

**Poland Is Not Yet Lost:**  
**The 303rd 'Kosciuszko' Squadron's Aerial Triumphs**  
**and the Tragedy of its Betrayal by the West**

Owen Ooms  
Junior Division  
Research Paper

2,492 Words

“Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few,” said Winston Churchill in his famous speech ‘The Few’ delivered to the House of Commons on August 20, 1940. Churchill’s words applied to the 3,000 airmen who fought in the Battle of Britain, of whom 145 were Poles. His words especially applied to the 37 men of the 303rd Kosciuszko squadron who, following the tragic loss of their country to Germany in 1939, escaped the Nazi regime and fled to England. These pilots fought not only to help the Allies but also to regain pre-war Polish independence. These valiant men made crucial contributions that helped the Allies triumph in Europe, but tragically, at the Yalta Conference in 1945, Allied leaders condemned Poland to eastern communism. The debt of gratitude due to these airmen would never be repaid; and in a sense, World War II for Poland would not end until 1991 with the capitulation of the Soviet Union, 52 years after Poland began her fight to maintain freedom.

The inspiration for the WWII 303rd ‘Kosciuszko’ squadron was created following WWI. Partitioned by Russia since 1797, Poland sought independence. Amidst the transition from Tsarist to Communist Russia, the Polish people recognized an opportunity to escape the emerging and unstable Soviet Union (USSR). Their fight for independence, known as the Soviet-Polish War, lasted from February 1919 to March 1921. The Polish military was assisted by a group of American volunteer pilots who comprised the 7th Air Escadrille. The pilots strived to give Poland what Tadeusz Kościuszko, a Polish chief engineer of the Continental Army, had given to America centuries before. “[Kosciuszko’s] talent... [with fortifications] played a crucial role in the American [revolutionary] war effort” (Chodakiewicz). Thus, they could find no name more befitting.

At the end of the Soviet-Polish War, following the decisive Battle of Warsaw, Polish independence was achieved. However, this would be short-lived, for, within two decades, Poland would once again be occupied and partitioned by the USSR and Germany. Germany too had long sought to annex Poland as Hans von Seeckt, the German Army's Commander-in-Chief, wrote in 1922, "Poland's existence is intolerable and incompatible with Germany's vital interests. She must disappear..." (Cynk 184). In Germany, the National Socialist German Workers' (Nazi) Party was gaining power under dictator Adolf Hitler. On August 23, 1939, a pact between Germany and the USSR, the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, neutralized the possibility of Soviet resistance to the German takeover of Poland, and the two countries secretly agreed to divide Eastern Europe. The pact also stated that the USSR would not aid France and Britain who had signed the Polish-British Common Defence Pact and Franco-Polish Military Alliance, promising to assist Poland if it were invaded. On September 1, Germany invaded Poland. Poland's allies declared war but provided little help. Piloting planes technologically 20 years behind those of the Germans, Poland's outdated military stood little chance against the modern, innovative German forces. The crippled country's defenses were further impaired when the Soviet Union invaded on September 17. World War II had begun, but Poland seemed to be fighting alone.

Poland fell on October 6, 1939, following the Siege of Warsaw, the last significant stand of the Polish military. Though Poland's forces were forced to retreat from the advancing German army and flee the country, the government refused to surrender, instead choosing to operate in exile from England. Jan Zumbach, an extraordinary ace of the Kosciuszko Squadron, escaped to France through Romania. When France succumbed to Germany in June 1940, the fighter pilots, Zumbach included, once again had to flee – this time to Europe's last hope, Britain. Ironically,

France who had scorned Poland's loss to the Nazis suffered the same fate. "The French... tended to belittle the Poles and their brave and desperate attempts to resist. Encouraged by false Nazi propaganda, the French thought the Poles had lost their country through incompetence... [helping] lead the French to ignore their military weaknesses and overestimate [their] security" (Cloud 82). Nonetheless, the fall of France foreshadowed something more menacing: the entire weight of the Luftwaffe, the German air force, aimed at Britain.

