Summaries

S U M M A R I E S

JÓZEF CHAŁASIŃSKI

IRELAND — EUROPE — AMERICA
THE PROBLEM OF THE NATION AND OF SUPRANATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

The main sociological problem in which the author of this article is interested is the history and sociology of the European nations in the 19th and 20th centuries. He is also the author of a book published in Polish: *Kultura amerykańska [American Culture]* (3rd edition, 1974). In connection with the subject of nations, he has also written about changes which have taken place among the Polish immigrants to America — changes closely observed by him since his first visit to the United States in 1931—1934.

In this article on Ireland, Chałasiński concentrates on the role of emigration in the history of the Irish nation. He refers to Arnold Schrier's *Ireland and the American Emigration* (University of Minnesota Press, 1958).

The size of Irish emigration to America may be seen from the following figures for immigrants within a period of 130 years, from the beginning of 1820 to the end of 1950. In the forefront are the Germans, with 6,248,529 immigrants, the peak year being 1882; second come the Italians, with 4,776,884, the peak year being 1907, and third come the Irish, with 4,617,485, the peak year being 1851. These figures acquire a particular meaning when we think that in 1956 the population of the Irish Republic was not quite three million (2,894,822 to be exact), while in the same year that of Northern Ireland was a little less than a million and a half (1,397,000 to be precise, according to the *Information Please Almanac,* New York, 1958).

A striking feature of the history of modern Ireland is that geographically Ireland belongs to Europe, but culturally has closer links with North America than with Europe. The Irish in the States have warmly supported Ireland in her struggle for national independence.

EDWARD SZYMAŃSKI

INDEPENDENCE OF THE SEYCHELLES

The Seychelles archipelago comprises 92 islands, of which about a half of the total number are in the granitic group and another half in the coralline group. The total land area, which also includes numerous rocks and small cays, is

approximately 400 square kilometres. The Republic of Seychelles lies in the western Indian Ocean. Victoria, the capital of the Seychelles and the only port of the archipelago, is on Mahé, the largest island of new State. The population of the Seychelles was estimated at 60,000 in 1975.

In spite of proximity to the equator the climate is healthy. The shade temperature seldom exceeds 86°F and during the coolest months drops to 75°F. The hot months are from December to May. From June to November, during the south-east monsoon, the temperature is slightly lower and the atmosphere less humid.

The Seychelles Islands were uninhabited until 1768 when the French commenced serious occupation, having explored them and set up their "Stone of Possession" on Mahé. The first capitulation to an English naval force took place on 17 May, 1974, when the Territory surrendered to Captain Newcome. Between that date and the final surrender in 1810, there were no less than six separate capitulations. The Treaty of Paris ratified the status of the archipelago as a British possession together with Isle de France (Mauritius) Seychelles and Mauritius, as the two now became, continued to be administered as a single Colony. In 1888 the importance of the islands warranted a change in the constitution, and an Order in Council was passed creating an Administrator with a nominated Executive and Legislative Council. Eleven years later, 31 August, 1903, this separation was completed and Seychelles became a Crown Colony with a Governor and Executive and Legislative Councils.

The elective principle was introduced into the Colony for the first time in 1948. The Constitution of the Seychelles was contained in the Seychelles Letters Patent, 1948 and 1955, and the Seychelles Order in Council, 1960.

The main health problems were veneral diseases, intestinal infestation and tuberculosis, and, to a lesser degree, leprosy. A campaign to reduce veneral disease was started in 1952, with assistance from Colonial Development and Welfare funds, and resulted in a steady decrease in the incidence of syphilis in its infectious form. A special intestinal clinic was opened in 1955 and a detailed study of the prevalent intestinal diseases was made with the help of the World Health Organization. In the following years the medical services continued much as before but with higher demand on the public health sector, owing to the expansion of the tourist industry. The construction of a new operating theatre and the conversion of a sanatorium into a surgical block was started during 1973.

