
Summaries

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S U M M A R I E S

JOZEF CHAŁASIŃSKI

THE PROBLEM OF TWO CULTURES — OF NOBILITY AND PEASANTS — IN THE POLISH LITERATURE OF THE 19th AND 20th CENTURIES

The Polish Peasant in Europe and America by W. I. Thomas and F. Znaniecki, the first five-volume edition of which appeared half a century ago, ranks among classical works of world sociological literature. Its importance consisted not only in the fact of being the first thorough sociological monograph on peasant community in Europe and at the same time a study of emigrant elements in the USA. No less significant was its role as the pioneer work from methodological point of view. For it was precisely in that work that personal materials — such as letters and autobiographies have been used as foundation of a sociological study.

In Poland, the first initiative of this kind was a competition for workers' autobiographies organized in 1921 by the sociological centre at the University of Poznań, under the auspices of Professor Florian Znaniecki. The aftermath of the competition were 200 life-records inclusive of Władysław Berkan's *Życiorys własny* [Autobiography] published, with the preface by F. Znaniecki, in 1923 and *Życiorys własny robotnika* [A Worker's Autobiography] by Jakub Wojciechowski. The latter item, prepared for print by Józef Chałasiński and opening with an introduction by Stefan Szuman, appeared in 1930.

The materials collected by way of that competition were used by J. Chałasiński as a basis for his dissertation *Drogi awansu społecznego robotnika* [The Roads of Social Promotion of Workers] published by the Polish Sociological Institute in Poznań.

That first competition for life-records of workers and peasants organized — as already mentioned by the sociological centre of Poznań with F. Znaniecki in 1921 — was followed by several others. In 1936 that for autobiographies of young peasants was opened. It was the latter materials that served J. Chałasiński as a basis for his four-volume work *Młode pokolenie chłopów* [The Younger Generation of Peasants] published in 1938. This sociological study deals with the transformations occurring in the traditional isolated rural community under the impact of the peasants' growing share in the life of the nation. The problem discussed in greater detail was that of the part played in those transformations by the rural youth organizations in the period between the two World Wars.

The transformations in the rural community in People's Poland were depicted by the autobiographical materials entered to the competition organized by the Rural Youth Union with the assistance of the Polish Academy of Sciences towards the end of 1961. The life-records selected from among those materials are being published by the Academy as a series entitled *Młode pokolenie wsi Polskiej Ludowej. Materiały i studia*. [The Rural Youth in People's Poland. Materials and Studies]. The following volumes have appeared so far: I. *Awans pokolenia* [Advancement

of a Generation], II. *Tu jest mój dom* [This is my Home], III. *W poszukiwaniu drogi* [Looking for the Road], IV. *Od chłopca do rolnika* [From Peasant to Farmer], V. *Gospodarstwo i rodzina* [The Farm and the Family], VI. *Nauczyciel i uczniowie* [Teachers and Pupils], and VII. *Nowe zawody* [The New Professions].

The article headlined *The Problem of Two Cultures — of Nobility and Peasants in the Polish Literature of the 19th and 20th Centuries* is connected with both, the author's work on *The Younger Generation of Peasants* (1938) and the series *The Rural Youth in People's Poland*. And if the Polish culture of the whole 19th century and early 20th — and also of the period between the Two World Wars — was characterized by a distinct division into that of the nobility and the one of peasants, the dominant feature of the socio-cultural relations depicted by the memoirs of the Rural Youth in People's Poland is the process of urbanization and the vision of unity of national culture.

The article discussed is, however, particularly closely related with the above mentioned work, *The Younger Generation of Peasants* (1938). It was the latter that pointed to existence in the Polish reality of two types of culture: that of peasants, the core of which was productive manual labour and the aristocratic leisure one, consisting in the pursuit of various intellectual objectives as a kind of entertainment and not labour. The rise of that latter aristocratic, lordly culture followed under the conditions of the system of soccage under which the peasant worked to maintain the lord, and the latter, free from work, devoted himself to entertainment. As a result of such a division, the opinion has evolved on the superiority of mental work over manual labour.

And here the question arises on what way did it happen? The answer is that, parallel with the development of a modern industrial-capitalist system, demand was rising for not only manual, but also mental work. The descendants of former upper classes engaged in the latter work attaching to it, however, an aristocratic stigma in contradistinction to the peasant, manual labour. Thus, under the impact of the cult of aristocracy, the stratum of intelligentsia was rising as that of people engaged in mental work, superior to the work of a peasant or manual worker.

Such is a brief outline of the author's previous works with which the present article is most closely related. And the latter shows that the division into two cultures — that of the lords and the one of peasants — was the subject of journalistic controversy in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and, also, in the period between the two World Wars (1918—1939).

It is also to be borne in mind that still in the 18th century the term "the Polish nation" was understood by the upper classes as the nation of nobles including neither the burghers nor peasants. The idea of a nation uniting, on the basis of equal rights, the nobility and burghers was voiced by Stanisław Staszic at the end of the 18th century. Nevertheless, it was only Romanticism — or, to be more precise, its socially radical wing represented, first and foremost, by Adam Mickiewicz — that stroke a decisive blow at the nobles' elitarian concept of the nation. In the poet's vision, the core of the Polish nation was, above all, the Polish people and by the Polish people he meant the Polish peasants.

The idea of a people's country granting equal rights to peasants was also propagated by the Polish emigree movement of Utopian socialists led by Worcell and Krępowiecki. An expression of its ideology "Gromada Grudziąż" — "Grudziąż Community") — was the latter's Manifesto of October 30th, 1835.

The process of democratization of the socio-cultural relations and, thus, also

of the Polish intelligentsia was, however, a very slow one. One hundred years after the said Manifesto of Grudziąż Community, Stanisław Przybyszewski, an eminent Polish writer accepting the nobles' concept of culture said in his book *Moi współcześni [My Contemporaries]* 1930: "The peasant's soul does not come into consideration as a cultural factor unless as that of bitter enmity towards everything connected with culture." This extreme view is all the more striking as Przybyszewski was of peasant origin on the father's side, his mother coming of a gentry family. The period of People's Poland — noted for profound and many-sided processes of democratisation exceeds the span covered by the present article. The social and cultural transformations which took place in this country under the people's rule have found a telling expression in the materials published as the series *The Rural Youth in People's Poland*.

WIKTOR SZCZERBA

THE PROBLEM OF COLONIALISM IN THE LENINIST PROGRAMME FOR ELIMINATING EXPLOITATION OF MAN BY MAN

The problem of colonialism was approached by Lenin from historical, economic, social and cultural point of view. Studying from this angle the laws governing the development of capitalism, he disclosed the sources of imperialism. The final conclusion derived from his researches says that the essence of imperialism is based on the following premises:

- a) concentration of production on a very high level of its development;
- b) seizing of the most important sources of raw materials;
- c) concentration of banks;
- d) colonial policy.

Thus, colonial policy has become one of the essential elements of imperialism. The essence of this policy remains the same and it is only its "motives" and forms that differ depending on socio-historical conditions.

One of the manifestations of the said policy is exercising control over the resources of raw materials and cheap labour, exportation of the capital, profitable transactions, and the so-called economic and political influence zones. In other words, this is the most antihumanitarian form of exploitation of man by man.

Lenin's deeper penetration into the essence of colonial policy examined from this point of view reveals, above all, the following three characteristic components of that exploitation:

- a) territorial division of the world into the so-called influence zones,
- b) usurping, by some nations, of the law to dominate others,
- c) prolongation and consolidation of the existence of slavery of hired labour.

Lenin's analysis of the essence of imperialism served him as a basis for formulation of the fundamental principles of the programme for abolition of colonialism. Two of them are in particular stressed by Lenin. The first is the principle of the self-determination of nations in which a part of significance is played by the masses of the working people. The second — the principle of proletarian

internationalism finding an expression in the alliance of all the working people (in both, the exploiting and exploited countries) in the struggle against international capitalist exploitation.

The premises discussed have become the starting point of Lenin's programme for fighting colonialism as one of the forms of exploitation of man by man.

The author of the article basing himself on the works of Lenin discusses in greater detail the place taken by colonialism in the Leninist programme for suppressing that exploitation.

JOZEF KADZIELSKI

LENIN IN CURRENT OPINION OF FOREIGNERS

Apart from three national programmes, the Polish Radio also broadcasts, on short waves, that intended for European and African countries but received as well in America, Asia and, even, the far-away Australia and New Zealand. Such a wide reach of the said broadcasts is reflected by letters from listeners and the latter's participation in various kinds of competitions. In 1969 The Editors of the Foreign Programme of the Polish Radio organized the competitions entitled, respectively, *Twenty Five Years of People's Poland* and *Thirty Years after the Outbreak of the Second World War*. The centenary of Lenin's birth was marked by another event — a special competition — *My Encounter with Lenin*.

The latter competition, organized upon the suggestion of the Polish Radio, by the foreign programmes of the broadcasting systems of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Mongolia, Rumania, and the Soviet Union asked listeners the following question: "When, and under what circumstances, did you come across the name Lenin for the first time and what does it mean to you?" A total of 17,000 answers have been collected by all the participating broadcasting systems.

