

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
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Theresa Kurk McGinley

Wartime memoirs are most poignant when recorded by the survivors themselves as first-person narratives. The personal recollections are often fraught with emotion, anguish, and fear. Most would rather forget than record the inhumanity of the time and the experience. To have survived the Soviet gulag as a Polish officer is remarkable considering the staggering estimation of those incarcerated and the scant number who survived. *A World Apart: Imprisonment in a Soviet Labor Camp During World War II* [1951] by Gustaw Herling-Grudziński was one of the first books to describe the brutality of the Stalinist regime; however, few took notice of the book at the time, partly because the Polish Question posed a serious diplomatic problem for the allied camp. Yet despite the aftermath with the ensuing Cold War period and the appearance of Soviet dissident literature by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and others, few books mention the crimes against the Poles, the invasion of Poland on two fronts at the start of the Second World War, or the deportations of Polish citizens into Siberian gulags. With freedom regained in 1989, a dialogue on the Stalinist regime has begun. For Polish Americans this created an opportunity to become acquainted with individual historical recollections written immediately after the war or as memoirs compiled at a later time, though typically published mainly by ethnic newspapers, journals, or samizdat publication.

No Place to Call Home: The Memories of a Polish Survivor of the Soviet Gulag tells the story of Stanisław (Stanley) Kowalski, a nineteen-year-old Polish officer from eastern Poland, incarcerated and sent to Siberia by the Soviets in 1939. His hometown of Jazłowiec, located south of Lwów (now Lviv), was seized by the Soviets and its Polish inhabitants were declared enemies of the state. Sovietization of the area included the banning of the Polish language and eradication of Polish history from schools and public life in an attempt to permanently uproot any memory of Polish culture. February 10, 1940, a bitter date for many citizens of eastern Poland, marked the beginning of forced deportations of Poles to the interior of the Soviet Union. Of the many thousands sent to the gulag with Kowalski, "only 583 Polish POW's would reach Persia" upon amnesty, one of them being Kowalski himself.

Kowalski's personal memoir, "Jazłowiec, The Town Lost in History," was written after the war ended and polished after the author's retirement. It deals with the annihilation of the town of his childhood by the invaders, and was used as one of the sources for the present book written by Kowalski's oldest daughter,

Alexandra Kowalski Everist who spent six years compiling information and interviewing her father on his experiences during the war. Rather than focusing on her father's experiences in Kolyma, arguably the most horrible of the Soviet places of incarceration and death, the book narrates the story of her father as a captive and a witness to incarceration and survival of several other persons over a period of two years.

Kowalski is portrayed as a young officer in Poland, schooled in the history of the nation, with aspirations to enter the University of Lwów after a period of required military service. The outbreak of the war interfered with these plans. Kowalski's infantry regiment was placed in a defensive position in eastern Poland, unsuspecting that Soviet military units would cross the border and invade the country. Together with other Polish military personnel and civilians, Kowalski was taken prisoner and deported to the Siberian Gulag. Later in the war he would learn of the mass execution of Polish military elite in the Katyn Forest. The author describes the conditions of the Soviet prison system, the boxcar deportations to the frigid interior of Asia, and internment in the gulag followed by freedom in Persia. His survival is credited to his religious faith since the conditions were "unsurvivable." Hunger and the frigid temperature were constant companions, as were the dead and the dying.

Surprisingly and regretfully, the author chose not to use any direct quotations from her father's memoir. The book lacks the grittiness and stark realism characteristic of first-person narratives of survivors. The author writes: "As the rifle blows rained upon him, Stanley lost consciousness. He floated in a dreamlike state, sensing nuns offering cookies amidst an orchard of overlaid plum trees. This vision slowly departed, as he heard the voices in the shack questioning whether he was still alive" (167). Brutality has thus been filtered through the author's mind rather than being shown through the raw emotion of fear and pain. As portrayed in this dreamlike description, escapism was perhaps a key to emotional survival.

