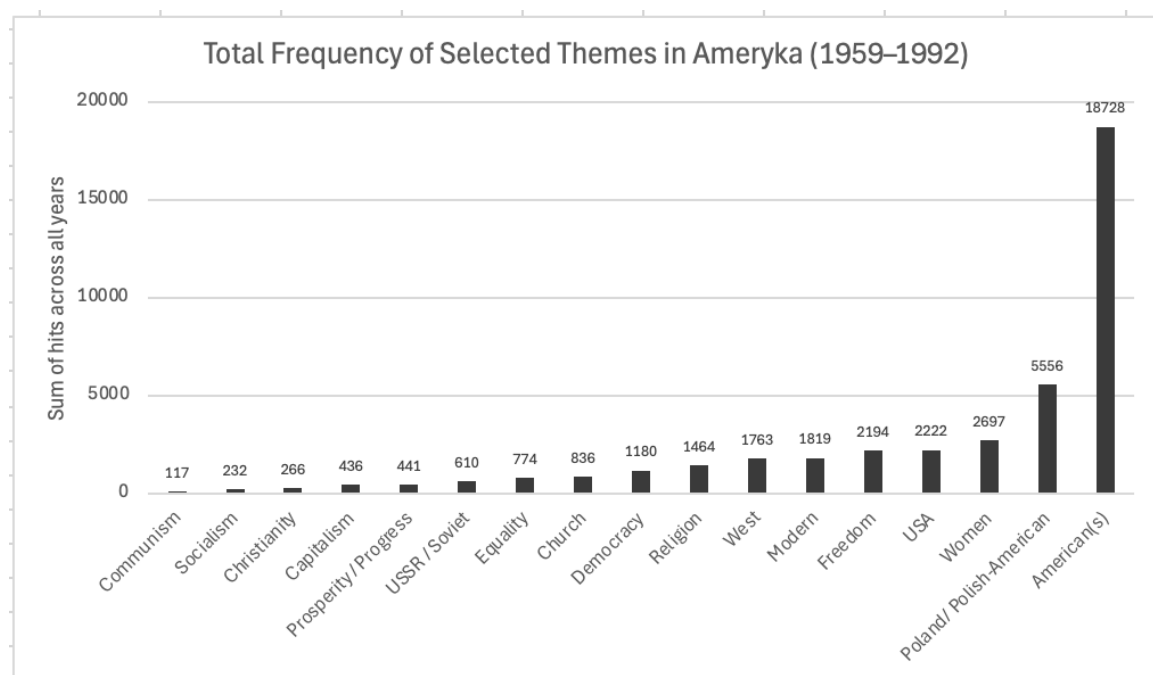


Figure 2 Total Frequency of Selected Themes in Ameryka 1959-1992.

3.2.3. *Ameryka* within Strategic Influence and Soft Power

During the Cold War, the struggle for achieving strategic influence became operational: rival states competed for interpretive dominance in everyday life, and magazines like *Ameryka* were created to make one social order seem normal and the other seem implausible. “A war of ideas is, quite literally, a struggle over reality for which people will die.”¹⁷⁴ This premise situates public diplomacy within existential contestation rather than mere persuasion. For this study, the practical implication is audience design, as *Ameryka* had to appeal to both broad audiences and the opinion-shaping “elite” (defined by cognitive engagement rather than class), pairing accessible imagery with reasoned narratives about institutions and everyday life.¹⁷⁵

The theoretical framework of political warfare clarifies the stakes. Words and actions that encourage allies and discourage adversaries – such as coercive diplomacy, economic

¹⁷⁴ Robert R. Reilly, “Conducting a War of Ideas with Public Diplomacy: An insider’s view,” in *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare*, J. Michael Waller, ed. (The Institute of World Politics Press, 2008)120-121.

¹⁷⁵ Reilly, “Conducting a War of Ideas with Public Diplomacy,” 121.

sanctions, propaganda, and sabotage – constitute a distinct battlespace.¹⁷⁶ Therefore, political warfare is not merely a metaphor. It is a distinct form of warfare capable of generating consequences as tangible and intrusive as military action. This study treats psychological warfare as an effect-oriented toolset that uses propaganda and non-kinetic measures to shape how people think, feel, and act. In Mazurkiewicz’s account, this involves planned influence on opinions, emotions, and behavior, with the focus on the psychological effects rather than the instrument itself.¹⁷⁷ At the same time, political warfare, as reconstructed in the Kennan tradition, is considered as the broader umbrella of “all means short of war” that fuses overt instruments (alliances, aid, “white” propaganda) with covert action (support for friendly forces, “black” psychological operations, sabotage, and even encouragement of underground resistance).¹⁷⁸ This distinction helps contextualize *Ameryka*. The magazine can be analyzed as a medium used to build credibility and boost morale, but it only makes full strategic sense when considered alongside the political warfare campaign that combined media persuasion, economic statecraft, and covert pressure. This integration is precisely what Mazurkiewicz highlights when she notes that, in U.S. practice, psychological warfare came to encompass a complex set of actions whose cumulative impact affected “the minds and the will” of people in the Cold War environment.¹⁷⁹ Interpreted through this lens, *Ameryka* can be seen as a calibrated instrument of political warfare – non-coercive in form, yet wielding narratives to sustain sympathizers, sway neutral parties, and complicate hostile narratives within the Polish information sphere.

The USIA was established with the aim of “telling America’s story,” a task fulfilled through various means and channels over time. Among radio broadcasting, film and television material, USIS libraries, academic exchanges, English language programs, American studies, exhibitions, fairs, concerts, and performances, *Ameryka* was employed to tell that story in its full thematic scope. In addition to covering a variety of subjects, some of which were addressed through other programs, *Ameryka* subtly informed its readers of these other USIA’s public diplomacy initiatives.

In Cold War public diplomacy, the psychology of national signaling is important because every word, tone, and image (or lack thereof) has an effect, regardless of intent.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶ Angelo Codevilla, “Political Warfare: A set of means for achieving political ends,” in *Strategic Influence*, 206-207.

¹⁷⁷ Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 33-35.

¹⁷⁸ Ibidem, 36.

¹⁷⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁰ Michael Cohn, “Getting Psyched: Putting psychology to work to shorten conflicts and save lives,” in *Strategic Influence*, 224-225.

Psychological statecraft, “a potent weapon in the national arsenal,” if effective, it aligns short-term actions with long-term goals by treating the mind as “the battlefield.”¹⁸¹ In practice, this reasoning would frame *Ameryka*’s editorial choices – what to show, how to caption, what to omit, and when to highlight prosperity or pluralism – as cumulative signaling intended to reinforce pro-U.S. interpretations without overt didacticism.

Crucially, *Ameryka* blended rational appeals with affective persuasion – the magazine embodied the strategy of appealing to both central and peripheral route to cognition – while the layout, photography, color, and pace convey the rapid, emotional message, articles and captions engage slower, central processing.¹⁸² In an illustrated monthly magazine, such division of functions is essential – glossy visuals foster familiarity and ease, while adapted Polish captions provide context and rationale. Since reinforcement is easier than conversion, it seems that the “baseline” was set by monthly repetition of domestic motifs (housing, leisure, art, culture, family), while denser features implicitly challenged Soviet-bloc assumptions when readers were ready to accommodate change.

Impact also depends on tailoring; thus, strategic communicators must understand their audience, build momentum, and know when to act.¹⁸³ As symbols organize meaning and mobilize identity, “human terrain analysis” – mapping cultural, social, and media factors – keeps those symbols legible and, therefore, potentially impactful.¹⁸⁴ For the Polish edition, this meant using precisely adapted native language, as well as storytelling and humor that was culturally sensitive – with *Ameryka* functioning as a foreign state’s medium, but ultimately voiced by Polish editors. A dual strategy emerges – fostering long-term relationships through consistent, localized voice, complemented by tactical, concise messaging during sensitive moments (counterpropaganda, thematic emphasis or omission, presidential greetings, promotions of exhibitions or exchanges) which address immediate setbacks.¹⁸⁵ This principle was the foundation of *Ameryka*’s editorial decisions – reader surveys were conducted, language was refined for optimal resonance, and adjustments in format, design, and visual presentation ensured that the magazine remained aligned with evolving contexts.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, Washington was delving deep into its research on the Polish intelligentsia, meticulously cataloging their educational background, geographical location, and social

¹⁸¹ Cohn, “Getting Psyched,” 224-225.

¹⁸² Ibidem, 226-228.

¹⁸³ Ibidem, 241.

¹⁸⁴ Andrew Garfield, “A Comprehensive Approach to Information Operations,” in *Strategic Influence*, 361-364.

¹⁸⁵ J. Michael Waller, “Wartime Message-Making: An immediate-term approach,” in *Strategic Influence*, 402.

¹⁸⁶ Grynberg, correspondence.

composition.¹⁸⁷ Such extensive data collection was intended to enhance the effectiveness of information campaigns aimed at targeting elites and opinion-formers.¹⁸⁸ This revealed the sophistication of U.S. public diplomacy behind the Iron Curtain – it was not just about sending jazz musicians or distributing glossy magazines about U.S. culture, but about carefully calibrating messages, audiences, and strategies to achieve long-term influence. Such strategy requires mastering both the narrative and psychological domains of war of ideas.¹⁸⁹

Operationally, public diplomacy is a toolbox of influence, and its vocabulary facilitates an understanding of *Ameryka*'s repertoire beyond its implied motives. Reciprocity (the idea that favors incur obligations) with GRIT strategies initiated cooperation, underwrote exchange agreements and anniversary greetings.¹⁹⁰ Foot-in-the-door (FITD) techniques normalized small, safe exposures to “American everyday” that could later be scaled up.¹⁹¹ “Granfalloon” (identity cues) linked Polishness to Polish-American stories.¹⁹² Projection tactics and rumor-control scripts offered crisis management.¹⁹³ A standing ethics debate separated attention, credibility, and participation from deception or strategic omission.¹⁹⁴

Theories of cultural diplomacy are equally crucial to understanding *Ameryka*, for instance, Zaharna's explanation of communication logics – individualistic, relational, and

¹⁸⁷ RIAS, Records of USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 4, 0572 S-27-68: *Impression of Political Attitudes in Poland*, 1968; RIAS, Records of USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 4, 0572 S-27-68: Office of Policy and Research, Research Service Memorandum: Some Data on the Composition and Geographical Distribution of Polish Intelligentsia, August 20, 1968.

¹⁸⁸ RIAS, Records of USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 4, 0572 S-27-68: Office of Policy and Research, Research Service Memorandum: Some Data on the Composition and Geographical Distribution of Polish Intelligentsia, August 20, 1968.

¹⁸⁹ Waller, “Wartime Message-Making: An immediate-term approach,” 402.

¹⁹⁰ The Gradual Reduction in Tension Reduction (GRIT) strategy is a method of resolving conflict in which one party takes the first step by making small, one-sided concessions. The goal is to interrupt ongoing hostility and foster mutual trust by gradually reducing conflict through a cycle of positive actions. GRIT strategy is opposed to a simple tit-for-tat strategy, which is a method of encouraging cooperation in repeated interactions. Cooperation is exhibited when the opponent cooperates, and defection is shown when the opponent defects. This strategy is often used in game theory and can effectively promote cooperation or deter exploitation.

¹⁹¹ Foot-in-the-door (FITD) technique is a persuasion strategy which starts with an easily accepted request that builds over time. It uses psychological principles such as consistency and self-perception to make people more likely to agree to a second, bigger request after they have said “yes” to the first, less significant one. The FITD technique is widely used in marketing, sales, social influence, and digital engagement.

¹⁹² Granfalloon – see: Kurt Vonnegut, *Cat's Cradle*, 1963.

¹⁹³ Projections tactic is shifting blame by accusing others of one's own negative traits or actions in order to distract from one's own wrongdoing; “Damn it, Refute it, Damn it, Replace it” is a countertactic developed during WWII for responding to disinformation. It clearly states at the beginning and end that the claim is false. It avoids repeating the misinformation in a memorable way. The response should be brief, factual, logical, consistent, and calm, if possible, redirected to positive or unrelated information.

¹⁹⁴ Anthony Pratkanis, “Tactics of Social Influence for Use in International Conflicts,” in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy, Second Edition*, ed. by Nancy Snow and Cull, (Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2020), 147-150.

holistic – are all evident in its pages.¹⁹⁵ From an individualistic perspective, states act as autonomous entities that disseminate cultural products to foster connection and mutual understanding – this logic prioritizes the concept of culture as a soft power asset and an attribute unique to and individual of each state.¹⁹⁶ In contrast, the relational logic views culture as a shared identity, emphasizing co-creation and mutual understanding among people of the same heritage, while the holistic logic views cultural diplomacy as an expression of universal interconnectedness and aiming for systemic relational harmony.¹⁹⁷ These logics are not geoculturally nor mutually exclusive. They are rather global, coexisting and overlapping.¹⁹⁸ On one level, *Ameryka* projected culture as a soft power asset in an individualistic sense, and at the same time, it embraced relational logic by promoting shared understanding and common values. Additionally, it adopted a holistic approach by framing American-Polish cultural ties as part of a broader sense of universal interconnectedness – this aligns closely with Sevin’s concept of “shared soft power,” in which cultural diplomacy shifts from projection to collaboration.¹⁹⁹

At the core of *Ameryka*’s design is the concept of nation branding. Following Manor’s discussion, it seems that *Ameryka* projects a distilled, highly managed image of the United States – an image aligning with the absolutists’ belief that a nation can be marketed like a product (just as France used “liberté, égalité, fraternité” and Nike employs “Just Do It”) rather than with the “moderates’ argument that a nation is too complex and diverse to be reduced to a single brand.²⁰⁰ In this sense, the magazine also clearly embodies Fan’s definition of nation branding.²⁰¹ The USIA used *Ameryka* to present the United States as a land of freedom, equality, and opportunity – a place with an abundant and convenient daily life, a nation that is modern yet respectful of tradition, a country that strives for progress yet is humble enough to admit imperfection, and a nation that is committed to universal betterment of humankind through science and democratic dialogue. In *Ameryka*, consumer imagery especially worked as a proxy “country-of-origin” cue – readers symbolically sampled American products, making the same association that makes “French wine, German cars, Swiss watches”

¹⁹⁵ R.S. Zaharna, “Communication Logics in Global Public Diplomacy,” in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 104-106.

¹⁹⁶ Zaharna. “Communication Logics in Global Public Diplomacy,” 104.

¹⁹⁷ Ibidem, 98-99.

¹⁹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁹ Efe Sevin, *Public Diplomacy and the Implementation of Foreign Policy in the US, Sweden and Turkey* (Springer, 2017), 153, qtd. in Zaharna, “Communication Logics in Global Public Diplomacy,” 104-106.

²⁰⁰ Ilan Manor, *The Digitalization of Public Diplomacy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 259.

²⁰¹ Y. Fan, “Branding a nation: Towards a better understanding,” in *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, vol. 6, no. 3 (2010): 97-103, qtd. in Manor, *The Digitalization of Public Diplomacy*, 259.

shorthand for national qualities and that, over the two centuries, linked U.S. goods such as Marlboro or iPhones to an ethic of freedom.²⁰² While the theories on national branding are relatively new, the practice itself is not.

Nevertheless, practical governance has adopted some aspects of this theory. For example, as Manor suggests, many governments subscribe to Y. Fan's definition of nation branding as "a process by which a nation's image can be created, monitored, evaluated and proactively managed in order to improve or enhance the nation's reputation among target international audiences."²⁰³

Is public diplomacy a spectacle then? State performance in practice, like nation branding, is not new – the contemporary international actors are not necessarily more moral, but rather, they have become more concerned with appearing moral.²⁰⁴ This performative morality shapes their public diplomacy (and it was also already rewarded in the Cold War discourse), often conforming to behavioral norms that do not reflect their internal beliefs. Alexander references Neta Crawford (2002) in support of this claim, explaining that norms become dominant when they align with the strategic interests and moral inclinations of powerful actors:

"Norms emerge and are promoted because they reflect not only the economic and security interests of dominant members of international society but also their moral interests and emotional dispositions. This suggests that for new behavioral norms to become dominant, the most powerful actors must find that their economic and security interests coincide with the proposed new norm, or at least not be counter to it, and that they may also believe the prescription is good on substantive normative grounds."²⁰⁵

This performative dimension introduces a layer of deception – public diplomacy, as Alexander claims, participates in a pseudo-world of image management and spectacle.²⁰⁶ Drawing from a French philosopher, Guy Debord, Alexander situates public diplomacy within the realm of "false consciousness," where the moral causes espoused serve to validate neoliberal self-perception more than promote genuine ethical engagement.²⁰⁷ The image

²⁰² Cull. *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age* (Polity Press, 2019), 124.

²⁰³ Y. Fan. "Branding a nation: Towards a better understanding," 259.

²⁰⁴ Colin R. Alexander. "Hegemony, Morality and Power: A Gramscian Theoretical Framework for Public Diplomacy," in *The Frontiers of Public Diplomacy: Hegemony, Morality and Power in the International Sphere*. (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2021), 20.

²⁰⁵ Neta Crawford, *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization and Humanitarian Intervention* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 5, qtd. in Alexander. "Hegemony, Morality and Power," 20.

²⁰⁶ Alexander. "Hegemony, Morality and Power," 21.

²⁰⁷ Guy Debord. *Society of the Spectacle*, (Soul Bay Press, 2012), 32, qtd. in Alexander, "Hegemony, Morality and Power," 21.

projection in *Ameryka*, thus, serves not as a neutral mirror of reality but a performative act, aligning with Alexander's emphasis on the performative aspect of public diplomacy – highlighting how moral causes frequently prioritize self-validation over ethical engagement, and embodying Debord's concept of the “society of the spectacle.”²⁰⁸ The magazine fits exactly into both of these theoretical frameworks – readers of *Ameryka* were not introduced to the full complexity of the United States, but rather to a carefully designed image – an American self-portrait staged for strategic effect.

Within the context of Johan Verbeke's critical analysis of the proliferation of “new diplomacies,” including economic, environmental, cultural, panda, and selfie diplomacy, *Ameryka* would not be considered a sui generis medium, but rather an ordinary channel of diplomatic practice adapted to Polish conditions.²⁰⁹ Although these names may suggest innovation, Verbeke argues, this trend obscures the core function of diplomacy as a craft, in which diplomats solve complex problems through relationship-building rather than domain-specific expertise.²¹⁰

While the domain-specific expertise in *Ameryka* is thematically overwhelmingly wide, soft power theories provide the overarching vocabulary for the analysis. Soft power, a concept coined by political scientist Joseph Nye, offers a valuable framework for understanding contemporary international relations, diplomacy, and political influence. Influence by attraction – getting others to want what you want rather than forcing payment or pain – depends on admired values, emulated examples, and aspirational standards.²¹¹ In *Ameryka*, attraction was operationalized as routine representation – affluence without ostentation, traditions and cultural practice without conflict, and choice without chaos.

An essential dimension of soft power is agenda-setting – the ability to influence political choices by deciding which preferences seem realistic or relevant.²¹² Although Nye acknowledges this as a key aspect of soft power, he does not elaborate extensively on it or provide illustrative examples. Waller critiques this lack of emphasis, as the term “manipulation” can seem contradictory to the core principle of attraction that defines soft

²⁰⁸ Alexander, “Hegemony, Morality and Power,” 21; Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*, 32.

²⁰⁹ Other diplomacies discussed in modern scholarship include: gift, dinner, president, citizen, sport, people, telephone, and backroom diplomacies; Johan Verbeke. *Diplomacy in Practice: A Critical Approach* (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2023), 6.

²¹⁰ Verbeke. *Diplomacy in Practice*, 6.

²¹¹ Carnes Lord, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power” in *Strategic Influence*, 61; Joseph S. Nye, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (Public Affairs, 2004), 5.

²¹² Lord, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” 63; Craig Hayden. *The Rhetoric of Soft Power: Public Diplomacy in Global Contexts* (Lexington Books, 2012), 29, 43.

power.²¹³ Nevertheless, agenda-setting remains a cornerstone behavior of soft power, influencing how global actors interpret events and political realities.²¹⁴

Yet, the moral terrain is more ambiguous as *Ameryka* reflects the normative tensions of White's categorization of influence tactics.²¹⁵ Acceptable tactics included building rapport, establishing credibility, and appealing to positive emotions, all of which the magazine achieved, for instance, through depictions of democratic debate, family life, and cultural achievement. However, *Ameryka* also employed questionable tactics, such as innuendos about the communist system, presenting opinions as facts (especially in Reagan-era expert articles), and omitting inconvenient truths, such as slavery, dissent about the Vietnam War, Native American boarding schools, and structural inequality. Although African American literature was included, slave narratives were absent and while women were praised as both homemakers and professionals, the economic necessity of women's labor or the dual burden of domestic and professional work were downplayed. These selective truths also illustrate how *Ameryka* operated within those both acceptable and ethically dubious categories of influence.

In its conceptual structure, soft power comprises both resources and behaviors. Soft power encompasses three interrelated dimensions: influence, the force of an actor's argument, and the attractiveness of an actor's culture and institutions – these being the so-called “intangible assets” that draw others toward common goals and shared norms.²¹⁶ This triptych directly maps onto the magazine – thematic curation (agenda), explanatory features (persuasion), and lifestyle photography (attraction).²¹⁷ In this sense, attraction operates through representational acts that symbolize shared experiences and common perspectives rather than just rational alignment. Such framing of attraction has been aligned with Hayden's insightful distinction that soft power is not about *power over*, but about an enabling *power to* – that is, an empowerment dynamic grounded in credibility and legitimacy.²¹⁸ This shift implies a fundamental transformation in the relational nature of global power, prioritizing normative perception over material force. Although communicative action is sometimes viewed in international relations as a rational means of resolving conflicts and promoting

²¹³ Lord, “Public Diplomacy and Soft Power,” 63.

²¹⁴ Hayden, *The Rhetoric of Soft Power*, 43.

²¹⁵ Pratkanis, “Tactics of Social Influence for Use in International Conflicts,” 152.

²¹⁶ Hayden, *The Rhetoric of Soft Power*, 5.

²¹⁷ Ibidem, 43-45.

²¹⁸ Ibidem, 48.

norms, soft power is more rhetorical than rational.²¹⁹ Effectiveness ultimately depends on access to channels, value resonance, and credible conduct at home and abroad. Advantage grows when all three align.²²⁰ In Poland, negotiated distribution, locally adapted language, and a consistent tone met these conditions.

Importantly, soft power is not synonymous with public diplomacy, although the two are often closely related. As Cull notes, public diplomacy is a set of instruments – ranging from educational exchanges to international broadcasting – through which soft power may be leveraged or increased.²²¹ These tools attempt to shape the symbolic economy of global influence by targeting foreign publics as active participants in international relations.²²²

Cull's metaphor provides a helpful clarification: if hard power is the "stick" and economic inducement the "carrot," soft power is neither – rather, it is the reputation of the child holding the stick and the carrot, or the story the child tells to gain the donkey's cooperation.²²³ In this sense, soft power is inherently relational and perceptual, not material. It can be positive, drawing others in with noble ideals, or negative, taking the form of exclusionary policies, xenophobic rhetoric, or cultural isolation.²²⁴

The effectiveness of soft power in practice depends on several conditions. First, the resources of soft power – culture, political values, and foreign policy – must align with global norms and be considered legitimate.²²⁵ Resources alone, however, are not sufficient; they must be converted through appropriate channels and contexts.²²⁶ A country's soft power advantage increases when it: has access to communication channels that influence global discourse, has cultural and ideological values that align with international norms, and behaves credibly in both domestic and international arenas.²²⁷ Additionally, soft power can be active or passive – nations may unintentionally accrue soft power by being perceived as admirable or exemplary.²²⁸ At the same time, strategies such as development aid, symbolic actions, and leadership rhetoric can function as soft power outside of formal public diplomacy.²²⁹

²¹⁹ See: Thomas Risse, "Global Governance and Communicative Action," in *Government and Opposition*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2004), 288–313.

²²⁰ Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy in the 2020s," in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 5.

²²¹ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement*, 17.

²²² Hayden, *The Rhetoric of Soft Power*, 5–6.

²²³ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age* (Polity Press, 2019), 16–17.

²²⁴ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement*, 17.

²²⁵ Hayden, *The Rhetoric of Soft Power*, 39, 41.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, 41.

²²⁷ Snow, "Rethinking Public Diplomacy in the 2020s," 5.

²²⁸ Hayden, *The Rhetoric of Soft Power*, 287.

²²⁹ *Ibidem*.

Nevertheless, the discourse on soft power is not without internal contradictions. Hayden identifies several significant ambiguities in the practice of soft power: variability of agency in global affairs, differing conceptions of the “subject” of soft power, and the cultural specificity of symbolic inducement.²³⁰ These uncertainties highlight that soft power is always context-specific and not universally or automatically transferable.

The strategic vision behind soft power has particular historical and geopolitical roots. Nye first articulated soft power in response to concerns about maintaining U.S. hegemony in the post-Cold War world.²³¹ The goal was not to provide a framework applicable to all states, but rather a mechanism by which dominant states, particularly the United States, could maintain influence in an increasingly multipolar world.²³² In this perspective, culture, ideology, and foreign policy legitimacy were not merely instruments of soft power; rather, they were strategic assets to be nurtured and wielded for the purpose of sustaining systemic leadership. The American conception of soft power is complicated by the size and diversity of its public diplomacy apparatus. U.S. soft power is advanced not only through abstract ideals or cultural exports, but also through institutionalized instruments, such as international broadcasting and educational exchanges, and even publications such as *Ameryka*, which resist simple categorization.²³³

Yet, the global appeal of soft power extends far beyond its American roots. Soft power represents a set of widely applicable arguments for why international actors must engage with pluralistic ideoscapes and mediascapes and reconsider how strategic influence is measured and enacted in global affairs.²³⁴ Ultimately, soft power offers a new conceptual terrain grounded not in coercion or payment but in influence, perception, symbolic meaning, and the politics of attraction.

2.2.4. *Ameryka* within Public Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy, and Propaganda

With the USIA established, *Ameryka* became not only a part of a system, but also part of a long legacy. “In the first action of its existence, the U.S. government initiated an international public diplomacy campaign” – this striking statement captures the deep historical roots and ideological ambition of American public diplomacy already at very moment of the country’s inception.²³⁵ The American struggle for independence was not

²³⁰ Ibidem, 63.

²³¹ Nye, “Soft Power,” *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990): 153-171; Hayden, *The Rhetoric of Soft Power*, 64-65.

²³² Hayden, *The Rhetoric of Soft Power*, 64.

²³³ Ibidem, 226.

²³⁴ Ibidem, 6-7.

²³⁵ Waller, “The American Way of Propaganda: Lessons from the Founding Fathers,” 28.

merely an attempt to separate from British rule – a nation was sought to be constructed on the foundation of universal ideals such as equality, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These ideals, as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, were intended for global dissemination, presenting a vision of a nation united by shared values rather than language, class, geography or ethnicity – “a nation whose common bond was an idea.”²³⁶

From the beginning, the United States employed a dual strategy of positive messaging and forceful propaganda. The Continental Congress appealed to international opinion twice in the Declaration of Independence, persuading towards support of their cause and the principles of freedom.²³⁷ Alongside these appeals to liberty and self-determination, the American revolutionaries waged a propaganda campaign against the British government, illustrating how the vilification of the enemy paralleled the promotion of their own cause.²³⁸ These early information efforts also included counterpropaganda in response to the British government’s sophisticated messaging in Europe – Benjamin Franklin and others made sure the colonies were aware of British perceptions and strategically shaped their messaging to counter negative portrayals.²³⁹ Even before the Revolution, the Boston Massacre from March 1770, for example, was portrayed not just as a local tragedy and the dead not only as martyrs for the colonies but as a cause and martyrs that would resonate with and invoke sympathy within British society as a whole; The founders’ strategy was strikingly simple – to promote the virtues of the American cause and denounce the enemy by any means necessary.²⁴⁰

The success of the American Revolution was due not only to battlefield victories, but also to a highly effective war of ideas; Thus, we may see “the many tools of statecraft – diplomacy, public diplomacy, propaganda, counterpropaganda, political warfare, and psychological warfare” not only as a potent arsenal in the struggle for national legitimacy but as an “integral part of America’s strength since the nation’s origin.”²⁴¹ Americans, after all, are “a nation of sale agents, advertisers, politicians, and lawyers.”²⁴² The American strategists, therefore, engaged in psychological and political warfare long before these concepts were formally theorized.

²³⁶ Ibidem.

²³⁷ Lord, “What ‘Strategic’ Public Diplomacy Is,” 43; Waller, “The American Way of Propaganda: Lessons from the Founding Fathers,” 28.

²³⁸ Lord, “What ‘Strategic’ Public Diplomacy Is.” Waller, “The American Way of Propaganda: Lessons from the Founding Fathers,” 29.

²³⁹ Waller, “The American Way of Propaganda: Lessons from the Founding Fathers,” 39.

²⁴⁰ Ibidem, 40.

²⁴¹ Ibidem.

²⁴² Pratkanis, “Tactics of Social Influence for Use in International Conflicts,” 151.

Throughout time, the vocabulary surrounding public diplomacy has both expanded and transformed – the terms “information” and “communications” became overworked bureaucratic terms, while “public affairs” and “psychological operations” carried military connotations.²⁴³ “Public diplomacy,” however, emerged and still functions as a term suggesting a broader dimension, though it remains “inadequately discussed” and insufficiently analyzed.²⁴⁴ The lack of clarity in the terminology is evident, and the definitions of public diplomacy often vary based on the field of study and ideological perspective – while some view public diplomacy as an extension of propaganda, others ground it in media and communication theories, treating it as just another prefix attached to diplomacy that “will wax and wane as others have in the past.”²⁴⁵

While definitions vary by discipline and ideology, 20th-century practice relied on three assumptions: First, elites influence societies; Second, elites can be influenced by targeted communication; Third, elite opinion shapes foreign policy.²⁴⁶ The term gained institutional prominence during the Cold War. In 1965, Edmund Gullion popularized “public diplomacy” as a respectable, diplomacy-adjacent identity for USIA when “propaganda” had become politically unpopular.²⁴⁷ Though earlier usages existed (e.g., *The London Times* in 1856), Gullion’s term captured a contemporary need (he preferred “propaganda” in its purest sense, yet he knew it was unusable in Congress).²⁴⁸ Public diplomacy, therefore, became the term used to describe a wide range of communication, information, and propaganda activities – one, that “[t]he USIA was happy to embrace.”²⁴⁹

In this analysis, public diplomacy and propaganda are overlapping ideal types, not opposites. This duality is also evident when examining *Ameryka* through the lens of Cull’s distinction between public diplomacy and propaganda.²⁵⁰ *Ameryka* embodied elements of both – it was based on truth, but selected truth; It seldom engaged in genuine two-way communication, yet it left interpretive space for readers to draw their own conclusions and actively asked for feedback in surveys; It primarily listened to target audiences, though it did so to adjust messaging flexibly for increased influence; It maintained a respectful tone while

²⁴³ Lord, “What ‘Strategic’ Public Diplomacy Is,” 51.

²⁴⁴ Ibidem.

²⁴⁵ J. Simon Rofe, “Theories of Diplomacy: Diplomatic Practice,” in *Global Diplomacy: Theories, Types, and Models*, Alison R. Holmes and J. Simon Rofe, ed. (Westview Press, 2016), 45.

²⁴⁶ Rofe, “Theories of Diplomacy: Diplomatic Practice,” 45; Manor, *The Digitalization of Public Diplomacy*, 11.

²⁴⁷ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, 12.

²⁴⁸ Cull, “Public Diplomacy Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase,” 13.

²⁴⁹ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*.

²⁵⁰ Ibidem, 13.

implying the inferiority of communism; It was ethically ambivalent, especially when minimizing racial and social issues; Its primary goal was to influence the target society without transforming the U.S. itself. In this sense, *Ameryka* is a textbook example of the blurred boundary between public diplomacy and propaganda. Cull recognizes the vague distinction between these two concepts and argues that the United States' Cold War-era initiatives were unmistakably regarded by Congress as propaganda – a claim supported by the observed decline in Congress' support following the collapse of the Soviet Union.²⁵¹ In 1999, the USIA was absorbed into the State Department, marking a low point for U.S. public diplomacy at a time when other nations were strengthening theirs.²⁵²

The distinction between public diplomacy and propaganda is far from settled in scholarship. Despite academic efforts to distinguish the two, new media technologies, such as fake news, bot armies, and tools for audiovisual and social media manipulation, have further blurred the lines, particularly in light of global actors like Russia and China engaging in media-driven disinformation and influence campaigns both in America and Europe, with tensions between the U.S. and the EU growing stronger,²⁵³ resembling highly advanced Cold War propaganda tactics more than traditional diplomacy.²⁵⁴

While the new technologies blur the line further, the Cold War posed the same dilemma for *Ameryka* – how to influence others without resorting to overt propaganda. Public diplomacy is not inherently benign; it is a pervasive practice that aims to shape beliefs and behavior and belongs to the same strategic toolkit as other forms of statecraft. Ultimately, in the debate over what the “label” for the exertion of strategic influence over a foreign public should be, Berridge echoes a realist sentiment, that proves difficult to disagree with: “[p]ublic diplomacy is what we call OUR propaganda; ‘propaganda’ is what the OTHER SIDE does.”²⁵⁵ In that sense, propaganda is the shaping of attitudes via mass media for political purposes – it can be subtle or deceptive and is often long-term, aimed at foreign and domestic

²⁵¹ Ibidem, 14.

²⁵² Ibidem.

²⁵³ See: Jadwiga Kiwerska, *Sojusz w Kryzysie, Prezydentura Donalda Trumpa i Relacje Transatlantyckie*, (Instytut Zachodni, 2021); Zbigniew Brzezinski, “Balancing the East, Upgrading the West: U.S. Grand Strategy in an Age of Upheaval,” *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 1 (2012): 97-104.

²⁵⁴ Gary D. Rawnsley, “Communication Technologies and Public Diplomacy: A History of the Tools of Statecraft,” in *The Frontiers of Public Diplomacy: Hegemony, Morality and Power in the International Sphere*, ed. Colin R. Alexander (Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2021), 27-28; See: David E. Sanger, *New Cold Wars: China's Rise, Russia's Invasion, and America's Struggle to Defend the West* (The Crown Publishing Group, 2024); Michael Doyle, *Cold Peace: Avoiding the New Cold War* (Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2023); For a detailed history of disinformation within political warfare 1921-2017, see: Thomas Rid, *Active Measures: The Secret History of Disinformation and Political Warfare* (Picador, 2020).

²⁵⁵ G. R. Berridge. *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 225.

audiences; while public diplomacy, is “white” (overt) influence that seeks indirect leverage over governments by addressing their publics and elites. Within U.S. policy circles, historically this ambiguity has resulted in inconsistent support and competing mandates among public diplomacy agencies, including USIA, especially when these clashed with the State Department’s desire to maintain smooth relations with authoritarian regimes, thereby reflecting institutional frictions.²⁵⁶

Also echoing the voices of some USIA officers interviewed in this project, Lenczowski offers a critique of the tendency among U.S. policymakers to suppress initiatives that have the potential to “rock the boat” with repressive governments.²⁵⁷ The efforts of USIA and other agencies are often outweighed by the dominance of country desk officers within the State Department, leading to a preference for short-term stability over long-term influence or moral clarity.²⁵⁸

When it comes to long-term influence, propaganda is most effective when it reinforces preexisting attitudes rather than attempting to convert skeptics – persuasion works best with those already inclined to listen.²⁵⁹ Given that Polish readers had to actively access *Ameryka* by buying, borrowing, or subscribing to it, they were likely predisposed to hearing the U.S. message and thus more receptive to it. This, combined with Cunningham’s notion of propaganda’s “instrumentalized truth” – credibility measured by perception rather than factual accuracy – helps explain the magazine’s success.²⁶⁰ This also echoes broader traditions – “political advocacy” vs. “cultural communication,” later stylized as “tough-minded” vs. “tender-minded” schools, and eventually folded into Nye’s split between short-term persuasion and long-term attraction.²⁶¹ Audience design followed: “Everyone” is not a target audience – the public, the media, and elites are distinct groups that should be addressed accordingly.²⁶²

The ethical problem also does not disappear – public diplomacy and propaganda become intertwined whenever communication aims to influence.²⁶³ Truthfulness may be partial, while propaganda does not necessarily lie, it manipulates the truth by measuring

²⁵⁶ Hayden. *The Rhetoric of Soft Power*, 287; John Lenczowski, “Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy” in *Strategic Influence*, 80.

²⁵⁷ Lenczowski. “Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy.”

²⁵⁸ Ibidem.

²⁵⁹ Berridge, *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, 219.

²⁶⁰ Stanley B. Cunningham, *The Idea of Propaganda: A Reconstruction* (Praeger, 2002), qtd. in Izadi and Nelson, “Ethics and Social Issues in Public Diplomacy,” 394-395.

²⁶¹ Zaharna. “Communication Logics in Global Public Diplomacy,” 96-97.

²⁶² Robert Banks. “Public Diplomacy Evaluation,” in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 70.

²⁶³ Izadi and Nelson. “Ethics and Social Issues in Public Diplomacy,” 394.

success based on perceived credibility rather than exhaustive accuracy.²⁶⁴ This perspective, resonating also with Foucault's notion of knowledge and power,²⁶⁵ helps understand Cold War outlets that selected truths to advance policy aims – diplomacy's moral valence lies in purpose, not tool – to seek allies, one must first articulate one's values – and that message must extend beyond closed-door diplomacy; Public diplomacy is a tool of influence, but no more or less ethical than the purposes to which it is applied.²⁶⁶ Although in case of *Ameryka*, ideological promotion was never explicit, the superiority of capitalism was always implied.

Another sphere of diplomacy speaks through the “universal language” of culture – a language that “serves a vehicle of cross-cultural communication that highlights commonalities of aesthetic sensibility – particularly common appreciation of beauty, which contains an element spiritually related to truth.”²⁶⁷ It is a language capable of inspiring trust, countering hostile narratives, and opening hearts and minds.

Cull points out a key challenge in defining cultural diplomacy: the term “culture” is itself ambiguous. In English, the term has expanded from “early articulation which thought of culture in a qualitative way as the most admirable expression of a society's beliefs and practices, which we know call “high culture,” to encompass broader expressions and everyday experiences, which we know call “popular culture.”²⁶⁸ Different countries use different terminology, such as “cultural relations” in the UK (term that implies a rather facilitative role of the government to the organic processes whose outcomes may be “loosely beneficial rather than specifically goal oriented”), such as “cultural exchange” in Japan (signifying “mutual learning rather than the assertion of geographically specific human idiosyncrasy as superior”), or such as “cultural diplomacy” in America (stressing the relation of the activity to the mainstream purposes of foreign policy”); Each of these definitions emphasizes various dimensions, from policy orientation to mutual learning.²⁶⁹ This terminological plurality influences how programs are framed, funded, implemented, and received.

Who facilitates cultural diplomacy? Conventional diplomacy is an area of the realm of government agents, but cultural diplomacy requires more extensive alliances – “an engaged diplomat is always looking for ways to connect with the people of his or her country.”²⁷⁰

²⁶⁴ Cunningham. *The Idea of Propaganda*, qtd. In Izadi and Nelson. “Ethics and Social Issues in Public Diplomacy,” 394-395.

²⁶⁵ Hall, “From Discourse to Power/Knowledge,” 47-51.

²⁶⁶ Verbeke. *Diplomacy in Practice: A Critical Approach*, 48.

²⁶⁷ Lenczowski, “Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy,” 88.

²⁶⁸ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, 61-62.

²⁶⁹ Ibidem.

²⁷⁰ Verbeke, *Diplomacy in Practice: A Critical Approach*, 50.

Crucial are the contributions of the private sector and civil society, including artists, scholars, non-governmental organizations, and individuals.²⁷¹ While the state often facilitates or funds cultural initiatives, it must negotiate with non-state actors whose interests may not always align with those of the government.²⁷² Such a collaborative model contrasts with authoritarian or ideologically rigid systems, in which cultural diplomacy is centrally managed and subordinated to state messaging. In late 20th and the 21st century, non-governmental actors increasingly stepped in to support cultural diplomacy, especially where government budgets or reach fell short, further complicating the sphere of public diplomacy.²⁷³ While effective, it can create tensions since artists are unpredictable and often resist being co-opted for political agendas, yet they are essential to create authentic cultural exchange.²⁷⁴ Furthermore, the role of diaspora communities – in *Ameryka*'s case the Polish American diaspora – and the mediation of culture complicate traditional, state-centered models – with human sources and overt messaging integrated into the State propaganda.²⁷⁵ Today's cultural diplomacy unfolds across even more various formats and locations, from embassies to online platforms, and involves actors who move fluidly across national and cultural boundaries.²⁷⁶

The indistinct line between cultural diplomacy and propaganda, as emphasized by Goff, is especially apparent in the magazine.²⁷⁷ *Ameryka* sometimes engages in unilateral projection of cultural excellence risking cultural imperialism, but it also tones down its message by recognizing struggles like racism, at least in a minimized form.²⁷⁸ This acknowledgment presents social issues as an integral part of democratic self-correction, thereby reinforcing the narrative of perpetual societal progress. The success of *Ameryka* lies precisely in this balance – cultural diplomacy becomes ineffective when it is too obviously politicized.²⁷⁹ While some articles veered into overt promotion, the majority struck a careful tone, presenting an image of confident modesty and avoiding the impression of bragging, echoing Bogart's observations about effective persuasion.²⁸⁰ The magazine's tone was

²⁷¹ See: Liam Kennedy and Scott Lucas, "Enduring Freedom: Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Policy," *American Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 2 (John Hopkins University Press, 2005): 309-333; Gilles Scott-Smith, "Cultural Diplomacy," in *Global Diplomacy: Theories, Types, and Models*, ed. Alison R. Holmes and J. Simon Rofo, (Westview Press, 2016), 187-188.

²⁷² Scott-Smith, "Cultural Diplomacy," 187-188.

²⁷³ Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 87; Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, 69.

²⁷⁴ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, 78.

²⁷⁵ Mazurkiewicz, *Uchodźcy polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej*, 178.

²⁷⁶ Patricia M. Goff. "Cultural Diplomacy," in *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 33.

²⁷⁷ Goff, "Cultural Diplomacy," 30-31.

²⁷⁸ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, 78-79.

²⁷⁹ Lenczowski, "Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy," 93.

²⁸⁰ Bogart, *Cool Words, Cold War*, 93.

optimistic and hopeful, portraying democracy, freedom, and prosperity as naturalized, current realities in America and ongoing aspirations for the rest of the world. This careful calibration was made possible by local expertise, as cultural sensitivity and localization are essential for effective international communication.²⁸¹ Instead of merely translating the content, editors such as Grynberg or Haupt served as cultural intermediaries, localizing the language and adapting the tone, vocabulary, and references to ensure resonance with Polish readers while avoiding censorship.²⁸²

This study treats cultural diplomacy as purposive action along a spectrum, ranging from building trust and recognition to promoting a worldview. While Scott-Smith identifies a broad range of cultural diplomacy aims, in U.S. practice, these repeatedly resolve into what Lenczowski describes as: cultivating favorable dispositions toward America, eliciting cooperation, creating permissive conditions for policy, and securing wider effects for national security, including moments when cultural tools travel alongside subversion or political warfare.²⁸³ When formal relations tighten, culture serves as neutral ground where contact can persist.²⁸⁴ As Marti Estell²⁸⁵ exclaimed, the same idea more plainly – “culture is a door opener! We don’t have to agree on everything, but we can listen to the same music or watch a theatrical production, look at art, and at least agree to be human together,” expressing the same idea more plainly.²⁸⁶

The toolkit is extensive, but the logic is not chaotic. Lenczowski’s inventory includes arts and exhibitions, exchanges and education, literature, libraries, and language teaching, broadcasting, symbolic gifts, listening and value talk, social policy advocacy, history, and religious outreach.²⁸⁷ These can be condensed analytically into Cull’s four approaches – cultural gifts (to charm and impress), cultural information (to correct misperceptions), capacity building (to equip audiences with language and knowledge), and cultural dialogue (to

²⁸¹ Garfield, “A Comprehensive Approach to Information Operations,” 361-364.

²⁸² Grynberg, correspondence.

²⁸³ Scott-Smith, “Cultural Diplomacy,” 187; Lenczowski, “Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy,” 77.

²⁸⁴ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, 73-76; Verbeke, *Diplomacy in Practice: A Critical Approach*, 50.

²⁸⁵ Marti Estell completed a twenty-nine-year career as a FSO with the State Department, rising to the ranks of the Senior Foreign Service. While overseas, she served as the PAO in San Salvador and Quito, the CAO in Madrid, and the Embassy Spokesperson in Tegucigalpa. She began her career in public diplomacy positions in Malaysia and Indonesia. Throughout her career, she led teams responsible for creating and carrying out public diplomacy programs and student exchanges, developing institutional relationships with universities and other academic partners, including binational Fulbright Commissions.

²⁸⁶ Estell, interview, 17 September 2024.

²⁸⁷ Lenczowski, “Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy,” 77, 82-87.

invite reciprocity).²⁸⁸ These instruments perform psychological and strategic functions simultaneously – they facilitate cross-cultural dialogue, counter hostile narratives, establish agendas for political interpretation, reduce resistance, project presence, and prepare audiences for change – while always risking misfire because culture is a double-edged sword.²⁸⁹ In this case study, *Ameryka* incorporated all four approaches within a single medium – photo essays as gifts, features that reframe stereotypes as information, English columns and science/education pieces as capacity building, and coverage of Polish culture in the U.S. as dialogue.

Cultural diplomacy is a powerful tool for shaping international perceptions, fostering mutual understanding, and promoting national interests through non-coercive strategies. As both an art and a science, cultural diplomacy relies on dialogue, symbolism, and the tactical use of cultural expressions. Operating in the gray zone between persuasion and propaganda, cultural diplomacy's ability to build bridges, reduce tensions, and shape international narratives rendered it indispensable, both during the Cold War and in the modern diplomatic arsenal.

Ultimately, *Ameryka* embodies the contradictions of Cold War cultural diplomacy. Although it employs propaganda techniques, such as selecting truths and omitting inconvenient facts, it relies on persuasion, symbolism, and cultural expression rather than coercion. In essence, it is less an exercise in overt propaganda than what could be best framed as a medium of “friendly persuasion” – a magazine that invited Polish readers to envision the appeal of America in a holistic form while subtly undermining the ideological legitimacy of communism.

²⁸⁸ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, 73-76.

²⁸⁹ Lenczowski, “Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy,” 88-93; Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, 76.

3. Reading *Ameryka* – Prosperity, Progress, and Religion

This chapter takes a thematic approach to examining *Ameryka*, showing how the magazine created a compelling portrait of the United States for Polish readers. The analysis is organized around three recurrent themes: *the American Dream* (economic success, mobility, and consumerism), *Knowledge and Innovation* (science, technology, and modernity), and *Polish Americans, Religion, and Shared Values* (diasporic connections, moral community, and papal and religious messaging). It combines close reading with linguistic and critical discourse analysis, as well as a study of the magazine's visual grammar. Together, the text and images function as a coherent soft-power narrative in which aspiration is anchored in prosperity, legitimacy is claimed through progress, and affinity is secured through shared heritage and faith.

The chapter examines how the narratives normalize upward mobility, demonstrate technological superiority, and highlight Polish-American role models and religious symbolism to encourage identification. The result is a diachronic map of how *Ameryka* makes meaning: a magazine balancing information with persuasion, universal promises with Polish tailoring, and consumer allure with moral affirmation.

3.1. The American Dream: Prosperity, Opportunity, and Upward Mobility

The “American Dream” is treated as a discourse rather than a neutral description – a narrative that links prosperity to virtue, equates opportunity with choice, and transforms upward mobility into a moral reward structure.¹ In Cold War Poland, the commercialized imagery of single-family homes, consumer goods, and picturesque suburbs served as a powerful lure because it transformed economic realities into symbols of dignity and autonomy. Under late socialism, scarcity and queues sharpened these connotations even more, making consumer objects symbolize time, privacy, and self-direction. A photograph of a driveway with a modern car and the caption “Our Home” signifies ownership but also suggests freedom, stability, and belonging.² Because *Ameryka* is an illustrated medium, the form itself intensifies this appeal. Images provide quick emotional cues (peripheral route to

¹ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-24; Fairclough, “Discourse, common sense and ideology,” 77-108.

² Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 39-41.

cognition),³ and captions reinforce preferred interpretations in Polish – a perfect example of the medium shaping the message and its reception.⁴

3.1.1. Representation of Economic Success and Promise of Social Upward Mobility

In the early 1960s, *Ameryka* printed a series of Polish-American profiles modeling different pathways to “making it” – the series functions as a coded primer on how meritocracy was supposed to work for people “just like us,” thus, likely resonating more with Polish readers.⁵ The lexicon remains consistent throughout – *family, work, service, and community* – and the syntax favors short, active clauses (*worked, founded, was elected*), which highlight agency and present mobility as a linear, factual process.⁶

John Kluczynski’s life is portrayed in a work-to-civic arc, from milk and coal deliveries with his father, through becoming a small business owner (“Syrena”), and to serving in the U.S. House of Representatives, where captions attach moral values like industriousness and loyalty to ethnic associations.⁷ His dedication to community and family reflected also in his younger brother Tom’s legal achievements – his election as judge to the Chicago Supreme Court. Reflecting on his family’s history, John Kluczynski expressed “it is the perfect example of opportunities opening up to people that really want to use them.”⁸ Focusing on infrastructure and local economic development, John Kluczynski demonstrated pragmatic politics rooted in improving daily life. The article in *Ameryka* celebrated his industriousness, moral integrity, and deep ties to Polish-American organizations. For Polish readers, Kluczynski embodied the rewards of hard work, solidarity, and community engagement – living proof of what Poles abroad could achieve – the key line “Opportunities are open to those who will use them” summarizes the American Dream as a rule of personal responsibility.⁹ The semiotic economy here is concise – humble labor is the denotation, public service is the connotation of deservedness, and Polishness and Americanness are a fused concept of virtue.¹⁰

³ Michael Cohn, “Getting Psyched: Putting psychology to work to shorten conflicts and save lives,” in *Strategic Influence*, 226-228.

⁴ McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 7-23; Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*, 358.

⁵ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24; Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System,” 193-233.

⁶ Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-139; Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

⁷ B.B. “John Kulczynski ze Stanu Illinois,” *Ameryka*, no. 15 (1960): 36; See: Joanna Wojdon, *Polish American History after 1939: Polish American History from 1854 to 2004*, vol 2 (Routledge, 2024), 156, 441.

⁸ B.B. “John Kulczynski ze Stanu Illinois.”

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 39-41.

Frank Kowalski's portrait extends that narrative into military-service capital – a retired U.S. Army colonel becomes a congressman, while foregrounding Polish organizational life (the Kościuszko Foundation, Polish Legion of American Veterans).¹¹ His Polish heritage remains central to his identity, with his “family life deeply rooted in Polish traditions” and the vividly described return to postwar Warsaw that cues shared suffering and pride is affective, but the phraseology remains civic and orderly, which helps domesticate emotion into “character” rather than victimhood. Linguistically, his profile blends evaluative epithets (*duty*, *tradition*) with specific details (names of institutions), a common tactic to establish credibility in political biography.¹²

The Lesinski pair multiplies the pattern to demonstrate intergenerational and institutional scope – John Lesinski, a Navy hero who owned a family lumber business and had a small-enterprise perspective on tax and census policy, is portrayed as someone who “knows” the challenges ordinary people face and turns that knowledge into legislation – a common way to claim authenticity in public discourse.¹³ As emphasized, his congressional work also emphasized the careful administration of the census and advocated for communities like Detroit and Dearborn, which have large Polish-American populations.¹⁴ In contrast, T. John Lesinski, whose father, as he declared “was a typical Polish immigrant... a farmer who quickly adapted to the industrial environment,” embodies state-level executive mobility (from a lawyer to lieutenant governor) and has an accelerated schooling sequence and a family of five children that normalizes ambition as responsibility rather than ego.¹⁵ Known for his relentless work ethic – balancing the vice governorship, legal practice, and family life with five children – he actively promoted education, healthcare for the elderly, and social welfare, while maintaining pride in his Polish heritage, notably representing the United States at international trade fairs in Poznań. The article emphasizes how “overwhelmed with emotions” Lesinski was upon reaching the family town of his father, 40km from Poznań.¹⁶ The prose uses parataxis (stacked clauses) to make effort appear continuous and inevitable – *studied*, *served*, *balanced* – a grammar of momentum.¹⁷

¹¹ R.D.B. “Frank Kowalski ze Stanu Connecticut,” *Ameryka*, no. 13 (1960): 24; See: Wojdon, *Polish American History after 1939*, 157.

¹² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

¹³ B.B. “John Lesinski of Michigan,” *Ameryka*, no. 18 (1960): 55; See: Wojdon, *Polish American History after 1939*, 23, 293-294.

¹⁴ B.B. “John Lesinski of Michigan.”

¹⁵ Ray Courage, “T. John Lesinski, Prawnik w Służbie Publicznej,” *Ameryka*, no. 68 (1964): 24-25.

¹⁶ Courage, “T. John Lesinski, Prawnik w Służbie Publicznej.”

¹⁷ Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 557-592; Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19; Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-139.

Thaddeus Machrowicz is portrayed as an infrastructure broker – fluent in Polish and dedicated to the Detroit area, knowledgeable about the auto economy, and attentive to postwar Poland.¹⁸ The magazine portrayed him as a bridge between the homeland and the diaspora, blending local advocacy, economic development, and international concerns. His career exemplified how American success could coexist with loyalty to one's cultural roots, providing Polish readers with a tangible example of transatlantic influence and engagement.¹⁹ This is a strong indexical sign – concrete nouns (e.g., roads and plants) suggest growth without abstract boasting.²⁰

Clement J. Zablocki (in *Ameryka* spelled as “Zabłocki” to highlight his Polishness), beginning as an English and civics teacher to Polish immigrants, Zablocki advanced to the U.S. Congress, where he focused on foreign affairs, international aid, and medical assistance projects in Poland – here, mobility equals service and leadership, broadening “success” beyond wealth or office.²¹ Throughout his career, he emphasized social responsibility and the cultivation of Polish-American identity, portraying success not merely in material or political terms, but also in the capacity to foster transnational goodwill.²² Polish audiences would receive such a story rather positively, recognizing Zablocki as a symbol of American support and solidarity with their homeland. Pragmatically, his depiction ties American prosperity to aid for Poland.²³ The modal verbs of obligation (*should*, *must*) and deontic vocabulary (*duty*, *help*) allow the text to convey a moral message without sounding condescending.²⁴

Mieczysław Stefan Szymczak (in *Ameryka* spelled as “Mieczysław”) closes the set at the technocratic ideal – the son of Polish immigrants who were factory workers “eager to work and hopeful for a better tomorrow,” Szymczak embraced their values of hard work and perseverance, excelling in academia and eventually becoming a professor at Georgetown University.²⁵ Combining intellectual rigor with practical leadership, Szymczak rose through

¹⁸ B.B. “Thaddeus M. Machrowicz ze Stanu Michigan,” *Ameryka*, no. 16 (1960): 34; See: Wojdon, *Polish American History after 1939*, 206, 207, 211.

¹⁹ B.B. “Thaddeus M. Machrowicz ze Stanu Michigan.” Machrowicz, a member of the committee on communist aggression, which conducted hearings on RWE, was one of the congressmen of Polish descent who did not trust the RWE – See: Puddington, *Rozgłoszenie Wolności*, 117-118.

²⁰ Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*: 80; Barthes, “Mythologies,” 15-108.

²¹ B.B. “Clement J. Zabłocki ze Stanu Wisconsin,” *Ameryka*, no. 17 (1960): 43; See: Stephen Leahy, *The Life of Milwaukee's Most Popular Politician, Clement J. Zablocki: Milwaukee Politics and Congressional Foreign Policy* (E. Mellen Press, 2002); Wojdon, *Polish American History after 1939*, 294.

²² B.B. “Clement J. Zabłocki ze Stanu Wisconsin.” In the House of Representatives, opposition to the RWE was minimal, with Clement Zablocki being one of its key supporters – see: Puddington, *Rozgłoszenie Wolności*: 254.

²³ B.B. “Clement J. Zabłocki ze Stanu Wisconsin.”

²⁴ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

²⁵ Gove Hambridge, “Gubernator Szymczak – syn polskich emigrantów,” *Ameryka*, no. 11 (1959): 8-10.

the ranks of the U.S. financial system and ultimately served as governor of the Federal Reserve. His appointments by Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman – an unprecedented double honor emphasized in the article – reflected bipartisan respect and underscored his integrity, independence, and expertise.²⁶ *Ameryka* highlighted Szymczak's career as a model of second-generation immigrant success, emphasizing that Polish-Americans could attain positions of significant influence and national responsibility through education, dedication, and moral resolve. The iconography (Szymczak in his office) is the quintessential symbol of legitimacy for his story.²⁷

Finally, John Szarkowski (director of photography at the MoMA) broadens the definition of upward mobility to include cultural capital.²⁸ This implies that success can be measured by authority over taste rather than by office or income – a useful hedge against the charge that the American Dream is merely material.²⁹ The relationship between images and text is crucial here – the selection of photographs supports the argument as much as the captions do.³⁰

When read together, these profiles teach a grammar of ascent for a Polish audience. The active voice foregrounds agency, euphemisms reframe hardship as *modesty* or *humble beginnings*, silences hide conflict and discrimination, and Polish names and institutions ground the ethos, making identification feel earned rather than imposed.³¹ This exemplifies a content-analysis reasoning at the unit (press message) level and across a small series,³² reinforced by the constant comparison of recurring tokens – such as work, family, and service – to showcase continuity over time.³³

In mid-20th-century discourse of *Ameryka*, the success of American economy is also discussed directly, and the promise of upward mobility is often associated with tangible signs of prosperity, most notably homeownership. For instance, “Kraj Właścicieli Domów” transforms aspiration into procedure, presenting the United States as a nation that “has become a country of homeowners.”³⁴ Federal mortgage guarantees, small down payments, and long payment periods convert “dream” into an installment schedule. Meanwhile, the concrete

²⁶ Hambridge, “Gubernator Szymczak – syn polskich emigrantów.”

²⁷ Barthes, “Mythologies,” 15-108.

²⁸ “John Szarkowski: zdjęcia wybrane,” *Ameryka*, no. 46 (1962): 35-37.

²⁹ Ibidem.

³⁰ McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 7-23; Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*, 80.

³¹ Foucault, qtd. in Hall, “From Discourse to Power/Knowledge,” 47-51.

³² Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*, 358.

³³ Lincoln and Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, qtd. in Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy'ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 39.

³⁴ David B. Carlson, “Fakty i Cyfry o USA: Kraj Właścicieli Domów,” *Ameryka*, no. 62 (1964): 40-42.

metric (“60% of families own homes”) asserts ordinariness, providing statistical proof that homeownership is the American baseline.³⁵ The repeated use of the words *ease*, *expansion*, and *range* as well as the statement “the price range of houses is huge, so almost every family can find something that fits their budget” reinforce the narrative that homeownership is both a right and a symbol of the American Dream.³⁶ While Carlson’s tone might seem slightly idealized, the concrete statistics and descriptions of mobility and infrastructure would make the American Dream tangible and aspirational – messaging supplemented by the visuals, with wide shots of suburban homes and interior scenes, simultaneously conveys denotation (houses) and connotation (orderly prosperity).³⁷

This vision of opportunity is complemented by Robert Lekachman’s reflections on capitalism – in “Rewizja Pojęć o Kapitalizmie Amerykańskim,” he discusses the shift from 19th-century *laissez-faire* capitalism to a modern mixed economy in which corporations, labor unions, and the government act as checks and balances.³⁸ The article emphasizes that opportunity and economic success are not solely a matter of individual entrepreneurship, but rather exist within a structured system. Lekachman portrays modern American capitalism as socially conscious, pragmatic, and institutionally mediated. Similarly, in “Bodziec Zysku a Dobro Ogółu,” he portrays the U.S. economy as diverse, with small businesses coexisting alongside large corporations and government regulation ensuring competition and fairness.³⁹ The presentation underscores that upward mobility is embedded in systemic checks rather than emerging purely from individual effort or market forces. These two articles would appeal to readers interested in economic theory and social policy – they would find the nuanced discussion of mixed capitalism, the balance between corporations, labor unions, and the government, and the role of regulation informative.⁴⁰ Readers could also appreciate learning that American society has social protections and institutional counterbalances, which challenges stereotypes of unbridled free-market chaos and widespread poverty as propagated by the Communist regime behind the Iron Curtain. The argumentative syntax (hypotaxis with *because*, *therefore*) and terminological density simulate the register of expertise.⁴¹

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ Barthes, “Mythologies,” 15-108.; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

³⁷ Barthes, “Mythologies.”

³⁸ Robert Lekachman, “Rewizja Pojęć o Kapitalizmie Amerykańskim,” *Ameryka*, no. 41 (1962): 38-40.

³⁹ Lekachman, “Bodziec Zysku a Dobro Ogółu.”

⁴⁰ Lekachman, “Rewizja Pojęć o Kapitalizmie Amerykańskim.” Bednarski stresses the informative and educational character of the *Ameryka* magazine, see: Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentury John F. Kennedy’ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 73.

⁴¹ Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 557-592; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

Labor relations and wage structures further complicate the narrative of opportunity. For instance, in “Rola Płac Jako Bodźca Ekonomicznego w Przemysle Amerykańskim,” Ben B. Seligman traces the contentious history of incentive pay.⁴² While management sought productivity-linked bonuses, unions resisted schemes that could exploit workers or undermine solidarity. Seligman’s analysis is historical and critical, depicting incentive systems as a negotiation between efficiency and fairness, and highlighting that upward mobility through wages is conditional on labor relations, technological change, and industrial structures. In contrast to Carlson’s celebratory framing of homeownership, Seligman’s account is more realistic than promotional in tone as it reveals that economic opportunity is contested and context-dependent.⁴³ Thus, the article’s historical depth and critical tone could reinforce the idea that workers in the United States face tensions, and that economic opportunity is neither automatic nor guaranteed. In turn, this would temper the idealized picture of prosperity presented in other articles, making *Ameryka* appear more truthful while still resonating with readers facing workplace issues in Poland. That tonal shift matters methodologically because contrast within a corpus strengthens credibility and reduces sounding like a propaganda’s monotone.⁴⁴

Government programs have emerged as another crucial mediator of mobility. The 1967 article titled “The Cornucopia of Government Benefits” details the extensive and expanding network of federal benefits, including healthcare, education, housing, veterans’ aid, and recreational support.⁴⁵ The article uses an informative tone with a hint of irony to contrast historical ideals of minimal government with the contemporary reality of state intervention. Here, upward mobility is presented as socially scaffolded – success is facilitated not only by individual effort, but also by institutional support. Accustomed to communist propaganda, Polish readers would likely be surprised by the variety of social programs, ranging from education and healthcare to hobbies and recreation support available in America. The mildly ironic tone would make the article engaging, and the detailed examples would demonstrate the practical scope of American welfare, offering a more nuanced view of opportunity in the U.S. that extends beyond income or homeownership. In semiotic terms, the cornucopia metaphor links abundance to public policy, acting as an overt mythmaker.⁴⁶

⁴² Ben B. Seligman, “Rola Płac Jako Bodźca Ekonomicznego w Przemysle Amerykańskim,” *Ameryka*, no. 72 (1964): 36-38.

⁴³ Robert M. Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.”

⁴⁴ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-24.

⁴⁵ “Róg Obfitości Świadczeń Rządu Federalnego,” *Ameryka*, no. 97 (1967): 27-28.

⁴⁶ Barthes, “Mythologies,” 15-108.

The narrative expands to a global scale in Daniel Yergin's "Ekspansja Obcego Kapitału," which frames foreign investment as an integral part of opportunity in the U.S. economy.⁴⁷ Yergin argues that foreign firms do not threaten domestic prosperity – rather, they create jobs, spur innovation, and integrate the American market into a dynamic global economy. In this context, upward mobility is linked not only to domestic policy, but also to international capital flows and technological exchange. The article's tone is factual and analytical with a cautiously optimistic outlook, portraying integration with global markets as a natural extension of American economic dynamism. The presence of foreign firms and international capital would be seen as fascinating and aspirational – readers might view this as evidence of American openness and innovation, which contrasts sharply with Poland's state-controlled economy. Although the article's profound optimism may seem slightly too promotional, concrete examples of factories and multinational companies would lend credibility to the described trends.

Yet, as James W. Singer illustrates in "Bezrobocie: Rzut Oka Na Fakty," opportunity can be a bit uneven – unemployment peaked at 8.9% in the mid-1970s and disproportionately affected youth, women, and minorities.⁴⁸ Although federal programs provided safety nets, Singer notes the structural and demographic factors that shape access to mobility. His narrative is analytical and measured, pointing out that although the welfare state and job-training programs alleviate hardship to a satisfactory scale, they cannot fully neutralize systemic disparities. Singer's balanced, data-driven discussion provides readers with a realistic view of economic challenges in the U.S., such as elevated youth and minority unemployment rates and short-term unemployment for many. He also notes however, that the statistics themselves do not portray a full picture – for instance, women, who have been increasingly joining the workforce in the previous years, take more frequent breaks and resume work than adult males, influencing the numbers.⁴⁹ Furthermore, while the unemployment rate remained high, the author explains, the number of jobs is growing rapidly and the size of the workforce is increasing at an unprecedented rate.⁵⁰ Such more balanced and analytical narrative would offer a counterpoint to idealized depictions of American prosperity in the earlier issues. Readers could also recognize the importance of social safety nets in alleviating hardship within a capitalist framework – again, questioning some of the

⁴⁷ Daniel Yergin, "Ekspansja Obcego Kapitału," *Ameryka*, no. 202 (1978): 56-58; Entman, "Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm."

⁴⁸ James W. Singer, "Bezrobocie: Rzut Oka na Fakty," *Ameryka*, no. 205 (1978): 8-11.

⁴⁹ Singer, "Bezrobocie: Rzut Oka na Fakty."

⁵⁰ Ibidem.

Communist propaganda. The modality (suggests, indicates) marks careful inference rather than proclamation, highlighting the credible stance of the article.⁵¹

Together, these articles reveal the various ways economic success and upward mobility were presented in discourse about the American economy in the issues from the 1960s and 1970s. Carlson celebrates accessibility and optimism, while Lekachman underscores structural mediation and systemic balance.⁵² Seligman portrays the conditional and negotiated nature of opportunity in labor markets, and the federal benefits discourse presents institutional scaffolding.⁵³ Yergin situates prosperity in a global context, and Singer hints that there can be structural limits and unequal outcomes.⁵⁴ A pattern emerges across these perspectives – the American Dream is depicted as attainable yet contingent; Its realization depends on individual effort, social institutions, regulatory frameworks, labor negotiations, global economic integration, and government support. Collectively, the articles frame upward mobility as a complex, multidimensional process, illustrating the promise and challenges of economic opportunity in mid-20th-century America.⁵⁵

For the typical Polish reader of the magazine, these articles collectively created a multidimensional picture of the United States – readers would see admiration for material prosperity, such as widespread homeownership and suburban growth, combined with awareness of social and economic complexities, including labor disputes, unemployment, and structural inequality. The articles suggest an experience of a mix of emotions – fascination by the scale of opportunity and the material trappings of success, aspiration to the possibilities in a society so distant from the Polish reality, and critical reflection on the fact that even in America opportunities are mediated by institutions, labor relations, and economic structures.

Unlike state-controlled media, which portrayed the U.S. as exploitative or decadent – often as an unsubstantiated claim – *Ameryka* offered a more credible, data-driven, and nuanced perspective. Its readership would see the American Dream as tangible yet conditional, shaped by policy, labor relations, market forces, and international dynamics, fostering long-term curiosity and informed judgment rather than short-lived blind admiration.

⁵¹ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19; Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-139. Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

⁵² David B. Carlson, “Fakty i Cyfry o USA: Kraj Właścicieli Domów,” *Ameryka*, no. 62 (1964): 40-42; Lekachman, “Rewizja Pojęć o Kapitalizmie Amerykańskim; Lekachman, “Bodziec Zysku a Dobro Ogółu,” *Ameryka*, no. 51 (1963): 8-10.

⁵³ Seligman, “Rola Płac Jako Bodźca Ekonomicznego w Przemysle Amerykańskim,” *Ameryka*, no. 72 (1964): 36-38.

⁵⁴ Yergin, “Ekspansja Obcego Kapitału,” *Ameryka*, no. 202 (1978): 56-58; Singer, “Bezrobocie: Rzut Oka na Fakty.”

⁵⁵ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.”

The depiction of the president as an example of moral success was a common theme from 1961 to 1967. John F. Kennedy is portrayed as the embodiment of modernity – education, sophistication, and youth – set against the backdrop of White House society articles and Jacqueline’s profiles, which portray power as elegantly subdued.⁵⁶ During John F. Kennedy’s presidency, coverage of the Kennedys included society and domestic life features, such as “At a White House Party,” and profiles of Jacqueline Kennedy as a mother and wife.⁵⁷ These were published alongside governance pieces, where Kennedy would be mentioned or appeared visually, that framed the growing responsibilities of a modern presidency.⁵⁸ Similarly, an excerpted piece of Kennedy’s book titled “Let us Begin” positioned some of the administration’s agenda within a rhetoric of initiative and modernity.⁵⁹

The 1965 memorial “John F. Kennedy, 1917–1963” combined political narrative and meticulous visual memory – featuring images of Lee Oswald and the assassination route (and his connections to USSR), photos of grieving Jackie, the funeral, and the John junior’s salute, as well as excerpts from JFK’s speeches; Together, these elements built a civic iconography around service, reason, and peace.⁶⁰ The 1967 issue no. 106 documented philatelic tributes to Kennedy, extending memory work through commemorative stamps and featuring the photographs of his grave, mythologizing Kennedy as a tragic peace icon through the solemn visual language of mourning and stamps – ritual objects that carry state legitimacy and public sentiment.⁶¹ Euphemistic framings softened the perception of political violence, for example, Kennedy’s assassination was framed as him *fallen on the field of glory*, evoking tragic heroism and military honor rather than murder.⁶² The magazine also situated his death alongside historical precedents, such as the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, to normalize political violence in American history and underscore the resilience of democracy. Controversies such as Vietnam or Cuba were shrouded in silence, while his image was normalized through family imagery that emphasized moral integrity and emotional closeness.⁶³

⁵⁶ James M. Burns, “Prezydent John F. Kennedy ‘Współczesność wymaga inwencji, zmian, wyobraźni i decyzji,’” *Ameryka*, no. 25 (1961): 1-9.;

⁵⁷ Laura Thurston, “Na Przyjęciu w Białym Domu,” *Ameryka*, no. 48 (1962): 17-21; Jane Ries, “Jacqueline Kennedy,” *Ameryka*, no. 40 (1962): 8-10.