The first Polish pilots to reach England arrived on December 8, 1939, but by June 1940, more than 2,000 air personnel were on British soil. The 303 'Kosciuszko' squadron itself began to organize in July as part of the Anglo-Polish Agreement, a pact between the Polish government in exile and the British government, that created the 302nd and 303rd Squadrons. "Poles never really considered [303] a new unit, but a continuation of the squadron's history dating back to 1918" (Ratuszynski), as the flying personnel consisted of very experienced pilots of the 111 "Kosciuszko" and 112 "Warszawa" Eskadra of the Polish Air Force. Tragically, their aptitude was not recognized by the British despite the flying experience of the pilots, most of whom had defended Poland and France during the German invasions. "Pilots [of the] 303 Squadron were ordered to ride tricycles – all equipped with radio, speed indicators, and compasses – around airfields in flying formations..." (Gasior). Pilot Officer Jan Zumbach wrote in his memoirs: "The British were wasting so much of our time with their childish exercises when all of us had already won our wings" (Zumbach 74). The underestimation of the Polish pilots' prowess was mainly due to German propaganda. As John Kent, a Canadian-born Lieutenant in the Royal Air Force (RAF), later recalled, "All I knew about the Polish Air Force was that it had only lasted about three days against the Luftwaffe, and I had no reason to suppose that they would shine any more

brightly operating from England” (Kent). This tragic viewpoint was not unique; it was even shared by the Commander-in-Chief of Fighter Command, Sir Hugh Dowding, though that would soon change. During a 303 training flight on August 30, 1940, Ludwik Paszkiewicz was the first of the squadron to spot and shoot down a German plane. “On his return to Northolt, Flying Officer Paszkiewicz was reprimanded for breaking discipline and congratulated on his and the squadron’s first triumph. The next day the squadron was declared fully operational” (Gasior).

The decision to declare the Kosciuszko Squadron operational was timely. German bombs continued to rain down upon England as the Luftwaffe strove to eliminate the RAF and enable a ground invasion. In the first three weeks of the Battle of Britain, the RAF was reeling, with nearly a third of the command’s overall strength reported ‘Killed in Action’ or ‘Missing in Action’. The day following the RAF’s acknowledgment of the squadron’s competence, the 303rd participated in its first official operational foray. “During just 15 minutes of combat, [303rd Squadron] managed to down six Messerschmitts without any losses” (Meakins). The sortie was the first of many to follow that would lead to the 303rd ‘Kosciuszko’ squadron leaving a triumphant mark on the Battle of Britain. “Years after the war, a historian would write, ‘Even though it was equipped with the Hurricane, the least effective of the main fighters, 303 Squadron was by most measures the most formidable fighter unit [RAF and Luftwaffe] of the Battle [of Britain]’” (Olson 93). Josef Frantisek, a Czech who identified as a Pole, shot down 17 German planes during the battle, making him the highest scoring pilot of all participating forces. There were other successful Kosciusko pilots. “Nine of the squadron's pilots qualified as ‘aces’ for shooting down five or more enemy planes... Four of the Polish officers were awarded Distinguished Flying Crosses... amongst them flying officer Witold Urbanowicz, the Polish

commander of No. 303 Squadron and one of the best scorers with 15 kills” (Gasior). On the first day of the German blitz on London, the Kosciuszko Squadron downed 14-18 enemy planes without suffering a loss.

“No. 303 Squadron became the most successful Fighter Command unit in the Battle, shooting down 126 German machines in only 42 days” (303). During these six weeks, the squadron delivered the first crucial turning point of the war. Their triumphs helped keep Britain’s airpower from being destroyed by the Luftwaffe. In the words of Air Chief Marshal Sir Hugh Dowding, who was originally scornful of the Poles’ ability to assist, “Had it not been for the magnificent material contributed by the Polish Squadrons and their unsurpassed gallantry, I hesitate to say the outcome of the battle would have been the same” (Bungay 189).

The pilots received worldwide acclaim, with “Letters and gifts [arriving] from as far away as the United States” (Cloud 169), and for good reason. The squadron had helped deliver the first major Allied victory of the war. Although both sides suffered heavy casualties, “During the Battle of Britain, the Luftwaffe was dealt an almost lethal blow from which it never fully recovered... in avoiding defeat, Britain secured one of its most significant victories of the Second World War... Victory in the Battle of Britain did not win the war, but it made winning a possibility in the longer term” (Staff). Unfortunately, the squadron’s triumphs tragically came at a cost. During the Battle of Britain, 29 pilots of the squadron lost their lives, including Josef Frantisek and Ludwik Paszkiewicz.

