

develop should particularly include asymmetric military capabilities such as a serious cyberwarfare capability (Poland's tradition of excellence in mathematics makes this a natural strategic attribute that must not be neglected); electronic weapons capable of disrupting the command, control, communications, computers, and technical intelligence capabilities of enemies; missile defenses; laser weapons capable of blinding enemy satellites; and various guerrilla warfare capabilities. The development of a domestic nuclear energy industry has implied potential capabilities as well. Poland will need domestic economic policies that provide incentives for domestic energy production and entrepreneurial growth in general. In practice, this means low tax rates, low levels of regulation (excessive regulation acts as a major incentive for corruption), the protection and proper legal identification of private property, the rule of law (including the enforcement of robust anticorruption laws), and a stable currency.

Poland has the opportunity and the potential to become an economic powerhouse. Its ability to grow in the midst of EU stagnation and fiscal crises in Greece, Portugal, Spain, and Italy demonstrates this possibility. Economic policies that promise true economic growth will facilitate the development of small business and not favor the attempts of big business to stifle competition from upstart companies. So long as small business can thrive jobs will be created in Poland and the youthful Polish workforce will not need to flee to the West to find opportunity.

Finally, the Polish government should pursue the policy of encouraging demographic growth among the Polish population. Demography is destiny. Countries with large populations are strong; those with small populations are weak. Poland does not have high population density. One cannot have a growing economy without a growing workforce. If Europeans persist in their civilizational fatigue, relativism, demographic suicide, and the hosting of burgeoning non-Western populations, Poland can choose between being Poland or a country half-filled with people from non-Western cultures who do not share the values, principles, habits and traditions that make possible a society of morally ordered liberty, self-government, tolerance, trust, and prosperity and who, given the patterns of intercultural relations in recent decades, are not likely to assimilate.

In the United States patriotism is the central pillar of our national security. It requires the will to serve a cause higher than oneself. Ultimately, true security does not come from nuclear umbrellas or other material things;

as Solzhenitsyn observed, it comes from stout hearts and steadfast men. It comes from strength of conviction. When you have this, there is the will to acquire the necessary material things. In the cold war—which was not just between the East and the West, but within the East and within the West, between those who recognized the existence of a natural moral law and those who asserted that law and morals come from the barrel of a gun—security and ultimately freedom came from spiritual strength, courage, and faith. Poland understood this and, by virtue of its culture, history, and traditions, should continue to understand this better than anyone else. ▲

This paper is based on address to the Conference on Energy and Natural Resources Industries in Geopolitics, sponsored by KGHM Polska Miedź, 4 June 2012, Warsaw, Poland.

Unvanquished

Joseph Piłsudski, Resurrected Poland and the Struggle for Eastern Europe

by **Peter Hetherington**. 2d ed. Houston, TX: Pingora Press, 2012. 752 pages. Photographs, timeline, bibliography. ISBN-10: 0983656312; ISBN-13: 978-0983656319. Hardcover. \$21.95 on Amazon.com.

Marek Jan Chodakiewicz

In the 1980s chemical engineer Richard Watt published a beautiful Piłsudskiite tale of interwar Poland. In 2012 geologist Peter Hetherington has gifted us with a lyrically gripping biography of the man himself: Józef Piłsudski. *Unvanquished* is a fantastically unbelievable story of a scion of landed nobility; a *Kresowiak* of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; a nationalist socialist revolutionary; a romantic; a spy, a fighter, a train robber; a self-taught military man; free Poland's first marshal; a self-anointed savior of the Commonwealth with a mass following; a charismatic leader turned nocturnal solitaire-playing misanthrope; a successful putschist; a cranky but mild dictator; a serial husband and lover and tender, if largely absentee father; a scathing hater of party politics and parliamentarism; a dabbler turned serious foreign policy expert; and a leftist neopagan agnostic enamored with Our Lady of the Sharp Gate. But first and foremost, after grueling travails and disappointments, years of imprisonment and underground, and fifteen

years of almost uninterrupted armed struggle, Józef Piłsudski ultimately became a huge success. He took credit for Poland's independence, including winning the Polish-Bolshevik War, and he seized power in a coup d'état in 1926 and never relinquished it until his death. "Rather than a petty dictator of a third-rate power as I had been led to believe from the brief references he is usually afforded in most general texts, Piłsudski [sic] was dynamic, eminently interesting, and an important historical figure" (pp. x–xi). What's there not to like?