⁵⁸ Clinton Rossiter, “Rola Prezydenta,” *Ameryka*, no. 39 (1962): 2-6.

⁵⁹ Sidney Hyman and Martin Agronsky, “Należy Zacząć,” *Ameryka*, no. 35 (1961): 15-23.

⁶⁰ “John F. Kennedy 1917-1963,” *Ameryka*, no. 74 (1965): 13-61.

⁶¹ Ernest Dunbar, “Znaczkę Ku Czcii Kennedy’ego,” *Ameryka*, no. 106 (1967): 53-58; “John F. Kennedy 1917-1963,” *Ameryka*, no. 74 (1965): 13-61.

⁶² Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.”

⁶³ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213; Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

Perhaps such framing of Kennedy in *Ameryka* could be explained by the USIA's assessments of the late 1960s, which revealed troubling changes in Polish attitudes toward the United States – once favorable, these attitudes were now influenced by anti-Vietnam-War propaganda, the Kennedy assassinations of 1963 and 1968, the poverty and racism in the American society, and lingering resentment over the Yalta Conference and the American hesitation to guarantee Oder–Neisse borderline.⁶⁴ The latter skillfully exploited by the communist propaganda throughout the Cold War.⁶⁵ Poles increasingly viewed America as “a cold, calculating society,” plagued by violence and inequality; A USIA report warned that the U.S. was “losing the goodwill built over years of hope” and that extraordinary measures were needed to reach the new generation, which “knows little about the Western world and has never seen it.”⁶⁶

The Lyndon B. Johnson dossier portrays the leader as an accessible figure through emphatic captions and tightly edited photo sequences that transform the narrative of poverty to power into a civic fable. These sequences depict Johnson as “a born politician,” “a practical idealist” and a boy who went “from a country shack to the White House.”⁶⁷ Subsequent coverage reinforced the image of his ability and accessibility, for instance, issue no. 66 portrayed Johnson as tireless and close to ordinary people – “busy days, constant work” and “contact with ordinary people is a need of the heart.”⁶⁸ The issue highlighted his reputation for persuasion and respect, quoting Martin Luther King Jr.'s comment that the Black people “have a friend in the White House.”⁶⁹ The captions also continuously highlighted his intelligence and sway, emphasizing that “Truman valued his advice” and even his rival, Eisenhower, called him “the best Democrat in the Senate.”⁷⁰ “Behind the scenes” spreads establish intimacy through access – a persuasion technique in visual political communication.⁷¹

⁶⁴ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxix, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 136, *Letter From the Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs (Hillenbrand) to the Ambassador to Poland (Stoessel)*, Washington, March 9, 1970.

⁶⁵ Wanda Jarząbek, “W cieniu problem granicznego. Polska a proces jednoczenia Niemiec w latach 1989-1990,” *Rocznik Polsko Niemiecki*, no. 17 (2009): 54-86.

⁶⁶ RIAS, Records of USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 4, 0572 S-27-68: *Impression of Political Attitudes in Poland*, 1968.

⁶⁷ Booth Mooney, “Lyndon B. Johnson – Prezydent Stanów Zjednoczonych,” *Ameryka*, no. 63 (1964): 52-61.

⁶⁸ “Prezydent Lyndon B. Johnson, Pracowite Dni,” *Ameryka*, no. 66 (1964): 1-31.

⁶⁹ Ibidem, 12.

⁷⁰ Mooney, “Lyndon B. Johnson – Prezydent Stanów Zjednoczonych,” 58.

⁷¹ Bill Moyers, “Prezydent Johnson od Strony Kulis,” *Ameryka*, no. 98 (1967): 2-5; McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 7-23.

The presidential layer provides a human aspect to American power for Polish readers. Johnson is portrayed as a tireless persuader of the “ordinary man,” and Kennedy is depicted as a martyr of peace. These positive leadership archetypes complement the economic narrative, elevating “success” beyond income to encompass character and service.⁷² Grammatical structures reinforced these portrayals – in Johnson descriptions’ use of the active present tense – *confers, passes (konferuje, uchodzi)* suggested tireless immediacy, while Kennedy’s narrative alternated between active achievements and passive constructions of death, underscoring fate and martyrdom. Repetitions, contrasts, and metaphors – such as glory versus tragedy and persuasion versus ordinariness – humanized the U.S. leaders for Polish readers.⁷³ Unlike factual biographies, these texts used highly emotional and metaphorical language, and both had the same pragmatic aim – to offer positive examples of American leadership and morality.

During the 1960s and 1970s, articles in *Ameryka* that explicitly addressed capitalism or the U.S. economy were rare, and the coverage during that era did not approach the scale and intensity seen in the 1980s. The editorial change became apparent in the early Reagan years, when economic themes and rhetoric about market freedom dominated issue after issue. The form of a text matters for its meaning – such shift from more illustrative, sparse pieces to dense, policy-heavy coverage also shifts the register and the cues readers use to decode messages.⁷⁴

Ronald Reagan as President was first introduced to the Polish public through *Ameryka* via a special addition to its Winter 1981 issue, which made the introduction appear more casual in form.⁷⁵ The magazine published a feature article titled “President Ronald Reagan: A Community of Ideals as the Foundation of Society,” introducing Reagan as a figure of moral clarity and political reform who advocated for limited government, individual initiative, and private enterprise. His dedication to decentralization and tax reduction was presented as a return to fundamental American principles, offering an implicit (yet noticeable) critique of socialist central planning without explicitly referencing Polish politics. The biographical frame transforms policy into character – lexical bundles around *initiative, work, and faith* naturalize ideology as personality traits – a shift from denotation to connotation.⁷⁶

⁷² Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-24; Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System,” 93-233.

⁷³ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

⁷⁴ McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 7-23; Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*, 80.

⁷⁵ “Prezydent Ronald Reagan – Wspólnota Idełów Fundamentem Społeczeństwa,” *Ameryka*, no. 218 (1981): 1-4.

⁷⁶ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-24; Barthes, “Mythologies,” 15-108.

Ameryka did not just present Reagan as a distinct politician but humanized him by providing an in-depth biographical narrative.⁷⁷ Readers learned about his humble beginnings in Illinois, his involvement in student protests, his career in Hollywood, and his time as governor of California. The vivid descriptions of his life experiences painted Reagan as a self-made man and an embodiment of the American Dream. The narrative subtly reinforced the idea that American democracy enables not only individual success, but also moral leadership, thereby offering the Polish readers a striking contrast to their own system, in which social advancement was tightly controlled by party loyalty. Short, active clauses (*he worked, he led*) foreground agency and create the effect of factuality – the “self-made” narrative functions as a modern myth of origins that invites identification.⁷⁸

Although Reagan himself appeared in only one feature, what followed was unprecedented – no previous U.S. president has received such elaborate, ideologically embedded treatment in *Ameryka*. Earlier presidents were often presented with abundant photography and little effort was made to integrate their programs into the magazine’s intellectual life. By contrast, Reagan’s ideology was woven into the discourse of top American scientists, as the enabling force for artists, and as a driver of national culture. This signals interdiscursivity in practice – economic, scientific, and artistic discourses quote each other, thereby multiplying authority and broadening the preferred interpretation.⁷⁹

In the early 1980s, Polish readers were introduced to Ronald Reagan’s inaugural ideas as a confident program of limited government, decentralization, tax reduction, and elevating private enterprise as the primary engine of prosperity.⁸⁰ The confident tone was not reflecting the 1980 U.S. policy toward Eastern Europe on messaging tailored with “appropriate subtlety, in view of the sensitivity of the USSR,” while U.S. intelligence assessments emphasized Poland’s unique trajectory, with a society-wide transformation, which, “if successfully institutionalized, [would] transform that country into a Social Democratic state with powerful societal counter-balances to the Communist authorities.”⁸¹ Articles repeatedly stressed that freeing markets from excessive federal controls – such as lifting oil price caps, deregulating

⁷⁷ “Prezydent Ronald Reagan – Wspólnota Idealów Fundamentem Społeczeństwa,” 2-3.

⁷⁸ Barthes, “Mythologies,” 15-108; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

⁷⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213; Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

⁸⁰ “Prezydent Ronald Reagan – Wspólnota Idealów Fundamentem Społeczeństwa,” 1-4.

⁸¹ FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. xx, Eastern Europe, doc. 41, *Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassies in All NATO Capitals, Subject: Poland and Eastern Europe: Analysis and Policy Implications*, Ref: State 238732, Washington, September 20, 1980, 0753Z, 250846.; FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 80, *Memorandum From the President’s Assistant for the National Security Affairs (Allen) to Secretary of State Haig, Subject: Romania*, Washington, September 21, 1981.

sectors, and encouraging entrepreneurship – would generate jobs, innovation, and productivity.⁸² Economic advisers such as Alan Greenspan and Murray L. Weidenbaum emerged as authoritative voices, emphasizing a broader principle: economic freedom strengthens civic freedom.⁸³ The register becomes technocratic. Nominalizations such as *deregulation* and *productivity* depersonalize agency and present change as a necessity rather than a choice, which was reinforced by high-certainty modality (*will, must*).⁸⁴

Reagan's economic policies were also portrayed positively, especially in the early 1980s. For instance, issue no. 220 defended Republican economic thought, presenting it as a response to inflation, economic stagnation, and excessive bureaucracy – critiques that mirrored the mounting dissatisfaction with the inefficiencies of communism found in Polish opposition circles.⁸⁵ This vision may have had considerable appeal to many Polish readers, especially the educated urban middle class, students, intellectuals, and some members of the clergy that the magazine was targeting. Evaluative lexis, such as *stagnation* and *excessive bureaucracy*, frames causality and positions readers toward policy “solutions” via the problem-solution schema common in persuasive policy genres.⁸⁶

American political thought, history, and economic policy had never before received such frequent and in-depth treatment in *Ameryka* as they did in the 1980s.⁸⁷ Reagan's era marked a strategic pivot in which politics ceased to be episodic and became a steady undercurrent.⁸⁸ Slogans and tenets of Reaganomics were woven through articles on culture, science, the environment, and urban planning, allowing persuasion to travel under the banner of education and giving the magazine's soft-power aims new reach. Its narrative technique, casting fiscal policy in the vocabulary of everyday virtues, gave Reaganomics a cultural gloss that went beyond ordinary policy arguments.

At the same time, the magazine linked the American Dream of upward mobility to biography and character. Reagan's Midwestern origins, Hollywood career, and gubernatorial experience were reimagined as a traditional self-made story, demonstrating that ambition and

⁸² *Ameryka*, no. 218-220 (1981).

⁸³ Alan Greenspan, “Polityka Gospodarcza na Lata 1980,” *Ameryka*, no. 220 (1981): 9-12, 67-69.; Murray L. Weidenbaum, “O Inną Strategię Przepisów,” *Ameryka*, no. 221 (1981): 25-30.

⁸⁴ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213. Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

⁸⁵ *Ameryka*, no. 220 (1988).

⁸⁶ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

⁸⁷ For a first full biography of Milton Friedman, Ronald Reagan's economic advisor, see: Jennifer Burns, *Milton Friedman: The Last Conservative* (Picador, 2023).

⁸⁸ *Ameryka*, no. 218-232 (1981-82; 1988-89).

initiative can triumph over humble beginnings.⁸⁹ The broader editorial arc of *Ameryka* at that time examined leadership and personal character, sometimes through book reviews and cultural commentary that asked why some “poor boys become beneficent industrialists” to reinforce initiative, adaptability, and self-reliance as social levers.⁹⁰ The period’s pieces also addressed minority participation and gains, citing data and discussions suggesting that, in certain professional fields, Black college graduates could earn more than their white peers, while also debating social programs and the distinction between equality of opportunity and equality of outcome.⁹¹

Despite the discourse surrounding inflation and anxiety, the prevailing cultural sentiment in *Ameryka* was one of underlying optimism – the country was continuously depicted as a paradigm of innovation, particularly in electronics, space, and energy, which were identified as pivotal to the future. Progress and resilience were celebrated as hallmarks of the nation.⁹² The editors seem to have reflected a shift toward moderate conservatism, self-help, and community action, framing economics in moral and patriotic terms with a focus on “family, work, neighborly help.”⁹³

Meanwhile, *Ameryka*’s idealism may have provoked skepticism or irony among the more critical readers. After all, Reagan was a polarizing figure domestically and internationally, and many Polish readers were politically sophisticated enough to recognize the highly promotional tone of some of the content. Nevertheless, juxtaposing *Ameryka*’s narrative with the realities of martial-law Poland magnified the magazine’s soft power potential. *Ameryka* was available until 1982, with three issues (no. 222, 223, and 224) being released that year. Even those who questioned its motives would find *Ameryka*’s story of a different world quite compelling – even when viewed with suspicion as American propaganda, the idea of a government retreating from excessive control, empowering local institutions, and rewarding personal initiative resonated deeply in a country weary of systemic shortages and corruption.

By late 1981, Jaruzelski’s martial law had prompted intense U.S. rhetoric. In his Christmas address, aired on 23 December 1981, President Reagan portrayed the crackdown as

⁸⁹ “Prezydent Ronald Reagan – Wspólnota Idełów Fundamentem Społeczeństwa,” *Ameryka*, no. 218 (1981): 1-4; For an analysis of the ideas that informed Ronald Reagan’s political philosophy and policies, see: David T. Byrne, *Ronald Reagan: An Intellectual History* (Potomac Books, 2018).

⁹⁰ *Ameryka*, no. 218-221 (1981).

⁹¹ *Ameryka*, no. 222-224 (1981).

⁹² *Ameryka*, no. 218-221 (1981).

⁹³ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.”

a historic betrayal backed by Moscow. Pairing moral denunciation with sanctions on aviation, fishing, and high-tech exports. Reagan was urging a show of solidarity involving candles in windows, and stressing that aid would reach the Polish people via private channels.⁹⁴ He reinforced this message in letters that framed martial law as a violation of the Helsinki and the Gdańsk Agreements.⁹⁵ However, *Ameryka* did not adopt this emotional approach. It maintained its measured soft-power voice, avoiding melodrama and focusing on consistent, yet highly persuasive messaging.

Similarly, Secretary of State Alexander Haig fused moral indictment and strategic framing. In January 1982, he described Poland as proof of communism's failure to deliver "bread or freedom," referenced Pope John Paul II's teachings on human dignity, and concluded with the reassurance, "Poland has not perished" reminiscent of an anthem.⁹⁶ His speech, "Polish People Look to the West for Support," was printed in thousands of copies by USCIA in Manila for worldwide distribution by USIS posts.⁹⁷ However, *Ameryka* remained balanced – rather than promoting dramatic appeals, the magazine continued to showcase persuasive, everyday images of American modernity and culture (though grounded in Reaganomics), consistent with its longstanding avoidance of confrontational rhetoric.

In early 1982, USIA and State assessments indicated that although many Poles still associated "socialism" with ideals like equality and justice, their faith in the government had eroded due to shortages, corruption, and official insincerity.⁹⁸ *Ameryka*'s editorial restraint is better aligned with this analytical approach. Rather than echoing crisis rhetoric, the

⁹⁴ Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State, Publications Series: II Current Policy 332-406, Box 6, Current Policy no. 357, *President Reagan: Situation in Poland*, Washington, December 23, 1981; Tyszkiewicz, "Żeby Polska Była Polską" Ofensywa Propagandowa" in *Rozbijanie Monolitu*, 467.

⁹⁵ Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State, Publications Series: II Current Policy 332-406, Box 6, Current Policy no. 357; FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 91, *Letter From President Reagan to Romanian President Ceausescu*, Washington, January 29, 1982.

⁹⁶ Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State, Publications Series: II Current Policy 332-406, Box 6, Current Policy no. 362, *Secretary Haig: Poland and the Future of Europe*, Washington, January 12, 1982.; Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State, Publications Series: II Current Policy 332-406, Box 6, Current Policy no. 363, *Secretary Haig: Poland Has Not Perished*, Washington, January 30, 1982.

⁹⁷ Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State, Publications Series xvi: Bureau & Agency Publications, Standardized Regulations, 1986 5-7, U.S. Policy Statement: The Deterrent Value of the Enhanced Radiation Weapon, Box 143, *Speech: Polish People Look to the West for Support by Alexander Haig, US Secretary of State*, January 12, 1982.

⁹⁸ Ronald Reagan Library, Department of State, Publications Series xii: Reports: Global Resources, Environment and Population, January 1981; Subseries A: Special Reports no. 130, Box 85, Special Report no. 96, *Poland: Financial and Economic Situation*, January 27, 1982.; RIAS, Records of the USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 22, 0932 S-45-82: *Polish Public Moods in a Time of Crisis: Findings of Polish Surveys since August 1980, Prepared for 23rd Annual Convention of the International Studies Association, Cincinnati Ohio, March 24-27, 1982, by James P. McGregor*, Washington, D.C.

publication adopted steady, low-temperature but propagandistic narratives that could circumvent censorship, while maintaining credibility with readers.

When *Ameryka* resurfaced in Polish kiosks with two issues in late 1988 – another pivotal time in Polish history, the magazine resumed publication with a fresh tone, offering a more analytical treatment of Reagan’s ideology rather than celebrating him as a hero. In the 1988 Fall issue, an article titled “The New Shape of American Politics” framed Reagan’s rise as the result of a cultural and political shift rather than an ideological victory.⁹⁹ The article traced Reagan’s appeal to an “anti-government revolt” fueled by disillusionment with liberalism, civil rights activism, and youth rebellion.¹⁰⁰ Rather than portraying Reagan as a mastermind, the article depicts him as a charismatic vessel for a new conservative coalition comprising business elites, fundamentalist religious groups, and lower-class white voters who were reacting against desegregation and social liberalism. Importantly, the article notes that by 1988, the fervor of this anti-government movement had begun to wane – public disillusionment with the government had softened, inflation had eased, and even Republican leaders were wondering how to maintain Reagan’s ideological momentum.

Several articles mapped political realignments since the 1970s, including the rise of populist conservatism, Reagan’s coalition of business elites, white working-class members, and religious groups, as well as the enduring anti-government sentiment tied to promises of lower taxes, deregulation, and entrepreneurship as paths to mobility and personal agency.¹⁰¹ A companion set of reflections on “capitalism and ethics” in issue no. 227 framed markets as adaptable and improvable, capable of creating wealth, rewarding initiative, and even approaching “Adam Smith’s dream” of reducing poverty – provided that the ethical guidelines kept pace with change.¹⁰²

A complementary tone appeared in the article “The Politics of Possibility” in the Spring 1989, which highlights Reagan’s role in revitalizing the American Dream.¹⁰³ Through his tax reforms, the article argues, Reagan fostered an environment that empowered Americans to take economic risks and embrace entrepreneurship – the tone evokes the iconic American ideal of the self-made individual, noting that Americans once again aspire to

⁹⁹ William Schneider, “Nowy Kształt Amerykańskiego Życia Politycznego,” *Ameryka*, no. 227 (1988): 2-9.

¹⁰⁰ For a detailed account on the discourse that emerged in the Post-segregation era and undermined progress toward racial equality, see: Stephen Steinberg, *Counterrevolution: The Crusade to Roll Back the Gains of the Civil Rights Movement* (Stanford University Press, 2022).

¹⁰¹ *Ameryka*, no. 227-229 (1988).

¹⁰² “Dział Specjalny: Kapitalizm i Etyka,” *Ameryka*, no. 227 (1988): 34-48.

¹⁰³ Robert W. Hodge and Steven Lagerfeld, “Polityka Możliwości,” *Ameryka*, no. 229 (1989): 36-40.

“become their own bosses.”¹⁰⁴ Here, Reagan is credited with restoring a sense of personal agency and optimism in a post-crisis economy.

Yet, even in a more favorable depiction, the article maintains a balanced tone. It acknowledges ongoing concern for the poor and for economic inequality, reminding readers that not everyone shared equally in the Reagan-era boom. The juxtaposition of opportunity and caution reinforces *Ameryka*’s new editorial strategy – to showcase American achievements without ignoring their contradictions. For Polish readers who experienced economic collapse, political uncertainty, and the gradual dissolution of the communist regime, such nuanced portrayal was probably both informative and inspiring. Even when criticized, Reagan’s policies offered an example of governance through reform and public accountability. More importantly, this was the perfect time for *Ameryka* to demonstrate that leadership was subject to scrutiny, systems could evolve, and societal change could occur without revolution.

Beyond the clearly economy-focused pieces, the issues 230–232 spotlighted knowledge institutions and scientific frontiers – such as the Bell Laboratory, the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, and campus debates—implying that education and research are gateways to mobility and national development.¹⁰⁵ Issue 229 examined religion and values, noting the public’s expectation that leaders have faith, which connects material ambition to a moral vocabulary of family, purpose, and service.¹⁰⁶ The arts coverage in issues 231–232 – including Black writers, Hispanic art, music, and theater – extended the meaning of the American Dream beyond income to include representation, voice, and participation in cultural life.¹⁰⁷

In the 1988-1989 *Ameryka*, the American Dream was presented as economic dynamism and individual initiative, enriched by cultural diversity and limited by ongoing moral debates – mobility was possible, but not guaranteed; it depended on policy choices and was contested by social divisions.¹⁰⁸ Supporting points recurred across issues – Reagan’s tax reforms and the small-business boom as proof of opportunity, a portrayal of capitalism as reformable rather than dogmatic, and technology and the arts as aspirational imagery.¹⁰⁹ The

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁵ Gene Bylinsky, “Laboratoria Bella od Środka,” *Ameryka*, no. 230 (1989): 10-18; “JPL Sondowanie Kosmosu,” *Ameryka*, no. 232 (1989): 8-15; Russell Jacoby, “Gdzie się Podziali Intelktualiści?” *Ameryka*, no. 230 (1989): 48-57.

¹⁰⁶ *Ameryka*, no. 229 (1988).

¹⁰⁷ *Ameryka*, no. 231-232 (1989).

¹⁰⁸ *Ameryka*, no. 227-228 (1988), no. 229-232 (1989).

¹⁰⁹ Ibidem.

magazine's message unit – comprising an article, layout, and image – functions as an analytic unit conveying both quantitative cues (statistics) and qualitative connotations (aspirational imagery).¹¹⁰

By the late 1980s, shifting away from the visual focus and using the administration's ideological lens, *Ameryka* had perfected a method of intertwining economics with culture, translating policy into everyday virtues, and presenting the American Dream as both measurable (entrepreneurship data, university labs, and technology hubs) and imaginable (California as a legend, the arts as a gateway, and religion as a moral framework).¹¹¹ In such narrative, mobility was not a myth or a guarantee, but rather a possibility – politically enabled, ethically contested, and culturally performed. Its appeal in Poland would not stem from denigrating communism, but rather from inviting readers to envision a different social contract based on initiative, pluralism, and reform. Policy is moralized through the everyday lexicon of terms such as *home*, *work*, and *responsibility*, which translates macroeconomics into lived virtues – an example of agenda-setting through narrativization rather than argument.¹¹²

Throughout the early 1980s and again in the twilight of his presidency, *Ameryka* portrayed Reagan as a multifaceted figure: a principled leader, a cultural icon, and a product of democratic discourse. For Polish readers on the brink of profound political change, Reagan was more than just a Cold War icon. He represented an alternative vision of society – one of pluralism, resilience, and reinvention. Through Reagan, *Ameryka* sold more than just a president. It sold a promise of dignity through democracy, prosperity through initiative, and freedom through cultural complexity. By the late 1980s, with Solidarity gaining ground and the communist regime negotiating its own demise, *Ameryka's* influence became more relevant than ever. The evaluative vocabulary that closes the arc (*pluralism, resilience, reinvention*) functions as an appraisal framework that establishes affective alignment while concealing ideological undertones.¹¹³

Together, the profiles, economic essays, and leadership portrayals depict the American Dream as attainable yet conditional – social mobility hinges on hard work, supportive structures (such as regulations, benefits, labor agreements, and global openness), moral responsibility, and a pluralistic culture of debate. Rather than simply telling Poles that

¹¹⁰ Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*, 385; Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (Basic Books, 1973): 3-30.

¹¹¹ *Ameryka*, no. 227-232 (1988-1989).

¹¹² Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-213; Hall, "The Work of Representation," 15-24.

¹¹³ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research." Hall, "The Work of Representation."

communism is bad, the magazine invites them to imagine a different social contract – prosperity as dignity, policy as reformable, knowledge as a frontier, and leadership as human and accountable.

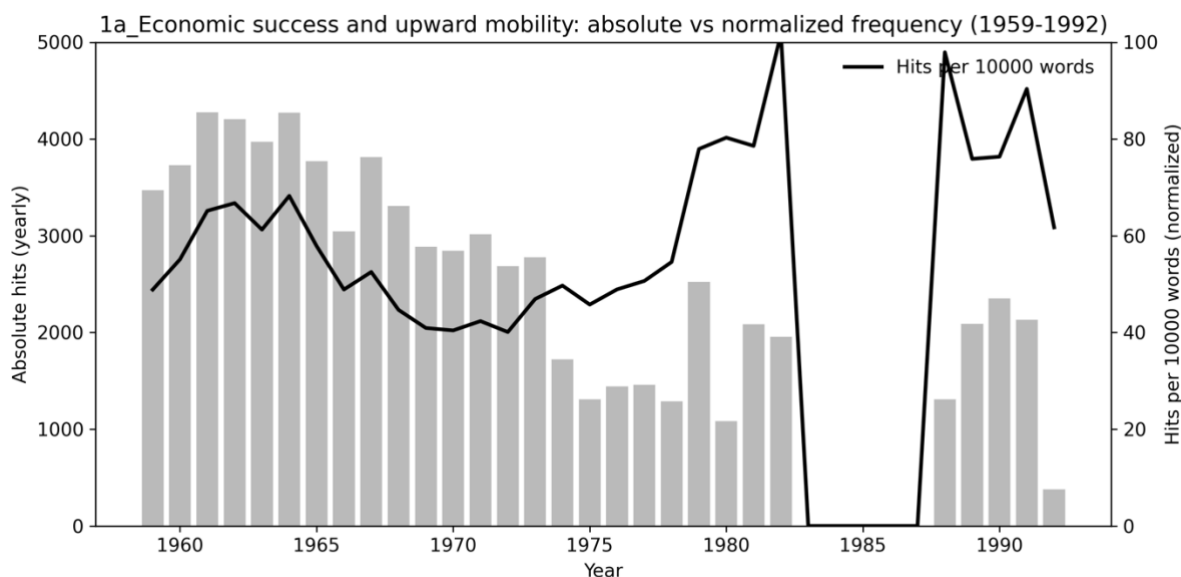


Figure 3 Frequency of Economic Success & Upward Mobility Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

The graph portrays keywords associated with economic success and upward mobility, exemplified through the critical discourse and linguistic analysis, in their absolute and normalized frequency in 1959-1992. Absolute frequency shows the raw number of times those keywords appeared each year throughout time, while normalized frequency adjusts for text length in a given year. Thus, the normalized frequency displays the frequency of the keyword appearance per 10,000 words, offering insight into the magazine's relative focus or attention given to a particular topic in comparison to their overall content. The focus on this theme was quite steady from 1959 until mid-1970s – mirroring the bars on absolute frequencies. The graph shows the biggest discrepancy between the overall hits and the emphasis of the economic success and upward mobility during both the early and the late Reagan years – proving *Ameryka*'s highly sudden increased focus on economics and economic policy in the Reagan era.

3.1.2. Consumerism and Material Culture

In its portrayal of the American Dream, the *Ameryka* magazine consistently emphasized the material abundance and consumer opportunities available to ordinary Americans. Using articles on leisure, advertising, and everyday goods, the magazine crafted a compelling vision of modernity and prosperity. In fact, the phrase *amerykańskie prosperity* (the American prosperity) appeared in many articles throughout the 1960s. The American vision, heavily centered on consumption, presented shopping and material acquisition not as luxuries, but at first as ordinary, accessible elements of life, and then even as a hobby, family activity, and even high-culture attribute of the American society. For Polish readers behind the Iron Curtain, many of whom experienced a true scarcity of basic goods, these images must have been both captivating and astonishing. From an analytical perspective, within the “construction of meaning” – the magazine does not merely reflect reality. It produces it by establishing *prosperity*, *modernity*, and *choice* as naturalized codes within its representations.¹¹⁴ Methodologically, each article or photo spread serves as a unit of analysis within a systematized, longitudinal content analysis.¹¹⁵

One of the earliest and most vivid examples of this theme appeared in articles about leisure and recreation, particularly boating. The two articles from issue no. 19 of 1960, “Motorówka dla Każdego” (A motorboat for everyone) and “Rodzina na Wakacjach” (Family on vacation) present an image of American leisure culture that would have struck a chord with a Polish readership at the time.¹¹⁶ They depict recreational boating not as a luxury, but as a common and almost routine part of middle- and even working-class life. Denotatively, these texts list boats, lakes, and prices. Connotatively, however, they signify *freedom* and *rewarded labor*, transforming leisure commodities into symbols of a well-ordered society.¹¹⁷

Both pieces emphasize scale and accessibility. The first highlights the sheer numbers, noting that over 37 million Americans – about 20% of the population – partake in water sports each year, taking to lakes, rivers, and oceans.¹¹⁸ They row, sail, race motorboats, fish, and sunbathe, returning home eager for more. The expansive, almost celebratory language underscores the idea that this is a popular movement, not an elite pastime. Technology and industry are presented as enablers, with fiberglass-reinforced plastic hulls, improved motors,

¹¹⁴ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-24.

¹¹⁵ Wimmer and Dominick, *Mass media: metody badań*, 213.

¹¹⁶ Gwen Johnson and Richard Montague, “Motorówka dla Każdego,” *Ameryka*, no. 19 (1960): 10-12; D.F. “Rodzina na Wakacjach” *Ameryka*, no. 19 (1960): 34-37.

¹¹⁷ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 32-41; Barthes, “Mythologies,” 15-36.

¹¹⁸ Johnson and Montague, “Motorówka dla Każdego.”

and falling prices making boats safer, faster, and cheaper. Even more striking is the economic detail that by 1959, some boats were cheaper than cars and used boats were common. The accumulation of figures is a credibility strategy, or quantification as authority, which is typical of “textual analysis in social research,” where vocabulary and numbers operate ideologically.¹¹⁹

The second article adds social context, demonstrating how mass production and standardized designs made boating more accessible. Notably, the data on ownership by occupation reveals a detail that would have stood out to Polish readers: half of all boats were purchased by the working class, with skilled and semi-skilled workers accounting for 48% of sales alone.¹²⁰ With cars and two-wheel trailers, even those far from the water could tow boats to lakes and rivers on weekends. The image of factory workers hauling a motorboat behind a car to enjoy their free time on the water would have been nearly unimaginable in 1960s Poland, where consumer goods were scarce, incomes were modest, and private leisure activities were limited by both infrastructure and ideology.¹²¹ This juxtaposition, as a “thick description,” situates objects (such as boats and trailers) within webs of meaning that suggest a social order of mobility and choice.¹²²

These two articles were way more than just technical notes about boating. In the Polish context, they offered a glimpse into American consumerism and wealth distribution, with recreational boating as a symbol of abundance – an industry that produces not just for necessity, but for pleasure, technology that makes luxury affordable, and workers – not just managers and professionals – who participate fully. For a society where basic goods were scarce and leisure goods were rarely available, such news could be fascinating, but also politically charged. This political charge stems from the media’s role in selecting and framing information based on their own criteria of salience, which is central to the effects of political communication.¹²³

Thus, these two reports seemingly about boating technology implicitly contrasted the two systems – in the U.S. imagery, consumer goods and leisure are plentiful and widely available, while in the Polish reality, even fundamental goods are difficult to obtain. By focusing on boats – a clear emblem of leisure rather than necessity – the articles highlight a culture in which hard work is rewarded with material enjoyment, clearly suggesting a

¹¹⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-189, 206-213.

¹²⁰ D.F. “Rodzina na Wakacjach.”

¹²¹ Iwona Kienzler, *Życie w PRL, I Strasznie i Śmiesznie* (Bellona, 2015).

¹²² Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” 3-30.

¹²³ Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne*, 24-27; Goban-Klas, *Media i komunikowanie masowe*, 200-201.

prosperity that extends beyond the elites. Whether seen with admiration, curiosity, or subtle ideological commentary, the articles clearly showcase how American consumerism was portrayed for the Polish readers – not merely consumption, but also access, mobility, and choice, creating an almost utopian picture of the American working-class affluence. Discursively, it serves an interweaving of economic and cultural registers – a case of interdiscursivity that solidifies the “common sense” notion of prosperity.¹²⁴

The three articles – “Woolworth’s five-cent stores,” “The Buyer’s Sesame,” and “Fashionable Glasses” – together paint a vibrant picture of American shopping culture, one that would have seemed almost fantastical to readers in communist Poland.¹²⁵ The articles describe stores as more than just places to buy goods; they are symbols of abundance, efficiency, and entertainment – an entire culture of consumption. Here, the founder’s tale and treasure-trove metaphors function as myths, transforming transient retail practices into enduring virtues and abundance.¹²⁶

The Woolworth article reads like a small-scale American Dream narrative. The story starts with the childhood tale of Frank Woolworth, who, along with his brother, cried when they could not buy their mother a gift because they only had five cents and were turned away from a store.¹²⁷ This event led to a vow to create a shop where anyone could buy something. Seventeen years later, he achieved his goal, and as years went by, his chain of “five-and-ten” stores had spread across the U.S. and abroad. The article emphasizes accessibility – Woolworth targeted farming towns and industrial communities, offering inexpensive everyday items such as candy, socks, books, toys, dishes, and perfumes. The sales numbers are staggering – 75 million greeting cards, 25 million houseplants, and 109 million porcelain cups.¹²⁸ The mere framing of candy as an “everyday item” itself, for Polish readers, for whom candy was a rare holiday treat, even rationed, would be a depiction revealing a strikingly different material reality. Those figures would also be hard to even imagine. The subtext was clear – in America, even ordinary people could afford small luxuries, a working-class family could furnish an entire household by simply walking into a Woolworth’s store.

¹²⁴ Fairclough, “Discourse, common sense and ideology,” 77-83.

¹²⁵ Violet Wood, “Pięciocentowe Sklepy Woolwortha,” *Ameryka*, no. 21 (1960): 44-46, 51; Robert S. Beckwith, “Sezam Kupujących,” *Ameryka*, no. 33 (1961): 24-29; Robert Phillips, photograph, “Modne Okulary,” *Ameryka*, no. 33 (1961): 53.

¹²⁶ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 109-159; Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 39-41.

¹²⁷ Wood, “Pięciocentowe Sklepy Woolwortha.”

¹²⁸ *Ibidem*.

Narrativization of enterprise (from vow to chain) personalizes system effects, which, as Gee calls it, involves the building of identities and values through story.¹²⁹

While Woolworth's represented affordable basics, the article "Sezam Kupujących" on R.H. Macy and Company, commonly called Macy's, portrays consumerism as a spectacle and celebrates shopping as a cultural event.¹³⁰ The article focuses on the sensory experience of shopping, describing crowds filling New York streets before Christmas and Easter, families with children, colorful packages, and store windows resembling treasure chests. The article describes Macy's as more than a store – it is a cultural institution where service is paramount – foreign-language translators help customers, and a meal, entertainment, and fashion education are all part of the experience. The spectacle is organized on the page by composition – salience, vectors, and information value – which guide the eye and establish the store as a civic center.¹³¹

The numbers are staggering again – 110 million customers are served annually and "consumers spend money as if they don't care about tomorrow."¹³² The text emphasizes the store's vast selection, including vacuum cleaners, hats, porcelain, exotic foods, fashion magazines, and play areas for children. Macy's is portrayed as much a civic space as a retail one, connected to national traditions such as the Thanksgiving Parade. For a Polish audience, the abundance of choices, including a restaurant inside the store, would underscore the stark contrast between shopping in Poland, which often meant standing in line for hours and experiencing shortages, and shopping at Macy's, where buying becomes a leisurely celebration. Once again, the combination of quantification and festive language is a powerful one – description performing evaluation.¹³³

The brief article on fashionable eyeglasses complements the broader portraits by focusing on consumer choices at a personal level.¹³⁴ It lists styles for every occasion, including sunglasses, frames for evening wear, and even contact lenses. The tone suggests novelty and self-expression, implying that functional items can also serve as a means of expressing individuality. Throughout the 1960s and early 1970s, such one- or two-page fashion spreads, filled with elegant or flashy photos, would often be incorporated into issues

¹²⁹ Gee, "Building Task," 10-19.

¹³⁰ Beckwith, "Sezam Kupujących."

¹³¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*: 175-214; Gillian Rose, "'The Good Eye': Looking at pictures using compositional interpretation," in *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, Fourth Ed. (SAGE, 2016): 56-84.

¹³² Beckwith, "Sezam Kupujących."

¹³³ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 198-206.

¹³⁴ Robert Phillips, photograph, "Modne Okulary," *Ameryka*, no. 33 (1961): 53.

of *Ameryka*. Visually, these images use classification and symbolism to link taste to identity.¹³⁵

Together, these articles paint a consistent picture. American consumerism is not only about abundance but also about accessibility, service, and pleasure. They depict a world in which workers purchase luxuries, stores compete based on variety and customer service, and even the smallest item, such as eyeglasses, can reflect one's personality. For Polish readers, this was likely astonishing – perhaps even bittersweet. American stores were presented as temples of choice. In a country where many had relatives who emigrated, the mention of immigrant families coming from Europe to America with “bare hands” and arriving to fill their homes at Woolworth’s would resonate strongly.¹³⁶ This is precisely how representations “fix” meaning through repeated codes, such as freedom, choice, and prosperity, until they feel self-evident.¹³⁷

Again, this was during a time when many goods in Poland were scarce or utilitarian and variety was limited, “shopping” rarely meant enjoyment. By strongly emphasizing the participation of the working class – farmers and factory workers buying toys, candy, and stylish frames on everyday basis – the articles implicitly contrast the two systems – Here is capitalism, which rewards effort with goods and experiences; There is socialism, which promises equality but delivers only shortages. This type of contrast exemplifies agenda-setting in public communication – media outlets select and amplify differences in line with their strategic frames.¹³⁸

The articles “Sports Cars” and “Watching Shop Window Displays” from issue no. 72 (1964), as well as “Young Fashion for All Seasons” and “The Great Passion: Shopping” from issue no. 81, (1965) continue the pattern seen in earlier pieces about boats, Woolworth’s, and Macy’s, only with a sharper focus on style, spectacle, and the sheer energy of consumption.¹³⁹ Not only is what Americans buy celebrated, but also how they buy it – as an expression of individuality, aspiration, and even collective identity. For Polish readers, these pieces offered a glimpse into a world where shopping and design were considered cultural events. In this

¹³⁵ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-113.

¹³⁶ Wood, “Pięciocentowe sklepy Woolwortha,” 44-46, 51

¹³⁷ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

¹³⁸ Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne*, 24-27.

¹³⁹ “Samochody Sportowe,” *Ameryka*, no. 72 (1964): 16-19; “Oglądamy Wystawy Sklepowe,” *Ameryka*, no. 72, (1964): 39-45; “Młoda Moda na Wszystkie Pory Roku,” *Ameryka*, no. 81 (1965): 43-46; “Wielka Pasja: Zakupy,” *Ameryka*, no. 81 (1965): 52-54.

case, the medium itself –the glossy magazine spread of colorful pictures – functions as the message, translating policy into everyday aesthetics.¹⁴⁰

The article about sports cars starts with the glamour of Corvettes and Chryslers, then shifts to the story of the Ford Mustang.¹⁴¹ The fact that Ford surveyed potential buyers before designing the Mustang is significant – subtly highlighting that companies met public demand, leading to the creation of the “four-seat sporty car” in response to consumer requests.¹⁴² The narrative celebrates variety and choice, including sixteen colors and customizable options. Even the photo of a smiling couple stepping into their gleaming white Mustang suggests that owning a car in America is a lifestyle choice, not just a means of transportation. For a Polish audience accustomed to waiting years for a utilitarian car, if they could get one at all, the notion that companies catered to tastes and aesthetics must have been striking. Lexically, this is the language of agency and modality, with terms such as *can choose*, *many options*, and *for everyone*, equating market choice with personal freedom.¹⁴³

“Watching Shop Window Displays” is even more reflective, as it treats storefronts as a blend between commerce and art.¹⁴⁴ Streets are “framed by windows,” and light and color draw people in, even those with no intention of buying.¹⁴⁵ The article acknowledges that these displays are persuasive, but then elevates them, stating that shop windows “give the city a face” and “emanate magic for free.”¹⁴⁶ Using language usually reserved for architecture or galleries, the article presents cameras, lamps, vinyl records, televisions, and payment by installments as part of a vibrant urban landscape. The message is clear – consumer goods beautify and define public space. Poles, whose cities bore traces of postwar rebuilding and whose shops, as the famous saying goes, “only had vinegar on their shelves,” were introduced to the rather exotic notion that shopping could be a form of aesthetic pleasure. The *magic* metaphor is an example of connotative language, where persuasive design is recoded as cultural enchantment.¹⁴⁷

The short piece on young women’s fashion is lighter and similar in form to the piece on eyeglasses, but it contributes to the same picture: an America that values color, change, and self-expression. “Young Fashion for All Seasons” is not about scarcity, but abundance –

¹⁴⁰ McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 7-23.

¹⁴¹ “Samochody Sportowe.”

¹⁴² Ibidem, 16.

¹⁴³ Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-118.

¹⁴⁴ “Oglądamy Wystawy Sklepowe.”

¹⁴⁵ Ibidem, 39.

¹⁴⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁷ Hall, *Representation*, 32-37; Barthes, *Mythologies*, 37-58.

every season brings new looks, reminding us that personal style can continually be refreshed in a capitalism system.¹⁴⁸ The cheerful tone and photos of bright outfits and smiling models reinforce the idea that consumption is a pathway to happiness. At the interactional level, gaze and social distance draw viewers into the scene and encourage identification with the consumer subject.¹⁴⁹

The several-page-long article “The Great Passion: Shopping,” returns to Macy’s, but now with a more analytical and almost sociological perspective.¹⁵⁰ The mere title of the article openly glorifies consumption and frames the engaging in consumer economy as a national pastime, an attraction in New York City “as significant as the Empire State Building.”¹⁵¹ It describes the January sale as a significant event for more than just bargain hunters, but also as a theater of mass behavior. Chairman Jack Straus is portrayed as both businessman and showman, sometimes even “playing the outraged customer” to ensure excellent service.¹⁵² Macy’s is described as a national institution that inspires books, Hollywood films, Broadway musicals, and jokes; One of the photos displaying the rich inventory is titled “glass products from Poland attract interest.”¹⁵³ The numbers are staggering yet again – hundreds of millions of customers served, Thanksgiving Parade is watched by millions as well, \$400 billion in consumer spending, and personal incomes exceeding \$500 billion; Fifty-two percent of disposable income in the United States is spent not on food, clothing, or shelter but on “wishes” – restaurants, bigger homes, culture, and leisure’ The article also briefly mentions that there is “some poverty in the Appalachia region and in the slums” but portrays the U.S. as the first country where more is spent on pleasure than on necessity.¹⁵⁴ This is a textbook example of interdiscursivity – the combination of retail, entertainment, and citizenship – used to make consumption seem socially responsible.¹⁵⁵

For a Polish audience, these pieces were more than just curiosities. They offered a portrait of a system that listens to consumers, rewards them with choices, and equates abundance with progress. Cars designed by survey, stores that double as civic spaces, windows treated like artworks, fashion that changes every season, and shopping as a national

¹⁴⁸ “Młoda Moda na Wszystkie Pory Roku,” *Ameryka*, no. 81 (1965): 43-46.

¹⁴⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153.

¹⁵⁰ “Wielka Pasja: Zakupy.”

¹⁵¹ Ibidem.

¹⁵² Ibidem, 52.

¹⁵³ Ibidem, 53.

¹⁵⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁵ Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 140-152.

hobby – this was consumerism, not as a sign of greed, but as the norm. Such normalization is achieved through repetition and code sharing across items and images.¹⁵⁶

The texts themselves are neutral to positive and often matter-of-fact; However, the subject matter – the scale of spending, the pleasure of display, and the fascination with numbers and variety – would have carried its own weight. For readers accustomed to scarcity, lines, and limited variety, the notion that an average family would spend more on wants than needs or that a store could be a cultural landmark must have been striking or at least thought-provoking. While these reports were not overtly ideological per se, they hinted at a contrast simply by describing American habits – capitalism could make consumption ordinary and joyful, whereas shopping in Poland was often functional and constrained. The “neutral” register engages in ideological work through lexical choices, transitivity, and modality.¹⁵⁷

Together, the four articles – “They Were Made by a Machine, but They Taste Like Mom’s” from issue no. 94 (1966), “A Visit Behind the Counter at the World’s Largest Retail Company” from issue no. 122 (1969), as well as “Packaging Protects Against Damage, Encourages Purchases” and The Mercantile Cornucopia – Tysons Corner” from issue no. 125 (1969) – paint a picture of mid-century America as a land of convenience, industrial skill, and overwhelming variety.¹⁵⁸ Visually, these spreads coordinate text and image in a way that makes denotation serve connotation, with the composition doing ideological work.¹⁵⁹

The article on Sara Lee Bakery transforms the domestic concern of baking cakes into a narrative of female technological emancipation, as if consumerism was liberating the household.¹⁶⁰ It contrasts the anxious and time-consuming work of a housewife with the ease of selecting from a refrigerated case in a store. Words like *wyzwolone* (“emancipated”) to describe the American housewives being blessed with self-service markets equipped with refrigerated display cases, just as descriptions of massive machines producing millions of baked goods per week would have had a double meaning for a Polish audience.¹⁶¹ On the one hand, they could marvel at the scale of production and variety. On the other hand, they could

¹⁵⁶ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

¹⁵⁷ Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195; Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-139.

¹⁵⁸ “Przyrządził Je Automat, ale Smakują Jak u Mamy,” *Ameryka*, no. 94 (1966): 18-21; “Wizyta za Ladą w Największej na Świecie Firmie Detalicznej,” *Ameryka*, no. 122 (1969): 20-25; “Opakowanie Chroni przed Uszkodzeniem, Zachęca do Kupna,” *Ameryka*, no. 125 (1969): 11-15; Jeff Stansbury, “Merkantylny Róg Obfitości – Tysons Corner,” *Ameryka*, no. 125 (1969): 24-29.

¹⁵⁹ Rose, “‘The Good Eye:’ Looking at pictures using compositional interpretation,” 56-84.; Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 175-214.

¹⁶⁰ “Przyrządził Je Automat, ale Smakują Jak u Mamy.”

¹⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 18.

implicitly comment on the burdens women carried under socialism, balancing work and home without many labor-saving goods turning domestic labor into effortless (and even fun!) activity for women in America. Photos of endless shelves of sweets and staggering statistics, such as “eight million cakes stored,” amplify the sense of abundance and industrial power.¹⁶² From a semiotic perspective, the *homemade taste* promise links the denotation of industrial mass production with the connotation of maternal care, naturalizing the idea that convenience is a virtue rather than a compromise.¹⁶³ Close-ups of shelves and machinery organized for salience and frontal address position the viewer as a beneficiary of reliable abundance rather than as a worker within the production process, steering the reading path toward security and ease.¹⁶⁴

The piece about Sears – the largest retail company – shifts from the home to the market, delving into the science of selling with a clear philosophy – listen to what people want and provide it.¹⁶⁵ It presents the Sears store as more than just a shop – it is a giant engine of commerce with 818 outlets, 200,000 different products, and \$8 billion in sales — about 1% of U.S. GDP.¹⁶⁶ The Sears Catalog, presented in numerous pictures throughout the article, with its famous “satisfaction guaranteed or your money back” promise, is held up as a model of trust and efficiency.¹⁶⁷ The examples are almost playful – you could order anything from mink coats to tractors, pajamas to electric guitars – by phone, mail, or in person. Would such phenomenon be even believable to the Polish readers? Intertextually, the catalog combines advertising, logistics, and consumer guidance into a single discourse of reliability, or “white-box” persuasion.¹⁶⁸

In the article on packaging, domestic work meets industry once more, this time through ready-made foods and self-service shopping.¹⁶⁹ The tone is lighter and more literary, contrasting “old-fashioned skill” with “new convenience.”¹⁷⁰ Plastic bags of frozen vegetables, jars of sauce, and brightly labeled products are presented as marvels; Shopping becomes a leisure activity, a “curious expedition” full of “discoveries.”¹⁷¹ For readers, whose shopping often meant standing in queues and plain wrapping (if something was still available

¹⁶² Ibidem, 21.

¹⁶³ Hall, *Representation*, 32-41; Barthes, *Mythologies*, 97-108.

¹⁶⁴ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 114-153, 175-214.

¹⁶⁵ “Wizyta za Ladą w Największej na Świecie Firmie Detalicznej,” *Ameryka*, no. 122 (1969): 20-25.

¹⁶⁶ Ibidem, 20.

¹⁶⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁶⁸ Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 152-168.

¹⁶⁹ “Opakowanie Chroni przed Uszkodzeniem, Zachęca do Kupna,” *Ameryka*, no. 125 (1969): 11-15

¹⁷⁰ Ibidem, 11.

¹⁷¹ Ibidem.

after finally reaching the end of the line), the focus on bright, protective, and attractive packaging would have signaled modernity and novelty. The piece also reflects the gender assumptions by addressing “housewives” directly and framing convenience as empowerment. Barthes would call this a second-order mythology – packaging is seen as a sign of progress and care, while the industrial and environmental costs are hidden.¹⁷²

Finally, the description of Tysons Corner Mall brings all these elements together into a single vision of size and variety.¹⁷³ It gives an impression of a catalog come to life, with banks, restaurants, and shops selling everything from lipstick to trombones and cameras to shares of stock all under one roof. The language is playful yet awed – “millions of articles,” “a bazaar in one package.”¹⁷⁴ It even mentions incomes – an average of \$14,000 per family – which would have dwarfed Polish wages.¹⁷⁵ The article’s inventory of goods is almost cinematic – an avalanche of things to see, buy, and compare. For a reader behind the Iron Curtain, it would offer a glimpse into another economic universe where entertainment and banking were folded into shopping. Compositional cues, such as scale shots and interior scenes, position the reader as an admiring visitor, encoding power relations.¹⁷⁶

These articles are not overt propaganda, but their descriptive strength is sufficient influence. By emphasizing ease, scale, and choice, they present a society in which technology alleviates domestic responsibilities, stores compete for customers, and consumption becomes a cultural practice. The authors are careful not to moralize, but the comparisons are unavoidable – Polish shops were often understocked, choices limited, and incomes modest. Geertz’s concept of “ideology as a cultural system” is helpful here – consumer routines translate into a moral vision of order and possibility.¹⁷⁷

To a reader in 1960s Poland, the idea of pulling a frozen dinner out of a bag, ordering a tractor over the phone, or strolling through a shopping mall with competing restaurants and banks would have seemed both captivating and unrealistic. The articles reflect the gender norms of the 1950s, not mentioning the ongoing second-wave feminism of the era – domestic tasks are framed as a woman’s duty, but machines and packaging have made these tasks easier. In doing so, the articles hint at a promise: consumerism can modernize life, free up time, and add a little fun and glamour. Methodologically, these inferences are based on

¹⁷² Barthes, “Mythologies,” 97-108.

¹⁷³ Jeff Stansbury, “Merkantylny Róg Obfitości – Tysons Corner,” *Ameryka*, no. 125 (1969): 24-29.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, 24.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁷⁶ Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153.

¹⁷⁷ Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System” 193-233.

constant comparisons across cases and years in order to stabilize categories such as *ease*, *choice*, and *modernity*.¹⁷⁸

A compelling example of how *Ameryka* showcased American life comes from an article “Social Change in America” about four neighboring families in a Los Angeles suburb, each with different income levels yet enjoying the same high standard of living.¹⁷⁹ Among them were Frank Mueller, a European-born pilot engineer, and his wife Lizabeth, and Joe Salamon, a teacher earning only half of Mueller’s salary, along with his wife Jean, a mother of three described as having an “easy job.” Despite their income differences, the households shared an almost uniform level of comfort, largely due to modern conveniences, as the article emphasized. Kitchens were equipped with electric dishwashers, stoves, food waste disposals, washing machines, and dryers – standard appliances in American homes in the neighborhood. These details painted a vivid picture of a society where technology and consumer goods eased domestic burdens, hence the “easy job” of Lizabeth Salamon. In the context of “thick description,” the suburban kitchen serves as a symbolic node that encapsulates an entire ideology of comfort.¹⁸⁰

These narratives of booming consumer culture and everyday American luxury were carefully crafted into seemingly neutral, almost journalistic messages. For instance, one article “Buyer’s Guide” outlined the editorial policies, research methods, and nationwide surveys of the monthly magazine Consumer Reports.¹⁸¹ Beyond the technical description, however, the subtext was quite obvious, and even implied by the title of the article itself – such a publication existed because American consumers were surrounded by an overwhelming abundance of goods – an actual cornucopia of products. With their basic needs easily satisfied, the article suggested that the challenge for Americans was to navigate an ever-expanding marketplace characterized by endless variety and constant innovation – a concept probably seen as blatantly ridiculous behind the Iron Curtain. Here, we can see the discourse that links text to social practice – consumer guidance presupposes a surplus, as Fairclough explains,¹⁸² while the media frames that abundance as normal.¹⁸³

Of course, *Ameryka* largely focused on the experiences of white, middle- and upper-middle-class families. The magazine emphasized their access to material comfort and upward

¹⁷⁸ Lincoln and Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* (SAGE, 1985) qtd. in Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy’ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 39.

¹⁷⁹ Daniel Selingman, “Przemiany Społeczne w Ameryce,” *Ameryka*, no. 12 (1959): 4-8.

¹⁸⁰ Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” 3-30.

¹⁸¹ Stefan Kraus. “Poradnik dla Nabywców,” *Ameryka*, no. 14 (1960): 25-27.

¹⁸² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-189.

¹⁸³ Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne*, 24-27.

mobility while rarely addressing the realities of poverty, racial inequality, and marginalized communities. The glossy image of suburban affluence presented in these pages was far removed from the challenges that many Americans faced. However, for Polish readers, this distinction mattered little. The contrast between such prosperity and the daily scarcity of life under communism was striking. These omissions – the silence surrounding race, poverty, and labor – are an integral part of how discourse wields power.¹⁸⁴

For women, who were burdened with a double workload of professional employment and household responsibilities, the vision of American kitchens as efficient and easy spaces must have been especially appealing. Household chores were presented as tasks streamlined by technology rather than endless obligations – in a country where appliances were rare and often very expensive, the contrast was obvious yet again. *Ameryka*'s pages, thus, not only implicitly highlighted the shortcomings of the communist system, but also offered a glimpse into a world of possibility, freedom, and comfort that seemed as much utopian as it was unattainable in a communist reality. Linguistically speaking, modality and phraseology (*can, for everyone*) repeatedly frames consumption as a freedom of action.¹⁸⁵

From today's perspective, these articles would most likely be interpreted differently, being accustomed to this "cornucopia" of goods and often critical of its side effects: vanity, overconsumption, shopping as a leisure activity or a means of defining one's identity, and the environmental consequences of mass production and plastics. Behind the Iron Curtain, however, the meaning was inverted. For a Polish reader in the 1960s, a well-stocked supermarket or an electric dishwasher symbolized security and dignity, not waste. Material abundance signaled freedom and modernity, and capitalism could satisfy not only needs, but also desires. That time-bound reception is precisely why a longitudinal, diachronic design is necessary to track shifts in meaning.¹⁸⁶

This tension between scarcity and abundance is at the heart of long-standing debates in philosophy and economics. Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued that pursuing luxury and material goods creates artificial needs, which fosters envy, inequality, and unhappiness.¹⁸⁷ For Rousseau, simplicity and virtue were preferable to the distractions of wealth. He even argued for heavy taxes on luxury goods to redirect societies toward non-material values. In contrast,

¹⁸⁴ Michael Foucault, qtd. in Hall, "From Discourse to Power/Knowledge," 47-51.

¹⁸⁵ Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195; Fairclough, "Critical discourse analysis in practice: description," 118-125.

¹⁸⁶ Wimmer and Dominick, *Mass media: metody badań*, 213; Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy'ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 37.

¹⁸⁷ See: Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, 1755 (Dover Publications, 2004).

Bernard Mandeville claimed in his provocative *Fable of the Bees* that private vices like indulgence and vanity lead to public benefits.¹⁸⁸ Self-interest, he argued, drives consumption, which fuels industry, innovation, and national prosperity. Adam Smith proposed an additional perspective, asserting that consumption represents the ultimate objective of production.¹⁸⁹ For Smith, wealth was measured not by gold, but by the goods and services that people enjoy. While he considered moderation and virtue essential, he acknowledged that reasonable consumption was a sign of welfare and progress, and thus a source for happiness.

At least superficially, *Ameryka*'s editorial approach aligned with Smith's vision of consumption as a measure of welfare, presenting abundance as an indicator of social and economic well-being. To Polish readers, these messages likely reinforced the idea that the system delivered comfort and choice. From today's standpoint, however, the magazine's tone of celebration often echoed Mandeville's paradox of vice becoming virtue, and it seems closer to Mandeville's logic of self-indulgence driving growth rather than the one of Smith, while Rousseau's warnings echo in our awareness of environmental crises, social inequalities, and consumerism's hollow promises.

Adding another layer, mid-20th-century American culture often silenced or scrutinized critics of consumerism. Artists and writers, such as Allen Ginsberg, Andy Warhol, Arthur Miller or Langston Hughes, who questioned materialism could be labeled as subversive, investigated by the FBI, monitored, censored, banned and sometimes arrested, accused of harboring communist sympathies. The society celebrated in *Ameryka* as a land of plenty was not always comfortable with dissent against its consumerist ideals. Once again, the discourse that permits or excludes certain things is central to how power and knowledge function.¹⁹⁰

When viewed collectively, these articles and cultural signals reveal a complex narrative. For Polish readers of the time, *Ameryka* offered more than just information – it offered aspiration – suburban comfort, appliances that freed women from drudgery, stores overflowing with goods, and a philosophy that made consumption seem like progress. To today's reader, the same texts invite questions about inequality, the seductions and perils of abundance, and the politics of choice itself.

¹⁸⁸ See: Bernard Mandeville. *The Fable of the Bees*, 1714 (Penguin Books, 2021).

¹⁸⁹ See: Adam Smith. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 1776 (Oxford University Press, 2008).

¹⁹⁰ Hall, "From Discourse to Power/Knowledge," 47-51.

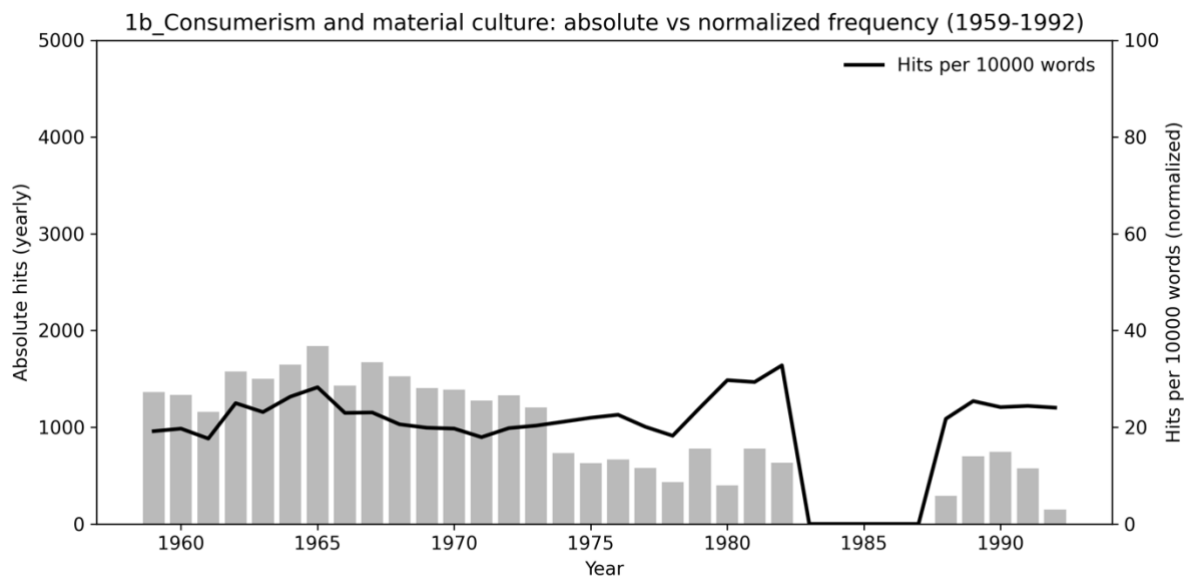


Figure 4 Frequency of Consumerism and Material Culture Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

The graph portrays the keywords for consumerism and material culture throughout time. Absolute and normalized frequencies reveal a steady focus on consumerism and material culture from 1959 until the mid-1970s, which increases in the late 1970s, and reaches a peak in the early Reagan era. The graph mirrors, though on a significantly smaller scale, the one on the theme of economic success and upward mobility.

3.2. Soft Power Through Knowledge and Innovation

“Knowledge and innovation” are presented less as neutral facts and more as demonstrations of techno-modernity. *Ameryka* converts laboratories, space rockets, and microscope images into evidence of national competence and preparedness for the future – complexity is transformed into legible progress, and science is framed as both safe and humane, while the visuals present progress as something you can see. In Cold War Poland, where scarcity and bureaucratic lag were everyday experiences, these narratives and visuals presented an alternative modernity, one not tied to communist five-year plans.

3.2.1. Scientific and Technological Advancement

The American story of scientific and technological progress during the Cold War was significantly influenced by the theme of space exploration. In this context, the United States not only sought to compete with the Soviet Union but also to present its achievements as part of a larger mission for humanity. This duality was reflected in the portrayal of American space exploration in *Ameryka* especially throughout the 1960s and 1970s – on the one hand,

the clear geopolitical competition with the USSR; on the other hand, the universalist language of progress, cooperation, and peace. Through Hall's constructionist lens, the magazine is not "reflecting" science, but rather producing meaning by establishing the codes of progress, modernity, and cooperation based on U.S. spacecraft.¹⁹¹ As photography-rich medium, its form itself amplifies persuasion.¹⁹²

A 1961 article is a noteworthy example of such narrative – the story begins with the acknowledgment of Soviet primacy – the launch of Sputnik in October 1957 and Yuri Gagarin's historic flight in April 1961 were presented as achievements that ushered in a new era, surpassing the limits of human imagination.¹⁹³ However, as stressed, the United States quickly responded with Explorer 1 in January 1958, launching a series of satellites that greatly advanced our knowledge of space. The author emphasizes several times that by 1960, the U.S. had placed dozens of satellites in orbit – an achievement that was not simply presented as a race for supremacy but rather as a contribution to science and an invitation to peaceful international cooperation.¹⁹⁴ A key element of the narrative was the inclusion of John F. Kennedy's call for joint work with all countries, as emphasized – including the Soviet Union, in areas such as meteorological forecasting and communication satellites, which reinforced the idea that American achievements were for the benefit of all humankind. Linguistically, the article shifts between denotation (dates and satellite names) and connotation (an era that *surpasses imagination*), while the literal referent (launches) signifies universal progress and benevolence.¹⁹⁵

Ameryka's report on the Mercury Project, which began in 1958, was an embodiment of the American commitment to transparency and openness, again including the words of Kennedy emphasizing that the U.S. would openly share both successes and failures with the world.¹⁹⁶ Unlike the Soviet missions shrouded in secrecy, the Mercury Project, as numerous highlighted, was presented as fully accessible to the public – Americans could follow the preparations and witness the countdown when Alan Shepard's *Freedom 7* lifted off in May 1961. The mission was described both in very technical language with many scientific details, and as a democratic triumph – Shepard manually controlled his capsule, unlike Gagarin, whose flight was automated (a fact which was clearly pointed out). The emphasis on openness

¹⁹¹ Hall, "The Work of Representation," 15-21; Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

¹⁹² McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 7-23.

¹⁹³ Phil Hirsch, "Trzechlecie Amerykańskich Satelitów," *Ameryka*, no. 31 (1961): 35-37.

¹⁹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁹⁵ Hall, *Representation*: 32-41; Barthes, "Mythologies," 15-108.

¹⁹⁶ Charles Gregory, "Cały Naród Czekał Na Znak: Trzy... Dwa... Jeden... Start!" *Ameryka*, no. 31 (1961): 38-41.

was central to American soft power narratives on science, implicitly contrasted with the Soviet system enigmatic projects. Voice and modality perform ideological functions – an active voice (*Shepard controlled*) attributes agency and competence, while an evaluative modality (*openly share*) signals an ethical stance.¹⁹⁷

The narrative on John Glenn's orbital flight in 1962 reinforced this pattern with its symbolic resonance – his successful three-orbit mission marked a decisive step forward in U.S. space research by demonstrating that astronauts could independently guide their spacecraft.¹⁹⁸ Even more importantly, Glenn himself was quoted, describing the invisible bonds of sympathy and goodwill that he felt radiating not only from Americans, but also from citizens of many other nations. The noting of widespread media coverage, the article filled with images of Glenn, cheering crowds, and President Kennedy greeting the astronaut, reinforced the perception of U.S. space triumphs again as simultaneously scientific and humanistic achievements. The crowd scenes serve as a “thick description” – the magazine portrays spaceflight as a civic ritual that establishes identities and relationships – the very kind of layered, symbolic interpretation that Geertz encourages.¹⁹⁹ Glenn's quoted emotions also build significance and shared humanity.²⁰⁰

As space research progressed, the role of American satellites in global communication received more attention. In 1962, one article described a powerful moment in which a satellite relayed a live image of a United Nations debate across the Atlantic, making it visible to audiences in Europe and Africa.²⁰¹ The technical descriptions on the development of *Telstar* and *Relay* satellites followed, with an emphasis on American achievement in expanding the potential for real-time transoceanic telephone and television transmission, not only framed as technological marvels, but also as clear evidence that American space exploration served peaceful purposes and promoted global unity.²⁰² Indeed, as stressed, President Kennedy himself identified satellite communication as one of the five main areas where U.S.-Soviet cooperation could be developed. In such interdiscursivity, science discourse is interwoven with diplomatic and UN discourse to establish a “peace-through-technology” framework.²⁰³

¹⁹⁷ Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195; Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-139.

¹⁹⁸ Jeff Stansbury, “John Glenn – Astronauta Na Orbicie,” *Ameryka*, no. 41 (1962): 26-31.

¹⁹⁹ Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” 3-30.

²⁰⁰ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

²⁰¹ Jay Holmes, “Stacje Przekaznikowe w Przestworzach,” *Ameryka*, no. 44 (1962): 8-10.

²⁰² *Ibidem*.

²⁰³ Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis*, 182-213.

Visually, live-link images and layout cue salience and information value (left-to-right/new-to-given) to guide preferred readings.²⁰⁴

The *Telstar* satellite became an emblematic symbol of this new era, numerous reported on and even featured on one of *Ameryka*'s covers in 1963.²⁰⁵ As explained, built by *AT&T's Bell Laboratories*, the satellite embodied the fusion of private enterprise, technological progress, and national prestige.²⁰⁶ Its successful live transmissions from the U.S. to Europe in 1962 symbolized the new ways for global connections through American innovation.²⁰⁷ Described also as the largest private enterprise in the world, AT&T was a powerful example of how U.S. capitalism, research, and industrial organization could produce technological revolutions with domestic and global consequences.²⁰⁸ Already by the early 1960s, as highlighted, telephone use had become nearly universal in American households, demonstrating how technological innovation can directly transform everyday life – “In 1940, the ratio was 165.1 telephones per 1,000 inhabitants; today it is 435 telephones per 1,000 inhabitants—eight out of ten households have a telephone.”²⁰⁹ The narrative of *Bell Laboratories*' role in advancing communication science also underscored the extent of private-sector involvement in the space age, implicitly showcasing the supremacy of the American system.²¹⁰ The imagery elevates *Telstar* from its literal meaning as a satellite to a symbol of national modernity and benevolence.²¹¹

The *Gemini* program was also heavily reported on, with articles emphasizing that it not only achieved communication breakthroughs, but also extended the scope of American achievements in manned spaceflight. As reported in *Ameryka*, The *Gemini 4* mission in 1965 featured the first American spacewalk and was celebrated with breathtaking photographs of astronauts drifting in space – images that carried both scientific and cultural impact.²¹² Coverage also emphasized the meticulous planning of longer missions, such as the eight-day *Gemini 5* orbit, explicitly connecting them to preparations for the upcoming *Apollo* missions. Narratives on the *Gemini* program stressed the technical mastery and emotional resonance of

²⁰⁴ Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-214.

²⁰⁵ *Ameryka*, no. 45 (1963).

²⁰⁶ Rowe Findley, “Satelita *Telstar*,” *Ameryka*, no. 45 (1962): 12-17.

²⁰⁷ Dean Jefferson, “Telewizja Przekracza Oceany. Jej Pierwszy Program Przyniósł Muzykę i Wywołał Kontrowersje,” *Ameryka*, no. 45 (1962): 17.

²⁰⁸ Findley, “Satelita *Telstar*,” 12-17.; Lawrence Galton, “AT&T Największe Przedsiębiorstwo Telekomunikacyjne,” *Ameryka*, no. 68 (1964): 16-21.

²⁰⁹ Galton, “AT&T Największe Przedsiębiorstwo Telekomunikacyjne.”

²¹⁰ Ibidem.

²¹¹ Barthes, “Myth Today,” 109-159.