Hardly anyone survived working in the Soviet gold mines, and for this reason alone this book should be of interest to seekers of knowledge about the extremes to which human being can go. But Kolyma should have received a more thorough analysis in the book, particularly because so many Poles perished there. Needless to say, to the Soviet regime prisoners were a dispensable labor force needed to move the rocks and dirt from the frozen earth in search for gold.

The book concludes with Kowalski joining the Polish Army created on Soviet soil with other emaciated political prisoners. In April 1941 the former Polish prisoners entered Persia as free men, to be organized in the fight against Nazi Germany. Severe malnutrition from the Soviet camps would claim the lives of many of these newly freed human beings. The last chapter begins and ends with the symbolic Easter celebration of freedom, held in Pahlevi. But Kowalski's experience with the Polish Army during the critical war years is not described. The book lacks information on the political nature of the amnesty agreement, and even a mention of the entrance of the United States into the war in December 1941. By that time Nazi Germany had invaded the Soviet Union, creating an abrupt about-face and a strange new alliance between a criminal Soviet regime and the West.

The compilation of record on the Polish experience in the Soviet gulags as well as in the Nazi camps is progressing: personal stories of deportation and incarceration of Polish citizens into the Soviet gulag keep appearing and the Katyn massacre has recently been described in an EU document as an act of genocidal proportions. The book under review is thus part of a trend. The author dedicates the work to her father and son, but also to the "memory of the untold millions massacred by Stalin." ◇

They Said 'No' to the Political Police

Oni odmówili bezpiece. Bulletin of the Institute of National Remembrance (Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej), no. 7 (102), July 2009, **edited by Jan M. Ruman**. 115 pages plus DVD. In Polish.

Agnieszka Gutthy

The July 2009 issue of the *Bulletin* is devoted to remembering and honoring those who refused to cooperate with the "bezpieka." "Bezpieka," or the internal security agency set up by the Soviet-imposed government, operated between 1944–1990 under different names: Committee for Public Security, Office of Security (UB) and, since 1956, Security Service (SB). It was the main organ responsible for political repression in Poland, and was generally feared. It coerced people to denounce and inform on their friends, family, neighbors, and coworkers. Operating in a society hostile to the Soviet-imposed political system,

the security agency tried to control public opinion and extinguish any resistance movements. It recruited informants from the time of the Second World War to the fall of the communist system. Over time the methods of recruitment changed. Although the severity of the consequences of refusal to cooperate with the regime lessened, the coercion never stopped.

Security agents targeted former AK members, teachers, writers, priests, high school and university students, and people regarded with high esteem by Polish society. The Home Army was the dominant Polish resistance movement during the Second World War, loyal to the Polish government-in-exile. After the war it was labeled an enemy of the state and of the new political system in Poland. Its members were arrested, interrogated, tortured, sentenced to years in prison. Members were also offered pardon for cooperating with the regime, and executed in case of refusal. Although the consequences lessened over time, people like Feliks Komornicki, architect and constructor, Edward Serwański, lawyer and historian, Edward Leśniak, one of the editors of the magazine *Znak*, as well as Adam Potyra, Kazimierz Heller, and many others were arrested, interrogated and coerced, unsuccessfully, to collaborate.

The *Bulletin* opens with Jan M. Ruman moderating a discussion between two historians, Wojciech Frazik and Filip Musiał, about the origins and development of the work of national security agents and their coercive methods of infiltrating Polish society. The subsequent twelve articles are the life stories of diverse people—men and women, laymen and clergy—who, in spite of consequences, did not surrender to this coercion. The consequences of their refusal to cooperate with the regime ranged from torture during interrogations, years spent in prison, a death sentence, job loss, or refusal of passport enabling the individual to travel abroad. Each case is described by different historians, and each and every one is well documented. Texts are illustrated by photos, copies of documents, interrogation reports, correspondence, and political cartoons.

One of the articles relates a story of Tomasz Strzyżewski, who worked as a censor in the Kraków Office for Control of the Press, Publications and Public Performances. He fled the country, taking with him to Sweden copies he had made of secret documents and classified papers he had collected and removed from his office. Those documents were later published as the *Black Book of Polish Censorship (Czarna księga cenzury PRL)*. The volume contains 700 pages of