The squadron would continue to actively participate in Allied Campaigns for the remainder of the war. On June 22, 1941, nearly a year after the Battle of Britain, Germany would invade the Soviet Union, the communist nation which had invaded Poland in 1939, and

controversially managed to maintain neutrality. “Though the Polish Embassy [in the United States] gave out a statement... that the Soviets had violated the non-aggression pact” (Daniell), the USSR would join the Allies despite the protests of the Polish government in exile.

Kosciuszko squadron would participate in the liberation of multiple western countries, including France. Pilots even flew over Germany near the end of the war; nonetheless, they were never allowed to participate in the liberation of Poland, let alone fly over Poland. By 1944, the Soviet Union had made it clear that “for all who cared to see that Poland, for whose sake Britain had gone to war with Germany, would be left to the mercy of Stalin once Hitler had been defeated” (Johnson).

Pilots of the Kosciuszko Squadron watched nervously as their country’s fate was settled. Many pilots trusted that Churchill, “a great admirer of the Polish nation and a staunch defender of their national sovereignty” (Churchill), would not let the Allies betray his ‘beloved’ Poles to whom Britain was so indebted. Tragically, on February 13, 1945, near the end of the Yalta Conference, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill ceded eastern Poland to the Soviet Union. Moreover, “Negotiators... released a declaration on Poland, providing for the inclusion of Communists in the postwar national government” (Yalta), effectively placing Poland under USSR control. As the BBC relayed this news, pilots sat in stunned silence; one noticed “Most of his British comrades just stared at the floor. Only one of them met the Pole’s anguished gaze. That Englishman’s face was streaked with tears” (Cloud 372). The Squadron, which had been crucial in Allied triumphs, and whose pilots had flown by the words of Poland’s national anthem, “Poland is not yet lost” (Wybicki), had seemingly lost Poland.

World War II in Europe ended on May 8, 1945; for the Polish pilots of the Kosciuszko Squadron, the armistice was bitter. Returning to Poland meant losing the freedom they had defended for so long. Tragically, to avoid angering the USSR, Britain, despite protests by the RAF and some Members of Parliament, proposed that “everything should be done to ensure that as few Poles as possible remain in this country” (Zamoyski 191). Pilots of the 303rd, as well as Polish pilots throughout the RAF, were shattered. In March of 1946, the Kosciuszko Squadron, along with all of the Polish military in exile, was given two letters: one from USSR-controlled Communist Poland and one from the British government relaying the same message, “Return to [your] home country without further delay... Thank you for your contribution to our victory. I am sorry you cannot come to England. You are forthwith released from duty” (Bevin 2-4). The anguished pilots faced a decision between staying in a country that did not want them or returning to a homeland under Soviet domination. Jan Zumbach decided his future lay in Switzerland and, upon notifying British authorities, was given three days to emigrate; he had spent six years in the RAF and been awarded Britain’s third highest military decoration during that time (Zumbach 104). Pilots of the Kosciuszko squadron who chose to return to Poland were at high risk of imprisonment. Stanislaw Skalski, a member of the 303rd, was accused of spying in 1948 by the Polish Secret Police and was imprisoned in solitary confinement until 1956 (Zamoyski 212). Pilots who chose to stay in England faced constant bigotry. “Before venturing off their bases and into the civilian community, many [Kosciuszko] fliers now took off their Polish [badges]. Those badges had once been magnets to an adoring British public, but now all too often, they elicited jeers and confrontations” (Cloud 401). At an Allied victory parade slightly a year after the war, soldiers, pilots, and sailors from more than 30 nations marched



alongside one another; not one of them was a Pole or part of the 303rd Kosciuszko squadron. The British government had specifically barred them from participating so as not to offend Joseph Stalin. "One Polish pilot looked on in silence as the parade passed. Then he turned to walk away. An old woman standing next to him looked at him quizzically and asked, 'Why are you crying, young man?'" (Olson 437).

The 303rd Kosciuszko squadron played a triumphant and crucial role in Allied victories during WWII, but even with their countless contributions, their country was ceded to the USSR in 1945. Despite the overall Allied victory in WWII, Poland effectively lost. Pilots of the 303rd either returned to a nation that was no longer the Poland that they had defended, or never returned to Poland so they would not have to settle in a communist regime. In England the bigotry that the Polish pilots faced following the war is still evident. "A survey from 2014 found that 81 percent of Polish people living in Britain had been subjected to verbal or physical abuse or knew another Polish person who had" (Thiessen). The Yalta Agreement, though necessary to ending the war in Europe, tragically prolonged Poland's freedom for another 56 years until the capitulation of the Soviet Union in 1991. The once 'beloved' and heroic Kosciuszko Poles of England would never be repaid, and they would suffer "one of the most shameful acts of the [war]" (Sir John Keegan). Poland, the first country to stand up to Nazi Germany, would be the last to be liberated from the effects of the war. Even with the fall of the USSR, tragically to this day, Britain has never officially apologized (Keegan).