²¹² “Spotkanie,” *Ameryka*, no. 87 (1966): 44-49.

these events, including the American public's reactions and depictions of the families of the astronauts anxiously observing launches.²¹³ The *Gemini 7* "rendezvous" mission in 1966 further proved the feasibility of docking maneuvers, which were essential for the *Apollo* program – once again, the language of triumph and intimacy intersected – "A million hearts stood still" as rockets lifted from Earth, and photographs captured the faces of the astronauts' wives and children; "The Moon," as emotionally stated, "was now a little closer to Earth."²¹⁴ Hyperbolic metaphors (*a million hearts stood still*) and family close-ups convey pathos, normalizing national pride as a shared emotion – Barthesian myth again, working through connotation.²¹⁵ The gaze and social distance in the imagery invite awe and emotional identification.²¹⁶

By the late 1960s, articles on the *Apollo* program had become the centerpiece of U.S. space efforts, representing scientific ambition and geopolitical strategy. The immense scale of investments at Cape Kennedy – nearly one billion dollars for new facilities – illustrated the U.S. government's determination to achieve a lunar landing.²¹⁷ The *Apollo* spacecraft and its monumental *Saturn* rockets were celebrated as triumphs of engineering and organization, products of a collective effort involving thousands of scientists and specialists.²¹⁸ Previous scientific advancement that has led to this great achievement was also recognized.²¹⁹ Meanwhile, the narrative of spin-offs – innovations developed for astronauts that were later adapted for civilian use – reinforced public fascination with space technology and served as a potent argument for the transformative value of space exploration not just for the Americans, but for the humankind.²²⁰ Lexical choices such as *triumph*, *monumental*, and *collective effort* are classic "progress" code words.²²¹ From a syntactic perspective, nominalizations such as *investment*, *development*, and *progress* present change as impersonal and inevitable.²²²

The climax of the space race came in 1969 with *Apollo 8*'s successful orbit around the Moon, hailed as a triumph of courage, will, and technical precision;²²³ and in the next year, with *Apollo 11*'s historic landing on the Moon, celebrated in a commemorative issue of

²¹³ Ibidem, Ralph Semnan, "Gemini – Bliźnięta Spisały się Doskonale," *Ameryka*, no. 105 (1967): 30-35.

²¹⁴ "Spotkanie," *Ameryka*, no. 87 (1966): 44-49.

²¹⁵ Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159; Hall, "The Work of Representation," 39-41.

²¹⁶ Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer," 114-153.

²¹⁷ Sherwood Harris, "Na Przylądku – Dworzec Księżycowy," *Ameryka*, no. 105 (1967): 20-23.

²¹⁸ Ralph Semnan, "Gemini – Bliźnięta Spisały się Doskonale," *Ameryka*, no. 105 (1967): 30-35.

²¹⁹ Milton Lehman, "Pierwsza Rakietą Amerykańską," *Ameryka*, no. 105 (1967): 23; Frank Sartwell, "Bez Załogi – Sondy i Satelity w Przeszłości," *Ameryka*, no. 105 (1967): 37-40.

²²⁰ Walter Froehlich, "Wynalezienie dla Astronautów, Spożywane Przez Ceprów," *Ameryka*, no. 105 (1967): 36.

²²¹ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

²²² Fairclough, "Critical discourse analysis in practice: description," 109-139.

²²³ "Apollo 8," *Ameryka*, no. 124 (1969): 43-46.

Ameryka filled with images of astronauts on the Moon, jubilant crowds worldwide, and triumphant American flags planted on the lunar surface.²²⁴ The narratives on the *Apollo* program emphasized the scientific and political significance of the event, as well as its human dimension, showcasing astronaut training, family celebrations, and a united global admiration.²²⁵ Subsequent reports on *Apollo* missions, such as *Apollo 15* in 1971, underscored the program's commitment to science by highlighting geological research and continuously advanced equipment on the lunar surface.²²⁶ The flag and footprint iconography functions as a high-order myth that "naturalizes" U.S. leadership as a universal accomplishment.²²⁷

Importantly, U.S. satellites continued being depicted as tools for global development. By the 1980s, attention turned toward using satellite technology to address urgent issues, such as hunger. The American satellites' remote sensing capabilities were presented as tools for predicting crop yields and supporting agricultural planning, particularly in developing countries.²²⁸ These technologies were disseminated internationally through U.S. agencies such as the Agency for International Development (AID), which reinforced the narrative of the United States as a benefactor of global progress.²²⁹ The growing universality of satellite communication in the early 1980s was described as a new phase in the global information order and further illustrated how American technological leadership shaped the structure of international connectivity.²³⁰

Together, these narratives reveal how American soft power operated through science and technology in Cold War Poland. U.S. space achievements were framed not only as national victories over the USSR, but also as contributions to a collective human endeavor. By emphasizing openness, peaceful applications, technological advancements, and global accessibility, the narratives on the American space program projected an image of innovation that was both competitive and universal. In the ideological battleground of the Cold War, this dual message – that America was both a leader in the space race and a partner of humanity – was central to shaping perceptions of U.S. knowledge and innovation abroad. The preferred

²²⁴ *Ameryka*, no. 135 (1970).

²²⁵ Ibidem; Jim Schelfter, "Wizja: Pierwszy Dzień na Księżycu," *Ameryka*, no. 124 (1969): 47-51; *Ameryka*, no. 135 (1970).

²²⁶ "Apollo 15: W Służbie Nauki," *Ameryka*, no. 155 (1971): 27-30.

²²⁷ Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159.

²²⁸ Charles K. Paul, "Satelity w Walce z Głodem," *Ameryka*, no. 217 (1980): 45-53.

²²⁹ Ibidem.

²³⁰ Barry Guttenplan, "Łączność Kosmiczna Wchodzi w Nową Fazę," *Ameryka*, no. 220 (1981): 33-34.

reading fuses U.S. interests with those of “humanity,” thereby closing off alternative interpretations.²³¹

In the Polish context, narratives about American space achievements were probably met with a combination of fascination and ideological ambivalence. The extraordinary imagery of astronauts, rockets, and satellites could inspire admiration for the scale of U.S. technological progress, which contrasted with the limited scientific resources in socialist Poland. On the other hand, the portrayal of these accomplishments as peaceful, transparent, and beneficial to all humanity might have been perceived differently in a society accustomed to the secrecy of Soviet science and the heavily politicized narrative of Soviet supremacy in space exploration. Thus, while official discourse emphasized Soviet firsts, the Polish public, when encountering American accounts, would have been exposed to an alternative model of science – one that was not only competitive, but also aspirational, democratic, and tied to promises of civilian benefit and global cooperation. This aligns with Geertz’s concept of “webs of significance” – readers interpret not only what is depicted, but also how it is positioned within Polish cultural norms.²³² Media selectivity also matters – in a state-managed sphere, imported messages arrive pre-framed.²³³

Beyond its fascination with rockets and space travel, *Ameryka* frequently highlighted other areas of scientific and technological advancement, presenting the United States not only as an explorer of the Earth, but also as a country that harnesses modern science for the betterment of humanity.

One of the most persistent scientific narratives was that of nuclear energy. As early as in the first year of publication, articles emphasized ambitious American projects in thermonuclear research. In 1959, John Pfeiffer’s article on *Project Sherwood* introduced Polish readers to the vast resources devoted by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission to controlled fusion.²³⁴ Pfeiffer described this effort as daring yet uncertain – a “hazardous gamble” – but ultimately promising humanity an almost limitless energy supply.²³⁵ The article provided detailed descriptions of the involved institutions, ranging from *Los Alamos* and *Oak Ridge National Laboratories* to Princeton’s *Forrestal Research Center*, and showcased advanced devices, such as the stellarator. These portrayals reinforced the image of U.S. science as being willing to take risks and mobilize large-scale resources in pursuit of

²³¹ Hall, *Representation*, 21-24, 47-51.

²³² Geertz, “Ideology as a Cultural System,” 193-233.

²³³ Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne*, 24-27.

²³⁴ John Pfeiffer, “Energetyka Termojądrowa,” *Ameryka*, no. 1 (1959): 13-14, 53.

²³⁵ *Ibidem*, 13.

revolutionary discoveries while simultaneously stressing their peaceful intent. The use of euphemisms and metaphors, such as *hazardous gamble* and *limitless supply*, serves to mitigate the perception of risk while accentuating the potential benefits.²³⁶

By 1965, the narrative had shifted also toward the practical applications of nuclear technology in everyday life. For instance, Roy Hoopes article discussed the N/S Savannah – the world’s first nuclear-powered ship, symbolizing, as stressed by the author, that nuclear energy should serve humanity not to destroy the existing world, but to build a better world for the future.²³⁷ The sentiment was also expressed in James Simonson’s piece, which emphasized that nuclear energy should be associated with constructive uses, such as generating electricity, advancing medical diagnostics, preserving food, supporting agriculture, and promoting industrial innovation, rather than only with destruction.²³⁸ His article carefully detailed how the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission collaborated with the private sector to expand the peaceful use of nuclear power. As reported, at that time, the United States already operated around 300 reactors for energy, training, and research purposes. Significantly, Simonson highlighted U.S. leadership in international nuclear cooperation (but only for peace), including providing uranium-235 to other countries, signing bilateral agreements with 35 states, and supporting international organizations such as Euratom and the International Atomic Energy Agency.²³⁹ Scientific exchange with Polish experts on nuclear energy was also noted. This messaging reinforced the image of the United States as a technologically advanced and generous global leader that shares knowledge for the collective good. The problem-solution-benefit schema and recurring lexical items, such as peaceful uses and cooperation, are discourse devices for legitimizing policy.²⁴⁰ Images of ships and reactors have a literal meaning, while also connoting responsibility and dependability.²⁴¹

Even in 1990, *Ameryka* continued this narrative despite the already changed global context. For example, in his article, Edmund Faltermayer reflected on nuclear power as a potential solution to ecological concerns, focusing on new reactor models designed to address public concerns about environmental safety.²⁴² Although more cautious in tone than the previous rather promotional pieces, the article still portrayed American science as adaptable

²³⁶ Fairclough, *Language and Power*, 109-139, 140-168.

²³⁷ Roy Hoopes, “N/S Savannah, Pierwszy Na Świecie Statek o Napędzie Atomowym,” *Ameryka*, no. 72 (1964): 12-13.

²³⁸ James Simonson, “Projektowe Zastosowanie Energii Atomowej,” *Ameryka*, no. 81 (1965): 33-35.

²³⁹ Ibidem.

²⁴⁰ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

²⁴¹ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

²⁴² Edmund Faltermayer, “Bezpieczniejsze Elektrownie Atomowe,” *Ameryka*, no. 233 (1990): 32-35.

and responsive to new global challenges, offering technological solutions to urgent global issues. Mapping this tonal moderation across time is exactly what the systematic – longitudinal content analysis is designed to capture.²⁴³

Together, these narratives presented U.S. nuclear research as a model of scientific ambition, global responsibility, and peaceful advancement (omitting the fact of having dropped nuclear bombs on an enemy state in August 1945), discrediting the Soviet narratives fearful of the U.S. nuclear power's destructive capabilities. It also implicitly contrasted with the Soviet Union supposed advancement, whose nuclear program was primarily associated with military might. The contrast structure – *our peaceful technology* vs. *their militarization* – shows how discourses delineate what can be said and believed.²⁴⁴

Viruses and antibiotics were another recurring topic. In 1962, Donald G. Colley described the relentless American pursuit to expand “libraries” of antibiotics, stressing that no other institution dedicated itself to this research with the same fervor as the U.S. National Cancer Institute, which was backed by several pharmaceutical companies.²⁴⁵ This positioned American biomedical research as methodical and determined to overcome microbial threats, again for the betterment of humanity. The repetition of the words *relentless pursuit* and *libraries of cures* creates a narrative of progress, while the transitivity patterns depict American institutions as active problem solvers.²⁴⁶

The magazine also spotlighted cutting-edge surgical innovations. In 1963, several articles presented Dr. Irving Cooper's pioneering work in cryosurgery – instead of using a scalpel, Cooper froze malfunctioning parts of the brain to treat Parkinson's disease.²⁴⁷ The reports emphasized not only the remarkable 90% success rate, but also the modern instruments he employed.²⁴⁸ Another article elaborated on Cooper's pursuit of perfection in his technique and equipment, as well as his belief that cryosurgery might one day be used to treat multiple sclerosis or cancer.²⁴⁹ Through the portrayal of Dr Cooper's work, the magazine underscored American ingenuity and humanitarian dedication. Metaphors of mastery and precision (*pursuit of perfection*) depict science as a heroic craft – a Barthesian myth on a

²⁴³ Wimmer and Dominick, *Mass media: metody badan*, 213; Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy'ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 37; Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis, An Introduction to Its Methodology*, third ed. (SAGE, 2013), 39.

²⁴⁴ Hall, “From Discourse to Power/Knowledge,” 47-51; Fairclough, “Discourse, common sense and ideology,” 77-108.

²⁴⁵ Donald G. Colley, “Nowe Antybiotyki Stają Do Walki z Zarazkami,” *Ameryka*, no. 47 (1962): 55-57.

²⁴⁶ Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-139.

²⁴⁷ “Pacjent, Któremu Pomogła Kriochirurgia,” *Ameryka*, no. 51 (1963): 12-13.

²⁴⁸ Ibidem; J. Robert Maskin, “Kriochirurgia,” *Ameryka*, no. 51 (1963): 15.

²⁴⁹ Maskin, “Kriochirurgia,” 15.

micro level.²⁵⁰ Close-up imagery of instruments uses denotation to connotation to show that in America technology represents care.²⁵¹

Medical technology was another area of focus. In 1965, Lawrence Galton described the new instruments presented at major medical conferences, including ultrasound probes that saved a child's eyesight and devices that assisted physically disabled patients.²⁵² The article listed the universities and research centers that produced these innovations, supporting the idea of a nationwide scientific effort for health. That same year, *Ameryka* reported on the "hand clinic" at the University of North Carolina's *Chapel Hill Rehabilitation Center*, where new rehabilitation techniques allowed 85% of patients to resume their previous occupations, emphasizing the benefits of technical advancement to the society.²⁵³ The catalog style, which lists devices or institutions, is a recognizable persuasive technique that uses accumulation as proof.²⁵⁴

Another noteworthy article discussed the child-centered hospital as a symbol of progress and compassion; The article featured the ten-story pediatric center in Baltimore, which was affiliated with Johns Hopkins University, a facility outfitted with cutting-edge medical technology and designed with the comfort of children and their families in mind.²⁵⁵ Amenities such as air conditioning, vibrant playrooms, adjustable beds, and on-site accommodation for parents were included. Describing such a modern, humane institution projected an image of America as both technologically advanced and deeply caring for its youngest citizens and their parents. The interactive nature of images, such as eye-level angles and intimate distances, positions readers as empathetic witnesses,²⁵⁶ while the hospital spread pairs denotation (medical equipment) with connotation (care), a common semiotic relay.²⁵⁷

As reported, American innovation sometimes took unexpected forms. For example, a 1967 story recounted how Dr. John Gallagher used gold foil sheets in neurosurgery to stop a brain hemorrhage and save a child's life – a striking combination of scientific creativity and dramatic storytelling.²⁵⁸ Equally dramatic was the 1969 account of artificial heart research and lifesaving surgery for a 16-year-old girl, who survived thanks to a prosthetic valve for the

²⁵⁰ Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159.

²⁵¹ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

²⁵² Lawrence Galton, "Nowe Instrumenty i Aparaty Medyczne," *Ameryka*, no. 83 (1965): 10-12.

²⁵³ "Ręce Przywrócone Do Życia," *Ameryka*, no. 83 (1965): 23.

²⁵⁴ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-213.

²⁵⁵ "Szpital Dla Małych Pacjentów," *Ameryka*, no. 85 (1966): 6-11.

²⁵⁶ Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer," 114-153.

²⁵⁷ Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159.

²⁵⁸ Richard Montague, "Opatrunki Ze Złota," *Ameryka*, no. 97 (1967): 32.

heart.²⁵⁹ As emphasized, nationwide programs received 20 millions of dollars in funding to develop such supportive and replacement heart devices that saved this young girl.²⁶⁰

Subsequent reports continued this theme, for instance, in 1979, John F. Coppola showcased modern computers and diagnostic equipment that were revolutionizing healthcare.²⁶¹

Together, these reports presented American medicine as a field where constant innovation, generous funding, and humanitarian goals intertwined – an exceptionally potent soft power narrative for Polish readers. Personalization, exemplified by *a child's life, young girl*, and *Marta Acman*, is a Gee-style “building task” of significance and identity that moralizes technology.²⁶²

In addition to advancing the fields of energy and medicine, *Ameryka* also highlighted the scope of American science, presenting it as a costly national endeavor with worldwide benefits. For instance, in 1964, technological miniaturization was presented through research at MIT, where thin-film circuits were hailed as a turning point in two decades of work toward miniaturizing electronics.²⁶³ The articles celebrated experimental breakthroughs, such as magnetic memory points, cryotron memory, and radio devices the size of a wristwatch, advancing mathematical equipment, planes and rockets, illustrating the futuristic potential of U.S. science.²⁶⁴ The “future-now” lexicon (*turning point, breakthrough*) perpetuates the progress narrative while normalizing corporate–university partnerships as common sense.²⁶⁵

Furthermore, articles on the nature of seismic events featured detailed descriptions of American geoscience programs. For instance, as reported, following the devastating earthquake in Alaska, U.S. scientists deployed portable seismographs and coordinated research through the President's Science Advisory Committee and the National Academy of Sciences.²⁶⁶ Similar sentiment is noted in an article discussing deep-sea exploration, drawing painful conclusions after a tragic incident of a submarine, financial resources for oceanographic research were increased and exploration programs intensified.²⁶⁷ Such reports emphasized the scope, speed, and organization of the American response, indicating the country's capacity to transform catastrophe into an opportunity for scientific progress.

²⁵⁹ C. P. Gillmore, “Nie Przeszczep Ale Sztuczne Serce,” *Ameryka*, no. 127 (1969): 33-37.

²⁶⁰ Ibidem.

²⁶¹ John F. Coppola, “Nowe Pomoce Nauk Medycznych,” *Ameryka*, no. 209 (1979): 44-51.

²⁶² Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

²⁶³ George A. Boehm, “Mikrominiaturyzacja w Elektronice,” *Ameryka*, no. 68 (1964): 49-51.

²⁶⁴ “Miniaturowa Magia,” *Ameryka*, no. 33 (1961): 41-46.

²⁶⁵ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24; Fairclough, “Discourse, common sense and ideology,” 77-108.

²⁶⁶ Lawrence Lessing, “Zagadka Wstrząsów Skorupy Ziemskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 81 (1965): 18-21.

²⁶⁷ Tom Alexander, “Czekamy Na Wieści Od Nurków,” *Ameryka*, no. 97 (1967): 42-45.

Activity sequences (*deploy*, *coordinate*, and *intensify*) demonstrate state capacity, while visual analytical structures (diagrams and instruments) show viewers how things work in the U.S.²⁶⁸

Other articles also emphasized American leadership in fundamental research. In 1966, Glenn Seaborg underscored the importance of international scientific cooperation for social progress, while Joseph Melnick described advances in virology, and Allan Sandage discussed competing theories about the origin of the universe.²⁶⁹ Including both practical and cosmological science projected the U.S. as a society committed to intellectual inquiry at all levels. The same issue also featured an article on embryological research accompanied by striking photographs that highlighted laboratory work as a means of overcoming intellectual disabilities and improving livestock reproduction.²⁷⁰ Interdiscursivity is present again – basic science, applied medicine, and agriculture fuse into a single frame of legitimacy.²⁷¹ Laboratory shots combine the denotation of apparatus with the connotation of mastery over nature.²⁷²

A visual spectacle often played a role in America's soft power strategy. Colorful graphics of viruses magnified 1,675,000 times and three-dimensional microscope images of taste buds and blood cells must have dazzled readers, highlighting the advanced technology of American research.²⁷³ Similarly, stories about deep-sea exploration with the submersible Alvin connected U.S. oceanography to scientific progress and military preparedness within a context of massive state funding.²⁷⁴ These visuals illustrate Barthes's second-order signification – scientific imagery becomes a myth of precision and modernity, while composition and salience guide "preferred readings."²⁷⁵

From the late 1970s into the 1990s, environmental science became a part of the narrative. Articles described global climatology research using satellites, highlighted Lester Brown's warnings about environmental threats, and reported on energy dilemmas, and the greenhouse effect.²⁷⁶ These texts portrayed American science as addressing planetary-scale

²⁶⁸ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-213.; Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*: 79-113.

²⁶⁹ "Dziś i Jutro Nauki," *Ameryka*, no. 93 (1966): 18-22.

²⁷⁰ "Załączek Życia," *Ameryka*, no. 93 (1966): 23-28.

²⁷¹ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-213.

²⁷² Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

²⁷³ "Nieuchwytny Dla Oka Wróg: Wirus," *Ameryka*, no. 96 (1967): 16-20.; "Trójwymiarowy Obraz Na Ekranie Mikroskopu," *Ameryka*, no. 128 (1969): 11.

²⁷⁴ Tom Alexander, "Czekamy Na Wieści Od Nurków," *Ameryka*, no. 97 (1967): 42-45.

²⁷⁵ Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159; Rose, "'The Good Eye,'" 56-84; Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 175-214.

²⁷⁶ "Klimatologów Zmagania z Eolem," *Ameryka*, no. 202 (1978): 2-7; "Raport o Stanie Świata: Wywiad z Lesterem Brownem," *Ameryka*, no. 233 (1990): 11-16; Yergin, "Problemy Energetyczne Lat 90tych," *Ameryka*, no. 233 (1990): 17-23; Adrew C. Revkin, "Życie z Efektem Ciepłarnianym," *Ameryka*, no. 233 (1990): 24.

issues, thus reinforcing the image of the U.S. as a responsible steward and scientific leader in tackling humanity's shared challenges – an example of recontextualization, where the scientific lexicon shifts to a risk register while maintaining a U.S. problem-solving stance.²⁷⁷ Tracking that semantic evolution reinforces the diachronic findings of this study.²⁷⁸

Together, these narratives painted a multifaceted portrait of American scientific and technological achievements.²⁷⁹ From nuclear fusion to antibiotics, pediatric hospitals to artificial hearts, and electronics miniaturization to climatology, American science appeared ambitious, innovative, and deeply intertwined with humanitarian and peaceful goals. In Cold War Poland, such portrayals were a subtle yet powerful form of soft power, implying that while the Soviet Union offered ideology and political power, the United States offered knowledge, progress, and a vision of a better life through science. The plain reporting of American achievements was persuasive enough. Descriptions of multimillion-dollar research initiatives, modern hospitals with family-friendly facilities, and international programs distributing nuclear expertise contrasted with the everyday shortages and bureaucratic obstacles of Polish science, a contrast speaking volumes without overt propaganda. In this sense, *Ameryka* did not need to embellish or moralize. Presenting facts, resources, and accomplishments was enough to generate admiration for the American model and subtly undermine the legitimacy of communist claims to scientific leadership.

²⁷⁷ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-213.

²⁷⁸ Wimmer and Dominick, *Mass media: metody badan*, 213.

²⁷⁹ Treating each spread as a functional, textual, and graphic whole aligns with Pisarek's approach and supports multimodal analysis; Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*, 358; Witek, "Metodologiczne problemy historii wizualnej," 166.

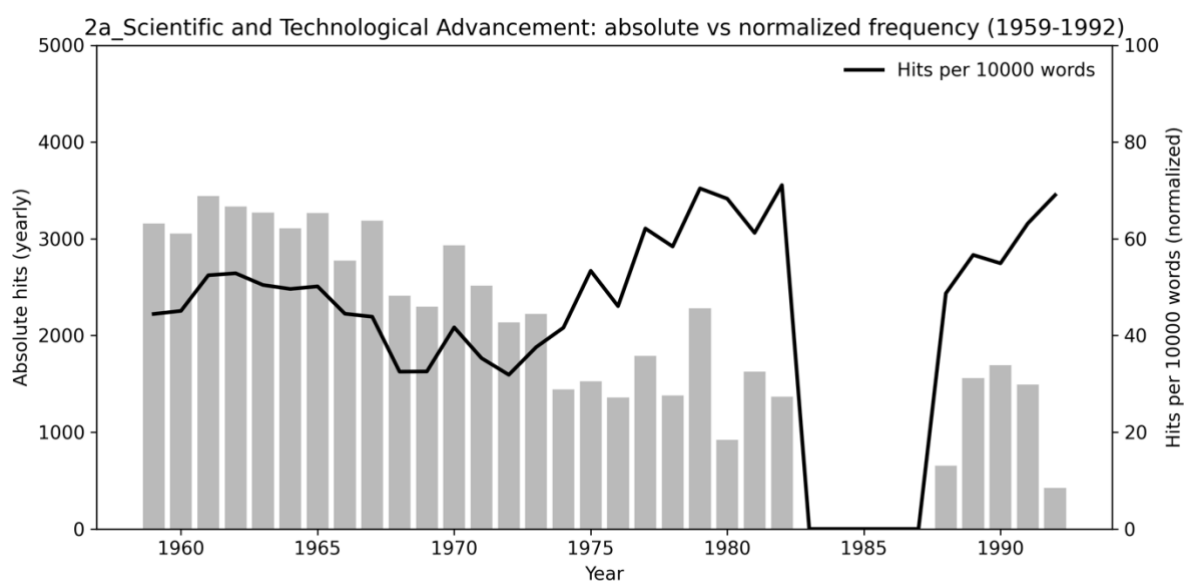


Figure 5 Frequency of Scientific and Technological Advancement Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

The graph on scientific and technological advancement reveals that the focus on that theme was steady and mirroring the absolute frequency between 1959 until 1973, steadily increasing focus through the second half of the 1970s and reached its peak of emphasis in 1982.

Surprising is the very high interest in the advancement-centered theme in 1992, especially given that this year is not represented fully due to two issues missing (no. 242 and 243). This trend could be attributed to the global and American emphasis on technological progress in general rather than its use solely as a tool of Cold War diplomacy. Interestingly, there were no significant spikes in attention to this theme during the peak years of the Space Race. Perhaps, that would suggest that although the space race articles were very popular, they used similar vocabulary to the other technology-focused articles. Thus, it seems that the messages did not change, only the subject that those messages were embedded in did.

3.2.2. Modern, Progressive America

One of the central pillars of the American self-image conveyed in *Ameryka* was the narrative of infrastructural modernity. The magazine consistently portrayed the United States as a land of continuous technological progress, with massive investments in construction, transportation, and urban development not only reshaping the physical landscape, but also symbolizing social and economic vitality. Through these portrayals, *Ameryka* sought to emphasize a vision of progress that was practical yet spectacular, turning roads, bridges, airports, skyscrapers, and motels into symbols of prosperity, innovation, and democratic modernity. Through Hall's constructionist approach, the magazine does not merely reflect a

pre-given reality, but rather produces meaning by associating the codes of progress and modernity with infrastructure.²⁸⁰

One of the recurring themes was the mastery of nature through technology. An early example is the article on navigating the Mississippi River, for instance, would illustrate this theme.²⁸¹ By contrasting the romanticized image of river travel from Mark Twain's time with the scale of modern water transport made possible by diesel-powered towboats, dams, locks, and canals, the author emphasized the astonishing efficiency of this new system, noting that continuous improvements in equipment represented striking progress that had transformed communication and commerce along America's great river.²⁸² Life aboard these vessels was depicted as both technologically advanced and socially progressive – the crews enjoyed excellent pay, free food and lodging, and better conditions than many land-based workers. Thus, technological achievement was also tied to the promise of material well-being of the American people. The text shifts between denotations (*towboats, dams, locks, and canals*) and connotations (the idea of *mastering nature*).²⁸³ As a "thick description," the boat-as-workplace encodes values and relations in the American society, not just machinery.²⁸⁴ Interdiscursively, the combination of technology and labor welfare establishes a "progress benefits workers" framing, implicitly contrasting with the workers' life under communism.²⁸⁵

The motif of grand building projects also appeared prominently, with the language used stressing the grandiosity of the endeavors itself. For instance, the article "San Francisco: Building with Momentum" presented construction itself as a spectacle that attracted crowds of onlookers fascinated by the skeletons of new skyscrapers rising from the dust; The narrative, infused with phrases such as "rapid development" or "unbelievable progress," highlighted the city's remarkable expansion, showcasing the construction of over 10,000 homes in a single year, modern high-rises reaching up to 30 stories, and a stadium capable of accommodating 45,000 spectators with parking for 9,000 vehicles – an ambitious undertaking of a staggering cost of \$11 million.²⁸⁶ The scale of the investment was numerously emphasized – between 1954 and the late 1950s, San Francisco had already seen projects worth over \$300 million; Even practical urban challenges, such as traffic and parking, were framed as evidence of

²⁸⁰ Hall, "The Work of Representation," 15-21; Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

²⁸¹ Richard Montague, "Z Nurtem Rzek," *Ameryka*, no. 12 (1959): 12-14.

²⁸² Ibidem.

²⁸³ Hall, *Representation*: 32-39; Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159.

²⁸⁴ Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," 3-30.

²⁸⁵ Fairclough, "Discourse, common sense and ideology," 77-108.

²⁸⁶ "San Francisco: Budowa z Rozmachem," *Ameryka*, no. 14 (1960): 32-35.

progress – as signs that the city was growing into a major urban and industrial hub.²⁸⁷

Bridges, roads, and the constant flow of workers and tourists gave San Francisco an image that captured the dynamism of modern America. Progress-lexis (*rapid, unbelievable, expansion*) with heavy numeration (costs, heights) performs authority and inevitability – nominalizations and figures being legitimation strategies in CDA.²⁸⁸ Visually, compositional choices such as high-angle cranes and “ideal/top” perspectives guide an evaluative reception.²⁸⁹

The car and the road system played central roles in the infrastructural narratives, and articles on the construction of America’s vast highway system highlighted technical details as well as cultural implications. Photographic spreads of laborers laying uninterrupted ribbons of concrete under radio guidance, alongside aerial perspectives of road networks, conveyed the efficiency and ambition of highway construction.²⁹⁰ For instance, the article “The Road and the City” placed the automobile at the heart of American life, emphasizing that over half of the nation’s 190 million inhabitants had driver’s licenses, and that more than 80 million vehicles traveled the country’s 5.6 million kilometers of roads.²⁹¹ Car culture is naturalized as common sense, a preferred interpretation established through shared codes.²⁹² Multi-level intersections and high-speed urban arteries in Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and San Francisco were presented as symbols of American ingenuity in addressing congestion. The promise of the new interstate network was utopian – one would soon be able to drive coast-to-coast “without encountering a single traffic light.”²⁹³ This modality (*one would soon be able to*) projects a desirable future,²⁹⁴ while aerial “diagram” shots serve as analytical visuals that explain the road systems.²⁹⁵

The car ushered in a new era of leisure infrastructure, epitomized also by the motel. “Modern Inns” emphasized that prosperity and mass car ownership created a whole sector of roadside accommodations, with 45,000 motels serving two million Americans each night.²⁹⁶ The text framed this as a social and architectural innovation, noting that the word “motel” – a

²⁸⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸⁸ Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-139.

²⁸⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 175-214; Rose, “The Good Eye,” 56-84.

²⁹⁰ “Biegną Drogi,” *Ameryka*, no. 21 (1960): 22-23.

²⁹¹ “Szosa i Miasto,” *Ameryka*, no. 68 (1964): 5-9.

²⁹² Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

²⁹³ “Szosa i Miasto,” *Ameryka*, no. 68 (1964): 5-9.

²⁹⁴ Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-139.

²⁹⁵ Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195; Kress and van Leeuwen, “Conceptual representations: designing social constructs,” 79-113.

²⁹⁶ Violet Wood, “Nowoczesne Zjazdy,” *Ameryka*, no. 33 (1961): 48-51.

fusion of “motor” and “hotel” – was so new that it was absent from encyclopedias.²⁹⁷ These spaces offered convenience, affordability, and a sense of modern comfort and style, with features like elegant architecture, complimentary services such as babysitting and dance lessons, and amenities like swimming pools and music pavilions. The article presented the motel as democratized luxury – “a palace compared to those of the 1940s” – and a business opportunity for returning veterans like Bill Somers, whose entrepreneurial success embodied the American Dream.²⁹⁸ The *democratized luxury* trope elevates motels from their literal meaning of “rooms by the road” (denotation) to a myth of *affordable modernity*.²⁹⁹ Identities and relationships – such as veteran entrepreneur and family consumer – are constructed in Gee’s sense, while silences surrounding class and race segregation exemplify how representation allows for certain meanings while excluding others.³⁰⁰

Another recurring motif was air travel, which extended the theme of modern mobility into the skies – articles on airports and helicopters depicted aviation as a symbol of technological ambition and humanitarian potential, not just a means of transportation. For instance, the Idlewild Airport in New York was introduced as the busiest in the world – a \$52 million complex with state-of-the-art facilities, including a ten-story control tower. Its modern glass-and-concrete halls were filled with fountains and dedicated spaces for different airlines.³⁰¹ Dulles International Airport near Washington was celebrated several times – for instance, in 1964, as a “majestic gateway to the capital” that combined monumental dynamism with harmony in the landscape,³⁰² or in 1970, when it was praised as a triumph of design and functionality that was perfectly suited to the Boeing 747 and even “supersonic planes” planned for the future.³⁰³ Furthermore, helicopters were depicted as the versatile machines of the future that saved lives by transporting doctors to accident sites, protecting forests from fire, planting trees in Washington, and aiding in police interventions in Los Angeles.³⁰⁴ Though costly, their rapid proliferation into over 170 transportation companies by 1959 was portrayed as evidence of unstoppable technological progress and the discovery of new possibilities.³⁰⁵ Interdiscursivity is used to fuse engineering with humanitarian rescue so

²⁹⁷ Ibidem.

²⁹⁸ Ibidem.

²⁹⁹ Barthes, “Myth Today,” 109-159.

³⁰⁰ Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, 71-93; Hall, “From Discourse to Power/Knowledge,” 47-51.

³⁰¹ Marjorie Parsons, “Nowojorskie Lotnisko Idlewild,” *Ameryka*, no. 13 (1960): 40-43.

³⁰² Wolf von Eckardt, “Architektura w USA, Sztuka Nowych Dróg,” *Ameryka*, no. 62 (1964): 15-32.

³⁰³ William Burrows, “Same Pochwały Dla Lotniska Im. Dullesa,” *Ameryka*, no. 139 (1970): 12-16.

³⁰⁴ Bill Burgan, “Poręczny Helikopter,” *Ameryka*, no. 19 (1960): 26-27.

³⁰⁵ Ibidem.

that expansion can be legitimized.³⁰⁶ Visual interactional meanings, such as eye-level shots of terminals and low-angle shots of towers, position viewers as admiring participants.³⁰⁷

Architecture was presented as yet another arena of innovation where America rejected monotony and led the world in bold design and experimentation. Articles such as “New Forms of Architecture” and “Architecture in the USA, the Art of New Roads” emphasized variety, dynamism, and constant reinvention.³⁰⁸ While Suzane Bailey celebrated the shift away from uniform “glass boxes” toward expressive forms that combined utility and aesthetics, Wolf von Eckardt framed American architecture as an embodiment of high tempo, progress, and modernization, highlighting the international influence of Frank Lloyd Wright, Louis Sullivan, and other contemporary U.S. architects – with several pictures of works, from the Guggenheim Museum in New York to the TWA Terminal and the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, showcased as global models, guiding the ideal of U.S. modernity.³⁰⁹ The assertion that “school buildings are no longer simple rectangular blocks” implicitly contrasted American creativity with the monotonous bloc style of the communist world – such binary oppositions (expressive forms vs. *bloc monotony*) are common ideological codings.³¹⁰ America’s abundance of materials and their cheap prices were underscored, presenting the image of a technologically rich society open to innovation; The only issue with American architecture, as expressed, was the shortage of skilled workers – a part of the narrative that could also be perceived as an invitation.³¹¹

Cities were portrayed as evolving laboratories of modern urbanism. Articles highlighted renewal projects, such as the transformation of Philadelphia, where residents actively participated in shaping urban development by balancing modern needs with historic preservation.³¹² Boston’s “rebirth” emphasized the city’s devotion to tradition and pioneering role in science, knowledge, and art.³¹³ Even smaller places such as Springfield, Illinois – depicted through its motels and hotels along Route 66 – were depicted as part of this modern network, where comfort, leisure, and history coexisted seamlessly.³¹⁴ Columbia, Maryland,

³⁰⁶ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

³⁰⁷ Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153.

³⁰⁸ Suzane Bailey, “Nowe Formy Architektury,” *Ameryka*, no. 60 (1961): 12-16; Wolf von Eckardt, “Architektura w USA, Sztuka Nowych Dróg,” *Ameryka*, no. 62 (1964): 15-32.

³⁰⁹ Bailey, “Nowe Formy Architektury.”; Von Eckardt, “Architektura w USA, Sztuka Nowych Dróg.”; Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 175-214.

³¹⁰ Von Eckardt, “Architektura w USA, Sztuka Nowych Dróg,” Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

³¹¹ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 32.

³¹² David B. Carlson, “Filadelfia – Miasto Odmłodzone,” *Ameryka*, no. 62 (1964): 42-47.

³¹³ “Wycieczka do Bostonu,” *Ameryka*, no. 18 (1960): 50-53.

³¹⁴ “Nocleg w Springfield,” *Ameryka*, no. 51 (1963): 39-40.

was celebrated as “America of Tomorrow,” a planned community designed to avoid the mistakes of older cities, offering a blend of suburban idyll and urban convenience, with shaded paths leading to schools, music pavilions, swimming pools, and shopping centers – all of which were carefully integrated into a harmonious landscape.³¹⁵ As emphasized, Columbia epitomized the idea that American innovation extended to social organization and everyday life, not only to machines and buildings.³¹⁶ Similar narratives on other cities and states across the U.S. followed – as a recurrent legitimizing pattern.³¹⁷

Finally, *Ameryka* often elevated the skyscraper as a symbol of modern dynamism. Articles such as “The Forest of Skyscrapers is Getting Denser” or “Photo Library: New York in Color” emphasized how economic concentration in city centers had driven the construction of increasingly taller and more experimental office towers. Photographs of San Francisco, Chicago, Houston, Boston, and New York – including a separate photo of the new World Trade Center – were accompanied by commentary on how steel and glass made cities brilliant and bold, epitomizing modernity.³¹⁸ Low-angle perspectives and skyline panoramas convey power and ambition.³¹⁹ Bridges and monumental structures reinforced this sense of grandeur, as expressed, for instance, in an article on the new suspension bridge over New York Harbor, which was celebrated for its \$325 million cost and engineering marvel as the “mechanics of beauty.”³²⁰ Metaphors such as *forest of skyscrapers* and the *mechanics of beauty* transform quantity into a natural spectacle.³²¹ Even the landscapes of the American Southwest were reframed through this lens – once known only for the cowboy culture or the ruins of ancient civilizations, these landscapes now witnessed helicopters herding cattle, space vehicles being tested in the desert, and New York-style skyscrapers being built in Texas.³²²

Through such mosaic of articles, traced diachronically with mixed-methods, *Ameryka* paints a coherent picture of the United States as a country of restless innovation, with infrastructure and urban spaces symbolizing a uniquely American blend of technological mastery, economic vitality, and democratic participation.³²³ Roads, motels, skyscrapers,

³¹⁵ Marian Merrill, “Columbia: Ameryka Jutra,” *Ameryka*, no. 141 (1970): 3-11.

³¹⁶ Ibidem.

³¹⁷ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

³¹⁸ “Gęstnieje Las Wysokościowców,” *Ameryka*, no. 180 (1974): 26-3; Jeff Perkell, “Fototeka: Nowy Jork w Kolorze,” *Ameryka*, no. 219 (1981): 41-55.

³¹⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153.

³²⁰ Richard Montague, “Podniebne Arkady,” *Ameryka*, no. 68 (1964): 34-37.

³²¹ Barthes, “Myth Today,” 109-159.

³²² “Południowy Zachód: Piękna Pustynia, Która Widziała Wiele, Zakwita Nowoczesnym Życiem,” *Ameryka*, no. 97 (1967): 47-53.

³²³ Wimmer and Dominick, *Mass media: metody badan*, 213; Krippendorff, *Content Analysis, An Introduction to Its Methodology*, 39; Bogusława Dobek-Ostrowska and Paulina Barczyszyn, ed. *Zmiana w dziennikarstwie w*

airports, bridges, and helicopters each became part of a larger narrative in which modernity itself was purely American. Meanwhile, Polish press denunciations of “American sociological propaganda,” complaining that even U.S. comedies showed “skyscrapers, beautiful gardens, roads, thousands of cars, well-dressed people,” paradoxically confirmed the effectiveness of American cultural influence through such imagery.³²⁴

While images of bridges, highways, and urban skylines conveyed a narrative of American progress on a grand infrastructural scale, *Ameryka* also deliberately presented modernity as something tangible in everyday life. The magazine’s depiction of modern America was not limited to monumental structures, but also included ordinary citizens enjoying convenience, comfort, and aesthetic innovation in their homes, leisure activities, and cultural experiences. This scale shift from city to household is an example of interdiscursivity, joining planning, consumption, and lifestyle into a single narrative of modernity, while the medium’s visuals intensify preferred interpretations.³²⁵

One of the earliest and most striking examples of this rhetoric appeared in the first issue of 1959 with an article titled “The Victory of Vending Machines” marveling at the ubiquity and sophistication of automated retail in the United States.³²⁶ The piece explained that American vending machines dispensed everything from hot meals and stamps to insurance policies, cigarettes, cosmetics, and gramophone records; Some were even capable of speaking and would say things like “thank you” or “good day.”³²⁷ As reported, by the late 1950s, these machines collected over two billion dollars annually in coins, requiring an astonishing 70,000 tons of metal in the form of small change alone, stressing both the scale and the popularity of the new inventions. The article humorously noted that Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, the fathers of American independence, had already promoted the concept of such machines, yet, they would have been shocked by the variety and size of their modern descendants. The numeration and wonder lexicon construct inevitability and delight, and

Polsce, Rosji i Szwecji. Analiza Porównawcza (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2016), 29-31; Szwed, “Nieswoistość analizy dyskursu w nauce o komunikacji. Dyskurs jako przedmiot i metoda badań,” 13-30; John W. Creswell, *Projektowanie badań naukowych: metody jakościowe, ilościowe i mieszane*, Joanna Gilewicz, trans. (SAGE, 2013), 164-166.

³²⁴ University of Arkansas, Special Collections: US Government Cultural Archives, MSC468, Box 223, Folder 10, *Airgram From American Embassy Warsaw to Department of State – CU, U. S. Information Agency IAS, Subject: Evidence of Effectiveness: An Article in Prawo i Zycie Concerning U.S. Activities in Poland*, September 26, 1968.

³²⁵ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213; McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man*, 7-23; Rose, “The Good Eye,” 56-84.

³²⁶ Olga Arnold, “Zwycięstwo Automatów,” *Ameryka*, no. 1 (1959): 15-17.

³²⁷ *Ibidem*, 15.

images of glowing machines stage a benign technology myth.³²⁸ For readers in Poland, where the most familiar soda machine was a heavy apparatus with a single shared glass attached by a chain, the images of brightly lit American “automatic buffets” presented an almost futuristic contrast.

This fascination with convenience extended to the materials of everyday life itself. Plastics, which had become one of America’s largest industries by 1960, were presented as a hallmark of modern domesticity; As emphasized, with annual production reaching four billion kilograms – a 4,000% increase since 1934 – plastics entered American homes in every conceivable form, including insulation, flooring, wall panels, partitions, window fittings, kitchen cabinets, dishes, and colorful bathroom accessories (the silence surrounding environmental costs exemplifies selective representation).³²⁹ However the “revolution in color” was deemed as the most striking – brightly colored plates, cups, countertops, and laundry baskets transformed ordinary interiors into cheerful, modern spaces that were both functional and visually stimulating.³³⁰ Color functions connotatively here, coding *joy* and *modernity*, adding a semiotic layer to material facts.³³¹

Packaging also became a subject of admiration and a symbol of modernity in America. For instance, a 1963 feature showcased an array of American consumer packaging, including beer cans, egg cartons, plastic-sealed pill strips, and gift boxes wrapped in shiny aluminum foil.³³² Readers were told that the most important thing for the inventors was the blend of convenience and aesthetic appeal. As explained, functionalism did not have to be dull (a narrative implicitly criticizing dullness of the communist aesthetics), even the simplest consumer goods in the United States came wrapped in attractive, modern forms.³³³ Such image-text layouts offer a compositional interpretation in which glossy highlights and metallic textures suggest the idea *that modern equals beautiful*.³³⁴

The American home was presented as the ultimate stage for living modernity daily, with a recurring theme was the emphasis placed on space, light, and flexibility. For instance, the “family room,” which was described in 1959 as a crucial architectural innovation, embodied this ethos-designed to withstand the chaos of children’s play and family life, these

³²⁸ Barthes, “Myth Today,” 109-159.

³²⁹ “W Dobie Plastyku,” *Ameryka*, no. 16 (1960): 28; Hall, “From Discourse to Power/Knowledge,” 47-51.

³³⁰ “W Dobie Plastyku,” “Plastyk Przy Dekoracji Wnętrz,” *Ameryka*, no. 16 (1960): 29-30.

³³¹ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

³³² Suzane Bailey, “Opakowania,” *Ameryka*, no. 49 (1963): 13-16.

³³³ Ibidem.

³³⁴ Rose, “The Good Eye,” 56-84; Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153.

rooms emphasized durability, comfort, and ease of cleaning.³³⁵ As a form of thick description, the family room illustrates values such as comfort and self-expression as part of a cultural system.³³⁶ At the same time, such modern architectural design allowed for personal expression; each family's room looked different depending on their tastes and hobbies, but all shared a modern, colorful aesthetic that signaled warmth and joy rather than austerity.³³⁷ Grammar of the text emphasizes capability and benefit over labor, a hallmark of critical discourse analysis.³³⁸

Ameryka also portrayed the ideal suburban home in "Own Home: Cheerful, Bright, Comfortable," describing carefully planned developments near San Francisco where families could enjoy modern houses surrounded by greenery, playgrounds, and bicycle paths, with power lines buried underground to preserve the landscape.³³⁹ The suburban homes were depicted as both practical, being close enough to the city for fathers to commute quickly to work, and idyllic, offering "shade, space, and calm" for children and families.³⁴⁰ Such articles continuously framed the suburban home as a symbol of American prosperity and balance between work and leisure, where families could thrive. The house-landscape imagery functions as a sign system, with denotation (lawns, paths) representing the obvious elements, while connotation (order, safety, freedom) and myth (prosperity as natural) represent the implied concepts.³⁴¹

The interiors of these homes were presented as ever-evolving spaces of creativity. Articles, for instance, celebrated modern separate kitchen designs by Alfred Scheffer and experimental chair designs by Eero Saarinen and other designers who combined fiberglass and molded plastic with sleek aluminum bases to produce pieces that were simultaneously strange and comfortable.³⁴² As highlighted in another article, the apartment of architect Gordon Bunshaft and his wife Nina exemplified how modern living could combine rational space management with vibrant artistic taste – paintings, sculptures, and colorful furniture shaped a domestic environment infused with twentieth-century art.³⁴³ Later, Herman Miller's

³³⁵ "Innowacja w Domu: Pokój Rodzinny," *Ameryka*, no. 12 (1959): 19-21.

³³⁶ Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," 3-30.

³³⁷ "Innowacja w Domu: Pokój Rodzinny," *Ameryka*, no. 12 (1959): 19-21.

³³⁸ Fairclough, "Critical discourse analysis in practice: description," 109-139.

³³⁹ "Własny Dom: Wesoły, Jasny, Wygodny," *Ameryka*, no. 62 (1964): 33-35.

³⁴⁰ Ibidem.

³⁴¹ Hall, *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, 32-39; Barthes, "Myth Today," 109-159.

³⁴² "Trzy Nowoczesne Kuchnie," *Ameryka*, no. 23 (1960): 17-19; "Nowy Styl Krzesel," *Ameryka*, no. 12 (1960): 30-31.

³⁴³ "Nowoczesne Mieszkanie," *Ameryka*, no. 13 (1960): 18-19.

furniture lines, especially the works of Charles Eames, were presented as symbols of durability and flexibility, offering “a thousand variations” in home and office design.³⁴⁴ The implicit contrast with Poland, where furniture choices were scarce and dictated by shortages rather than personal taste, was clear.

Even the more utilitarian aspects of home design became subjects of modern aesthetic consideration. For example, stairs, once considered dull and purely functional, in modern America were reimagined as decorative or even sculptural features with colorful coverings or daring architectural forms.³⁴⁵ As explained in another feature, decorative fountains and indoor waterfalls, inspired by European patios but adapted to modern American interiors, brought freshness and tranquility into the home.³⁴⁶ Similarly, innovations in lighting, such as prismatic skylights in California schools and modern homes, symbolized how technology could be used not only for utility, but also for aesthetic appeal and well-being.³⁴⁷ Composition and salience, such as light sources and flowing water, guide the “good life” interpretation – such symbolic structures perform ideological work while appearing purely decorative.³⁴⁸

American modernity also entailed modernizing financial and leisure practices. For instance, in a 1960 article on banking, *Ameryka* emphasized the accessibility of credit and savings institutions – with 82 million savings accounts and 60 million checking accounts, 90% of Americans’ transactions were conducted by check rather than cash.³⁴⁹ The article stressed that banks were not only guardians of financial security, but also enablers of consumer modern aspirations, offering loans for homes, cars, boats, furniture, and even air conditioners, all of which were supported by government guarantees.³⁵⁰ This presented a powerful narrative of democratized prosperity – every American could dream, consume, and improve their standard of living. Gee’s “building tasks” illustrate how language constructs activities, such as consuming via credit, and relationships, such as banks as enablers, while the certainty of figures serves as a form of legitimation.³⁵¹

Recreation emerged as another essential aspect of modern life in America, for instance, a 1959 article on skiing highlighted how modern chairlifts and ski tows transformed

³⁴⁴ “Meble Łagodne Wygodne Trwałe,” *Ameryka*, no. 87 (1966): 12-14; Albert Roland, “Charles Eames: Twórca Nowych Form,” *Ameryka*, no. 23 (1960): 56-57.

³⁴⁵ “Nowe Pokrycia Schodów,” *Ameryka*, no. 17 (1960): 34-36; “Architektura Schodów,” *Ameryka*, no. 65 (1964): 29-31.

³⁴⁶ “Fontanny i Wodospady w Mieszkaniu,” *Ameryka*, no. 15 (1960): 54-55.

³⁴⁷ “Nowoczesne Górne Światła,” *Ameryka*, no. 16 (1960): 40-41.

³⁴⁸ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

³⁴⁹ Montague, “Wszyscy Korzystają z Banku,” *Ameryka*, no. 15 (1960): 38-40.

³⁵⁰ Ibidem.

³⁵¹ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.; Fairclough, “Critical discourse analysis in practice: description,” 109-139.

the sport by eliminating the drudgery of climbing slopes, while new resorts were being built across the country.³⁵² By the late-1960s, skiing had become a mass activity, accessible thanks to affordable rentals, ski clubs, and modern facilities.³⁵³ Narratives on other sports activities appeared with a similar sentiment. In the 1970s, amusement parks were presented as the epitome of modern mass leisure. For instance, a 1978 article, “Amusement Parks Out of This World,” described the newly opened theme park in California. Built at a cost of \$50 million, it featured historical recreations, 27 different rides, and countless spectacles.³⁵⁴ Each of the articles was enriched by numerous colorful photographs of the modern equipment, buildings, and Americans enjoying themselves. Spectacle is achieved visually via saturation, scale, and crowd shots, with captions “anchoring” preferred meanings.³⁵⁵ These spaces were framed as more than just places of entertainment; they symbolized a cultural movement characterized by ambition in design, efficiency, and creativity.

Finally, as reported, culture itself was modernized. For example, the Metropolitan Opera’s move to its new Lincoln Center building was depicted as the dawn of a new era, with detailed illustrations of the opera house’s state-of-the-art facilities, vast glass foyers, and backstage machinery reminiscent of a factory.³⁵⁶ According to the author, Erie Salzman, the opera now possessed “one of the most modern and best-equipped opera houses in the world,” capable of combining centuries-old tradition with a new scale of artistic achievement.³⁵⁷ *Ameryka* featured many of such narratives covering different modern museum, concert halls, institutes, and theaters all across the country. This is deliberate interdiscursivity – high culture narrated through industrial and technological metaphors – that folds art into the code of progress.³⁵⁸

In this way, the magazine consistently depicted modernity as more than just technological progress or architectural grandeur; it was a lived experience. From chair design and packaging to the organization of family spaces, leisure activities, and cultural institutions, everyday life in the United States was portrayed as a harmonious blend of comfort, creativity, and accessibility. This was a narrative strategy carefully designed to contrast with the shortages, monotony, and utilitarianism of everyday life in communist Poland, presenting

³⁵² “Śnieg, Słońce, Narty,” *Ameryka*, no. 11 (1959): 54-55.

³⁵³ Barbara Rosenfeld, “Narciarskie Wczasy,” *Ameryka*, no. 156 (1972): 20-21.

³⁵⁴ “Parki Rozrywkowe Nie z Tego Świata,” *Ameryka*, no. 204 (1978): 16-21.

³⁵⁵ Hall, *Representation*: 32-39; Rose, “The Good Eye,” 56-84.

³⁵⁶ Erie Salzman, “Akt II: W Nowym Gmachu,” *Ameryka*, no. 97 (1967): 9-18.

³⁵⁷ Ibidem.

³⁵⁸ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

America as a society where progress extended into the most intimate details of daily existence. Methodologically, the diachronic sampling and constant-comparison procedure clarify how the same repertoire of codes (*modernity, progress, comfort*) repeat and mutate across decades, allowing to transition from individual examples to noticing broader patterns of discourse without ignoring local nuances.³⁵⁹ Because press messages are curated within organizational and political routines, the asymmetries identified – where abundance is foregrounded and costs are backgrounded – are best understood as the result of selective framing by dominant communicators.³⁶⁰ Since each unit combines layout, photography, typography, and captions, the object of study is inherently intermedial. Only a multimodal reading can reveal how images anchor, relay, or subtly contradict textual claims.³⁶¹

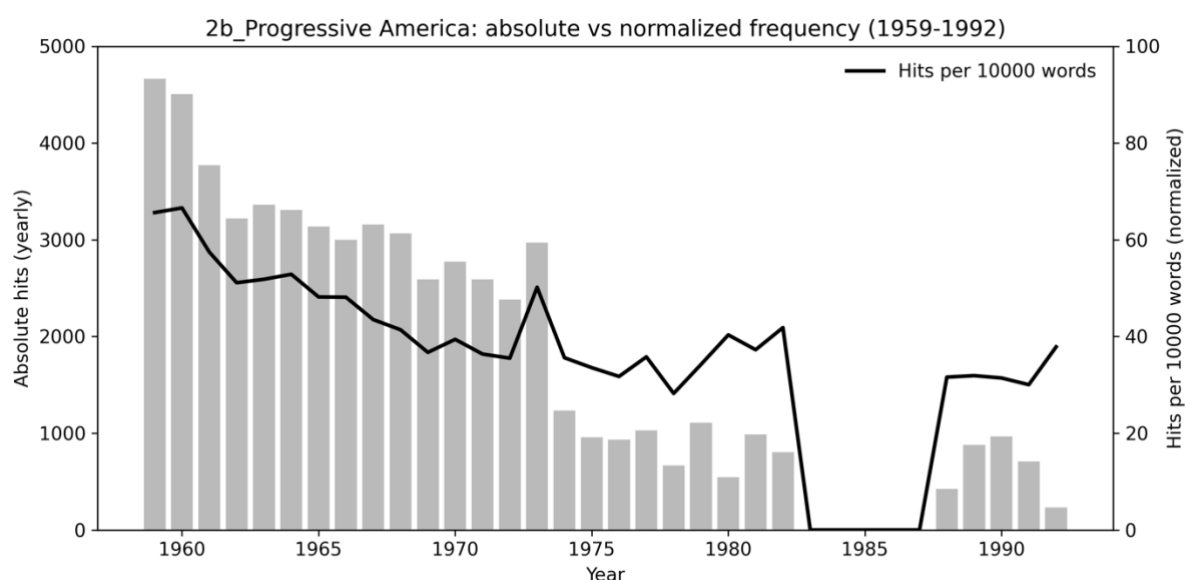


Figure 6 Frequency of Progressive America Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

The graph clearly shows that the initial years of the publication were the most focused on portraying America as a progressive country. This aligns with the numerous articles published during that period on manufacturing, plastics, appliances, and modern homes. A notable increase in attention to progressive themes also occurred in the early 1980s. As previously mentioned, although the Reagan administration's ideology was widely promoted in *Ameryka*, these articles may have presented a more balanced perspective on progressive narratives than

³⁵⁹ Lincoln and Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* qtd. in Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy'ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 37, 39.

³⁶⁰ Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne*, 47-50.

³⁶¹ Witek, "Metodologiczne problemy historii wizualnej," 166.

the initial qualitative analysis suggested. In later years, the magazine generally presented a more balanced and nuanced discussion of social issues, reflecting the ongoing influence of the civil rights movement and feminism, which could also explain the increase in progressive-related keywords.

3.3. Polish Americans, Historical Friendship, and Religious Messaging

This theme functions as a kinship narrative, in which Polish Americans and Catholic imagery establish a moral community where America feels familiar, hospitable, and aligned with the readers values – a country where freedom of religion, community service, and ethnic pride intersect. The figure of the Pope John Paul II strengthens this connection, linking Poland and the U.S. in a continuous friendship with historical and moral legitimacy, while diaspora stories provide evidence that one can be successfully both Polish and American.

3.3.1. Polish Americans and Shared Values

The theme of historical memory and shared ideals has often been central to the portrayal of U.S.–Polish relations in *Ameryka*, and evoking great historical figures has been a key way of strengthening this connection.³⁶² Symbolic gestures also played a role. For example, in 1964, American scholar Marshall Fishwick reminded Polish audiences of their historic ties by invoking heroes such as Tadeusz Kościuszko and Casimir Pulaski as part of the shared “American tradition.”³⁶³ This rhetoric aimed to highlight friendship and continuity beyond Cold War hostilities. Soldiers, statesmen, humanitarians, and artists have become symbolic bridges between the two nations, continuously reminding peoples of their intertwined destinies and shared struggles for freedom. Analytically, these figures operate as *myths* in Barthes’s sense – denotatively biographical but connotatively naturalizing a timeless bond of liberty between nations, thereby fixing preferred meanings for readers under censorship.³⁶⁴ Since the magazines are multimodal, the captioned portraits and parade photos visually anchor these connotations, steering interpretation toward “shared values” rather than contingent politics.³⁶⁵

³⁶² On the role these plays in anchoring the Polish immigrants in the U.S., see: James S. Pula, “Image, Status, Mobility and Integration in American Society: The Polish Experience,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1996): 74-95, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27502139>.

³⁶³ University of Arkansas, Special Collections: US Government Cultural Archives, MSC468, Box 227, Folder 16, *Exploring American Culture, American Studies Research Program by Prof. Marshall W. Fishwick*, Krakow, August 1964.

³⁶⁴ Barthes, “Myth Today,” 109-159; Hall, *Representation*, 32-41.

³⁶⁵ Rose, ““The Good Eye,” 56-84; Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-214.

Kazimierz Pułaski is one of the earliest and most enduring figures celebrated in this context. In Issue 81 (1965), the article “Kazimierz Pułaski – Founder of the American Cavalry” by M. K. Dziewanowski presents Pułaski as a patriot and political émigré who “crossed the Atlantic to fight and die in the American War of Independence.”³⁶⁶ As explained, though his troops often suffered defeats at the hands of superior British forces, and his tactical recommendations were initially met with reluctance, Pułaski’s military talent and devotion to liberty earned him the undying gratitude of the American people. The article notes that even Benjamin Franklin, writing from Paris to General George Washington, recommended Pułaski as a man whose services could greatly benefit the American cause, before he arrived in Massachusetts as a volunteer in July 1777, bringing with him experience in guerrilla warfare gained during Poland’s Bar Confederation. Though initially considered too radical, his proposals were eventually accepted by Congress, resulting in the formation and training of an international volunteer brigade. Pułaski is repeatedly referred to as the architect of the American cavalry, and his sacrifice. He was mortally wounded in October 1779, reportedly uttering the words “Jesus, Mary, Joseph.” That was the motto of *the Order of the Holy Cross* founded by his father and it sealed his status as an American hero. Buried at sea, Pułaski remained beloved by his soldiers for his courage, humility, and democratic spirit – all values connecting the Polish and the American people. Here, the text presupposes admiration, or what Fairclough calls “common-sense” ideology, treating Polish bravery and American liberty as self-evident truths, thereby reducing interpretive space for alternate readings.³⁶⁷

The magazine repeatedly stresses that American-Polish communities continue to honor his memory. As reported, each October, Pułaski Day celebrations are held across the country to mark the anniversary of his death, with American Governors issuing special proclamations for his remembrance and monuments being erected in his honor. Among the full list of these, is Pułaski’s bust in the U.S. Capitol and an equestrian statue in Washington, D.C.³⁶⁸ The article vividly describes the grand Pułaski Day Parade in New York City, featuring trumpeters, drummers, American and Polish flags, and over 100,000 marchers, attracting a crowd of 300,000. Special attention is reserved for Polish-American youth in traditional folk costumes, proudly celebrating their heritage. The ceremonial register, parallelisms (*trumpeters, drummers, flags*), and passive constructions (*proclamations are*

³⁶⁶ M. K. Dziewanowski, “Kazimierz Pułaski – Twórca Kawalerii Amerykańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 81 (1965): 55-57.

³⁶⁷ Fairclough, “Discourse, common sense and ideology,” 77-108.

³⁶⁸ Dziewanowski, “Kazimierz Pułaski – Twórca Kawalerii Amerykańskiej.”

issued) lend institutional weight and sacralize recognition – signals of legitimation in Critical Discourse Analysis.³⁶⁹

Issue 51 (1961) also captures this spirit with its cover depicting a Pułaski Day Parade in Detroit with American and Polish flags displayed side by side.³⁷⁰ An article inside this issue illustrates the vitality of Polish culture in Detroit, a city of over 300,000 Americans of Polish descent, through the life of the Krent family.³⁷¹ As emphasized, many of the community members still speak Polish, participate in cultural organizations, and nurture traditions. The piece includes photographs of the Krent grandmother walking proudly with a Polish women's organization during the Pułaski Parade and her last visit to Poland. The side-by-side flags and close social distance in the photos position the viewer "inside" the community, inviting emotional identification rather than distant observation.³⁷²

Finally, *Ameryka* also discusses Tadeusz Kościuszko, another American hero, although mostly through the stories about the Kościuszko Foundation, not with as many devoted historical pieces such as those portraying Pułaski. The few articles included, for instance a 1978 features Neal Shine's text, describing Kościuszko's life and achievements, as well as the unveiling of his monument in Detroit.³⁷³ With Kościuszko "appropriated" by the communist, the *Ameryka* article reclaimed Kościuszko as an American hero. It also used the highly emotional ceremony itself, to symbolize the friendship between Poland and the U.S., reaffirming their shared history and ideals.³⁷⁴ In this case, the event can be considered a "thick" symbol, according to Geertz – this refers to a ritual action that brings together a cultural system of meanings (*freedom, sacrifice, fraternity*) and presents them in a way that is easily understood by the reader.³⁷⁵

Another towering figure appearing in *Ameryka* who links the United States and Poland is Ignacy Paderewski, a musician, statesman, and patriot. Issue 60 (1963) features an article opening with a striking moment – President John F. Kennedy's words at the National Cemetery in Arlington – "We are gathered here today to pay tribute to one of the greatest men of this century. Ignacy Paderewski, a great Pole, a great musician, a great statesman, but

³⁶⁹ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-193, 205-213.

³⁷⁰ *Ameryka*, no. 51 (1961).

³⁷¹ Evelyn S. Stewart, "Rodzina Krentów z Detroit," *Ameryka*, no. 51 (1961): 2-5.

³⁷² Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer," 114-153.

³⁷³ Neal Shine, "Bohater Dwóch Światów," *Ameryka*, no. 206 (1978): 29-31.

³⁷⁴ See: Wojdon and Tyszkiewicz, "The Image of Tadeusz Kościuszko in Postwar Polish Education," *The Polish Review* vol. 59, no. 3 (2014): 81-94.

³⁷⁵ Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," 3-30.

above all, a man of extraordinary courage and deep emotions.”³⁷⁶ The narrative emphasizes that Paderewski’s greatness had long been recognized in America. In 1933, Supreme Court Justice Harlan Fiske Stone remarked that Paderewski was not only the world’s greatest pianist but also “probably the greatest living man.”³⁷⁷ After Paderewski passed away on American soil in 1941, the article further explains, President Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered that his remains be placed in the Maine Memorial at Arlington. His heart was entrusted to the American Polonia and enshrined at the Cypress Hill Abbey in New York. Paderewski’s life embodied the union of art and politics, rooted in the ideal of freedom. “Homeland above all, then art,” he famously said, explaining why he could not remain passive while his “compatriots suffered bondage.”³⁷⁸ As stressed in the article, an eloquent advocate in Allied capitals, he influenced President Woodrow Wilson to include the creation of an independent Poland in the Fourteen Points. This is a textbook example of Hall’s constructionist model – quotations, ceremonies, and memorials form a network of signs through which the magazine produces, rather than merely reflects, the idea that Poland is aligned with U.S. democratic ideals.³⁷⁹

Even in his eighties, Paderewski resumed his efforts for Poland during the Second World War. The article highlights America’s gratitude as eternal and attributes it to patriots like Kościuszko and Pułaski, whose sacrifices on U.S. soil were echoed by Paderewski’s diplomacy abroad. It also emphasizes that the rebirth of Poland after World War I was due in no small part to American support and that Paderewski’s name for Americans, thus, became synonymous with independence, dignity, and humanity. “His music is silent, but the cause for which he lived and died is immortal,” the article concludes, noting that Americans associate his and Kościuszko’s names with Polish aspirations for freedom.³⁸⁰ By casting these men as transhistorical symbols, the discourse transforms biography into *myth* – history depoliticized and presented as an obvious (and shared) virtue.³⁸¹

The portrait of Herbert C. Hoover, a figure of immense significance for Poland, and generally one of the best-known American politicians in Europe after World War II, evokes

³⁷⁶ Z. H. “Paderewski,” *Ameryka*, no. 60 (1963): 18-19.

³⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, 18.

³⁷⁸ *Ibidem*, 19.

³⁷⁹ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-24.

³⁸⁰ Z. H. “Paderewski.”

³⁸¹ Barthes, “Mythologies,” 93-97.

humanitarianism and political vision once more.³⁸² In practice, Hoover functions as two different and opposing myths – the earlier one, the legendary hero cherished and acclaimed (the “white myth”), and the later one, the unsuccessful “Depression president” (the “black myth”).³⁸³ Issue 77 (1965) of *Ameryka* contains Eugene Lyons’s article recounting Hoover’s early efforts – in 1918, as Europe faced chaos and famine, he undertook the enormous task of saving exhausted populations at the request of the U.S. President and under the Paris Peace Conference.³⁸⁴ As emphasized, the main fields of action were Eastern Europe and the Balkans, but Poland, newly re-emerging after partitions, received particular attention. Hoover believed feeding the hungry was a moral imperative beyond politics, thus Poland, which had been devastated by four invasions, disease, and had 28 million people living in poverty, was a major beneficiary. Under Hoover’s leadership, vast supplies of food and medicine were sent to help stabilize the nation. The article reminds that Warsaw commemorated this aid by naming a square on *Krakowskie Przedmieście* “Hoover Square.”³⁸⁵ Hoover in *Ameryka*, is thus portrayed within the “white myth” category, as a man with a big heart, an embodiment of American generosity – the one who carried out the will of his people by aiding war-torn Europe. Another article bears the same sentiment as it discusses the shared value of liberty, revisits Hoover’s aid and reminds readers of the United States’ contributions to Poland’s rebirth.³⁸⁶ The evaluative lexicon (*moral imperatives, big heart*), and the de-emphasis of geopolitics are examples of strategic “positive modality” that build consent around benevolence.³⁸⁷

The political bond is further illuminated through Philip Ironmount’s article emphasizing President Woodrow Wilson’s pivotal role in Polish independence.³⁸⁸ A photograph of Wilson’s handwritten note reads – “I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland.”³⁸⁹ As Ironmount explains, as the Paris Peace Conference redrew borders, Wilson’s principle of self-determination, based on respect for

³⁸² Halina Parafianowicz, “Herbert C. Hoover and Poland, 1929-1933: Between Myth and Reality,” in *Great Power Policies Towards Central Eastern Europe 1914-1945*, ed. by Aliaksandr Piahnau (International Relations Publishing, 2019), 176.

³⁸³ Parafianowicz, “Herbert C. Hoover and Poland, 1929-1933: Between Myth and Reality,” 177.

³⁸⁴ Eugene Lyons, “Życie i Zasługi Herberta Hoovera,” *Ameryka*, no. 77 (1965): 24-28.

³⁸⁵ Lyons, “Życie i Zasługi Herberta Hoovera.”

³⁸⁶ “W Sześćdziesiątą Rocznicę Wskrzeszenia Państwa Polskiego: Herbert Hoover i Niepodległa Polska,” *Ameryka*, no. 206 (1978): 32-34.

³⁸⁷ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 200-206; Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

³⁸⁸ Philip Ironmount, “Ameryka i Niepodległość Polski,” *Ameryka*, no. 118 (1968): 51-53.

³⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, 51.

ethnic and historical integrity, formed the basis of U.S. policy. Poland, a victim of the infamous partitions, found a champion in Woodrow Wilson, who was the first head of state to unequivocally support its independence. The article emphasizes Polish gratitude to both Paderewski and Wilson – Paderewski, again seen as the embodiment of Polish liberty in America, sent Wilson a telegram urging his support. The piece notes that American sympathy for Poland during the war stemmed from a combination of humanitarian concern and admiration for Polish aspirations, and Wilson’s pronouncements transformed these sentiments into a political commitment. The article concludes with Wilson’s historical assurance: “Poland will rise and again exist. For the Polish homeland, the miracle of independence will come from the West.”³⁹⁰ Analyzed through Gee’s “building tasks,” the text simultaneously performs *identity work* (presenting Poland as Western), *relationship work* (cultivating mutual gratitude), and *significance work* (elevating the note to the level of a civilizational pledge).³⁹¹

Articles focusing on such historical figures would remind Polish readers that Poland’s struggle for freedom and self-defined identity was deeply intertwined with American ideals of liberty and humanitarianism. In communist Poland, such narratives would likely have been received with a mixture of pride and ambivalence – readers would feel pride because Americans celebrated Polish heroes whose courage and achievements could not easily be erased from national and even global memory. However, there would also be a sense of ambivalence – the articles highlighted U.S. support and sympathy, with vivid quotes and descriptions of figures such as Wilson and Hoover playing roles that conflicted with the official communist narrative minimizing Western aid and emphasized Soviet liberation. For many, these narratives would quietly reaffirm a sense of continuity with Poland’s prewar aspirations and Western connections, suggesting that friendship and shared values outlast regimes and political systems.

Following on the historical sentiments, Polish Americans were consistently depicted as a vibrant, proud, and culturally rich community in *Ameryka*’s coverage. The 1966 article on the Millennium of Poland, for example, portrayed it as a nationwide celebration of heritage and civic belonging, emphasizing the event’s grandeur, describing the parade, theatrical performances, and folk art exhibitions in nearly every major U.S. city.³⁹² The article’s cover photograph of a Polish soldier on horseback under an American flag symbolically fused Polish military tradition with American patriotism, signaling to readers the dual identity

³⁹⁰ Ibidem, 53.

³⁹¹ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.; Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*: 71-93.

³⁹² “Tysiąc Lat – Obchody Millenium Polski w Stanach Zjednoczonych,” *Ameryka*, no. 94 (1966): 23-25.

celebrated by Polish Americans.³⁹³ President Lyndon B. Johnson's proclamation included in the narrative framed Polish immigrants as heroic contributors to American liberty and emphasized their "iron will and tireless willpower" in building the nation.³⁹⁴ The article's ceremonial, almost liturgical tone highlighted Polish American dignity and endurance, portraying the community as historically significant and warmly embraced by American institutions and the American people. The image-caption pairing employs classic anchorage; the caption directs the soldier-under-flag photo toward "shared patriotism," thereby limiting polysemy.³⁹⁵

Similarly, the Polish American founded institution of higher learning, the Alliance College in Pennsylvania, was presented as a model of cultural pride and practical integration. The article highlighted its origins in 1912, educational expansion, and high percentage of Polish American students studying Polish and Russian.³⁹⁶ The language used in the coverage reframed ethnicity as an asset. Students were described as aspiring to be "better Americans and better people."³⁹⁷ By emphasizing government support, private donations, and institutional growth, the magazine portrayed Polish Americans as industrious and capable of self-help, while stressing their committed to preservation of Polish culture and national contribution to the American society. The deontic modality (*ought* or *aim* to be better) and meritocratic framing are discursive choices that align ethnicity with civic virtue rather than separatism.³⁹⁸

Celebration of Polish traditions combined with entrepreneurship was also presented as manifestations of heritage and ingenuity. New York's "New Warsaw" bakery, for example, was described using warm, sensory language that evoked nostalgia and cultural continuity.³⁹⁹ The article emphasized how the smell of traditional babkas recalled childhood and Polish holiday traditions – "almost exactly like in Warsaw."⁴⁰⁰ Similarly, Joseph Tron's sausage shop was portrayed as more than a business – coverage highlighted its evolution from a modest storage-room operation to a cultural anchor for Polish taste and identity.⁴⁰¹ These narratives conveyed admiration for the Polish heritage and tradition, portrayed Polish

³⁹³ Ibidem, 23.

³⁹⁴ Ibidem, 24.

³⁹⁵ Hall, "The Work of Representation," 39-41; Rose, "The Good Eye," 56-66.

³⁹⁶ Jan Kempka, "Alliance College, Amerykański Ośrodek Kultury Polskiej," *Ameryka*, no. 87 (1966): 56-57.

³⁹⁷ Ibidem, 57.

³⁹⁸ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 194-200.

³⁹⁹ "Niemal Jak w Warszawie," *Ameryka*, no. 47 (1962): 48-49.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibidem, 49.

⁴⁰¹ "Kiełbasa Krakowska w Nowym Jorku," *Ameryka*, no. 79 (1965): 48-49.

Americans as resourceful, family-oriented, and culturally conscious. They also subtly reinforced a sense of ethnic pride and continuity that could flourish in the land of opportunities.⁴⁰² Simultaneously, such narratives would be somewhat reassuring to the readers that there are places in America, where, if they decided to visit the U.S, they would feel right at home. Sensory evocation involves Geertzian “thick description” – smells and tastes connect private memories to public identities, transforming stores into sites of symbolic community.⁴⁰³

Ameryka’s contents often emphasized the role of Polish American cultural institutions as bridges between nations. For instance, the Kościuszko Foundation was presented not only as a philanthropic organization, but also as a symbol of transatlantic intellectual and moral exchange, fostering scholarships, art, concerts, and publications.⁴⁰⁴ The article maintained a reverent and elevated tone with phrases such as “a great humanist,” “sacrifice,” “in service,” presenting Polish culture as sophisticated and integral to American life and portraying Kościuszko himself as a heroic figure linking the two countries.⁴⁰⁵ This reverential register, with its high nouns and passive voice, conveys legitimation and authority.⁴⁰⁶

The readers were also introduced to new figures broadening the reach of Polish culture in the American society. For instance, coverage of Blanka Rosenstiel and the Polish Institute in Miami emphasized her individual leadership, vision, and strategic advocacy, emphasizing her spirit in the organization of exhibitions, concerts, and the first U.S. Chopin competition, portraying her efforts as heroic and emblematic of Poland’s contributions to Western civilization.⁴⁰⁷ The account suggested that Polish Americans were not just passive preservers but a big group of active promoters of their heritage (sentiments often reflected in internal communications on the bilateral level), strategically positioning it as culturally and politically significant within the U.S. and emphasizing the Polish culture’s Western nature.⁴⁰⁸ Gee’s lens reveals how these profiles shape identities (*entrepreneurial cultural mediators*) and forge

⁴⁰² “Niemal Jak w Warszawie,” *Ameryka*, no. 47 (1962): 48-49; “Kielbasa Krakowska w Nowym Jorku.”

⁴⁰³ Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” 3-10.

⁴⁰⁴ Henry E. Dembkowski, “Fundacja Kościuszkowska: Mecenaz Polskiej Kultury,” *Ameryka*, no. 224 (1982): 89-92.

⁴⁰⁵ Dembkowski, “Fundacja Kościuszkowska: Mecenaz Polskiej Kultury,” 91.

⁴⁰⁶ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 201-206.

⁴⁰⁷ George Volsky, “Propagator Kultury Polskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 196 (1977): 30-31.

⁴⁰⁸ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxix, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 147, *Paper Prepared in the Department of State: Contingency Study for Poland*, Washington, undated.; FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxix, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 158, *Conversation Among President Nixon, the President’s Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger), and the Polish Ambassador (Tramczynski)*, Washington, April 12, 1972, 10:32-10:47 a.m.;

connections (diaspora and U.S. institutions), illustrating how discourse drives social change.⁴⁰⁹

The highlighting of Polish “Western character” was a strategy established already in 1957 – Washington sought to increase cultural, informational, and human contacts. U.S. information programs were instructed to emphasize Poland’s “basically Western character,” highlight the “interest of the American people in the peaceful activities and accomplishments of the Polish people,” and nurture confidence that independence could be achieved “through peaceful means.” However, great attention was to be paid to avoid any language that could potentially incite violent uprisings or validate the Soviet assertion that the change in Poland was influenced from external sources.⁴¹⁰

The past contributions of Polish Americans to the U.S. military and government were also presented in a tone of admiration and respect. An article on 19th-century immigrants emphasized resilience and skill, portraying officers who had fled failed uprisings as finding opportunity and recognition in America.⁴¹¹ *Ameryka* noted the hardships and ultimate success of Polish Americans, portraying them as adaptable, educated, and civic-minded individuals whose contributions were historically meaningful not only to the diasporic community but to the United States as a nation.⁴¹² This *hardship-service-recognition* narrative is a stable and consistent storyline that normalizes upward integration and aligns with the magazine’s broader meritocratic framework.⁴¹³

The Polish communities were depicted as cohesive, stable, and civically engaged. For instance, the Polish quarter in East Baltimore was described with vivid, affectionate imagery – churches, markets, monuments, and community organizations reinforced both heritage, security, and a sense of belonging.⁴¹⁴ Similarly, the centennial celebrations of *Związek Narodowy Polski*, which included religious masses and ceremonies at the Kościuszko Monument described in issue no. 206, were portrayed as affirmations of cultural continuity and patriotic service.⁴¹⁵ Another notable example would be the article discussing the visit of Polish Americans to the White House, where they learned about President Carter’s visit to

⁴⁰⁹ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

⁴¹⁰ FRUS 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 250, *Operations Coordinating Board Report: Operational Guidance with Respect to Poland*, Washington, May 8, 1957.

⁴¹¹ “Polacy a Służba Państwowa USA w XIX Wieku,” *Ameryka*, no. 197 (1977): 30-31.

⁴¹² George Volsky, “Propagator Kultury Polskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 196 (1977): 30-31; “Polacy a Służba Państwowa USA w XIX Wieku,” *Ameryka*, no. 197 (1977): 30-31.

⁴¹³ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

⁴¹⁴ “Polacy z Baltimore – Silne Poczucie Wspólnoty,” *Ameryka*, no. 209 (1979): 30-34.

⁴¹⁵ “Związek Narodowy Polski Przed Jubileuszem Stulecia,” *Ameryka*, no. 212 (1979): 28-31.

Poland, with numerous emphases on “historical ties connecting the two nations,” and the joint efforts of Poles and Americans during both World Wars.”⁴¹⁶ Furthermore, as noted, one of this White House visit’s highlights was the reflection on the meeting of Ms. Carter and Zbigniew Brzeziński with Cardinal Wyszyński, “and, as Christians themselves, they could see the enormous influence of the church in Poland.”⁴¹⁷ The articles emphasized official recognition, such as presidential statements and postal commemorations, which positioned Polish Americans as esteemed participants in national life, and the “Poland’s friendship with the United States” as “unshakable, enduring, and reciprocated.”⁴¹⁸ Visually and textually, the layout positions institutions, such as churches, the White House, and monuments, as salient nodes that suggest legitimacy, while the composition itself helps to “naturalize” the bridge metaphor.⁴¹⁹

Further analytical coverage reinforced the positive portrayals. For example, Michael Novak’s discussion of Polonia in Issue 214 (1980) highlighted success in homeownership and civic participation, framing the community as both integrated and exemplary.⁴²⁰ Academic publications – *The Polish-American Community Life: A Survey of Research* (1975) by Irwin T. Sanders and Ewa T. Morawska, and *Polish Americans: Status Competition in an Ethnic Community* (1976) by Helena Znaniecki Łopata – were presented as serious investigations that validated Polish American cultural and social complexity.⁴²¹ These representations emphasized competence, responsibility, and alignment with American values, all the while celebrating a distinct ethnic identity.⁴²² Here, the intertextual move of folding academic voices into reportage extends the magazine’s authority and demonstrates “interdiscursivity,” stitching scholarship into populist narratives.⁴²³

Thus, across *Ameryka*, Polish Americans were consistently portrayed as preserving and celebrating their heritage while meaningfully contributing to American society. Articles emphasized sensory and symbolic markers, such as food, festivals, religious observances, and

⁴¹⁶ “Przedstawiciele Polonii Amerykańskiej w Białym Domu,” *Ameryka*, no. 203 (1978): 28-29.

⁴¹⁷ Ibidem, 28.

⁴¹⁸ “Tysiąc Lat – Obchody Millenium Polski w Stanach Zjednoczonych,” *Ameryka*, no. 94 (1966): 23-25; “Związek Narodowy Polski Przed Jubileuszem Stulecia,” *Ameryka*, no. 212 (1979): 28-31; “Przedstawiciele Polonii Amerykańskiej w Białym Domu,” *Ameryka*, no. 203 (1978): 28.

⁴¹⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-214.

⁴²⁰ Michael Novak, “Polonia na Tle Współczesnego Społeczeństwa Amerykańskiego,” *Ameryka*, no. 214 (1980): 34-39.

⁴²¹ Jane Brigitte O’Caine, “Dwie Publikacje o Polonii Amerykańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 205 (1978): 29.

⁴²² Novak, “Polonia na Tle Współczesnego Społeczeństwa Amerykańskiego.” O’Caine, “Dwie Publikacje o Polonii Amerykańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 205 (1978): 29.

⁴²³ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-201.

monuments, as visible expressions of continuity.⁴²⁴ Meanwhile, elite and institutional advocacy highlighted Polish Americans' intellectual and cultural contributions, portraying them as influential, strategic, culturally conscious, and historically grounded.⁴²⁵ The code of *freedom through heritage* is repeatedly naturalized, with what could be challenged (ethnicity, religion) represented as clearly compatible with American modernity.⁴²⁶

Together, these portrayals created a consistent image of Polish Americans as proud, family and community oriented, hardworking, and culturally sophisticated individuals who navigate dual identities with dignity and earn recognition from local and national American institutions. From intimate sensory nostalgia to grand institutional projects, and from historical memory to contemporary civic achievement, *Ameryka* has consistently framed Polish Americans as a resilient community that fosters continuity and mutual respect between Poland and the United States.

Beyond the narratives on Polish American diaspora, as depicted in *Ameryka*, Polish-American relations evolved across multiple dimensions – including tourism, education, culture, science, economics, and politics – revealing a sustained effort to foster understanding and cooperation between the two nations. Since the early 1960s, the magazine has highlighted initiatives combining practical engagement and symbolic gestures, framing people-to-people contact and institutional collaboration as essential to bilateral relations. Through Gee's "activities" and "connections" tasks, these pieces translate geopolitics into everyday practices, such as visits, classes, and concerts, turning diplomacy into lived routines.⁴²⁷

In Issue 51 (1963), for instance, *Ameryka* provided Polish travelers with a thorough guide to exploring the United States.⁴²⁸ The article blended practical advice on travel costs, transportation, accommodations, and entrance fees with suggested itineraries and activities that spoke positively about the richness of the American culture and history – themes consistent with the USIA's aim to shape Polish attitudes by maintaining a favorable image of the U.S., emphasizing selected American achievements and values, and carefully tailoring its

⁴²⁴ "Niemal Jak w Warszawie," *Ameryka*, no. 47 (1962): 48-49; "Kielbasa Krakowska w Nowym Jorku," *Ameryka*, no. 79 (1965): 48-49; "Tysiąc Lat – Obchody Millenium Polski w Stanach Zjednoczonych," *Ameryka*, no. 94 (1966): 23-25; Jan Kempka, "Alliance College, Amerykański Ośrodek Kultury Polskiej," *Ameryka*, no. 87 (1966): 56-57.

⁴²⁵ Dembkowski, "Fundacja Kościuszkowska: Mecenas Polskiej Kultury." George Volsky, "Propagator Kultury Polskiej," *Ameryka*, no. 196 (1977): 30-31.

⁴²⁶ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

⁴²⁷ Gee, "Building Task," 10-19.

⁴²⁸ "Sto Sposobów Zwiedzania Ameryki," *Ameryka*, no. 51 (1963): 36-37.

messages to the Polish public.⁴²⁹ Beyond logistics, the narrative emphasized the importance of understanding social norms, regional differences, and cultural habits, portraying tourism as a form of informal diplomacy. By engaging directly with American society, Polish visitors were positioned as contributors to mutual understanding, gaining insight into modern industrialized life and prompting reflection on Poland's own social and economic conditions.⁴³⁰ Similarly, Jory Graham's interview with Vera and Alfons Kaplinski in "Tourism between Poland and the USA" highlighted the role of tourism in building transnational ties. The Kaplinskis described how 12,000 Americans visited Poland annually, and host families facilitated personal connections that emphasized shared human aspirations, expressing a wish for more Polish visitors in the U.S.⁴³¹ These repeated visits by Americans of Polish descent reinforced the diaspora's role as a bridge between nations, emphasizing that both peoples are "made of the same clay, they have similar problems, and are doing their best to solve them; They have the same aspirations, desires, and goals."⁴³² As a medium, *Ameryka* highlights these "ordinary diplomacy" scenes, shaping relations through relatable narratives – an outcome of agenda-setting and selectivity.⁴³³

By 1960, scientific collaboration had emerged as another key dimension of Polish-American engagement. One of the early articles on scientific exchange reported on the donation of a physics course filmed by Dr. Harvey White at the University of California for Polish schools, which was aimed at supplementing the limited number of qualified physics teachers.⁴³⁴ Additionally, a description of presenting the film reels to Piotr Jaroszewicz (vice-prime minister at that time) in New York reflected diplomatic recognition of educational exchanges. In this context, knowledge transfer was portrayed as serving as an effective and neutral platform for fostering professional relationships. Meanwhile, Dr. White's initiative also showcased early U.S. soft power strategies in practice during the Cold War. Following McLuhan's insights, the technical form of the film itself (audio-visual pedagogy) communicates modernity and openness.⁴³⁵

Articles on individual contributions also played a significant role in strengthening cultural connections. A notion that is very clear, for instance, in a profile of Dr. Arthur P.

⁴²⁹ RIAS, Records of USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series A: 1951-1963, Reel 13, 0494 S-65-59: *Communications Research and USIS Operations*.

⁴³⁰ "Sto Sposobów Zwiedzania Ameryki."

⁴³¹ Jory Graham, "Ruch Wycieczkowy Polska-USA," *Ameryka*, no. 51 (1963): 41-42.

⁴³² Ibidem.

⁴³³ Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne*, 47-50.

⁴³⁴ "Polsko Amerykańska Współpraca Naukowa," *Ameryka*, no. 21 (1960): 39.

⁴³⁵ McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man*, 7-23.

Coleman and Marion Moore Coleman, two Americans deeply devoted to Polish culture and scholarship.⁴³⁶ Arthur was the first non-Slavic American to earn a doctorate in Slavic Studies. Marion was also fluent in Polish and they had been visiting Poland since 1930, lecturing at major universities across the U.S., and produced over 20 books and 600 articles on Polish history, language, and folklore.⁴³⁷ Their donations of books and public lectures on the Polish situation during World War II exemplified personal diplomacy, demonstrating that individual dedication could sustain long-lasting bridges between nations.⁴³⁸ Institutional hubs such as the U.S. Consulate in Poznań, established in 1959, complemented these personal efforts.⁴³⁹ As it is openly advertised in *Ameryka*, the Consulate functioned as a center for trade, cultural, and scientific exchange, providing Polish people with American press, publications, films, and English-language education, fostering both personal and institutional collaboration – a place of “cooperation and friendship” implicitly inviting the readers for a visit. Interdiscursivity is overt here – governmental, educational, and cultural registers converge into a single narrative of positive interaction.⁴⁴⁰

As reported in the following issues, the symbolic and formal dimensions of U.S.-Polish relations continued to grow. For instance, in 1974, the opening of the U.S. Consulate General in Kraków was celebrated with speeches, art exhibitions on the American space program, and official recognition of shared historical ties.⁴⁴¹ As highlighted in the report, John A. Armitage, deputy Secretary of State of the U.S., described the consulate as a “symbol of the contemporary dynamism of Polish-American relations,” emphasizing cultural and scientific engagement of both nations.⁴⁴² Other articles emphasized the practical and human dimensions of these exchanges – “Cooperation is Gaining Momentum” noted the cultural impact of a growing number of American students and performers visiting Poland and “Further Strengthening of Polish-American Ties” reported on the expanding economic collaboration following Nixon’s 1972 visit.⁴⁴³ Another notable example, “For the Sake of

⁴³⁶ “Rozmówcy w Polsce od Pierwszego Wejrzenia,” *Ameryka*, no. 136 (1970): 22-23.

⁴³⁷ Ibidem, 23.

⁴³⁸ Coleman was known for having left Columbia University over its decision to accept communist money for the Polish program, where he was an assistant professor of Polish Language and Literature. See: “Columbia Again Scored; Resigned Professor Criticizes Acceptance of Polish Grant,” *New York Times*, (Aug. 16, 1948) <https://www.nytimes.com/1948/08/16/archives/columbia-again-scored-resigned-professor-criticizes-acceptance-of.html>; Avramchuk, *Budując Republikę Ducha*.

⁴³⁹ “Placówka Współpracy i Przyjaźni,” *Ameryka*, no. 136 (1970): 24-25.

⁴⁴⁰ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-201.

⁴⁴¹ “Potwierdzenie Współpracy Polsko-Amerykańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 183 (1974): 26-27.

⁴⁴² Ibidem, 26.

⁴⁴³ “Współpraca Nabiera Rozmachu,” *Ameryka*, no. 183 (1974): 29-30; “Dalsze Zacieśnienie Węzi Polsko-Amerykańskich,” *Ameryka*, no. 183 (1974): 34-35.

Man's Greatest Treasure" foregrounded health diplomacy, framing the opening of a U.S.-funded pediatrics wing in Kraków as a symbol of shared humanitarian values.⁴⁴⁴ Treating these as diachronic "units of content" reveals how the same codes (*friendship, progress, exchange*) recur with shifting emphases – a benefit of the constant-comparison method.⁴⁴⁵

By the late 1970s, *Ameryka* increasingly emphasized structured cultural and educational diplomacy. For Instance, in issue no. 197 the readers received a message from J. William Fulbright emphasizing international exchange programs as instruments for mutual understanding rather than propaganda.⁴⁴⁶ As expressed in the USIA's evaluation reports, the agency sought to avoid the label of "propaganda" by emphasizing accuracy, sincerity, frankness, and what it called a "positive" approach.⁴⁴⁷ As reported by the magazine, the arts were also a key channel of engagement, with articles detailing the exchange of performers and exhibitions, illustrating how artistic endeavors created personal and emotional connections.⁴⁴⁸ Historical memory reinforced this collaboration as discussed in an article reporting on a conference in history, on the occasion of the 200 years of American independence, which celebrated the shared contributions of figures such as Kościuszko and Pułaski, and fostered academic and cultural exchanges.⁴⁴⁹ Scientific collaboration gaining prominence was discussed yet in another article, emphasizing that joint research projects, personnel exchanges, and collaborative conferences were mutually beneficial while staying ideologically neutral.⁴⁵⁰ The importance of economic relations as pillars of the bilateral relationship was increasingly highlighted, as evidenced by articles such as "The Growing Importance of Polish-American Trade" and descriptions of trade offices in San Francisco and Warsaw, which documented institutional support for trade and U.S.-Polish business partnerships.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁴ "Dla Dobra Największego Skarbu Człowieka," *Ameryka*, no. 183 (1974): 40.

⁴⁴⁵ Lincoln and Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry* qtd. in Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy'ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 37, 39.

⁴⁴⁶ J. William Fulbright, "O Wzajemne Zrozumienie," *Ameryka*, no. 197 (1977): 16-17.

⁴⁴⁷ RIAS, Records of the U.S. Information Agency, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series A: 1953-1963, Reel 2, 0235 S-22-53: *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Cultural Exhibits: A proposed general procedure, Prepared for Office of Research and Evaluation*, USIA, Stanley K. Bigman, Bureau of Social Science Research, the American University, Washington D.C., October 21, 1953.

⁴⁴⁸ "Opera, Symfonia, Jazz, Malarstwo, Historia: Barwna Paleta Polsko-Amerykańskich Kontaktów Kulturalnych," *Ameryka*, no. 197 (1977): 25-30.

⁴⁴⁹ Jarosław Pelenski, "Konferencja Historyków Polskich i Amerykańskich w Dwusetną Rocznicę Niepodległości USA," *Ameryka*, no. 197 (1977): 35-40.

⁴⁵⁰ Leszek Kasprzyk, "Polsko-Amerykańska Współpraca Naukowa," *Ameryka*, no. 198 (1977): 37.

⁴⁵¹ Juanita Kreps, "Coraz Większe Znaczenie Handlu Polsko-Amerykańskiego," *Ameryka*, no. 198 (1977): 30-33; "Przedstawicielstwo Polskiej Izby Handlu Zagranicznego w San Francisco," *Ameryka*, no. 198 (1977): 38-39; "Ośrodek Rozwoju Handlu USA w Warszawie," *Ameryka*, no. 198 (1977): 39-40.

The Polish diaspora in the U.S. was consistently presented as a conduit of political influence through cultural exchange. Articles such as “The Art of Polish Americans,” “Film Saga of the Polish American Community,” and “Two Ladies from Poland” emphasized artistic contributions and narrated portrayals that connected communities while preserving heritage and fostering cross-cultural dialogue.⁴⁵² Political engagement was also emphasized, for example, William D. McCann Jr. profiled Polish American community members, mainly politicians and judges, such as Barbara Mikulska, Clement J. Zablocki, Henry J. Nowak, or Robert L. Sklodowski, demonstrating how their active participation in U.S. governance reinforced transnational influence.⁴⁵³ Educational exchanges remained a central point of the narrative in late 1970s and early 1980s – for instance, Maurice D. Simon reported on comparative studies at the University of Chicago in “Education in Poland and the USA: Similarities and Differences” and Margaret Davy covered Polish scientists at MIT, illustrating that learning and research foster professional networks and mutual understanding.⁴⁵⁴ The strategic and grassroots dimensions were intertwined, as the words of Zbigniew Brzeziński emphasized in “Laying the Foundations for Positive Change,” where he highlighted the role of the diaspora in supporting reforms and bilateral cooperation.⁴⁵⁵ Across these texts, the legitimating work is being done by intertextual references (to scholars, officials, institutions) – another Faircloughian marker of power circulating through discourse.⁴⁵⁶

Throughout these decades, *Ameryka* consistently depicted Polish-American relations as multifaceted, encompassing tourism, cultural and scientific exchanges, education, economic cooperation, and political engagement. Personal connections, cultural appreciation, and mutual benefit were the foundation of the formal and symbolic frameworks of Cold War-era relations. Through individual dedication, institutional initiatives, diaspora activity, and high-level diplomacy, the magazine depicted a dynamic and evolving partnership rooted in historical ties, longstanding friendship, and the values shared between the two nations.

⁴⁵² “Sztuka Polaków Amerykańskich,” *Ameryka*, no. 203 (1978): 35-40; “Filmowa Saga Polonii Amerykańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 204 (1978): 26-30.; Leo Standora, “Dwie Panie z Polski,” *Ameryka*, no. 216 (1980): 25-29.

⁴⁵³ William D. McCann, Jr., “Polacy Amerykańscy w Życiu Politycznym USA,” *Ameryka*, no. 215 (1980): 26-29.

⁴⁵⁴ Maurice D. Simon, “Oświata w Polsce i w USA: Różnice i Podobieństwa,” *Ameryka*, no. 209 (1979): 37-40; Margaret Davy, “Trzej Naukowcy Polscy w MIT,” *Ameryka*, no. 216 (1980): 36-40.

⁴⁵⁵ “Tworzenie Fundamentów Pozytywnych Przemian,” *Ameryka*, no. 212 (1979): 32-33.

⁴⁵⁶ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-201.

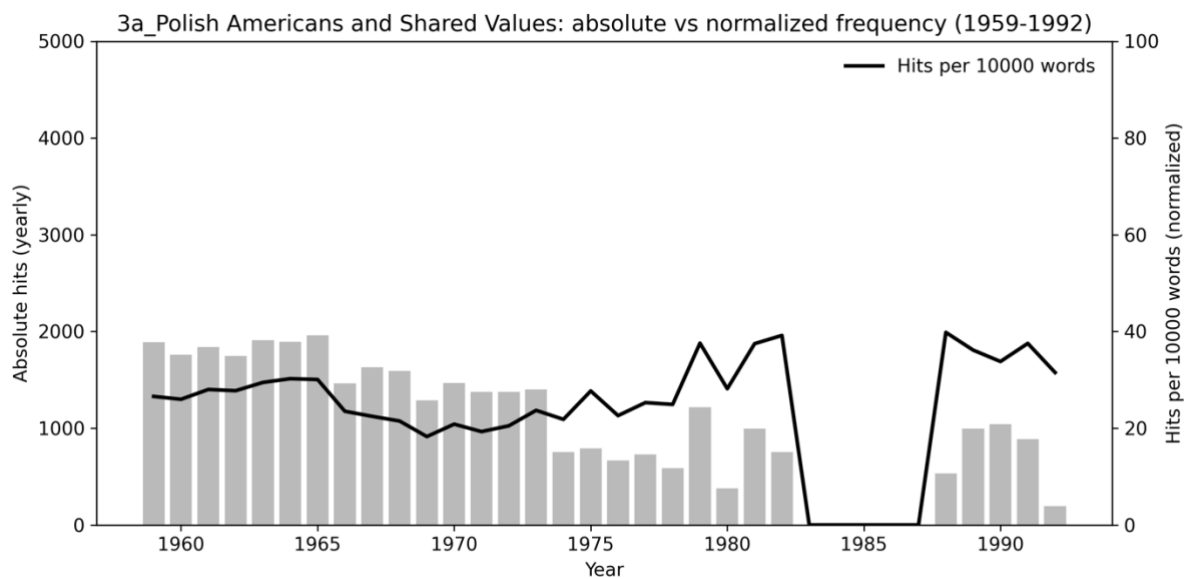


Figure 7 Frequency of Polish Americans and Shared Values Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

The graph reflects the broader trend identified in the qualitative analysis, which showed an increase in attention to Polish-American themes in the late 1970s. Despite fewer issues, the normalized frequency remains comparable to that of earlier years, signaling spike in emphasis which aligned with editorial guidelines that encouraged highlighting the historical friendship between the two nations. Notably, a peak appears in 1979 and during the early Reagan years, likely linked to the numerous articles portraying Pope John Paul II as a widely admired figure in the United States and as someone both nations could celebrate.

3.3.2. Religious Messaging and the Pope

First issues of *Ameryka* appeared in Poland three years after the much celebrated Thaw. 1956 brought reorganization of the security service, temporary liberalization. Of censorship, release of Cardinal Wyszyński, and discussions of a “Polish road to socialism,” all of which were acknowledged by Americans as “significant and noteworthy changes in Communist tactics.” However, they were not considered proof of any real independence, thus, caution was the necessary approach especially in the first years of *Ameryka*.⁴⁵⁷ Through articles, photographs, and seasonal imagery, it presented faith as not only a private matter but also a cultural, moral, and civic force, driving the people of the two countries despite different political systems. From the early 1960s through the late 1970s, the *Ameryka* magazine used

⁴⁵⁷ FRUS, 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 51, *Instruction From the Department of State to the Embassy in Poland, A-199, Subject: American Relations with Poland*, Washington, March 28, 1956.

religion and religious practices as a subtle yet powerful means of conveying shared values between the United States and Poland. Though not very frequent, these articles had an immense potential to influence the readers.

From an analytical perspective, the magazine “codes” faith as a shared civic value by repeating key symbols (*family, church, nation*) to “fix” preferred meanings – an example of naturalization through representation.⁴⁵⁸ In doing so, the magazine fostered a sense of commonality between American society and Polish readers living under communist rule, where religious expression was closely monitored and frequently restricted. Because these are illustrated stories, the captions and layout act as anchors that guide interpretation toward “common values,” thereby limiting polysemy.⁴⁵⁹

In the 1960s, the Christmas season was the most effective time to discuss religion without triggering censorship. This is an example of strategic timing – media actors select moments when meanings can pass gatekeepers – an instance of selectivity and framing in political communication.⁴⁶⁰ A striking example is the 1962 Christmas issue, which featured religious symbolism on the cover itself, presenting a colorful handmade stable with baby Jesus.⁴⁶¹ The first page inside quoted the familiar phrase, “and on earth peace to people of good will” (*a na ziemi pokój ludziom dobrej woli*), framing religion as a universal message of peace.⁴⁶² The sacred lexicon, such as the words peace and good will, works as a shared code; Denotatively, it is liturgical, while connotatively, it signals a cross-national community of morals.⁴⁶³ The religious articles in the issue described Americans celebrating Christmas in ways that were emotionally charged and aspirational – selling Christmas cards to support the UN Children-UNICEF initiative, crafting homemade decorations, and baking Christmas cookies with children – all illustrated with colorful, vibrant photographs.⁴⁶⁴ Lists and parataxis (*cards, decorations, cookies*) create a rhetoric of abundance and warmth – in CDA terms, such positive appraisal normalizes religion as civic generosity.⁴⁶⁵ The poem “A Night Before Christmas” by Clement Moore, with its accessible and almost playful tone, linked American traditions, such as Santa Claus and stockings on chimneys, to their European roots

⁴⁵⁸ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

⁴⁵⁹ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 38-41; Rose, “The Good Eye,” 56-66.

⁴⁶⁰ Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne*, 24-27.

⁴⁶¹ *Ameryka*, no. 47 (1962).

⁴⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁴⁶³ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ameryka*, no. 47 (1962): 1.

⁴⁶⁵ Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 557-592; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 200-206.

and inclusivity.⁴⁶⁶ As explained, the famous poem was translated into all European languages, including Braille, offering a gentle lessons in openness and charity, grounded in religious heritage but expressed through culture. The intertextuality of the narrative enlarges by braiding popular culture with liturgical words to stabilize a “censorship-friendly” religious code.⁴⁶⁷

In another article appearing in issue no. 47, “The Joys of Christmas” Brett Rose paints a vivid picture of Christmas in the United States, focusing on family, celebration, and generosity.⁴⁶⁸ Rose emphasizes that Christmas in America is about more than gifts – it is about spending time together, resting, and setting aside selfishness. The use of modality (*about more than*) and evaluative adjectives (*joys*) guides readers towards a normative stance – religion as ethical self-discipline and social harmony.⁴⁶⁹ The article describes traditions such as exchanging gifts on Christmas morning and gathering for a traditional holiday dinner featuring turkey and homemade bread. One particularly charming section describes Montana communities where neighbors embark on shared adventures, such as picking and cutting down Christmas trees together. These “thick” vignettes (portraying scenes, gestures, and shared tasks) act as Geertzian symbols, capturing the essence of moral order – in this case, hospitality and neighborliness – in a coherent, practical form.⁴⁷⁰ The article is full of vivid imagery, including photos of sparkling cityscapes, such as New York lit with festive lights, and handmade holiday ornaments constructed from ordinary items. These decorations and cookies, often made by American children, are presented with instructions offering readers creative ideas to celebrate despite their economic hardships. Visually, the close social distance and frontal angles encourage identification; The composition guides readers from the spectacle of the city to the craft of the household, linking national prosperity with domestic virtue.⁴⁷¹

For Polish readers behind the Iron Curtain, such content would hold special significance. With limited access to decorations and consumer goods, these simple, resourceful ideas were inspiring and practical. By describing “how to” practices, the text is turning belief into manageable routines that forge connections between Poland and

⁴⁶⁶ Clement Moore, “W Noc Wigilijną,” *Ameryka*, no. 47 (1962): 13-15.

⁴⁶⁷ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-201.

⁴⁶⁸ Brett Rose, “Radości Bożego Narodzenia,” *Ameryka*, no. 47 (1962): 16-20.

⁴⁶⁹ Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 194-200.

⁴⁷⁰ Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” 3-10.

⁴⁷¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153.; Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-214.

America.⁴⁷² The article offered a glimpse into a freer and more joyful Christmas, which stood in stark contrast to the restrictions and austerity in Poland at the time. As noted in the study on the Polish listeners of Western radio broadcasts, the audience was often fascinated and envious of American Christmas celebrations, captivated by descriptions of gifts, food, church services, and family joy, which seemed far removed from their own reality.⁴⁷³ As one responded reported, at times like Christmas such reporting of American traditions would fuel the people's opposition to the communist regime.⁴⁷⁴ Methodologically, approaching these pages as sequential "units of press content" enables us to trace how emotional cues, such as envy and longing, are repeated over time.⁴⁷⁵

By 1965, Christmas coverage expanded to highlight children and family joy, linguistically and visually associating religious celebration with warmth, abundance, and shared happiness. The repetition of the semantic fields (*family, children, warmth*) establishes a code in which religion equals domestic flourishing, a constructionist approach rather than a purely descriptive one.⁴⁷⁶ In an article on "Christmas Experiences" James Hansen juxtaposed images of children opening gifts with notes on the multicultural origins of American traditions – Santa came from the Netherlands, Christmas trees from Germany, Christmas cards from England, and candles came from Jewish and Roman practices.⁴⁷⁷ This diversity framework involves identity and relationship aspects – multiple origins and one collective ritual, perhaps, also serving as an allegory of America itself.⁴⁷⁸ The message is clear – the United States cherished diversity, yet anchored it in shared spiritual customs, valued traditions and the American people "still went to church as a family."⁴⁷⁹ Again, such narratives could stir longing among Polish readers, naturally contrasting the abundance, joy of religious expression, and openness with the shortages and surveillance of religious life at home. The contrast largely relies on implicature – what is not said about Polish constraints is still communicated through selection and emphasis.⁴⁸⁰

⁴⁷² Gee, "Building Task," 10-19.

⁴⁷³ Mazurkiewicz and Podciborska, "'I Wanted to Know the Truth' Listeners to Western Radio Broadcasts in Poland during the Cold War: A Pilot Study," 189.

⁴⁷⁴ Ibidem.

⁴⁷⁵ Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*, 80.

⁴⁷⁶ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

⁴⁷⁷ James Hansen, "Gwiazdkowe Przeżycia – Uciecha, Zachwyt i Szczęście Dziecka," *Ameryka*, no. 83 (1965): 13-15.

⁴⁷⁸ Gee, "Building Task," 10-19.

⁴⁷⁹ Hansen, "Gwiazdkowe Przeżycia – Uciecha, Zachwyt i Szczęście Dziecka," 13.

⁴⁸⁰ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-189.

The 1967 Christmas issue featured these motifs with an even more vivid visual style. In “Holidays with Loved Ones” Paul Engle portrays lit-up streets, a Santa Claus standing on street corners, church choirs, and intimate family prayers before meals.⁴⁸¹ The captions, such as “Glory to God in the highest” (*Chwała Bogu na wysokości*), “the savior was born in the city of David” (*W mieście Dawidowym narodził się Zbawiciel*) and “The Birth of the Baby Jesus in Bethlehem” (*Narodzenie w Betlejem Dzieciątka Bożego*), foregrounded faith while normalizing its public expression.⁴⁸² Here, captions function as anchorage, directing the connotative reading of images toward a sacred celebration rather than mere festivity.⁴⁸³ At times, the articles on different subjects, would normalize religious phrasing as well; for instance, an agricultural feature employed religious language, using the expression “Our Daily Bread” (*Chleba Naszego Powszedniego*) as its title, thereby hinting at a spiritual underpinning to material and societal progress.⁴⁸⁴ Metaphorical transfer (*bread to providence*) demonstrates interdiscursivity – the “borrowing” of liturgical language by economic reporting to moralize production.⁴⁸⁵

Religion in *Ameryka* was not limited to Protestant or generalized Christian themes – Catholicism emerged as a bridge. Zygmunt Haupt frequently wrote about sacred spaces in Washington, emphasizing the grandeur and symbolism of American Catholic life. In his 1963 article about the *Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception*, he discussed architectural tradition and faith as public art, reporting on the upcoming *Chapel of Our Lady of Częstochowa* (Kaplica Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej) was being funded in the Basilica by Polish-Americans.⁴⁸⁶ Visually, the monumental scale and frontal viewpoints of the sanctuary position viewers in a respectful relationship with authority, thereby legitimizing the narrative.⁴⁸⁷ Three years later, Haupt returned to cover the blessing of the Chapel, which was filled with Polish saints and inscriptions in the Polish language such as “Bogurodzica Dziewica” or “Królowo Korony Polskiej – Módl Się Za Nami.”⁴⁸⁸ The article would emphasize the roots of Polish national identity and make historical references to the baptism of Mieszko I and the John II Casimir Vasa’s Lwów Oath on *The Most Holy Virgin Mary*,

⁴⁸¹ Paul Engle, “Święta Wśród Bliskich,” *Ameryka*, no. 96 (1967): 24-37.

⁴⁸² Engle, “Święta Wśród Bliskich,” 30.

⁴⁸³ Barthes, qtd. in Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 39-41.

⁴⁸⁴ “Chleba Naszego Powszedniego,” *Ameryka*, no. 118 (1968): 16-21.

⁴⁸⁵ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-201.

⁴⁸⁶ Zygmunt Haupt, “Symbol i Kamień: Narodowa Świątynia Niepokalanego Poczęcia w Waszyngtonie,” *Ameryka*, no. 59 (1963): 34-35.

⁴⁸⁷ Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153.

⁴⁸⁸ Haupt, “Kaplica Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej w Waszyngtonie,” *Ameryka* no. 86 (1966): 20.

Queen of Poland, strengthening the notion that Polish identity was inseparable from Christianity.⁴⁸⁹ This is Barthesian mythmaking – denotatively, it is a chapel, but connotatively, it is Poland’s sacred history naturalized as national essence.⁴⁹⁰ Such framing aligns with the features that distinguish the Polish society from those of its Eastern neighbors, as reported by the Embassy, including a strong sense of nationalism and the enduring authority of the Catholic Church.⁴⁹¹ The same sentiment appeared in U.S. intelligence report in 1981, emphasizing that no other Eastern European country had such a strong Catholic Church,⁴⁹² while in 1988, the CIA highlighted that opposition activism in Poland, which was, “supported morally and organizationally by a powerful church,” remained unique in Eastern Europe.⁴⁹³

These articles were not just descriptive, they were emotionally charged. Photographs of the thousands who attended the blessing, of the Black Madonna enthroned similarly as the one in Jasna Góra, and of the choirs singing “Pod Twoją Obronę” created a sense of dignity and continuity.⁴⁹⁴ High key lighting, central placement, and the salience of icons compose a meaning of reverence, and image-text composition “fixes” dignity as the preferred reading.⁴⁹⁵ For Polish readers, this was validation of their heritage – in America, the people were honoring Poland’s spiritual symbols, treating them with reverence and presenting them as part of the U.S. religious landscape.

A similar sentiment appears in an article “Polish Americans and Their Church” which describes the Church of the Five Holy Martyrs in Chicago, which was founded about 70 years earlier by Polish immigrants.⁴⁹⁶ Despite being in the U.S., it has maintained a robust ethnic identity, with daily Masses in Polish, a parish school catering to 500 children offering lessons in Polish language and culture, and a variety of programs for youth and adults centered on Polish national customs. The article includes photographs of priests, children in folk costumes, and parishioners at prayer. Seen through “identities” and “relationships” tasks, the

⁴⁸⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁹⁰ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 93-97.

⁴⁹¹ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxix, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 130, *Airgram From the Embassy in Poland to the Department of State, Subject: United States Policy Assessment-Poland*, Warsaw, January 20, 1969.

⁴⁹² FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 5, *Paper Prepared in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Report 214-AR, (LOU) Eastern Europe After Poland: Creeping Disorder*, Washington, August 28, 1981.

⁴⁹³ FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 57, *Memorandum Prepared in the Central Intelligence Agency, EUR-M-88-20081, Subject: Impact of Polish Strikes on Eastern Europe: A Warning Bell*, Washington, May 12, 1988.

⁴⁹⁴ Haupt, “Kaplica Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej w Waszyngtonie”.

⁴⁹⁵ Rose, ““The Good Eye” 70-74.; Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-214.

⁴⁹⁶ “Polonia Amerykańska i Jej Kościół,” *Ameryka*, no. 200 (1977): 31-33.

narrative frames the parish as a space where being Polish and being American are complementary roles enacted through common religious practices.⁴⁹⁷ A thriving Polish parish abroad that preserves language, faith, and culture could be inspiring. At the same time, however, it might subtly highlight the contrast (which is created through omission) between the cultural freedoms enjoyed in the U.S. and the restrictions experienced at home, reinforcing the idea that emigration could be a way to protect and nurture Polish heritage.⁴⁹⁸

The magazine also reported on the dynamism of American religious life. Articles such as the 1966 profile of Fr. Clarence Rivers familiarized readers with liturgical renewal, including masses in English, jazz- and spiritual-inspired music, and energetic choir performances in Washington churches.⁴⁹⁹ The piece conveyed vitality – the priest was “serious and distinct” but also “energetic, smiling, enthusiastic.” This was Catholicism as a living culture that adapted without losing its essence, echoing the reforms of Vatican II.⁵⁰⁰ The lexical choices highlight modernity and adaptability, aligning faith with progress – a recurring theme in *Ameryka*’s narrative.⁵⁰¹ For Polish readers accustomed to a politically constrained liturgy, such depictions suggested that faith could be creative, inclusive, and forward-looking.

The arrival of papal narratives signaled another shift. Pope Paul VI’s historic U.S. visit in the mid-1960s received extensive coverage, including images of him at St. Patrick’s Cathedral in New York City, crowds of religious Americans welcoming him, and his address in the United Nations – “You are trying not only to prevent conflicts between countries, but also ... to organize fraternal cooperation between nations.”⁵⁰² As the article stressed, the Pope’s “dignified and warm attitude won the hearts of America and the world.”⁵⁰³ The theme was universalism – the Pope as “advocate of peace,” welcomed by presidents, blessing millions, and connecting faith with global responsibility. The multimodal pairing of the UN assembly and liturgical crowd scenes fuses the sacred and diplomatic registers, creating interdiscursivity that legitimizes religion also as a form of civic internationalism.⁵⁰⁴

The thread deepened with Cardinal Karol Wojtyła – *Ameryka* warmly and proudly documented his 1969 visit to the U.S., stressing shared ideals – “a great love for liberty – as in

⁴⁹⁷ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

⁴⁹⁸ Hall, “From Discourse to Power/Knowledge,” 47-51.

⁴⁹⁹ Ks. Clarence Rivers, “Nowy Głos w Pradawnej Liturgii,” *Ameryka*, no. 85 (1966): 32-33.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, 32.

⁵⁰¹ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

⁵⁰² “Paweł VI na Ziemi Amerykańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 87 (1966): 34.

⁵⁰³ *Ibidem*, 28.

⁵⁰⁴ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-201.

Poland as in America.”⁵⁰⁵ Photographs showed Wojtyła smiling with children and being embraced by bishops of Polish descent. That is also the timing when Cardinal Wyszyński in Poland was regarded, as phrased by Helmut Sonnenfeldt, “as something of a second head of state,” signifying the strong authority of the Church.⁵⁰⁶ By the time he became Pope John Paul II in 1978, the magazine framed his election as a spiritual and political event that would change the world’s future. President Carter’s words – that the Pope “understands like few others... to fight for faith, for freedom, for life itself” – were also emphasized, resonating deeply as an implicit critique of communism.⁵⁰⁷ Positive modality and reported speech (*will change*) convey certainty and hope, which are discursive resources that foster emotional connection.⁵⁰⁸

Subsequent coverage established the Polish pope as a symbol of moral authority and cultural pride. Articles highlighted his charisma and debated on the paradox of his origins, discussing the history of the Church in Poland after WWII, referring to Poland as “an officially atheist country, but in reality, predominantly Catholic” and noting the statistics reporting 80% of the Polish society as Catholic.⁵⁰⁹ Writers stressed the Church as “the most powerful force in Poland,” a defender of civil rights, while quoting Senators like Muskie and Bradley openly calling the Pope “the defender of the people” and “a Polish national hero.”⁵¹⁰ For Polish readers, such foreign recognition validated their lived truth – that their church was a bastion of identity and quiet resistance. The use of intertextual authority (senators and statistics) along with evaluative epithets (*defender*) serves to reinforce a dominant interpretation of Church as advocate for human rights and freedom.⁵¹¹

Ameryka’s tone and the information on the American media’s coverage of John Paul II was emotional and celebratory, contrasting sharply with the minimal, dry coverage he received in Polish state media. His 1979 visit to the U.S. was depicted as a pilgrimage of unity, the pope referred to as “a leader the world had long awaited.”⁵¹² John Paul II met with

⁵⁰⁵ “Kardynał Wojtyła na Ziemi Amerykańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 138 (1970): 42-44.

⁵⁰⁶ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xix, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 159, *Memorandum From Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the National Security Council Staff to the President’s Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger)*, Subject: *The Problem of the President’s Meeting with Cardinal Wyszyński*, Washington, April 19, 1972.

⁵⁰⁷ “Ameryka Wita z Radością Wybór Papieża Jana Pawła II,” *Ameryka*, no. 206 (1978): 25.

⁵⁰⁸ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 194-200; Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

⁵⁰⁹ John B. Breslin, “Polski Powieściopisarz o Polskim Papieżu,” *Ameryka*, no. 211 (1979): 25-32.

⁵¹⁰ Ibidem.

⁵¹¹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-206.

⁵¹² Feature “Papież Jan Paweł II w Ameryce,” *Ameryka*, no. 212 (1979); “Papież Jan Paweł II w Ameryce,” *Ameryka*, no. 213 (1980): 31-40.

President Carter, addressed the UN, and praised America's religious freedom – "the American people... whose concept of life is based on deep religiousness."⁵¹³ Photographs of crowds, flags, and clergy emphasized that faith was central, not marginal. From a compositional standpoint, massed crowds and elevated vantage points produce grandeur and collective awe – visual rhetoric that further amplifies authority of the Church.⁵¹⁴

The magazine tied religion to American identity, even beyond Catholic figures. Articles noted that presidents swore oaths on the Bible, tracing a line from Washington to Nixon and quoting Lincoln as saying, that the Bible "the most precious gift from God to people" and that "without God and the Bible, it is impossible to act justly in managing the affairs of this world," implicitly criticizing communist leaders.⁵¹⁵ The article also celebrated Polish Bible translators and highlighted the Bible's role in education and culture, even referencing pop culture works gaining popularity in the U.S. such as *Jesus Christ Superstar*, *Godspell*, and a Broadway show about Noe.⁵¹⁶ Profiles of religious artists such as Jan Henryk Rosen, an artist of Polish descent whose work was present throughout the churches in the U.S, and even in the Vatican, would also reaffirm faith as a source of inspiration – "The most perfect idea is God."⁵¹⁷ This blend of state rituals, scriptures, and popular culture is an example of interdiscursivity, or multiple discourses that reinforce a single code – religion as a public virtue in America.⁵¹⁸

Religion also became a language of solidarity. For instance, a short report of gratitude that described a mass in Warsaw for the release of the American hostages in Iran, attended by 800 people, including Polish citizens, diplomats, and clergy. Thanks were extended to the Poles "for participating in [their] prayers."⁵¹⁹ Even in Poland, readers were reminded that faith could transcend politics. The event functions as a symbol, translating a geopolitical crisis into a shared moral sentiment through ritual action.⁵²⁰

Scientific advancement was also valuable grounds for signaling the importance of Church. For instance, in issue 210 John J. Harter discusses a Vienna conference on using science and technology for development, with Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh leading the U.S. delegation, and stressing that scientific progress should serve to meet all human needs and

⁵¹³ Feature "Papież Jan Paweł II w Ameryce."

⁵¹⁴ Kress and van Leeuwen, "The meaning of composition," 175-214.

⁵¹⁵ Natalia Coniewa, "Pismo Święte – Żywa Część Dziedzictwa Amerykańskiego," *Ameryka*, no. 179 (1974): 2.

⁵¹⁶ Ibidem, 5.

⁵¹⁷ Janis Johnson, "Najdoskonalsza Idea to Bóg," *Ameryka*, no. 195 (1976): 30-31.

⁵¹⁸ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 196-201.

⁵¹⁹ "Nabożeństwo w Intencji Zakładników Amerykańskich," *Ameryka*, no. 214 (1980): 29.

⁵²⁰ Geertz, "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," 3-10.

uphold human rights.⁵²¹ As a Catholic priest, his involvement in global technical discussions was significant, demonstrating how religious leaders in America engaged in these conversations by framing science as a tool to advance moral and humanitarian goals rather than as something separate from values. This highlights religion's potential influence in shaping policy debates (simultaneously showcasing that American government's willingness to "share the stage" with religious leaders), where faith-based perspectives encourage linking technological advancement with ethical responsibility and social justice. In terms of discourse, this combines the semantic fields of science (*progress, development*) and ethics (*rights, dignity*), reflecting *Ameryka*'s broader framework of modernity.⁵²²

The religious narratives in *Ameryka* were not merely about documenting American customs or Catholic life abroad. Rather, they were a form of cultural diplomacy that used faith as a basis for common ground. Treating the magazine as an intermedial source of text and images justifies a multimodal reading approach to demonstrate how layouts naturalize these connections.⁵²³ By showcasing Christmas abundance, liturgical renewal, papal visits, and Polish Catholic symbols in the United States, the magazine cultivated a vision of shared spiritual values that transcended the divisions of the Cold War. For Polish readers, this offered both affirmation and contrast – they were assured that their Catholic identity mattered and was honored internationally. In contrast, given the imagery of freedom of religious expression, they were reminded of their own restricted religious life under communism. By elevating figures such as Paul VI, Clarence Rivers, and ultimately, John Paul II, *Ameryka* portrayed the United States as a society in which faith, freedom, and family could flourish together, where Polish traditions would not only be preserved, but also celebrated. In doing so, the magazine framed religion as a cultural bond and a subtle critique of the communist system, which would make *Ameryka* one of the most effective channels of moral and emotional connection between the U.S. and Poland.

⁵²¹ John J. Harter, "Nauka i Technika w Służbie Rozwoju," *Ameryka*, no. 210 (1979): 46-47.

⁵²² Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

⁵²³ Witek, "Metodologiczne problemy historii wizualnej."

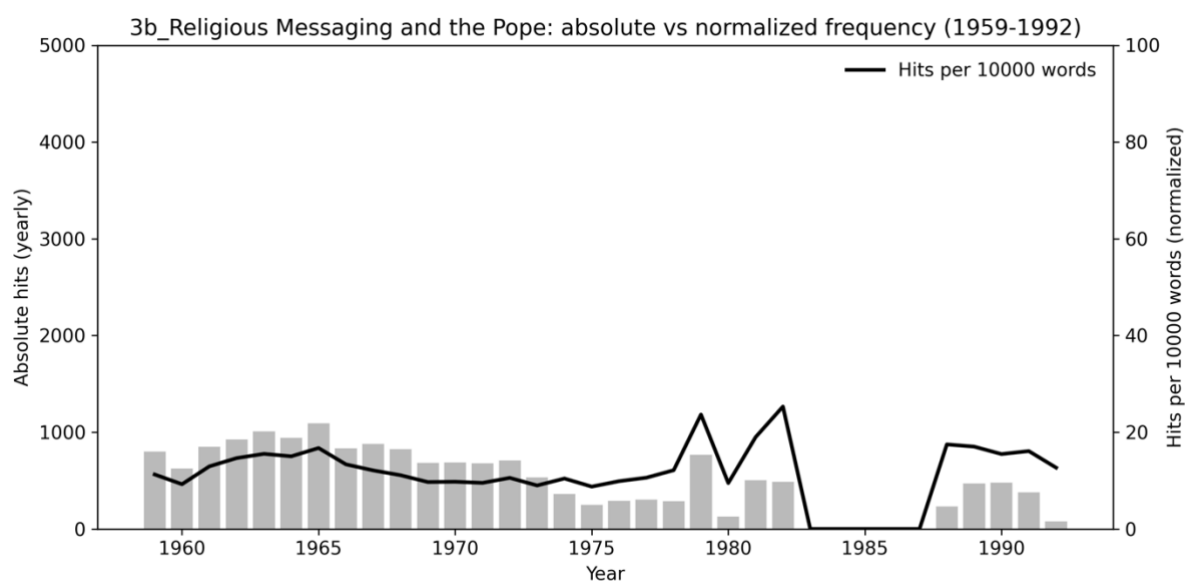


Figure 8 Frequency of Religious Messaging and the Pope Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

Although the overall numbers are modest compared to other themes, the graph of religious messaging and the Pope shows clear peaks in 1979 and the early 1980s. The rise in 1979 can likely be attributed to Pope John Paul II's visit to the United States, which was covered several times in *Ameryka*. The emphasis in the early 1980s is more unexpected because no significant religion- or pope-focused articles have been identified. This suggests that religious messaging, shaped by political sensitivities, was subtly interwoven into articles on other topics, similar to the treatment of Reaganomics, making it less visible and not caught in qualitative analyse

4. Frames of Belonging: Lifestyle, Inequality, and Gender in *Ameryka*

This chapter also uses a thematic approach to examine *Ameryka*'s social imaginary, demonstrating how the magazine presented "life in the United States" to Polish readers in a compelling way. The analysis is organized around three themes. *Lifestyle and Culture* includes abundance in supermarkets, domestic modernity and suburbia, technology woven into daily routines, mobility through cars, and sports as civic rituals, as well as literature, Hollywood, theater, jazz, country music, and visual arts. *Limits of Inclusion*, which addresses the framing of racial inequality and the near-erasure or reframing of working-class experience in America. *Gender: Between Tradition and Progress*, which explores the portrayals of Polish American women and image of the American women amidst the feminist movement.

Through a combination of close reading, linguistic analysis, critical discourse analysis, and attention to visual grammar, the chapter argues that *Ameryka*'s narratives and images normalize abundance, aestheticize technology as convenience, and elevate culture as proof of national vitality. The same apparatus manages the social "issues" – race is narrated through exceptional figures and democracy success story, class is displaced by consumption and societal respectability, and women's increasing autonomy is affirmed while being tied to beauty, domesticity, and heteronormative ideals. When read diachronically across the 1960s to the early 1990s, these strategies assemble a narrative of soft power in which everyday life is the argument: prosperity appears ordinary, inclusion appears to be advancing yet bounded, and gender equality appears to be aspirational yet socially (safely) domesticated – carefully tailored to Polish sensibilities and political climate of the Cold War era.

4.1. Lifestyle and Culture

Lifestyle coverage depicts prosperity through scenes of full supermarket aisles, gleaming kitchens, fancy cars on wide roads, and stadiums. Suburbia promises stability, while cars and highways symbolize mobility and freedom. Televised sports depict communal joy, turning infrastructure into shared emotions. The arts pages further this narrative, presenting literature, film, theater, jazz, country music, and visual arts as indicators of America's cultural richness and global appeal, making modernity seem both sophisticated and democratic.

4.1.1. The Image of Life in America

Everyday life within the U.S. cultural context consistently revolves around recurring themes of freedom, individualism, prosperity, efficiency, convenience, and abundance. Rather than being expressed through abstract slogans, these values were embedded in detailed portrayals of ordinary American homes, supermarkets, and daily routines. This is another

example of *Ameryka* telling the exact same story, with similar lexicon and connotations, but using another subject as a focus. From an analytical perspective, *Ameryka* “codes” these themes as common sense by repeatedly presenting the same symbols (*home, car, supermarket, gadget*) until the intended meanings feel natural and become intuitive – an example of naturalization through representation.¹ The goal would be to normalize abundance and technological modernity as the standard of living for the average family, creating a counter-image to the shortages and austerity familiar to Polish readers. As an illustrated medium, this text uses captions and layout to anchor connotations to “normal life,” thereby limiting possible interpretations.²

In that regard, one of the most prominent motifs in *Ameryka* was the abundance of American supermarkets. For instance, an article “Mrs. Housewife Running Errands,” chronicled Nancy Dixon’s weekly shopping trip – Dixon was a housewife married to a Westinghouse factory worker who earned the average American wage.³ The denotation is a shopping trip, while the connotation is a moralized modernity of orderly aisles, bright lights, and abundant choices, signifying welfare and dignity.⁴ The article was accompanied by photographs of supermarket shelves overflowing with goods, including mountains of citrus fruits, neat stacks of dairy products and canned foods, year-round bananas, frozen vegetables, and instant baking mixes – among the “1,200 products from around the world” was even Polish ham in tins.⁵ The use of lists and quantitative details, such as *1,200 products*, creates a discourse of precision and abundance, which is a typical blend of journalism and promotion.⁶

The article carefully detailed what was available and how little it cost in relation to wages. Nancy Dixon’s weekly shopping bill for a family of five totaled only \$23.75, and a full, itemized list of 51 products, with prices down to the cent, was provided for readers to scrutinize. Numbers act as “truth effects,” making American abundance seem rational and measurable.⁷ The narrative emphasized the convenience of completing all shopping in one trip to a bright, spacious, well-organized self-service store and the accessibility of having meat cut, priced, and wrapped in cellophane with butchers handling special orders. Visual composition, such as frontal angles and close social distance, invites identification with the

¹ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

² Barthes, *Mythologies*, 38-41; Rose, “The Good Eye,” 56-66.

³ “Pani Domu Załatwia Sprawunki,” *Ameryka*, no. 63 (1964): 48-51.

⁴ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

⁵ “Pani Domu Załatwia Sprawunki.”

⁶ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 200-206.

⁷ *Ibidem*, 194-200.

shopper and frames choice as accessible – making the readers wonder how their lives would be like in America.⁸

A very similar structure appeared years later in an article by Stephen Todd in a 1971 issue. In this story, Barbara Todd's family detailed shopping bill included as a photograph totaled \$35.40, which was easily covered by her husband's daily wage of \$39.51.⁹ Repetition across issues can be understood as a series of "units of press content" that establish a code (abundance as the norm).¹⁰ Once again, photographs of shelves bending under the weight of goods accompanied the text, as did a sample weekly menu of the family that underscored the richness and variety of everyday meals.¹¹ Mythically, the "ordinary menu" becomes a cornucopia, exemplifying how connotation becomes established knowledge.¹² Supermarkets symbolized prosperity and choice – the message was, thus, abundance was not exceptional but routine, integral to the life of the average working family.

While supermarkets epitomized abundance, American homes embodied comfort. For example, the article "How Americans Live" emphasized that most families lived in their own single-family homes, which usually had lawns, gardens, and spaces for leisure and play – gardens featured swings, sandboxes, and portable pools for children, while adults enjoyed barbecues "in a spirit of freedom and informality."¹³ The domestic sphere is an ideological space where the concepts of individualism and prosperity converge linguistically (*freedom, comfort, informality*) and visually (space and light).¹⁴ Inside the home, convenience was paramount as well – central heating and cooling, functional family rooms, and fireplaces that added to the atmosphere reflected technological progress and domestic warmth.¹⁵ Statistics reinforced the messaging – 95% of households had refrigerators, 92% had washing machines, and 89% had televisions. Modern appliances, ranging from toasters (41 million nationwide) to dishwashers (still rare as they were very new, at 7% of homes), were presented as a natural part of daily life. As stressed, the emphasis was always on creating "the maximum of comfort" for the family.¹⁶ Active-voice reporting of possession (*Americans have*) foregrounds

⁸ Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer," 114-153.

⁹ Stephen Todd, "Na Cotygodniowej Wizycie w Supersamie," *Ameryka*, no. 153 (1971): 2-7.

¹⁰ Pisarek, *Analiza zawartości prasy*, 80.

¹¹ Todd, "Na Cotygodniowej Wizycie w Supersamie".

¹² Barthes, *Mythologies*, 93-97.

¹³ "Jak Mieszkają Amerykanie," *Ameryka*, no. 41 (1962): 11.

¹⁴ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24; Rose, "The Good Eye," 70-74.

¹⁵ "Jak Mieszkają Amerykanie," *Ameryka*, no. 41 (1962): 11.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*.

agency and normalizes ownership, while passive voice appears only around processes, masking labor.¹⁷

Such narrative of domestic modernity had been also included in “The Apartment Changes Its Appearance” with American homes depicted as vibrant spaces with purposeful designs and new appliances.¹⁸ Kitchens were described as “laboratories” equipped with mixers, electric knives, coffee machines, non-stick pans, and microwave ovens; Refrigerators and freezers, illustrated with photographs brimming with food, were marvels of engineering with automatic defrosting systems and ice dispensers. Bathrooms multiplied – “one was no longer enough for a family” – and could include saunas or prefabricated (cheap and convenient) modular units.¹⁹ Audio-visual centers with stereo sets, color televisions, projectors, and tape recorders transformed living rooms into entertainment hubs. Even the workshop, laundry room, and sewing room symbolized how technology lightened domestic work. Here, Interdiscursivity connects engineering terminology, such as “laboratory kitchen,” with lifestyle vocabulary, portraying technology as a form of care.²⁰ In the images, salience and placement (such as shining refrigerator at the center) determine value, while the layout suggests a preferred interpretation of comfort equaling a good life.²¹

Together, these depictions portrayed the American home as more than just a shelter – they portrayed it as a microcosm of abundance, modernity, and convenience – an environment where technology and prosperity converged to maximize leisure and family life. A crucial rhetorical strategy was presenting these markers of prosperity not as luxuries reserved for the elite, but rather as an everyday reality for ordinary working families – both the Dixon and Todd households were explicitly described as “average,” with incomes comparable to national standards. The term *average* is used to presuppose that in America luxury becomes the norm.²² This is the constructionist move, which is not to reflect reality but to produce it through repeated signs and labels.²³ Their access to fully stocked supermarkets, large homes, and state-of-the-art appliances made such consumption seem like the norm in American life, thus readers were led to believe that what they saw was typical, not exceptional. The implicit message was that abundance, choice, and comfort were not extraordinary at all – but rather

¹⁷ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-189.

¹⁸ “Mieszkanie Zmienia Wygląd,” *Ameryka*, no. 149 (1971): 41-48.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-201.

²¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-214.

²² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 194-200.

²³ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

seamlessly woven into the fabric of American society. Identity and relationships are prompted – the reader is invited to take on the role of a member of the American modern consumer family.²⁴

Another recurring motif was the presentation of technological progress as an integral part of daily life – devices such as dishwashers, freezers, stereos, and color televisions were portrayed as instruments of efficiency and leisure rather than as symbols of luxury. Assertive modality (*is, will*) and evaluative adjectives (*modern, efficient*) produce certainty around progress.²⁵ Even men's home workshops filled with saws and drills and women's sewing rooms filled with electric scissors were signs that modern technology permeated all aspects of ordinary life. The vocabulary of modernity – terms such as *device, automatic, and electric* – is a stable code in *Ameryka's* lexicon.²⁶ The underlying idea was that progress in the U.S. was not limited to industry or science, but rather translated directly into household convenience and individual well-being.

The contrast with the shortages and monotony of Polish shops could hardly be overstated. The detailed shopping lists with affordable totals underscored the difference in living standards between the two countries. Similarly, catalogs of household appliances revealed a technological disparity. As with other themes in *Ameryka*, much of this contrast is created through strategic silence and selection, the classic result of media framing in political communication.²⁷ Thus, articles in *Ameryka* could serve as both aspirational images of modern life and subtle critiques of Poland's modernization delays and shortages. Representation here is power/knowledge, which means that what is shown and omitted positions systems without naming ideology.²⁸ As emphasized by the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, Poland was seeking improvement of its relations with the United States, "most striking example of Poland's movement toward détente, particularly due to trade and technology – its desire to draw upon the advanced technology of the 'capitalist world.'"²⁹ However, to some, and possibly even to many Polish readers at that time, American homes and supermarkets must have seemed more like science fiction than an attainable reality.

²⁴ Gee, "Building Task," 10-19.

²⁵ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 194-200; Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

²⁶ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

²⁷ Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne*, 24-27.

²⁸ Hall, "From Discourse to Power/Knowledge," 47-51.

²⁹ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. e-15, part 1, Documents on Eastern Europe, 1973-1976, doc. 44, *Telegram 1337 From the Embassy in Poland to the Department of State, 0856Z, Subject: Assessment of Polish Policies*, March 22, 1973.

In the pages of the magazine, the American automobile was also presented as more than just a technical object or a means of transportation. Rather, it was portrayed as a cultural marker of “Americanness,” embodying freedom, prosperity, convenience, and the dynamism of modern society. From a semiotic perspective, the car is a sign whose connotations of mobility, youth, and the conquest of space form a modern myth.³⁰ Throughout the magazine, cars were depicted as both everyday commodities and symbols of identity, influencing the American lifestyle in ways that were both intriguing and unfamiliar to Polish readers.

Perhaps the most consistent theme across the magazine’s car-related articles is freedom. For instance, in “The Automobile: America on the Move,” the car is described as much more than a vehicle – it is a “symbol of independence” that enables Americans to traverse their continent-sized country at will.³¹ The lexical field (*drive, road, anywhere*) encodes autonomy, while the road metaphor connects technology to the notion of the American frontier.³² The narrative of mobility is woven from roads, highways, and millions of automobiles – vacations, leisure, and the possibility of setting out “wherever one wishes, whenever one wishes.”³³

This sense of freedom is presented as both collective and deeply personal. For instance, the feature “When a Boy Buys His First Car” tells the story of Kerry Grager, a teenager who worked two jobs and saved for six years to buy his first car.³⁴ The story fulfills Gee’s “identities” task by depicting car ownership as a rite of passage to adult autonomy.³⁵ The scene is also implicitly constructed with the communist reality in Poland, where the vast majority of the population could not afford such “adult autonomy.” As explained, for Kerry and the many American boys he represents, the car is a rite of passage – “a symbol of approaching adulthood” – offering independence, mastery of speed, and entry into a new social world.³⁶ Similarly, an article on high school driving courses emphasized the democratization of driving access – 80% of schools offer free instruction, and with parental consent, teenagers can quickly join the ranks of drivers.³⁷ Such institutional support (school

³⁰ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 93-97; Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

³¹ “Samochód: Ameryka w Ruchu,” *Ameryka*, no. 29 (1961): 12-13.

³² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 200-206; Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

³³ “Samochód: Ameryka w Ruchu.”

³⁴ “Gdy Chłopiec Kupuje Pierwszy Samochód,” *Ameryka*, no. 29 (1961): 22-24.

³⁵ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

³⁶ “Gdy Chłopiec Kupuje Pierwszy Samochód.”

³⁷ “Wygląd Młodych Kierowców,” *Ameryka*, no. 165 (1972): 6-7.

courses) enacts the “activities” and “connections” tasks that normalize mass motorization.³⁸ Thus, the automobile emerges as both an individual milestone and a democratic treasure.

