

violence experienced, to a varied degree, in both communities. In the conclusion, the author insists that this brief historical moment, 1945–1948, must be understood as a period in which Jewish life in eastern Europe was still an option, when Jewish survivors employed various stratagems of normalization to rebuild their shattered lives.

To paint a rich canvas of Jewish life dominated by creativity, innovation, and improvisation, Cichopek-Gajraj moves away from understanding the early postwar period through the lenses of anti-Jewish violence alone. She convincingly argues that Polish and Slovak Jews were part of a broader European project of postwar reconstruction and that they responded to this project with great enthusiasm and energy. Cichopek-Gajraj portrays the history of postwar reconstruction attempts in both Jewish communities as not only a top-down process of government policy and institutional aid, but also as a social process involving individual creativity and improvisation. To demonstrate the bottom-up innovation in the Polish case, the author uses the socially and culturally vibrant Jewish milieu in Lower Silesia—part of the newly Recovered Territories. After the infamous Kielce pogrom of July 4, 1946, the Jewish population of Poland shrank to less than half its size: out of 100,000 survivors who stayed in Poland, 50,000 lived in Lower Silesia. The region became an exemplary illustration of the successful and radical remaking of survivors into workers in Jewish cooperatives. In 1947, ninety-four of these cooperatives, or 67 % of all Jewish cooperatives created at that time, flourished there. Lower Silesia also experienced a multitude of attempts at recreating Jewish national culture that continued beyond 1949.

Cichopek-Gajraj poignantly demonstrates the Czechoslovak government did little to help its 33,000 Jewish survivors. In fact, it refused to view them as a distinct group of victims of the Nazi regime and did not aid them in recovering their citizenship and property in Slovakia. Slovak Jews had to negotiate justice on a scale incomparable to the Polish case by making constant appeals and requests and conducting daily protests. Nonetheless, they managed to recreate a community that culturally, socially, religiously and in terms of occupations in trade and small business, was largely in continuity with its interwar predecessor. In contrast to Poland, whose Jews left en masse because of anti-Jewish violence, especially in the summer of 1946, Slovak Jews left after the non-violent communist coup of February 1948. By the end of 1949, 80 percent had left and the Slovak Jewish community almost ceased to exist.

Thus the optimistic tone of *Beyond Violence*, which dwells on the possibility of homecoming and the abundance of Jewish survivors' creativity and innovation in both Poland and Slovakia, seems naïve given that the admirable attempts to rebuild their shattered lives failed as the survivors were primarily seen as unwanted ghostly others in Polish and Slovak societies alike. This book is nevertheless highly recommended not only for scholars and students of east European Jewish history and the Holocaust, but also for scholars and students of other twentieth century genocides for whom *Beyond Violence* could serve as an inspiring comparative case.

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The Polish Underground and the Jews, 1939–1945. By Joshua D. Zimmerman. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. xvii, 474 pp. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Glossary. Index. Figures. Tables. Maps. \$118.00, hard bound.

The Polish Underground refers to those resistance organizations in Nazi-occupied Poland that swore allegiance to the Polish government-in-exile. What became known as the Home Army was the military wing of the Underground; it was the largest resis-

tance movement in German-occupied Poland with 350,000 members by the summer of 1944. The relationship between the Underground and Poland's Jewish population during World War II has been controversial, to say the least. On the one hand is the position that, given the circumstances of the particularly brutal German occupation, the Underground did all it could to help Poland's three-million-strong Jewish population survive the Holocaust. On the other is the view that the Underground was antisemitic and even targeted Jews specifically as enemies of Poland. In *The Polish Underground and the Jews* Joshua Zimmerman advocates for a more balanced and nuanced analysis of the Underground's relationship to the Polish-Jewish population. The Underground was neither homogenous nor monolithic, Zimmerman shows; it included individuals from all social classes and regions of pre-war Poland and from many different political persuasions, from socialist to right-wing nationalist. As such, individuals and units within the Underground had different attitudes toward Jews, and even then these attitudes changed through the many phases of the war. Zimmerman describes and analyzes these evolving attitudes and contexts, and the result is a superbly researched, compellingly argued and stunningly detailed book that will no doubt become a standard on the subject.

The book is divided into two parts. The first is comparatively short and focuses on the pre-war Polish political background, the outbreak of the war, the period of German-Soviet partition from 1939 to 1941, and the early phase of Polish resistance activity. The eleven chapters of part two comprise the heart of the book. These focus on the period after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 and on the unfolding Final Solution. Zimmerman provides plenty of evidence to show that certain members of the Polish Underground—Polish government leader Władysław Sikorski and Home Army Commander Stefan Rowecki—often felt genuine sympathy for the Jews. But he also shows that their priority was preserving the Polish state and protecting the ethnically Polish population; ultimately they regarded Jews as existing outside of “the Polish nation.” Thus, the Underground chose to offer only limited aid to the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in April of 1943, which it saw as a narrowly Jewish rather than a broadly Polish effort. The all-Poland rising would come later, they said, when the time was right.