The listeners of the Polish Radio sent 2,912 answers from 74 countries of which from those in Europe — 1,793, Africa — 1,008; Asia — 55, America — 41 and Australia — 15 answers. The largest number of replies was sent to the Polish Radio from the following ten countries: Finland — 333, France — 307, Ghana — 257, Italy — 256, Great Britain — 214, the Federal Republic of Germany — 190, Algeria — 175, Nigeria — 165, Sweden — 145, the United Arab Republic — 80. Listeners from the said ten countries were the authors of 72.9% of all the answers sent to the Polish Radio's Lenin Competition.

A comparison of the number of those answers with that of contributions to other competitions organized by the Polish Radio points to higher degree of the authors' autoselection. The participants in the competition *My Encounter with Lenin* were the listeners politically and emotionally connected with the socialist or the communist movement or, at least, those advocating the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and considering the Great October Revolution as the irrevocable beginning of a new epoch of contemporary world.

An analysis of the answers divided according to three periods in which the

competitors encountered for the first time the name of Lenin points to a significant evolution. In the first period — that of the First World War and the Great October Revolution — the basic source of popularisation of the knowledge of his life and activities were direct contacts with the working class movement and the press informing of current events, such as Lenin's return to Russia from emigration and the developments of October Revolution.

In the second period — from the death of Lenin till the end of the Second World War — knowledge of Lenin was disseminated depending on the political conditions existing in the respective countries, in some of them openly, in others secretly, in direct contacts and by the intermediary of the press and radio — a new mass medium at the time. Moreover, in the period discussed a new institution started taking part in dissemination of that knowledge, namely, the school and textbooks. And though in the capitalist countries both of them presented a distorted picture of Lenin and the October Revolution, they nevertheless evoked an interest which, in the case of many competitors, made them study his works. As a result, their opinions on him and the events of the Revolution were changing and so were their attitudes.

The third period, following directly upon the conclusion of the Second World War, was characterized in the European countries by a universal growth of interest in the Soviet Union and Lenin, irrespective of the light in which they were presented. In this case, dissemination of knowledge was effected by way of direct contacts passed on from generation to generation, of school and books, press, radio, cinema and, last but not least, by television. An important part is played in the process by the foreign programmes of the broadcasting systems of the socialist countries. It is owing to them that the correct information penetrate into the consciousness of listeners, thus contributing to the rise of their positive attitudes, opinions and behaviours.

Another phenomenon characteristic of the period after the Second World War is the extremely large scale on which knowledge of the October Revolution, the Soviet Union and Lenin is spreading onto other continents. A considerable part of the answers to the competition have been contributed from the listeners in Africa. This shows that the social mechanisms of the interest in Lenin and of dissemination of the knowledge of his life and work, operating there, are analogical to the European ones. Nevertheless, the interest in Lenin's achievements and ideas and their reception bear a specific character. The authors of the answers discussed pay special attention to some elements of his views. There are good grounds to maintain that, whereas the European competitors are concerned, above all, with class aspects of Leninism, the African ones are particularly interested in the national aspects, the problems of imperialist exploitation, etc. Both, the former and the latter point, however, to the universal values of Leninism, and hold Lenin as a model of a revolutionary and of a man. Referring to the centenary of his birth, the competitors say — were it not for Lenin's devotion to the cause of the labour movement and his organizational and propaganda abilities, the history of the past few decades would have taken quite a different course. They would not be the time of such profound changes tending towards freedom, progress and socialism.

MARIA RUDOWSKA

SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AS REFLECTED IN THE 19th-CENTURY ARCHITECTURE AND TOWN-PLANNING

The socio-economic transformations, taking place in the European countries since the seventies of the 18th century were connected with the great increase in population, above all, that in the towns. Hence, the unprecedented growth of needs in the sphere of housing. The poor lived cooped up in houses deprived of any sanitary facilities.

No wonder the housing situation of the masses was focussing the attention of social thinkers of the day who considered it one of the basic elements of man's existence. The leading Utopian socialists, voicing the need for changes in the then social system, emphasized the importance of proper housing conditions. Some of them did not rest satisfied with mere formulation of theoretical assumptions but prepared, according to their own concepts, designs of human habitations. Representatives of scientific socialism, saw the possibility of ensuring adequate flats for the working people but in a revolutionary transformation of that system.

Some progressive architects maintained that further development of architecture depended on the pattern of social relations and that an overturn in that field was taking place just in the 19th century.

The enunciations of those progressive architects, like the designs prepared by Utopian socialists, clearly indicate to direct connection of the 19th century social ideas with the creative architectonic pursuits of the day. The interdependence of these two factors has made it possible to choose from among architectonic and town planning solutions — the examples illustrating the respective stages in the development of social consciousness.

In the choice of those examples both, the non-implemented projects and those put into effect were taken into consideration. The concepts pertain to settlements for large numbers of inhabitants and date from the first half of the century. Their authors are Cl. N. Ledoux (1736—1806), a vanguard architect who designed the "ideally perfect" city and Utopian socialists treating their own projects of settlements as a background of the pursuit for new forms of human coexistence.

The implemented projects, selected as examples, divided into two groups. The first comprises the designs of worker houses built in 1825—1900, the second — those dating from the latter half of the 19th century and aimed at improving the conditions of life of the working people in big towns.

In Polish lands, construction of worker houses was undertaken rather early. The initiatives displayed in the field by the then autonomous Government of the Kingdom of Poland (1816—1831) and Bank of Poland (1831—1845) resulted from the necessity of providing flats for the workers of the expanding government-controlled industry. In England and France the state authorities displayed an interest in the housing situation of workers only when it became really grave and, especially, in connection with the difficulties encountered in attempts at controlling the epidemics of cholera. In both the countries, construction of worker houses was started but beginning with the forties of the past century.

Building of those houses on a relatively larger scale was conducted but by the industrial plants which, in fact, treated those investments as a means for

attracting and retaining labour force. In Łódź, houses for cotton industry workers were built in 1830. Six years later, a worker settlement was constructed at Czechy glass works (Warsaw district). This gives ground to suppose Poland was in the vanguard in this respect. However, the possibilities of constructing worker houses at a really large scale were limited by the general economic situation of the country. No doubt, the number of worker settlements built upon the initiative of industrial plants in the West was larger than that in the Polish lands. The first of them were built in England in the forties, followed by those in France about a decade later. It was also in England that there were grounded, in the sixties, the first societies for the construction of dwelling houses. And a group of French industrialists instituted at Mulhouse (Alsace), in mid-nineteenth century, a society for the construction of worker houses. It was the activities of that society that became an example followed, by other European countries. It is worth mentioning in this connection the initiatives displayed by the coal-mine owners company in Belgium. In Warsaw, the representatives of the economic circles incorporated a Company for the Construction of Houses for Craftsmen and Workers, in 1862. And the year 1897 saw the rise there of a purely benevolent agency and, namely of the Institution for Cheap Flats named after the Wawelbergs.

The second group of projects implemented for the sake of betterment of the living conditions of urban workers comprised, above all, those of public parks as places of outdoor life, and entertainment. The earliest in this group were the parks of London laid out in mid-nineteenth century. A complete union with nature, and protection from the noxious effects of life in big cities, was provided for by E. Howard's (1850—1928) project of a garden city. His concept, though relatively quickly popularized did not, however, solve the problem of an industrial town. It was only in the first years of this century that some light was shed onto it by the French architect and town planner Tony Garnier (1869—1948), in his famous project "la cité industrielle."

Safeguarding, due to urban planning, of spatial conditions for implementation of social tasks makes the novelty of the concepts dating from the nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.

In our times, however, the principle has been adopted of determining the direction of alterations in town expansion in consonance with the changing needs of modern life. That is why creative work in the sphere of building and architecture constitutes the most obvious expression of social transformations.

In socialist humanism this is manifest in architecture as well as in urban and physical planning. One of the examples of this phenomenon is the rise of residential districts and settlements independently of the professional factor. And the programmatic guidelines of housing give to all equal chances for stabilization of living conditions.

JERZY PIOTROWSKI

OLD AGE IN POLAND

The article presents, in slightly changed form, the author's paper delivered to the national conference on social gerontology. The conference, held in Warsaw in May 1970 was organized by the Institute for Social Economy, Main School of

Planning and Statistics, in co-operation with the Committee on Demographic Problems, Polish Academy of Sciences, and with the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

The author discusses — on the basis of his own researches — the properties, situation and needs of old people in Poland. The concluding part of the article comprises deliberations on social definition of old age.