The car also symbolized American affluence – as early as 1961, *Ameryka* reported that three out of four American families owned a car, and over seven million families owned at least two.³⁹ The compact car, praised for its affordability and convenience, was explicitly marketed as the “second car” for suburban households – as explained, while the husband drove to work in a larger vehicle, the wife used the smaller model for shopping and errands.⁴⁰ Quantification and normalization make plenty feel ordinary (second car), while gendered distribution of use (husband vs. wife) encodes patriarchal gender roles without the need for overt argument.⁴¹ This casual abundance would have seemed astonishing in Poland, where acquiring a single car required years of saving and waiting.

Subsequent articles also continued to emphasize the size of the market – as reported, in 1964, eight million new cars were expected to be sold in the United States.⁴² A Washington auto show featured 350 models available for inspection, with attractive hostesses distributing glossy brochures.⁴³ Even the problems of abundance, such as difficulty finding one’s car in parking lots filled with “a sea of identical vehicles” or abandoned cars that were later resold at auctions, were not framed as signs of scarcity, but rather as paradoxical outcomes of prosperity.⁴⁴ The texts are a spectacle, with gaze, scale, and gloss aestheticizing consumption and composition centering the car as the object for admiration.⁴⁵

Another central theme was the car as a technological marvel that embodied U.S. modernity and efficiency – articles such as “How New Models are Created” featured photo spreads of assembly lines that emphasized industrial progress and the Fordist ideal of “a car for everyone.”⁴⁶ Other features highlighted innovations such as lightweight aluminum engines with 425 horsepower, transistorized ignition, and climate-controlled air conditioning, as well as racing technologies that with time filtered down to consumer cars.⁴⁷ Passive constructions

³⁸ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

³⁹ “Modele 1961: Samochody Ekonomiczne Są Wygodne i Bezpieczne,” *Ameryka*, no. 29 (1961): 2-8.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-189.

⁴² “Eleganckie i Wygodne,” *Ameryka*, no. 65 (1964): 41-43.

⁴³ “Samochody: Moc, Komfort Uroda,” *Ameryka*, no. 142 (1970): 10-13.

⁴⁴ “Gdzie Się Podział Mój Samochód?” *Ameryka*, no. 158 (1972): 52-53; Lucien D. Agniel, “Jarmark Ogumionych Znajd,” *Ameryka*, no. 172 (1973): 51-54.

⁴⁵ Kress and Van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153; Rose, “The Good Eye,” 70-74.

⁴⁶ “Jak Powstają Nowe Modele,” *Ameryka*, no. 29 (1961): 13-18.

⁴⁷ “Eleganckie i Wygodne,” *Ameryka*, no. 65 (1964): 41-43; “Silniki Forda Napędzają Szybsze Wozy,” *Ameryka*, no. 86 (1966): 41-43.

related to production, such as *is assembled* or *was designed*, mask the labor involved while emphasizing the inevitability of progress.⁴⁸

Racing culture was portrayed as a celebration of American boldness and engineering prowess. Reports from Daytona Beach Racing and personal testimonies from professional drivers like Sam Posey presented racing as a sport and an existential quest – a theater of courage, competition, and innovation.⁴⁹ Hyperbole and heroic metaphors, such as those related to bravery and danger, transform engineering into mythical action.⁵⁰ For Polish readers accustomed to Polish cars, outdated models like the *Syrenka*, *Warszawa*, more modern *Fiat 125p*, and smaller, available version *126p*, and later *Polonez* (which were nonetheless valued and desired), these constant innovations highlighted the technological superiority of the Western world.

In America, cars were not just machines, but extensions of personality and status. For instance, in “American Style Moto-Sales,” the director of the Museum of Modern Art is quoted as saying that, “aside from a beautiful woman, nothing captures an American’s attention more than a car.”⁵¹ In this case, the car serves as a symbol of identity, representing taste, success, and autonomy – the cultural authority, embodied by MoMA, anchors this particular interpretation of such symbolism.⁵² This “love affair” between driver and vehicle was viewed as psychological and symbolic – as highlighted, the car demonstrated one’s freedom, individuality, and success.⁵³

The automobile was also depicted as the backbone of the U.S. economy. Already in the early 1960s, *Ameryka* emphasized, the automotive industry employed one out of every seven American workers and gave rise to countless auxiliary industries, ranging from road construction to gas, glass, and steel.⁵⁴ Later articles about dealerships and resale markets emphasized the extensive distribution infrastructure – as highlighted, there were 30,000 dealerships and tens of millions of used cars changing hands each year.⁵⁵ Again, even the “waste” of abandoned cars was recycled into auctions, creating further economic circulation.⁵⁶ Metonymy is at work here, with the car standing for national modernity and statistics

⁴⁸ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-189.

⁴⁹ William Albert Allard, “Walka Silników i Nerwów,” *Ameryka*, no. 134 (1970): 10-15; Sam Posey, “Ściągam Się Bo Chcę Wygrać,” *Ameryka*, no. 139 (1970): 52-53.

⁵⁰ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.; Barthes, *Mythologies*, 93-97.

⁵¹ Daniel B. Moskowitz, “Motozbyt Po Amerykańsku,” *Ameryka*, no. 161 (1972): 27-32.

⁵² Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

⁵³ Moskowitz, “Motozbyt Po Amerykańsku.”

⁵⁴ “Samochód: Ameryka w Ruchu,” *Ameryka*, no. 29 (1961): 12-13.

⁵⁵ Moskowitz, “Motozbyt Po Amerykańsku”.

⁵⁶ Lucien D. Agniel, “Jarmark Ogumionych Znajd,” *Ameryka*, no. 172 (1973): 51-54.

projecting authority and scale.⁵⁷ This level of production, employment, and consumer choice was in stark contrast to the centrally planned economies of Eastern Europe, where long waiting lists, limited model options, and outdated technology were the norm.

Ameryka reinforced these messages with a combination of striking statistics and visual materials. Articles often began with impressive figures such as “62 million registered cars,” or “8 million sold this year,” or with more historical comparisons, such as “in 1900, there were only 350 kilometers of paved roads,” and now it is “4 million kilometers of paved roads,” dramatizing the narrative of progress. Photographs played a crucial role – glossy color images depicted polished cars against natural backdrops, young people enjoying themselves, factory assembly lines, and glamorous auto shows. The meaning of image-text composites is guided by captions that anchor admiration, while salience and angle suggest power and desire.⁵⁸ Even mundane or problematic scenes, such as cluttered parking lots or abandoned vehicles, were presented in visually compelling ways, transforming abundance itself into a spectacle. Compositional interpretation shows how such imagery guides the eye to “read” prosperity.⁵⁹

For Polish readers, the idea of a teenager buying his own car with money earned from odd jobs or of families owning two cars would have seemed unimaginable. Conversely, socialist ideology might view these depictions as examples of capitalist excess and waste, such as abandoned cars in the streets, constant consumer turnover, and treating vehicles as toys. Thus, *Ameryka* walked a careful line, feeding fascination and admiration for the American lifestyle while trying not to appear careless or vain. This is a negotiated contrast produced by selection and omission – again, precisely the kind of framing explained by political communication research.⁶⁰

Therefore, the car served as a prism through which Polish readers could get a glimpse of the United States as a land of freedom, affluence, innovation, and abundance. Symbolically, the car represents a “web of significance” – a system of signs that links mobility to American identity and social worth.⁶¹ Cars were both practical objects and cultural symbols that embodied values central to the American self-image, a notion that is still true today. Whether celebrated in racing, admired at auto shows, or casually discarded in parking lots, cars told the story of America as a society of mobility, choice, and modernity – a society

⁵⁷ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 194-200.

⁵⁸ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 38-41.; Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-214.

⁵⁹ Rose, “The Good Eye,” 56-66.

⁶⁰ Michalczyk, *Komunikowanie polityczne*, 24-27.

⁶¹ Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” 3-10.

that stood in stark contrast to the limited horizons of socialist Poland. This is constructionist representation again – when meanings are made, not just reflected.⁶²

Though not as often as one might expect given its central role in U.S. society, the American lifestyle as presented in *Ameryka* frequently turned to the theme of national sports. When featured, they offered Polish readers vivid images of exciting events, successful athletes with immigrant backgrounds, and a vision of sports as democratic entertainment and a path to prestige. Lexically, the discourse shifts from work and consumption to leisure and citizenship. However, the same code of mass participation and abundance persists.⁶³

Another message embedded in the theme of sports was that in America, leisure was not an elite privilege, but an exciting and affordable pastime for millions. A striking example of this came in the article on bowling, describing how approximately 25 million Americans visited bowling alleys weekly.⁶⁴ Unlike the primitive facilities of the past, as emphasized, modern bowling centers were presented as full-fledged leisure complexes equipped with air conditioning, cocktail bars, restaurants, beauty salons, swimming pools, and child-care areas.⁶⁵ Thus, bowling appeared not only as a sport, but also as an inexpensive, easy-to-learn, family-centered social activity that was widely accessible. Vocabulary related to quantification and accessibility (*easy, family*) embody Gee's "activities" and "relationships," inviting readers to imagine engaging in such a communal practice.⁶⁶ Lists and amenities are used to construct a rhetoric of plenty, and evaluatives are used to normalize leisure as a respectable activity.⁶⁷

The theme of mass participation also extended to baseball and American football coverage, though the focus shifted from active play to spectatorship. For example, photographs in articles such as "Baseball" highlighted packed stadiums, and the accompanying text emphasized the energy of a six-month season filled with lightning-fast moves and tactical brilliance.⁶⁸ Crowd shots and high angles elicit collective awe, while dynamic vectors of play dramatize action.⁶⁹ Similarly, football features like "American Football – a Combination of Courage, Cleverness, Teamwork, and Masculine Strength," conveyed the atmosphere of grand spectacles, stressing the brutality and excitement that drew

⁶² Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

⁶³ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 196-201.

⁶⁴ "Doskonała Rozrywka – Kręgle," *Ameryka*, no. 15 (1960): 43-45.

⁶⁵ Ibidem.

⁶⁶ Gee, "Building Task," 10-19.

⁶⁷ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 200-206.

⁶⁸ "Baseball," *Ameryka*, no. 19 (1960): 48-50.

⁶⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer," 114-153.

vast crowds.⁷⁰ The message was consistent – sports in America belonged to everyone, whether they participated directly or watched as spectators. These scenes act as shared symbols that create and, in that case project, a sense of belonging in the U.S.⁷¹

Ameryka often emphasized the emotional intensity of American sports. Baseball was presented as a game of “fractions of a second” with rapid throws and dazzling maneuvers.⁷² Ice hockey was captured in moments of peak tension – “storm under the goalpost” – where a lone attacker faced the armored goalkeeper, photographed on the brink of victory or defeat.⁷³ Football was described as a game of courage, strategy, and brute force, illustrated by photos of dramatic tackles and decisive plays in the final moments of the game.⁷⁴ In turn, basketball was used to highlight spectacular individual feats, for instance, “Winged Basketball” praised Fred Norman, a relatively short 173-cm player who could leap so high that he rose above the basket.⁷⁵ The use of metaphor, hyperbole, and rapid parataxis in language creates a spectacle, aligning reportage with promotional rhetoric.⁷⁶ Such stories revealed that American sports were not only competitions, but also theaters of breathtaking skill, risk, and dramatic effect.

One another particularly telling choice was the focus on Polish American athletes, such as Stan Musiał and Jim Grabowski. The profile of baseball legend – Musiał – embodied professional success and ethnic pride.⁷⁷ Son of a Warsaw-born worker, Musiał was praised as one of the greatest players in history, still inspiring fans at the age of 40 and earning \$100,000 a year; However, the article even more heavily emphasized his family background, Polish traditions, and domestic life.⁷⁸ His Slavic wife, the Polish dishes on the family table, and his wholesome upbringing anchored him in a narrative of rootedness, even as he symbolized American stardom. This accomplishes the “identities” and “relationships” tasks without losing assimilation, thereby solidifying a bridge identity.⁷⁹

A similar story was told about Jim Grabowski, the football star who was featured in the 1966 issue 92 – the article emphasized his sacrifice of skipping Christmas celebrations

⁷⁰ “Football Amerykański – Iloczyn Odwagi, Sprytu, Zgrania i Męskiej Siły,” *Ameryka*, no. 105 (1967): 47-53.

⁷¹ Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” 3-10.

⁷² “Baseball,” *Ameryka*, no. 19 (1960): 48-50.

⁷³ “Burza Pod Bramką,” *Ameryka*, no. 84 (1965): 30-31.

⁷⁴ “Football Amerykański – Iloczyn Odwagi, Sprytu, Zgrania i Męskiej Siły,” *Ameryka*, no. 105 (1967): 47-53.

⁷⁵ “Uskrzydłona Koszykówka,” *Ameryka*, no. 63 (1964): 7.

⁷⁶ Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 557-592; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 200-206.

⁷⁷ Paul O’Neil, “Stan Musiał, Sportowiec Doskonały,” *Ameryka*, no. 21 (1960): 48-50; See: Wojdon, *Polish American History after 1939*, 296; Neal Pease, “National Polish American Sports Hall of Fame,” in Pula, *The Polish American Encyclopedia*, (McFarland, Inc., 2011), 322.

⁷⁸ O’Neil, “Stan Musiał, Sportowiec Doskonały.”

⁷⁹ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

with his Polish Catholic family in Chicago to play in a charity game for disabled children and celebrated his athletic achievements and modesty.⁸⁰ Grabowski's massive professional contract, rumored at \$600,000 over three years, was balanced against his attachment to family, church, and the Polish language. The narrative aligns wealth with virtue by using evaluative epithets and moral contrasts – conveying, that in America, money does not corrupt character.⁸¹ In both cases, *Ameryka* presented athletes as moral figures and immigrants' sons who simultaneously embodied success and tradition.

The financial side of American sports was also highlighted, especially when implicitly compared to the Polish context. Musiał's \$100,000 salary and Grabowski's multi-hundred-thousand-dollar contract were staggering sums that a Polish athlete in the 1960s probably could not have imagined. Yet, *Ameryka* carefully framed these figures, acknowledging their wealth but emphasizing that neither athlete was "spoiled" by money – both were portrayed as down-to-earth, family-oriented individuals who respected the Polish traditions. Euphemisms and mitigations (*not spoiled*) soften the impact of capitalist excess while maintaining admiration, which is a typical form of evaluation management.⁸² The underlying message was again that, although America rewards talent with prosperity, it is without corrupting moral character.

Ameryka's portrayal of American sports was carefully crafted to present an image of mass participation, thrilling spectacles, immigrant heroes, and vast rewards balanced by traditional values. For Polish readers, these depictions must have held a complex significance. First, there was an element of novelty and exoticism – bowling alleys with cocktail bars, football played with an oval ball, and six-month baseball seasons presented a sporting "cosmos" far removed from the familiar soccer fields and state-run sports clubs of the PRL. Second, there was a clear contrast with Polish sports culture. In the Soviet bloc, sports were used to demonstrate the strength of the system, while America showcased their sports as entertainment, leisure, and individual and community achievement, far from politics. That contrast rests on media selectivity and framing, which is defined as the difference between what gets foregrounded versus backgrounded.⁸³ Third, the emphasis on Polish American heroes fostered a sense of identification – Musiał and Grabowski, as other Polish Americans portrayed in the magazine, proved that Poles could succeed in America while maintaining

⁸⁰ William Furlong, "Jim Grabowski: As Footballu Amerykańskiego," *Ameryka*, no. 92 (1966): 10-11.

⁸¹ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

⁸² Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 194-200.

⁸³ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24; Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-213.

their traditions. Finally, the enormous sums of money earned by sports stars could provoke either admiration or disbelief. While the violence of American football might have been off-putting compared to the more familiar aesthetics of soccer or volleyball, the overall effect was likely positive – America appeared as a vibrant, dynamic society where sports were democratic, spectacular, and rewarding.

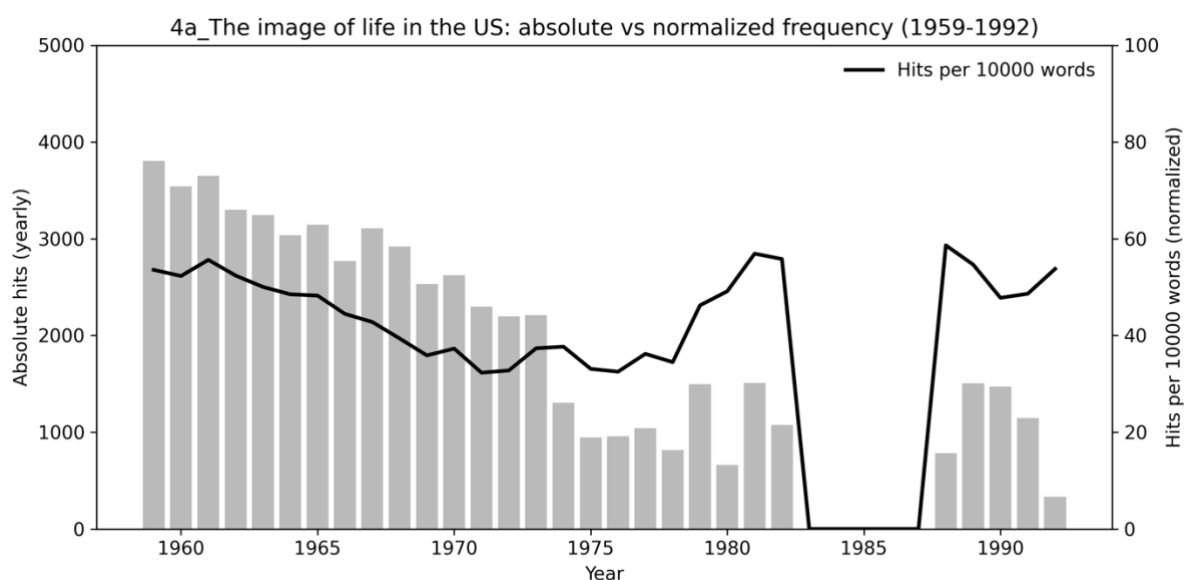


Figure 9 Frequency of the Image of Life in the US Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

Keywords associated with the portrayal of life in the United States included individualism, freedom, comfort, liberty, and independence. This helps explain the strong emphasis on the theme during the Reagan era, when, despite only four issues per year, the normalized frequency was even higher than the peak of the 1960s with twelve issues annually. Alongside Reaganomics, these concepts were core elements of Reagan's ideology, thus, they were frequently woven into the neutral-appearing scientific and cultural narratives in *Ameryka* at that time.

4.1.2. Literature, Cinema, Music, and Art

Ameryka's literary coverage was broad and multifaceted – the magazine featured excerpts from canonical works, poetry, reviews, intellectual discussions, essays on literary education, portraits of authors, and translations – showcased living and historical figures, celebrated authors' personal lives, and introduced Polish readers to the diversity of voices shaping American literature. Through literature, *Ameryka* projected an image of the United States as a culturally rich, morally grounded, and intellectually vibrant nation.

Methodologically, this projection operates through selection and framing – the magazine “fixes” preferred meanings by elevating certain authors and genres while minimizing others, thereby naturalizing codes. This is precisely how representation produces meaning rather than merely reflecting it.⁸⁴ Because *Ameryka* is intermedial, the layout, captions, and placement of text and images further steer readers toward “what matters” in terms of salience, information value, and reading path.⁸⁵

One of the most consistent strategies was to emphasize the long and prestigious tradition of American literature. Fragments from Henry David Thoreau’s *Walden*, Mark Twain’s excerpts from *Life on the Mississippi*, Walt Whitman’s “Mannahatta,” and Stephen Crane’s *The Red Badge of Courage* established U.S. literature as part of the global literary tradition.⁸⁶ Writers such as Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, and Robert Frost received recurring attention – Frost was presented as the poet who best expressed the “national character,” with his “poetic blessing” of Kennedy at the Inauguration symbolizing the union of literature and civic life.⁸⁷ Similarly, Carl Sandburg’s monumental biography of Lincoln positioned literature as a vehicle for moral leadership and national self-understanding.⁸⁸ These selections emphasized continuity – America, though younger, the magazine implied, had a literary heritage as profound and enduring as the one of Europe. From a discursive perspective, this is thematization and canon formation – it involves foregrounding continuity (*tradition, national character*) and institutional markers (inaugurations, biographies) to stabilize a cultural hierarchy. This type of foreground/background work is an example of textual structuring and interdiscursivity.⁸⁹ Visually and paratextually, “classic” works are given a privileged position, connecting connotation (heritage, prestige) to denotation (title/excerpt).⁹⁰

American literature was also reframed as fundamentally ethical. For instance, Hemingway, often regarded by critics as a stylist rather than a moralist, was reintroduced to Polish readers as a seeker of truth, a writer concerned with resilience, responsibility, and

⁸⁴ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-21.

⁸⁵ Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-214; Rose, “The Good Eye,” 56-66.

⁸⁶ Henry David Thoreau, “Walden – fragmenty,” *Ameryka*, no. 72 (1964): 46.; Mark Twain, “Marzenie Chłopca,” *Ameryka*, no. 22 (1960): 55-56; Walt Whitman, “Mannahatta,” *Ameryka*, no. 219 (1981): 32; Stephen Crane, “Szkarałatne Godło Odwagi,” *Ameryka*, no. 31 (1961): 54.

⁸⁷ Stewart L. Udall, “‘Dar Serdeczny’ Roberta Frosta,” *Ameryka*, no. 42 (1962): 40-41; Robert Frost, “Pięć Wierszy,” *Ameryka*, no. 74 (1965): 7.

⁸⁸ Carl Sandburg, “Dziewięć Wierszy,” *Ameryka*, no. 80 (1965): 54.

⁸⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-193, 201-206.

⁹⁰ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.; Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-186.

moral struggle.⁹¹ The discourse on *The Old Man and the Sea* placed Hemingway in dialogue with Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* and Crane's *The Open Boat*, embedding him in a tradition of existential confrontation with nature and fate.⁹² As emphasized, Frost's rejection of "court poetry" and his belief that poems stem from freedom, not command, reinforced the perception of U.S. literature as genuine, autonomous, and spiritually profound.⁹³ These narratives tied American literature to the virtues of endurance and personal integrity – qualities with clear resonance to the postwar Poland. Here, the denotative "plot" is consistently overlaid with connotative values (*virtue, resilience, freedom*), which makes it a textbook case of myth-making in the Barthesian sense, where connotation is naturalized as moral truth.⁹⁴ Linguistically, evaluative lexis and agentive transitivity (construction where the subject is an intentional and active "doer" of the action, such as *writers as truth-seekers, literature as a moral actor*) enact "value-laden representation."⁹⁵

The portrayal of American literature as pluralistic was equally important. Contributions from immigrants were highlighted, including those of Sandburg, the son of Swedish immigrants, and Jewish-American authors such as Saul Bellow and Henry Roth.⁹⁶ The magazine also devoted significant space to African-American writers – examples include excerpts from James Baldwin's *Go Tell It on the Mountain*, inclusion of Ralph Ellison on Nathan Glick's list of modern American novel pioneers, and Charles Johnson's extensive essay on Black literary consciousness and identity, discussing a wide range of African American authors.⁹⁷ Also Toni Morrison's *Song of Solomon* and *Beloved* were praised for its blend of family, myth, and surreal grace.⁹⁸ By foregrounding minority voices, *Ameryka* sought to counter Soviet depictions of the United States as irredeemably racist by presenting a society that confronts its problems openly through art. Jewish-American voices numerous

⁹¹ "Hemingway w Ocenie Innych Pisarzy," *Ameryka*, no. 49 (1963): 5; Irving Howe, "Hemingway: Człowiek i Dzieło," *Ameryka*, no. 223 (1982): 59-62; Ernest Hemingway, "O Dobrym Lwie, O Wiernym Byku," *Ameryka*, no. 49 (1963): 6-7.

⁹² William J. Fisher, "Hemingway: Poszukiwacz Rzetelnych Wartości Moralnych," *Ameryka*, no. 49 (1963): 2-5.

⁹³ Stewart L. Udall, "'Dar Serdeczny' Roberta Frosta," *Ameryka*, no. 42 (1962): 40-41.

⁹⁴ Hall, *Representation*, 32-41.

⁹⁵ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 193-200.

⁹⁶ Marjorie Yahraes, "Carl Sandburg – Biograf Lincolna i Poeta," *Ameryka*, no. 45 (1962): 2-3; "Fragmenty Jednotomowej Książki Carla Sandburga 'Abraham Lincoln: Lata Na Prerii i Lata Wojny,'" *Ameryka*, no. 45 (1962): 4-6; Saul Bellow, "Henderson, Król Deszczu," *Ameryka*, no. 39 (1962): 48-49; Henry Roth, "Nazwij To Snem," *Ameryka*, no. 219 (1981): 30-31.

⁹⁷ James Baldwin, "Głos na Górze," *Ameryka*, no. 219 (1981): 32-34; Nathan Glick, "Kierunki Nowoczesnej Powieści Amerykańskiej," *Ameryka*, no. 3 (1959): 24-27; Charles Johnson, "Literatura Afro-Amerykańska, Czarna Świadomość i Poszukiwanie Tożsamości," *Ameryka*, no. 231 (1989): 31-37.

⁹⁸ Colette Dowling, "Pieśń Toni Morrison," *Ameryka*, no. 215 (1980): 58-61.; Charles Johnson, "Literatura Afro-Amerykańska, Czarna Świadomość i Poszukiwanie Tożsamości," *Ameryka*, no. 231 (1989): 31-37.

reinforced this image – for instance, Isaac Bashevis Singer’s “Henne Fire” and Saul Bellow’s *Henderson the Rain King* both illustrated the immigrant experience and modernist experimentation.⁹⁹ The selections collectively imply that the United States is not a monolithic culture, but rather a democratic one in which diverse identities can be expressed through literature. This repetition of a “discursive code” (*freedom/diversity*) is a strategy used to establish a dominant interpretation; It is how meaning becomes “common sense.”¹⁰⁰

Another recurring theme was the celebration of imagination, humor, and individuality. For example, the excerpts of James Thurber’s *The Secret Life of Walter Mitty* offered a satirical yet compassionate portrayal of the human imagination, Ray Bradbury’s *The Martian Chronicles*, and Philip K. Dick’s speculative fiction – *We Can Remember It for You Wholesale* – projected an image of American literature as daringly imaginative and capable of critiquing reality through fantastical forms.¹⁰¹ Even Twain’s short essay on humor positioned laughter as an essential democratic mode of expression.¹⁰² Through these selections, *Ameryka* implied that American literature was not confined by ideological constraints, but rather, it flourished in creative freedom. From a semiotic perspective, fantasy and satire function as “signifiers of freedom,” evoking connotations of openness and dissent while maintaining a nonconfrontational denotation. This denotation/connotation split is precisely what secures ideological work in a soft form.¹⁰³ Pragmatically, these texts foster identity development and relationship-building – authors as independent thinkers and readers as active participants in a free interpretive community.¹⁰⁴

The magazine also presented American literature as modern and forward-looking. Some of the articles, for instance, discussed contemporary novels by authors ranging from F. Scott Fitzgerald and Hemingway to Jack Kerouac and John Steinbeck, emphasizing experimentation and critical engagement with society.¹⁰⁵ The infamous Karl Shapiro reflected on creative writing programs, portraying U.S. universities as cultural centers that gave writers institutional support and encouraged innovation.¹⁰⁶ Interviews with authors like William

⁹⁹ Isaac Bashevis Singer, “Pożar,” *Ameryka*, no. 119 (1968): 13-15; Saul Bellow, “Henderson, Król Deszczu,” *Ameryka*, no. 39 (1962): 48-49.

¹⁰⁰ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.; Fairclough, “Discourse, common sense and ideology,” 77-108.

¹⁰¹ James Thurber, “Tajemne Życie Waltera Mitty,” *Ameryka*, no. 18 (1960): 21-22; Ray Bradbury, “Grudzień 2001: Zielony Poranek,” *Ameryka*, no. 29 (1961): 34-35; Philip K. Dick, “Pamięć Na Zamówienie,” *Ameryka*, no. 142 (1970): 51-53.

¹⁰² Mark Twain, “O Humorze,” *Ameryka*, no. 38 (1962): 45.

¹⁰³ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

¹⁰⁴ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

¹⁰⁵ Nathan Glick, “Kierunki Nowoczesnej Powieści Amerykańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 3 (1959): 24-27.

¹⁰⁶ Karl Shapiro, “Pisarze Uczą Twórczości Literackiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 15 (1960): 12-13, 56-57.

Faulkner and Kurt Vonnegut further emphasized the intellectual seriousness and playfulness of American authors.¹⁰⁷ Faulkner resisted journalistic formulas, insisting on artistic autonomy. Vonnegut, on the other hand, openly linked writing to political responsibility and social change.¹⁰⁸ These portrayals positioned American writers as independent thinkers embedded in public debate rather than as advocates of ideology. Here, interdiscursivity – the intersection of literary, academic, civic, and political discourses – is foregrounded to legitimize “modernity” as both institutional and aesthetic.¹⁰⁹

Finally, *Ameryka* did not present American literature in isolation, for instance, a 1964 article on Polish literature in the United States highlighted the challenges of translation, yet also emphasized mutual respect – as emphasized, Polish writers such as Sienkiewicz, Mickiewicz, and Reymont had secured a place in American cultural life.¹¹⁰ The article openly highlighted how the growing reciprocity of cultural exchange benefited both nations.¹¹¹ This was not incidental, but a deliberate gesture of soft diplomacy, signaling that America valued Polish culture just as it hoped Poles would value American literature. Analytically, this representation is understood as cultural exchange, meaning that it is produced through relational positioning (*ours* with *yours*) and exclusions (what frictions are not mentioned) are as significant as inclusions.¹¹²

Taken together, these choices reveal that instead of political messaging, the magazine presented an appealing image of American literature’s deep traditions, democratic inclusivity, moral seriousness, imaginative freedom, and openness to exchange – both diverse and self-critical. Simultaneously, narratives of resilience and moral struggle – from Scarlett O’Hara’s survival in *Gone With the Wind* to Hemingway’s *Old Man and the Sea* – created subtle points of identification with Polish readers living in postwar and communist adversity.¹¹³

Although Hollywood and celebrity culture were at the center of U.S. popular life, *Ameryka* seems to have treated film and entertainment with a dose of restraint. Compared to literature or the visual arts, the magazine gave relatively less space to Hollywood, even though cinema was arguably one of the most visible American exports. When presenting American entertainment, the framing was calculated – culture was elevated and

¹⁰⁷ Elliot Chaze, “Odwiedziny u Williama Faulknera,” *Ameryka*, no. 40 (1962): 48-49; David Standish, “Mówi Kurt Vonnegut,” *Ameryka*, no. 181 (1974): 57-61.

¹⁰⁸ Chaze, “Odwiedziny u Williama Faulknera.” Standish, “Mówi Kurt Vonnegut.”

¹⁰⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

¹¹⁰ Edmund Ordon, “Literatura Polska w Ameryce,” *Ameryka*, no. 61 (1964): 39-41.

¹¹¹ Ibidem.

¹¹² Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-21; Hall, “From Discourse to Power/Knowledge,” 47-51.

¹¹³ Mary Boyken, “Nie Przeminało z Wiatrem,” *Ameryka*, no. 48 (1962): 42-45.

intellectualized as a serious artistic achievement rather than the glittering spectacle that Soviet propaganda might have expected, an editorial choice reflecting a strategy to avoid confirming the communist caricature of the United States as a land of shallow consumerism while projecting an image of a democratic, cosmopolitan, and morally serious culture. This is an example of strategic foregrounding and backgrounding – giving preference to “art cinema” and civic theater while downplaying celebrity spectacle in order to influence the reader’s evaluative stance.¹¹⁴

A recurring theme was the idea of theater as a space for cultural vitality and community engagement. *Ameryka* paid attention to Broadway, but not just as a commercial source of entertainment. A feature on emerging talent showcased Zohra Lampert, Barbara Loden, Barbara Harris, Joanna Pettet, and Melinda Dillon, complete with large portraits and accounts of their achievements, presenting them as accomplished artists shaping the American stage.¹¹⁵ At the same time, the magazine highlighted the growth of regional theaters across the country – a richly illustrated piece described new professional theater venues in cities such as Minneapolis, Houston, Seattle, and Los Angeles, emphasizing their modern facilities, local support, and artistic vitality.¹¹⁶ In this context, theater was not an elite pastime confined to New York, but rather a democratic art form woven into the civic fabric of America.

The same point was extended to the transatlantic presentation of Polish drama in the United States. As reported, for instance, Sławomir Mrożek’s “Policja” on the New York avant-garde stage drew significant attention, showing that experimental Eastern European drama could find an audience in America.¹¹⁷ Janusz Minkiewicz, the Polish writer and satirist, also appeared in Broadway, and Tadeusz Różewicz’s “Kartoteka” was staged in Washington, providing further proof that the U.S. stage was an open forum for international voices.¹¹⁸ In all three cases, *Ameryka* emphasized that American audiences were receptive to challenging foreign works, suggesting a stark contrast to the tightly controlled cultural scene in the Eastern Bloc. These plays were previously staged in Poland, thus the topic itself was not controversial, proving a valuable ground for subtle messaging. Analytically, there is a “bridge” code (*openness, exchange*) that might be interpreted as a preferred meaning

¹¹⁴ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-193.

¹¹⁵ “Nowa Konstelacja Na Firmamencie Broadwayu,” *Ameryka*, no. 72 (1964): 50-52.

¹¹⁶ “Nowa Faza Rozwoju Teatru,” *Ameryka*, no. 82 (1965): 12-16.

¹¹⁷ Tadeusz Wittlin, “Polscy Dramaturdzy Na Scenach Amerykańskich,” *Ameryka*, no. 48 (1962): 51.

¹¹⁸ Stephen Kraus, “Janusz Minkiewicz na Broadwayu,” *Ameryka*, no. 99 (1967): 28-30.; Zygmunt Haupt, “Kartoteka,” *Ameryka*, no. 45 (1962): 10-11.

reinforced through repetition across genres.¹¹⁹ Visually, staged photos act as anchors that solidify connotations such as *cosmopolitan* and *receptive*.¹²⁰

In close conjunction was a motif of accentuating Polish contributions to American cultural life itself, a recurring strategy of the American side.¹²¹ One striking example was the extensive coverage of Stanisław Moniuszko's "Halka" performed at Carnegie Hall by the Polonia Opera Company – the performance featured Polish émigré artists and guest singers from the Warsaw State Opera.¹²² The article emphasized the emotional impact of the performance and the distinctly Polish spirit of the music, underscoring how ethnic traditions could enrich America's cultural landscape. Similarly, the *Mazowsze* folk ensemble's tour of U.S. cities, which was part of the PRL cultural diplomacy, was celebrated with photographs and excerpts from glowing reviews in leading American newspapers, portraying the warm embrace of Polish culture by the American public.¹²³ Appreciation for Polish cultural contributions were part of operational guidance for Poland already in the late 1950s – Exchange programs were expanded to include academics, scientists, musicians, athletes, and American jazz bands, while diplomatic instructions urged U.S. representatives to treat Poles as equals ("as no longer puppets") and to show respect for Polish intellectuals and concern for the country's economic difficulties.¹²⁴ These stories carried symbolic weight, portraying the United States as an open and generous cultural space that not only exported its own entertainment, but also welcomed and celebrated Polish artistic expression even if they were part of propaganda programming of the communist Poland.¹²⁵ This constituted a cultural reciprocity that aligned with America's broader mission of demonstrating the authenticity of its cosmopolitanism. The "building tasks" are clear – activities (performance), identities

¹¹⁹ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24.

¹²⁰ Rose, "'The Good Eye,'" 70-74.

¹²¹ FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. e-15, part 1, Documents on Eastern Europe, 1973-1976, doc. 50, *Memorandum of Conversation*, Washington, October 8, 1974, 11a.m.-12:40p.m.; FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. e-15, part 1, Documents on Eastern Europe, 1973-1976, doc. 54, *Memorandum of Conversation*, Warsaw, July 28, 1975.; FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxix, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 158, *Conversation Among President Nixon, the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger), and the Polish Ambassador (Trampczynski)*, Washington, April 12, 1972, 10:32-10:47 a.m.

¹²² "Halka w Carnegie Hall," *Ameryka*, no. 12 (1959): 25-27.

¹²³ "Mazowsze Tańczy w Ameryce," *Ameryka*, no. 45 (1962): 46-47.

¹²⁴ FRUS 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 250, *Operations Coordinating Board Report: Operational Guidance with Respect to Poland*, Washington, May 8, 1957.

¹²⁵ Izabela Andrzejczak, "Taniec ludowy jako narzędzie socjalistycznej propagandy na przykładzie filmu *Zimna wojna* Pawła Pawlikowskiego," *Dziennikarstwo i Media: Taniec, Kobiety i Śpiew w Literaturze oraz Sztukach Audiowizualnych*, no. 15, ed. by Michał Rydlewski, (2021), 37-50.

(émigré artists as cultural ambassadors), and relationships (mutual recognition) are linguistically assembled to illustrate a U.S.-Polish collaboration.¹²⁶

When the magazine turned to cinema, it tended to reframe Hollywood in terms of artistry, morality, and innovation rather than escapist glamour. For instance, in his essay on the transformation of Hollywood, Hollis Alpert emphasized that the era of mass-produced studio spectacles was over – the American audience had become more discerning, paving the way for independent producers and directors who created fewer, yet more artistically ambitious, films.¹²⁷ This was the Hollywood of a proving ground for serious directors and writers. Foregrounding jury awards, “serious themes,” and auteur discourse is a thematic strategy that is used to attach moral prestige to film.¹²⁸ Similarly, as emphasized, the selection of Oscar-winning films was suggestive – *Judgment at Nuremberg*, *West Side Story*, and *To Kill a Mockingbird*, to name a few – these were not light musicals or comedies, but rather, morally weighty dramas dealing with justice, history, disability, and human dignity.¹²⁹ In cultural diplomacy terms, this was a subtle but powerful move – cinema was presented as a moral mirror, capable of confronting America’s own flaws and grappling with universal ethical dilemmas.

Even when the focus shifted to stars like Natalie Wood, the framing emphasized continuity with Hollywood tradition and her artistic credibility rather than reducing her to mere glamour shots.¹³⁰ Similarly, John Huston’s *Moby Dick* was celebrated not only as a spectacle, but also as an adaptation of Melville’s classic, accompanied by dramatic visuals of the sea and a whale.¹³¹ By emphasizing the link between American film with literature, *Ameryka* indicated that Hollywood was part of a significant cultural legacy. This is intertextual anchoring, in which film discourse borrows authority and moral seriousness from the literary canon.¹³²

Interestingly, the magazine also devoted space to Polish cinema. For example, it gave admiring coverage to Roman Polański’s *Knife in the Water*, complete with reviews from major newspapers, attention to its U.S. distribution, and mention of its Oscar nomination;

¹²⁶ Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, 10-19, 71-93.

¹²⁷ Hollis Alpert, “Wielkie Zmiany w Hollywood,” *Ameryka*, no. 13 (1960): 2-7, 59-60.

¹²⁸ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

¹²⁹ “Filmy i Gwiazdy Na Medal,” *Ameryka*, no. 60 (1963): 57-58.

¹³⁰ “Gwiazdeczka Stała Się Gwiazdą,” *Ameryka*, no. 65 (1964): 8-9.

¹³¹ Phil Cameron, “Moby Dick: Klasyczna Powieść w Realizacji Filmowej Reżysera Johna Huston,” *Ameryka*, no. 19 (1960): 15-19.

¹³² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

another article covered the impressive work of a Polish actress, Lidia Próchnicka.¹³³ This further emphasized America as a platform where foreign cinema could flourish and receive international recognition – once again, the “openness” code is stabilized through repetition.¹³⁴

While high culture dominated, *Ameryka* also conveyed that entertainment in the United States was both accessible and firmly embedded in society. For instance, Alpert’s essay on Hollywood and an article by Fred Hift noted the popularity of drive-in theaters, which had multiplied since World War II, offering families a casual, communal form of cinema-going.¹³⁵ The previously mentioned coverage of regional theaters also reinforced this democratic idea – cultural life was not just for metropolitan elites, but part of the everyday American experience.¹³⁶ Visually, compositional cues such as family cars, open parking lots, and community markers act as “givens” or “ideals” that naturalize leisure as a part of social culture in the U.S.¹³⁷

A consistent editorial pattern emerges across all these features – *Ameryka* did not celebrate entertainment for its own sake, rather, it carefully curated stories about cinema, theater, and performance to elevate the cultural conversation. Films were chosen for their moral and artistic significance, not for escapism, theater was presented as a means of civic enrichment and intellectual exploration, and cultural exchange was emphasized to project a sense of cosmopolitan openness. Even when celebrity was featured, it was viewed through the lens of artistry, continuity, or literature. In this way, *Ameryka* could counter the Soviet stereotype of American culture as shallow mass entertainment, and instead, it projected an artistic, morally engaged, and globally receptive U.S. cultural identity that remained democratic and accessible. The scarcity of glossy Hollywood coverage itself conveyed the message that America’s true cultural value lay not in consumer spectacle, but in its diversity, openness, and creative freedom. Such framing was consistent with the early aims of the USIA – as early as 1953, the Agency explored the most effective ways to use U.S. cultural showcasing (including collections of paintings, prints, books, and music) abroad.¹³⁸ The

¹³³ “Nóż w Wodzie,” *Ameryka*, no. 68 (1964): 28.; “Polska Aktorka Na Scenie Nowojorskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 41 (1962): 50-51.

¹³⁴ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

¹³⁵ Hollis Alpert, “Wielkie Zmiany w Hollywood,” *Ameryka*, no. 13 (1960): 2-7, 59-60; Fred Hift, “Kino Pod Gwiazdami,” *Ameryka* no. 5 (1959): 38-40.

¹³⁶ “Nowa Faza Rozwoju Teatru,” *Ameryka*, no. 82 (1965): 12-16.

¹³⁷ Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-186.

¹³⁸ RIAS, Records of the U.S. Information Agency, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series A: 1953-1963, Reel 2, 0235 S-22-53: *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Cultural Exhibits: A proposed general procedure, Prepared for Office of Research and Evaluation, USIA, Stanley K. Bigman, Bureau of Social Science Research, the American University, Washington D.C., October 21, 1953.*

USIA's underlying goal was twofold – first, “to convey information about the US, for example, to correct misimpressions or increase knowledge about this country,” and second, “to shape attitudes toward the US, for example, to create identification with US aims or respect for US culture.”¹³⁹ However, the films distributed in Poland were oriented towards a general audience, with Westerns being particularly popular.

Unlike the treatment of literature, which stressed intellectual depth, or Hollywood cinema, which was reframed as serious art, the magazine's portrayal of music was more directly popularizing. Rather than cultivating reverence for “high culture” in the European sense, the articles presented American music as accessible, diverse, democratic, and rooted in everyday life. Through genres such as jazz, folk, and country music, as well as amateur music-making, *Ameryka* depicted the United States as a society in which culture was abundant and shared broadly across social classes and generations. Lexically, this section draws on the semantic fields of participation and accessibility, portraying music as a communal action through references to choirs, school bands, and coffeehouses.¹⁴⁰

Perhaps the most consistent musical theme in *Ameryka* was jazz, celebrated as the country's great gift to world culture, also because of the wide success of the American jazz-related soft power initiatives in Poland – though at times of tensions academic exchanges and visitor programs declined, cultural presentations such as the Charles Lloyd Quartet at the Warsaw Jazz Jamboree were striking successes, drawing enthusiastic audiences.¹⁴¹ Though the genre was mostly portrayed through individual artist profiles, articles such as Dennis Askey's 1964 piece, “Jazz: The New Music's Evolution,” carefully traced its development from obscure beginnings in the American South to sophisticated, international forms.¹⁴² While the article acknowledged the genre's African American origins, it did so in depoliticized terms – jazz was said to have emerged in “southern fields and camps,” with no mention of slavery, segregation, or systemic oppression. Instead, the narrative emphasized continuity and artistic evolution, highlighting New Orleans brass bands, Louis Armstrong's genius, the triumph of swing, the revolution of bebop, and the refinement of “cool jazz.”¹⁴³ The forward-looking conclusion suggested that jazz was still evolving and had no limits, while the

¹³⁹ RIAS, Records of the U.S. Information Agency, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series A: 1953-1963, Reel 2, 0235 S-22-53: *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Cultural Exhibits*.

¹⁴⁰ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-193.

¹⁴¹ University of Arkansas, Special Collections: US Government Cultural Archives, MSC468, Box 223, Folder 10, *Airgram From American Embassy Warsaw, Subject: Educational & Cultural Exchange: Annual Report for Poland FY 1968, Ref CA-9301, July 10, 1968*, August 1968.

¹⁴² Dennis Askey, “Jazz: Ewolucja Nowej Muzyki,” *Ameryka*, no. 46 (1964): 27-34.

¹⁴³ *Ibidem*.

underlying message was that jazz embodied American creativity, freedom, and innovation but not social conflict. It was framed as a unifying art form, a universal language, and a cultural export that placed the United States at the forefront of modern music. Analytically, this is strategic silence, in which conflict is backgrounded while evolutionary metaphors are foregrounded, creating an omission with ideological effect.¹⁴⁴

While jazz represented freedom through artistic innovation, the folk revival was portrayed as freedom through grassroots participation. In 1964, *Ameryka* devoted a feature to the sudden popularity of folk songs, which had spread from coffeehouses to university campuses and summer festivals.¹⁴⁵ The article emphasized the music's democratic nature, describing amateurs and professionals singing ballads and blues together, audiences joining in on choruses, and the whole nation resonating with familiar melodies, while the repertoire was described as socially conscious, with songs addressing the nuclear threat, conformity, and, in particular, racial tolerance.¹⁴⁶ Certain pieces were highlighted as "freedom songs" tied to the Civil Rights Movement, such as "Hammer Song," "Blowin' in the Wind," and Woody Guthrie's "This Land Is Your Land," which was even printed with a Polish translation and with music notes.¹⁴⁷ However, any mention of the anti-Vietnam War dimension of folk music was conspicuously absent, despite its centrality to the 1960s revival – an omission that seemed strategic as it would prevent communist readers from using it as ammunition against U.S. foreign policy. More so, as the Vietnam War was a sensitive issue in Polish-American relations, for instance, in 1967, when *Trybuna Ludu* compared President Johnson to Hitler, the U.S. ambassador protested, only to be told by Vice Minister Marian Naszkowski that American "cruelties" in Vietnam reminded Poles of Nazi crimes.¹⁴⁸ Some of the U.S. exhibits were even postponed for political reasons as Poland sought to avoid hosting "spectacular events" amid heightened anti-American sentiment in the public opinion due to the Vietnam War.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, the topic of the Vietnam War was omitted in *Ameryka*.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁴ Hall, "From Discourse to Power/Knowledge," 47-51; Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 193-200.

¹⁴⁵ "Rzecznie Radośnie z Polotem," *Ameryka*, no. 67 (1964): 53-57.

¹⁴⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁴⁸ FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. xvii, Eastern Europe, doc. 129, *Telegram From the Embassy in Poland to the Department of State*, 0935Z, 1285. Warsaw, October 31, 1967; FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. xxix, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, doc. 132, *Telegram From Secretary of State Rogers to the Department of State*, 1735Z, Sector 41/3189. Subject: Secretary's Meeting with Polish FonMin, Sept. 23, New York, September 24, 1969.

¹⁴⁹ FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. xvii, Eastern Europe, doc. 129.

¹⁵⁰ Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy'ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 86.

Conversely, folk music was presented as a unifying, moral force – a form of civic consciousness that brought people together. From a constructionist perspective, these editorial choices “fix” the chain of signification (from *folk* to *conscience* to *unity*) while deflecting competing interpretations (from *folk* to *dissent* to *antiwar protest*).¹⁵¹

While jazz symbolized innovation and folk symbolized conscience, country music symbolized authenticity. In the early 1970s, *Ameryka* introduced country music as the “unpretentious music of the common man,” characterized by emotional directness and simple storytelling – songs about travel, loss, prison, and longing were presented as timeless expressions of ordinary life – “Detroit City,” “Folsom Prison Blues,” and “Me and Bobby McGee.”¹⁵² However, by the 1980s, the tone shifted. A lavishly illustrated article on country music celebrated its transformation into an internationally popular genre with audiences in Africa, Japan, and Europe, with Nashville described as the capital of a thriving industry and home to stars such as Dolly Parton, Willie Nelson, Emmylou Harris, and Reba McEntire.¹⁵³ Was the shift in focus influenced by Reagan’s fondness of country music? The narrative emphasized continuity and expansion – country music remained rooted in Appalachian folk traditions yet had grown into a global phenomenon admired worldwide.¹⁵⁴ The underlying framing was that country music embodied the best of America – authentic, democratic, and deeply tied to its rural roots – while also demonstrating the extent of American cultural influence around the world.¹⁵⁵

Another distinctive theme was the emphasis on amateur music-making. For instance, a 1973 article presented a flood of numbers that highlighted the widespread presence of music in everyday American life – as reported, nearly 34.5 million Americans were amateur musicians, and 42% of families included at least one musician, millions of children played in school bands, and millions of adults participated in choirs or orchestras; women constituted the majority of amateur musicians, reinforcing an image of inclusivity and family participation.¹⁵⁶ The statistics even extended to consumer culture, noting that Americans collectively owned instruments worth over 15 billions of dollars, ranging from inexpensive guitars to gold-plated flutes. Schools were described as central hubs of music-making,

¹⁵¹ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

¹⁵² Christopher Wren, “Melodie Rzewne Mają Największe Powodzenie i Najdłuższe Życie,” *Ameryka*, no. 161 (1972): 34-45; “Country Music Czyli Bezpretensjonalna Muzyka Szarego Człowieka,” *Ameryka*, no. 161 (1972): 33-34.

¹⁵³ John Morthland, “Muzyka Country Dzisiaj,” *Ameryka*, no. 227 (1988): 55-71.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵⁵ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.”

¹⁵⁶ “Szczypta Muzycznej Statystyki,” *Ameryka*, no. 172 (1973): 21-23.

offering free lessons, orchestras, and opportunities for ensemble playing.¹⁵⁷ The message was clear – in the United States, music was democratic, not elitist; It was both a personal skill and a communal ritual that connected families, schools, and local communities. Quantification here builds an authoritative “report” register.¹⁵⁸

Music was presented as democratic in multiple regards – it was born from the people (folk, country), accessible to the people (amateur music), and globally influential (jazz, country). However, sensitive political issues were strategically omitted – slavery and segregation in jazz, the Vietnam War in folk music, and commercialization in country music. The result was a carefully curated narrative – American music was portrayed as diverse, authentic, and socially meaningful, embodying the values of freedom, inclusivity, and participation. From an analytical perspective, this is a case of framing by omission – the “myth of harmony” in the American society prevails because counter-discourses are not permitted “entry.”¹⁵⁹

In *Ameryka*, the visual arts were consistently presented as one of the clearest expressions of cultural vitality. The magazine took a highly aesthetic approach, showcasing striking reproductions, photographs, and design images alongside concise texts, an emphasis that made art appear immediate and accessible – a sensory experience available to every reader. However, this strategy communicated a larger ideological message beyond simple illustration – American art was simultaneously innovative and rooted in tradition, pluralistic and democratic, and experimental yet deeply integrated into everyday life.

A central theme was the pluralism of American creativity, which embraced stylistic contradictions rather than erasing them. Abstract expressionism, for example, was exemplified by Jackson Pollock’s dynamic canvases, which were celebrated for their emotional intensity and visual power.¹⁶⁰ However, this avant-garde radicalism was juxtaposed with the realism of Edward Hopper, whose meticulous portrayals of modern life were considered profoundly American.¹⁶¹ Similarly, Andy Warhol’s vibrant Marilyn Monroe portrait exemplified pop art’s playful engagement with consumer culture, and Alexander Archipenko’s bronze sculptures demonstrated the longevity of modernist traditions.¹⁶² By

¹⁵⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁵⁸ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-193.

¹⁵⁹ Hall, “From Discourse to Power/Knowledge,” 47-51.

¹⁶⁰ “Jackson Pollock ‘nr 27 1950r,” *Ameryka*, no. 11 (1959): 48-49.

¹⁶¹ Lester Cooke, “Malarstwo Edwarda Hoppera,” *Ameryka*, no. 28 (1961): 17-20; John Canaday, “Edward Hopper: Amerykański Realista,” *Ameryka*, no. 222 (1982): 13-23.

¹⁶² “Andy Warhol: Marylin Monroe,” *Ameryka*, no. 134 (1970): 31; “Archipenko – Rzeźby z Brązu,” *Ameryka*, no. 31 (1961): 48-49.

consistently showcasing such diverse artists, *Ameryka* presented American art as a field that thrives on difference (could we even say – serving as an allegory to the American society?) and is capable of sustaining both radical experimentation and continuity. Juxtaposition becomes a code in which denotative variety (styles) connotes democratic coexistence and continuity.¹⁶³ Textually, evaluative lexis (*American, modern, iconic*) and thematic sequencing perform the work of canon formation without stating it directly.¹⁶⁴

The stress on accessibility and the integration of art into civic life was equally important. The magazine often featured exhibitions, festivals, and public installations to demonstrate that art is not limited to elite institutions. A feature on Alexander Calder's work, presented in a Guggenheim retrospective, highlighted New York's status as a global cultural hub.¹⁶⁵ Calder reappeared again, for instance in a 1976 essay on the "Museum Without Walls," where his sculptures, alongside works by Isamu Noguchi, Pablo Picasso, and Marc Chagall, brought life to American cities.¹⁶⁶ Similar terms were used to describe outdoor sculpture festivals, which blended innovation with public participation.¹⁶⁷ Together, such features presented art as democratic, woven into the environment where it could enrich everyday life, rather than hidden in galleries for the elites. Compositional cues, such as crowd shots and scale in relation to buildings, make art seem like an everyday part of the urban landscape.¹⁶⁸

Another theme emphasized the unexpected breadth of artistic expression, often highlighting figures and practices that challenged conventional boundaries. For example, the portrayal of Sister Mary Corita showed a Catholic nun who was one of the nation's leading printmakers – by highlighting her silk-screen works, *Ameryka* implied that religious devotion and avant-garde experimentation could coexist in American society.¹⁶⁹ Similarly, articles on applied and decorative arts – such as those on the Steuben Glass workshops, where artisans executed designs by celebrated painters or the three-dimensional mosaics by Beniamino Bufano – underscored the fusion of artistry with craft and creativity with industry.¹⁷⁰ Together, these examples reinforced the idea that American innovation extended beyond fine

¹⁶³ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

¹⁶⁴ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 193-200.

¹⁶⁵ "Twórczość Alexandra Caldera," *Ameryka*, no. 81 (1965): 14-17.

¹⁶⁶ Christopher Springmann, "Muzeum Bez Ścian," *Ameryka*, no. 194 (1976): 49-55.

¹⁶⁷ Frank Getlein, "Awangarda Czy Szarlanteria?" *Ameryka*, no. 134 (1970): 26-30.

¹⁶⁸ Kress and van Leeuwen, "The meaning of composition," 175-186; Rose, "'The Good Eye,'" 56-66.

¹⁶⁹ Bailey, "Siostra Mary Corita," *Ameryka*, no. 25 (1961): 17-20.

¹⁷⁰ Patricia Fenton, "Sztuka Zaklęta w Kryształ," *Ameryka*, no. 33 (1961): 36-39; Ansel Adams, "Trójwymiarowe Mozaiki," *Ameryka*, no. 25 (1961): 40.

art to everyday objects, public spaces, and spiritual life. Here, the text “builds” identities and relationships – such as sacred/avant-garde and artisan/innovator – so that more practices are considered cultural.¹⁷¹ Additionally, the interweaving of artistic, religious, and industrial registers exemplifies interdiscursivity.¹⁷²

The treatment of avant-garde and controversial art was also carefully managed. Radical figures like Pollock or Warhol were never framed as threatening or alienating, and instead, their contributions were contextualized as part of a broader evolution of artistic expression. Warhol’s experiments with celebrity portraiture, for instance, were described not as provocations but as “novelties in portraiture.”¹⁷³ In this way, even the most challenging works were integrated into a narrative of national creativity, avoiding divisive shock while emphasizing progress and experimentation.

A coherent soft-power narrative emerges across these varied examples – as presented in *Ameryka*, American art was not monolithic, but rather pluralistic, accessible, and human-centered, encompassed abstraction and realism, the elite and the popular, the sacred and the secular, monumental sculpture and delicate glasswork. American art appeared in schools, museums, city streets, and workshops, suggesting that culture permeated all dimensions of American life. Most importantly, American art modeled a society in which contradictions were tolerated, diversity was celebrated, and creativity was a right and a shared civic good.

Within the broader framework of cultural diplomacy, this portrayal complemented the other aspects of the American culture – while literature demonstrated freedom of thought, theater and film emphasized moral seriousness, and music projected diversity and participation, art conveyed the coexistence of innovation and tradition, as well as individual vision and public engagement. Together, these elements formed a compelling counter-narrative to Soviet stereotypes – rather than appearing as a shallow, consumerist society, the United States presented itself as a nation where art, ideas, and community thrived in freedom. The magazine creates a “preferred reading” (*open, serious, democratic*) across topics by selectively foregrounding or backgrounding information and establishing interdiscursive links.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, 71-93.

¹⁷² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

¹⁷³ “Andy Warhol: Marilyn Monroe,” *Ameryka*, no. 134 (1970): 31.

¹⁷⁴ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

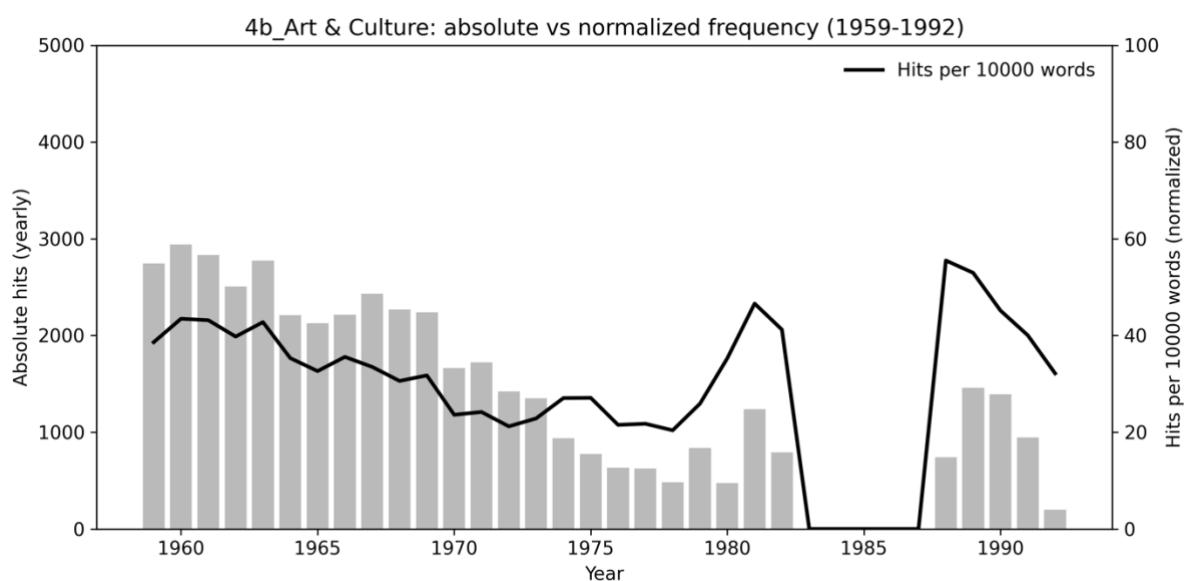


Figure 10 Frequency of Art & Culture Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

The graph illustrates themes related to art and culture, showing a significant increase in emphasis during the late Reagan era. This trend may be explained by a more balanced and cautious editorial strategy, as cultural and artistic topics were seen as relatively nonthreatening in a politically unstable climate, possibly reflecting concerns about another suspension of the publication. This also seems to also reflect the overall step-by-step strategy, and, having been suspended for several years, following of the recommendation from the early 1980s to employ ““appropriate subtlety” in messaging.¹⁷⁵ The data on other years of the publication largely follows overall patterns of balanced absolute and normalized frequencies.

4.2. Limits of Inclusion

Racial conflict and the working class were rarely covered on the pages of *Ameryka*. Coverage of racial issues relied on milestone language and exemplary figures, emphasizing advancement and reconciliation. Captions emphasized civility over confrontation, converting struggle into optimism. In depiction of social issues, *Ameryka* portrayed democracy at work. Meanwhile, labor was presented as a source of dignity and skill rather than exploitation, and productivity is used as a substitute for equality.

¹⁷⁵ FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. xx, Eastern Europe, doc. 41, *Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassies in All NATO Capitals, Subject: Poland and Eastern Europe: Analysis and Policy Implications*, Ref: State 238732, Washington, September 20, 1980, 0753Z, 250846.; See: FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. x, Eastern Europe, doc. 61, *Memorandum to the File, Subject: Eastern Europe: NSPG Meeting October 25*, Washington, November 4, 1988.

4.2.1. Framing Racial Issues

The portrayal of racial issues in *Ameryka* during the early 1960s reveals a carefully constructed narrative of progress, moral struggle, and triumph within the framework of U.S. democracy. From the beginning, the magazine framed the Civil Rights Movement as a “revolution without violence,” grounded in dignity, legality, and moral strength, rather than as a destabilizing conflict.¹⁷⁶ In terms of discourse, this framing establishes a “preferred interpretation” based on codes of legality, order, and moral rationality – an example of how representation creates and normalizes meaning.¹⁷⁷ For instance, in “The Extraordinary Revolution: The Fight for Civil Rights,” Wallace Westfeld describes the movement as unprecedented in world history because it rejects the violent methods of traditional revolutions. Instead, it relies on legal challenges, sit-ins, boycotts, and the philosophy of nonviolence promoted by Martin Luther King Jr.¹⁷⁸ Photographs of Black medical students, integrated classrooms, and King himself reinforced this image of calm, disciplined progress, while layout and caption guided viewers toward those connotations.¹⁷⁹ The article also stressed the active involvement of the Kennedy administration and the Supreme Court, presenting federal institutions as champions of equality.¹⁸⁰ Even economic arguments were employed. Black consumer power was presented as a force that accelerates desegregation by making white resistance financially costly. Interestingly, the piece was followed by a report on famine in Congo, creating a stark juxtaposition between African deprivation and the upward mobility of African Americans (also reinforced with photos of starving African children and young adults in ripped clothing). A contrast structure in which the selection of the foreground and background steers the interpretation and mythologizes U.S. as a global leader of progress.¹⁸¹

This pattern continued in Frank M. Snowden, Jr.’s 1962 article, “American Negros, Integration Process” which addressed the concerns of foreign readers directly.¹⁸² Snowden, a renowned classical scholar, aimed to dispel exaggerated perceptions of racial crisis abroad, arguing that sensational news reports obscured the real story – racial conflict, though regrettable, was part of America’s collective struggle to achieve its highest democratic

¹⁷⁶ See: Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality*, 25th anniversary ed., (Hill and Wang, 2008).

¹⁷⁷ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.” Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

¹⁷⁸ Wallace Westfeld, “Niezwyczajny Przewrót: Walka o Prawa Obywatelskie,” *Ameryka*, no. 35 (1961): 29-31.

¹⁷⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-186; Rose, ““The Good Eye”” 56-66.

¹⁸⁰ Wallace Westfeld, “Niezwyczajny Przewrót: Walka o Prawa Obywatelskie,” *Ameryka*, no. 35 (1961): 29-31.

¹⁸¹ Marc Riboud, “Kłęska Głodu w Kasai,” *Ameryka*, no. 35 (1961): 35-38; Hall, *Representation*, 39-41.

¹⁸² Frank M. Snowden, “Amerykańscy Murzyni, Proces Integracji,” *Ameryka*, no. 38 (1962): 2-7.

ideals.¹⁸³ Linguistically, the text shifts agency through voice and transitivity – oppression tends to be backgrounded through passive voice and nominalizations, while reform is foregrounded through active voice.¹⁸⁴ His narrative emphasized a long arc of improvement, moving from slavery (“without any rights, neither civil nor moral”) through emancipation (“Black people gained legal freedom”) to gradual integration (only gradual because with freedom they “did not earn the respect of white citizens”); While he acknowledged some discrimination in schools, jobs, and housing, he reframed disenfranchisement as stemming from apathy or fear rather than systemic exclusion, thereby minimizing structural barriers.¹⁸⁵ Photographs of integrated schools, African-American doctors, and families purchasing homes underscored the message of steady advancement. Once again, image-text coupling naturalizes “progress” through compositional salience and positive appraisal.¹⁸⁶ The underlying message was that, although the U.S. was not perfect, there was “no reason for pessimism” because its democracy was working – with the modality functioning as certainty-building.¹⁸⁷

Other issues seem to have sought to counter Soviet portrayals of systemic exclusion by showcasing examples of elite achievement. For instance, a 1962 article profiled six prominent black judges and legal professionals, including Thurgood Marshall, Otis M. Smith, and James Benton Parsons, all occupying prestigious positions within federal and state institutions.¹⁸⁸ The emphasis on education, professionalism, and recognition by American universities projected the image of a meritocratic society in which talent and effort could overcome barriers; analytically, this is an example of tokenism as an argument – individual success is used as a metonym for the collective, which is a common “myth effect.”¹⁸⁹ However, this tokenistic highlighting of exceptional individuals only symbolized a fraction of the African-American experience and did not represent broader social progress.

From 1964 onward, *Ameryka* placed a greater emphasis on activism and youth involvement. For instance, August Meier’s piece on student activism celebrated the energy

¹⁸³ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁴ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-193.

¹⁸⁵ Frank M. Snowden, “Amerykańscy Murzyni, Proces Integracji,” *Ameryka*, no. 38 (1962): 2-7; For a political conversation on Black existentialism, antiblackness, and systemic racism, See: Lewis R. Gordon, *Fear of Black Consciousness* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2022); For a study on race relationality and race within the context of shared meaning and power, see: Natalia Molina, Daniel Martinez Hosang, and Ramon A. Gutierrez, *Relational Formations of Race: Theory, Method, and Practice* (University of California Press, 2019).

¹⁸⁶ Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-186; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

¹⁸⁷ Frank M. Snowden, “Amerykańscy Murzyni, Proces Integracji,” *Ameryka*, no. 38 (1962): 2-7; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-200.

¹⁸⁸ “Sześciu Murzynów Wybitnych Prawników,” *Ameryka*, no. 48 (1962): 27-29.

¹⁸⁹ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 39-41.; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

and moral leadership of young people, often stressing the interracial character of protests, as illustrated by white students from northern universities joining sit-ins, demonstrations, and boycotts alongside their Black peers.¹⁹⁰ The narrative establishes identities, such as *students-as-conscience*, and relationships, such as *interracial solidarity* – aligning language with social practice.¹⁹¹ The white students were portrayed as the conscience of the nation, embodying the dynamism of grassroots democracy. Similarly, in the same year, Nathan Glick, having interviewed James Farmer, described the civil rights movement as a Gandhian “revolution without violence,” driven by organizations such as CORE, SCLC, and the NAACP.¹⁹² The story emphasized the nonviolent nature of the struggle and its universal moral significance – racism was portrayed as a chain that bound both black and white people, and liberation would benefit society as a whole. Interdiscursivity (religious/ethical and civic/legal registers) amplifies legitimacy.¹⁹³

By mid-1964, the magazine celebrated the passage of the Civil Rights Act as a landmark democratic victory, a notion clear in, for instance, a richly illustrated reportage titled “Equal Rights for All,” portraying mass protests, banners, and marches as the authentic voice of the people, insisting that the movement was not an outburst of despair, but rather a moral crusade that culminated in a legal triumph.¹⁹⁴ Compositional choices, such as vectors of marching crowds and frontal angles, invite viewer alignment and create a sense of intimacy.¹⁹⁵ Accompanying the reportage was an article by John P. Roche providing a statistical and historical framework for the last century that cast the March on Washington not as evidence of desperation, but as proof of awakened consciousness and growing acceptance of Black demands.¹⁹⁶ Charts showing improvements in income, education, and migration patterns reinforced the impression of upward mobility, while a chronology of federal interventions between 1954 and 1964 presented civil rights as a linear story of institutional progress. Quantification here performs ideological work – numbers support the “progress” narrative.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁰ August Meier, “Młodzież Akademicka Walczy o Równouprawnienie Murzynów,” *Ameryka*, no. 64 (1964): 22-25.

¹⁹¹ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

¹⁹² Nathan Glick, “Jesteśmy Świadcami Zdumiewających Przemian,” *Ameryka*, no. 67 (1964): 50-52.

¹⁹³ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

¹⁹⁴ “Równe Prawa dla Wszystkich,” *Ameryka*, no. 69 (1964): 12-19.

¹⁹⁵ Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153.

¹⁹⁶ John P. Roche, “Sto Lat Walki o Prawa Obywatelskie,” *Ameryka*, no. 69 (1964): 20-28.

¹⁹⁷ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

The culmination of this narrative were the sympathetic profiles of Martin Luther King, Jr., which depicted him not as a radical, but as a Christian minister, family man, and intellectual guided by the Bible, Thoreau, and Gandhi. For instance, the 1965 article highlighted King's modest home, church leadership, and appeals to conscience to present him as both relatable and morally elevated – a safe and admirable figure who embodied America's better self.¹⁹⁸ Verbal appraisal (moral lexis) and domestic imagery normalize respectability and anchor ethos.¹⁹⁹ His activism was portrayed as patriotic and spiritual, reinforcing the notion that civil rights reform was integral to the nation's democratic destiny – an example of “naturalization,” in which the moral meaning is made to seem self-evident.²⁰⁰

A consistent discursive strategy emerges across these issues – problems of racism were acknowledged, yet reframed as solvable within the system. Optimism, inevitability, and progress dominated, and democracy, the federal government, and moral conscience were presented as the engines of reform. USIA research urged the projection of “a lively, young, progressive America where sophisticated problems are tackled by democratic means” – exactly the tone *Ameryka* adopted.²⁰¹ Visuals depicting African-Americans as dignified, respectable, and upwardly mobile were prevalent, whether they showed students at sit-ins, judges in robes, or families in modest middle-class homes. Highlighting successes while downplaying systemic constraints is an example of media selectivity and framing.²⁰² Soviet accusations of widespread racism were countered by highlighting institutional reform, elite achievements, and interracial solidarity.