## Appendix A



The Invasion of Poland by Germany and Russia, during which Poland was surrounded from three sides.

## Appendix B



The pilots of the 303rd Kosciuszko Squadron on August 31, 1939, the day the Squadron was declared operational.

## Appendix C



The English Hawker Hurricane, the fighter plane in which the 303rd Kosciuszko Squadron became the highest scoring squadron of the battle despite it being considered inferior to the English Spitfire.

## Appendix D



The leaders of Britain, the United States of America, and the Soviet Union (sitting from left to right), at Yalta, where they would decide the fate of Poland. Poland, the fourth largest contributor to the Allied cause, was without representation.

# Appendix E

## Do wszystkich członków Polskich Sił Zbrojnych

W imieniu rządu brytyjskiego, który jest w pełni świadomy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość. Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Ernest Bevin.

## Sposób traktowania żołnierzy Polskich Sił Zbrojnych powracających do Kraju.

1. Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

Wierzymy, że Polacy, którzy wzięli udział w wojnie, nie są tylko żołnierzami, ale przede wszystkim Polakami, którzy chcą powrócić do swojej Ojczyzny i walczyć o jej wolność i niepodległość.

The letter from the British Government attempting to persuade and scare Polish members of the Allied forces to return to Poland, or simply leave Britain.

# ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

## Primary Sources

### Correspondence

Bevin, Ernest. "Letter from British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin in Which He Attempts to Persuade Polish Soldiers Serving in Polish Units Under Overall British Command to Return to Poland (1946)." World War II Documents of Special Interest. Drzewiecki Collections. Archives & Special Collections Department, E. H. Butler Library, SUNY Buffalo State, n.d.  
<https://digitalcommons.buffalostate.edu/wdrzspecialdocs/7>

This government letter showed the profound lack of gratitude that the British Government showed the Polish Pilots so as to not offend the Soviet Union. The letter, which I quoted within the context of my paper, provided a view into how the British government summarized the Poles' contributions into a few words, and then attempted to scare and persuade them to return to communist Poland.

### Periodicals

Daniell, Raymond. "Polish Embassy Says Soviet Violates Pact of Non-Aggression."  
*The New York Times* [New York, NY], 18 Sept 1939. Print.

This *New York Times* article reports on the controversial Russian part of the Invasion of Poland and how Russian claims of neutrality outweighed the Polish claims that it was a break in the common defense and non-aggression pacts. I quoted this within the context of my paper.

### Books

Fiedler, Arkady. *Squadron 303: The Story of the Polish Fighter Squadron with the R.A.F.* London, UK: Letchworth Printers, 1945. Print.

This primary book, written during the Battle of Britain, encapsulated the squadron's triumphs over the course of the Battle. It also gave backstories on the original pilots from the squadron, which was helpful as it gave me personal views on the battle. This was one of my best sources.

Kent, Johnny A., and Alexandra Kent. *One of the Few: a Story of Personal Challenge through the Battle of Britain and Beyond.* Stroud, UK: The History Press, 2016. Print.

This was a memoir by one of the English Commanding Officers of the 303rd squadron. The book was helpful as it showed the changing viewpoint regarding the Polish pilots. It

provided one of the quotes within my essay which remarks on the initial English knowledge of the Poles, helping illustrate the negative stereotypes that followed Polish pilots into England.

Zumbach, Jean, and Steve Cox. *On Wings of War: My Life as a Pilot Adventurer*. London, UK: Corgi, 1977. Print.

Jan Zumbach was one of the original pilots of the Kosciuszko squadron. This memoir included information that I paraphrased within the context of the memoir. As Zumbach stayed in the squadron until the end of the war, unlike most pilots, it helped me get an idea of what pilots who had been in England, specifically in the 303rd, since the Battle of Britain felt about their abandonment by the Allied forces.

### **Oral Histories**

Magierski, Tomasz, director with Witold Urbanowscwiz. "303." *Smoking Mirror Productions*, 2018. Web. Jan 2019.  
<http://tomaszmagierski.com/303>

This oral history, which featured Witold Urbanowscwiz, a pilot of the 303rd squadron who went on to become the 303rd's commander, helped me understand the importance of the squadron in the Battle of Britain.

