

polandmarketsstocksprivatisationcompanywse, 15 October 2010.

[8] For a discussion of issues surrounding privatization, see Richard J. Hunter, Jr. and Leo V. Ryan, “The Legacy and Prospects of Polish Privatization,” *International Research Journal of Finance and Economics*, no. 21 (2008), 142–48. An update on the topic was presented by the authors at the June 2010 meeting of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, “The Polish government, faced with a 2010 budget likely to include a ballooning deficit and heavy borrowing, has little choice but to proceed with its ambitious privatization plans while hoping for a quick recovery.” “Poland Tackles Its Deficit With Privatization Spree,” [online.wsj.com/article/SB125417294156447369.html](http://online.wsj.com/article/SB125417294156447369.html).

[9] Richard J. Hunter, Jr. and Leo V. Ryan, “Poland, the European Union, and the Euro: Poland’s Long Journey to Full European Integration,” *Global Economy Journal*, vol. 9, no. 2 (2009), Article 6. Originally 2012 had been targeted as the year for Poland’s adoption of the euro as its currency.

[10] Paweł Jabłoński, “Polska tonie w morzu długów” [Poland is drowning in a sea of debt], <http://blog.rp.pl/2010/09/12>. Reuters reports that aggregate Polish debt will not exceed the GDP “safety level” of 55 percent. See [www.reuters.com/article/idUSWAR01139920100208](http://www.reuters.com/article/idUSWAR01139920100208).

## The Two Lives of Ludwik Gumplowicz

*Dwa życia Ludwika Gumplowicza. Wybór tekstów.* Selection and introduction by Jan Surman i Gerard Mozelič. Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2010. 533 pages. Index and bibliography. ISBN 978-83-7459-090-7. Hardcover. In Polish.

### Joanna Rostropowicz Clark

When the communist regime in Soviet-occupied Poland abolished sociology as an academic subject (it was restored in 1956), fired its professors, and banned books, Ludwik Gumplowicz (1838–1909) would have been among the first to correctly explain this particular anathema. One of the founders of sociology as a distinct branch of science, he was an incisive critic of Marxism on two grounds: that it was utopian to believe in disappearance of conflicts under any social system; and that not binary social classes of the exploiters and the exploited, but multiple groups—with their diverse interests, conflicts, and loyalties—determine the dynamics within every larger human collective such as nation or state. “Communism,”

Gumplowicz wrote in an article for the sociopolitical weekly *Prawda* in 1883, “proposes to take away from those who have and to give to those who don’t have,” a program that arises from “the same natural instinct that prompts one savage tribe to rob another.”

The article “Komunizm, socjalizm i antysemityzm” appears in a handsomely produced volume of Gumplowicz’s academic and journalistic works, selected, edited, and introduced in the extensive biographical and analytical essay “Ludwik Gumplowicz i jego socjologia” by Jan Surman and Gerald Mozelič with valuable contribution from a German scholar, Reinhard Müller. Their names alone would please Gumplowicz, as reminiscent of his multicultural Galician background that influenced his theoretical concepts and his controversial opinions. If as he claimed, individual personalities are indeed formed in the process of the interactions of their original social groups, his own complex personality and ideas may well reflect the fact that, as Jerzy Szacki noted in his *Historia myśli społecznej*, he lived in a uniquely diverse, multiethnic society—“the experience unknown to the French, English, even German sociologists.”

As Surman’s and Mozelič’s introduction reminds us, it was a steaming cauldron of diversity, a pot that was beginning to melt with a loud sizzle at the top, yet stayed stuck at its bulk in which every ethnic and class cluster, Polish, German and Yiddish-speaking, resisted reform. Gumplowicz was born a Kraków Jew to an upwardly mobile family in the year when his father, a devotee of the German Enlightenment and its Jewish offshoot Haskalah, obtained citizenship rights—still a rarity in Austrian-occupied Kraków. Gumplowicz attended the St. Ann’s Gymnasium where he made lasting friendships with boys from similar assimilating families (Michał Bałucki, among others), as well as with Polish Catholic students. He then studied law at the Jagiellonian University, but eventually graduated from the University of Vienna. He returned to Kraków to practice law, was elected to the city council, and contributed articles to progressive press in the Polish language. But he failed to receive a habilitation degree from Jagiellonian University: his dissertation about the legal history of Jews in Poland was rejected as—in the majority opinion of reviewers—too prejudicial toward the Catholic Church. Not for the first or the last time, Gumplowicz’s criticism of organized religions, including Judaism, would get him in trouble. Although disappointed and hurt, he looked into other opportunities in Kraków and found a truly stimulating one in editing and writing for the liberal *Kraj* founded

in 1869 by the “red prince” Adam Sapieha in opposition to the conservative *Czas*.