Educational conditions up to the end of the Second World War, both primary and secondary education were in the hands of the missions. There were no government schools and the part played by the Government in public education was limited to the inspection of schools and the payment of a modest grant-in-aid to the missions. Between 1944 and 1949 the administration of education was reorganized; legislation was passed whereby the Government assumed responsibility for public education and English became the medium of instruction. A director of education was appointed in 1944 and a ten-year plan for the development of education was prepared in 1945. This plan aimed, among other things, at providing by 1956 school places for 80 per cent of the age group six to eleven, and for 50 per cent of the age group 12 to 15 years. But illiteracy in the Territory in 1971 was reported to be 38 per cent of the total population 10 years of age and over.

The economy depends almost entirely on the cultivation of coconuts and the production and export of copra. Second in importance are the production and export of essential oils, namely of cinnamon leaf oil, cinnamon bark oil and patchouli oil, and of vanilla. The Territory is heavily dependent on imports for most of its requirements, particularly staple food-stuffs such as rice, flour, meat vegetables and dairy products. All land, other than Crown land, was held in freehold. A new land policy aimed for increasing agricultural production is initiated. An urgent need for new development capital and that the Territory's future prosperity required economic diversification, which would be possible on completion of the Mahé airport, and a consistent, well-defined development policy on the part of new Government.

In the Seychelles there are two political parties: the ruling Seychelles Democratic Party (SDP) and the Seychelles Peoples United Party (SPUP). The SDP, led by Chief Mancham, wanted Seychelles to continue its links with United Kingdom while the SPUP had called for complete independence. Apart from this very uncompromising stand, they also differ in their political and economic outlook. SDP with inclinations towards West and Western interests; the SPUP looks for closer cooperation with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Under a United Kingdom Order of Council dated 8 November, 1965, three of the ninety-two islands comprising the Seychelles, namely Aldabra, Farquhar and Desroches, were administratively detached from the Territory and, together with the Chagos Archipelago, formerly part of Mauritius, were set up as a separate administrative unit entitled the "British Indian Ocean Territory." The purpose of the above-mentioned detachment was to make the islands available for the construction of military staging facilities by the United Kingdom and the United States Governments. The question of the "British Indian Ocean Territory" is a point of difference between SDP and the SPUP. Whereas SDP supports the construction of a naval communication facility on Diego Garcia as being in the interests of political stability in the Indian Ocean area, the SPUP opposes what it considers to be attempts by the United Kingdom and the United States to turn the Indian Ocean into an area of the international conflict.

In March 1974, Chief Minister Mancham announced that during the course of talks he had held with United Kingdom officials, it had been agreed that general elections would be held on 25 April and that the Seychelles would beccme independent a year later.

The Seychelles Constitutional Conference was held at London between 14 and 27 March, 1975 under the chairmanship of Miss Joan Lestor, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Delegations from the Seychelles parties were led by Mr. Mancham of SDP and Mr. René of the SPUP. Mr. C. H. Allan, Governor of the Seychelles, and other United Kingdom officials also attended the conference. In a communiqué issued at the end of the conference, a copy of which was forwarded to the Special Committee of the United Nations by the Permanent Representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations on 4 April, 1975, it was oficially reported that the conference had ended with agreement by the two Seychelles political parties on the principles of an interim constitution providing for internal self-government and the formation of a coalition Government. It was not possible, however, to reach agreement on some of the central issues of an independence constitution.

In January 1976, at the conference which was held at London, the Seychelles leaders accepted the independence constitution. The new Constitution stated that the Seychelles become the Independent Republic with the president as a head of State.

JOANNA GRZEŚKOWIAK

ANGLO-SAXON OPINIONS ABOUT POLISH IMMIGRANTS
TO CANADA (1896—1939)

In this article the author concentrates on the social and economic reasons, for the immigration of Poles to Canada in the period 1896—1939, and the reactions of the Anglo-Saxon section of the Canadian public to the immigration in that period.