A few substantial reasons account for the ever greater attention paid to the old age problems by scholars and social workers. One of them is the fact that old people make an ever larger number of this country's total population, another — that the period of "old age" is extending. And, one more reason that — in fact of the changing family and socio-economic relations — the position of old people is indeterminate and uncertain. Under these conditions, the societies of today are faced with the need for a clear determination of both, the position and role of the aged and the tasks and operational methods of social policy with regard to old people. And this is impossible without previous understanding — due to thorough scientific research — who are the old people and what are their needs. The point is that opinions on the subject have so far been shaped mainly by social workers and physicians dealing with pathological cases and those of special urgency. Thus, the picture of the problem formed on the basis of those opinions was incomplete and distorted and, as such, gave no ground to theoretical generalizations and practical proceedings.

The author goes on to present the main results of the research — carried out by the Chair of Labour Sociology, Main School of Planning and Statistics — on the health, work, family relations, living and economic conditions of persons aged 65, and older, in private households (nationwide representative sample). The research was undertaken as a comparative one with regard to similar investigations carried out in Britain, Denmark, and the USA and discussed by E. Shanas, P. Townsend et al., in *Old People in Three Industrial Societies*, New York, 1968.

The research pointed to a marked differentiation of the old people and their position in all the fields under investigation. A large majority of the old persons polled (70%) have retained full efficiency in the activities of daily living. At the same time, however, 10—15% are seriously handicapped and unable to live without the aid of others. The findings of Polish researches are similar to those of the ones carried out in the said three countries and, also, in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union.

A considerably large number of persons of 65 and older, especially of men, are still vocationally active. From among four older men one works outside agriculture works one; from four in agriculture work three within the latter, nevertheless, the scope of their work and its time are usually limited. Among those vocationally active, there are some persons who have retained full efficiency and others whom the latter is even notably reduced. There are some who want to work and others who would rather give up vocational activity. The findings of the research have also shown that there are persons contented with the fact they had stopped to work and also others dissatisfied with continuation of their professional work.

As ascertained in other countries, in Poland, too, the old people's relations with their families, above all, with their children are usually close and often connected with mutual help and exchange of services. About 80% of old people having children maintain almost daily contact with one of them. About 67% live together

with their children — a fact more frequent in the country than in town. Apart from persons mentioned above, there is a rather small percentage of lonely old people, having no contact with family. Their absolute number is, however, by no means insignificant. Cohabitation with children is in some cases harmonious and, in others, bad. The major part of the old people would prefer to live separately but near to their children. Likewise, there are marked differences in housing conditions and material position of the old persons. Essential differences are also observed between agriculturists and persons related with other branches of the national economy.

Analysing those differences the author arrives at the conclusion that definition of old age — based on the criterion of chronological age is not a feasible one since it pertains to a class of persons of highly differentiated properties. And the age as such cannot be considered a property as essential as to justify that criterion. The conventional definitions based on the criterion of chronological age are of little avail to both, theoretical pursuits and practical ones, since they cover highly differentiated phenomena. This also applies to employment of the criterion in demographic analyses as testified by division of the population into the groups of vocationally active persons and those past the age of that activity.

Hence the conclusion that various notions of old age should be applied depending on the phenomena under investigation, e.g. the psychical activity, economic independence. From the viewpoint of social policy — a different category make the people of full capacities, vocationally and socially active and economically independent and another one sick ones, incapable of work, depending upon assistance of others.

Nevertheless, work should be undertaken on formulation of a general definition of old age, one that — being satisfactory from theoretical point of view — would embrace and distinguish phenomena of common properties. Such a definition should be functional, connected with essential changes in the set of social roles exercised at the period of the individual's maturity, since old age is, above all, a social category. Moreover, it seems that the principal element of such a definition should be the changes in the scope of vocational activity as the period after retirement from the latter. Thus, old age would not associate with the notion of cripplehood, disability and dependence upon others, what would rather correspond with empirical data. And the principal task of social policy should be to create conditions making it possible for the old people to live normal and rational life.

JADWIGA KOMOROWSKA

CONFLICTS OF URBAN MARRIAGES IN THE LIGHT OF READERS' INQUIRY

The article dealing with the causes, course and consequences of conflicts within urban marriages is based on 535 statements contributed, by readers of "Zycie Warszawy", to the competition organized by the daily and entitled *Husband and Wife*.

The following problems are discussed in the article:

1. What behaviours of the spouse evoke other party's conviction that satisfaction of his (her) vital needs is threatened? What are those needs and what were the expectations regarding their satisfaction?
2. Which of the spouse's behaviours are an indication of conflicts in marriage?
3. What circumstances favour consolidation of conflicts and the latter's accumulation to actual tension?
4. On what route were the conflicts solved?
5. What are the effects of tension-generating conflicts in married life?

Generally speaking, the answers to the inquiry may be defined as a hymn to victorious love. Even those who suffered defeat sounded this tune. Thus, the inquiry discussed also confirmed the sociologists and psychologist's well-known theory on the great import of the emotional and expressive function of the marriage of to-day. At the same time, the list of circumstances favouring transformation of conflicts into the disintegrating states of tension is topped by such factors as lack of culture in the sphere of feeling, the emotional, social and moral immaturity of the spouse (or both, husband and wife) and, above all, inability to experience a profound and lasting love. Another reason is lack of the sense of responsibility, of ability to understand the needs and psychical condition of others and, last but not least, to moral self-education. It is these shortcomings that render a positive solution of conflicts impossible.

Those facts point to the need for cultivation of the sphere of emotional life, for its being protected from underdevelopment and disturbances. Man's culture of feelings depends, to a large degree, on the atmosphere of his home and family. And, as indicated by the materials discussed, this is mainly the realm of woman — of wife and mother.

Hence, the weight of the part played by the woman in contemporary culture and the postulate for easing the fate of mothers overburdened with duties. Another requirement, clearly to be felt at present, is that for improving education in sex problems, preparation for marriage and family life and for regarding man also as an individual being a member of his family.

BRONISŁAW GOŁĘBIOWSKI, ZDZISŁAW GRZELAK

CHARACTERISTICS OF AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES CONTRIBUTED TO THE COMPETITION "MY FIRST STEPS IN FARMING"

The article presents an attempt at employing the technique of analysis of the contents with regard to autobiographical documents. The authors have made attempt of this kind for the second time, in this case respecting 169 autobiographical narratives of individual farmers and agronomists, collected by way of the life-record competition opened in 1968 by the newspapers circulated in the milieu of rural youth, and entitled *Moje pierwsze kroki w gospodarstwie* [*My First Steps in Farming*]. More than 1,500 autobiographical narratives were contributed by the competitors. Of this number, 169 narratives marked by typical motives of the choice of the profession of a farmer and description of the first

period of the work involved have been subjected to analysis of contents. The authors of those contributions had an education higher than the average in the rural areas and aspirations to improve their education, especially in the field of agriculture. Moreover, all of them were keen readers of agricultural books and periodicals.

The total volume of the analysed narratives amounted to some 3,000 typescript pages. As a result, of prolonged and penetrating analyses, the said material has been divided into 6,000 information according to 128 separate entries classed into 12 subject groups. Thus, a structure of the contents of the analysed narratives has been elaborated. The article discussed constitutes a detailed analysis of the frequency of occurrence of the definite information in definite groups. The frequency has also been examined of the appearance and volume of information in the respective entries belonging to those groups, with division into the number of authors who delivered statements on the given subject and the number of information and of typescript lines of which the latter are composed.

The contents structure elaborated on this route depicts the changes taking place in the aspirations, attitudes, social activity and personality of the young individual farmers in this country, mainly in 1965—1968. The principal objective of the analysis was not to obtain statistical data concerning the phenomena which appear within the community of these young farmers both, those working on their own and the ones still remaining on their parents holdings, but to learn about the views, aspirations, interests of the "vanguard" of that community and, above all, of the individuals who proved able to write interesting autobiographical narratives on the subject.

The authors conclude their extensive dissertation in the statement that the presented facts, derived from autobiographical materials, make it possible to draw an outline of the intellectual visage of the generation of young farmers entering the circle of vocationally active people in their respective rural communities. Resorting to a metaphor one might say this is the first rural generation wakened from the torpor of routine and automatism of production and absorbed in the dynamic processes modernizing agricultural farms, households, the attitudes and way of living of the rural population as well as the latter's orientation and aspirations. Implementation of the new agricultural policy formulated in People's Poland years ago, has proved a contribution to maximum adjustment of the interests of the people's state and its rural areas. The slogan "More Grain" has become the task of utmost importance and higher efficiency of work in agriculture — a prerequisite of further development of the whole country. The statements collected by way of the competition provide an answer to the question for what reason did the younger generation more actively join the process of reforms and changes than the old one. Less strongly rooted in tradition, more confident in what is advised by the authorities and better educated, those young farmers have been encircled by science, by the agricultural knowledge disseminated in the country through various channels.

Agriculture depicted in books and periodicals, that presented in t.v. programmes an radio broadcasts or at courses of various kind, differed notably from that observed in everyday life, from the respective farms and the mode of in which they were run. The disconcerting disparity of what there actually existed, and what should exist, influenced the tasks, objectives and plans of the young people.

