

methodologies, scopes of interest, and ways of presenting their findings. Some data appear in more than one chapter and (occasionally) some contradict one another. A reader might wish better coordination and a clearer structure for this part. The texts are well-researched, with the exception of the one dealing with the Częstochowa region, which in fact is a personal testimony of Jarosław Kapsa rather than a scholarly work and would fit better in the third part of the book.

The second part are “the sources,” the various documents created in the period of 1976–89. Selection criteria are not provided. The detailed story of a week-long printing process of one publication by Jan Walc can be read as a thriller, while a publishing guide that introduced prospective underground printers to the technical secrets of the job must be hard to comprehend for readers rooted in twenty-first century consumer society. The last narrative part consists of oral interviews collected after the collapse of the communist regime. Its main chapter is the transcript of a talk with the leading figures of the Polish “duplicator underground.”

The structure of those two non-academic parts is also not entirely clear and repetitions are even more frequent. New testimonies do not bring too many new findings, but often refer to the same few details that have already been discussed by scholars (such as the controversies over the decision to go to duplicators instead of just using typing machines, or about the first duplicator smuggled to Lublin). First-hand experiences are interesting, and personal accounts enliven the narrative.

As a Polish historian, I have no problem understanding the Polish terms used in the book (from *bibuła* [illegal publications] to *bhp* [safety rules] and *pasta bhp* [hand-washing detergent]) or grasping the details of life in Poland under communism. I am concerned that these issues might be less obvious to international readers, however, and the clarifications provided by the authors may not suffice. Some Polish terms and phenomena are explained in footnotes or in appendices but this is done quite inconsistently. The use of English is another issue. Apparently, most texts were originally written in Polish. The translation is uneven and in some chapters Polish grammatical and vocabulary structures prevail.

The book is a good means to introduce the Polish independent publishing movement to international historiography despite the fact that it is written from the Polish point of view. The authors take it for granted that readers are familiar with the realities of Poland in the period of 1976–89 and focus on local issues. Explanatory parts are few and far between. The international context hardly exists. There are some non-Polish bibliographical references and not all the authors are Polish, but in general the *Duplicator Underground* presents the Polish perspective.

JOANNA WOJDON
University of Wrocław

War and Diplomacy in East and West: A Biography of Józef Retinger. By M.B.B. Biskupski. Routledge Studies in Modern History. New York: Routledge, 2017. xiv, 322 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$149.95, hard bound.
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This is not “a biography of Józef Retinger,” but rather *the* biography. M.B.B. Biskupski’s study of the mysterious diplomat—“the Polish Talleyrand” of the first half of the twentieth century—is an impressive work of history. Nearly a third of the book is devoted to endnotes and bibliography, with sources from over twenty-five libraries and archives in eight different countries. It is a tour de force of historical research indeed.

M.B.B. Biskupski's extensive documentation of Retinger's political life is both a strength and a weakness of the book. Retinger is a marginal figure in Polish and European history, but with so much material on his life, Biskupski tends to exaggerate Retinger's influence. Retinger was the quintessential *éminence grise*, and as such he too inflated his importance, a point Biskupski himself makes.

Biskupski has left no stone unturned in his effort to unmask the enigmatic Pole, who began his career during World War I lobbying the combatants to resurrect Poland. The only path to Polish independence was, as the famous Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz once wrote, through "a universal war of all nations" ("The Pilgrim's Litany," *Poems by Adam Mickiewicz*, 1944). Voila! World War I was that conflict, but Poland was hopelessly divided between the Russians on the one side, and the Germans and Austrians on the other. A native of Kraków, Retinger was a passionate enemy of the German Second Reich. He rested his false hopes on Polish autonomy in the Habsburg monarchy. It was Ignacy Paderewski, not Retinger, who had President Woodrow Wilson's ear for complete Polish independence, outlined in the thirteenth of Wilson's Fourteen Points. The miracle for Poland was that all of the partitioners lost the war, the Central Powers to the Entente, and the Russia to the Bolsheviks.

Retinger alienated himself from France and Great Britain by opposing an Entente-led Polish army. France threw him out of the country and he ended up in Mexico, where he became embroiled in leftist movements, hence accusations that Retinger was a British or Soviet spy. Biskupski concludes that it was not surprising that the opportunistic, conniving Retinger was able to elicit funds from clandestine sources, but that he was not an intelligence agent.

Retinger's most important political role was as the right-hand man of General Władysław Sikorski, who led the exiled Polish government in London during World War II. Sikorski died in a plane crash in 1943, leaving Retinger rudderless. Retinger and the London Poles would have little influence on the future of postwar Poland anyway, other than to complicate relations with Stalin by backing the ill-advised Warsaw Uprising in 1944.