Ten of Gumpłowicz’s *Kraj* articles are included in this volume, and the reader who may already be familiar with the sociological output of the founder of group theory, or is not too keenly interested in the history of sociology cannot fail to find them fascinating, both as documents of the ideological turmoil of the period and because of their application to our contemporary discourse on ethnocentrism (a term coined by Gumpłowicz), patriotism, reform of education and, to quote the titles of two articles, “religion and nationality” and “federalism and autonomy”. His style here is witty, free from the intellectual complexities of the theoretical works that he wrote in German. In “O dźwiganu oświaty ludowej” he writes that “the masses don’t like to fast, the masses don’t put their cents into any noble political or national causes. Happy are those who believe in such dreams; we are not among them.” On patriotism: “Also, we believe that it is harmful and perilous to promote patriotism by means of advertisement; to print in front page articles names of ladies and maidens who pledged their tokens in order to encourage others.” On “Polish blood” in the article praising the Polish Caucus in the Vienna parliament for its decree giving full discretion to its members in matters of religious conviction: “This blood does not have one religion. It flows in the veins of righteous Catholics and masons—it flows in the blood of adherents of all religions nourished by the same Polish soil.”

After *Kraj* folded in 1874 (Sapieha lost interest, money dried up), Gumpłowicz accepted the offer to teach at Graz University where he defended his habilitation dissertation on Robert von Mohl and his philosophy of state. His professorial career in Graz was slow and arduous; he had prominent adversaries on the mostly conservative faculty, and it took almost twenty years before he received full professorship in 1893. Although his teaching assignments were erratic, he was more successful at publishing his seminal books on legal, political, and theoretical sociology. His *Grundriß der Sociologie* and *Soziologie und Politik* brought him international recognition. He became one of the first members of the Institut International de Sociologie in Paris; his articles were published in *Rivista italiana di sociologia* and *American Journal of Sociology*. Some of his German works were translated into Polish (*System socjologii* was published in Warsaw in 1887), and he continued to contribute to Polish periodicals in Kraków and in Warsaw.

While reading *Dwa życia Ludwika Gumpłowicza* one wishes for yet another book: his biography. Not two biographies (one about his Polish side, the other about his German side) but one, recording an amazing life. Given that he was a “typical professor with an umbrella,” as he joked, his life was marked by extraordinary turmoil and personal tragedies. Always concerned about the situation of Jews—their poverty, backwardness and, of course, anti-Semitism more acute at the time in Austria proper than in Polish Kraków—he saw no solution in either Zionism (see his letter to Theodore Herzl in this collection) or socialism. His views on the matter can be viewed as integrationist and assimilationist: Jews ought to maintain their specificity while becoming fully integrated into the nation state they inhabit.

Gumpłowicz seems to have been happily married to the beautiful Franciszka Goldman (the book includes photographs). They had three sons, of whom the middle one died at age fourteen. The oldest, Maksimilian, studied law and history, but while working as a lecturer in Polish in Vienna he fell in love with Polish poet Maria Konopnicka and, rejected, shot himself at her doorstep. The youngest, Ignacy Władysław, already a doctor of medicine, became involved with a group of anarchists and to his parents’ despair was incarcerated in a Berlin prison. Later, however, he worked for Polish patriotic causes and in independent Poland embarked on an academic career at several universities. Active in the Polish Underground during the Second World War, he died in 1942, like his father a convert to the Reformed Evangelical Church. We know more about the death of his parents. In the summer of 1909 Ludwik and Franciszka Gumpłowicz, both in drastically failing health, committed suicide together by taking cyanide. In one of his last articles Gumpłowicz argued on behalf of euthanasia for the suffering sick. Always scrupulous, he left two letters: to the police, and to his son with instructions for an unceremonious funeral and for distribution of his valuable library.

There is much in this book that informs and provokes questions, and much that inspires the imagination. We put it down grateful for what we have learned and yearning to learn more about its subjects, including the love life of Maria Konopnicka. ◇

