

of the infinitive (*kontynuować pisać, prosił mnie pójść*), e) changes in prepositions (*na internecie/radiu/telefonie, używany dla*), f) use of prepositions where none are used in standard Polish (*kontynuować z programem*), g) use of first- and second-person subject pronouns, h) use of classifying adjectives before nouns (*leśne grzyby, studencka organizacja*), and i) changes in numeral syntax.

The author concludes that Polish spoken by Polish Canadians maintains genetic features of standard Polish, but also contains much interference from English and, because it has evolved independently from standard Polish, many innovations (the author claims that it also exhibits archaisms but this claim is less convincing). The language of immigrants is closer to standard Polish than the language of first-generation Canadians due to their higher language consciousness, i.e., linguistic intuition (knowing what sounds right). The Polish of first-generation speakers is characterized by defective knowledge of language norms and considerably lower language consciousness.

Can we really consider Canadian Polish to be a dialect of Polish? I am not convinced we can, precisely because the first-generation speakers do not have a high level of language consciousness. Furthermore, my students who are not ethnically Polish make the very same mistakes in morphology and syntax, and thus I am inclined to see these as mistakes/interferences rather than innovations. Also, the book does not always make clear how systematic the deviations from standard Polish are. Despite this disagreement, I found the study well designed and the book well written and very informative. It should be of much interest to linguists, Polish teachers, and immigration scholars. ♦

Silent Intelligentsia A Study of Civilizational Oppression

Edited by Jan Kieniewicz. Warsaw: Institute of Interdisciplinary Studies “Artes Liberales,” University of Warsaw, 2009. 208 pages. ISBN 978-83-920349-9-5.

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Jan Kieniewicz, the editor and contributor to this volume, and a stellar team of his fellow scholars from Polish, French, and Russian universities and academies of science and the American Council of

Learned Societies take part in a fascinating, complex interdisciplinary project. They observed that, despite our knowledge about expansion of European empires in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, researchers had, up to the early years of this decade, not attempted to apply the paradigm of colonialism to those central and eastern European areas into which Russia and Germany had expanded. Instead, they applied it only to far-flung, non-European areas of the globe. What effect did the colonial power and its educational system have on these subjugated peoples? Did they suffer civilizational oppression from an alien Other that challenged their culture and value system? Kieniewicz and his colleagues set out to answer these and many other questions.

They assumed the existence of spontaneously formed intelligentsias (Polish and others), each with a self-appointed mission to identify and articulate the national identity and to speak to the foreign colonial authorities on behalf of their own people, victims of political aggression, in order to lead them in the modernization and transformation of their society. Thus emerged the present project, “Silent Intelligentsia. A Study of Civilizational Oppression” in 2004–2005 out of debates during a seminar at the Center for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East Central Europe at the University of Warsaw. During the following three years, the contributors individually sought to answer questions or test hypotheses on numerous facets of the larger project. They returned to a follow-up conference in 2007 with some answers as well as some new questions. The present volume reports on their experiences and conclusions.

Contributors, themselves active researchers in postcolonial studies in non-European areas of the world, apply their expertise in the present volume to throw light on the central and eastern European, particularly the Polish, experience. For example, they wanted to know how the intelligentsia’s mission was affected when the only education open to them was delivered in the foreign language and literary tradition of the occupier, as it had been in the Russian-controlled Kingdom of Poland in the nineteenth century. Was this analogous to the Indian experience under the Raj? Of all the fragments that had once made up the lands of the *Rzeczpospolita*, it was here that the intelligentsia had the greatest opportunity to define the Polish national identity and contribute to the modernization of its society. Their analysis is not entirely confined to the Polish lands of the Russian partition. Brief but informative descriptions are given of the political

violence and civilizational oppression suffered in the lands of the Prussian partition that kept the Polish intelligentsia outside the power structure. On the other hand, Austrian Galicia is portrayed as having a relatively free Polish intelligentsia under no civilizational threat and enjoying opportunities unheard of in the other partitions. It was, however, an extremely conservative stratum that allied itself with the traditional, rather than modernizing, influences in the periphery of the Habsburg Empire.

Individual studies address very diverse and interesting topics: the degree of the intelligentsia's success in awakening national consciousness among the various peoples of Siberia; the plight of an African intelligentsia, whether at home or in diaspora, that has so far been unable to mute the European influence and speak in its own voice to articulate and effect positive changes for its society; and the "silence" of the "new intelligentsia" in the People's Republic of Poland—more proletarian in origin than the one that had preceded them—with its "whispering" at home, at work, and in public, a phenomenon dubbed "collective hypocrisy" that calls for further research.

One particular study effectively expands our understanding of the intelligentsia's mission—not only "speaking truth to power" but doing so publicly—and the different understandings and expressions of loyalty. In times when exit was easy, dissenters left and emigration tended to deplete the forces of protest at home. But the ostensibly silent emigrants were, indeed, speaking with their feet. Intellectuals who stayed to speak up, for example, in East Germany, endured increasingly rigorous oppression and were sometimes imprisoned, marginalized, or expelled. Those who left freely and those who stayed both believed themselves to be loyal, not necessarily to the regime but to the national community. Andrzej Tymowski (one of the authors) suggests that in the latter case, "*refraining* from public protest might have been a more honest way of fulfilling the intelligentsia mission." He compares two cases of the 1970s, Polish and Czechoslovak. The latter took the form of Charter 77, which "remained confined to small, if brilliant, intelligentsia groups" until 1989. It "spoke truth to power" publicly, in keeping with the historic mission of the intelligentsia. In Poland, on the other hand, KOR (Committee to Defend Workers) grew an activist network "off stage" with a protest movement being only the "tip of the iceberg." Within KOR, the speaking was done not so much "to power" as to each other as they built their movement of supporters in deed, not in word.

Readers who have some acquaintance with terms such as systems theory, axiology, subaltern studies, postcolonial studies, and Orientalism and who are familiar with the jargon and paradigms of the social sciences, will most readily derive a great deal from the scholarly analyses presented in this volume. The glossary, sadly, does not help the uninitiated reader and is not required by the scholarly reader. While approaches and writing styles differ by contributor, readers will find that some chapters are, at first, nearly impenetrable, in large part owing to sins of editing, proofreading, and translation. Some essays are less inscrutable than others, but even the novice can acquire new insights into the historical developments studied in this groundbreaking and influential collection of essays. For the scholarly audience at whom this book is directed, the mode of delivery is appropriate, minus the shortcomings mentioned above.

A disproportionate amount of attention is afforded to the Russian Empire and the Soviet Union, and is reminiscent of Cold War literature. Very little beyond what appears earlier in this review, for example, is said about conditions in the Prussian and Austrian partitions. An understandably large amount of attention is paid to Soviet influence during the Second World War, the new Polish intelligentsia, and the postwar regime in Soviet-occupied Poland. Yet nothing is said of the plight of the Polish intelligentsia under contemporaneous Nazi domination. Given the evolution of this project and the nature of the diverse interests of the individual researchers, it is understandable that such lacunae should remain. My comments, therefore, are less criticisms of the present volume than eager entreaties for continued research with an eye to producing a new, accessible comprehensive history of the Polish intelligentsia—heroic, outspoken, collaborationist, silent, exiled, whispering, hypocritical, and hollow. ♦

No Place to Call Home The Memories of a Polish Survivor of the Soviet Gulag

By Stanley J. Kowalski and Alexandra Kowalski
Everist. Riverview, FL: JimSam Inc.(P.O. Box 3363, Riverview, FL 33568–3363), 2009. 272 pages. ISBN 13- 978-0982058756. Paper. \$15.59 plus shipping.

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