Table 13

Specification of the most numerous subcategories (entries)	Diarists 169 = 100%		Information		Typescript lines	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Condition of the farm (IV)	118	69.8	204	11.7	2681	12.7
2. Descriptions of the village, electrification, land integration (IX)	92	54.4	170	9.8	2458	11.5
3. Description of modernization of the farm and of the obstacles encountered therein (VI)	77	45.6	166	9.5	2549	12.1
4. Aspirations and plans for organization of the farm (XI)	76	45.0	104	6.0	1041	4.9
5. Free time and its utilization (VII)	73	43.2	190	10.9	1745	8.3
6. The role of press, radio, t.v., and agricultural books in modernization of farming (V)	72	42.6	123	7.1	1379	6.5
7. Comparisons: an agriculturist and other professions, country and town (IX)	70	41.4	143	8.2	1730	8.2
8. Production results of the early period of farming (VI)	69	40.8	145	8.3	1566	7.4
9. Brothers and sisters, their careers, careers of children (I)	66	39.1	114	6.5	1477	7.0
10. Buildings and repairs (VI)	65	38.4	134	7.7	1545	7.3
11. Connections between the farm and agencies of the agricultural circles responsible for the execution and transportation and cultivation work (V)	62	36.7	120	6.9	1145	5.4
12. Comparisons: the country — the state and the agricultural policy (IX)	60	35.5	130	7.4	1834	8.7
Total	900	532.5	1743	100.0	21150	100.0

Lecture of their autobiographical narratives leads to quite unexpected conclusions. The young agriculturists embarking upon the road of experiments treat their endeavours as a specific kind of intellectual adventure, a drive to better knowledge, a test of their gifts and abilities. Motives of economic nature come but second, after the first successes measured in quintals, tons etc. It is worth stressing, in the course of time, the drive to knowledge does not decrease but, on the contrary — is intensifying as testified by increase in the number of rural youth graduating of schools of secondary and university rank.

What is most frequently and most extensively described by authors of the autobiographical narratives analysed? It turns out, their minds revolve around their farms and their condition and all the factors liable to contribute — under the existing conditions — to their greatest modernization. Another group of problems focussing the author's attention is that of the relation between town and country, the farmer's and other professions, and that between agriculture, the state and agricultural policy. This is clearly depicted by Table 13 comprising a specification of 12 most numerous entries selected from among 128 of the detailed ones.

If regarded in strictly sociological categories, the communities discussed should be treated as a social force weakening the influence of farmers running their holdings in an obsolete and stereotype way. In the sphere of values this means a clash of the pattern of a bold experimentator working in a rationalistic way with that of a farmer, afraid of any risk, basing his work on experience of more or less distant past. At present this clash is taking place in the sphere of production. Hence the question of a general nature and, namely, when, and in what way, that creative drive to changes will have been made to penetrate into the sphere of social relations, and into the orb of moral and intellectual values? When, and in what way, the natural experiments will be carried on parallel with the social ones, referring to the so-far undiscovered moral resources of man, as individual and participant in collective life?

The analysis of 169 autobiographical narratives — though the latter are not representative of those of the whole generation of young farmers — gives good ground to the statement that those processes are far advanced in the community discussed. And if we arrange the respective groups within the presented structure of contents according to the number of the authors whose statements are included in the given groups, the number of information comprised and that of typescript lines (the Roman figures in brackets denote the logical order of those groups), there will be distinctly depicted the very broad social and economic interests of the agriculturists embraced by the investigation and no less distinct "reverse coupling" of those interests. The latter's hierarchy according to the criteria given above is depicted in Table 14.

Description of innovation processes in agriculture makes it possible to correct many of the distorted notions about the conservative attitude of the stratum of peasants, allegedly opposed to any changes coming from the outside. The data drawn from the autobiographical records discussed depict the process of penetration of the new into the country. An agriculturist used to close contact with nature, familiar with its rhythm and laws, adopts but with difficulty the ideas which do not spring from the realities of his surrounding. Everything that has but a slightly abstract appearance is subject to severe verification and control. Thus, also the agricultural novelties have to be tested several times before they become rooted for good in the farm.

Table 14

Contents structure of 169 autobiographical narratives according to the respective subject groups	Diarists		Information		Typescript lines	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1. Rural community and its transformations (IX)	534	15.8	1167	17.9	17577	20.1
2. First steps in farming. The farm and the outer world (V)	502	14.9	866	14.4	11067	12.7
3. First steps in farming. Problems and difficulties (IV)	466	13.8	800	13.3	10837	12.4
4. First steps in farming. Outlays and results (VI)	367	10.0	675	10.7	7550	8.3
5. A month. Description of everyday and seasonal work (VII)	282	8.2	592	9.8	6063	6.8
6. Biographical description of parents and family (I)	243	7.5	412	6.8	5254	6.0
7. The Rural Youth Union (VIII)	241	7.2	388	6.5	4613	5.3
8. Plans, projects and visions of the future (XI)	229	6.8	318	5.3	3717	4.3
9. Entering the sector of socialized agriculture (X)	100	3.0	305	5.1	8729	12.3
10. Motives of the decision on choosing the agriculturist's profession and moment of starting vocational activity (III)	200	5.9	292	4.8	4116	4.7
11. The diarist's life prior to the choice of the profession	130	3.9	177	3.0	3281	3.8
12. Others (Miscellanea)	102	3.0	149	2.4	2951	3.3
Total	3394	100.0	6141	100.0	85725	100.0

The younger generation, less strongly connected with the outlook and attitude described above, is more inclined to undertake the risk involved in application of the latest attainments of science. The young people have more confidence than the older ones in what is written and propagated. And this attitude is the basic impuls of their initiatives in the sphere of innovations and modernization which eventually change the visage of not only the individual farm but, also, of the Polish countryside.

ANNA JARMUSIEWICZ

THE POLISH EMIGRANTS

The steadily expanding contacts with the older generation of Polish emigrants and their descendants — inevitably result on a growth of both, the interest in the problems of emigration and the desire to understand what kind of experience and consequences are there behind the term "person of Polish origin." The most suitable material for the analyses and deliberations involved seem to be the autobiographical narratives. The article discussed refers to the highly interesting book — *Pamiętniki emigrantów [Memoirs of Emigrants]* published by Polonia (The Society for Contacts with Poles Abroad) in 1965 and to the authoress' attempt at establishing and analysing the still underestimated psychological and sociological aspects of emigration together with its sore points e.g. the transformation of national consciousness (and in further generations of emigration, alas, its disappearance), and with such matters as the rate of the process of assimilation abroad, or persistence and vitality of national culture represented there by the emigrants.

The memoirs discussed do not refer in fact to the wave of, about half a million strong, emigration being caused by World War II. (It is only the life record entitled *Ostatnia fala — The Last Wave* — that concerns that period). The said materials comprise, however, reminiscences from the times when emigration was a large-scale and permanent phenomenon, i.e. the beginning of this century and its thirties.

The emigrants very often resorted to distant countries. The authors of the life-records depict their fates in the USA (*Z ziemi obcej do Polski — From Alien Lands to Poland*; *Pracownik pióra — A Scribe*) and South America (*O polską szkołę — For a Polish School*; *Na pionierskim szlaku — Along the Pioneers Path — Brazil*; *Naukowiec i działacz — Scholar and Activist — the Argentina*; *Lata tułaczki — The Years of Wandering Life — Urugwaj*) and, also, those from France (*35 lat na obczyźnie — Thirty Five Years in Foreign Lands*; *Zwyczajne życie — An Ordinary Life*); Denmark (*Choć czujemy się Duńczykami — Though We're Danish*); Rumania (*Los kobiety — The Fate of a Woman*), and Great Britain (*Ostatnia Fala — The Last Wave*).

The emigrants mostly came from poor families of lower social strata. They left this country when very young, often as children. Most of the authors of those autobiographical narratives are peasants, industrial and other workers. The *Memoirs* discussed depict not only their struggle for survival but, also, that for consolidation and preservation of their national customs, traditions and their mother tongue. A major part of those reminiscences were written, if not by emigrant activists and social workers so at any rate, by people for whom their Polish national spirit was the only treasured possession taken along with them from their native country and who wanted to keep that treasure intact.

The article — *Polscy emigranci [The Polish Emigrants]* does not pretend, of course, to a thorough analysis of the matter. Neither does it touch upon all the possible and highly differentiated issues of the milieu of those emigrants. The author of the preface to another collection of their memoirs was very right in saying: "The emigrant border of nations is a strange, tightly intertwined knot of national, personal and economic problems." (*Pamiętniki Emigrantów 1878—1958 — Memoirs of Emigrants 1878—1958*, Warszawa 1960, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, page 5).

ZYGMENT KOMOROWSKI

FROM TRIBE TO NATION

The transformations of the inhabitants of Black Africa in the sphere of intellectual development mainly consist in breaking the barriers separating cultures of the respective tribes and ethnic groups and creating those of supra-tribal, national character. The latter join the great stream of world culture, an integral part of which is to be the so-called Africanness. True, the notion of an ideological fatherland was known in Africa also in the past (such cultures as Songhay, Ashanti, Hausa, Yoruba, Bakongo or Fulani exceed the stereotype concept of tribal culture). Nevertheless, the present unification of local communities under the banner of common ideologies and the ensuing drive at fostering the national spirit of culture have become a process of wide reach and great intensity. This results from the post-colonial pattern of political forces and changes in social structure which accompany the economic transformations. The inspirators of that process are the government authorities, political parties and the "new elites", and the principal stimulating factors — the flourishing of national literature, radio and, above all, school education the programmes of which — in all the new countries — extol the nation.