This is a fascinating adventure, and the author clearly enjoys sharing it with the reader: "Although not of Polish ancestry, I have come to appreciate Piłsudski and the Polish people with the zeal of a convert" (xiii). Heatherington freely confesses to his nearly total ignorance of the subject before commencing the project of retracing the marshal's progress. He poetically introduces the hero at the nadir of his journey, faking schizophrenia in a Tsarist prison, which ultimately facilitated his successful escape. *Fortuna* is the leitmotif of *Unvanquished*, and "once again, Piłsudski got lucky" (581) is the refrain of the biography. But one gets the sneaky feeling that studying Ziuk [Polish diminutive of *Joseph*, Ed.] was an excuse to learn about his country and people and to share the knowledge with the unsuspecting American reader: "*Unvanquished* is not only a biography of an interesting historical figure, but also a vehicle to understand one of the most fascinating, and misunderstood, elements of European history, providing an enhanced appreciation of the causes of WWII and insights into contemporary issues in Europe" (xiii).

Hetherington's book is a panoramic foray into the history of the lands of the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania before, during, and after the partitions of the eighteenth century. It is also a study in military strategy, an inquiry into geopolitics, and a glimpse at political decision making among the colonial powers that controlled Poles and others. All this is woven into a Carlylean scheme of "hero in history"—Piłsudski like a "granite rock," to borrow from his favorite Romantic poet, Juliusz Słowacki.

In the course of weighing Ziuk's considerable achievements and transgressions Heatherington does not shy away from controversial analogies. For example, while generally approving of Piłsudski's expropriation operations (his supporters have insisted that he was reclaiming back that which the Russian government had stolen from Poland), the author

mentions Pancho Villa and Vladimir Lenin, who also indulged in robberies, directly or indirectly, to expedite a revolution. Even more poignantly, departing from standard apologies for the coup d'état of 1926, Heatherington rejects the notion that it was either a latter-day Polish noble *rokosz* or a *konfederacja*. Instead, he flatly admits that Piłsudski's *putsch* was akin to Benito Mussolini's march on Rome. Laudably, the author uses the term "fascism" primarily as a descriptive and not an invective.

Not so in Heatherington's treatment of the National Democracy. There are reasons for this. If he was stunned to have discovered virtually nothing on Józef Piłsudski and Poland in English-language historiography, even less can be found on Roman Dmowski and his Endeks. They are nonpersons, the virtual Other of Western historiography, in the United States in particular. At best they exist as the whipping boys of modern Polish history; at worst they are called Polish Nazis. Thus Hetherington repeats the allegations that during the Riga negotiations in 1920, Poland failed to claim its former (eastern, xiii), provinces up to Smolensk because of the Endeks. True, the nationalists did argue that it would have resulted in taking too many unassimilable non-Polish minorities. However, that option was never on the table; Lenin was not giving anything away, as even the neo-Piłsudskite scholar Andrzej Nowak has admitted. "In geology, there is a premium on being correct, not just creative, and I tried to apply this philosophy to my book," states Hetherington (xiii), but he fails to note the black propaganda concerning the Endeks. Alvin Marcus Fountain's biography of Roman Dmowski's early life would have helped here. Heatherington states that as a scientist he is "accustomed to evaluating large volumes of information and creating an internally consistent, coherent interpretation within the bounds of the data." What if the data is lacking? Here we encounter the huge problem of consulting only English-language sources.