At the same time, the logic behind such portrayal often relied on what contemporary critics would identify as the fallacy of composition or tokenism – the success of a few individuals was presented as proof of equality for everyone. By emphasizing middle-class respectability and professional achievement, *Ameryka* implied that racism was being overcome through meritocracy while downplaying the persistence of structural inequality. Grammatically, this is reinforced by passive or nominalized descriptions of harm, such as *were denied* or *was restricted*, which obscure the identity of the perpetrator.²⁰³ However, for Polish readers accustomed to press (and other media) that never acknowledged its own

¹⁹⁸ Reese Cleghorn, “Martin Luther King: Przywódca Ruchu o Równouprawnienie Murzynów,” *Ameryka*, no. 84 (1965): 46-49.

¹⁹⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

²⁰⁰ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

²⁰¹ RIAS, Records of USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 4, 0572 S-27-68: *Impression of Political Attitudes in Poland*, 1968.

²⁰² Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

²⁰³ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 186-193.

shortcomings, the mere act of openly discussing racial conflict may have seemed striking. The implicit message was clear – yes, racism exists, but in America, it is debated, challenged, and changed – unlike in communist countries where problems are hidden.

Ultimately, in the early 1960s, *Ameryka* presented U.S. race relations as a moral issue within democracy, not a crisis threatening it – from legal breakthroughs to grassroots activism and government reforms, the Civil Rights Movement was portrayed as evidence that America was fulfilling its democratic promise. For Polish readers, this narrative offered an alternative to Soviet messaging. Instead of portraying America as a society fatally divided by racism, this narrative presented the country as a dynamic and self-correcting democracy capable of confronting and overcoming its greatest moral challenges, with modality and temporal sequencing (*will, is becoming*, and historical timelines) encoding inevitability.²⁰⁴

Though coverage was less frequent in the following years, *Ameryka* consistently framed racial issues in the United States in ways that highlighted the nation's capacity for reform, moderation, and eventual inclusion. A close reading of articles from the late 1960s through the 1980s reveals that, in *Ameryka's* view, while racial tensions were real and deeply rooted, but the American system had the ability to manage, channel, and ultimately resolve them.

For example, in 1966, the magazine reported on Detroit's large solidarity march for Selma, Alabama. The article emphasized that nearly 10,000 people – both black and white – took to the streets, not to protest Detroit itself, but to express solidarity with those fighting for voting rights in the South.²⁰⁵ The march was presented as one of the largest demonstrations in the U.S. to garner public support for President Johnson's civil rights legislation. Equally important, the article highlighted Detroit's achievements as an industrial metropolis built on automobile production and shaped by waves of immigrants, including Poles, Ukrainians, and Irish, as well as migrants from the South, both Black and white.²⁰⁶ The author stressed that African Americans in Detroit had long relied on democratic means to advocate for their rights, primarily through voting, and that many white leaders openly supported reforms. Overall, the article suggested that, although racial inequality persisted, the American system provided peaceful and legitimate channels for change and that coalition building across racial

²⁰⁴ Ibidem, 196-200; Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

²⁰⁵ David R. Jones, "Przemiany w Detroit: Ewolucja Problemu Współżycia Ras," *Ameryka*, no. 85 (1966): 2-4.

²⁰⁶ Ibidem.

lines was both possible and effective. The interdiscursive weave of civic, industrial, and ethnic histories serves to expand legitimacy.²⁰⁷

Some articles shifted the discussion from contemporary protests to the historical legacy of slavery. For example, the prominent historian C. Vann Woodward compared the figures of Nat Turner, the enslaved leader of an 1831 rebellion, and John Brown, a white abolitionist who tried to incite a slave uprising. While Brown became a cultural icon, immortalized in countless books, Turner was marginalized in historical memory.²⁰⁸ The article addressed this disparity, and featured William Styron's Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *The Confessions of Nat Turner* to depict Turner's internal conflict while awaiting execution.²⁰⁹ Intertextuality – that is, the interplay between history, the novel, and public memory – is employed to establish self-critique as a cultural virtue.²¹⁰ By doing so, the magazine underscored America's willingness to confront the uncomfortable facts from its past (though much more minimized than discussed in any detail), transform trauma into literature, and encourage self-criticism and reflection. For Polish readers, this could convey that the U.S. faced its racial history openly and honestly, transforming even rebellion and violence into sources of moral and artistic growth.

By the early 1970s, the focus had shifted decisively toward political participation and the achievements of Black elected officials. For instance, a 1971 article profiled leaders such as Charles Evers, Carl Stokes, Edward Brooke, Julian Bond, and Tom Bradley, emphasizing their pragmatism and reformist agendas.²¹¹ The lexicon of moderation (*pragmatic, responsible, reform*) frames integration as an institutional competence.²¹² They were portrayed as moderates who rejected extremist slogans like “Black Power” in favor of patient, responsible governance, which involved reforming existing structures rather than attempting to overthrow them, “A negro in an elected position should not be misled by extremists on both sides, ... they must act in such a way as not to destroy the existing system, but to reform and transform it.”²¹³ Democracy, the text implied, was inclusive – African Americans could achieve real power through elections and public service without resorting to radicalism. This idea was reinforced that same year by Nathan Glazer's article, which argued that long-term

²⁰⁷ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

²⁰⁸ C. Vann Woodward, “Gorzka Prawda o Niewolnictwie,” *Ameryka*, no. 115 (1968): 50-52.

²⁰⁹ William Styron, “Wyznania Nata Turnera,” *Ameryka*, no. 115 (1968): 53-57.

²¹⁰ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213; Hall, “Sharing the Codes” 21-24.

²¹¹ “Coraz Więcej Murzynów Na Obieralnych Stanowiskach,” *Ameryka*, no. 145 (1971): 52-54.

²¹² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

²¹³ “Coraz Więcej Murzynów Na Obieralnych Stanowiskach.”

social and economic trends were expanding the Black middle class and establishing African American studies programs in higher education.²¹⁴ The key question, Glazer suggested, was whether the leadership of the Black community would be captured by extremists or whether moderates would prevail. By stressing the dangers of separatism and valorizing integration, the magazine reinforced the idea that the U.S. system rewards gradualism, responsibility, and moderation. This is a deontic script, or what leaders “should” do, encoding ethical guidance.²¹⁵

A decade later, the narrative had evolved further. For example, in 1980, *Ameryka* presented the story of Harvard-trained Black professionals, such as lawyers and doctors, as proof that racial barriers were being dismantled.²¹⁶ The article rebutted the stereotypes that Black students only succeeded because of tokenism and that racial loyalty hindered their academic performance. Instead, it celebrated their ambition, competence, and integration into elite professions, attributing part of their success to affirmative action policies.²¹⁷ Once more, passives and nominalizations depersonalize past barriers, while active, agentive clauses celebrate present achievement.²¹⁸ Importantly, the text suggested that younger generations would experience less of a “burden of race” than their predecessors, further emphasizing the increasing fairness and openness of the American system.²¹⁹

By the late 1980s, the tone had aligned more closely with Reagan-era ideology. For instance, Shelby Steele argued that the collective identity forged during the 1960s Civil Rights Movement – the “victim model” – had become counterproductive for the Black middle class.²²⁰ Steele described a “double dependency,” in which African Americans were torn between universal middle-class values, such as education, family stability, and a strong work ethic, and a racial identity rooted in defensiveness and separation.²²¹ The argumentative shift pivots from structural critique to individual responsibility, an ideological rearticulation evident in evaluative language and modality.²²² Steele urged a turn toward assimilation and individual achievement, warning that clinging to a victim mentality risked marginalization.

²¹⁴ Nathan Glazer, “Czarni Amerykanie u Progu Nowego Dziesięciolecia,” *Ameryka*, no. 148 (1971): 2-6.

²¹⁵ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-200.

²¹⁶ Lee Daniels, “Czarni Profesjonaliści Doby Dzisiejszej,” *Ameryka*, no. 217 (1980): 2-6.

²¹⁷ Ibidem.

²¹⁸ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 186-200.

²¹⁹ Daniels, “Czarni Profesjonaliści Doby Dzisiejszej.”

²²⁰ Shelby Steele, “Rozważanie o Świadomości Afro-Amerykanów,” *Ameryka*, no. 231 (1989): 56-58; For a detailed account on the discourse, including “victim-blaming” and “colorblind” discourses, that emerged in the Post-segregation era and undermined progress toward racial equality, see: Stephen Steinberg, *Counterrevolution: The Crusade to Roll Back the Gains of the Civil Rights Movement* (Stanford University Press, 2022).

²²¹ Shelby Steele, “Rozważanie o Świadomości Afro-Amerykanów,” *Ameryka*, no. 231 (1989): 56-58.

²²² Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

The implicit message was that systemic barriers were no longer decisive, and that progress now depended on personal effort within a free-market, democratic framework.

Although when discussing racial issues, the magazine primarily focused on African Americans, it also periodically featured Native Americans, often emphasizing both cultural endurance and socioeconomic advancement. One early example, from 1962, portrays Native Americans, particularly the Navajo, as a population experiencing measurable progress while retaining its cultural identity – Albert Roland’s article, “American Indians: A Great Country and Many Diverse Cultures” emphasizes population growth, improved economic conditions, and political participation among Native Americans.²²³ This dual coding of tradition and modernization is achieved through the interdiscursive blending of anthropological, civic, and economic themes.²²⁴ The Navajo, identified as the most populous tribe, are described as advancing economically and socially, and many individuals are highlighted as examples of broader inclusion – Vice President Charles Curtis, of Osage and Kaw descent; General Clarence Tinker, a decorated military officer of Osage; and Jim Thorpe, the Olympic champion from the Sauk-Fox tribe.²²⁵ The article stresses that, despite over a century of European-American contact, most tribes have retained their cultural identities, and it attributes certain features of U.S. political institutions to the influence of Native governance, particularly that of the Iroquois Confederacy. While the text acknowledges that “discrimination has not fully disappeared,” it frames progress as ongoing and asserts that the American ideal of “all men are created equal” is steadily permeating society.²²⁶ The modality of inevitability (*steadily permeating*) presents progress as a naturalized trajectory.²²⁷ Thus, the narrative combines some acknowledgment of past marginalization with optimism for integration and upward mobility, a rhetorical pattern consistent throughout *Ameryka*’s coverage.

Another noteworthy example was an article focusing on educational reform and bicultural approaches – presenting Native Americans as active partners in their own development, rather than passive recipients of assimilationist policies – one article highlights the Rough Rock School on the Navajo Reservation, pioneering an educational model designed

²²³ Albert Roland, “Indianie Amerykańscy: Wielki Kraj i Wiele Przemienionych Kultur,” *Ameryka*, no. 39 (1962): 17-24.

²²⁴ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

²²⁵ Roland, “Indianie Amerykańscy: Wielki Kraj i Wiele Przemienionych Kultur.”

²²⁶ Ibidem.

²²⁷ Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*; Norman Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 196-200.

to value both Navajo heritage and broader American knowledge.²²⁸ Conklin contrasts this approach with earlier assimilationist schooling, which attempted to erase Indian identity by framing traditional culture as primitive and inferior (though not discussed in much detail).²²⁹ The new pedagogy emphasizes pride in Native heritage while equipping students with modern skills, as demonstrated by young students excelling simultaneously in Navajo crafts, ceremonial dances, and academic subjects such as arithmetic and engineering.²³⁰ The text underscores the cooperation and mutual learning between educators and Native communities, conveying a narrative in which U.S. society learns from minorities, even as it incorporates them, thus, once again presenting the country as pluralistic, flexible, and inclusive.

By the mid-1970s, *Ameryka* framed Natives through the lens of modernization and self-determination alongside cultural continuity. For instance, John Jarrell portrays Navajo leader Peter MacDonald as a visionary who is committed to blending traditional practices with modern economic and political engagement. The article details initiatives for financial independence, small business development, and improved health and sanitation, frames them as collective achievements of a historically resilient people.²³¹ The lexis of leadership, initiative, and resilience establishes legitimacy, while agency is centered linguistically in active clauses.²³² Navajo endurance through centuries of colonial pressures is highlighted, casting them as heroic agents of their own progress, while it is maintained in the narrative that cultural traditions are respected even as communities embrace education and technological modernization. Such framing serves the magazine's broader propaganda goal of depicting the United States as a society capable of empowering minorities without coercing cultural assimilation.²³³

Alongside socio-economic and political themes, *Ameryka* occasionally highlighted Native art and cultural heritage, presenting them as modern and integral to American identity. In the article "American Indian Painting," Jamake Highwater portrays Indigenous painting as innovative and part of the broader American artistic canon, suggesting that Native culture enjoys recognition and legitimacy within mainstream society.²³⁴ Another piece, "From the Treasure Trove of Native American Culture" focused on traditional crafts and spiritual

²²⁸ Paul Conklin, "Nowe Podejście Do Indian: Ucząc Ich Uczyć Się Od Nich," *Ameryka*, no. 117 (1968): 46-53.

²²⁹ Hall, "From Discourse to Power/Knowledge," 47-51.

²³⁰ Paul Conklin, "Nowe Podejście Do Indian: Ucząc Ich Uczyć Się Od Nich."

²³¹ John Jarrell, "Nawahów Marsz Ku Przyszłości," *Ameryka*, no. 185 (1975): 41-48.

²³² Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 186-193.

²³³ Entman, "Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm".

²³⁴ Jamake Highwater, "Malarstwo Indian Amerykańskich," *Ameryka*, no. 224 (1982): 45-55.

practices, presenting Native culture as timeless, noble, and a source of aesthetic enrichment for American life.²³⁵ Image sequences and captions position Indigenous art within the same evaluative framework as Euro-American art, an inclusion that is achieved through compositional equivalence.²³⁶ Both articles subtly reinforced the Cold War narrative of the United States as a pluralistic, diverse society, contrasting it implicitly with the Soviet model's emphasis on homogenization.²³⁷ Since the stories of Native Americans were very popular in communist Poland precisely as a soft propaganda method of criticizing the capitalist and abusive U.S., such articles would serve as counterpropaganda to those claims.

Throughout the years, the magazine maintained a propagandistic narrative. While acknowledging past wrongs briefly and minimizing them, it emphasized incremental progress, and presented the United States as a pluralistic democracy that can integrate diverse peoples without coercion and can resolve issues democratically – through open debate and legislative reform.²³⁸

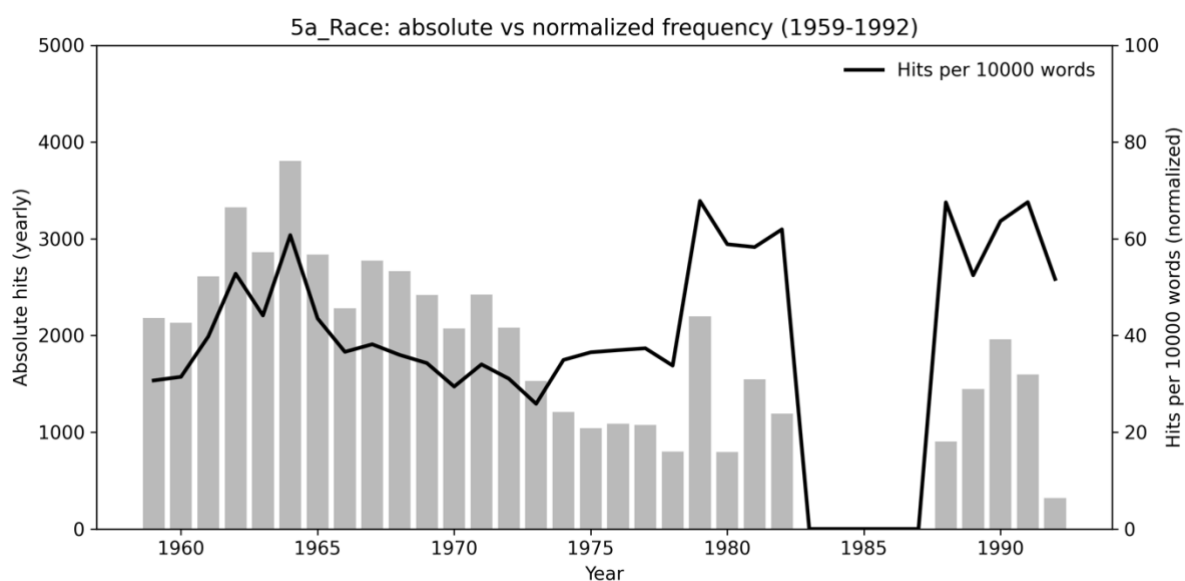


Figure 11 Frequency of Race Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

The graph illustrates race-related themes in *Ameryka*, showing a significant increase in absolute frequency in 1964, likely due to the coverage of the Civil Rights Movement. The

²³⁵ “Ze Skarbca Kultury Indiańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 168 (1973): 43-51.

²³⁶ Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-186; Rose, ““The Good Eye”” 70-74.

²³⁷ Jamake Highwater, “Malarstwo Indian Amerykańskich,” *Ameryka*, no. 224 (1982): 45-55; “Ze Skarbca Kultury Indiańskiej,” *Ameryka*, no. 168 (1973): 43-51.

²³⁸ The portrayal of racial issues in *Ameryka* did not match the narratives of the American domestic media. See: Bednarski, *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy’ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona*, 112.

sharp increase in 1979 is unexpected because the qualitative analysis did not reveal a comparable trend. Nevertheless, the late 1970s featured detailed articles that highlighted the achievements of Black Americans as evidence of democratic progress toward equality. A similar pattern emerges during the Reagan era, particularly in the 1988-89 issues, which address racism with elaborative counterrevolution discourse, as discussed earlier.

4.2.2. What About the Working Class?

When *Ameryka* set out to portray American society to Polish readers, blue-collar workers and the working class appeared less frequently than one might have expected. Agriculture was far more commonly highlighted and was almost always framed through the lens of modernity and technological progress. Machines that “make the work easy” were symbols of America’s incredible advancement and conveyed a narrative of unbelievable progress achieved through innovation. This pattern reflects media selectivity and framing, with what is foregrounded (spectacular machines, ease) silently defining the “normal,” while what is backgrounded (industrial routine, job insecurity) recedes from view, naturalizing progress as common sense.²³⁹ The agricultural imagery was intended to inspire awe, yet it overshadowed depictions of industrial workers, who were rarely portrayed. Compared to the abundance of white-collar figures, such as judges, politicians, scientists, architects, lawyers, and university teachers, the blue-collar worker was a scarce presence. Nevertheless, the few articles that focused on industrial workers stand out as vivid examples of American soft power – revealing carefully curated narratives that could resonate powerfully especially with the Polish working class, demonstrating not only prosperity, but also dignity, fairness, and opportunity in everyday life.

Most of these depictions were part of the “Americans at Work” series of the magazine, which was popular in the early 1960s before gradually losing prominence. While this section more often celebrated professionals and intellectuals, its portrayal of blue-collar workers provides the clearest insight into how America sought to influence Polish perceptions. Though these stories were scarce, they were strategic – each offered a distinct vision of American work culture that sharply contrasted with the lived realities of workers under the Polish People’s Republic. From a linguistic perspective, profiles “build” social identities, such as competent worker, responsible householder, or protected union member, by aligning lexical choices with recognizable social practices.²⁴⁰ They conveyed a subtle yet unmistakable

²³⁹ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24; Rose, “‘The Good Eye,’” 56-66.

²⁴⁰ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 186-193.

ideological message – in America, workers were respected, protected, and empowered – not as propaganda figures, but as real participants in national prosperity.

One of the most striking examples appeared in Mary Boyken's profile of the construction team behind the 59-story Chase Manhattan Bank Tower in New York City. The article was accompanied by a big dramatic photograph – 1,223 workers and technicians clad in protective helmets posing proudly on the building's skeleton between the third and thirteenth floors.²⁴¹ Compositional salience (mass grouping, depth lines) and caption – “anchors” direct the preferred reading – collective accomplishment and parity among roles – so that equality is not argued but shown.²⁴² The visual impact would be extraordinary – an image of America's economic and technical might, captured in steel and concrete, yet the symbolism went beyond architecture – the photograph depicted workers side by side with architects and engineers, presenting them all as equals united in the shared act of creation, conveying a powerful democratic message – in America, everyone, even the ordinary laborer, is part of a great national effort and a co-creator of collective success.²⁴³ The implicit comparison with socialist propaganda in Poland was unavoidable. While the official discourse of the PRL celebrated workers as “builders of socialism,” they actually lived amid shortages, inequality, and disillusionment. By contrast, American workers were celebrated and visibly integrated into the nation's economic triumphs, their labor was dignified by tangible achievements, captured in striking photographs, and even reported abroad.

Equally important was the emphasis on social mobility and fairness, for instance in Jason McManus's article, “The Road of Workers' Advancement,” describing electrotechnicians and certified mechanics who were continually advancing through structured training programs, far from being locked into monotonous labor.²⁴⁴ As explained, companies provided manuals, materials, and opportunities for further education, and unions ensured that promotions were awarded strictly based on seniority and qualifications. Crucially, as emphasized, favoritism and personal connections played no role – the union “made sure no one was privileged,” ensuring equal access for all.²⁴⁵ The discourse relies on deontic modality (*must*, rules, and procedures) and active clauses that attribute agency to unions and firms, thus, representing equity as an institutionalized norm rather than a

²⁴¹ Mary Boyken, “Załoga Budowniczych,” *Ameryka*, no. 16 (1960): 22-23.

²⁴² Kress and van Leeuwen, “The meaning of composition,” 175-186; Rose, “The Good Eye,” 70-74.

²⁴³ Boyken, “Załoga Budowniczych.”

²⁴⁴ Jason McManus, “Droga Awansów Robotniczych,” *Ameryka*, no. 17 (1960): 47-49.

²⁴⁵ *Ibidem*.

promise.²⁴⁶ This depiction of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union (Local Branch 7-347) at the American Zinc Company would also contrast sharply with the Polish context. In the PRL, unions functioned as instruments of the Party, extensions of political control rather than advocates of workers' interests. Here, however, the union was presented as an authentic representative chosen from among the rank-and-file workers – as highlighted, the union members were workers themselves and were perfectly aware of the needs and aspirations of those whose interests they defended.²⁴⁷ The ideological message was clear – in America, hard work and skill, not political connections, guaranteed advancement, and unions served workers, not the state.

The article “Additional Benefits for Workers” further expanded on this narrative by elaborating on the social safety net available to millions of Americans. Workers in America, the article explained, enjoyed benefits beyond wages, including paid holidays, financial assistance in case of illness or disability, unemployment support, and retirement pensions.²⁴⁸ Numbers and tables serve as “truth cues” – quantification stabilizes the claim that dignity is material, such as insurance and pensions, rather than merely conceptual.²⁴⁹ Importantly, the article framed these benefits not as “gifts” from benevolent authorities but as hard-won achievements of organized labor – initially confined to managerial staff, such benefits spread progressively as unions demanded them for rank-and-file workers. It was stressed that by the late 1950s, more than forty million workers had access to collective health and life insurance. The article reinforced its credibility with statistics on growth trends in benefits from 1953 to 1959, the number of paid holidays, and average pension incomes by seniority – figures demonstrating the scale of the security and prosperity achieved under the American system – a striking image for readers familiar with the scarcity and insecurity of everyday life in Poland.²⁵⁰ The underlying message was clear once again: in America, the worker is not left alone, but lives with dignity and safety.

Taken together, these portrayals reveal a coherent, soft power strategy. Instead of engaging in direct polemics against the Soviet Union or the PRL, *Ameryka* continuously relied on positive examples such as photographs of skyscrapers under construction, statistical charts showing benefits, and anecdotes about fair promotion systems. The contrast is achieved by highlighting exemplary scenes while downplaying the adversary – an indirect framing

²⁴⁶ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

²⁴⁷ Jason McManus, “Droga Awansów Robotniczych.”

²⁴⁸ “Dodatkowe Świadczenia dla Pracowników,” *Ameryka*, no. 17 (1960): 50-51, 60.

²⁴⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

²⁵⁰ “Dodatkowe Świadczenia dla Pracowników,” *Ameryka*, no. 17 (1960): 50-51, 60.

technique that allows readers to draw their own (yet guided) conclusions.²⁵¹ This indirect messaging was more persuasive than open attacks because it allowed Polish readers to draw their own comparisons. The narrative emphasized community and equality, depicting the architect standing beside the worker on the same beam, the mechanic advancing without favoritism, and the union representative defending the rank and file. It emphasized fairness and opportunity – advancement was accessible to everyone, benefits were widespread, and protections were real. These claims were reinforced through emotional imagery and empirical evidence – awe-inspiring photographs of tower builders worked on the imagination, while tables of pension incomes underscored credibility.²⁵²

Also often featured in the “Americans at Work” section, the American farmer was portrayed as a powerful symbol of how the United States reconciled tradition with modernity and freedom with community. Here, the text intertwines frontier myth and technocratic modernity, creating a narrative that connects the present to the heritage.²⁵³ In contrast to the collectivized and politically subordinated image of the peasant in the People’s Republic of Poland, the American farmer in these articles is portrayed as a free individual who is proud of his work (the narratives were always male-focused) and deeply rooted in the land, family values, and tradition, yet, simultaneously open to the benefits of science and technology. The gendered allocation of roles – men in production and technology and women in family life – is scripted through recurring lexical choices.²⁵⁴

The recurring motif is that of the farmer as the heir of the nineteenth-century pioneers, the men and women who tamed the wilderness with courage and perseverance. One striking example is the article on Norris Graves’s ranch in the American West, framed as a continuation of that pioneering tradition – Graves followed in his father’s footsteps.²⁵⁵ As reported in detail, his father had settled the land in 1889, arriving by covered wagon like the legendary pioneers of the frontier. Although the ranch encompassed 8,000 hectares, the article emphasized that the family hired no wage laborers. Eighteen hundred sheep were herded with the help of Graves’s daughters, along with two hundred cattle, forty horses, and extensive fields, “The labor was immense, but no one complained” rather, the entire family worked

²⁵¹ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.” Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 39-41.

²⁵² Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*: 79-214.; Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

²⁵³ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213; Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

²⁵⁴ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

²⁵⁵ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.” “Śladami Dawnych Pionierów,” *Ameryka*, no. 48 (1962): 4-9.

from dawn to dusk with pride.²⁵⁶ Appraisal lexis (*pride, perseverance*) moralizes productivity and frames labor as virtue rather than drudgery.²⁵⁷ At the same time, Norris Graves was no archaic relic. He embraced modernity, using an array of agricultural machines which he repaired himself and even branding cattle with gas torches rather than open fire. The text highlighted his dexterity with the lasso and his unrivaled understanding of horses. It presented him as a bearer of timeless cowboy skills as well as a modern rancher attuned to innovation. Visual materials reinforced this duality with photographs of working children, rows of jeans hanging on the line (thirteen pairs signaling abundance), irrigation systems, and his daughter proudly pictured as a cowgirl on horseback.²⁵⁸ These compositional details serve as visual cues of prosperity and unity, directing viewers' attention toward abundance without explicitly stating it.²⁵⁹ Evenings were not just for work, but for play, as the valley's social life thrived with dances, rodeos, and local councils, while homes were fully equipped with telephones, radios, televisions, and cars. The message was: the spirit of the pioneers lived on, harmoniously fused with the conveniences of modern technology and community life.

It was equally important to present farming as a field in which science and technology had secured victory not over scarcity but over excess. A particularly telling example is the 1964 article about the "Problem of Overproduction" in American agriculture – a concept and the title of the article itself that must have seemed surreal to Polish readers accustomed to shortages and rationing.²⁶⁰ The abundance was illustrated visually – towering piles of corn, enormous, well-fed bulls, and vast machinery at work in the fields.²⁶¹ Hybridization was celebrated as a genetic miracle, producing crops that were 20% more productive, disease-resistant, and perfectly suited for mechanized cultivation and consumer preferences. As explained, where deserts were once barren, irrigation now transformed 13 million hectares into orchards and fertile farmland, supplying most of the U.S.'s sugar beets, vegetables, and fruit. During harvest time, "monsters" of technology were at work – each combine reaped and threshed wheat across 32 hectares. The statistics drove home the point – 6.8 million people working the land were supported by 4.6 million tractors, over a million combines, 2.9 million trucks, and 52,000 different chemical preparations.²⁶² The myth of plenty is given factual

²⁵⁶ "Śladami Dawnych Pionierów," *Ameryka*, no. 48 (1962): 4-9.

²⁵⁷ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 193-200.

²⁵⁸ "Śladami Dawnych Pionierów."

²⁵⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, "The meaning of composition," 175-186.

²⁶⁰ "Rolnictwo Amerykańskie, Problem: Nadmiar Plonów," *Ameryka*, no. 63 (1964): 15-19; Hall, "The Work of Representation," 39-41.

²⁶¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

²⁶² "Rolnictwo Amerykańskie, Problem: Nadmiar Plonów."

authority by using numbers to measure magnitude.²⁶³ Enormous images of chemical fertilizers with captions such as “addition and multiplication with the help of chemistry” reinforced the industrial scale of this abundance. Fertilizers, insecticides, and herbicides were presented not as threats (as they are considered be today), but as the farmer’s indispensable allies, enabling record harvests and higher-quality produce.²⁶⁴ The psychological contrast seems to have been deliberate. While the socialist bloc was plagued by deficiency, America’s challenge was excess.

Yet these stories were not merely one of impersonal machines and industrial farming – it consistently circled back to the ideal of the family farm as the cornerstone of American society. The Midwest was presented as “the true heart of America,” rich not only in corn but also in moral fiber and common sense.²⁶⁵ Here, the romantic image of rolling fields met the statistical reality that nearly one-third of the population still belonged to the agricultural sector in 1960. As highlighted, although industrial growth was acknowledged and the number of farms had been cut in half, the narrative insisted that mechanization did not erase the family model. In fact, modern machinery enabled a single farmer to independently cultivate 100 hectares without turning farming into a collective or anonymous enterprise.²⁶⁶ Technological progress blurred the distinction between the countryside and the city. Farmers drove to county centers in their cars, bought groceries in supermarkets, dressed like urbanites, and lived in homes with electricity, central heating, and running water. Thus, the traditional dichotomy of “backward village versus modern city” was deemed obsolete in America – another stark contrast to Poland, where rural underdevelopment remained acute.

Alongside this broad societal framing, the magazine singled out individuals who exemplified the entrepreneurial spirit of American farming. For instance, Les Boler, the owner of a 240-hectare farm in Minnesota, was profiled as a model of efficiency and progress – within six years, he doubled his corn yields and established a farm that processes 2,500 head of cattle annually.²⁶⁷ Success metrics, active clauses, and evaluative adjectives keep agency squarely with the farmer, with prosperity being presented as personal achievement.²⁶⁸ The text emphasized that Boler was not just a laborer, but also a planner and manager who was constantly striving to improve results – his feeding systems were so mechanized that one

²⁶³ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

²⁶⁴ “Rolnictwo Amerykańskie, Problem: Nadmiar Plonów.” Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

²⁶⁵ “Agrotechnika Rewolucjonizuje Gospodarkę Farmy Rodzinnej,” *Ameryka*, no. 65 (1964): 3-7.

²⁶⁶ Ibidem.

²⁶⁷ “Les Boler, Farmer Hodowlany,” *Ameryka*, no. 42 (1962): 24-27.

²⁶⁸ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 186-200.

person could feed the entire herd in just ninety minutes; As explained, Boler employed two assistants, one of them part-time, demonstrating how mechanization reduced dependence on labor.²⁶⁹ The underlying message was that a farmer's success in America was personal and individual – his intelligence, investments, and effort translated directly into prosperity.²⁷⁰ In implied contrast to the collectivized peasant depicted in socialist propaganda, Boler was a self-made agricultural entrepreneur.

The emphasis on automation reached its peak in 1963, in an article titled “The Robot Stable,” which focused on mechanizing fruit and vegetable harvesting.²⁷¹ Previously a labor-intensive and delicate task, 60% of green beans and increasing amounts of peas and berries were already being harvested by machines by 1962. Experimental inventions such as the “electronic asparagus cutter” were described in detail, and photographs depicted futuristic harvesting devices at work.²⁷² The register combines engineering and agronomy and employs high-certainty modality to project an inevitable, machine-compatible future.²⁷³ The point made in the article had two aspects. First, American ingenuity could conquer even the most challenging problems. Second, agricultural science advanced alongside machinery as plant breeders developed crops designed to cooperate with mechanical harvesters. The future of America was automated, efficient, and profitable.

A particularly powerful aspect of these farming narratives was the incorporation of Polish immigrants into the broader myth of American agricultural success. Stories about potato producers in Long Island and onion growers in Orange County, New York, emphasized how Polish immigrants and their descendants contributed to the prosperity of U.S. farming.²⁷⁴ This is an example of audience design through identity work. Polishness is written as being in harmony with American modernity and prosperity.²⁷⁵ The Stachecki family of Southampton, for instance, was portrayed as prosperous potato farmers who were proud of their roots, large family, and language. Waław Stachecki, who farmed there for fifty years, had thirty-three grandchildren who still spoke Polish and preserved festive traditions.²⁷⁶ As highlighted, Stachecki's daughter, Aniela Kobyleńska, met her Polish husband, also a potato farmer, at a

²⁶⁹ “Les Boler, Farmer Hodowlany.”

²⁷⁰ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.”

²⁷¹ “Stajnia Robotów,” *Ameryka*, no. 60 (1963): 44-48.

²⁷² Ibidem.

²⁷³ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

²⁷⁴ Donald R. Barton, “Producenci Ziemniaków z Long Island” *Ameryka*, no. 46 (1962): 54-57; Robert Rushmore, “Hodowcy Cebuli w Stanie Nowy Jork,” *Ameryka*, no. 15 (1960): 24-27, 61.

²⁷⁵ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

²⁷⁶ Barton, “Producenci Ziemniaków z Long Island.”

Pułaski Parade in New York. Photographs emphasized their modern home and efficient equipment, and the narrative highlighted their cooperative spirit, mutual aid, and pride in passing on knowledge from one generation to the next.²⁷⁷

The same themes reappeared in the story of the onion growers of Orange County – Polish immigrants, disillusioned with urban hardship, had found in the fertile but swampy black soils of the county both livelihood and dignity.²⁷⁸ Over time, their labor transformed these wetlands into a source of ten percent of the onions consumed in the United States. The article emphasized their religious devotion to the land, recounting how they fell to their knees and kissed the soil upon arrival.²⁷⁹ As explained, today, families like the Łabanowskis operate defficient farms, employed workers, and adopted the latest inventions, such as onion-digging and sorting machines; At the same time, they preserved tradition by holding onion harvest festivals every five years complete with Polish folk costumes. Here again, the ideological message was transparent – Polish readers were invited to feel cultural closeness and ethnic pride and to recognize that their compatriots achieved success. Implied remained the notion that it was freedom and hard work in America that allowed it. Continuous repetition of the pairing of *heritage* with *prosperity* normalized inclusion as the typical American story.²⁸⁰

Through these varied portrayals, *Ameryka* presented American farming as a place where abundance, freedom, and modernity intersected. Farmers were not backward peasants but proud individuals, often innovators and entrepreneurs, who maintained family traditions while embracing the latest technologies. They lived prosperously, raising healthy, happy children in vibrant communities that came together for dances, rodeos, and social councils. Photographs of vast machinery, piles of produce, smiling families, and cowgirls on horseback visually reinforced this myth.²⁸¹ Visual vectors and scale inspire awe and encourage identification, while captions guide interpretation toward themes of dignity and success.²⁸² Statistical data on machinery, acreage, and yields reinforced the myth's credibility, especially in contrast to the scarcity and stagnation of agriculture in the Soviet bloc.

The message for the Polish reader was rather unmistakable: in the United States, the farmer is free, independent, and prosperous, but (implicitly) in the People's Republic, he is shackled by collective structures, technological backwardness, and constant shortages. This

²⁷⁷ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

²⁷⁸ Rushmore, "Hodowcy Cebuli w Stanie Nowy Jork," 24-27, 61.

²⁷⁹ Rushmore, "Hodowcy Cebuli w Stanie Nowy Jork," 24-27.

²⁸⁰ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24; Hall, "The Work of Representation," 39-41.

²⁸¹ Barthes, *Mythologies*, 93-97.

²⁸² Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer," 114-153; Rose, "'The Good Eye,'" 70-74.

narrative served as a form of soft power propaganda. Agriculture was not just about food – it was also about freedom, dignity, and the ability of individuals and families to thrive within a system that combined tradition and innovation. In this sense, such farming in *Ameryka* would serve as an allegory of the United States itself – a land of abundance and liberty where even the descendants of Polish immigrants could find prosperity and pride. The allegory succeeds because it emphasizes the parallels (*nation* means *family*, *farm* means *modern plenty*) over and over until they seem obvious.²⁸³

If farming was the most common depiction of manual labor in *Ameryka*, then the smaller collection of articles about “ordinary workers” – mechanics, crane operators, steelworkers, railroad workers, plumbers, blacksmiths, and even bottle washers – offered a contrasting perspective that was, in some ways, even more powerful. These were not celebrated professionals or glamorous figures of the intelligentsia. They were people doing everyday jobs, and yet, their lives were presented as comfortable, secure, dignified, and inspiring. Evaluative vocabulary surrounding home, church, and community moralizes respectability, aligning work with stable domesticity.²⁸⁴ Through this careful selection and framing of stories, the magazine sought to impress upon Polish readers that the American Dream was not reserved for the elites.²⁸⁵ On the contrary, it was accessible to the mechanic in the hangar, the railway conductor, the steelworker, and the plumber – figures who, in Poland, would have been familiar and relatable and would have been the most receptive to this message.

A central element of these portrayals was the vivid creation of the “ordinary American.” Until the mid-1960s, the Polish readers were presented with stories of workers as middle class Americans, which, in an implied comparison to the workers and peasants paradise promised by the communists, produced an impression that it did not even have to be a promise, it was a reality. The stories offered detailed descriptions of not only the worker’s job but also his income, home, family, and hobbies. For instance, in 1962, Bob Christian, a senior mechanic responsible for aircraft maintenance, was introduced as a man whose wartime service taught him his trade, and who now leads a twelve-person team with skill and authority.²⁸⁶ He belonged to the union of mechanics, earns \$7,051 a year, and enjoyed the stability of homeownership, having bought a house twelve years earlier for \$12,000, which

²⁸³ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

²⁸⁴ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

²⁸⁵ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm” 51-58.

²⁸⁶ “Pod Dobrą Opieką... I Pod Dobrym Kierownictwem,” *Ameryka*, no. 43 (1962): 40-43.

was already two-thirds paid off. His family life was described in equal detail – he had a wife and three children, and a Sunday routine of going to church.²⁸⁷ He had life insurance policies totaling \$33,000, one of which is paid by his employer. In the article, even a table of household finances is provided, showing that his weekly earnings of \$135.60 are divided among living costs (\$75.59), savings and insurance (\$36.86), and taxes, contributions, and charitable donations (\$23.15).²⁸⁸ The budget table serves as evidential rhetoric – quantification renders the narrative seemingly objective.²⁸⁹ Such detailed statistical portrait reinforced the impression of stability and foresight, portraying Christian not just as a worker, but also as a responsible head of household whose life flowed peacefully between home and church.²⁹⁰

Similarly, Lou Conrady, a veteran oil worker employed by the Texas Company, was presented as a model of long-term stability and personal achievement. Having spent thirty-two years in the same firm, he earned \$5,000 annually, but more importantly, his life was framed as “serene and happy.”²⁹¹ A former carpenter, Conrady built his own brick home for \$10,000, hiring only a mason and an electrician, with furnished rooms that most Polish readers could scarcely imagine, including two bedrooms, a kitchen, a dining room, a living room, a study, and a garage. His woodworking skills extended to building furniture for his local church, which he and his family were devoted to. The narrative even highlighted his civic role. After World War II, he became a member of the Orange Coast Junior College board and eventually served as its chairman.²⁹² The “worker-citizen” identity is constructed through verbs of participation and service, incorporating labor into civic legitimacy.²⁹³ The idea that a worker – once a carpenter and then an oilman – could rise to such a position of civic responsibility would have struck Polish readers as a striking counter-image to the rigid hierarchies of the PRL, where working-class representation in decision-making was a matter of propaganda rather than reality.

Other workers were depicted in equally heroic, yet more dynamic, settings. For instance, Frank Gray, a crane operator, was depicted as a figure of immense responsibility on construction sites. “They shout at me constantly. I cannot lose patience. Most of the time, I

²⁸⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸⁸ Ibidem.

²⁸⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200; See: Erik Loomis, “Labor and Unions Since 1960,” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (Oxford University Press, 2022).

²⁹⁰ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-21.

²⁹¹ “Robotnik Naftowy,” *Ameryka*, no. 1 (1959): 47-49.

²⁹² Ibidem.

²⁹³ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

cannot see the load. When I hear ‘stop,’ I must halt the machine immediately. Otherwise, who knows what could happen?”²⁹⁴ From his cab, which had eight levers that controlled the boom and the cabin, Gray operated colossal machines that could lift ninety tons and reach up to ninety meters. The article stressed that the work was not easy, but the wages matched the responsibility: \$3 to \$5.25 an hour.²⁹⁵ Technical registers and risk vocabulary justify higher pay as proportional to responsibility, framing skill as a form of moral worth.²⁹⁶ The image of the vast, commanding crane, with crowds gathering to watch its precise movements, framed Gray’s work as dangerous yet awe-inspiring – a reminder that even a manual operator of heavy machinery could be a dignified and skilled figure in America.²⁹⁷

Some stories also emphasized entrepreneurship and ingenuity. For instance, Lawrence Gruenke, the founder and owner of a bottle-washing business in Arizona, exemplified the self-made man – his “bottle laundry,” unique in the region, washed over a quarter of a million bottles, jugs, and jars annually and was more profitable than an ordinary laundry.²⁹⁸ As emphasized, Gruenke designed his own specialized machines for the task. The concept of agency is made unique through the use of active verbs, shaping the idea of small businesses as places where creativity and autonomy can thrive.²⁹⁹ The underlying message was that even the most humble occupation, such as washing bottles, could be transformed into a successful enterprise in America. This was the frontier of small business – proof that opportunities remained abundant for the inventive and hardworking.

Traditional craftsmanship also played a role in this mosaic. Shorty Kircher, a blacksmith in Alaska’s remote Matanuska Valley, was portrayed as a vital pillar of his community. In 1962, in a region where farmers faced long delays for spare parts, Kircher’s forge was indispensable. Described as a “master of all trades, an old-fashioned craftsman,” Kircher was not merely depicted as a blacksmith but as a savior of tractors, harvesters, and balers, ensuring the survival of farming in the valley.³⁰⁰ By elevating artisanal mastery to communal necessity, especially in remote settings, the discourse establishes a nexus between skill and social cohesion and resilience.³⁰¹ Photographs of Kircher working in his forge

²⁹⁴ Barbara Hale, “Kierowca Wielkiego Żurawia,” *Ameryka*, no. 45 (1962): 41.

²⁹⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁹⁶ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

²⁹⁷ Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153; Rose, “‘The Good Eye,’” 56-84.

²⁹⁸ Hal R. Moore, “Zawód? Mycie Butelek,” *Ameryka*, no. 18 (1960): 42.

²⁹⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 186-193.

³⁰⁰ “Złote Ręce,” *Ameryka*, no. 45 (1962): 7-10.

³⁰¹ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

against the backdrop of the Alaskan landscape reinforced the idea that traditional crafts in America had dignity and essential social value.³⁰²

Ray Berry, a plumber, was another craftsman elevated to near-heroic status. Having begun as an apprentice after 1945, he became a journeyman after five years and, following ten years and examinations, attained the title of master plumber with his own business.³⁰³ In 1964, he was one of over 300,000 licensed plumbers in the United States, a field with fierce competition but plentiful opportunities. Berry's work was highly technical, requiring precise cost estimates based on regulations and experience, and involving an annual expenditure of \$30,000 on top-quality materials. He averaged a weekly income of \$170, which was enough to support a wife, four children, a mortgage, taxes, and a modest savings plan. He lived in a century-old house, kept a beehive for extra income, and spent his evenings playing the cello with friends or reading professional journals to keep up with new developments.³⁰⁴ The blend of numbers (income, outlay) and cultivated leisure (music, journals) frames craftsmanship as both economically rational and culturally respectable.³⁰⁵ This portrait depicts a man who combined hard work, entrepreneurial independence, and cultivated leisure, embodying craftsmanship and middle-class respectability.

Railway workers were also given quite a romanticized portrayal. For instance, Bill Limmer, a conductor on the Washington–New York line, was portrayed as a guardian of America's railways, standing at the head of a five-person crew, overseeing the train from assembly to final separation.³⁰⁶ The 1962 article emphasized the sounds, sparks, and vistas of the railway journey, portraying the railroad as a symbol of national expansion and adventure.³⁰⁷ Limmer's income of \$186.46 per week was carefully itemized against family expenditures, savings, and taxes, underscoring his financial stability. Like others, Limmer owned his home – a seven-room house with a veranda and fruit trees. He had purchased it on credit, but it was long since paid off, and its value had increased steadily.³⁰⁸ The article also noted that over 90% of American railway workers belonged to unions that negotiated wages and working conditions, reinforcing the idea of collective protection. An example of interdiscursivity – the use of different discourses to legitimize experience – is found in the

³⁰² Kress and van Leeuwen, "Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer," 114-153.

³⁰³ "Państwo Pozwólą Sobie Przedstawić: Ray Berry, Hydraulik," *Ameryka*, no. 66 (1964): 42-44.

³⁰⁴ Ibidem.

³⁰⁵ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 193-200.

³⁰⁶ Richard Montague, "Kolejarz," *Ameryka*, no. 40 (1962): 3-6.

³⁰⁷ Entman, "Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm."

³⁰⁸ Richard Montague, "Kolejarz."

interweaving of an emotional narrative (mythic railroad) with institutional facts (union density, budget lines).³⁰⁹ Ultimately, the narrative framed Limmer as not only a worker, but also as part of the mythic history of the American railroad – a figure of romance and reliability.

The story of steelworker Dale LaBounty is perhaps the clearest example of social mobility. He began his career washing boilers for \$2,700 a year. He rose to assistant foreman at the water supply, earning \$4,000, before becoming a second assistant at the open-hearth furnace with an income exceeding \$7,000 annually.³¹⁰ Documented alongside wage statistics from 1939 (\$0.84 per hour) to 1959 (\$3.08 per hour), this trajectory served as quantitative proof of progress. Quantification performs ideological work here – growth curves and purchasing-power examples render progress visible and seemingly not up for debate.³¹¹ The article emphasized not only higher pay but also increased purchasing power – three dollars could buy fifteen loaves of bread or twelve kilograms of sugar – and additional benefits, such as paid leave, health insurance, sick pay, and pensions.³¹² The steel industry, which produced over one-third of the world's steel, was depicted as a national powerhouse; However, its workers were the real beneficiaries, secure in both income and protections.³¹³ For Polish readers, the message was that in America, heavy industry workers did not labor in poverty but enjoyed upward mobility and a standard of living that socialism could not offer.

Together, these portrayals created a composite image of the American worker designed to deeply resonate with Polish audiences. The message was threefold. First, the “ordinary American” lived a dignified and comfortable life – the worker owned his home, provided for his family, enjoyed hobbies, and belonged to his church or community. Second, work was not a dead end – whether a plumber, steelworker, or oilman, every worker could advance, open his own business, or join a college board. Third, the importance of morality and stability was emphasized. Contrary to the image of a decadent West, *Ameryka* presented a society rooted in family, religion, and community responsibility, and even the humblest professions were dignified and portrayed as indispensable and honorable. These identity blueprints are repeated across cases until they feel typical rather than curated.³¹⁴

³⁰⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 206-213.

³¹⁰ “Dzień Pracownika Stalowni,” *Ameryka*, no. 24 (1960): 50.

³¹¹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

³¹² “Dzień Pracownika Stalowni.”

³¹³ Ibidem.

³¹⁴ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19; Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

The use of statistics, such as wages, weekly budgets, prices, and percentages of union membership, was crucial, creating an aura of objectivity, convincing readers that these were verifiable realities, not just stories. Emotional imagery and precise numbers worked together – photographs of trains, cranes, and blacksmiths’ forges appealed to the imagination, while tables of wages and expenses appealed to reason. The result was a masterclass in soft power – by showing that even the bottle washer or steelworker lived well, *Ameryka* presented the U.S as a land of fairness, dignity, and opportunity – a sharp contrast to the gap between rhetoric and reality in the communist Poland.

Ultimately, although narrated very seldomly, the image of the American worker in *Ameryka* was designed to deeply resonate with the Polish working class, even though the magazine’s broader focus was on the intelligentsia. These articles exemplify the practice of soft power, where the emphasis is not on denouncing “how bad things are with you,” but on demonstrating “how well things are with us” – thanks to freedom, democracy, and capitalism. In that sense, the rare yet vivid portrayals of American blue-collar workers could be among the most effective tools of cultural diplomacy in the magazine.

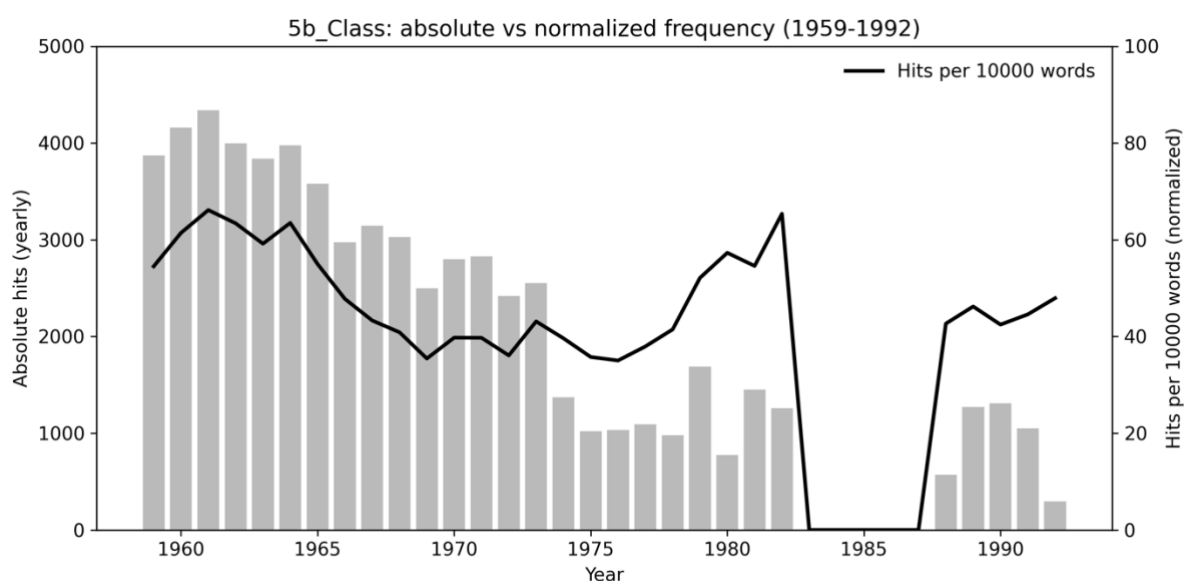


Figure 12 Frequency of Class Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

The graph illustrates how the working-class theme was represented over time. The 1960s show the greatest amount of content devoted to this subject, reflecting a series of features on working Americans that gradually diminished in the 1970s. This is also the time of crisis in

the U.S. with significantly weakened labor unions in the U.S.³¹⁵ Since many keywords associated with the working class (*workers*, *labor unions*, and *unemployment*) overlap with economic vocabulary, the increased emphasis observed in the early 1980s is not unexpected. It also could suggest that such theme could be emphasized specifically in the time of Solidarity as a labor union and as American labor was an important ally to assist Solidarity in Poland.³¹⁶ The theme's overall prominence is somewhat surprising, though it may be partly explained by the machinery-related vocabulary, which was connected not only with farming, but also with modern technology and innovation.

4.3. Gender: Between Tradition and Progress

Women are given two labels: competence is recognized, and femininity is reassured. Success stories serve as proof of the diaspora's integration and resilience. One can maintain a Polish identity and flourish in America, while photos of work and home reinforce the idea that one can have both a career and a family.³¹⁷ Although feminist gains are evident through careers, education, and law, the framing often re-domesticates ambition, visual rhetoric and narratives domesticate change, promising progress with continuity of patriarchal gender roles.

A peer-reviewed version of the research on Polish American women portrayals was published as "Portrait of a Lady: The Image of Polish American Women in *Ameryka* (1959-1969)" in *Polish American Studies* 82 (2) (University of Illinois Press, 2025): 56-80. Rather than extending the close readings of these article, this subchapter condenses the summaries of the chosen, individual *Ameryka* pieces while broadening the linguistic and discourse analysis across the theme as a whole, re-synthesizing the findings within a wider methodological frame.³¹⁸

4.3.1. Polish American Women

From its very first issue, the USIA's decision to highlight successful Polish American women was deliberate – the magazine featured recognizable Polish names to showcase an American path where talent, discipline, and innovation are rewarded. Using notable Polis

³¹⁵ Erik Loomis, "Labor and Unions Since 1960," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (Oxford University Press, 2022).

³¹⁶ See: Eric Chenoweth, "A Forgotten Legacy: American Labor's Pioneering Role in Global Support for Democracy," *Perspectives* (2019), <https://freedomhouse.org/article/forgotten-legacy-american-labors-pioneering-role-global-support-democracy>

³¹⁷ For a detailed account on the lives of women in Communist Poland, see: Barbara Klich-Kluczevska, Piotr Perkowski, et. al. *Kobiety w Polsce 1945-1989: Nowoczesność, Równouprawnienie, Komunizm* (Universitas, 2020).

³¹⁸ Podciborska, "Portrait of a Lady: The Image of Polish American Women in *Ameryka* Magazine as a Soft Power Instrument of US Cold War Public Diplomacy, 1959–1969," *Polish American Studies*, vol. 82 (2) (University of Illinois Press, October 2025): 56–80.

American figures also aligned with the policy of ‘differentiation’ toward Poland and leveraged the diaspora as a natural domestic advocacy group.³¹⁹ In discourse terms, the “framing,” the strategic selection and highlighting of particular aspects of reality to make an interpretation salient, such as what counts as “success” and who counts as an “agent.”³²⁰ In other words, the women conveyed two messages simultaneously – their personal excellence and the promise of the American Dream. This dual message also resonates with scholarship on Polish migration, where historians and sociologists depict Polish American women as both preservers of domestic and ethnic continuity and active participants in both public and professional life.³²¹ Linguistically, the profiles convey perspective through evaluative language that links achievement with respectability – terms such as *virtuoso*, *self-made*, *oracle of beauty*, and *discipline* are used to establish this connection; The evaluation is then solidified with categorical, declarative clauses, while modality is limited to assertive terms (*is*, *will*) signifying certainty.³²² In terms of agency, women are usually portrayed as active agents (*she founded*, *pioneered*, *led*), while institutions are depicted as the entities that confer recognition (*she was awarded*).³²³

There is an underlying theme of virtuosity as a transatlantic capital already in the first issue of *Ameryka*. The opening profiles of Wanda Landowska and Ruth Slenczynska highlight artistic excellence over ethnicity, allowing Polishness to circulate implicitly through repertoire, memory, and audience engagement, while high-culture exchange has been identified by Embassy Warsaw as the most effective, least provocative avenue for influence in the country.³²⁴ In 1959, Landowska is portrayed as a modernizer of early music, and her performance of Mozart is described as unforgettable.³²⁵ Landowska’s career spanned continents, taking her from Poland to Paris and later, after Nazi persecution, to the United

³¹⁹ FRUS 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 250, *Operations Coordinating Board Report: Operational Guidance with Respect to Poland*, Washington, May 8, 1957.

³²⁰ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm”.

³²¹ See: Helena Znaniecka Lopata, *Polish Americans: Status competition in an ethnic community* (Prentice-Hall, 1976); John J. Bukowczyk, *A History of the Polish Americans* (Routledge, 2008); Adam Walaszek, *Migracje Europejczyków 1650-1914* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2007).

³²² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213; Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

³²³ Theo van Leeuwen, “Representing Social Actors,” in *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis* (Oxford University Press, 2008): 23-54.

³²⁴ FRUS, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe; Finland; Greece; Turkey; vol. x, part 2, doc. 83, *Operations Coordinating Board Report: Operations Plan for Poland*, Washington, September 23, 1959.; FRUS, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe; Finland; Greece; Turkey, vol. x, part 2, doc. 8, *Despatch From the Embassy in Poland to the Department of State, No. 274, Subject: Report on Cultural Activities for 1957-58 with Special Reference to the Educational Exchange and Cultural Presentation Programs*, Warsaw, January 29, 1959.

³²⁵ Roland Gelatt, “Wanda Landowska,” *Ameryka*, no. 1 (1959): 12.

States in 1941.³²⁶ Her remarkable achievements were the embodiment of the ideals of perseverance and innovation that *Ameryka* sought to emphasize. Similarly, Slenczynska is presented as Rachmaninoff's final student, an artist whose "one percent inspiration, ninety-nine percent work" transforms labor into artistry.³²⁷ Her career, beginning as a prodigious talent recognized at an early age. "Five-year-old prodigy" – flourished under the mentorship of Rachmaninoff and other legendary musicians.³²⁸ Her performances showcased her unparalleled skill and interpretation, contributing to her status as a respected pianist in the United States and around the world.³²⁹ With "a charming smile" and described by the press as "the second coming of Mozart," she was portrayed not only as the epitome of the Polish American success story, but also as a reflection of the cultural exchange fostered by transatlantic ties, embodying the ideals of American opportunity and excellence.³³⁰

Throughout both pieces, positive "judgment/appreciation" values are realized through evaluative wording (*virtuoso*, *remarkable triumph*), aligning personal merit with the public good – meritocracy is being naturalized through words of appraisal.³³¹ The scholarship seems to correspond to this rhetoric – Polish American women have traditionally served as cultural mediators, sustaining ethnic memory while mastering elite American cultural codes.³³² The photographs that dominate the pages visually emphasize elegance, pianos and performance spaces – in visual grammar, such a focus and composition would guide readers toward an interpretation of professionalism and sophistication.³³³

Ameryka also features narratives of exile and resilience. For instance, Nina Novak's life narrative – her training in Warsaw, the wartime trauma she experienced, her career with the Ballet Russe, and her pioneer work in Venezuela before returning to the United States – ties individual grace to collective suffering.³³⁴ The narrative invites Polish readers to view

³²⁶ Paula O'Neil, "Wanda Landowska: Monument of Music," *The American Music Teacher* 22, no. 5 (April 1, 1973): 29.

³²⁷ John Haskins, "Ruth Slenczynska: powrót sławy," *Ameryka*, no. 13 (1960): 20-21.

³²⁸ Aldemaro Romero Jr., "Ruth Slenczynska, the Pianist Who Took Her Future in Her Hands," *CUNY Academic Works*, Baruch College Publications and Research, City University of New York, 2012; Emily E. Hogstad, "Rachmaninoff's Last Student: 98-Year-Old Pianist Ruth Slenczynska," *Interlude*, October 2023.

³²⁹ John Haskins, "Ruth Slenczynska: powrót sławy," *Ameryka*, no. 13 (1960): 20.

³³⁰ Romero Jr., "Ruth Slenczynska, the Pianist Who Took Her Future in Her Hands."

³³¹ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-213.

³³² Znaniecka Lopata, *Polish Americans*; Bukowczyk, *A History of the Polish Americans*.

³³³ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 177-203.

³³⁴ After surviving the war, Novak went on to become a prominent figure in the international ballet world, performing with the renowned Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo and earning worldwide acclaim for her technical precision and emotionally charged performances. She played a pivotal role in the development of ballet in Venezuela, where she became a pioneer and dedicated herself to teaching. See: George Dorris, "The Polish Ballet at the New York World's Fair, June 1939," *Dance Chronicle* 27, no. 2 (2004): 217-34; Irena Turska, *Almanach baletu polskiego, 1945-1974* (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1983): 171; Michael Meylac, *Behind*

wartime exile in America as an opportunity rather than a loss. Her achievements show how her influence transcended national boundaries, bridging European and American artistic traditions, as documented in works such as *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet* and *Almanach baletu polskiego*.³³⁵ While her story in *Ameryka* highlights the opportunities available in the West, it also serves as a powerful reminder of the resilience of the Polish people and the profound cost of lost freedom under totalitarian regimes. By contrasting the value placed on creativity and personal expression in American society with the oppression experienced both during World War II and under communism, the article subtly reinforced the ideological divide between East and West.³³⁶ Most importantly, however, Polish readers of *Ameryka* would likely find Nina Novak's story deeply resonant, evoking a profound sense of shared history as it reflected the collective suffering and resilience of the Polish nation. Linguistically, the text pairs emotionally charged past events (family deaths, refugee struggles) with present-tense achievements, creating a contrasting temporal structure that highlights perseverance as the central theme.³³⁷ This emphasis aligns with postwar research on émigré women – Beata Halicka demonstrates how wartime displacement produced leaders in journalism, literature, and civic advocacy who transformed diaspora institutions while caring for their families.³³⁸ Foregrounding experience (trauma) and then reactivating the subject as an agent (*she established, she led*) is a recurring schema in diaspora storytelling.³³⁹

Maia Wojciechowska's profile, published in 1961, includes similar themes – wartime witness, migration, and literary voice (as seen in her Newbery Medal-winning novel, *Shadow of a Bull*). The piece highlights her craft and community leadership, paying particular attention to her mother's role in local Polish cultural life. "Mrs. Zofia is the founder of several Polish organizations in California and leads the cultural life of the local Polish community."³⁴⁰ Zofia is portrayed as a key figure in preserving and promoting Polish heritage abroad, further underscoring the theme of strong matriarchal leadership within the Polish

the Scenes at the Ballets Russes, 202-211; "Murió Nina Novak, pionera del ballet en Venezuela," *El Nacional*, March 2022.

³³⁵ Koegler Horst, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet* (Oxford University Press, 1977), 300; Turska, *Almanach baletu polskiego*, 171.

³³⁶ Hall, "Sharing the Codes," 21-24; Geertz, "Ideology as a Cultural System," 193-233.

³³⁷ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-213.

³³⁸ Beata Halicka, "Polish Emigre Women: Resilience, Identity, and Legacy in Postwar America," European University Institute, January 17, 2025, <https://www.eui.eu/news-hub?id=polish-emigre-women-resilience-identity-and-legacy-in-postwar-america>; Halicka "'I Was Born a Writer:' On the Challenges of Working on the Biography of Danuta Mostwin," at the *Polish American Historical Association Annual Meeting* (New York, January 2025).

³³⁹ Van Leeuwen, "Representing Social Actors," 23-54.

³⁴⁰ Patricia MacManus, "W odwiedzinach u primabaleriny," *Ameryka*, no. 25 (1961): 13.

American community. Such gendered distribution of roles seems intentional – women are nominated through kinship and community titles (*mother, organizer*), while their professional identity is defined by their occupation (*author, translator*).³⁴¹ This corresponds with Znaniecka Lopata's argument, positioning women as playing a vital role in community cohesion, acting as cultural mediators between generations, all while navigating changing expectations of gender roles in the society.³⁴²

Polish American authority is also established through science. Dr. Irena Koprowska's journey from medical training in Warsaw to cytopathology leadership in Philadelphia exemplifies scientific modernity and Polish collective pride.³⁴³ Born in Warsaw in 1917, Koprowska earned her medical degree from the Warsaw University Medical School before the outbreak of World War II forced her to flee her native country and seek safety in the United States, where she rose to fame as one of the first women to specialize in cytopathology, which focuses on the early detection of cancer through the study of cells under the microscope.³⁴⁴ She worked with George N. Papanicolaou, the inventor of the Pap smear, with whom she co-authored a case report on the earliest diagnosis of lung cancer from a sputum smear during a fellowship at Cornell University of Medical College.³⁴⁵ Her memoir, *A Woman Wanders Through Life and Science*, offers a unique perspective on the challenges and triumphs of women in science in the mid-twentieth century, providing a candid reflection on her experiences as an immigrant, scientist, wife, and mother.³⁴⁶ The *Ameryka* article emphasizes the Koprowski family's Polish heritage, repeatedly referring to their background and describing the art in their home as "exceptionally Polish." "There are works by Waliszewski, Skoczylas and Fałat, as well as sketches by Topolski depicting Bernard Shaw, while in the living room hangs a portrait of Dr Koprowska painted by Czermanski."³⁴⁷ Lexically, the profile combines technical nouns (*cytologopathology, microscope, diagnosis*) with accomplishment verbs (*co-authored, pioneered, leading figure*), which establishes the evaluation in a specialized register, establishing expertise as undeniable.³⁴⁸ Such portrayals sought to instill a sense of national pride in Polish readers, reinforcing a narrative of Polish

³⁴¹ Van Leeuwen, "Representing Social Actors."

³⁴² Znaniecka Lopata, *Polish Americans*.

³⁴³ Richard Montague, "Praca naukowa dwojga małżonków," *Ameryka*, no. 27 (1961): 23-24.

³⁴⁴ Patrycja Lebowa, "Irena Koprowska, Pioneer in the Field of Cytopathology," *Acta Medicorum Polonorum* 14, no. 1 (June 2024): 67-81; Montague, "Praca naukowa dwojga małżonków," 23-24.

³⁴⁵ Lebowa, "Irena Koprowska, Pioneer in the Field of Cytopathology." Irena Koprowska, *A Woman Wanders Through Life and Science* (SUNY Press, 1997).

³⁴⁶ Koprowska, *A Woman Wanders Through Life and Science*.

³⁴⁷ Montague, "Praca naukowa dwojga małżonków," 24; See: Wojdon, *Polish American History after 1939*: 325.

³⁴⁸ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 182-213.

excellence and implying that Polish immigrants could succeed in the meritocratic, opportunity-rich environment of the United States. Adam Walaszek's work on transnational Polish networks and Joanna Wojdon's Cold War account of community elites similarly demonstrate how professional science, ethnic prestige, and anti-communist advocacy were intertwined in diaspora leadership.³⁴⁹

Both Rysia Kister Lombroso's cookbook profile from 1959 and Zuzanna Cemborowska's fashion story from 1964 are about emigration without loss of cultural identity. Asked for the motivation to write "Old Warsaw Cookbook," Lombroso expressed, "I think that preparing food is an art and one of the manifestations of the nation's culture, so I wanted these people [second- and third-generation Polish Americans] to know their heritage better."³⁵⁰ The article featured a picture of Lombroso in the kitchen, drawings by Irena Lorentowicz that were included in the cookbook, and a traditional menu with a few recipes for an American Thanksgiving dinner, supplementing the narrative.³⁵¹ Lombroso emphasized that while many ingredients for Polish dishes can be easily found in the United States, "there is one essential ingredient that must be brought from Poland - mushrooms."³⁵² This statement serves as a reinforcement of the idea of the preservation of cultural ties while thriving in Western democratic society. It also subtly promotes the notion that adapting to American values was not an abandonment of one's heritage, but rather an embrace of it in a context of greater freedom and opportunity. The imagery of Lombroso's kitchen played into a broader narrative of American domestic modernity and economic abundance – "A gleaming white kitchen with a large worktable, a porcelain-covered counter, plenty of cabinets, and a full set of modern appliances – an electric stove, coffee maker, mixer, rusk-making machine, and a large refrigerator with a special compartment for frozen food."³⁵³

Cemborowska's "unofficial ambassador for Poland" persona highlights how beauty labor, community service in Polonia organizations, and Sunday Mass come together to form a single, respectable type of femininity.³⁵⁴ The article, accompanied by numerous photographs, emphasized that Cemborowska's success in the United States was due to the skills and

³⁴⁹ Adam Walaszek, *Migracje Europejczyków 1650-1914* (Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2007); Joanna Wojdon, *White and Red Umbrella: Polish American Congress in the Cold War Era*. (Helena History Press, 2015).

³⁵⁰ George Fremault, "Polskie potrawy dla Amerykanów," *Ameryka*, no. 10 (1959): 39-40.

³⁵¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214; See: Wojdon, *Polish American History after 1939*, 35, 73, 133, 179.

³⁵² Fremault, "Polskie potrawy dla Amerykanów," 39-40.

³⁵³ Ibidem; Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

³⁵⁴ "Zuzanna Cemborowska: Uroda i Wdzięk," *Ameryka*, no. 66 (1964): 56-57.

knowledge she acquired in Poland.³⁵⁵ Her deep affection towards her homeland was emphasized, as the article noted that “her attachment to Poland was so strong that she initially rejected the idea of marrying in America and settling there permanently. Love, though, changed those plans (...) Marriage, however, did not weaken her ties to Poland. The only change is that she can now express this attachment in fluent English.”³⁵⁶ The article described her as a model of graceful integration, “balancing the duties of a charming housewife with professional work.”³⁵⁷

Both texts minimize obligation and maximize ability, a grammatical profile that portrays freedom of choice as the moral of the story.³⁵⁸ Much like Lombroso’s story, Cemborowska’s reinforced *Ameryka*’s broader narrative that succeeding in America did not require abandoning one’s Polish identity, but rather allowed it to continue to express itself in a new, prosperous environment. The twentieth-century Polish immigrant women continually renegotiated domestic expectations under the pressure (and appeal) of American consumerist modernity.³⁵⁹

Helena Rubinstein is portrayed as the quintessential immigrant entrepreneur who transformed skincare, supported the arts and education, and maintained Polish traditions (such as publicly enjoying the Polish sausages and vodka) amidst the glamour of Manhattan.³⁶⁰ She is showcased a self-made tycoon in a male-dominated industry and an advocate for women empowerment. Her extraordinary success earned her a reputation as “the ever-youthful oracle of beauty,” a title the article insisted she deserved.³⁶¹ The discourse blends activation (*she founded, built, funded*) with ritual passives (*was regarded as the ‘oracle of beauty’*), combining agency with honorific evaluation to normalize status.³⁶² The framing is selective again – by amplifying enumeration (companies, salons, grants) and repetition (*ever-youthful, self-made*), the text constructs abundance as proof.³⁶³ Rubinstein certainly stands out, redefining beauty as a tool for self-expression and a source of empowerment, and embodying an iconic modern, independent woman whose career aligned with the evolving feminist ideals

³⁵⁵ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-21.

³⁵⁶ “Zuzanna Cemborowska: Uroda i Wdzięk.”

³⁵⁷ Ibidem.