Professor Józef Chałasiński was the first scholar to point to the weight of those problems and their universalist character. He refers to them not only in his work *Blżej Afryki* [*Closer to Africa*] but, also, in numerous articles comprised in the volume *Kultura i naród* [*Culture and Nation*]. "To be remain one's true self in the common world of nations" — says Chałasiński — "is not only the problem of African peoples but of every nation. Ours is a stormy epoch in which a new world, the world of all mankind comes into being. And this faces all nations with the need for a new self-determination. In the course of Africa's dialogue with Europe not only a new Africa is being shaped, but also the old Europe transformed."

A scholar engaged in research on those problems has first to explain what does he understand by such notions as "tribe" and "nation" since their definitions are questionable to a large degree.

The author of the article combining the views of both, J. Chałasiński and S. Ossowski, expounds the opinion that the national culture begins where the individuals unite, irrespective of their personal connections, for the sake of moral objectives of a historically formed large group displaying an all-round activity in the sphere of culture. For it is only the nation that is capable to ensure to its members both, a compact universality of cultural experience and liberation of their culture from the impact of personal affairs and considerations.

The cultures of human groupings and thus, also of the nations are liable to confine to themselves and, hence, to isolate from the impact of others. This seems to justify a division into cultures relatively "less close" or "open." Compared with tribal cultures, the national ones reveal, as a rule, an "opener" character. The national culture is also marked by a divergence of patterns. In the case of African communities amalgamating upon multi-ethnic basis, that divergence seems particularly great mainly as a result of the synthesis of traditional animism with Christianity or Islam. Moreover, it is also intensified by the specific artistic sensitiveness of the inhabitants of that continent. And the revival of the traditional wealth of African art claims to become an inspiration to mankind.

FRANCISZEK BOCHEŃSKI

LANGUAGE PROBLEMS IN THREE COUNTRIES OF NORTH AFRICA —
ALGERIA, MOROCCO AND TUNESIA

Language situation in the new African countries is rather complicated. Neither the Arab countries of North Africa — Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia — are free of those difficulties. Such a state of affairs resulted from the conditions of historical development prevailing in those countries and, especially, from the policy pursued by the colonial powers which made that the language of the colonizers has been adopted by the new élite and mastered, in a higher or lesser degree, by the masses of the population. Another consequence was checking of the development of local languages and their having been pushed down to the role of the colloquial ones only.

The cause of the rise of language difficulties is the contradiction existing between the necessity to possess the own national language which would meet the requirements in the sphere of ideology and culture and the need for a rapid economic development, which does not permit to carry out linguistic experiments at the cost of decrease of production. At the present stage of development, language problems are reflected, above all, in the field of national education.

Having gained independence Algeria (1962), Morocco (1956) and Tunisia (1956) have declared themselves as Arab states and adopted Arabic as their official language. It is worth noting that there is no division in this case into the national and official language, the latter being that of the former colonizer, as is the case in other African countries. That declaration is not tantamount to confirming of the factual state but merely to mapping out of a long-term plan for general Arabisation of those countries which is to consist in introduction, in all walks of life, of the uniform, modern Arabic.

At present four languages are used in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia namely Arabic, Berberic, French and Spanish. It is Arabic and French that are of factual significance. Like in other Arab countries, Arabic in North Africa is not a uniform language. Its most general division points to three principal forms.

1) Classical Arabic (*al-lugha al-arabiya al-fusha*) based on the Koran and old Bedouin poetry was developed in the eighth and ninth centuries when the Arabian philologists elaborated in greater detail its grammar and established the principles of forming neologisms. Classical Arabic is highly esteemed throughout the Arab world as the language of Muslim religion and magnificent tradition of Muslim-Arabian culture and science. Another important factor is the Arabs' specific, emotional attitude towards the beauty of literary expression which — according to Arabian criteria — may be rendered well exclusively in that classical language.

2) Colloquial Arabic (*al-arabiya ad-daridja*) which has developed into several local dialects (*lahdjat*) often differing notably from classical Arabic and one another. Nevertheless, the differences between the respective dialects of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia are not so pronounced as to render it impossible for the inhabitants of one of the said countries to make themselves understood to those of the others.

3) Modern literary Arabic language also called neo-classical (*al-arabiya al-fusha al-haditha*). This form of Arabic developed in the Arabian east, in the

beginning of the 20th century, under the impact of the modernist movement. The modern literary Arabic constitutes an adaptation of the classical one to the needs of the present time. New expressions are based therein, above all, on the neologisms formed from the old classical roots in consonance with the rules elaborated by Arabian grammarians of the seventh century. The modern literary Arabic — as the language of the new literature, press, radio and television is understood in all Arab countries. It is used in its oral form on all formal occasions, as the language of inter-Arab conferences and in private talks of the Arabs from countries the dialects of which show considerable differences. According to the assumptions of the Arab League it is this form that should become the basis of modern all-Arabic language used both, on formal occasions and in private life.

The control over a correct development of contemporary Arabic is exercised by the Arab Language Academies in Cairo, Damascus and Bagdad. Moreover, a special institution — Permanent Bureau for Arabization — (Maktab ad-Daim li-Taarib) having its seat in Rabat — has been set up by the Arab League. Apart from co-ordinating activities in this field, carried on by the respective countries, the Bureau is also engaged in publication of lexicons the ultimate objective of which should be to contribute to the rise of the Great Dictionary of Modern Arabic — corresponding to the Great Oxford Dictionary or Grand Larousse. For many years past, a dispute has been going on in the columns of the press in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia (*Jeune Afrique*, *al-Fakir*, *al-Quabas*, *al-Moudjahid*, *al-Hakk ad-dai*, *al-Maghrib* and other periodicals and dailies published in French and Arabic) between the advocates and opponents of Arabization carried out according to assumptions adopted by the Academies of Arabic Language. The opponents of this method are of the opinion that the new all-Arabic language may rise as a result of the clash of Arabic dialects. Hence their demand that the latter be officially ranked as languages of literature, press and instruction. At the root of that dispute there is the myth on the necessity of refined and strange terms being used in classical Arabic and, thus, also in its new form, i.e. in modern literary Arabic. The principal argument of the opposite party is that of absolute impossibility of literary expression by means of a dialect.

A separate problem is that of the capacity of literary Arabic to convey technical ideas and notions. In the Arab countries the view reigns supreme that Arabic does not have such a capacity. This is thought even in so thoroughly Arabian country as Kuwait. This conviction may seem strange if we take into account the fact that classical Arabic had once exercised such a function so well that, until today, many technical and scientific terms in European languages are of Arabic origin. A more precise analysis of the possibilities of modern Arabic shows the latter is liable satisfactorily to exercise this function. However, the mode of forming new technical expressions by means of the method recommended by the Academy, i.e. exclusively on the basis of neologisms, threatens with the following undesirable consequences:

- 1) the rise of numerous synonyms and homonyms,
- 2) the resultant necessity of using very prolix definitions for the sake of greater precision of the terms involved,
- 3) too slow pace of forming — by central bodies — new uniform technical terms compared to the needs resulting from rapid changes connected with technical progress,

4) loss of advantages derived from application of international technical terminology.

A characteristic feature of discussions on the new all-Arabic language is lack of concrete practical conclusions pertaining not so much to the reform of that language but rather to verification of the method employed in its modernization. Apart from this, the discussions are also significant as manifestation of the struggle waged in Maghreb countries by two groups of modern Arab intelligentsia educated, respectively, under the French, or the traditional Arabian system. Irrespective of this discussion it is to be stated that the literary Arabic shows a steady tendency of development and — in the Arabian east — already meets the requirements of a contemporary national language. Moreover, there are good grounds to expect it is soon going to satisfy those requirements also in Arabian west. Nevertheless, the period of at least fifteen years is needed for the purpose and, as far as introduction of modern Arabic into production process is concerned — even a longer one. A large number of the problems treated by the countries concerned as those of linguistic nature are not a direct consequence of their complex language situation but of the general difficult position of those countries upon liberation from colonialism. This applies, above all, to the educational system the shortcomings of which result mainly from deficiency of adequately trained cadre of teachers, of good uniform curricula and textbooks. No small restraining effect have the survivals of old customs cultivated by higher and middle strata of white collar workers and not indifferent to certain circles responsible for the development of mass education and culture in the countries discussed.