Magierski, Tomasz, director. "Kornicki Franciszek." *Vimeo*, 2016. Web. Jan. 2019.  
<https://vimeo.com/137442856>

This was a 303rd pilot account of his activities during the war. It helped me understand what it was like for pilots to have to decide between whether or not they would stay in England following the end of the war.

### **Miscellaneous**

Unknown Pilot of the Kosciuszko squadron and. "We Are All Struggling" (1946). *303 Squadron History*, Polish Institute, London.  
[www.pism.co.uk/page2\\_documents.htm](http://www.pism.co.uk/page2_documents.htm)

This excerpt from a diary entry by an unknown pilot of the 303rd Squadron portrays the uncertainty squadrons faced after the war ended. I quoted this in the context of my essay.

Wybicki, Józef, and Maja Trochimczyk. *Polish Music Center*. 1875.

This was the original sheet music for Poland's national anthem. The anthem was precious to the pilots of the squadron and was symbolic throughout the war due to its lyrics, which in part talks about the frequent occupations of Poland over time. I quoted a translated line from the anthem in my essay.



## Secondary Sources

### **Government Articles**

“The Yalta Conference, 1945.” *U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian*, 2017. Web.  
<http://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/yalta-conf>

This gave information that helped me whilst I was writing about the western betrayal of Poland. I referenced it several times and quoted it within the context of my essay.

### **Periodicals**

Burford, Rachae. “First Fighter Ace of WWII Was Polish War Hero.” *Daily Mail* [London, UK], 9 May 2017. Web.  
[www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4523808/First-fighter-ace-WWII-Polish-war-hero.html](http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-4523808/First-fighter-ace-WWII-Polish-war-hero.html)

This article showed how at the outset of the war, even though Poland lacked a modern military, they were still able to inflict damage on the German army. It also talks about a pilot that I mention later on in the context of my essay.

Gera, Vanessa. “70 Years On, Poland's WWII Wounds Haven't Healed.” *San Diego Tribune* [San Diego, CA], 29 Aug. 2016, Web.  
[www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-eu-poland-germany-war-guilt-083009-2009aug30-story.html](http://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-eu-poland-germany-war-guilt-083009-2009aug30-story.html)

This San Diego Tribune report, talks about the effects of the war on Poland. The author talks about how World War II is still very much present in Poland, as well as how the war affected Poland in the European Union.

Johnson, Daniel. “Betrayed by the Big Three.” *The Telegraph* [London, UK], 10 Nov. 2003. Web.  
[www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3606140/Betrayed-by-the-Big-Three.html](http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/3606140/Betrayed-by-the-Big-Three.html)

Similarly to the above article, Daniel Johnson's report for *The Telegraph* talks about the aftermath of Poland's betrayal. However it also focuses on the short term and how by submitting to the Russian influence around Poland during the war, the Allies set the Soviet Union up for eastern dominance after the war ended. I used this as it helped to understand what lead up to the western betrayal of Poland.

## Books

Ascherson, Neal. *The Struggles for Poland*. New York, NY: Random House, 1988. Print.

Neal Achersons book helped me as it talked about Poland's political and social changes and events that occurred from 1918 through 1992. I used it to intertwine these changes with the build up to the Kosciuszko squadron and the disbandment 6 years later.

Brown, Alan. *Flying for Freedom: The Allied Air Forces in the RAF, 1939-45*. Stroud, UK: The History Press, 2011. Print.

As this book talked about the effects that the Allied forces in the Royal Air Force had on the war, The 303rd squadron was a prominent name that appeared. Thus I referenced this multiple times as it talked about the wartime feats of the squadron and how at times pilots of all countries had to ignore political drama and focus on winning a war that might not end for them with an Allied victory.

Bungay, Stephen. *The Most Dangerous Enemy: a History of the Battle of Britain*. London, UK: Aurum Press, 2015. Print.

This work talks about the heroics of the Battle of Britain and the crucial victory it provided. I used this source as it was helpful in understanding the different phases of the Battle, but it also unveiled the tragic treatment of foreign squadrons, such as the 303rd at the end of the war.

Cloud, Stanley and Olson, Lynne. *A Question of Honor: The Kościuszko Squadron: The Forgotten Heroes of World War II*. New York, NY: Knopf, 2003. Print.

