

Grenzregionen zum Zankapfel konkurrierender Länder und zur Projektionsfläche regionaler Entwicklungskonzepte werden können. Aufgrund ihrer strategischen Unsicherheit sind sie oft wirtschaftlich benachteiligt und können in innerstaatlichen Verteilungskonflikten leichter in den Hintergrund gedrängt werden.

Das Phantomgrenzen-Konzept stellt die positivistische und überkommene Definition von Staat, Territorium und Grenze als singuläre und alternativlose Referenzgrößen von Geschichtsforschung mehr als nur in Frage. Das aus den Politikwissenschaften entlehnte Konzept des Territorialitätsregimes verdeutlicht den prozesshaften und umkämpften Charakter der Raumkonstruktion und hilft zu verstehen, warum die Wiederbelebung alter Raumkonzepte auf der politischen Ebene in jüngster Zeit so erfolgreich ist. Dass die in diesem Band gewählte Fragestellung sowohl makro- als auch mikrogeschichtliche Ansätze ermöglicht, macht deren Potenzial deutlich. Dass im vorliegenden Band allerdings die Rolle religiöser Tradition nicht direkt angesprochen wird, erachte ich für einen Lapsus, der in zukünftigen Publikationen noch behoben werden sollte.

Wien

Otmar Höll

**Grzegorz Krzywiec: Chauvinism, Polish Style.** The Case of Roman Dmowski (Beginnings: 1886-1905). Translated by Jarosław Garliński. (Polish Studies – Transdisciplinary Perspectives, Bd. 18.) Peter Lang Editon. Frankfurt am Main u. a. 2016. 586 S. ISBN 978-3-631-62757-0. (€ 69,95.)

The work is an English translation and addresses the genesis of Roman Dmowski's ideological conceptions against the backdrop of political and social thinking of Polish intellectual circles of the time period under review, and the development of the Polish integral nationalism from the 1880s to the Revolution of 1905.<sup>1</sup> Dmowski's political beliefs, along with extensive background information on the ideas of other Polish and European creators of political thought of the epoch, are subjected to the author's analysis and interpretation. The time frame of the work is justified and raises no objections. Based on extensive documentary research and Dmowski's journalistic writings published in *Głos* and *Przegląd Wszechpolski*, Grzegorz Krzywiec reflects on the role of Dmowski's work in the context of the development of Polish political thought at the fin-de-siècle.

The structure of the book raises no objections, either. The author analyzes the young ideological generation and the time when Dmowski grew up to be the leader of patriotically-oriented young people of Warsaw. He reflects on the significance of racial thinking arguing that its intellectual foundations came from anti-positivist tradition: the years when Dmowski's political views became crystalized occurred at the beginning of the 1890s, when he headed the group of Warsaw's patriotic youth.

K. formulates a very controversial thesis about Dmowski's racial-anthropological theories as based on anti-Semitism. The thesis, which has never been presented in historiography before, refers to Dmowski's statement on the Jewish question. The author's attitude towards the Jewish issue may be regarded as based on racial prejudices. He links the problem of racism to anti-Semitism. As a consequence, it is hard for the reader to make out the way the author defines such terms as 'chauvinism' or 'integral nationalism'. The terms 'chauvinist', 'racists', 'nationalists' and 'conservatives' are used interchangeably, in quite a cavalier manner. K. presents the nature of Polish racism and sees the roots of it in anti-Semitism. Sometimes, with a certain degree of caution, he mentions that Dmowski's racial theories were accepted slowly and gradually by the developing national movement. He recognizes 1912 as the date to mark the time when racism was supposed to be exploited

<sup>1</sup> GRZEGORZ KRZYWIEC: Szowinizm po polsku. Przypadek Romana Dmowskiego (1886-1905), Warszawa 2009.

under nationalist ideology (p. 139). Actually, it is quite hard to determine the author's definition of the terms 'racism' and 'chauvinism'. It seems that he follows colloquial or journalistic definitions of the words. However, it should be noted that during the time period under review, the concept of race was defined and used in a different way than it is today. Although the title of the book clearly suggests the book will present Dmowski as a 'Polish chauvinist', K. fails to demonstrate that Dmowski advocated admiration and respect for his own ethnic group and social class and praised the virtues of the Polish nation. By appealing to a distinctly Polish identity, his concept of the nation automatically depreciated other countries and nations. That enmity toward different minorities (not only the Jews) constituted the ideological core of Polish nationalism.

K. does not reflect solely on the significance of Dmowski's statement and the political views of Polish national circles from the late 19th and early 20th c. The book attempts to comment on the political and social thinking of Polish intellectuals adhering to both conservative and left-wing philosophies. The author refers to their episodic ideological conceptions such as those regarding problems of social and public order. This information may be much appreciated but on the other hand, it makes K. drift from the main topic, that is, the ideology of Dmowski and his political camp. A major feature of the book is the contextualization of Polish nationalism against the backdrop of European political thought.

It is worthy of note that to some extent K. introduces the concept of 'new nationalism' into historiography with emphasis on its aggressive nature which cultivated chauvinism and racism. He ignores its strong connections to the political program aimed at defending the Polish nation, regaining independence and preserving national identity, and takes little account of Dmowski's well-documented views on the Jewish question. Dmowski and his ideological camp spoke out against the economic expansion of the Jews which led to an open conflict between the two nationalities.

The book pictures Dmowski as an individual who was highly intelligent, brave, charismatic, haughty and content with his own life, a person who referred to himself as an 'active individual' or a visionary. He often acted as a teacher and tutor supporting the young and also women. The author refers to the comments of Dmowski's female friends from the Lutoslawski family or the daughters of philosopher Wincent Lutoslawski (p. 226).

K. depicts Dmowski's work against the backdrop of social and political reality in the Polish Kingdom, Galicja (Cracow) and Europe (including the time Dmowski spent in Paris). Dmowski's political project, in its broadest sense, was based on diverse factors and on family influences (especially his mother's). His political thought and the underpinnings of his nationalist vision were shaped by the academic world of Warsaw, the works of Polish intellectuals published by the press, the ideas of Polish and European thinkers, as well as the incisive analyses of different social structures (e.g. the British social model) and other factors such as the atmosphere that permeated early 20th c. European and Russian attitudes towards the Polish issue.

After reading this study, one gets the wrong impression that racism constitutes the core of Dmowski's ideology and his only goal was to implement racial thinking in the new nationalist imagination. Dmowski remains one of the most versatile and eminent Polish politicians of the late 19th and early 20th century. Not only does the title of the book arouse some controversy, but also the main points covered in the content seem to be challenging.

Białystok

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**Vasilijus Safronovas: Kampf um Identität.** Die ideologische Auseinandersetzung in Memel/Kleipėda im 20. Jahrhundert. (Veröffentlichungen des Nordost-Instituts, Bd. 20.) Harrassowitz. Wiesbaden 2015. 342 S. ISBN 978-3-447-10352-7. (€ 34,-)

Vasilijus Safronovas definiert in seiner hier vorliegenden Studie Identität einleitend als „Äquivalent von Ideen, Überzeugungen, sozialen und kulturellen Praktiken“ (S. 7).