In view of the present imperfection of Arabic language, of insufficient knowledge of its contemporary form and of purposeful non-introduction of dialect into the more important spheres of culture and science, French language is used, along with Arabic, and in the field of technic and education — almost exclusively. This results in the rise of the phenomenon defined as bilingualism. The question is whether the latter should be maintained, on account of the advantages derived therefrom, or eliminated for the sake of general promotion of Arabic. Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia find themselves within the influence zone of three cultures and civilizations: European (French), Arabian and African. At present it is difficult to foresee what effect this fact will have upon the cultural development of those countries. Nevertheless, it seems justified to assume that effect will be a positive one, as it was in the case of the clash of three different cultures in Arab Spain, and that the language problems of today will be given a satisfactory solution in the future.

JOSE R. SABOGAL

SURVIVALS OF TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE

The author of the article — a Peruvian, lecturer at the Agricultural Academy in Lima, at present working on his doctor's degree thesis in Warsaw — discusses a fragment of his research on socio-economic structure of the rural areas in Peru.

His statements presented in the article are based on the material collected

in Santiago de Cao — a village situated at the mouth of the river Chicama flowing into the Pacific Ocean. In the area discussed, agriculture is possible only under the conditions of a well functioning irrigation facilities. The difficulties involved account for the fact that many of the 1,415 inhabitants of the village give up agriculture if they are able to find another source of maintenance. At present a large part of them work on the near-by sugar cane plantations. The author discusses in greater detail the position of one of the villagers, a certain Don Venerando. The latter, attending for years past on two thermo-electric generators at Cartavio, devotes all his leisure time to cultivation of the own garden in his native village. He grows there, above all, trees and bushes. His gardening bears, however, the mark of an experiment since Don Venerando tries to ennoble some wild varieties or restore the cultivations given up a long time ago. The excellent results attained by him show that, with suitable methods and outlays of labour, profitable market gardening is possible in the region. Moreover, the said results also show that in the region concerned and — in the author's opinion — also in other parts of Latin America, there exist botanical resources known to folk tradition and forgotten at present, the cultivation of which is liable to yield very high profits. The article discusses in greater detail the kinds of trees and bushes grown by Don Venerando and, also the methods of his work and the quality and volume of crops.

Another aspect of the matter is also emphasized by the author and, namely, the high social prestige enjoyed by the agriculturist's profession among the people of Latin America and its devotion to that profession. This results from the age-long tradition, alive until this day, in which agriculture has not only been an economic matter but, in the author's words, also "an art, technic and mysticism".

KRYSTYNA CHAŁASINSKA

CONGO-KINSHASA IN THE DRIVE AT SELF-DETERMINATION

The first part of the article deals with the ceremonies held in Kinshasa, November 1969, to commemorate the fourth anniversary of independence of Congo-Leopoldville. The said festivities being held on this side of the river, across it, in Congo-Brazzaville disturbances broke out, as a result of a coup d'état aimed at overthrowing Marien Ngouabi's government. A continuation of that abortive plot of 1969, were the disturbances in March 1970, in which Pierre Kikanga, the leader of the conspirators, laid down his life.

The article presents a characteristics of Marien Ngouabi (born 1938), the President — Massemba-Debat, who had to resign from it because of the internal of Marxism-Leninism, Marien Ngouabi succeeded to that office after the former President — Massemba-Debat, who had to resign from it because of the internal political struggles in that country. Hassemba-Debat, a Protestant, was a liberal in his socio-economic programme. The new President, representing the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, drives at maintaining friendly relations with both, China and the USSR. At the same time, he also tries to avoid frictions with the capitalist countries.

Among the leaders of Black Africa, Nguabi is one of the more eminent spokesmen of the idea of not only political but also economic and cultural independence of African peoples.

The idea of cultural independence also found an expression at the Congress on African Studies, held in Montreal 1969. It was at from its platform that representatives of African nations protested against monopolization of those studies by white scholars and called on the scientists of Black Africa to develop research on African problems.

EDWARD WOJTUSIAK

A CARPATHIAN SETTLEMENT

For a some time past the Carpathians uplands have been not only a geological but also a social notion. The point is that — being a socio-cultural environment — they continue to attract the attention of many outstanding historians of settlement, ethnographers, demographers, and specialists in sociology of culture in Poland, as well as in Czechoslovakia, Ruthenia or Rumania. Generally speaking, a wealth of information on the subject has been accumulated so far. It is generally understood that the Carpathians are a typical area of the clash of different populations and cultures, especially, of the agricultural and pastoral ones; that a decisive impact has been exerted upon their inhabitants by the old pastoral culture of the Wallachians and Ruthenians — the factual authors of what has later on been denoted as the folklore of the Carpathian mountaineers. Moreover, it is also known that in each of the countries mentioned above, the "mountaineer element" has assumed — under the impact of its surroundings — a definite national and political visage.

Thus it would seem that further research might hardly add anything new to the knowledge of the subject but some contributions of minor importance. Nevertheless, the repeated attempts in the field — especially those undertaken by participating observers continue to enrich that knowledge. One of such attempts is precisely the present article — constituting a part of a more extensive dissertation. From methodological point of view, the latter is connected with ethnology or anthropology but — in the largest degree — with Znaniecki and Chałasiński's humanistic sociology of culture. The excerpt presented in the article deals with the fate of the Carpathian people in the area of Beskid Wyspowy (Island Beskid) in the second half of the 19th century.

The work discussed is based in some degree on life-records and other autobiographical materials the value of which is appreciated, though not overestimated by the author. In the present case the materials are all the more valuable as they derive from the same environment thus verifying one another. And as such they are an excellent test of the authenticity of that material. The point is, they constitute what Halbwachs described as "the realm of collective memory," i.e. the most genuine and lasting interpretation of the given social milieu. Those materials, combined with local documentation generally produce a faithful picture of that milieu, one very close to the truth. In their light, the fate of the Carpathian people in the Western part of Little Poland (incorporated with Austria after the

Partitions of this country) assumes a specific colouring. Thus, for example, the proverbial Galician misery is a relative notion, of different meaning to the landlords, different to the rich farmers and the poor peasants, and all the more so, to servants. From time to time that misery was aggravated by periods of bad crops, famine and epidemics of contagious diseases. This is understandable in view of the backward social system of the day and the selfishness of social classes. What is more difficult to comprehend is the almost complete passivity of peasants in face of their obvious social discrimination. And even less understandable is their nearly complete indifference to the hard fate of another man of their milieu, even if that were the neighbours. This indifference throws some discredit on the well-known religiousness of that people.

It is also worth noting that the said people always strongly believed in magic powers of various kind. For this seemed the only possibility of coping with one's hard life and the only hope for a change in one's miserable condition. They cherished the conviction that it was in that faith there were inherent some secret hopes for something wonderful, some dormant expectations of the mysterious powers of man (Bronisław Malinowski). True, the Church and the school fought magic, yet without any major success. And as a matter of fact, in case of their vital problems the people preferred to turn to other "teachers" and other educational institutions. The role of those teachers was exercised in their eyes, by "holiday-markers, publicans, functionaries," that of the school — by "the local inn and district offices," and the one of text-books — by "Austrian legislation and decisions of district authorities" (Kalinka).

A more essential change for the better was effected here only in 1866 — when the School Board, with a seat in Lvov, was set up upon the motion of Dietl, Rector of the Jagellonian University. Since that time there has been observed a notable improvement in the level of elementary school instruction and a growth of its popularity and appreciation among the people. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that even before, the said school, operating on the basis of a parish one, did its best duly to fulfil its task in the area discussed. No wonder the reorganized school exercised that role in an even more satisfactory way. It provided the minimum of education necessary for life in the country and, at the same time, acted as a sieve sifting out aspirants to the rank of "masters" (Chłasiński), i.e. for members of intelligentsia — the heirs of post-nobility culture.

In the second half of the 19th century the Galician people had no reason to complain of lack of protectors. Traditionally, the latter included the chief officier of a group of villages, and the rural council, the lord of the manor, the local vicar and their patrons — mainly the starosts of the districts. The district offices, acting as administrative and judicial authority, maintained close contacts with the area embraced with their activity, not only by the intermediary of the white collar workers delegated to the respective localities, but also by way of numerous formal papers, circulars and announcements. Francis Joseph I, the then long-lived Emperor of Austria, enjoyed a general almost religious veneration throughout Galicia.

Every social milieu exerts a powerful impact upon its members. That influence is the stronger, the more isolated such a milieu in the territorial sense (mountains), biological (relationship), social (class or stratum) or the philosophical one (religion). Under the conditions of complete isolation a milieu of this kind becomes as if a matrix multiplating identical, or very similar, copies of, at most

a few, standard versions. Nowadays this is rather a rare case in view of ever more frequent influx of new biological and cultural elements from the outside.

A Carpathian settlement of the 19th century was precisely such a close milieu. Its characteristic feature, typical of almost all settlements in those uplands was precisely the mutual penetration of different biological races, social strata and language and denomination groups that used to arrive to those territories for centuries past and contact one another. Such a milieu was exerting a specific influence upon the life of its inhabitants. Moreover, it was even a kind of training ground preparing them for life. How far did that influence reach is to be gathered from life-records and other autobiographical materials. They depict the everyday life of the respective settlements, of individual families and villages and bring to memory the outstanding character of the day. Briefly speaking, they draw a picture of a Carpathian village which is characteristic of almost the whole area of West Carpathians of the day.