This source arguably my most helpful source. It provided a clear and concise, as well as in depth look into the Kosciuszko Squadrons triumphs and tragedies. It also included information on the ways that the 303rd was also incredibly affected by the aftermath of the war, and Yalta. I quoted this source within my essay and also used it to find other sources that have been incredibly helpful.

Cynk, Jerzy B. *The Polish Air Force at War. The Official History. Vol. I 1939-1943*. Exeter, UK: Schiffer, 1998. Print.

This particular volume in a series of books on the Polish Air Force gave information on the main Polish Squadrons. Its information on the 303rd especially added substantially to my essay, I also quoted it within my essay.

Gretzinger, Robert, and Wojtek Matusiak. *Polish Aces of World War 2*. Seattle, WA: Osprey Aerospace, 2000. Print.

As the title entails, this book is about Polish aces during the War. Of the extraordinarily large amount of aces in the 303rd squadron, many of them made it into this book. So the work provided me with lots information on the individual pilots and also had sources that I used later on.

Olson, Lynne. *LAST HOPE ISLAND: Britain, Occupied Europe, and the Brotherhood That Helped Turn the Tide of War*. London, UK: Scribe Publications, 2018. Print.

This book was the inspiration for my topic, though it only talked about the squadron briefly throughout. The author's information of the triumphs and contributions that the squadron provided, were to be discredited and then tragically the pilots and Poland's abandonment by the Allies caused me to pursue this for my topic. I also quoted and referenced this book whilst writing my essay.

Zamoyski, Adam. *The Forgotten Few: The Polish Air Force in the Second World War*. Barnsley, UK: Pen & Sword Aviation, 2013. Print.

Adam Zamoyski's book *The Forgotten Few* was a very important source for me, it provided quotes that were incredibly helpful in the writing of my paper. It was one of my better sources as it especially focused on the 303rd.

## Films

Hamilton, Guy, director. *The Battle of Britain*. Spitfire Productions, 1969. DVD.

This movie is based on the real events that occurred during the Battle of Britain. It includes scenes that showcase the foreign forces contribution to the allied cause, namely the Poles. This helped as it replicated actual scenes that happened during the war including the 303rd squadron.

## Websites

"303 Squadron." *Royal Air Force Museum*, 2018. Web.  
[www.rafmuseum.org.uk/research/online-exhibitions/the-polish-air-force-in-world-war-2/303-squadron.aspx](http://www.rafmuseum.org.uk/research/online-exhibitions/the-polish-air-force-in-world-war-2/303-squadron.aspx)

This was one of the first sources I came across whilst researching the 303rd Squadron. It helpfully provided many other sources that I used as I wrote my paper.

Andrews, Evan. "10 Things You Should Know About the Battle of Britain." *History.com*. 10 July 2015. Web.  
[www.history.com/news/10-things-you-should-know-about-the-battle-of-britain](http://www.history.com/news/10-things-you-should-know-about-the-battle-of-britain)

This source, similarly to the one above, provided a basis on important parts of the Battle of Britain. It helped me understand reasons behind the Battle, and why victory was so crucial.

Chodakiewicz, Marek Jan. "Tadeusz Kościuszko: A Man of Unwavering Principle." *The Institute of World Politics*, 2018. Web.  
[www.iwp.edu/programs/page/tadeusz-kosciuszko-a-man-of-unwavering-principle](http://www.iwp.edu/programs/page/tadeusz-kosciuszko-a-man-of-unwavering-principle)

This online article, which I quoted, talked about Tadeusz Kościuszko, the unofficial namesake of the squadron. The backstory was important also as it showed that Tadeusz Kościuszko was appropriate for the squadron to be named after.

Churchill, Winston S. "1939- 1945 : Poland's Contribution to Victory in the Second World War." *Finest Hour 145*, Winter 2009-10. Posted by *The International Churchill Society*. 2019.  
<http://winstonchurchill.org/publications/finest-hour/finest-hour-145/1939-1945-poland's-contribution-to-victory-in-the-second-world-war>

This article written by Winston S. Churchill, the wartime Prime Ministers grandson, talked about his Grandfather's love of the Poles and his ineffective attempts to prevent western betrayal. I quoted this article within the context of my piece.