The smaller states of Europe were helpless to stop German aggression in the world wars, so after World War II it was natural that their leaders hoped for European cooperation to protect their political and economic security. In the interwar period, east European countries, crucially Poland and Czechoslovakia, were unable to form a common front against German or Soviet revanchism. When Hitler annexed the Sudetenland in 1938, Poland grabbed a piece of Czechoslovakia as well.

Retinger, like leaders in the Benelux and other small countries, dreamed of a common European home. Poland, of course, was doomed to Soviet control after the war. Retinger contributed to the idea of a European community by brokering the Congress of Europe in The Hague in 1948. Belgian leader Paul-Henri Spaak praised him as a "pioneer" of the European cause (249). It is a stretch, however, for Biskupski to call Retinger the "godfather of the European Union" (291); where does that leave Frenchmen Jean Monnet and Robert Schumann, Spaak himself, and many others who played much more important roles?

Retinger also led the Bilderbergs, which was a Masons-like coterie of political and economic elites to work out European cooperation. The United States wanted west European unity against the Soviet bloc, so the CIA helped finance the group. In the Bilderbergs' meeting in 2017, one of the attendees was none other than former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, whose *modus operandi* was the same anachronistic, Retingeresque "back channel" connection, scheming behind closed doors in smoke-filled rooms. The European Union (EU) and the European Commission today are under fire as run by unelected technocrats and bureaucrats who ignore the political will of the people. The recent crises of the EU, of which Brexit is one, are the results.

Biskupski might have added a little rouge to his pale, albeit very well written portrayal of Retinger's political career. The Pole was a fascinating personality, and given that intrigue was his forte, the reader is left wanting more about his personal life. Retinger had several affairs and a tumultuous family life. He participated in hundreds of meetings with important political figures, but the book has no photos. This is a detailed study for experts on Polish and European diplomacy.

SHELDON ANDERSON
Miami University, Ohio

Mordechaj Chaim Rumkowski–Wahrheit und Legende: “Meine jüdische Seele fürchtet den Tag des Gerichts nicht.” By Monika Polit. Trans. Heidemarie Petersen, Jürgen Hensel, and Małgorzata Sparenberg. Osnabrück: fibre Verlag, 2017. 271 pp. Bibliography. Index. Illustrations. Photographs. €29.80, paper. doi: 10.1017/slr.2018.226

Decades have passed, and still the figure of Mordechaj Chaim Rumkowski looms over both historical and fictional representations of the Łódź ghetto. For many, he remains a man decidedly self-interested, mean-spirited, ethically tainted, an object of scorn. But is the picture complete? In a calm tone, and with balanced appreciation for the sensitivity of the topic, the author succeeds in drawing a more accurate and nuanced picture of the man than commonly assumed. Most usefully, she has brought overlooked archival sources to light, rendering depth to our understanding of him as a historical figure.

Rumkowski, she is convinced, is best viewed over the course of a lifetime, with consideration of his historical role as controversial leader of the Jewish community in the ghetto enriched by an understanding of the broader arc of his career. Born in 1877 in Ilino, in Belorussia, Rumkowski migrated to Łódź in 1892. After the turn of the century, he had established himself as a small manufacturer, married, and commenced his lifelong activities as an activist in local institutions of Jewish social welfare. The author reveals Rumkowski to have been a man embedded within the affectionate circle of his family, including both his first wife (she would succumb to a fatal illness in 1937); his brother, Józef, to whom he was especially close; two sisters who settled in Russia; and a surviving nephew in Israel. In particular the text offers enriching details of Rumkowski's activities as an elected representative of the Jewish community during the interwar period, of his steady commitment to Zionism, and his sincere, if practically-minded devotion to the Jewish faith. As the author stresses, even in troubled times he was resolutely disinclined to place much hope in miracles or messianic intervention. The author also compellingly engages the unresolved topic of Rumkowski's controversial tenure as director of the Helenówek orphanage, the centerpiece of his career as a social activist within the community. In doing so, she highlights a little-known account dating from the early 1930s questioning the competence of the staff and alleging physical mistreatment of the youngsters under Rumkowski's care. Ms. Polit does well in bringing this sensitive material to light while judging it with fairness and cautious respect for the available evidence.

The text attends extensively to Rumkowski in his published writings and public appearances both prior to the war and inside the ghetto, identifying and providing analysis of his rhetorical styles, themes, and gestures. Fruitful attention is devoted to consideration of the surviving notebooks of the skilled Yiddish-language journalist, Szmul Rozensztajn. Rozensztajn proved a diligent observer, accompanying Rumkowski on his rounds, interviewing his closest confidants, transcribing his