ANNA TATARKIEWICZ

A DIFFERENT VIEW OF "WESELE"

The article contributed by a specialist in Romance philology — what seems to provide for a certain distance in the approach towards Polish literature — presents an outline of a new interpretation of St. Wyspiański's famous drama *Wesele* [*The Wedding*]. The author, attempting to employ in the analysis concerned contemporary methods of literary criticism, avails herself, above all, of the attainments of both, the psychology of depth and cultural anthropology (theory of myths and symbols). In her opinion comprehension of all the threads comprised in *Wesele* depends on one's ability to depart from the "legend" that has developed around that drama. An actual event, i.e. the wedding of Lucjan Rydel, the poet, to a young peasant girl — Jadwiga Mikołajczykówna — was for Wyspiański only a fabric from which he created a specific, independent metaphoric reality, in the process freely changing the situations and characters of historical persons who took part in the ceremony. In her endeavour precisely to make out the meaning of the metaphor, the author puts forward the thesis that *Wesele* present the picture of a community bewitched by fiction that sprung from frustration. Fiction concealed reality and thus rendered impossible a critical analysis and undertaking of an effort able to eliminate the causes of frustration. The article also points to the analogies with, and differences from, Freud's theory of culture and the cultural pattern that may be deduced from *Wesele*. The relationship is also indicated of the range of problems and poetics of Wyspiański's drama and the creative work of Jean Genet (a parallel of *Wesele* and *The Balcony* and, especially, the latter's first version).

Another conclusion ensuing from the analysis discussed is that in the said drama Wyspiański undertook a polemic against the indiscriminate glorification of national past, characteristic of the works of H. Sienkiewicz, then at the heyday of fame.

KONSTANTY ŁUBIENSKI

AT THE START. REMINISCENCES OF 1948—1950

In his reminiscences of the years 1948—1950, the author describes the mode in which he was determining then his attitude — as of a Roman Catholic — towards the political situation that developed in this country after the Second World War. His stay in London, September 1948, and encounters there with the leaders of the Polish emigré circles and with the English made him formulate the following three conclusions: 1) no one of the former allies intends to fight for reincorporation with Poland of Lvov and Vilna or for a change of the political relations in this country; 2) the stand of the Polish émigré circles is based on unrealistic forecasts, e.g. that of the Western Power's war against the Soviet Union in two or three years to come; 3) the development tendencies observed in many capitalist countries show that the world is driving towards socialist forms in the sphere of socio-economic relations.

Starting from those assumptions, the author pointed to the necessity of solving the problem of the mutual relations of the Catholics and Marxists on the basis of:

- 1) readiness to co-operation with the Marxists in implementation of the national tasks and in the construction of the socialist socio-economic system;
- 2) observance in social life of the principles of Catholic moral science;
- 3) a distinct separation from materialistic philosophy of life — inclusive of its Marxist version;
- 4) preservation of devotion to the Church and obedience to the latter in matters of faith and morals;
- 5) elimination of prejudice of one party against the other and explaining to them the convergent points and actual differences between them.

The author undertook a marked effort in order to popularize the view that the socialist socio-economic doctrine was not contradictory to the flexibly conceived Catholic social philosophy.

Another of his views was that differentiation should be made between the ownership of consumption goods and of means of production. As regarded the former of them there was no controversy, whereas private ownership of the means of production was not considered infringing as early as the pontificates of the Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. While accepting the socialist principles of socio-economic system, the author nevertheless put forwards certain objectives. One of them says that turning a system into one of socialist character does not necessarily involve socialization of all the means of production, however, the evolution in this direction is inevitable. Another of his theses was that class struggle must not infringe the principles of Catholic ethics and that the division of national income should be based upon the Catholic sense of justice.

Assessing his views after the lapse of 22 years, the author says that many of his forecasts have come true. Thus, for example:

— the socialist socio-economic ideas spread throughout the world, also in the new countries representing the spiritual outlook. Moreover, those ideas win ever larger numbers of followers in Catholic milieus;

— the social teaching of the Church, enriched by such documents as the encyclicals *Mater et Magistra*, *Populorum Progressio* and the Constitution of the Council of Rome — *Gaudium et Spes* recognizes existence of most divergent

concepts of socio-political system and admits that co-operation with the spokesmen of other philosophical outlooks is not only possible but even advisable, provided that religion and morals suffer no harm on this account;

— whatever the difficulties experienced and the errors committed, the socialist economy has made it possible for this country to make up for its economic backwardness and opened up for it the prospects of economic and social flourishing.

At the same time, the author does not deny that many of his statements dating from the period discussed and having been formulated somewhat hastily, bore too general character. That haste resulted, however, from the need for a quick determination of one's stand with regard to the developments of the day.

Some naive views were also held to mention but the one that Marxists should grow convinced that genuine socialism in socio-economic field could be constructed only on the basis of the Catholic outlook on life.

The author concludes his reminiscences in the statement that "the socialist social doctrine, thought but partly put into effect, has nevertheless proved the only one which opened vast development possibilities to this country. And it is this fact that we should particularly bear in mind whatever the difficulties of our daily life. At the same time" — says the author — "under the Polish socialist reality there also exist conditions for the development of the Church and growth of Catholicism though the problems involved are by no means negligible."

ANTONI GRZYBOWSKI

FOUR CONGRESSES OF POLISH SOCIOLOGISTS

The Fourth National Congress of Polish Sociologists held its debates in Poznań, December 1969. Its supreme slogan was to link sociological theory and research with social practice. According to Professor Władysław Markiewicz, organizer of the Congress, a confrontation of views and putting forward of postulates, was necessary so that sociology may become in Poland a science of utmost social utility. Under the Polish conditions, such an engagement of sociology has a history of its own. In the period following the conclusion of the First World War and recovery of Poland's independence sociology in this country had not even its periodical. It was only in 1925 that a special column was reserved for it in the monthly "Ruch Prawniczy i Ekonomiczny" [Journal of Law and Economics], published in Poznań. In the course of time, the growth of interest in sociology, and increase in the ranks of sociologists graduating from the universities, made the need for a paper devoted exclusively to that science even more burning.

The year 1931 saw publication of the first issue of "Przegląd Socjologiczny" [The Sociological Review] — a quarterly of the Sociological Institute at the University of Poznań. Its editor-in-chief was Professor Florian Znaniecki. By that time the Polish sociology already ranked among well developed branches of science.

On the turn of the twenties, the situation was mature enough to review its achievements in the first decade of this country's independence. Nevertheless,

the circles concerned did not intend, convening of a formal congress. The idea was to organize a meeting of the people exclusively, or partly, engaged in work in the province of sociology so that they could exchange their views, discuss their researches and, if necessary, agree the plans for the work to be carried on in the future. Such a meeting was held in Poznań, June 26—28, 1931. Contrary to the expectations of its organizers, it actually turned into the First Congress of Polish Sociologists. Sixty persons from scientific milieus all over Poland took part in it, the number of papers presented exceeding twenty.

In the following years the gravity centre of Polish sociology shifted over to Warsaw where an intensive development of university studies of sociology could be observed and preparations were made for, not a conference of sociologists, but their Second Congress.

The latter was inaugurated in Warsaw, Staszic Palace, on the 1st of November 1935. The well prepared Congress was attended by 110 participants, the papers delivered being grouped into the sections on the general sociological problems, the sociological and educational ones, and those on the problems of population, sociology and of marginal social phenomena.

The most important event of the Second Congress proved Józef Chałasiński's article published by "Pion", a Warsaw weekly on social and cultural problems, on November 2, 1935. The author of the article analysed therein the achievements of the Polish sociology in the sphere of its social usefulness and pointed to the road on which research of that socially engaged branch of science should be directed in the future.

Recapitulating the topical problems J. Chałasiński addressed to the Congress the postulates for:

- 1) co-ordination of work carried on by related research centres and by individual scholars;
- 2) organization of collective research on Polish modern society, with particular consideration of the problem of the rural areas;
- 3) formation of the Polish Sociological Society and of central sociological archives; and finally,
- 4) the postulated (which should have been mentioned rather as the first one) for ensuring possibilities of research in sociology to the young scientific workers who were then completing their studies "only to add to the ranks of the unemployed".

As it soon appeared, the Second Congress concluded a definite stage in the development of the Polish sociology. Only four years remained till the outbreak of World War II. Yet, in the Polish sociological literature that four-years' period was as if a recapitulation of the achievements of that science in the first two decades of independent Poland.

A long time was to elapse till the next congress. For it was only thirty years later, that the Third Congress of Polish Sociologists assembled in Warsaw (February 2—6, 1965). Its debates held like those of its predecessor at Staszic Palace, were attended by as many as 270 participants. The principal subject touched upon by the authors of the papers delivered at the Plenary Session were the twenty years' of People's Poland and the whole range of transformations which occurred in this country in the period discussed.