After the Confederation (1867), the settlement of the prairie areas became one of the most important economic and political problems in Canada. The successful development of the existing provinces depended on the settlement of the vast empty prairie spaces. The great transcontinental railway company "Canadian Pacific Railway" received from the State huge grants of the land along the proposed railway line. After the Canadian Pacific line was completed (in 1885), most of this railway land lay fallow. So the railway authorities, like the government, were anxious to bring as many settlers to that area as possible. The previously settled provinces had too small a population yet to be able to supply enough settlers, especially as born Canadians, if they moved at all, preferred to go to the United States than to the wild prairies. When, despite efforts on the part of the Canadian government, it became clear that the Britain, together with Western and Northern Europe, would not satisfy Canada's need for manpower, attention was turned to the great human potential in Eastern and Central Europe.

The influx of foreigners, who differed from the Canadians in their dress, language, religion and customs, very quickly aroused the antagonism of the Anglo-Saxon population already living in Canada. At the turn of the century the symbol of the undesirable immigrant in the eyes of the Anglo-Saxon was the Polish and Ukrainian peasant, known as "Galicians." This was a very vague, imprecise term. It was sometimes applied to all incomers from Central and Eastern Europe. In the early period of mass immigration from Eastern Europe to Canada, the term "Pole" was rarely heard.

On the basis of very interesting material which she collected from the press, the author explains how the stereotype of the East European immigrant, and particularly the Poles, arose in the minds of the Anglo-Saxons. From this angle she studied 173 articles on Galician immigrants in 30 newspapers published in Canada towards the end of 1898 and the first half of 1899. In Grześkowiak's opinion the subject-matter of these articles, and the kind of problems dealt with there, show that the Galician immigrants were used as pawns in the game between opposing political parties or between public opinion and the government's immigration policy.

The next part of this article contains a detailed analysis of the arguments that appeared in press *pro* or *contra* the Galician immigrants to Canada, from the point of view of their social, political or economic usefulness.

In a sub-chapter headed "Political and Social Aspects of the Immigration", the author quotes statements made by the most rabid opponents of Slav immigration, and other statements in support of it. The commonest argument against bringing Slavs into Canada was the fact that they were unfamiliar with Anglo-Saxon political and social institutions. In the view of these writers, this ignorance was a threat to Anglo-Saxon civilisation. The reasons put forward more often in favour immigration of settlers and workers from Eastern Europe was their economic usefulness. Arguments put forward in support of the Poles and Ukrainians were their peasant background, their love of farming, and their love of the land. Moreover, the small demands they made of life, their willingness to undertake the hardest work, their assiduity in saving every halfpenny, were characteristics that, on the one hand, were approved by their employers, and on the other hand, used as reasons for attack by those who were against the Slav immigrants.

The next section is on the „Notions about the Customs, Culture and Morality of the Immigrants," found in the press cuttings examined by the author. She underlines the importance of the press as the most important factor in Canada in those days, in shaping those notions, which for the most part were adverse and unjust towards the immigrants as a whole. She devotes a separate discussion to the novels of Ralph Connor, a very popular Canadian writer at the turn of the century, who through his books played an important part in moulding the Anglo-Saxons' ideas about the Slavs.

Finally, the writer deals with the problem of assimilation, or, as it was known later on, the "Canadianisation" of foreigners, which was an important factor in the formation of public opinion with regard to the immigrants. The Slavs were regarded as being very hard to assimilate. They differed from the Anglo-Saxons in customs, religion, and language, and even, in the view of wide masses of the population, in morality. Here the writer mentions the names of several people such as J. S. Woodsworth or T. M. Anderson who worked to achieve the assimilation of these immigrants. To begin with, the assimilation programme aimed at depriving the new arrivals of those characteristics which cut them off culturally from the Canadians. Shortly, afterwards, however, this began to be replaced by the conception of a mosaic, and in turn gave way to the present policy of multi-culturalism.

