

Piotr H. Kosicki: Catholics on the Barricades. Poland, France, and „Revolution“, 1939-1956. (Yale-Hoover Series on Authoritarian Regimes.) Yale University Press. New Haven 2018. XXVIII, 392 S., Ill. ISBN 978-0-300-22551-8. (£ 37,-)

Piotr Kosicki, Assistant Professor of history at the University of Maryland, tells a meticulously researched story of how Catholic intellectuals in Poland and France negotiated modernity in their quest for a more just society. He follows a diverse group of French and Polish Catholic activists and social thinkers to investigate the history of personalism, Catholic philosophy that emphasizes the primacy of human dignity. As K. demonstrates, Catholic personalists in France and Poland were revolutionaries—they insisted on the need for social, political and, most importantly, moral revolution. One of the leading intellectuals of the personalist movement, Emmanuel Mounier, strongly encouraged the fight against capitalism’s “established disorder” through the “affirmation of the primacy of the human person over material necessities and the collective apparatus that sustains its development” (p. 57). In France and Poland personalists sought to derail what they perceived as the materialist tendencies of the modern world and to bring forward social justice instead. The ambiguities of Mounier’s personalism (its “neither left nor right” political program) are already well exposed by other intellectual historians, such as Zeev Sternhell and Tony Judt, but K. manages to add an insightful chapter to the history of personalism.

French philosophers were popular in Poland already during the interwar period, when priests like Antoni Szymański and Władysław Kornilowicz, popularized social Catholicism and personalist ideas among the younger generations of Catholics. As K. argues, personalism was appealing to Polish Catholics partly because it was compatible with ethno-nationalism, which had dominated Polish Catholic thinking since the turn of the century. However, it was the experiences of the Second World War that opened up Polish Catholics to cooperation with the Left. Personalism provided the basis for Catholic-Marxist alliance, which was further developed in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. The new regime in Poland did not welcome the resurrection of the Christian Democrat movement and this situation was exploited best by Boleslaw Piasecki, a National Democrat in his youth and a leader of the interwar fascist Falanga movement. In 1945, he reinvented himself and embraced a Catholic-Marxist line, or, as K. calls it, Catholic socialism. With the approval of the regime, Piasecki established the social movement *Dziś i Jutro* (Today and Tomorrow, later renamed PAX) and gathered a circle of religious intellectuals. Interestingly, *Dziś i Jutro* established an entire business enterprise, which included a private bus company, two trading companies, a private school, a daily newspaper and a publishing house. The publishing house of *Dziś i Jutro* was the only one in Poland to receive permission from the government to publish the Bible in large quantities. It served as a political platform as well, and received three seats in the Parliament election of 1948. For his own part, Piasecki became an important power broker and the intermediary between the Church and state.

Dziś i Jutro was successful in building a transnational network of pro-Marxist Catholics. For example, its leaders managed to garner the support of Mounier, who declared that *Dziś i Jutro* was the sole representative of Catholic revolution in Poland. When in 1946 Mounier visited Poland, he had a chance to meet several groups of Catholic intellectuals in Krakow and Warsaw, including the editor of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, Jerzy Turowicz, who until then was a follower of Mounier’s personalism. However, for Mounier only *Dziś i Jutro* represented a progressive kind of Catholicism, the one committed to revolution. Mounier saw Poland as a social laboratory, in which the Catholic-Marxist union could lead the way toward a more just society. Importantly, Mounier perceived this alliance not as a retreat from Catholicism, but rather as an infusion of Catholic principles into Marxism. For him, the personalists devoted themselves to “making the [Marxist] revolutionaries spiritual” (p. 4). Moreover, K. points out that, besides their declared commitment to social justice, the French and Polish Catholic intellectuals were united by their shared anti-Germanism.

Dziś i Jutro offered a platform for young, politically minded Catholics to express their Catholicism as well as to take part in the shaping of the People's Poland. The first prime minister of Poland after 1989, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, was one of these young Catholics. Mazowiecki took part in the activities of Dziś i Jutro, however, once it became clear that this movement sided with Stalinism and its crimes, Mazowiecki was among the young Catholics who turned away from Piasecki and Catholic socialism only to establish their own monthly *Więź*, as well as Catholic Intelligentsia Clubs. The case of Karol Wojtyła provides an alternative intellectual trajectory. Having spent the aftermath of the Second World War pursuing his doctorate in Rome and traveling around the Western Europe, Wojtyła discovered French "new theology" and the "revolutionary" approaches to pastoral care. As K. claims, the discovery of French Catholic intellectual traditions provoked a certain "pastoral radicalism" in Wojtyła's thinking and inspired him to spread the Catholic faith among Polish workers. Before he became a bishop, Wojtyła had been a regular contributor to *Tygodnik Powszechny*. According to K.'s account, Wojtyła joined forces with Turowicz, Mazowiecki and other Catholic activists in their pursuit of the reform of both Communist Poland and Catholicism.

K. takes Piasecki and his followers seriously and asserts that they were not simply a "group of power-hungry cynics" (p. 135), but rather true believers in revolution. However, it is not clear enough how much the leaders of Dziś i Jutro themselves actually believed in their own claims about revolution. As the history of communism in the Soviet Bloc has taught us, the declaration of support of certain principles does not necessarily mean belief in their truthfulness. The popularity of the concepts of the "human person" or "dignity" among Polish Catholic intellectuals may suggest that the usage of personalist language served not only as a way to conceptualize the Catholic way of revolution, but also to legitimize Piasecki and his movement in the eyes of the broader Catholic society, both in Poland and abroad. As it seems, the movement's support for Stalinism indicates that, besides Catholic revolution, Dziś i Jutro had more practical goals as well, however, this by no means reduces the achievements of K.'s research.

In summary, the author successfully uses debates among Polish Catholic intellectuals to make a broader case about the Catholic pursuit of social justice in postwar Europe which led socially oriented Catholic intellectuals to forge new alliances and look beyond existing societal formations. One needs to mention separately that K. demonstrates excellent knowledge not only of Polish, but also of French Catholic intellectual history. *Catholics on the Barricades* is relevant for anyone who wishes to understand the complexities of Catholicism in the twentieth century.

Budapest

Vilius Kubekas

Women and Men at War. A Gender Perspective on World War II and its Aftermath in Central and Eastern Europe. Hrsg. von Maren Röger und Ruth Leiserowitz. (Einzelveröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Warschau, Bd. 28.) fibre. Osna-brück 2012. 342 S., Tab. ISBN 978-3-938400-83-8. (€ 39,80.)

Zu Geschlecht und Krieg ist seit Langem und mit unterschiedlichen Schwerpunkten vielfach publiziert worden. Während zunächst Gewalterfahrungen und Kriegsproduktion, die Heimat (oder Heimatfront) im Vordergrund standen, sind in neuester Zeit einige Forschungen zu Frauen und Waffen erschienen. Der Blick hat sich also, etwas pauschal gesprochen, von Frauen als Opfer (männlicher) Gewalt und Objekten staatlicher Politik auf die Beteiligung am explizit als männlich konnotierten Feld des Kampfes verschoben.

Der hier zu besprechende Band nun versammelt Aufsätze zu beiden Perspektiven und zielt darauf ab, zu einer das Geschlecht integrierenden Geschichte des Zweiten Weltkriegs in Ost- und Ostmitteleuropa beizutragen. Insgesamt zeigen die Beiträge den Erkenntnisgewinn einer Geschlechtergeschichte des Krieges für die von Gewaltexzessen, Frontbewegungen, wechselnden Besatzungsmächten und Grenzverschiebungen geprägte Region. Ne-