As emphasized in the inaugural address, the development of Polish sociology made it possible ever more frequently to reach beyond the exclusively Polish problems, so as to have at one's disposal comparative materials pertaining to

other societies and cultures, what was indispensable when undertaking theoretical work of a wide range.

The Fourth National Congress of Polish Sociologists, held in Poznań, December 1969, was connected with the 25th anniversary of People's Poland. The latter Congress, attended by 400 persons, also discussed the problem of the place of sociology within the socialist society. The essence of the paper on the subject, delivered by Professor W. Markiewicz, was the statement that, in the Polish sociology, there had crystalized by now a definite, though perhaps not sufficiently systematized, set of theoretical views and methodological principles bearing "the brand" of Marxism. That set, however, approved and applied as guidelines of scientific research and analyses, by maybe not all Polish sociologists, is nevertheless generally known and respected. And if a mature sociologist comes out in this country in the defence of functional theory, the theory of structuralism etc., then, as a rule, he does so conscious of becoming, on this way an opponent to Marxism.

Under the Polish conditions, after final consolidation of the socialist system there may follow but a creative development of historical materialism, i.e. it being given a shape adequate to the new regularities governed by the reality of to-day and to the present scope of knowledge of social processes and phenomena.

STEFAN NOWAKOWSKI

JÓZEF CHAŁASIŃSKI — THE SOCIOLOGIST

Professor Józef Chałasiński, one of the most eminent Polish sociologists celebrated his 65th birthday and 40th anniversary of his scientific work in 1969.

The whole of that work shows him to be an example of a sociologist keenly engaged in the affairs of his country. The period of his studies at the University of Poznań coincided with that of early existence of independent Poland after the First World War. And it was his social interests that directed him to the department of sociology newly organized at the said University.

The young scholar's teacher and master was Florian Znaniecki — who returned to Poland from the USA after the war, having gained renown for the famous work about the Polish peasant, written in collaboration with the American sociologist — William I. Thomas.

There is no doubt it was the latter work which made Chałasiński to ponder over the burning social problems with which the Polish nation had to cope at the time. As a result of Partitions, Poland was delayed in her social development. The most urgent among the unsolved problems were — in his opinion — those of democratization of the Polish society, improvement of the socio-economic situation of the rural areas, social promotion of workers and peasants, transformation of social institutions, above all, of the school system which was no more meeting the needs of the changing society. And it was precisely against the survivals of the semi-feudal social structure — unendurable in the twentieth century — that J. Chałasiński directed his early works and researches.

His professional work, begun at the University of Poznań, was continued at Warsaw University and after the end of the Second World War in Lublin, Łódź and again in Warsaw.

For lack of space it is not possible to characterize in the present article the wealth of J. Chałasiński's writings embracing a few hundred items. Let us discuss then only the main lines of his interests and his most important works and publications.

Two problems were drawing, in particular, the scholar's attention at the early stage of his scientific activity and, namely, the problem of the industrial worker of rural origin and that of education and school.

His interest in the latter was developed and expanded during his stay in the USA and Great Britain, 1931—1933. The year 1936 saw the publication of his fundamental work *Szkola w społeczeństwie amerykańskim (School within the American Society)* showing the institution of school as that of social selection and class differentiation of the society.

Richer in new observations and an even wider vision of the problems that previously attracted his attention and namely those of the nation and of the Polish peasant, J. Chałasiński returned to this country to combine academic work at the University of Warsaw and the so-called Free University with research and organizational activities — at the post of Head of the State Institute for Cultural Advancement of the Rural Areas.

The scholar considered the aspirations of the rural population of the day against a broad social and historical background and that of complex processes of democratization of the Polish society. His four-volume work *Młode pokolenie chłopów [The Younger Generation of Peasants]* 1938, has won for its author a well deserved reputation not only in the milieu of Polish sociologists but also in that of rural activists and in the broad strata of the Polish society, for whom the work discussed, presented not only a penetrating analysis of the unsolved problems of the Polish country but also the prospects for its development.

The rural problem was closely linked by the author with that of the Polish intelligentsia. This question extensively discussed in the *Younger Generation of Peasants* was, however, fully analysed in the dissertation meant as an Inaugural at the University of Łódź, 1946, and, entitled *Spółeczna genealogia inteligencji polskiej [Social Origin of Polish Intelligentsia]*. That work which has become the subject of many a heated dispute and discussion, criticized the elements of the nobility and landowners' mentality which survived within the stratum of intelligentsia and was exerting a negative influence upon the other sections of the society. In this connection the author discussed the attitude of intelligentsia towards work, profession, school and a number of other matters.

While dealing with the problems of the rural population and intelligentsia, Chałasiński also touches upon those of school and education. His work *Spółeczeństwo i wychowanie [Society and Education]* 1948, presents a recapitulation of his many years' studies of the subject as well as an attempt at posing the problem of education in the communist ideology, and that of the connections of educational institutions with such groups as the social class, the state and the nation.

These interests cultivated by the scholar for many years were at the root of his numerous works dealing with the problems of Poland's rural areas and published after the Second World War. He is also the editor of a series of which six volumes have appeared so far, depicting the transformations occurring in the country: the growth of new social consciousness of the rural population, changes in the socio-cultural sphere, the peasant's entering the new national community, linking of the country with the town and the well expanded state system.

The fruit of J. Chałasiński's repeated stay in the United States (1958) was his book *Kultura amerykańska [The American Culture]*. The said work does not present a conventional approach to the problem of culture but rather an attempt at answering the question in what degree were the cultural values, created by the big and young state community that had developed in the USA, similar to, or different from, those of European countries, the countries with long historical tradition.

Nevertheless, the problem of culture and nation was not studied by him merely with regard to Europe and the USA. For several years past, J. Chałasiński has also been embracing with his interests the new African countries liberating themselves from colonialism. Hence his numerous works on the subject, and the activities involved in directing the Research Centre for Social and Cultural Problems of Africa.

The scholar's many years' studies of various nations and cultures have been summed up in his recent work *Kultura i naród [Culture and Nation]* 1968. The book comprises a collection of the author's earlier articles forming a specific synthesis of the problems which were attracting his attention in the course of studies on the Polish nation and its culture.

Another important line of J. Chałasiński's scientific work is that in the sphere of methodology.

Though employing in his researches various kinds of sources, it was the method of utilization for the purpose of memoirs and life-records that he has brought to perfection. After the competition for reminiscences of "The younger generation of peasants" a specific kind of bonds have developed between the author and the participants in that event. These bonds have proved strong enough to endure the war and the transformations that took place after its conclusion. His extremely great popularity in the rural milieu accounted for the fact that, due to his patronizing, the competitions for life-records — organized after the Second World War — have proved great success. And the scholar's contact with the milieu of the authors of the autobiographical narratives in the rural areas is a unique phenomenon not only in terms of this country.

J. Chałasiński's scientific and literary output is enormous. Some of his formulations have become this nation's treasured property and an integral part of its thinking, to mention but his deliberations on social promotion of workers or his formulations concerning intelligentsia. This fact testifies both, to the recognition of his work among the broadest strata of the society and to the cognitive value of those formulations.

The achievements mentioned above are by no means restricted to research work and writings. No less conspicuous were those in the field of organization of Polish science and Polish sociology. Since 1935 J. Chałasiński has been the editor-in-chief of "Przegląd Socjologiczny" [The Sociological Review], a periodical of great merit to Polish science. Moreover, he also founded another sociological periodical — "Kultura i Społeczeństwo" [Culture and Society]. In the period between the two World Wars, as head of State Institute for Cultural Advancement of the Rural Areas, J. Chałasiński published the Sociological Series which has to its credit publication of the works of Czarnowski, Ossowski nad Szczurkiewicz.

While dealing with his organizational activities one should not pass over in silence those displayed as Rector of the University of Łódź and in connection

with the responsible functions exercised within the Polish Academy of Sciences and other institutions.

J. Chałasiński is not an exception as a scholar combining his scientific commitment with the social and ideological one. Many instances of such intertwined attitudes may be found, especially in the circles of the Polish sociologists.

Nevertheless there are certainly but very few among his contemporaries who could equal him as regards the degree of social engagement, consistency of conduct, and zeal in posing and defending his theses.

In 1958 Professor Chałasiński was the guest of the Department of Sociology and Social Institutions, University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A., under the exchange programme between Poland and the United States being fostered by the Ford Foundation.

In 1969, thanks to the care of Professor's Chałasiński's friends, a book appeared entitled *Rewolucja młodości* [*The Youth Revolution* — Warszawa, Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, 1969, 480 pp.], in his 65th birthday and 40th anniversary of research and pedagogical work.

The book contains a collection of J. Chałasiński's works. The choice of works has been accomplished by the sociologist Franciszek Jakubczak, research worker of the Polish Academy of Sciences in the field of rural problems. Dr. Jakubczak has given there an outline of the research bibliography as well as the bibliography of some chosen works of J. Chałasiński. The mentioned book is divided into two parts: I — Studies on the social advancement of the young rural generation, II — Studies on the integration of the Polish nation.