With these reservations in mind, it has to be said that Hetherington joins the considerable group of Piłsudski admirers. He wisely rejects mendacious propaganda, Soviet and Western, about Piłsudski being a ruthless dictator, but he barely qualifies the effusions of the marshal's true believers and the explications of his mild supporters (e.g., Wacław Jędrzejewicz and Kamil Dziewanowski respectively). He agrees with Piłsudski on every major point, most notably on his decision to fight in 1905 and 1914, as well as on his role in winning independence in 1918 and scoring victory over Lenin in 1920, despite his refusal (wrong, in my opinion) to

support the Whites against the Reds. The author waves off any competition to his hero's pedestal, such as General Tadeusz Jordan Rozwadowski. He also passes over in silence the suicide of Piłsudski's two jilted girlfriends and the murder of General Włodzimierz Zagórski by the marshal's death squad. Piłsudski's trip to Japan is seen as a "diplomatic mission," even though his contacts were military intelligence officers. A useful critique of Piłsudski's eulogists can be found in Ryszard Świątek's *Lodowa ściana: Sekrety polityki Józefa Piłsudskiego, 1904-1918* (Kraków: Platan, 1998). Reading Heatherington I was reminded of one of my teachers at Columbia, Joseph Rothschild. The professor was also fond of the *Komendant* and no amount of argument to the contrary could change that. Piłsudski did have a magnetic personality, volcanically overwhelming mere mortals with his power, courage, and charisma.

Unvanquished is a delight for the layman. Let me qualify this. By layman, I do not simply mean an average English-speaking enthusiast who will find this particular portrait of Piłsudski enchanting and exciting and who will gladly lend his ear to the triumphs and tragedies of Poland's past; by layman I mean an average historian or other social scientist at an American university. This applies to most Europeanists, including many so called "Eastern European experts." Hetherington deserves much credit for overcoming layers of cultural prejudice against Poland and presenting before the American people Józef Piłsudski, his times, his compatriots, and his nation without the customary uninformed venom. *Unvanquished* is a stupendous improvement over the prevalent acute ignorance afflicting America's relation to Poland's history. Once again, Piłsudski has been blessed posthumously by Lady Luck. ▲

Portraits in Literature

The Jews of Poland

An Anthology

Compiled, edited and introduction by Hava Bromberg Ben-Zvi. London and Portland, OR: Valentine Mitchell, in association with The European Jewish Publication Society, 2011. xxxix + 331 pages. Bibliography and Glossary. ISBN 978 0 85303 873 3. Cloth.

Bożena Shallcross

In recent years publishers are beginning to pay more attention to English-language anthologies of Jewish Polish literature as the publications of such anthologies are increasing in number. The latest is Hava Bromberg Ben-Zvi's compilation. Besides the goal stated in her introduction, the editor's aim is clear and can be reconstructed from the trajectory inscribed in the table of contents. The book is intended to narrate the history of the Jewish people in Polish lands. However, the editor decided to skip premodern representation of Jews in Polish literature. Her selection thus begins with nineteenth-century realist writers such as Sholem Asch and, on the Polish side, the Polish Positivists. This first part is titled "Our World of Yesterday." The largest and central to the anthology is the second part titled "Years of Flame and Fury." It deals with the Second World War and the Holocaust. The third and last part, tellingly entitled "To Live Again," narrates postwar emigration of Polish Jews to America and their return to their homeland in the Middle East. Thus the literary history of Polish Jewry is compacted into, more or less, 150 years of modernity. It receives an obvious linearity informed by the Diaspora, the pivotal events brought upon the Jews during the Shoah, the postwar exodus from Poland, and the subsequent rebirth of the Jewish nation. This works under the guiding assumption that the reader can extract the rest from the introduction, but above all it serves to speak of history in a nearly mythologizing tone.

Instead of dwelling on the shortcoming (and its consequences) of limiting oneself to only 150 years—the excluded works of Polish Romantic literature would have enriched the anthology greatly—I feel obliged to address the most striking and positive aspect of Bromberg Ben-Zvi's anthology: her inclusion of little-known and unknown voices. It appears that this strategy is meant to complement two previously published anthologies: Harold B. Segel's *Stranger in Our Midst: Images of the Jew in Polish Literature* and Antony Polonsky's and Monika Adamczyk-Garbowska's *Contemporary Jewish Writing in Poland*. Both books have their own merits and both offer selections from the canonical literature or from the recent literary production that is currently entering the canon. Bromberg Ben-Zvi's perspective is more inclusive as she includes texts written by such women as little-known personalities Vlada Meed, Anna Cwiakowska, and many others. The effect is definitely eclectic and, occasionally, surprising since the texts are not limited to literary works (in spite of the title, which so suggests), but include testimonies and essays. The