In conclusion the author states that the Canadian Anglo-Saxons' attitudes to new, alien immigrants, and their views as to the function and role of such immigrants in their new environment, were largely influenced by theories worked out in the United States in the second half of the 19th century. Among the local Anglo-Saxons a widespread movement arose, to defend themselves against foreign religious and cultural elements. It is known as "nativism." Both in the United States and Canada, a common conviction as to the inequality of races and nations induced the native Canadians to segregate the ethnic groups into various places of the hierarchical ladder. Membership of an ethnic group was identified with membership of a social class. The Anglo-Saxon in both cases stood at the top of the social ladder. The Slavs, who had been brought in to do the hardest jobs, found themselves practically at the bottom of the ladder. The objections voiced against the Slav immigrants mainly concerned

their role as future citizens, their cultural and moral qualifications. Ideas about the Slav incomers were frequently based on widespread myths that had no justification in reality.

FRANCISZEK KRZYKAŁA

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS, ASSESSMENTS AND CAREERS OF AMERICAN MOTOR INDUSTRY EMPLOYEES, EXEMPLIFIED BY THE SITUATION IN GENERAL MOTORS AND CHRYSLER CORPORATION, DETROIT, IN 1972

Some results of empirical sociological investigations carried out in the United States motor-car industry in 1972, as part of three general studies on social and cultural factor in the conflict between Whites and Blacks in a given firm, and on the influence of these factors on the work process, are presented here. These studies concerned the formal and informal organisation of General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford Motor Co. in Detroit, as well as the employees' reactions to technical and organisational innovations, their attitudes to shift work, work on the conveyor belt, and to leisure-time, etc. The results show only one aspect of the social relations obtaining in the motor industry at the transition from one period to another: from prosperity in the motor industry, to the economic crisis which started in February 1973 with the decision to devalue the dollar by 10%. Each of these periods was characterised by a different kind of social relations at work, and determined the behaviour of the employees in this industry.

Starting from these premises, the author gives the figures for car production from the very birth of the motor industry, as well as General Motors' financial results, and the manpower situation in certain defined periods, with special reference to culturally different ethnic and racial groups. Having discovered from interviews, questionnaires, and many bibliographical sources the nature of the social relationships between these groups in the aforesaid motor manufacturing firms, the author stresses that it is the Blacks who have the decisive influence on the labour market and who determine the character of relationships at work and relationships between neighbours. The race conflicts which occur during work stem from the lack of cultural accommodation between different groups. This was caused in the past by race discrimination, stereotypes and historically determined factors, as well as by economic change and by industrialisation. In times of crisis, we read, these conflicts become sharper still because they are acerbated by the problems of unemployment, inflation, and people's struggle to maintain their social status and high social position.

As for the second subject of research, that is, on the division of organisation into "formal" and "informal", the author was able to confirm his working hypothesis as to the meaninglessness of the use of that division both in theory and practice, and to corroborate the fact that highly qualified employees of motor firms know practically nothing about the functioning of an organisation so understood. This was a subject first mooted by T. Szczurkiewicz, who in his "Studia socjologiczne" [Sociological Studies] was the first to question the heuristic value and practical usefulness of the term "formal and informal organisation".

With regard to the third theme: employees' attitudes to technical and orga- nisational innovations, the author found that the respondents approved of innovations designed to lessen physical effort, make the work easier, or lower the cost of the product, or experienced pleasure at participation in the innovation process. But sometimes these innovations were against the interests of the work- ers, for they led to a quicker tempo of the production cycle, or to acceleration of the conveyor belt, or to the handling of more details, or to the dismissal of workers. Another question discussed as part of this topic was that of shifts in connection with the humanisaton of labour. The author also shows certain correlations that are dependent on the ways in which the employees of motor works spend their leisure time.