³⁵⁸ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

³⁵⁹ Mary P. Erdmans. *Opposite Poles: Immigrants and Ethnicity in Polish Chicago, 1976-1990* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

³⁶⁰ Tomasz Kobylański, “Helena Rubinstein i jej historia – jak podbiła świat wybitna krakowianka,” *White Mad*, November 2022, www.whitemad.pl/helena-rubinstein-i-jej-historia-jak-podbila-swiat-wybitna-krakowianka/.

³⁶¹ Virginia Olsen, “Helena Rubinstein: Wyrocznia urody,” *Ameryka*, no. 69 (1964): 48-53.

³⁶² Van Leeuwen, “Representing Social Actors,” 23-54.

³⁶³ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.”

of the era. By highlighting Rubinstein and featuring numerous pictures of her incredible beauty products and saloons, *Ameryka* signaled the opportunities available to determined and talented individuals (also women!) in the United States while celebrating a figure who exemplified the ideals of perseverance, innovation, and global recognition.³⁶⁴ In historiography, such framing fits within accounts of Polish American women who used entrepreneurship and philanthropy to establish ethnic prestige in U.S. cultural institutions.³⁶⁵

During the 1960s, the time of second-wave feminism, Jane Bartkowicz, affectionately known as “Peaches,” became a prominent figure in both Polish American sports history and an inspirational feminist figure in the history of American tennis.³⁶⁶ Her story activates collective agency – women athletes organizing themselves for pay equality – while preserving domestic respectability, including family life, school, and a Polish-traditions and language focused home life. Such narrative could serve as an inspiration to young Polish readers and as a subtle but powerful tool for showcasing American values of individualism, meritocracy, and equality, a narrative consistent with the American emphasis on individual excellence and the meritocratic nature of sports. The USIA wanted democratic, rule-bound competition to be seen as the foundation of American public life.³⁶⁷ The article on Bartkowicz is richly illustrated with photographs that capture various aspects of “her normal, carefree life in America” – showing moments with family, friends, at school, and during training, supplementing the main story.³⁶⁸ Such context serves as a carefully balanced activation of public feminist activism but within a respectable and feminine framework.³⁶⁹ Lexically, the text mixes achievement terms with warmth terms (*carefree, model daughter*), positive judgment phrases softening the edge of social activism.³⁷⁰

Throughout the issues, *Ameryka* subtly suggests (only implicitly) that U.S. gender opportunities surpass those in Poland. Omission is a rhetorical strategy in itself – structural barriers, discrimination, and émigré hardship are downplayed while success is emphasized.

³⁶⁴ Olsen, “Helena Rubinstein: Wyrocznia urody,” Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

³⁶⁵ See: Bukowczyk, *A History of the Polish Americans*.

³⁶⁶ “Jane Bartkowicz: pierwsza rakieta wśród podlotków,” *Ameryka*, no. 93 (1966): 12-15.

³⁶⁷ RIAS, Records of the USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 21, 0893 S-23-81: *Public Diplomacy and the Past: The Studies of U.S. Information and Cultural Programs (1852-1975)*.; University of Arkansas, Special Collections: US Government Cultural Archives, MSC468, Box 223, Folder 10, *Airgram From American Embassy Warsaw, Subject: Educational & Cultural Exchange: Annual Report for Poland FY 1968, Ref CA-9301, July 10, 1968, August 1968*.

³⁶⁸ “Jane Bartkowicz: pierwsza rakieta wśród podlotków.” Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

³⁶⁹ Entman, “Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm.” Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 182-213.

³⁷⁰ Van Leeuwen, “Representing Social Actors,” 23-54.

³⁷¹Syntactically, agency often migrates away from structures (*opportunities were given*) and toward exemplary subjects (*she achieved*), construing inequality as already solved or individually solvable.³⁷²

By the 1970s, the magazine shifts its focus from dazzling individual careers to community keepers like Lidia Pucińska in Chicago's "Little Poland."³⁷³ Through radio broadcasts, theater productions, and parish life, women like Pucińska became transmitters of culture across generations. Polish American women established institutions, such as schools, churches, and clubs, to recreate "the feel of an Eastern European village" in American urban spaces.³⁷⁴ Similarly, scholars of Polish American history underscore how women balanced domestic continuity with the demands of Americanization.³⁷⁵ The article focuses not only on Lidia, but also on other members of the Puciński family and their lives in the United States – the narrative highlights the family's unwavering connection to their Polish roots, portraying Lidia Pucińska not solely as an individual achiever and more as a figure whose deep-rooted ties to Poland significantly influenced and shaped her family's identity.³⁷⁶ Therefore, the framing is closer in focus to other 1970s articles on the Polish American communities than the 1960s individual stories of success. In contrast, 1980s and 1990s issues of *Ameryka* did not feature any stories devoted to Polish American women.

Ultimately, *Ameryka* presented Polish American women as evidence that U.S. democracy fosters excellence in art, literature, science, fashion, entrepreneurship, sport, and community leadership. Through linguistic and visual design, *Ameryka* transformed individual lives into a generalizable moral – talent, cultural grounding, and effort result in progress and prestige. Through the stories of Polish American women, the message that American society was more progressive in terms of gender equality was subtly conveyed. By highlighting women who excelled in such a variety of fields, *Ameryka* emphasized that women in the

³⁷¹ Ibidem.

³⁷² Fairclough, "Critical discourse analysis in practice: description," 109-139.

³⁷³ Herbert G. Lee, "Lidia Pucińska – Życie Poświęcone Pracy Nad Zachowaniem i Szerzeniem Tradycji Polskiej Literatury i Kultury," *Ameryka*, no. 204 (1978): 31-36; See: Wojdon, "'The Sunshine Lady' Lidia Pucińska," *Polish American Studies* vol. 79 (1) (2022): 20-34; Wojdon, *Polish American History after 1939*, 48, 162, 169.

³⁷⁴ Dominic A. Pacyga, *Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago: Workers on the South Side, 1880–1922* (Urban Life and Urban Landscape Series; Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1991), *The American Historical Review* 98, no. 1 (February 1993): 263–64, DOI: 10.1086/ahr/98.1.263.

³⁷⁵ Joanna Dmuchala, "Polish Immigrant Women's Encounter with the New World," *Ad Americam: Journal of American Studies* 15 (2014): 67–79, ISSN 1896-9461, DOI: 10.12797/AdAmericam.15.2014.15.06; Karen Majewski, *Traitors and True Poles: Narrating a Polish-American Identity, 1880–1939* (1st ed.; Ohio University Press, 2003); Mary P. Erdmans. *Opposite Poles: Immigrants and Ethnicities in Polish Chicago, 1976-1990* (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

³⁷⁶ Lee, "Lidia Pucińska – Życie Poświęcone Pracy Nad Zachowaniem i Szerzeniem Tradycji Polskiej Literatury i Kultury."

United States had access to opportunities limited elsewhere, including in Poland. Of course, this narrative conflicted with both the communist narrative and official Polish policies in favor of gender equality. While it subtly suggested that Polish women still faced societal and institutional barriers despite the communist government's official "feminist" ideals, the U.S. government's idealized narrative was far from the truth experienced by American women (which are discussed in the following subchapter), especially non-white and lower-class women (which were largely omitted in *Ameryka*).

Although *Ameryka* presented these women as examples of American success, one should recognize that this portrayal was highly selective. The magazine highlighted exceptional cases to project an idealized image of American society that often conflicted with the broader realities of gender, race, and class inequality and discrimination that were prevalent in the United States in the 1960s and still are today. These portrayals did not accurately depict the daily struggles of American women, the typical immigrant experience, or the lives of most Polish American women during that era. It seems that what they must have done, though, is to inspire the readers behind the Iron Curtain.

Regarding the portrayal of gender norms, while the 1960s articles in *Ameryka* highlighted the remarkable professional accomplishments of Polish American women, they frequently emphasized that these women, in addition to their impressive careers, were also regarded as beautiful, devoted mothers, supportive wives, and graceful homemakers. For instance, the judge Ann T. Mikoll was introduced as "a shapely blonde with blue eyes, she looks more like a pretty girl in a magazine ad than a judge, but a lawyer who often appears before the court said that despite her appearance, Ann Mikoll is undoubtedly an exceptionally able lawyer and proof that justice and beauty can go hand in hand."³⁷⁷ Beauty and femininity is emphasized first, and accomplishments follow in the background.³⁷⁸

Their portrayals can be seen as exceptional. All women in the United States were graceful homemakers thanks to the capitalist system's economic abundance, but Polish American women were portrayed as exceptional. Besides being beautiful and charming, supportive wives, and wonderful mothers and model housewives, they were also exceptional

³⁷⁷ Edmund F. Kowalewski, "Sędzia Ann Mikoll," *Ameryka*, no. 24 (1960): 37-38.

³⁷⁸ The lawyer's prediction proved accurate – in the years that followed, Mikol's career soared as she took on roles as director, chairwoman, trustee, and honorary member of several distinguished institutions, including the American Judges' Association and the Kościuszko Foundation. Her achievements were recognized with numerous awards, including the *Pride of Polonia Award*. "Ann T. Mikoll: Lawyer, justice Polish community leader," www.poles.org/db/m_names/Mikoll_A/Mikoll_A.html, accessed: January 2025.; Hall, "The Work of Representation," 15-21.

professionals, simultaneously being able to navigate between two distinct cultural identities and thrive – inspirational narrative without challenging the status quo.

The articles refrained from explicitly comparing the roles played or experienced by women under Communism in Poland. Instead, they carefully navigated potential censorship by using nuanced language that only implicitly suggested a contrast at times – by appealing to notions of economic prosperity, upward mobility, and individual freedom, these women’s success stories subtly underscored the perceived superiority of capitalism and democracy.³⁷⁹ In other words, they strategically appealed to Polish sensibilities while advancing U.S. soft power objectives.

Ameryka often emphasized pride in heritage and cultural identity, highlighting the Polish roots of the women it profiled. Some articles included personal anecdotes in which the women recalled their childhoods in Poland or expressed nostalgia for their homeland. At the same time, the magazine portrayed assimilation into American society as relatively seamless. The narratives consistently emphasized the women’s eventual embrace of American values, lifestyles, and opportunities, despite some women initially facing challenges in adapting. The blending of Polish traditions with American ideals often suggested a harmonious hybrid identity, subtly reinforcing the idea of a natural friendship and mutual understanding between the two nations.

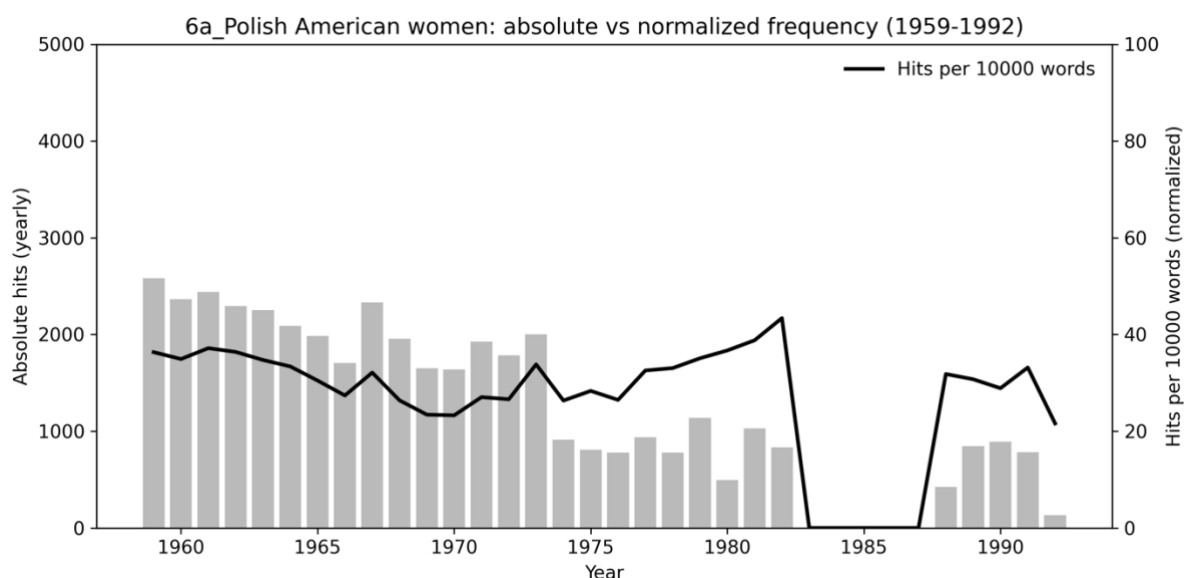


Figure 13 Frequency of Polish American Women Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

³⁷⁹ Hall, “The Work of Representation,” 15-21.

The graph shows how often keywords related to the portrayal of Polish American women were used over time. The high absolute counts in the early 1960s support the qualitative finding that America frequently published portrait-style articles about these women. Although the absolute numbers declined in the mid-1970s due to changes in format, the relative frequency remained stable and even increased in the late 1970s, indicating a sustained emphasis on this topic. This parallels the treatment of Polish American narratives centered on communities, values and religion. A divergence becomes visible again in the late 1980s, although no dedicated stories about Polish American women appeared, the discourse still employed similar vocabulary related to womanhood, motherhood, and domesticity.

4.3.2. Feminism and the American Woman

At the first glance it seems that most of the women portrayals in the 1960s *Ameryka* were very much in line with the gender norms and expectations still prevalent in American society at the time (setting the “norm” with the ideal woman of the 1950s), and in line with many of the conservative values promoted by the capitalist state, as if more often than not skillfully omitting or completely ignoring the ongoing societal revolution of the mid-20th century. Framing is done through naturalization – by foregrounding a “normal” domestic femininity and backgrounding conflict, the narrative makes the preferred model seem self-evident.³⁸⁰ Gender stereotypes are used to convey ideological messages and influence attitudes toward certain social groups. For instance, the portrayal of women as devoted mothers and wives was used to promote the idea of the nuclear family (the model family of the 20th century American suburbia) as the cornerstone of the American society. Repeated lexical choices related to family, home, and care “build” a recognizable social identity – *wife*, *mother*, *citizen* – through which readers interpret the role of women.³⁸¹ Of course, such imagery would stand in contrast to the perceived breakdown of family values – with wives and mothers having a “man’s job” and portrayed with characteristics associated with masculinity – under communism.

Driven by a series of powerful social movements, advances in civil rights, and a burgeoning counterculture, the decade of the 1960s challenged traditional norms and laid the groundwork for significant legal and societal changes. These developments were influenced by the media, arts, and technological innovations of the time, creating a legacy that continued to shape American society for decades to come. One would, therefore, expect the societal

³⁸⁰ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24; Van Leeuwen, “Representing Social Actors,” 23-54.

³⁸¹ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19; Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 186-193.

changes of the 1960s, including the powerful feminist movement in this case, to be reflected in the idealized image of the United States presented in *Ameryka*. From a today's point of view, the magazine in the 1960s would be closer in its sentiments to the standards and values of the previous era – the 1950s.

However, a closer analysis suggests that the depiction of American women in the magazine throughout the 1960s provides a more multifaceted, albeit occasionally contradictory, portrayal. Depending on the context – professional, rural, academic, or social – the images shift from neutral documentation to nostalgic idealization and from playful, aspirational femininity to the careful performance of beauty. One consistent editorial strategy across the issues is the prioritization of visual representation over textual description – photographs dominate the pages, accompanied by captions or brief commentary that provide context or framing and subtly guide the reader's perception. This is multimodal rhetoric, in which the layout of imagery and captions “anchor” meaning and guide the interpretation of femininity.³⁸²

A recurring theme in the magazine is the growing presence of women in professional and scientific fields. The Embassy's guidance explicitly prioritized respectful contact with Polish elites and academic exchange as a means of achieving long-term leverage, which could partially explain the increasing emphasis placed on portrayals of highly educated women.³⁸³ In an article about American women in scientific research, the magazine profiles eight women who work in DuPont's research and development department.³⁸⁴ The profiles cover a wide range of specializations – Barbara Curry, a former teacher, works with chemical products and synthetic membranes, Louise Jones specializes in synthetic fiber technology, Marilyn Maisano is a geologist who investigates raw materials such as ilmenite, niobium, and fluorite, Ada Ryland is an analytical chemistry expert who studies polymerization, Dorothy Hood leads the toxicology department at an industrial medicine research center, Jeanne Buxbaum studies the physical properties of spongy urethane, Lily Altschuller develops new dye analysis systems, and Eleanor Neumayer conducts tissue examinations through ultramicroscopy.³⁸⁵

³⁸² Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153; Rose, “‘The Good Eye,’” 56-66.

³⁸³ FRUS 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 250, *Operations Coordinating Board Report: Operational Guidance with Respect to Poland*, Washington, May 8, 1957; FRUS, 1958-1960, Eastern Europe; Finland; Greece; Turkey, vol. x, part 2, doc. 8, *Despatch From the Embassy in Poland to the Department of State, No. 274, Subject: Report on Cultural Activities for 1957-58 with Special Reference to the Educational Exchange and Cultural Presentation Programs*, Warsaw, January 29, 1959.

³⁸⁴ “Kobieta w Świecie Nauki,” *Ameryka*, no. 33 (1961): 10-12.

³⁸⁵ Ibidem; Van Leeuwen, “Representing Social Actors,” 23-54.

Visually, photographs of these women in lab coats occupy more space than their textual descriptions, but the overall tone remains neutral and factual, rather than promoting either feminist ideals or traditional domestic roles. That seemingly “neutral” register still performs identity work – the technical words and the white coats suggest competence, while the minimalist prose keeps social conflict out of sight.³⁸⁶

Similarly, a 1960 article on Betty Smallen, “an attractive young person,” a pharmacy student at the University of California, presents her as one of approximately 17,000 pharmacy students across 75 universities, noting that women constitute roughly 10% of the profession.³⁸⁷ While the article provides informative statistics about her studies, the framing is subtly gendered – readers are first introduced to her youth and attractiveness, followed by the comment that “she may give men a headache,” before her professional competence is even mentioned.³⁸⁸ The order of the appraisal (attractive first, then capable) creates a gendered “double bind,” balancing expertise with the necessary qualities of femininity.³⁸⁹ Photographs dominate the page, depicting Betty in lectures, weighing powders, and working in the laboratory. This juxtaposition of professional competence and aesthetic appeal illustrates how the magazine presented American women in science as both skilled and visually pleasing, suggesting that academic achievement does not strip the women of their femininity.³⁹⁰ The narrative assembles a hybrid identity – *scientist-and-lady* – through recurring signals readers recognize.³⁹¹

However, the magazine also explores the experiences of young American women in academic settings, emphasizing their intellectual pursuits and social rituals. For instance, one article from 1964 recounts the first day of college for 17-year-old Randall Warner, discussing her initial nervousness, her adaptation to university life, and her emerging sense of responsibility and independence.³⁹² The account notes her focus on biology, her engagement with professors and peers, and her gradual integration into the college environment. Again, photographs of the young student take precedence over the text.

In stark contrast to professional spheres, depictions of women in rural America emphasize idyllic family life, longevity, and harmony with the land. Dorothea Lange’s photographic essay on farm women features images rich in naturalism and documentary

³⁸⁶ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 186-200.

³⁸⁷ “Studentka Farmacji,” *Ameryka*, no. 21 (1960): 20.

³⁸⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁸⁹ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200; Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

³⁹⁰ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

³⁹¹ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19.

³⁹² “Pierwsze Kroki na Uniwerku,” *Ameryka*, no. 64 (1964): 11-15.

value, portraying the weathered hands and faces of women whose lives are shaped by agriculture.³⁹³ While the photographs suggest hard work, the captions and accompanying commentary frame this labor as fulfilling and rewarding. One caption notes, “[t]he land here knows no crop failure, and the local apricots, pears, and grapes have gained well-deserved fame. People here live peacefully, like one big family,” emphasizing abundance and communal life in rural America.³⁹⁴ Women are described as gentle, generous, and admired within their extended families and neighborhoods, embodying an idealized American rural ethos rather than a life of struggle or heroic labor.³⁹⁵ The tone is nostalgic and promotional, suggesting a timeless, harmonious existence rooted in the land, tradition, and multigenerational family continuity. This pastoral setting highlights community and abundance while obscuring hardship, creating a selective perception that perpetuates the myth of a “good life.”³⁹⁶

In another depiction, Hannah Schneider, who is also 17 years old, is shown navigating the transition from childhood to adolescence and becoming socially aware.³⁹⁷ As emphasized, she experiments with comfortable clothing, while also considering the appeal of a puffy dress that might attract male attention. Ballet exercises are simultaneously framed as physical development and a subtle performance for boys.³⁹⁸ The textual narrative emphasizes socialization into traditional gender expectations. However, in this case as well, the imagery prioritizes visual storytelling over extended analysis. Clothing and posture serve as semiotic instruments that signal the transition into conventional femininity.³⁹⁹ Similarly, portraits of Randall Warner and other American college women depict them in seemingly casual, everyday settings, highlighting their academic engagement and social navigation without overt commentary on traditional gender roles.⁴⁰⁰

Fashion and appearance are closely intertwined with the magazine’s portrayal of young American women. While on campus, students wear practical attire such as jeans and loose sweaters, but for social outings, they are shown wearing dresses, bikinis (!), and skirts with heels, projecting a highly attractive, stylish image.⁴⁰¹ These depictions emphasize the

³⁹³ “Kobiety z Farmy,” *Ameryka*, no. 47 (1962): 2-7.

³⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, 3.

³⁹⁵ Van Leeuwen, “Representing Social Actors,” 23-54.

³⁹⁶ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24; Rose, “The Good Eye,” 70-74.

³⁹⁷ “Hajduczek Staje się Kobieta,” *Ameryka*, no. 43 (1962): 20-22.

³⁹⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, “Representation and interaction: designing the position of the viewer,” 114-153.

⁴⁰⁰ “Pierwsze Kroki na Uniwerku.”; “Hajduczek Staje się Kobieta”.

⁴⁰¹ “Moda z Wyższym Wykształceniem,” *Ameryka*, no. 64 (1964): 20-21.

visual appeal of women in everyday life, once again, prioritizing extensive photographic representation of young American women over text. The magazine suggests that femininity is performed and curated by balancing leisure, social engagement, and aesthetic presentation.⁴⁰²

By the late 1960s, the focus on appearance was also explicit in discussions of cosmetic culture and consumerism. An article on “Facial Makeovers” presented beauty as a form of performance – women could alter their appearance to suit various situations, ranging from romantic dinners to athletic activities (though focused on performativity, ideologically nowhere near the concepts that would come with Judith Butler’s writing in the late 1980s).⁴⁰³ The article frames cosmetics as a means of self-expression and agency but always within the context of social expectations and male observation – “No man would pass her without turning around.”⁴⁰⁴ Though probably meant as aspirational and playful, the article reinforces gender norms, emphasizing appearance as a key facet of female identity. The prescriptive modality (*should*, situational makeovers) combines consumer discourse with gender norms, presenting beauty as both a duty and a choice.⁴⁰⁵

A pattern emerges across the magazine’s early 1960s coverage – visual representation outweighs textual explanation, and editorial tone fluctuates depending on context. In professional and academic settings, women are portrayed a bit more neutrally and factually, though there are gendered remarks about their appearance. Repetition of these frames produces a prototype of a woman – *competent-but-feminine* – that comes to feel typical rather than curated.⁴⁰⁶ In rural and social settings, the portrayals are nostalgic, idealized, and promotional, emphasizing harmony, fulfillment, and aesthetic appeal. Youth, fashion, and beauty features emphasize visual attractiveness and performance, highlighting consumer culture, self-presentation, and socialized femininity.

The late 1960s and early 1970s reveal a complex negotiation between admiration for female achievement and the persistent framing of women through traditional gendered lenses. The deliberate management of tone was a key strategy employed after 1968, as research emphasized the need to present a confident, problem-solving America to regain its popularity

⁴⁰² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200; Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Construction: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” in *Theatre Journal* vol 40, no. 4 (John Hopkins University Press, 1988): 519-531.

⁴⁰³ “Twarzowe Metamorfozy,” *Ameryka*, no. 119 (1968): 53-54.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibidem* 53.

⁴⁰⁵ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200; Hall, *Representation*: 32-39; Halliday, *Halliday’s Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

⁴⁰⁶ Gee, “Building Task,” 10-19; Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

among young audiences.⁴⁰⁷ Across profiles ranging from loggers and factory workers to highly educated diplomats, the underlying narrative consistently emphasizes women's competence and autonomy, all the while reassuring the audience of their femininity and domesticity. Interdiscursivity is the key device here. The discourse combines lexicons of strength and skill with those of grace and homemaking, portraying modernity while not challenging the status-quo.⁴⁰⁸

The magazine often highlights American women who excelled in traditionally male-dominated fields, showcasing their individualism and physical capability. A striking example is the profile of Mickey Cooper, a female logger (in Polish expressed with the word *wyrwidąb*, implying great physical strength), in issue 87 (1966), who began her career in the woods as a sixteen-year-old kitchen assistant, and by the age of forty-four, she and her husband ran a logging business, and she personally drives 23-ton loads of timber over 300 kilometers daily.⁴⁰⁹ The article emphasizes that Mickey is respected by her male colleagues because she refuses special treatment and insists on performing all tasks equally; However, the article balances her rugged, physically demanding work with her domestic competence as a "a graceful homemaker," she bakes elaborate birthday cakes, sews her own work clothes, and maintains a warm, welcoming home.⁴¹⁰ Visual double-coding, such as placing heavy machinery next to a kitchen or elegant dinner table, allows images to perform the "both/and" resolution implied by the narrative.⁴¹¹

Similarly, Helen Truax, featured in issue 111 (1968), embodies the "superwoman" narrative as well – as a mother of five, she manages household duties, works in a wool mill, and helps at her husband's car service station.⁴¹² The article emphasizes that Helen's industriousness is a matter of choice, not necessity – "Do I have to do so much? No, but I want to."⁴¹³ Both Mickey's and Helen's stories highlight competence in male-dominated environments while reinforcing the primacy of domesticity, a duality that underscores the supposed tension between women's public and private roles but assures that it is possible to

⁴⁰⁷ RIAS, Records of USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 4, 0572 S-27-68: *Impression of Political Attitudes in Poland*, 1968.

⁴⁰⁸ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 206-213.

⁴⁰⁹ "Kobieta Wśród Wyrwidąbów," *Ameryka*, no. 87 (1966): 37-39.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁴¹¹ Kress and van Leeuwen, "The meaning of composition," 175-186.

⁴¹² "Jak Ona To Robi?" *Ameryka*, no. 111 (1968): 14-16.

⁴¹³ *Ibidem*, 14.

succeed at both simultaneously.⁴¹⁴ The voluntarist lexicon (*want to, choose*) frames labor as a matter of agency and virtue rather than economic compulsion, thereby moralizing work.⁴¹⁵

In the U.S., stories like Mickey's would have been considered human-interest profiles that affirmed traditional femininity while celebrating women's individual accomplishments. For Polish readers, these portrayals would have seemed exotic and somewhat sensational – the contrast between individual choice and state-defined labor norms would be striking – American women voluntarily pursue physically demanding jobs and entrepreneurship, whereas Polish socialist ideology emphasized labor as a collective duty.⁴¹⁶ The audience design is evident – the contrast invites cross-system comparison without naming the other system – a soft-power framing by implication.⁴¹⁷

From a contemporary perspective, these profiles reveal both progress and constraint – while they celebrate female autonomy, leadership, and skill, they also maintain gendered markers of grace and domesticity. The visual rhetoric is particularly powerful; For example, Mickey is depicted both wielding heavy machinery and preparing an elegant meal, and Helen is shown amidst factory equipment and domestic chores with her hair neatly done.⁴¹⁸ These images reinforce the idea that women can succeed in men's worlds, but it is acceptable only if they remain visibly feminine, supporting the textual narrative.⁴¹⁹ This ambivalence is also reflected linguistically through the use of active verbs of mastery alongside evaluative adjectives of grace and finesse.⁴²⁰

Despite their professional achievements, these portrayals center heavily on the value of their domestic labor. For example, Mickey Cooper's home is described as "cozy," and she balances work with a playful, collaborative partnership with her husband, with children and grandchildren.⁴²¹ Similarly, Helen Truax's story places family care above paid work – "Taking care of the house takes priority over other activities."⁴²² Her children participate in household tasks, and their leisure time revolves around family outings. Both stories highlight an American narrative in which domesticity is an ethical and social priority, not an option.

⁴¹⁴ "Kobieta Wśród Wyrwidębów." "Jak Ona To Robi?."

⁴¹⁵ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research." 193-200.

⁴¹⁶ "Kobieta Wśród Wyrwidębów." "Jak Ona To Robi?"

⁴¹⁷ Hall, "The Work of Representation," 39-41.

⁴¹⁸ "Kobieta Wśród Wyrwidębów." "Jak Ona To Robi?"

⁴¹⁹ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 79-214.

⁴²⁰ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 186-200.

⁴²¹ "Kobieta Wśród Wyrwidębów," 38-39.

⁴²² "Jak Ona To Robi?" 15.

Deontic statements (*takes priority*) normalize domestic role as the priority, and the narrative portrays caregiving as the non-negotiable baseline of womanhood.⁴²³

This duality relates to the broader labor patterns discussed in Eli Ginzberg's 1967 article, "The Woman and the Labor Market."⁴²⁴ Ginzberg's research emphasizes that women's lives are inherently more complex than men's because professional and domestic responsibilities are intertwined – "Every decision regarding work may have greater significance for their families than for their careers, and every decision regarding home and children can impact their professional lives."⁴²⁵ As reported, for American middle-class women in the late 1960s and early 1970s, paid work was often optional and secondary, while men's careers were non-negotiable. Ginzberg also highlights structural shifts, such as greater educational attainment, access to contraception, and technological innovations in household work, that expanded women's capacity for choice.⁴²⁶ Nevertheless, even with these freedoms, women's labor remained socially framed around their "natural" domestic priorities.

In addition to highlighting the physical demands of labor, the magazine emphasized the intellectual achievements of American women, particularly in law, diplomacy, and higher education. The profile of Dr. Rita Hauser in issue no. 136 (1970) emphasizes her extraordinary qualifications – as one of the first women she completed doctoral studies at Harvard, she is fluent in 5 languages and was appointed as a U.S. ambassador to the UN Human Rights Commission.⁴²⁷ However, even this elite achievement is framed within traditional gender norms – the article, titled "Charming Ambassador," first notes her youthful appearance and beauty, her marriage to her professor, and her role as a mother of two; A large photograph reinforces the visual focus on her looks.⁴²⁸ The headline appraisal and lead placement (*beauty, marriage, motherhood*) prioritize the feminine frame over professional credentials.⁴²⁹ Dr. Hauser's profile exemplifies how the magazine (and probably most of the American media at that time) celebrated professional "firsts" for women while simultaneously reducing them to their beauty, marital status, and motherhood.

On the other hand, personal agency is a recurring theme across these profiles. Mickey and Helen opt for careers in male-dominated fields, and Ginzberg's statistical analyses reveal

⁴²³ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 193-200.

⁴²⁴ Eli Ginzberg, "Kobieta a Rynek Pracy," *Ameryka*, no. 99 (1967): 7-9.

⁴²⁵ *Ibidem*, 7.

⁴²⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁴²⁷ "Uroczny Ambasador," *Ameryka*, no. 136 (1970): 26.

⁴²⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁴²⁹ Hall, *Representation*, 32-39.

growing educational and occupational opportunities, especially for urban middle-class women.⁴³⁰ The narrative emphasizes individual freedom – women may work, marry, or have children according to their preferences – high-certainty modality (*may, can*) and active voice encode liberal individualism.⁴³¹ This would contrast with Polish socialist expectations, where labor was obligatory and collective. Thus, the magazine's portrayals functioned as subtle Cold War soft power by presenting the U.S. as a society in which women's choices were a matter of personal agency rather than state compulsion.

At the same time, employing a more modern perspective, the framing reinforces traditional gender hierarchies in all cases. Competence, ambition, and independence are only praised alongside conventional feminine traits such as grace, beauty, domesticity, and marital status. This is a reclaiming move – autonomy is acknowledged but contained within the realms of grace and domesticity, thus maintaining the appearance of an unthreatened social order.⁴³² Even when women are portrayed as high achievers or trailblazers, their professional lives are normalized through a lens that renders them socially palatable and reassuring to readers in both capitalist and socialist contexts.⁴³³

Images play a crucial role in conveying these narratives – photographs contrast rugged labor with domestic leisure, professional achievement with traditional femininity, and public success with private care. Mickey's dual roles as logger and hostess, Helen's factory and household activities, and Rita Hauser's large portrait emphasize competence and conventional beauty, portraying American women as strong, industrious, and socially acceptable. For Polish readers, this visual duality likely would evoke both admiration and exoticism – American women appear unusually free, skilled, and self-directed yet still conform to expected norms of femininity. Multimodal cohesion – composition, gaze, and scale – is an ideological tool that aligns competence with conventional beauty.⁴³⁴

In essence, *Ameryka*'s portrayal of American women in the 1960s and 1970s presents a carefully crafted image of female agency – depicted as competent, autonomous, and accomplished, yet inseparable from domesticity, feminine appearance, and traditional gender

⁴³⁰ Eli Ginzberg, "Kobieta a Rynek Pracy," *Ameryka*, no. 99 (1967): 7-9; "Uroczy Ambasador."

⁴³¹ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 186-193.; Halliday, *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, 176-195.

⁴³² Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 206-213.

⁴³³ "Kobieta Wśród Wyrwidębów," 38-39; "Jak Ona To Robi?" 14-16; "Uroczy Ambasador," 26.

⁴³⁴ Kress and van Leeuwen, *Reading Images*, 114-153, 175-186.

norms.⁴³⁵ Whether in forests, factories, or international law, their work is framed as admirable, though it is always balanced by home and family. Likewise, education and professional advancement are celebrated but are always considered in relation to marital status, motherhood, and visual presentation. The overall stance is “both/and” rather than “either/or,” which is a less confrontational approach that fosters identification and minimizes conflict.⁴³⁶ For contemporary readers, these narratives would offer both some inspiration and constraint – they do celebrate women’s capacity for independence and leadership yet remain firmly rooted in mid-century gender expectations.

With a broader focus, narratives on American women as a social group in *Ameryka* of the 1970s to the early 1990s illustrate the dynamic interplay of social observation, cultural curiosity, and analytical reflection on feminism. Throughout this period, the magazine depicted women as participants in significant social changes, contextualizing their lives within broader cultural, political, and economic frameworks. Several themes emerge throughout such coverage – the pursuit of equality and liberation, the tension between tradition and modernity, the evolution of feminist thought, and the intersection of gender, class, and culture. For Polish readers at the time, these depictions offered a window into an unfamiliar society where gender roles and family structures were intensely debated, also pushing the readers toward ideological reflection.

Since the early 1970s, *Ameryka* presented feminism as both a social reality and an intellectual challenge. In 1973, an article titled “Feminism today: What does a woman want? My God! Who can guess!” emphasized the dissatisfaction of contemporary American women despite the newly achieved material comfort and social advancement. “Many today echo Freud’s complaint, because contemporary American women are better educated, wealthier, better dressed, and live more comfortably... yet they still complain.”⁴³⁷ The article recognizes that the “new feminism” demanded equality in professional settings and social spheres, including clubs, political engagement, and traditionally male-dominated activities such as law enforcement and automobile racing; It also highlighted the cultural impact of figures like Gloria Steinem and Betty Friedan, framing feminism as a defense of “the right to be fully human” and challenging societal assumptions that women are inherently passive or lacking

⁴³⁵ For a detailed account on the Feminist Movement’s influence on the American society during the 1960s, see: Clara Bingham, *The Movement: How Women’s Liberation Transformed America, 1963-1973* (One Signal Publishers, 2024).

⁴³⁶ Hall, *Representation*. 32-39.

⁴³⁷ “Feminizm Dzisiaj: Czego Chce Kobieta? Mój Boże! Któż to Odgadnie!” *Ameryka*, no. 169 (1973): 9-12.

ambition.⁴³⁸ The article's problem-solution structure and use of nominalizations (*liberation, equality*) transforms the abstract concept of struggle into a policy issue, rendering it suitable for polite public discourse.⁴³⁹

Meanwhile, polling data reported in the same issue revealed tangible shifts in social attitudes. Results from the Harris survey showed that men and women had changed their minds about feminist goals since 1970, explaining, that "women have become an independent political force – they vote differently than men because they are driven by different motives. They also show a greater tendency to vote and act not only in their own interests but in the interests of society and the whole world."⁴⁴⁰ Quantification serves as a form of justification, while percentages and trend lines convey the objectivity of changes in attitude.⁴⁴¹ Yet the article's survey also reflects enduring attachments to traditional roles, especially motherhood, and divergent views on male courtesy, with some women enjoying gestures like door-opening while feminist respondents considered them condescending. Polish readers might have read these nuances with a mixture of admiration and skepticism, likely noting that, in the U.S., equality was pursued alongside consumer choice and cultural debate – conditions that were partially absent in Poland's tightly controlled social and economic environment.

In contrast, in a 1973 article, Isa Kapp approached the women's movement with both some recognition and a highly ironic tone. While acknowledging valid grievances such as wage disparities and abortion restrictions, Kapp often reframed these issues with a sarcastic phrasing and as circumstantial rather than systemic, especially when it came to equal pay.⁴⁴² Feminists were described with a mix of annoyance and condescension as "hysterical," "passionately questioning traditional values," and "desiring equality in the psychological sense."⁴⁴³ For a Polish audience accustomed to rhetoric emphasizing collective struggle and social justice over personal liberation, Kapp's framing might have reinforced the idea that American feminism was emotionally charged, culturally performative, and somewhat detached from structural necessity, highlighting differences in societal context. In discourse terms, this is recontextualization, which means that social conflict is re-inscribed in a "lifestyle" register that softens its political edge.⁴⁴⁴

⁴³⁸ Ibidem.

⁴³⁹ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 193-200.

⁴⁴⁰ "Dwie Ankiety," *Ameryka*, no. 169 (1973): 10-12.

⁴⁴¹ Wimmer and Dominick, *Mass media: metody badan*, 213; Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 193-200.

⁴⁴² Isa Kapp, "Ruch Wyzwolenia Kobiet: Kilka Pochwał i Parę Zastrzeżeń," *Ameryka*, no. 169 (1973): 13-16.

⁴⁴³ Ibidem.

⁴⁴⁴ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 206-213.

By 1977, *Ameryka*'s coverage reflected the increasingly codified legal and political dimensions of feminism. For instance, in her article "The Fight for Gender Equality," Penelope Lemov focused on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) as a critical issue, but a "simple declaration itself" – "Neither the United States nor any state shall deny or limit equal rights on the basis of gender."⁴⁴⁵ Polish readers might have interpreted the ERA debate as a striking example of how democratic pluralism complicates legal reforms, in contrast to Poland's centralized legal system. That is also the year when USIA reports that "many Poles have conflicting feelings about the United States: many are critical of US foreign policy while simultaneously 'feeling good' about the United States in general," a duality could be reflective of the enduring historical cultural and emotional ties between Poland and the United States.⁴⁴⁶ The discussed tensions between supporters like Steinem and Friedan and opponents such as Phyllis Schlafly underscored the uniquely American blend of legal, political, and cultural contestation over gender equality, offering the Polish readers insight into a society negotiating equality through both law and public discourse.⁴⁴⁷

In her 1981 essay, "Feminism and Culture in the USA," Catherine R. Stimpson situated the feminist movement within a continuum of Western cultural history, discussing Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* and Betty Friedan's *The Feminine Mystique* as central texts that shaped American awareness.⁴⁴⁸ In a highly intellectual discussion, Stimpson also analyzed literary representations of the "New Woman" through Mary McCarthy (*The Group*), Sylvia Plath (*The Bell Jar*), and Doris Lessing (*The Golden Notebook*), portraying women as educated, autonomous, and socially aspirational, yet constrained by enduring male dominance.⁴⁴⁹ For Polish readers, Stimpson's intellectual framework may have introduced a new vocabulary for understanding gender roles, linking feminism to literature, psychology, and philosophy rather than activism alone, and encouraging reflection on the cultural dimensions of women's agency. Stimpson's vivid report on the taxonomy of feminism (radical, liberal, cultural, Marxist, Black, and lesbian) would have been particularly striking.⁴⁵⁰ In Poland, where the state promoted gender equality through economic participation and formal policies, discussions about identity, sexuality, and intersectionality

⁴⁴⁵ Penelope Lemov, "Walka o Równouprawnienie Płci," *Ameryka*, no. 201 (1977): 44-47.

⁴⁴⁶ RIAS, Records of the USIA, Part 1: Cold War Era Special Reports, Series B, 1964-1982, Reel 18, 0548 S-47-77: *International Studies Association Roundtable on 'Eastern European Perceptions of US Policies and Politics' From Mr John Kordek*, April 4, 1977.

⁴⁴⁷ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research" 206-213; Hall, "The Work of Representation," 39-41.

⁴⁴⁸ Catherine R. Stimpson, "Feminizm a Kultura USA," *Ameryka*, no. 221 (1981): 64-48.

⁴⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁴⁵⁰ Fairclough, "Textual analysis in social research," 206-213.

might have seemed unusually nuanced or controversial, offering yet another lens through which to view American debates that combined theory, literature, and activism.

Unsurprisingly, family dynamics were consistently linked to the rise of feminism. In “The family is changing” (1982), Christopher Lasch argued that women actively reshaped the family from a passive domestic ideal into an arena aligned with their own interests – “Women actively transformed the family according to their own interests, turning the ‘cult of domesticity’ against itself and thus laying the foundations for contemporary feminism.”⁴⁵¹ As emphasized, this transformation laid the structural and ideological groundwork for feminist claims by situating agency within the private sphere and highlighting the shift from traditional to modern family structures in society. The heavy nominalization of social action as named processes, such as *transformation*, *foundations*, and cult of domesticity, frames the home as a historical institution rather than a private space.⁴⁵² For Polish readers, for whom family was framed both ideologically and socially within state policies, this emphasis on individual agency and domestic negotiation could signal a form of empowerment that did not rely on formal state structures.

At the same time, the magazine documented the rise of a counter-movement that defended traditional family values. Allan C. Carlson’s “The Family Defense Movement” described pro-family activists as asserting the primacy of parenthood and child-rearing in public life, with a commentary “Activists from the Family Defense Movement have won individual battles, but they remain a minority... They are calling for a reversal of almost twenty years of political, social, and intellectual evolution.”⁴⁵³ Carlson depicted the movement as morally serious yet politically marginal, reacting to feminism and secularization. The juxtaposition of the two articles highlights the cultural tensions of the 1980s, when expanding roles for women provoked institutional change and conservative resistance. Observing this ideological pushback may have reinforced the idea that American society is pluralistic and that its values and social structure are subject to debate.

By the 1990s, *Ameryka* had explored the integration of feminism into broader socioeconomic structures. In her 1991 work, “Feminism and class consolidation,” Barbara Ehrenreich argued that feminism had moved into the mainstream, reshaping the strategies of middle-class women – “The proportion of American women employed in prestigious professions has increased to 400% – a phenomenon comparable to the achievements of

⁴⁵¹ Christopher Lasch, “Rodzina się Zmienia,” *Ameryka*, no. 223 (1982): 63-68.

⁴⁵² Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

⁴⁵³ Allan C. Carlson, “Ruch w Obronie Rodziny,” *Ameryka*, no. 223 (1982): 69-71.

suffragettes.”⁴⁵⁴ For Polish readers, this depiction of American women navigating professional, marital, and class structures with remarkable agency might have highlighted the interplay between feminism, capitalism, and social mobility – a stark contrast to Poland’s economic constraints and gendered labor norms. Ehrenreich’s focus on measurable outcomes in employment and class mobility offered a concrete illustration of feminism’s societal impact beyond ideology or rhetoric. In this section, the focus shifts to measurement, with statistics like percentage gains, sectoral employment, and professional stratification serving as evidence that naturalizes feminism as structural change rather than mere activism.⁴⁵⁵

Over its course, *Ameryka* presented American women and feminism as multifaceted social, cultural, intellectual, and economic phenomena, in a way as a narrative mirroring the ongoing changes itself. By the 1980s and 1990s, readers encountered sophisticated analyses linking culture, literature, and family life to feminist goals – feminism was understood as a structural, measurable force shaping American society. From the perspective of Polish readers at the time, such depictions of American women and feminism would have seemed fascinating and ideologically striking. The continuous emphasis on individual choice, personal ambition, and open contestation of traditional gender roles sharply contrasted with the official narratives of socialist Poland, where women’s equality was largely framed in terms of labor participation, state policy, and collective benefit rather than personal liberation or cultural critique.⁴⁵⁶ The visibility of private dissent, debates over marriage, motherhood, and sexuality, as well as the robust diversity within feminist thought – including radical, cultural, Black, and lesbian feminisms – would have been particularly innovative, showcasing a degree of pluralism seldom recognized in Polish media or political discourse. Similarly, the connection between feminism and social mobility, professional advancement, and consumer-driven autonomy presented an image of gender equality intertwined with capitalist opportunity, offering a social model that was both aspirational and foreign. Even the coverage of counter-movements, such as pro-family conservatives, underscored the degree of public debate and ideological contestation in the U.S., contrasting with Poland’s centralized, uniform cultural discourse. These articles would provide, not just a glimpse, but a detailed account on a society negotiating gender and culture, one, where it is possible to include ideas on the necessity of societal change into open political discourse.

⁴⁵⁴ Barbara Ehrenreich, “Feminizm i Konsolidacja Klasowa,” *Ameryka*, no. 238 (1991): 52-56.

⁴⁵⁵ Fairclough, “Textual analysis in social research,” 193-200.

⁴⁵⁶ Hall, “Sharing the Codes,” 21-24.

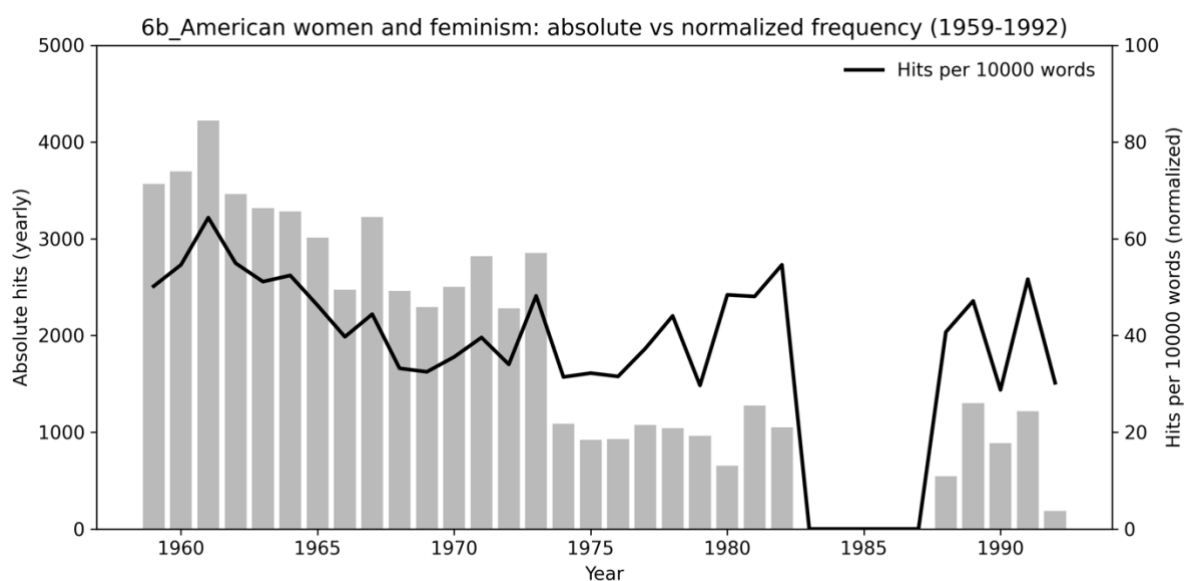


Figure 14 Frequency of American Women and Feminism Theme-Related Keywords 1959-1992

The absolute frequencies reveal an overall strong emphasis on women-related themes, particularly in the early 1960s, peaking in 1961. The normalized frequency rises again in the early 1980s. As suggested by the qualitative analysis, this trend would likely reflect vocabulary tied to womanhood, domesticity, and feminism in extended academic features. Such trends are clearly U.S.-inspired and although this work does not attempt to assess the reception or impact, it is worth noting that the 1960s created “an unprecedented opportunity” for the young women even in rural areas of Poland, where they could escape the boundaries of traditional and strict gender roles within their communities and could thus be further inspired by many of these narratives.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵⁷ See: Małgorzata Fidelis, *Imagining the World from Behind the Iron Curtain: Youth and the Global Sixties in Poland* (Oxford University Press, 2022).

Conclusions

Ameryka ends where it began – as a glossy, carefully curated window onto a “way of life,” navigating the challenges of changing political landscape and Cold War tensions. For three decades, the magazine did more than describe America. What reached Polish kiosks and reading rooms was a coherent narrative of soft power. In this sense, *Ameryka* functioned less as a simple periodical and more as a kind of virtual embassy, a durable, continuous, personal channel through which the United States projected an image of freedom, prosperity, and cultural sophistication behind the Iron Curtain.

This study positioned *Ameryka* as the primary object of analysis – a medium through which U.S. cultural diplomacy was constructed, conveyed, and experienced. The analyses resulted in a historical work, which is the first study in Polish and foreign literature on the history and role of the American magazine within the framework of American soft power. Rather than examining individual themes or narratives in isolation, this research considers the magazine as an integrated platform where the format, editorial choices, and interplay of art, science, politics, and culture combined to create a coherent, multidimensional vision of America.

This dissertation focused on *Ameryka*, not only as a USIA magazine published for Polish readers from 1959 to 1992, but also as a comprehensive cultural diplomacy platform. It explored how *Ameryka* integrated multiple aspects of American soft power, including art, science, music, technology, values, the economy, politics, leadership, exchanges, and narratives about Polish Americans, into a single, cohesive and accessible ideological package. In doing so, the magazine functioned as a “virtual American cultural center” or surrogate embassy behind the Iron Curtain, offering readers a proxy for direct contact with the United States. *Ameryka* made soft power portable and personal by presenting a continuous, thematically rich American presence within a tightly controlled public sphere.

By focusing on *Ameryka* as a soft power medium, this work opens a new perspective on Cold War public diplomacy and propaganda, revealing how the United States sustained a continuous, carefully calibrated presence in Poland over three decades, shaping perceptions, and constructing ideological engagement in a unique, thematically holistic way.

The qualitative analysis emerging from close reading and critical discourse analysis reveals that *Ameryka* sought to stimulate intellectual curiosity and discretely challenge the communist ideology, contributing to a broader discourse on democracy, freedom, and the Cold War rivalry. Its readers, who we can assume questioned the official narratives

propagated by the communist regime (the mere fact of acquiring an American publication would suggest this), were presented with a more nuanced understanding of the United States and encouraged to foster critical thinking and openness to the Western world, fitting exactly Estell's description of what public diplomacy is and what notions it is based on – “if they know us, and if they understand us, they are going to like us.” The State Department emphasized that the Polish people were “deserving and potentially very useful allies of the Free World” and that American policy should not treat them as “permanent vassals of the Kremlin and therefore not worth much attention.”¹ Instead, U.S. policy sought to remain flexible and alert to any “incipient signs and trends of development favorable to the United States.” This meant opposing the regime firmly while encouraging and fostering “any bona fide tendencies toward independence and national freedom from Moscow.”² Without directly undermining the legitimacy of the communist regime and through discussions on the variety of achievements of the Western democracy, through continuously portraying stories showing that the U.S. is leading the world by a good example, *Ameryka* fostered support for democratic values amongst the Polish population.

Ameryka was highly visual, conveying ideologically embedded meanings through carefully crafted narrative, images, and design. Though its thematic range was incredibly diverse, each topic was treated with considerable expertise, ultimately contributing to a coherent, overarching narrative about the United States. Although the magazine was produced by Americans, a skilled Polish editorial team adapted it, or more precisely, localized it, ensuring its resonance with local audiences while maintaining its strategic communicative goals.

Between 1959 to 1992, U.S.-Polish relations underwent significant changes. They progressed from cautious engagement and successful cooperation based on sentiments of historic friendship to tension and hostility, and then to renewed friendship as Poland moved towards democracy. The low point came in 1981, when the U.S. introduced sanctions following the introduction of the Martial Law in Poland. The publication of *Ameryka* was soon paused in 1982, for nearly seven years, only returning in 1988 for the last four years. Yet, a clear connection between the political dynamics and the magazine's content could not be established. It seems as if the magazine's content aimed at a long-term added value of

¹ FRUS, 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 51, *Instruction From the Department of State to the Embassy in Poland, A-199, Subject: American Relations with Poland*, Washington, March 28, 1956.

² FRUS, 1955-1957, Eastern Europe, vol. xxv, doc. 51.

fostering pro-Americanism, with a highly idealized image of the U.S., rather than transmitting anti-communist propaganda.

Despite periodic tensions in bilateral relations, the core messaging remained consistent, changing only in terms of its tone, omission, or emphasis. America was portrayed as a modern nation that honors tradition and cherishes freedom. The country boasted cultural richness, economic strength, technological sophistication, and material abundance. Though not without flaws, its open discourse and democracy fostered steady, peaceful progress. America was portrayed as a meritocratic society where diaspora communities enjoyed religious freedom and social mobility, and where the modern comforts of capitalism allowed women to thrive as mothers, wives, and professionals.

However, the quantitative corpus analyses reveal clear shifts in emphasis over time. Certain themes, such as economy, progress, women, Polish-American identity, race, and culture, gained or lost prominence depending on broader political and social contexts. Although overlapping keywords mean categories are not always distinct (for example, the same vocabulary may appear in discussions of both upward mobility and unemployment), corpus analysis provides valuable insights into larger trends. These findings should not be interpreted as absolute measures but rather as signposts that highlight areas of thematic emphasis. They thus lay important groundwork for more detailed and targeted qualitative research in each of these areas.

When regarded as a long-term cultural diplomacy project, the magazine integrated diverse aspects of U.S. messaging, forming a unified ideological package. All of its themes created a consistent narrative of an aspiration anchored in freedom, prosperity, and convenience. Legitimacy was claimed through scientific progress to advance humankind, and an emotional connection was secured through shared heritage and faith. Over time, the magazine adapted more subtly to changes in the world than to new challenges in bilateral relations, without altering its tone, narratives, themes, or messages. Throughout three decades, the magazine consistently portrayed America as an integrated lifestyle rather than focusing on isolated aspects of American life.

American culture was elevated and intellectualized as a significant artistic accomplishment rather than the ostentatious display that Soviet propaganda might have anticipated, an editorial decision reflecting a plan to refute the communist stereotype of the United States as a nation of superficial consumerism while showcasing an image of a democratic, sophisticated, and ethically responsible culture. Culture and the arts rounded out America's "way of life" portfolio. Literature, theater, Hollywood films, jazz, and country

music were not considered elite but rather accessible cultural experiences that expressed freedom. Modern art signaled aesthetic confidence rather than controversy, while museum halls and artistic exhibition shots normalized modernism as the common language of a sophisticated democracy. Sports functioned as a visible meritocracy – stadium panoramas, spectacular games, and polished athlete profiles presented competition as fair and open to talent, proving that hard work in America can lead to status without party politics. Cars were the magazine's most effective shorthand for autonomy and freedom, making suburbs, supermarkets, and culture and sports accessible.

The magazine's approach to gender, race, and class was one of reassurance. Despite the fervor of second-wave feminism, women were portrayed as competent and unquestionably feminine. They were depicted as skilled professionals who prioritized homemaking and motherhood. Exemplary figures and narratives of success were used to illustrate racial progress. Meanwhile, issues of labor and inequality were depicted as solvable problems within a fundamentally fair system. Problematic topics such as the history of slavery, the struggles of the Civil Rights Movement, Native American history, the widening poverty and inequality gap, the gender pay gap, crime, the struggles of immigrants, and unemployment were either muted or completely omitted.

Ameryka's theme choices, visuals, tone and lexicon aligned with a broader strategy favoring continuity of the ideological messaging, with a steady exposure, a credible voice, and cultural proximity to its readers. Within the USIA system, the VOA spoke, artists performed, and exchanges built networks, while *Ameryka* consistently demonstrated, month after month, year after year, how all of these elements sounded together. It was a kaleidoscope of themes but embedded with the same picture of America, used long enough for the pattern to settle in memory. Ultimately, *Ameryka* shows how a medium can function as a long-term instrument of strategic influence without sounding like one. This glossy magazine quietly taught a complete "American way of life" and its pages still read less like propaganda and more like a "friendly persuasion" towards common sense.

Therefore, this work moves beyond the conventional characterization of *Ameryka* as mere propaganda or a glossy periodical. Instead, it examines the magazine as a long-term, multidimensional project of cultural diplomacy, providing a longitudinal perspective on the interconnectedness of various U.S. soft power Cold War narratives. A central focus of this study is to understand how the thematic kaleidoscope of American soft power was presented over time – which themes were emphasized or prioritized, which were downplayed or omitted, and whether the magazine's portrayal of the United States remained consistent or

evolved in response to shifting political and global contexts. By tracing *Ameryka*'s evolution across three decades, this research sheds light on the U.S. strategy of projecting an integrated "way of life" in all its spheres.

This study, examining *Ameryka*'s content, structure, and strategic intent, recovers an omitted medium of persuasion – a cultural diplomacy instrument – and shows, in detail, how a government agency fused images, captions, and carefully curated themes to shape perception under communist censorship. Reconstructed is the ancestor of today's influence playbooks – from state media to online-era "public diplomacy." This research also breaks from the habit of treating the Eastern Bloc as monolithic, treating Poland as a unique case that considers the importance of the diaspora, Catholic Church, and historical ties to the West.

This dissertation fills a historiographical gap by treating *Ameryka* not as a brief footnote, but as a medium – a long-term cultural diplomacy platform integrating art, science, economy, culture, social issues, politics, and everyday life. It shows the USIA's craftsmanship, resilience to changes in bilateral relations, and fulfillment of its long-term focus in a calibrated, tailored way. Methodologically, this research combines diachronic study with critical discourse, linguistic, and corpus analysis, supplemented by visual grammar, revealing how a seemingly "neutral" medium codified its ideology and how selective omission functioned as a strategy. Thus, the conversation moves beyond the propagandistic or not-propagandistic binary argument toward a detailed account of a sustained, calibrated soft power medium. Demonstrating how a glossy magazine functioned as a "virtual embassy" for three decades and how the USIA made *Ameryka*'s (and America's) story believable and desirable is not only a contribution to Cold War media history, but it could also, hopefully, serve as a guide to navigating soft power then and today. The magazine indeed resembled the magical "PD – Pixie Dust," from Estell's humorous remark. Visually captivating and meticulously crafted, the magazine told America's story with precision, subtly yet persistently "sprinkling" ideas behind the Iron Curtain, and over time, lingering like magical pixie dust.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ARCHIVAL REPOSITORIES

Biblioteka Narodowa, Warszawa, Poland

Ameryka (USIA, Poland, 1959-1992)

National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD

RG 306 A1 (1066) USIA Historical Collection Subject Files, Boxes 142, 157.

RG 59 General Records of the Department of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Microfilm Publication M1945, General Records of the American Embassy in Warsaw, 1945-1947.

Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, Simi Valley, CA

Department of State, Publications Series XVI: Bureau & Agency Publications, Standardized Regulations; Series XII: Reports: Global Resources, Environment and Population; Series: II: Current Policy

Executive Secretariat, NSC System File, System I: 8705432-8708269

Pregled (USIA, Yugoslavia)

Seripharb (USIA, Thailand, 1983)

White House Office of Records Management, Subject Files FG 298 (USIA).

Roosevelt Institute for American Studies, Middelburg, The Netherlands

Records of the U.S. Information Agency, Parts 1-3: *Cold War Era Special Reports*, Series A and B.

United Nations Library and Archives, Geneva, Switzerland

Dialogue (USIA, 1972-1994)

Problems of Communism (USIA, 1954).

International Information Administration. Documentary Studies Section.

U.S. Information Agency Files

Woodrow Wilson Collection (1920-1950)

University of Arkansas Libraries, Fayetteville, AR

Special Collections: U.S. Government Cultural Archives.

PRINTED PRIMARY SOURCES

Foreign Relations of the United States (FRUS), 1917-1972, vol. VII: Public Diplomacy, 1964-1968, ed. Charles V. Hawley; head ed. Adam M. Howard, GPO, Washington 2018.

FRUS, 1917-1972, vol. VIII: Public Diplomacy, 1969-1972, ed. Charles V. Hawley; head ed. Adam M. Howard, GPO, Washington 2020.

FRUS, 1945-1950: The Emergence of the Intelligence Establishment, eds. C. Thomas Throne Jr., David S. Patterson, GPO, Washington 1996.

FRUS, 1947, vol. Eastern Europe; Soviet Union, eds. William Slany, Rogers P. Churchill, GPO, Washington 1972.

FRUS, 1948, vol. IV: Eastern Europe; Soviet Union, eds. Neal H. Peterson, Ralph G. Goodwin, Marvin W. Kranz, William Z. Slany, GPO, Washington 1976.

FRUS, 1949, vol. V: Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union, eds. William Z. Slany, Rogers P. Churchill, GPO, Washington 1976.

FRUS, 1950-1955: The Intelligence Community, eds. Douglas Keane, Michael Warner, GPO, Washington 2007.

FRUS, 1950, vol. 3: Western Europe, eds. David H. Stauffer et al., GPO, Washington 1977.

FRUS, 1950, vol. I: National Security Affairs; Foreign Economic Policy, eds. Neal H. Petersen, John P. Glennon, David W. Mabon, Ralph R. Goodwin, William Z. Slany, GPO, Washington 1977.

FRUS, 1950, vol. IV: Central and Eastern Europe; The Soviet Union, GPO, Washington 1980.

FRUS, 1951, vol. 1: National Security Affairs; Foreign Economic Policy, eds. Neal H. Petersen, Harriet D. Schwar, Carl N. Raether, John A. Bernbaum, Ralph R. Goodwin, GPO, Washington 1979.

FRUS, 1952-1954, vol. II, Part 2: National Security Affairs, ed. William Z. Slany, GPO, Washington, 1984.

FRUS, 1952-1954, vol. II: part 1: National Security Affairs, eds. Lisle A. Rose, Neal H. Petersen, GPO, Washington 1984.

FRUS, 1952-1954, vol. VIII: Soviet Union, Eastern Mediterranean, eds. David M. Baehler, Evans Gerakas, Ronald D. Landa, Charles S. Sampson, GPO, Washington 1988.

FRUS, 1955-1957, vol. IX: Foreign Economic Policy – Foreign Information Program, eds. Herbert A. Fine, Ruth Harris, William F. Sanfong, Jr., GPO, Washington 1987.

FRUS, 1955-1957, vol. XXV: Eastern Europe, eds. Edward C. Keefer, Ronald D. Landa, Stanley Shaloff, GPO, Washington 1990.

FRUS, 1958-1960, vol. X, part 1: Eastern Europe Region; Soviet Union; Cyprus, eds. Ronald D. Landa, James E. Miller, David S. Patterson, Charles S. Sampson, GPO, Washington 1993.

FRUS, 1958-1960, vol. X, part 2: Eastern Europe Region; Soviet Union; Cyprus, Ronald D. Landa, James E. Miller, William F. Sanford Jr., Sherrill Brown Wells, GPO, Washington 1993.

FRUS, 1961-1963, vol. XVI: Eastern Europe; Cyprus; Greece; Turkey, ed. James E. Miller, GPO, Washington, 1994.

FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. XIV: Soviet Union, ed. David C. Humphrey, Charles S. Sampson, GPO, Washington, 2001.

FRUS, 1964-1968, vol. XVII: Eastern Europe, ed. James E. Miller, GPO, Washington 1996.

FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. XII: Soviet Union, January 1969-October 1970, ed. Erin R. Mahan, GPO, Washington 2006.

FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. XIX: Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, GPO, Washington 2007.

FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. XXIX: Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969-1972, eds. James E. Miller, Douglas E. Selvage, Laurie Van Hook, GPO, Washington, 2007.

FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. XXXIX: European Security, ed. Douglas E. Selvage, GPO, Washington 2007.

FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. XX: Eastern Europe, eds. Carl Ashley, Mircea A. Munteanu, GPO, Washington 2015.

FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. XXVII: Western Europe, eds. Paul J. Hibbeln, Paul M. Pitman, GPO, Washington 2025.

FRUS, 1977-1980, vol. XXX: Public Diplomacy, ed. Kristin L. Ahlberg, GPO, Washington 2016.

FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. 1: Foundations of Foreign Policy, ed. Kristin L. Ahlberg, GPO, Washington 2022.

FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. X: Eastern Europe, Melissa Jane Taylor, GPO, Washington 2023.

FRUS, 1981-1988, vol. XLIV, part 1: National Security Policy, 1985-1988, ed. James Graham Wilson, 2025.

Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications, no. 772, U.S. Government Printing Office, May 1959.

U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Foreign Affairs, United States Information Educational Exchange Act of 1947, 80th Congress, 1st. Sess., introduced 1948, 3-4.

United States Information Agency. Research and Reference Service. Readership Survey of *Seripharb* (Thai-language Edition of Free World). Washington, 1963.

USIA, "Central American Program for Undergraduate Scholarships (CAMPUS)," Fact Sheet, 7 Jan. 1988.

USIA, "East-West Exhibition Exchange Program."

USIA, 19th Review of Operations, 1 July – 31 December 1962, 6-8.

USIA, 1st Review of Operations, August – December 1953, 4.

USIA, 2nd Review of Operations, Jan–June 1954, 12–13.

USIA, Budget in United States Information Agency, Fact Sheet, Washington, D.C., February 1999.

USIA, Office of Public Liaison, "USIA: An Overview," August 1998.

USIA, Program and Budget in Brief, Fiscal Year 1999, 3.

PRIMARY SOURCES AVAILABLE ONLINE

American Diplomacy: ADST's Oral History Collection: <https://adst.org/oral-history>

CIA, FOIA Electronic Reading Room, <https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/>

Congressional Research Service reports <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/>

FRUS, 1969-1976, vol. e-15, part 1: Documents on Eastern Europe, 1973-1976, electronic edition, ed. Peter Kraemer, GPO, Washington 2008.

The American Presidency Project, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu>

The New York Times Archives,
<https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/ref/membercenter/nytarchive.html>

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian, <https://history.state.gov>

Wilson Center Digital Archive, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/about>

INTERVIEWS AND CORRESPONDANCE

Anders, Jarosław, correspondence with Dick Virden and author, April 2025.

Baldyga, Leonard J., interviewed by the author, January 2022; correspondence 2025.

Estell, Marti, interviewed by the author, September 2024, correspondence 2025.

Grynberg, Henryk, interviewed by the author through correspondence, Summer 2025.

Harman, Richard, interviewed by the author, September 2024.

Richmond, Yale, interviewed by Charles S. Kennedy (2004) in *ADST's Oral History Collection*.

Virden, Dick. interviewed by the author, September-December 2024, correspondence 2024 & 2025.

LITERATURE

Alexander, Colin R. *The Frontiers of Public Diplomacy: Hegemony, Morality and Power in the International Sphere*, Routledge, 2021.

Alexander, Stephan, ed. *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and the Anti-Americanism after 1945*, Berghahn Books, 2007.

Allen, Mike. *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Communication Research Methods*, SAGE, 2017.

- Anderton, Lillian D. "U.S.I.S. libraries: A branch of U.S.I.A.," *Peabody Journal of Education*, vol. 45, no. 2, (1967): 114-120.
- Andrzejczak, Izabela. "Taniec ludowy jako narzędzie socjalistycznej propagandy na przykładzie filmu *Zimna wojna* Pawła Pawlikowskiego," *Dziennikarstwo i Media: Taniec, Kobiety i Śpiew w Literaturze oraz Sztukach Audiowizualnych*, no. 15, ed. by Michał Rydlewski, (2021): 37-50.
- Applebaum, Anne. *Za Żelazną Kurtyną*, translated by Barbara Gądomska, Wydawnictwo Agora, 2012.
- Avramchuk, Oleksandr. *Budując Republikę Ducha: Historia Programu Fulbrighta w Polsce w latach 1945-2020*, PWN, 2024.
- Barnhisel, Greg. "Cold Warriors of the Book: American Book Programs in the 1950s," *Book History*, vol. 13 (2010): 185-217.
- Barnhisel, Greg. *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy*, Columbia University Press, 2015.
- Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*, translated by Annette Lavers, The Noonday Press, 1973.
- Bartho, Jonathan. *Whistling Dixie: Ronald Reagan, The White South, and the Transformation of the Republican Party*, University Press of Kansas, 2024.
- Bartmiński, Jerzy. "Tekst jako przedmiot tekstologii lingwistycznej," *Tekst: problemy teoretyczne*, vol. 9 (1998): 9-25.
- Bednarski, Wojciech. *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy'ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona w świetle polskiej prasy. Studium języka i mechanizmów propagandy*. PhD thesis supervised by prof. dr hab. Jakub Tyszkiewicz, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2023.
- Belmonte, Laura. *Selling the American Way: U.S. Propaganda and the Cold War*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Bernays, Edward. *Propaganda*, Ig Publishing, 2004.
- Berridge, G. R. *Diplomacy: Theory and Practice*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2022.
- Bingham, Clara. *The Movement: How Women's Liberation Transformed America, 1963-1973*, One Signal Publishers, 2024.
- Bjorklund, Edith Marie. "Research and Evaluation Programs of the U.S. Information Agency and the Overseas Information-Center Libraries," *The Library Quarterly*, vol. 38, no. 4, (1968).
- Bogart, Leo. *Cool Words, Cold War: A New Look at USIA's Premises for Propaganda*, American University Press, 1995.
- Brinkley, Douglas. *American Moonshot: John F. Kennedy and the Great Space Race*, Harper, 2019.
- Browne, Donald R. "The International Newsroom: A Study of Practices at the Voice of America, BBC and Deutsche Welle," *Journal of Broadcasting*, vol. 27, no. 3, (1983): 951-983.
- Bruce, Gregory. "American Public Diplomacy: Enduring Characteristics, Elusive Transformation," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 6, no. 3-4. (2011): 351-372.
- Brzezińska, Maria M., Piotr Burgoński, and Michał Gierycz, *Analiza dyskursu politycznego. Teoria, zastosowanie, granice naukowości*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 2018.
- Brzezinski, Zbigniew. "Balancing the East, Upgrading the West: U.S. Grand Strategy in an Age of Upheaval," *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 91, no. 1 (2012): 97-104.
- Budzyńska-Daca, Agnieszka and Rusin Dybalska, Renata, eds. *Dyskursy Polityczne w Polsce i Czechach Po Roku 1989. Gatunki, Strategie Komunikacyjne, Wizerunki Medialne*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2022.
- Bukowczyk, John J. *A History of the Polish Americans*, Routledge, 2008.