For Zimmerman an important turning point for Polish-Jewish relations came after the Ghetto Uprising. Rowecki was arrested and Sikorski died in the summer of 1943, and they were replaced by individuals far less sympathetic to the Jewish plight (most notably Tadeusz “Bór” Komorowski as Home Army commander). As Zimmerman argues, the new international context became increasingly relevant at this time as well. By 1943, the Polish government understood that liberation would come from the Soviets, and that a future independent Poland was by no means assured. Anti-Communism became a feature of Home Army tactics, and for some this anti-Communism was conflated with anti-Jewish sentiment. Chapter 10, “When the Home Army Turned Its Guns on the Jews,” is devastatingly good, and in it Zimmerman provides numerous examples of Jews that were killed by units of the Home Army. It is followed by two very moving chapters that describe the help that Jews received from different parts of the Underground. Such assistance came from Żegota (the Polish Committee to Aid the Jews), for example, as well as from remarkable individuals with links to the Home Army (Zimmerman profiles several in Chapter 12). Zimmerman's biographical approach in these cleverly juxtaposed chapters reminds us again why we cannot treat the Polish Underground as a homogenous entity.

In the last two chapters, Zimmerman brings us to the 1944 Warsaw Uprising, the Underground's long-planned strategy for pushing the Nazis out of Poland. By this time, relations between Jews and the Polish Underground were generally poor (though unknown numbers of Jews nevertheless participated in the Uprising). The

Warsaw Uprising was brutally defeated in October 1944, but by early 1945 the Nazis were out and the Soviets controlled the city. Shortly thereafter, the Polish Underground collapsed. The war was over, but the legacy of that period continues to haunt Polish-Jewish relations. It is therefore vital to have a book like Zimmerman's that so judiciously analyzes relations between the Polish Underground and the Jews and brings a full sense of their complexity to the debate. This is a book richly deserving of praise.

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Poland's War on Radio Free Europe 1950–1989. By Paweł Machcewicz. Trans. Maya Latynski. Washington D.C. and Stanford: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford University Press, 2014. xvi, 243pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Plates. \$65.00, hard bound.

The massive, complicated organization of Radio Free Europe (RFE) represents a set of fascinating Cold War stories. Financed mostly by the CIA and State Department, created in consultation with US exile groups, yet produced in splendid semi-autonomy next to Munich's Englischer Garten, RFE began as one of many anticommunist radio stations broadcasting to the eastern bloc. Soon after its humble beginnings in 1950, however, RFE became the Soviet Bloc's most consistent challenger. Unsurprisingly, the Soviets and their satellites devoted significant energy to jamming RFE's signals and arguing with its programs, although each eastern bloc country fought in its own way with its exile-driven RFE office.

In this widely researched, skillful book, Paweł Machcewicz begins to tease apart the different strands of Poland's RFE story. He argues that RFE (and the dissident and exile communities who kept them informed) were the communist regimes' main "opposition daily" (8). His tale examines the Polish Communist Party, military, secret police, foreign service, and media as they joined in combat against RFE. The regime produced anti-RFE propaganda, persecuted listeners and informers, jammed its signals, and infiltrated its Munich operations (2).

Machcewicz organizes his depiction of Poland's struggle against RFE in a loosely chronological fashion. After an overarching initial chapter focused mainly on RFE's origins, he moves on to discuss Stalinism, the Władysław Gomułka era (1956–1970), the Edward Gierek period (1970–1980), and then a final chapter taking the story from the Helsinki Accords to communism's demise in Poland. He also presents a reasonably detailed case study of Operation Olcha, the enormously repressive effort by the Polish Security Service to discipline intellectuals, like Władysław Bartoszewski and others, who passed on information to RFE and to émigré publications like the Paris-based *Kultura*.

Machcewicz sets the bar high by implying that his book will deal generally with reception of RFE's programs. In fact, this is largely a smart, complex institutional history, based on documentary evidence generated by different organizations and ministries within the Polish government. Ordinary people appear in this book infrequently, when hauled in front of bureaucrats and accused of listening to anti-socialist radio. We learn somewhat more about the Polish intellectuals who provided information to RFE, and a great deal more about the regime's efforts to punish or control them. We get relatively little RFE content; the reader loses sight of why exactly the regime found RFE so very threatening.

The translation from the Polish is solid, but stronger editing would have helped craft a stronger book. Paragraphs lack topic sentences; phrasing and organization are