

tiken dem nationalen Narrativ weitgehend unterworfen. Im französischen Nationalmuseum wird Europa durch das Konzept des Mittelmeerraums abgelöst, der sich vermeintlich nur dank seiner Zugehörigkeit zur „Grande Nation“ in seiner Vielfalt und Vielstimmigkeit entfalten könne. Das Danziger Zentrum erklärt dagegen die Solidarność-Bewegung zum entscheidenden Ereignis der europäischen Geschichte. Der als national verstandene Widerstand gegen das kommunistische Regime wird so zur Erzählung eines europäischen und sogar universellen Kampfes für Freiheit und Menschenrechte. In der musealen Interpretation Europas in Berlin taucht der „alte Kontinent“ nicht als etwas die einzelnen Nationsgrenzen Überschreitendes auf, sondern als Nebeneinander verschiedener Nationen. Dieser Rahmen erleichtert es dann, den „besonderen“ Beitrag der deutschen Nation zur europäischen Geschichte hervorzuheben.

Vor diesem Hintergrund verwundert es auch wenig, dass die analysierten Europamedien feministische und postkoloniale Perspektiven kaum aufgreifen. Wie Cz. überzeugend herausarbeitet, wird Europa in den musealen Fallbeispielen gegendert, rassifiziert und religiös markiert. „Nicht-weiße, nicht-christliche und nicht-männliche Menschen sind darin nicht Teil Europas“ (S. 343). Abgesehen von der Dauerausstellung in Marseille, die die europäische religiöse und geschlechtliche Vielfalt aufgreift, erscheinen Europa und seine Geschichte in den untersuchten Museen überwiegend als männlich dominiert, christlich geprägt und weiß positioniert.

Zweifelsohne ist diese museumskritische Reflexion die größte Stärke von Cz.s Analyse. Mit ihrem vergleichenden, prozessualen Blick auf die einzelnen Museen liefert sie einen substanziellen Beitrag zu den gegenwärtigen Diskussionen um die Rückkehr – oder besser gesagt: die konstante Vorherrschaft – des Nationalismus in Europa. Besonders überzeugend ist die Studie bei den ausgesuchten Fallbeispielen, selten hat man einen ebenso detaillierten wie fundiert recherchierten Einblick in die individuelle Ausstellungspolitik der musealen Häuser präsentiert bekommen. Neuere museumstheoretische Ansätze aus der bildhistorischen Perspektive oder aus dem Bereich der *material turn* sind für die Vf. dagegen kaum vom Interesse. Das von argumentativen und sprachlichen Redundanzen nicht ganz freie und Hunderte von Namen anführende Buch hätte sicherlich auch ein Personenregister verdient gehabt. Angesichts der Lesefreundlichkeit sowie in Bezug auf Hauptthesen und prägnante Narrative sollte Cz.s Abhandlung auch für ein breites Lesepublikum relevant sein.

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Tomasz Kozłowski: Koniec imperium MSW. Transformacja organów bezpieczeństwa państwa 1989–1990. [The End of the MSW Empire. The Transformation of the State Security Agencies 1989–1990.] Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Zbrodni Przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu. Warszawa 2019. 327 S. ISBN 978-83-8098-632-9. (PLN 35,–)

The eponymous MSW (Ministerstwo Spraw Wewnętrznych, Ministry of Interior) was a mammoth institution of the Polish state socialist regime. It executed many state functions, but was identified with the infamous secret police SB (Służba Bezpieczeństwa, Security Service). How the Ministry was adapted to fit into the new political reality of the early transition years (1989/90) and how politicians dealt with its toxic heritage of mass surveillance and brutality are the topic of this timely, well-researched and balanced book.