Gasior, Mariusz. "The Polish Pilots Who Flew In The Battle Of Britain." *Imperial War Museums*, 9 Jan 2018. Web.  
[www.iwm.org.uk/history/the-polish-pilots-who-flew-in-the-battle-of-britain](http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/the-polish-pilots-who-flew-in-the-battle-of-britain)

This was one of my most important sources. It gave in depth information on the squadron in England, its forming, and its contributions during the war. All of these helped me immensely, I quoted parts of this within my essay.

Keegan, Sir John. Royal British Legion. "Why It Took 60 Years for Poles to Celebrate VE Day." *RBL*, 2015,  
[www.britishlegion.org.uk/community/stories/remembrance/why-it-took-60-years-for-pol-es-to-celebrate-ve-day](http://www.britishlegion.org.uk/community/stories/remembrance/why-it-took-60-years-for-pol-es-to-celebrate-ve-day).

In this source Sir John Keegan, pre-eminent British historian who I quoted in the context of my essay, talked about the debt of thanks owed to the Polish military, that was never repaid. This helped me whilst writing about the squadrons legacy.

Meakins, Joss. "Polish Pilots and the Battle of Britain." *Historic UK*, \_\_. Web.  
[www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Polish-Pilots-the-Battle-of-Britain](http://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Polish-Pilots-the-Battle-of-Britain)

This website on the 303rd addressed modern day Polish Bigotry and reminded the public of what they contributed to Britain during the War. This helped me when I was working on the legacy of my topic, and I also quoted it in my writing.

Ratuszynski, Wilhelm. "No. 303 Polish Squadron History." *Wayback Machine*, 19 May 2004. Web.  
[https://web.archive.org/web/20090729181845/http://geocities.com/psp1945/303/303\\_story.html](https://web.archive.org/web/20090729181845/http://geocities.com/psp1945/303/303_story.html)

This source provided many primary sources that helped me whilst in the process of writing my essay. It also helped with what I knew about Battle of Britain and its aftermath.

Thiessen, Marc A. "Brexit Is Great, but Anti-Polish Bigotry Shows a Stunning Lack of Gratitude." *American Enterprise Institute*, 2016, [www.aei.org/publication/brexit-great-anti-polish-bigotry-lack-of-gratitude/](http://www.aei.org/publication/brexit-great-anti-polish-bigotry-lack-of-gratitude/).

This source was important as it gave statistics on Polish bigotry in the face of Brexit. I quoted this within the context of my essay.

Staff, IWM. "8 Things You Need to Know About The Battle of Britain." *Imperial War Museums*, 2018. Web.  
[www.iwm.org.uk/history/8-things-you-need-to-know-about-the-battle-of-britain](http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/8-things-you-need-to-know-about-the-battle-of-britain)

This source was the second I used from the Imperial War Museum, and was helpful as it gave me an overall summary of important Battle of Britain events. I quoted it within the text of my essay.

Such Citz, Andrzej. "Poland's Contribution to the Allied Victory in the Second World War." *The Polish Ex-Combatants Association in Great Britain*, 2009. Web.  
[www.spk-wb.com/broszury/polands-contribution-to-the-allied-victory-in-the-second-world-war](http://www.spk-wb.com/broszury/polands-contribution-to-the-allied-victory-in-the-second-world-war)

This was a well constructed article on the Polish contributions to the War. It helped me frequently throughout the process of writing my paper as it followed Poland's war from 1939 to 1992.

### **Miscellaneous**

Gore, Joseph E. "The History of the Kosciuszko Squadron." *Central Connecticut State University*, 7 Dec 2019. Web.  
<http://web.ccsu.edu/Kosciuszko/history.htm>

This thesis was on the 303rd squadron. Not only was the information inside beneficial but the bibliography led me to other sources, among them was *The Polish Air Force at War, The Official History*.

Himmer, Robert. "Soviet Policy Toward Germany During the Russo-Polish War, 1920."  
*Cambridge*, Cambridge, 1960, pp. 665–682.

This thesis informed on the events of the Soviet-Polish war and what lead Germany to invade. This was helpful as it influenced my backstory on the squadron.

### **Image Archives**

"Library of Congress." *The Library of Congress*, 2019. Web.  
[www.loc.gov](http://www.loc.gov)

The Library of Congress provided the Image for the Yalta Conference in my Appendix.

"Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum." *Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum*, 2019. Web.  
[www.pism.co.uk/archives.htm](http://www.pism.co.uk/archives.htm)

These archives provided the image of the Hawker hurricane in my Appendix as well as the Image of the Kosciuszko Squadron.