- Burns, Jennifer. *Milton Friedman: The Last Conservative*, Picador, 2023.
- Butler, Judith. "Performative Acts and Gender Construction: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory," *Theatre Journal* vol 40, no. 4 (1988): 519-531.
- Butterfield, Samuel Hale. *U.S. Development Aid—An Historic First. Achievements and Failures in the Twentieth Century*, Praeger, 2004.
- Byrne, David T. *Ronald Reagan: An Intellectual History*, Potomac Books, 2018.
- Casmir, Fred L. *Building Communication Theories: A Socio/cultural Approach*, Routledge, 2013.
- Chamberlin, Paul Thomas. *The Cold War's Killing Fields: Rethinking Long Peace*, Harper, 2018.
- Chenoweth, Eric. "A Forgotten Legacy: American Labor's Pioneering Role in Global Support for Democracy," *Perspectives* (2019) <https://freedomhouse.org/article/forgotten-legacy-american-labors-pioneering-role-global-support-democracy>.
- Chomsky, Noam. *Language & Politics*, edited by C. P. Otero, Black Rose Books, 1988.
- Crawford, Neta. *Argument and Change in World Politics: Ethics, Decolonization and Humanitarian Intervention*, Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Creswell, John W. *Projektowanie badań naukowych: metody jakościowe, ilościowe i mieszane*. Translated by Joanna Gilewicz, SAGE, 2013.
- Crist, Stephen A. "Jazz as Diplomacy? Dave Brubeck and Cold War Politics," *The Journal of Musicology*, vol. 26, no. 2 (2009): 133-174.
- Crosthwaite, Peter, ed. *Corpora for Language Learning*, Routledge, 2024.
- Cucuz, Diana. *Winning Women's Hearts and Minds: Selling Cold War Culture in the US and the USSR*, University of Toronto Press, 2023.
- Cull, Nicholas J. "'The man who invented truth': The tenure of Edward R. Murrow as director of the United States Information Agency during the Kennedy years," *Cold War History*, vol. 4., no. 1, (2003): 23-48.
- Cull, Nicholas J. "Auteurs of Ideology: USIA Documentary Film Propaganda in the Kennedy Era as Seen in Bruce Herschensohn's 'The Five Cities of June' (1963) and James Blue's 'The March' (1964)," *Film History*, vol. 10, no. 3, The Cold War and the Movies (1998): 295-310.
- Cull, Nicholas J. "Speeding the Strange Death of American Public Diplomacy: The George H. W. Bush Administration and the U.S. Information Agency," *Diplomatic History*, vo. 34, no. 1 (2010): 47-69.
- Cull, Nicholas J. and Juliana Geran Pilon, "Crisis in U.S. Public Diplomacy: The Demise of U.S. Information Agency," *Case Studies Working Group Report* (2012): 543-642.
- Cull, Nicholas J. *Public Diplomacy: Foundations for Global Engagement in the Digital Age*, Polity Press, 2019.
- Cull, Nicholas J. *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945-1989*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Cull, Nicholas J. *The Decline and Fall of the United States Information Agency: American Public Diplomacy, 1989–2001*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Cunningham, Stanley B. *The Idea of Propaganda: A Reconstruction*, Praeger, 2002.
- Curry, Jane. *The Black Book of Polish Censorship*, (Random House, 1984).
- Davenport, Lisa E. *Jazz Diplomacy: Promoting America in the Cold War Era*, University Press of Mississippi, 2020.
- Debord, Guy. *Society of the Spectacle*, Soul Bay Press, 2012.
- Denson, Andrew. "Native Americans in Cold War Public Diplomacy: Indian Politics, American History, and the US Information Agency" *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, vol. 36, no. 2, (2012).

- Dick Virden, "Keeping a Dream Alive: U.S. Work with the Polish Opposition in the '70s and '80s Showed What Public Diplomacy Can Do," *Foreign Service Journal* (June 1999): courtesy of Virden.
- Dillard, James E. "All That Jazz: CIA, Voice of America, and Jazz Diplomacy in the Early Cold War Years, 1955-1965," *American Intelligence Journal*, vol. 30, no. 2 (2012): 39-50.
- Dizard Jr., Wilson P. *Inventing Public Diplomacy: The Story of the US Information Agency*, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004.
- Dmuchala, Joanna. "Polish Immigrant Women's Encounter with the New World," *Ad Americam: Journal of American Studies* 15 (2014): 67-79, ISSN 1896-9461, DOI: 10.12797/AdAmericam.15.2014.15.06.
- Dobek-Ostrowska, Bogusława and Paulina Barczyszyn, ed. *Zmiana w dziennikarstwie w Polsce, Rosji i Szwecji. Analiza Porównawcza*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2016.
- Dorris, George. "The Polish Ballet at the New York World's Fair, June 1939," *Dance Chronicle* 27, no. 2 (2004): 217-34.
- Doyle, Michael. *Cold Peace: Avoiding the New Cold War*, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2023.
- Dunkel, Mario and Nitzsche, Sina A. *Popular Music and Public Diplomacy, Transnational and Transdisciplinary Perspectives*, Transcript, 2018.
- Dworniczak, Kamila. *Rodzina człowiecza. Recepcja wystawy „The Family of Man” w Polsce a humanistyczny paradygmat fotografii*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2021.
- Elise Crane. "The Full-Format American Dream: Amerika as a Key Tool of Cold War Public Diplomacy," *American Diplomacy* (2010), <https://americandiplomacy.web.unc.edu/2010/01/the-full-format-american-dream/>.
- Entman, Robert M. "Framing: Toward a Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm," *Journal of Communication*, vol 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58, DOI: 10.1111/j.1460-2466.1993.tb01304.x.
- Entman, Robert M. "Theorizing Mediated Public Diplomacy: The U.S. Case," *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, vol. 13, no. 2, (2008): 87-102.
- Erdmans. Mary P. *Opposite Poles: Immigrants and Ethnic in Polish Chicago, 1976-1990*, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.
- Fairclough, Norman. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*, Longman Group Limited, 1995.
- Fairclough, Norman. *Language and Power*, Addison Wesley Longman Limited, 1989.
- Fan, Y. "Branding a nation: Towards a better understanding," *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, vol. 6, no. 3, (2010): 97-103.
- Fay, Kelcie E. *Rewriting History: The Impact of the Cuban Missile Crisis on American Journalism*, Department of History, University of Kansas, 2018.
- Fidelis, Małgorzata. *Imagining the World from Behind the Iron Curtain: Youth and the Global Sixties in Poland* (Oxford University Press, 2022).
- Fisenko, Aleksandra. "Amerika and Literature: on the History of the Magazine in the Postwar USSR (1944-1952)," *Literature of the Americas*, no. 16 (2024): 271-290.
- Foucault, Michael. *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 2nd ed., Routledge, 2013.
- Gackowski, Tomasz. *Zawartość mediów, czyli rozważania nad metodologią badań medioznawczych*, Instytut Dziennikarstwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2011.
- Gaddis, John Lewis. *Strategies of Containment: A Critical Appraisal of Postwar American National Security Policy*, Oxford University Press, 2005.

- Gee, James Paul. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, Second ed. Routledge, 1999.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*, Basic Books, 1973.
- Gilboa, Eythan. "Searching for a Theory of Public Diplomacy," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 616, no. 1, (2008): 55-77.
- Glenn, Alexander Crowther, "One Hundred Years of U.S. Information Competition," *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 43, no. 1 (2019): 99-119.
- Goban-Klas, Tomasz. *Media i komunikowanie masowe: teorie i analizy prasy, radia, telewizji i Internetu*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2000.
- Golan, Guy J. "An Integrated Approach to Public Diplomacy," *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 57, no. 9, (2013): 1251-1255.
- Gordon, Lewis R. *Fear of Black Consciousness*, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2022.
- Green, Fitzhugh. *American Propaganda Abroad: From Benjamin Franklin to Ronald Reagan*, Hippocrene Books, 1988.
- Guth, David W. "From OWI to USIA: The Jackson Committee's Search for the Real 'Voice' of America." *American Journalism*, vol. 19, no. 1 (2002): 13-38.
- Guth, David W. "From OWI to USIA: The Jackson Committee's Search for the Real 'Voice' of America," *American Journalism* 19 (1): 13-37. 2002 DOI: 10.1080/08821127.2002.10677858.
- Habielski, Rafał and Paweł Machcewicz. *Rozgłośnia Polska Radia Wolna Europa w latach 1950-1975*. Wydawnictwo Ossolineum, 2018.
- Hacker, Kenneth L. "U.S. Information Agency (USIA)", *Encyclopedia of Public Administration and Public Policy*, Third Edition, Routledge, 2015.
- Haddow, Robert H. *Pavilions of Plenty: Exhibiting American Culture Abroad in the 1950s*, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
- Hadi Gharabaghi and Bret Vukoder, "The Motion Pictures of the United States Information Agency: Studying a Global Film and Television Operation," *Journal of e-Media Studies*, vol. 6, no. 1 (Dartmouth College, 2022): 1-37, DOI: 10.1349/PS1.1938-6060.A.475.
- Haefele, Mark. "John Kennedy, USIA, and World Public Opinion." *Diplomatic History*, vol. 25, no. 1, (2001): 63-84.
- Hall, Stuart. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, SAGE, 1997.
- Halliday, M.A.K. *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*, Fourth ed., Routledge, 2004.
- Harding, Harry. *The United States and China since 1972*, The Brookings Institution, 1992.
- Hart, Justin. *Empire of Ideas: The Origins of Public Diplomacy and the Transformation of U.S. Foreign Policy*, Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Hayden, Craig. *The Rhetoric of Soft Power: Public Diplomacy in Global Contexts*, Lexington Books, 2012.
- Heil Jr., Alan L. *Voice of America, A History*, Columbia University Press, 2003.
- Heimer, Elisa-Maria et al. (eds.), *Handbook of Polish, Czech, and Slovak Holocaust Fiction: Works and Contexts*, De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2021.
- Hill, Chad. *Covert Propaganda and Molding the Mass Mind: How Our Thoughts are Being Secretly Shaped*, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2015.
- Hixon, Walter L. *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961*, Palgrave Macmillan, 1997.
- Hogstad, Emily E. "Rachmaninoff's Last Student: 98-Year-Old Pianist Ruth Slenczynska," *Interlude*, October 2023.
- Holmes, Alison R. and Rofo, J. Simon. *Global Diplomacy: Theories, Types, and Models*, Westview Press, 2016.

- Holmes, David. *Communication Theory: Media, Technology and Society*, SAGE, 2005.
- Holzer, Jerzy. *Europa Zimnej Wojny*, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy Znak, 2012.
- Horst, Koegler. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet*, Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Horton, Jessica L. *Earth Diplomacy: Indigenous American Art, Ecological Crisis, and the Cold War*, Duke University Press, 2024.
- Inkeles, Alex. "Soviet Reactions to the Voice of America," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 16, no. 4, (1952).
- Jaroszynska-Kirchmann, Anna. *The Exile Mission: The Polish Political Diaspora and Polish Americans, 1939-1956*, Ohio University Press, 2004.
- Jarząbek, Wanda. "W cieniu problem granicznego. Polska a proces jednoczenia Niemiec w latach 1989-1990," *Rocznik Polsko Niemiecki*, no. 17 (2009): 54-86.
- Johnson, A. Ross and R. Eugene Parta *Cold War Broadcasting: Impact on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*, Central European University Press, 2010.
- Johnson, A. Ross. *Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty: The CIA Years and Beyond*, Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Stanford University Press, 2010.
- Johnston, Gordon. "Revisiting the Cultural Cold War," *Social History*, vol. 35, no. 3 (2010): 290-307.
- Jowett, Garth S. and Victoria O'Donnell. *Propaganda & Persuasion, Seventh Edition*, SAGE, 2019.
- Judt, Tony. *Powojnie: Historia Europy od Roku 1945*, Dom Wydawniczy Rebis, 2017.
- Judycki, Zbigniew A. "Wittlin Tadeusz," *Mazowszanie w świecie: słownik biograficzny*, vol. 1 (CAN, 2016): 299-300.
- Kaczyński, P. M, et al. (eds.), „Mosty przez Atlantyk?” *Postawy Polaków, Czechów, Słowaków wobec Stanów Zjednoczonych*, Instytut Spraw Publicznych, 2005.
- Kamalipour, Yahya R. and Nancy Snow, editors. *War, Media, and Propaganda: A Global Perspective*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004.
- Kennedy, Liam and Scott Lucas, "Enduring Freedom: Public Diplomacy and U.S. Foreign Policy," *American Quarterly*, vol. 57, no. 2 (John Hopkins University Press, 2005): 309-333.
- Kenneth A. Osgood and Brian C. Etheridge. *The United States and Public Diplomacy: New Directions in Cultural and International History*, Brill, 2010.
- Kenski, Kate and Kathleen Hall Jamieson, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*, Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Kienzler, Iwona. *Życie w PRL, I Strasznie i Śmiesznie* (Bellona, 2015).
- Kiwerska, Jadwiga. "The United States in the World of Diversified Powers," *Przegląd Zachodni*, no. 2 (2013): 31-56.
- Kiwerska, Jadwiga. *Sojusz w Kryzysie, Prezydentura Donalda Trumpa i Relacje Transatlantyckie*, Instytut Zachodni, 2021.
- Kiwerska, Jadwiga. *Światowe Przywództwo Ameryki w XXI Wieku*, Instytut Zachodni, 2015.
- Klich-Kluczevska, Barbara and Piotr Perkowski, et. al. *Kobiety w Polsce 1945-1989: Nowoczesność, Równouprawnienie, Komunizm*, Universitas, 2020.
- Koman, Rita G. "Man on the Moon: The U.S. Space Program as a Cold War Maneuver," in *OAH Magazine of History*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1994): 42-50.
- Koprowska, Irena. *A Woman Wanders Through Life and Science*, SUNY Press, 1997.
- Kotras, Marcin. "Problem migracji na okładkach polskich tygodników opinii," *Interdyscyplinarne Studia Społeczne*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2016): 57-84.
- Kress, Gunther and Theo van Leeuwen, *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*, Second Ed., Routledge, 1996.

- Krippendorff, Klaus. *Content Analysis, An Introduction to Its Methodology*, third ed., SAGE, 2013.
- Kruger, David F. *The Voice of America and the Domestic Propaganda Battles, 1945-1953*, University of Missouri Press, 2000.
- Krupa, Barbara. "Zygmunt Haupt – pisarz, tłumacz, redaktor 'Głosu Ameryki,' popularyzator książek i czytelnik," *Z Badań nad Książką i Księgozbiorami Historycznymi* 11 (2017): 231-252.
- Kushner, Marilyn S. "Exhibiting Art at the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959: Domestic Politics and Cultural Diplomacy," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1 (2002): 6-26.
- Laderman, Scott and Tim Gruenewald. *Imperial Benevolence: U.S. Foreign Policy and American Popular Culture Since 9/11*, University of California Press, 2018.
- Lasswell, Harold D. "The Theory of Political Propaganda," *The American Political Science Review*, vol. 21, no. 3, (1927): 627-631.
- Laugesen, Amanda. "American Publishers, Books, and the Global Cultural Cold War: Alfred A. Knopf Inc. and the United States Information Agency, 1953-1970," *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, vol. 35, no. 2 (2016): 19-37.
- Launius, Roger D. "Abandoned in Place: Interpreting the U.S. Material Culture of the Moon Race," *The Public Historian*, vol. 31, no. 3 (2009): 9-38.
- Leahy, Stephen. *The Life of Milwaukee's Most Popular Politician, Clement J. Zablocki: Milwaukee Politics and Congressional Foreign Policy*, E. Mellen Press, 2002.
- Lebowa, Patrycja. "Irena Koprowska, Pioneer in the Field of Cytopathology," *Acta Medicorum Polonorum*, vol. 14, no. 1 (2024): 67–81.
- Leffler, Melvyn P. *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War*, Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Leffler, Melvyn P. *The Specter of Communism: The United States and the Origins of the Cold War, 1917–1953*, Hill and Wang, 1994.
- Lepore, Jill. *My, Naród: Nowa Historia Stanów Zjednoczonych*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2020.
- Lewicki, Zbigniew. *Amerykańskie Doktryny Prezydenckie Polityki Zagranicznej i Bezpieczeństwa Narodowego*, Polski Instytut Spraw Międzynarodowych, 2023.
- Lewicki, Zbigniew. *Historia cywilizacji amerykańskiej, Era Konfrontacji 1941-180*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2017.
- Lider, R. C. and J. Antonakis. "Considering Context in Psychological Leadership Research," *Human Relations*, vol. 61, no. 11, (2009): 1587-1605.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S. and Egon G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, SAGE, 1985.
- Lipowski, Wojciech. "'Powraca do nas dawne życie...' Doświadczenie pamięci w opowiadaniach Zygmunta Haupta." In *Rocznik Biblioteki Naukowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie* 65 (2020).
- Littlejohn, Stephen W. et.al. *Theories of Human Communication, Eleventh Edition*, Waveland Press, Inc. 2017.
- Loomis, Erik. "Labor and Unions Since 1960," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History* (Oxford University Press, 2022).
- MacCann, Richard Dyer. "Film and Foreign Policy: The USIA, 1962-67," *Cinema Journal*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1969): 23-42.
- Machcewicz, Paweł. *"Monachijska Menażeria" Walka z Radiem Wolna Europa*, Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2007.
- Majewski, Karen. *Traitors and True Poles: Narrating a Polish American Identity 1880-1939*, Ohio University Press, 2003.
- Mandeville, Bernard. *The Fable of the Bees, 1714*, Penguin Books, 2021.

- Mania, Andrzej and Józef Łaptos, "Dyplomacja polska wobec zimnowojennego podziału świata," *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, Tom 6: 1944/45-1989 (2010): 385-386.
- Mania, Andrzej *Department of State i Foreign Service w polityce zagranicznej USA lat gorącej i zimnej wojny 1939-1989*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2019.
- Mania, Andrzej. *Bridge Building. Polityka USA wobec Europy Wschodniej w latach 1961-1968* Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1996.
- Mania, Andrzej. *The National Security Council i amerykańska polityka wobec Europy wschodniej w latach 1945-1960*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1994.
- Manor, Ilan. *The Digitalization of Public Diplomacy*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
- Masey, Jack and Morgan, Conway Lloyd. *Cold War Confrontations: U.S. Exhibitions and Their Role in the Cultural Cold War*, Lard Mullers Publishers, 2008.
- Matera, Paulina. *Uwarunkowania ekonomiczne polityki Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec Europy Zachodniej za prezydentury Richarda M. Nixona (1969-1974)*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2012.
- Matthews, Jane de Hart. "Art and Politics in Cold War America," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 81, no. 4 (1976): 762-787.
- Mazurkiewicz, Anna. "Political Emigration from East Central Europe During the Cold War," *Polish American Studies*, vol. 72, no. 2 (2015): 65-82.
- Mazurkiewicz, Anna. "Review of Jones, Seth G., A Covert Action: Reagan, the CIA, and the Cold War Struggle in Poland," *H-Net Reviews* (2019).
- Mazurkiewicz, Anna. "Wolne i Nieskrępowane"? *Prasa Amerykańska Wobec Wyborów w Polsce w Latach 1947 i 1989*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2010.
- Mazurkiewicz, Anna. *Dyplomacja Stanów Zjednoczonych wobec wyborów w Polsce w latach 1947 i 1989* (Neriton, 2007).
- Mazurkiewicz, Anna. *Uchodźcy polityczni z Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w amerykańskiej polityce zimnowojennej (1948-1954)*, IPN and University of Gdańsk, 2016.
- McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media: The Extension of Man*, Taylor & Francis Ltd, 2001.
- Melissen, Jan. *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy*, Netherlands Institute of International Relations "Clingendael", 2005.
- Merritt, Richard L. "European public opinion and American policy: The USIA surveys," *Social Science Information*, vol. 6, no. 4, (1967): 143-160.
- Michalczyk, Stanisław. *Komunikowanie polityczne, Skrypt dla studentów dziennikarstwa i komunikacji społecznej oraz politologii*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2022.
- Michalek, Krzysztof. *Mocarstwo, Historia Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki 1945-1992*, Książka i Wiedza, 199.
- Molina, Natalia, Daniel Martinez Hosang, and Ramon A. Gutierrez, *Relational Formations of Race: Theory, Method, and Practice*, University of California Press, 2019.
- Mortensen, C. David. *Communication Theory*, Second Edition, Routledge, 2007.
- Nancy Snow and Cull Nicholas J. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, Second Edition, Routledge, 2020.
- Nancy Snow and Taylor, Philip M. eds. *Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, 1st ed., Routledge, 2008.
- Newbury, Darren. *Cold War Photographic Diplomacy: The U.S. Information Agency and Africa*, Penn State University Press, 2024.
- Nicholas Reeves, *The Power of Film Propaganda: Myth or Reality?* Continuum, 1999.
- Nichter, Luke A. *The Year That Broke Politics: Collusion and Chaos in the Presidential Election of 1968*, Yale University Press, 2023.
- Nowak Jeziorański, Jan. *Wojna w Eterze*, Wydawnictwo Znak, 2000.

- Nye, Joseph S. "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 616, no. 1, (2008).
- Nye, Joseph S. "Soft Power," *Foreign Policy*, no. 80 (1990): 153-171.
- Nye, Joseph S. *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*, Public Affairs, 2004.
- O'Neil, Paula. "Wanda Landowska: Monument of Music," *The American Music Teacher* vol. 22, no. 5 (1973): 29-30.
- Ociepka, Beata, ed. *Historia w Dyplomacji Publicznej*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar Sp. Zo.o., 2015.
- Omatowski, Cezar M. "I Leapt over the Wall and They Made Me President': Historical Context, Rhetorical Agency and the Amazing Career of Lech Wałęsa," *Advances in the History of Rhetoric*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2005): 155-192.
- Osgood, Kenneth A. and Brian C. Etheridge. "The United States and Public Diplomacy – New Directions in Cultural and International History," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 5, no. 3, (2010).
- Osgood, Kenneth A. and Etheridge, Brian C. *The United States and Public Diplomacy, New Directions in Cultural and International History*, edited by Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2010.
- Osgood, Kenneth A. *Total Cold War: Eisenhower's Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad*, University of Kansas, 2006.
- Pacyga, Dominic A. "Polish Immigrants and Industrial Chicago: Workers on the South Side, 1880–1922," *The American Historical Review* 98, no. 1 (February 1993): 263–64, DOI: 10.1086/ahr/98.1.263.
- Pahlavi, Pierre. "Evaluation Public Diplomacy Programmes," *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, vol. 2, no. 3, (2007): 255-281.
- Parafianowicz, Halina, editor. *Polish Perspectives on American History, Insights, Interpretations, Revisions*, Białystok University Press, 2013.
- Parker, Jason C. *Hearts, Minds, Voices: US Cold War Public Diplomacy and the Formation of the Third World*, Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Peet, Creighton. "Russian 'Amerika,' a Magazine about U.S. for Soviet Citizens," *College Art Journal*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1951): 17-20.
- Perloff, Richard M. *The Dynamics of Political Communication: Media and Politics in a Digital Age*, Routledge, 2017.
- Phillips, Victoria. *Martha Graham's Cold War: The Dance of American Diplomacy*, Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Piahnau, Aliaksandr, ed. *Great Power Policies Towards Central Eastern Europe 1914-1945*, International Relations Publishing, 2019.
- Pisarek, Walery. *Analiza zawartości prasy*, Ośrodek Badań Prasoznawczych, 1983.
- Pisarska, Katarzyna. *The Domestic Dimensions of Public Diplomacy: Evaluating Success Through Civil Engagement*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Podciborska, Anna. "Portrait of a Lady: The Image of Polish American Women in Ameryka Magazine as a Soft Power Instrument of US Cold War Public Diplomacy, 1959–1969," *Polish American Studies*, vol. 82, no.2 (2025): 56–80.
- Pomfret, John. *From Warsaw With Love: Polish Spies, the CIA, and the Forging of an Unlikely Alliance*, Henry Holt and Company, 2021.
- Puddington, Arch. *Rozgłoszenie Wolności: Tryumf Radia Wolna Europa I Radia Swoboda w zimnej wojnie*, Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika, 2009.
- Pula, J., ed. *The Polish American Encyclopedia*, McFarland & Company, Inc. 2011.
- Pula, James S. "Image, Status, Mobility and Integration in American Society: The Polish Experience," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 16, no. 1 (1996): 74-95, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27502139>.

- Qualter, Terence H., *Propaganda and Psychological Warfare*, Pickle Partners Publishing, 2020.
- Raphael, Tim. "The Body Electric: GE, TV, and the Reagan Brand," *TDR* (1988), vol. 53, no.2, (2009): 113-138.
- Rasmussen, Christopher. "Kennedy's Amerika: The Transcendent Turn in American Propaganda, 1961-1963," *Journalism History*, vol. 42, no. 3 (2016): 130-141.
- Rattanasengchanh, P. Michael. "Thai Hearts and Minds: The Public Diplomacy and Public Relations Programs of the United States Information Service and Thai Ministry of Interior, 1957 – 1979," The College of Arts and Sciences of Ohio University, May 2019.
- Rattanasengchanh, P. Michael. "U.S.-Thai Public Diplomacy: The Beginnings of a Military-Monarchical-Anti-Communist State, 1957-1963," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations*, vol. 23, no. 1, (2016): 56-87.
- Rawcliffe, Dalton. "The 'Special Relationship,' and the Overseas Chinese: The Information Research Department (IRD) and the United States Information Agency (USIA) Cold War Partnership in East Asia, 1950s-1970s," *Intelligence and National Security*, vol. 40, no. 1 (2024): 129-150.
- Real, Brian. "The Hidden History of the American Film Institute: The Cold War, Arts Policy, and American Film Preservation," *The Moving Image: The Journal of the Association of Moving Image Archivists*, vol. 18, no. 1 (2018): 25-47.
- Reid, Susan E. "Who Will Beat Whom? Soviet Popular Reception of the American National Exhibition in Moscow, 1959," *Kritika, Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, vol. 9, no. 4 (2008): 855-904.
- Reisch, Alfred A. *Hot Books in the Cold War: The CIA-Funded Secret Western Book Distribution Program Behind the Iron Curtain*, Central European University Press, 2013.
- Richmond, Yale. *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War: Raising the Iron Curtain*, Penn State University Press, 2003.
- Richmond, Yale. *Practicing Public Diplomacy: A Cold War Odyssey*, Berghahn Books, 2008.
- Richmond, Yale. *U.S.-Soviet Cultural Exchanges, 1958-1986: Who Wins?*, Westview Press, 1987.
- Rid, Thomas. *Active Measures: The Secret History of Disinformation and Political Warfare*, Picador, 2020.
- Risse, Thomas. "Global Governance and Communicative Action," *Government and Opposition*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2004): 288–313.
- Robert Banks, *CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy: A Resource Guide to Public Diplomacy Evaluation*, Figueroa Press, 2011
- Rose, Gillian. *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to Researching with Visual Materials*, Fourth Ed., SAGE, 2016.
- Ross, Christopher. "Pillars of Public Diplomacy: Grappling with International Public Opinion," *Harvard International Review*, vol. 25, no 2, (2003).
- Roth, Lois W. "Public Diplomacy and the Past: The Search for an American Style of Propaganda (1952-1977)," *The Fletcher Forum*, vol. 8, no. 2 (1884).
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality, 1755*, Dover Publications, 2004.
- Rubin, Ronald I. "The Legislative-Executive Relations of the United States Information Agency," *Parliamentary Affairs*, vol. 20, no. 2, (1966): 158-169.
- Sandeen, Eric J. *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and the 1950s America*, University of New Mexico Press, 1995.

- Sanger, David E. *New Cold Wars: China's Rise, Russia's Invasion, and America's Struggle to Defend the West*, The Crown Publishing Group, 2024.
- Saunders, Frances Stonor. *The Cultural Cold War: The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters* (The New Press, 2000).
- Schumacher, Frank. Review "Murrow's Cold War: Public Diplomacy for the Kennedy Administration," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 19, no. 4, (2017): 241-243.
- Schwalbe, Carol B. "Jacqueline Kennedy and Cold War Propaganda," *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, vol. 49, no. 1, (2005): 111-127.
- Schwenk, Melinda M. "'Negro Stars' and the USIA's Portrait of Democracy," *Race, Gender & Class*, vol. 8, no. 4 (2001): 116-139.
- Schwenk, Melinda M. "Reforming the Negative through History: The U.S. Information Agency and the 1957 Little Rock Integration Crisis," *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, vol. 23, no. 4, (1999): 257-272.
- Scott-Smith, Gilles. "Cultural Diplomacy." In *Global Diplomacy: Theories, Types, and Models*, ed. Alison R. Holmes and J. Simon Rofer, (Westview Press, 2016): 176-190.
- Seib, Philip, ed. *Toward a New Public Diplomacy: Redirecting U. S. Foreign Policy*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Sevin, Efe. *Public Diplomacy and the Implementation of Foreign Policy in the US, Sweden and Turkey*, Springer, 2017.
- Shulman, Holly Cowan. "The Voice of America, US Propaganda and the Holocaust: 'I would have remembered,'" *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, vol. 17, no. 1, (1997): 91-103.
- Signitzer, Benno H. and Timothy Coombs, "Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Conceptual Covergences," *Public Relations Review*, vol. 18, no. 2, (1992): 137-147.
- Sitkoff, Harvard. *The Struggle for Black Equality*, 25th anniversary ed., Hill and Wang, 2008.
- Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, 1776*, Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Smith, Bruce Lannes, et.al. *Propaganda, Communication and Public Opinion: A Comprehensive Reference Guide*, Princeton University Press, 1946.
- Sorensen, Thomas C., *The Word War: The Story of American Propaganda*, NY Harper & Row, 1968.
- Stanley, Jason. *How Propaganda Works*, Princeton University Press, 2015.
- Steinberg, Stephen. *Counterrevolution: The Crusade to Roll Back the Gains of the Civil Rights Movement*, Stanford University Press, 2022.
- Stephan, Halina, *Living in Translation: Polish Writers in America* (Rodopi, 2003).
- Supruniuk, Mirosław A. "Kronikarski obowiązek: Tadeusz Wittlin (1909-1998)," *Archiwum Emigracji. Studia – szkice – dokumenty* 2 (1999): 237-238.
- Szklarski, Bohdan, ed. *Mity, Symbole i Rytuały We Współczesnej Polityce. Szkice z antropologii polityki*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar, 2008.
- Szklarski, Bohdan. *Przywództwo symboliczne: między rządzeniem a reprezentacją: amerykańska prezydentura końca XX wieku*, Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 2006.
- Szondi, Gyorgy. *Discussion Papers in Diplomacy – Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding: Conceptual Similarities and Differences*, Netherlands Institute of International Relations 'Clingendael', 2008.
- Taylor, Joshua, Introduction, *200 lat malarstwa amerykańskiego*, USIA, 1976.
- Tindall, George and David E. Shi. *Historia Stanów Zjednoczonych*, Wydawnictwo Zysk i S-ka, 2006.
- Tobias Nanz and Hedwig Wagner, eds. *Cold War Europe: A Space of Communication*, De Gruyter, 2024.

- Tolvaisas, Tomas. "Cold War 'Bridge Building': U.S. Exchange Exhibits and Their Reception in the Soviet Union, 1959-1967," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, vol. 12, no. 4 (2010): 3-31.
- Tuch, Hans N. *Communicating with the World: U.S. Public Diplomacy Overseas*, Georgetown University, 1990.
- Tudda, Chris. *The Truth is Our Weapon: The Rhetorical Diplomacy of Dwight D. Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles*, Louisiana State University Press, 2006.
- Turska, Irena. *Almanach baletu polskiego, 1945-1974*, Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1983.
- Tyszkiewicz, Jakub. *Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych Wobec Polski w Okresie Rządów Johna F. Kennedy'ego*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2011.
- Tyszkiewicz, Jakub. *Rozbijanie Monolitu: Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych Wobec Polski 1945-1988*, PWN, 2015.
- Van Leeuwen, Theo. *Discourse and Practice: New Tools for Critical Discourse Analysis*, Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Verbeke, Johan. *Diplomacy in Practice: A Critical Approach*, Routledge, 2023.
- Virden, Dick. "The Uses and Abuses of Public Diplomacy: Winning and Losing Hearts and Minds" In *Nontraditional U.S. Public Diplomacy: Past, Present, and Future*, edited by Deborah L. Trent, Public Diplomacy Council, 2016.
- Von Eschen, Penny. *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War*, Harvard University Press, 2009.
- Walaszek, Adam. *Migracje Europejczyków 1650-1914*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2007.
- Waller, J. Michael. *Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare*, The Institute of World Politics Press, 2008.
- Wandycz, Piotr. *The United States and Poland*, Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Wang, Jian. "Telling the American story to the world: The purpose of U.S. public diplomacy in historical perspective," *Public Relations Review*, vol. 33, no. 1 (2007): 21-30.
- Wasilewski, Krzysztof. "Obraz Kobiety w Propagandzie Amerykańskiej i Radzieckiej 1958–1960," *Naukowy Przegląd Dziennikarski*, vol. 1 (2015): 62-76.
- Weiner, Tim. *The Folly and the Glory: America, Russia, and Political Warfare 1945-2020*, Henry Holt and Company, 2020.
- Werth, Karsten. "A Surrogate for War – The U.S. Space Program in the 1960s," *Amerikastudien/American Studies*, vol. 49, no. 4 (2004): 563-587.
- White, Ralph K. "Soviet Reactions to Our Moscow Exhibit: Voting Machines and Comment Books," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol. 23, no. 4 (1959-1960): 461-470.
- Whitfield, Stephen J. *The Culture of the Cold War*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Whittaker, James O. "Cognitive Dissonance and the Effectiveness of Persuasive Communications," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, vol 28, no. 4, (1964): 547-555.
- Whyte, Jeffrey. "Psychological War in Vietnam: Governmentality at the United States Information Agency," *Geopolitics*, vol. 23, no. 3 (2017): 1-29, DOI: 10.1080/14650045.2017.1342623.
- Wimmer, Roger D. and Joseph R. Dominick, *Mass media: metody badan*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2008.
- Witek, Piotr. "Metodologiczne problemy historii wizualnej," *Res Historica*, vol. 37 (2014): 159-176.
- Wojdon, Joanna and Tyszkiewicz, Jakub. "The Image of Tadeusz Kościuszko in Postwar Polish Education," *The Polish Review* vol. 59, no. 3 (2014): 81-94.
- Wojdon, Joanna. "'The Sunshine Lady' Lidia Pucińska," *Polish American Studies* vol. 79 no. 1 (2022): 20-34.

- Wojdon, Joanna. *Polish American History after 1939: Polish American History from 1854 to 2004*, vol 2, Routledge, 2024.
- Wojdon, Joanna. *White and Red Umbrella: Polish American Congress in the Cold War Era*, Helena History Press, 2015.
- Wolfe, Audra J. *Freedom's Laboratory: The Cold War Struggle for the Soul of Science*, John Hopkins University Press, 2018.
- Zaharna, R.S. *Battles to Bridges: U.S. Strategic Communication and Public Diplomacy after 9/11* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
- Znaniecka Lopata, Helena. *Polish Americans: Status competition in an ethnic community*, Prentice-Hall, 1976.

ONLINE RESOURCES

- Baza Box Office filmów polskich i zagranicznych, *Box Office'owy Zawrót Głowy*, <http://boxoffice-bozg.pl/>
- Baza filmów zagranicznych, pełnometrażowych i dystrybuowanych w polskich kinach w latach 1945-1989, „Oglądanie w PRL,” Katedra Filmu i Mediów Audiowizualnych, Instytut Kultury Współczesnej, Wydział Filologiczny Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, <http://ogladanewprl.uni.lodz.pl/films>
- Cyfrowy Słownik Pisarzy, Badaczy XX i XI wieku, Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, <https://pisarzeibadacze.ibl.edu.pl/>
- El Nacional*, <https://www.elnacional.com>
- Fulbright Program (IIE) <https://us.fulbrightonline.org/>
- Fulbright Program, www.fulbrightprogram.org
- Pinkowski Files, A Data Base of American Polonia www.poles.org/db
- White Mad*, www.whitemad.pl

OTHER SOURCES

- Baldyga, Leonard J., “Letting Poland be Poland”: An Overview of American Public and Cultural Diplomacy in Poland – Speech at the Institute for Management, Warsaw, May 18, 2011.
- Bednarski, Wojciech. *Sytuacja wewnętrzna w okresie prezydentur John F. Kennedy’ego i Lyndona B. Johnsona w świetle polskiej prasy. Studium języka i mechanizmów propagandy*. PhD thesis supervised by Prof. dr hab. Jakub Tyszkiewicz, Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2023.
- Grynberg, Henryk. “Letter: Do Redakcji Szpilek, Warszawa, plac Trzech Krzyży 16, Polska,” Diary, March 02, 1972, courtesy of Grynberg.
- Halicka, Beata, “Polish Emigre Women: Resilience, Identity, and Legacy in Postwar America,” European University Institute, January 17, 2025, <https://www.eui.eu/news-hub?id=polish-emigre-women-resilience-identity-and-legacy-in-postwar-america>, accessed: January 2025.
- Halicka, Beata. “‘I Was Born a Writer:’ On the Challenges of Working on the Biography of Danuta Mostwin,” *The Polish American Historical Association Annual Meeting* (New York, January 2025).
- Romero Jr., Aldemaro, “Ruth Slenczynska, the Pianist Who Took Her Future in Her Hands.” In *CUNY Academic Works*, Baruch College Publications and Research, City University of New York, 2012.

Attachment 1

The multi-step pipeline for the corpus analysis performed in September 2025 with regex patterns (regular expression) out of previously selected keywords. The following code, based on initial AI recommendations, was employed in *Python* for the creation of the timeline charts for each subchapter:

```
# subchapters_over_time_bw.py from pathlib import Path
import re
from collections import Counter import pandas as pd
import matplotlib as mpl import matplotlib.pyplot as plt
# ===== CONFIGURATION
indir = Path(r"C:\Users\Anna\Documents\txt\Text 2") # <-- your folder with .txt files outdir =
Path(r"C:\Users\Anna\Documents\plots_subchapters")
YEAR_MIN, YEAR_MAX = 1959, 1992
NORMALIZE_PER = 10000
STRIP_DIACRITICS=False #setTrueifOCRoftendropsaccents(ł->l,ś->s)
# ---- 12 subchapters: regex patterns (case-insensitive via (?i)) ---- SUBCHAPTERS = {
# 1. The American Dream
"1a_Economic success and upward mobility":
r"(?i)\b(imigrant\w*sukces\w*rodzin\w*prac\w*służb\w*dum\w*wspólnot\w*poch
odzeni\w*własny\w*pożycz\w*kredyt\w*migracj\w*przedmie\w*kapitalizm\w*zwią
zk\w*+s+zawodow\w*przedsiębiorstw\w*prosperity\w*wolność\w*budżet\w*wolny\w*ry
nek\w*inicjatyw\w*podatk\w*inflacj\w*bezroboci\w*produktywno\w*decentralizacj\w
*konserwatyzm\w*reform\w*miar\w*odwag\w*siła\w*bezpieczeństw\w*biurokracj\
w*liberalizm\w*populizm\w*wartość\w*praw\w*demokracj\w*koalicj\w*korporacj\
w*intelektualizm\w*moralność\w*edukacj\w*indywidualizm\w*bogactw\w*innowacj\
w*przedsięwzięc\w*porażk\w*zwolnion\w*ograniczon\w*bankructw\w*komunizm\
w*)\b",
"1b_Consumerism and material culture":
r"(?i)\b(obfitość\w*wybor\w*wszystk\w*różnorodno\w*kornukopia\w*nowoczesn\w*ule
psz\w*zmechanizowan\w*plastik\w*automat\w*pani\w*domu\w*niewiast\w*wyzwolo
n\w*łatwość\w*przyjemność\w*bied\w*ubóstw\w*trud\w*niedostatk\w*nędz\w*kło
pot\w*głód\w*)\b",
# 2. Knowledge and Innovation
"2a_Scientific and Technological Advancement":
r"(?i)\b(nowy\w*modernistyczn\w*nowoczesn\w*wiedza\w*nauk\w*postęp\w*progr
es\w*osiągni\w*rozwoj\w*tryumf\w*przyszłość\w*kosmos\w*satelit\w*planet\w*k
siężyc\w*ZSRR\w*Stany\w*Zjednoczon\w*Polsk\w*współprac\w*świat\w*ludzkosć\w*Z
wiązek\w*Radzieck\w*pokojow\w*zysk\w*badan\w*eksploracj\w*niezapomnian\w*
imponując\w*odważn\w*heroiczn\w*jedność\w*przełomow\w*nuklearn\w*lepsze\w*)\b",
"2b_Progressive America":
r"(?i)\b(helikopter\w*autostrad\w*drog\w*most\w*lotnisk\w*statk\w*port\w*budy
nk\w*wieżowc\w*osiedl\w*motoryzacj\w*innowacj\w*monumentaln\w*funkcjonal
n\w*rozmach\w*rozbudow\w*rozkwit\w*milion\w*tysiąc\w*dolar\w*rozległ\w*szty
bk\w*dostęp\w*powiększon\w*pojemn\w*połączon\w*centraln\w*pokój\w*rodzin
ny\w*dom\w*kuchni\w*łazienk\w>wygoda\w*dzieci\w*przestrze\w*komfort\w*plastik\
w*alumini\w*szkło\w*automat\w*maszyn\w*sprzęt\w*urządzen\w*opakowan\w*k
olorow\w*piękno\w*oryginaln\w*artystyczn\w>eleganck\w*)\b",
# 3. Polish Americans, Shared Values, Religion
```


"3a_Polish Americans and Shared Values":

r"(?i)\b(Polonia|dziedzictw\w*|tradycj\w*|wspólnot\w*|dom\w*|kultur\w*|ośrodek\w*|kościół\w*|nabożeństw\w*|święt\w*|chrześcijaństw\w*|histori\w*|naród\w*|ojczyzn\w*|niepodległość\w*|wdzięczność\w*|bohater\w*|rewolucj\w*|s+amerykańsk\w*|Pułaski|Kościuszko|Paderewski|Kopernik|Chopin|wolność\w*|wiar\w*|współprac\w*|więź\w*|przyjaźń\w*|dobroć\w*|postęp\w*|wspóln\w*)\b",

"3b_Religious Messaging and the Pope":

r"(?i)\b(pokój\w*|błogosławieństw\w*|msza\w*|święt\w*|wiar\w*|Bóg|naród\w*|wolność\w*|Matka\w*|Boska|rodzin\w*|prawa\w*|człowieka|tradycj\w*|obron\w*|niezłom\w*|uroczyst\w*|godność\w*|nadziej\w*|walk\w*|kościół\w*|papież\w*|Jan\w*|Paweł|Karol\w*|Wojtyła|pielgrzymk\w*|bohater\w*|chrześcijaństw\w*|wyznani\w*|modlitw\w*)\b",

4. Lifestyle and Culture

"4a_The image of life in the US":

r"(?i)\b(automatyczn\w*|samochod\w*|aut\w*|silnik\w*|niezależn\w*|wolność\w*|jecha\w*|podróż\w*|now\w*|większ\w*|luksus\w*|komfort\w*|dum\w*|swobod\w*|bezpieczeństw\w*|indywidual\w*|innowacyj\w*|sport\w*|futbol\w*|baseball\w*|sportow\w*|koszykówk\w*|bohater\w*)\b",

"4b_Art & Culture":

r"(?i)\b(najwybitniejszy\w*|fascynując\w*|wielk\w*|mistrz\w*|niezwykł\w*|czarując\w*|słynn\w*|popularn\w*|Pulitzer|Nobel|kanon\w*|klasyk\w*|tradycj\w*|arcydzieł\w*|przetwarzani\w*|integracj\w*|odpowiedzialność\w*|charakter\w*|powieść\w*|wiersz\w*|poemat\w*|dramat\w*|esej\w*|rzeźb\w*|wystaw\w*|film\w*|obraz\w*|pisarz\w*|malarz\w*|literatur\w*|Hollywood|Broadway)\b",

5. Race and Class

"5a_Race":

r"(?i)\b(murzyn\w*|czarn\w*|progres\w*|integracj\w*|demokracj\w*|wolność\w*|równ\w*|praw\w*|instytucj\w*|biał\w*|segregacj\w*|dyskryminacj\w*|przemoc\w*|niewolnik\w*|niewolnictw\w*|systemow\w*|sąd\w*|rząd\w*|obywatelsk\w*|protest\w*|marsz\w*|równouprawnieni\w*|rewolucj\w*|zmian\w*|bierny\w*|opór)\b",

"5b_Class":

r"(?i)\b(nowoczesn\w*|współczesn\w*|technicz\w*|maszyn\w*|innowacj\w*|przyszłość\w*|rodzin\w*|dom\w*|kościół\w*|żon\w*|dzieci\w*|wspólnot\w*|dum\w*|niezależn\w*|rozwoj\w*|równ\w*|praca\w*|związk\w*|s+zawodow\w*|zawód\w*|robotnik\w*|pracownik\w*|pracodawc\w*|zakład\w*|fabryk\w*|dochod\w*|bezroboci\w*|świadczon\w*|podatek\w*|ubezpieczen\w*)\b",

6. Women

"6a_Polish American women":

r"(?i)\b(pionier\w*|wirtuoz\w*|niesamowit\w*|innowacyjn\w*|dyscyplin\w*|ambasador\w*|tradycj\w*|korzen\w*|Polsk\w*|Polk\w*|naukowc\w*|artystk\w*|karier\w*|możliwość\w*|wyzwolon\w*|uwolnion\w*|woln\w*|nowoczesn\w*|kobiet\w*|kobie\w*|męsk\w*|mężczyzn\w*|mąż\w*|piękn\w*|ładn\w*|przystojn\w*|uśmiechnięt\w*|czarując\w*|eleganck\w*|pani\w*|domu|niewiast\w*|gospodyni\w*|żon\w*|matk\w*|domow\w*|małżeństw\w*|kuchni\w*|feminizm\w*|feministk\w*|młod\w*)\b",

"6b_American women and feminism":

r"(?i)\b(chemi\w*|fizyk\w*|biologi\w*|farmacj\w*|badani\w*|studentk\w*|laboratori\w*|nauk\w*|prac\w*|karier\w*|wyzwolon\w*|naukowc\w*|piękn\w*|ładn\w*|przystojn\w*|uśmiechnięt\w*|czarując\w*|eleganck\w*|pani\w*|domu|niewiast\w*|gospodyni\w*|żon\w*|matk\w*|domow\w*|małżeństw\w*|kuchni\w*|feminizm\w*|feministk\w*|młod\w*|kobiet\w*|kobie\w*|męsk\w*|mężczyzn\w*|mąż\w*)\b",

}

```

# ----- Optional diacritic handling ----- if STRIP_DIACRITICS:
from unidecode import unidecode
# ----- Matplotlib B/W house style ----- mpl.rcParams.update({
"savefig.dpi": 300, # export at 300 dpi "axes.edgecolor": "0", "axes.labelcolor": "0",
"text.color": "0",
"xtick.color": "0", "ytick.color": "0", "axes.grid": False, "font.size": 11,
# Uncomment if you want a serif font (common in history theses):
# "font.family": "Times New Roman", })
# ----- Helpers -----
YEAR_RE = re.compile(r"\b(1[89]\d{2}|20\d{2})\b")
def read_text(path: Path) -> str:
for enc in ("utf-8", "cp1250", "latin1"):
try:
return path.read_text(encoding=enc)
except UnicodeDecodeError: continue
return path.read_text(errors="ignore")
def extract_year_from_name(name: str): m = YEAR_RE.search(name)
return int(m.group(0)) if m else None
# ----- Prepare ----- OUTDIR.mkdir(parents=True, exist_ok=True)
files = sorted(indir.glob("*.txt"), key=lambda p: p.name) if not files:
raise SystemExit(f"No .txt files found in {indir}")
compiled = {k: re.compile(v) for k, v in SUBCHAPTERS.items()}
yearly_tokens = Counter()
yearly_counts = {k: Counter() for k in SUBCHAPTERS}
# ----- Pass 1: count per file and aggregate to years ----- for f in files:
year = extract_year_from_name(f.name)
if year is None or not (YEAR_MIN <= year <= YEAR_MAX):
continue
txt = read_text(f)
if STRIP_DIACRITICS: txt = unidecode(txt)
txt_lc = txt.lower()
# token count for normalization (simple word-ish tokens) n_tokens =
len(re.findall(r"\b\w+\b", txt_lc, flags=re.UNICODE)) yearly_tokens[year] += n_tokens
for key, rgx in compiled.items():
yearly_counts[key][year] += sum(1 for _ in rgx.finditer(txt_lc))
# ----- Build data + plots -----
years = list(range(YEAR_MIN, YEAR_MAX + 1)) all_rows = []
for key in SUBCHAPTERS:
counts = [yearly_counts[key].get(y, 0) for y in years]
tokens = [yearly_tokens.get(y, 0) for y in years]
rates = [(c / t * NORMALIZE_PER) if t > 0 else 0.0 for c, t in zip(counts, tokens)]
df = pd.DataFrame({
"subchapter": key,
"year": years,
"count": counts,
"tokens": tokens, f"rate_per_{NORMALIZE_PER}": rates
}) all_rows.append(df)
# ---- Plot (B/W): normalized line (black) + bars (gray), fixed axes ---- print(f"Plotting {key}
...")
fig, ax1 = plt.subplots(figsize=(10, 5))

```

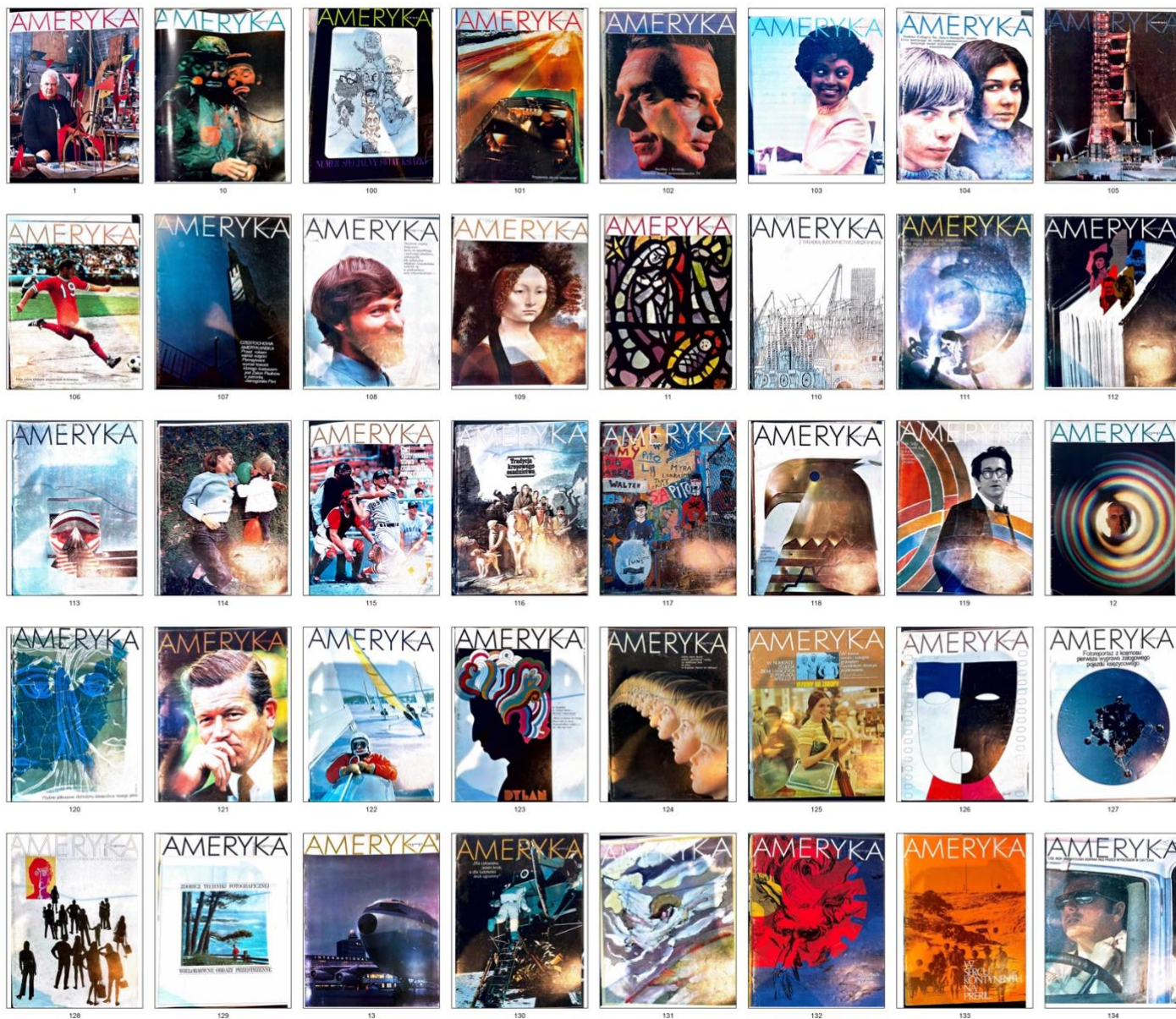
```

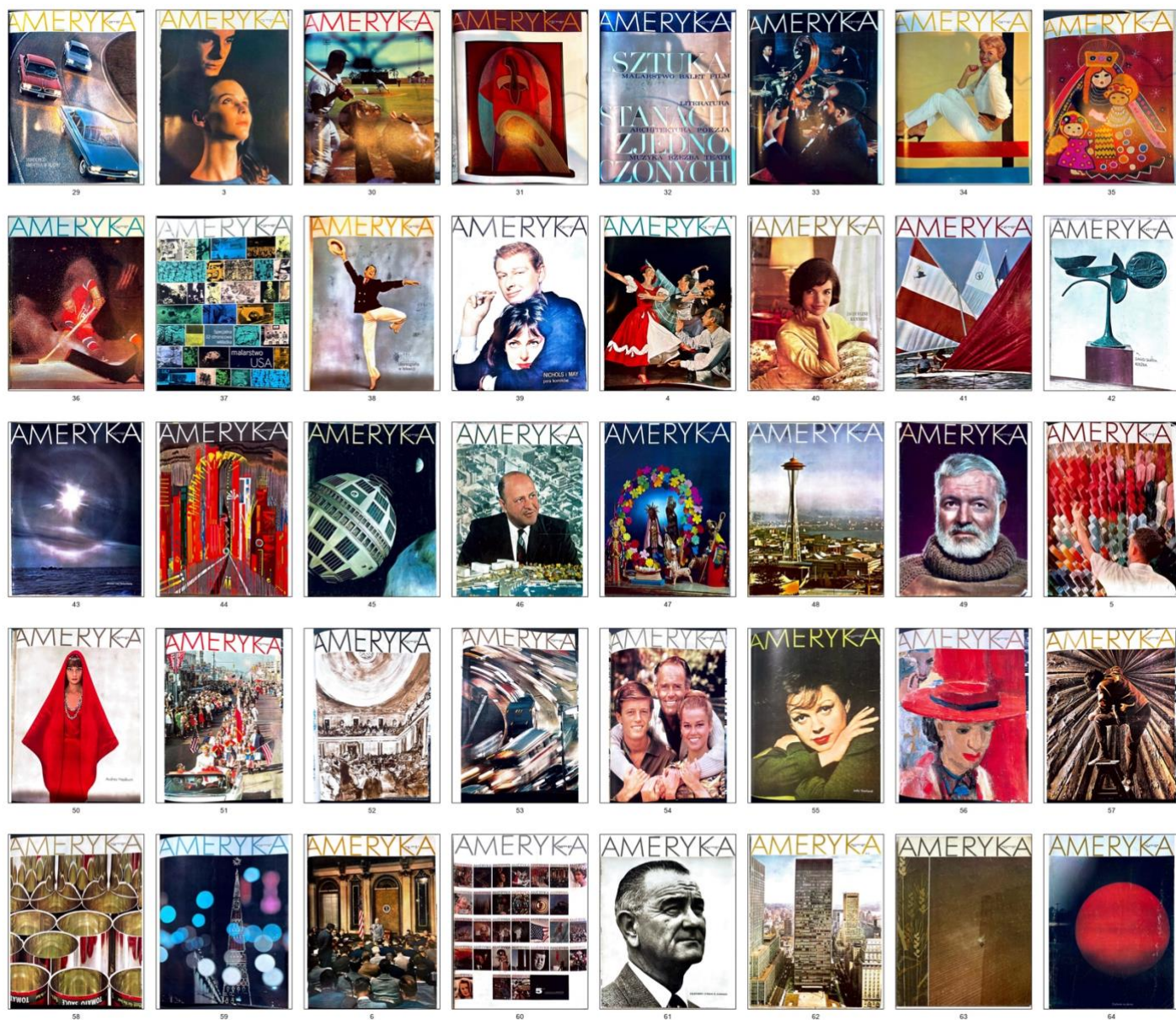
# Normalized line (secondary y-axis), drawn first ax2 = ax1.twinx()
ax2.plot(
df["year"], df[f"rate_per_{NORMALIZE_PER}"],
linewidth=2.2, color="0", label=f"Hits per {NORMALIZE_PER} words" )
ax2.set_ylabel(f"Hits per {NORMALIZE_PER} words (normalized)") ax2.set_ylim(0, 100) #
fixed normalized scale
# Absolute bars (gray)
ax1.bar(df["year"], df["count"], color="0.7", alpha=0.9) ax1.set_xlabel("Year")
ax1.set_ylabel("Absolute hits (yearly)") ax1.set_ylim(0, 5000) # fixed absolute scale
# Optional: year ticks every 2 years (uncomment one) # ax1.set_xticks([y for y in years if y %
2 == 0])
# ax1.set_xticks([y for y in years if y % 5 == 0])
ax1.set_title(f'{key}: absolute vs normalized frequency ({YEAR_MIN}-{YEAR_MAX})')
ax2.legend(loc="upper right", frameon=False)
fig.tight_layout()
safe = re.sub(r"^[A-Za-z0-9_-]+", "_", key) fig.savefig(OUTDIR / f'{safe}_bw.png",
dpi=300) plt.close(fig)
# ----- Save CSV with all subchapters -----
final_df = pd.concat(all_rows, ignore_index=True)
final_df.to_csv(OUTDIR / "subchapters_yearly_frequencies.csv", index=False,
encoding="utf-8")
# ----- Corpus size chart (B/W; free y-axis) ----- print("Plotting corpus size ...")
df_size = pd.DataFrame({
"year": years,
"tokens": [yearly_tokens.get(y, 0) for y in years] })
fig, ax = plt.subplots(figsize=(10, 5))
ax.bar(df_size["year"], df_size["tokens"], color="0.7", alpha=0.9) ax.set_xlabel("Year")
ax.set_ylabel("Corpus size (tokens)")
ax.set_title("Corpus size per year")
fig.tight_layout()
fig.savefig(OUTDIR / "corpus_size_bw.png", dpi=300)
plt.close(fig)
print(f'Done. Output in: {OUTDIR.resolve()}')

```

Attachment 2

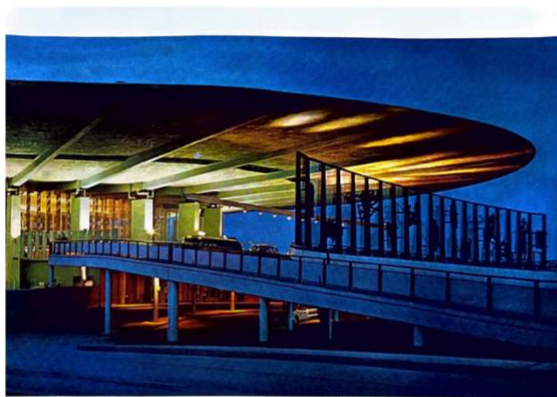
Examples of *Ameryka*'s covers scanned manually by author at the National Library in Warsaw, Poland.





Attachment 3

Examples of *Ameryka*'s visual messages scanned manually by author. Issues from the author's private collection.



Ameryka no. 60 (1963)



Samaśchid jid dawno wyprali w Stronach Zjednoczonych rzucając kocioł. Rynek amerykański wchodzi w tym roku około 8 miliardów złotych samoschidów złotych. Kłó się tutaj z niedzielnymi złota polskiego o 250 miliardów, jakie znajdują się obecnie w rękach złotych złotych wynoszących. Kaszt od 1756 złotych wywóz. A to gdzie wywóz nowych technicznych z lekkiego metalu rozwijający moc 423 KM, klimatyzacja regulowana termoelektryczna, izolacja akustyczna na terenach otwartych.



Ameryka no. 65 (1964)



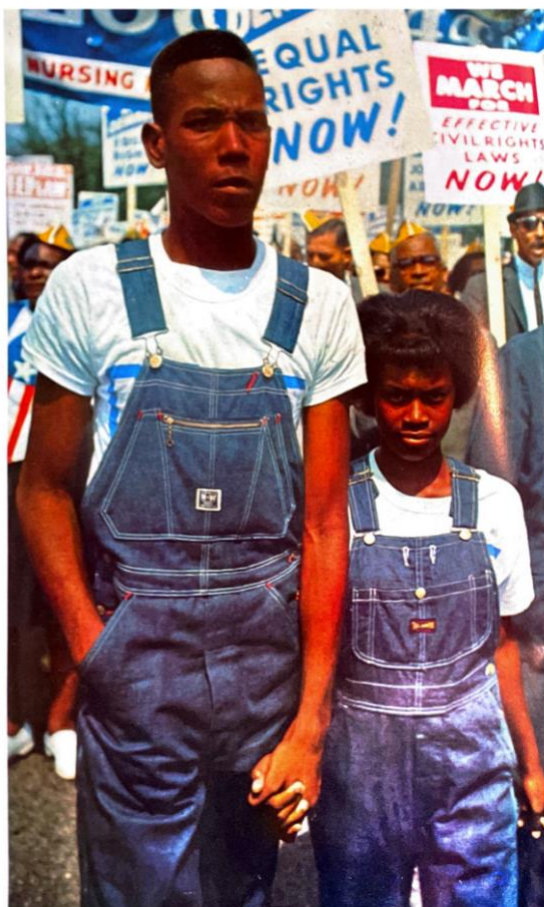
Ameryka no. 11 (1959)



Obok autostrad miejskich
rośnie nowa sieć
szos międzymiastowych

[illegible]

Ameryka no. 68 (1964)



MODA W ŻYCIU CODZIENNYM

INNOWACJA W DOMU: POKÓJ RODZINNY

Title: *Heblich-Blessing* *by* *Josephine Margaretta McCaffy*

Pewnie innowacja architektoniczna wtedy przemawia do wyobraźni ogółu, gdy zaspokoja powszechne potrzeby lub pragnienia i spełnia przy tym ważną rolę w codziennym życiu dzięki użyteczności i zyskaniu na przestrzeni. Tzw. „pokój rodzinny” odpowiada tym wymaganiom i dlatego w ciągu ostatniego dziesięciolecia stał się niemal niedrozwym w milionach amerykańskich domów.

Co to jest ów pokój rodzinny? Za przykład posłuży ten, który widzimy na zdjęciach na niniejszej stronie i następnych, w mieszkaniu Mickey i Elaine Feiner w St. Louis. Gdy dawniej rodzinie wykorzystywane łóżeczka dla całow masykalnych, dziś ludzie umiesławiane podziemie są to częścią domu, gdzie się chcą przebywać. Każdy z rodziny może tam wykonalne ulubione zajęcia i przyjmować gości w atmosferze pełnej swobody.

Pakki rodziny używane w każdym domu naszej, zależnie od zainteresowań właścicieli, pewnie jednak elementy są wszystkie takie same. Przy doprowadzaniu surowy do stanu czystości korzysta się z materiałów, które nie wymagają zbytniego wysiłku przy starannym porządku. Ponadto pakki rodziny tak jest urządzone, by nie było dużej szkody gdy należało się łuska lub trawic, wygoić, co zresztą Melchior tak poki bierze się pod uwagę raczej jego przeznaczenie, trwałość, wygodę i codzienną potrzebę niż przepych.



Ameryka no. 69 (1964)

Ameryka no. 12 (1959)



Zakupy zrobione, Nancy idzie z wózkami do kasy. Kasjerka oblicza towary ustawione na przesuwającej się taśmie: a 7500 artykułów naszego klienta wybrała 33 na sumę 23,75 dol. Peckci wdręją do toreb papierowych i na wózek. Nancy podjeżdża samochodem do chodnika, pracowników sklepowy umieszcza w nim torby i za chwilę brzości *jeżdżą do dziesięciu-kilku szpitali*.



ABSTRACT

“Pixie Dust.” *Ameryka* Magazine within USIA’s Programming for Poland 1959-1992

This dissertation aims to address a historiographical gap by providing the first comprehensive study of *Ameryka* as a unique media phenomenon published by the U.S. Information Agency from 1959 to 1992, within the cultural and political context of the People’s Republic of Poland. Employing a holistic approach, this study considers *Ameryka* as a multifaceted cultural diplomacy medium. Rather than analyzing individual topics, the research examines how *Ameryka* integrated various elements of American soft power, such as art, science, music, technology, economy, politics, religion, and narratives about Polish Americans, into a unified, accessible, and coherent ideological package. By tracing *Ameryka*’s evolution across three decades, this research illuminates the U.S. strategy of projecting an integrated American “way of life” in all its spheres.

The magazine’s content, including its carefully crafted narratives, images, and designs, conveyed ideological meanings. Despite its wide-ranging themes, each topic was treated with expertise, contributing to a coherent narrative about the United States. Although the magazine was produced by Americans, a skilled Polish editorial team localized it ensuring its resonance with Polish readers behind the Iron Curtain while maintaining its strategic communicative goals.

Based on American archives available in the U.S. and in Europe, interviews, and meticulous analysis of the magazine’s content, this work is based on heuristics and historical synthesis using the inductive method. It combines historical research on American-Polish relations in the sphere of USIA’s public diplomacy programming with critical discourse analysis and media studies. The analysis of *Ameryka* uses qualitative and quantitative methodologies to capture the magazine’s full scope. The following research questions guide this study: How did the USIA consistently weave together diverse strands of cultural diplomacy into a coherent ideological package, using *Ameryka* as a case study. Which American soft power messages were emphasized, downplayed, or omitted? What image of *Ameryka* was projected onto Poles? Did *Ameryka* maintain a consistent image of the United States, or did it adapt in response to changing circumstances between 1959 and 1992?

STRESZCZENIE

“Pylek Dzwoneczka.” Magazyn „Ameryka” w kontekście programów USIA w Polsce 1959-1992

Niniejsza rozprawa ma na celu wypełnienie luki historiograficznej poprzez przedstawienie pierwszego kompleksowego opracowania poświęconego magazynowi „Ameryka” publikowanemu przez Amerykańską Agencję Informacyjną w Polsce w latach 1959-1992. W niniejszym opracowaniu zastosowano podejście holistyczne, koncentrując się na „Ameryce”, traktując ją jako wieloaspektową platformę dyplomacji kulturalnej. Badanie ukazuje w jaki sposób redakcja czasopisma zintegrowała różne elementy amerykańskiej *miękkiej siły* (soft power), takie jak sztuka, nauka, muzyka, technologia, gospodarka, polityka, religia i narracje o Polonii amerykańskiej w przystępny i spójny ideologicznie pakiet. Śledząc ewolucję „Ameryki” na przestrzeni trzech dekad, niniejsze badanie rzuca światło na strategię USIA polegającą na promowaniu zintegrowanego amerykańskiego stylu życia we wszystkich jego sferach.

Treść magazynu, w tym starannie opracowane narracje, zdjęcia i projekty graficzne, przekazywały ideologiczne treści. Pomimo szerokiego zakresu tematycznego „Ameryki”, każdy z tematów był traktowany ze znanstwem, co przyczyniło się do budowania spójnego obrazu Stanów Zjednoczonych. Chociaż magazyn był wydawany przez Amerykanów, wykwalifikowany polski zespół redakcyjny dostosowywał jego treści do lokalnych warunków, zapewniając odpowiedni wydźwięk wśród polskich czytelników za żelazną kurtyną, przy jednoczesnym zachowaniu strategicznych celów komunikacyjnych.

Praca powstała w oparciu o kwerendy archiwalne przeprowadzone w USA oraz w krajach europejskich, wywiady oraz szczegółową analizę treści i zawartości „Ameryki.” Metody badawcze oparto na heurystyce i syntezie historycznej z wykorzystaniem metody indukcyjnej. Badania historyczne z obszaru stosunków amerykańsko-polskich w zakresie programów dyplomacji publicznej USIA połączona z krytyczną analizą dyskursu i studiami nad mediami. W analizie czasopisma „Ameryka” wykorzystano metodę jakościową i ilościową, by uchwycić możliwie pełny zakres przekazu. W dysertacji przedstawiono następujące pytania badawcze: W jaki sposób USIA łączyła różne wątki dyplomacji kulturalnej w spójny pakiet ideologiczny, na przykładzie „Ameryki”? Które elementy amerykańskiej *miękkiej siły* (soft power) były podkreślane, bagatelizowane lub pomijane? Jaki obraz Stanów Zjednoczonych był przedstawiany Polakom? Czy „Ameryka” utrzymywała spójny wizerunek USA, czy też dostosowywała się do zmieniających się okoliczności politycznych w latach 1959-1992?