The allegedly crucial influence of MSW's former functionaries, secret collaborators and their networks on the early history of post-communist Poland was a powerful political narrative, according to which, MSW's elite, together with parts of the new opposition, shaped Poland's regime change to their benefit. Tomasz Kozłowski skillfully verifies these 1989 legends, but is likewise skeptical of liberal triumphalism which sees the transformation as a straightforward process. In fact, it was anything but straightforward, but as K. shows, that had less to do with the illicit influence of the MSW's old guard than the

contradictory interests and mistakes on both sides and a complicated international situation.

This book is divided into five chapters. The first and second chapters deal with the tenure of Czesław Kiszczak as Minister of the Interior, which spanned from 1981 to 1990 and included his acting as minister in the Tadeusz Mazowiecki cabinet. How the legal reform of state security was carried out in the Polish Sejm is described in the third chapter. The fourth chapter deals with the verification of the MSW's functionaries, which determined their viability to serve under the new regime. The fifth and final chapter puts the spotlight on setting up the new intelligence services after 1989. The book is based on archival documents, especially lesser known materials from the Polish Sejm and the Council of Ministers from 1989 and 1990. The actions of the actors on both sides of the conflict, e.g. MSW's top brass, its rank-and-file functionaries, as well as the opposition elite and the local Solidarity activists, are analyzed with recognition of their differences.

The background to the post-1989 events is described without unnecessary repetitions and shows how Kiszczak extended the MSW's powers after the martial law in 1981 and provided the legal basis for the MSW's activities, only to, as a reaction to the election of 4 June 1989, start the process of unwinding the Ministry on his own terms. As part of this process, he partly destroyed its files and attempted to successfully enter the post-1989 era with a clean slate as co-creator of the Round Table compromise.

The MSW's rank-and-file functionaries, claims K., were not a consolidated bloc with shared interests, and how the author explores the variety of their strategies is praiseworthy. Because of the deteriorating work conditions and loss of prestige, many employees were eager to distance themselves from the force. The testimonies of disgruntled functionaries provided information on brutality and extra-legal measures ordered by their superiors. K. shows how functionaries maintained contacts with former state and party officials, their natural base, as well as with post-Solidarity politicians, and how they were eager to advance their careers by providing information, their professional networks, capital and services. A small elite group of functionaries, especially those from the foreign intelligence section, who possessed the most sought-after resources and skills (knowledge of foreign languages, contacts among prominent professional groups such as lawyers, economists, managers or in the West) were successful in post-1989 Polish capitalism.

According to the author, Prime Minister Mazowiecki and his advisers, when dealing with MSW, proceeded with caution, since they believed that more forceful action might lead to social chaos and the spread of crime, and they were hoping to retain mid and low-level specialists in the reformed services. However, as K. shows, the stereotype of helpless Mazowiecki is false, since the new team gradually expanded their influence on the Ministry of Interior, not only overtly, by appointing a deputy minister and then minister, but also covertly by maintaining contacts among officers and proceeding with structural reforms. Local activists and rank-and-file Solidarity members of parliament were closest to their constituents' grievances and were calling for more radical action. Much has already been written about the negotiated character of Poland's transition. K. supplements this point by showing the lack of revolutionary atmosphere in the country, where no occupations of state security headquarters took place and, according to polls, the interest in reckoning with the past was minor.

The closing chapter, in which K. shows how the newly established intelligence and counterintelligence service Office of State Protection (Urząd Ochrony Państwa) was confronted with new challenges, analyzes the international and global context. One thread of this chapter is particularly interesting. The Solidarity-based leadership of the new secret services knowingly reduced the protection from foreign industrial espionage of companies that were nominally still in state possession. Instances of interference from western companies were disregarded on account of the new leadership seeing western capital as a benevolent actor bringing modernity and prosperity to the ruined socialist economy which could not have had anything to offer on the global market.

In conclusion, this book brings many new detailed insights into elite in-fighting in the 1989/90 period in Poland and explains the limitations of the transition to democracy and capitalism. The focus on divergent interests and perspectives among the main actors of the transition period is this book's most significant contribution to the previous literature.

Jena – Warszawa

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