Human Relations, or Public Relations, or Pressure Groups were topics which were hardly touched, but what was learned about them may provide a basis for the formulation of new working hypotheses or for setting up new research problems, with special reference to economic, cultural and socio-political differences between milieus in different social systems.

LIDIA ZIÓŁKOWSKA

THE INDIAN PROBLEM IN THE WRITINGS OF JOSÉ CARLOS MARIÁTEGUI

The Peruvian intellectual José Carlos Mariátegui, an eminent writer in the 1920s, is subject of this article. Since Mariátegui marked an important phase in the evolution of the social movement known as Peruvian Indianism, the author of this article has first of all devoted considerable space to the history of that movement, and especially the links between, on the one hand, its birth and continuation, and on the other hand, the socio-political situation of Peru in those days.

Coming to writings of Mariátegui, the author focuses her attention on his most important book, *Sieta Ensayos de Interpretacion de la Realidad Peruana [Seven Essays Interpreting Peruvian Reality]*. Two of these essays form the backbone of the whole book. They deal with the problem in the title. They are: "The problem of the Indian — a New Look," and "The Land Problem." Most of Ziółkowska's article is taken up with discussing and interpreting the value of that new view of the Indian problem. The final part of the article describes how Mariátegui's work was assessed by South American critics, and estimates the significance and role of his works today.

MARIA SAWICKA

THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE STUDENT MOVEMENTS IN THE ARGENTINE

The universities in the Argentine are among the best developed in the whole of Latin America.

Their history leads back to colonial times, when the schools run by monks and lay clergy produced priests and lawyers.

When the Argentine acquired independence in 1816, the importance of developing the schools and universities was recognized. A period of propitious and lasting changes in the development of education and higher educational institutions took place in the 1860s and 1870s, when power in the Argentine was taken over by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, one of Argentina's greatest social and political leaders. In accordance with his wishes, the universities were reorganized. More emphasis was placed on the development of the pure sciences, technology, and biology, while attempts were made to check the excessive development of the traditional studies such as law and medicine.

But in the 1880s a wave of civil war flared through the country, and the successive governments, whose attention was absorbed by the regulation of political conflicts between antagonistic groups, lost interest in the question of education. A number of privileges that had been granted to the universities were withdrawn, and the Conservatives came into power in the universities.

At the turn of the century the universities, as far as their structure was concerned, were like colonial schools. At the beginning of this century the ossification of the university structure and the torpor evident there led to the emergence of reforming forces inside the universities themselves, endeavouring to reform and modernise these institutions, and to make them more democratic. At one student congress after another the speakers urged university reform, and more and more the need for such reform was linked with the necessity for social and political reform throughout the country.

Important events in the world arena, such as the outbreak of World War I, and the October Revolution in Russia, speeded up the social and political maturity of the young intelligentsia and students in Argentina. A Movement for University Reform was started in Cordoba University in 1918. Before long the reformist ideas propagated by the students and young intellectuals who belonged to this movement spread not only to all the intellectual centres in the Argentine, but to all parts of Latin America as well, and won great popularity. The ideological principles behind this movement were echoed not only in the universities, but also in the programmes of the political parties, and even in parliamentary debates.

Between 1918 and 1921 the main aims of this movement were achieved. The universities won their autonomy, the curricula were revised, reactionary professors and administrators were replaced by supporters of the movement. The years to come, and the governments to come, were marked by a constant struggle by the students to retain the privileges they had won, or to regain these privileges.

The students emerged from the confusion of this struggle as a new, ripe political force. They were aware that their efforts to make the universities more democratic must be linked with an unceasing battle to change the social and political structure of the whole country.

In the Argentine at present there are 22 universities — State, provincial, and private (especially Catholic). Within the last 20 years there has been a big increase in the number of students attending universities in that country. The rapid growth of industry has created a need for more specialists, and more schools and faculties. The universities are now clearly more democratic, as

a result of the new social and economic circumstances, as a result of the actions of progressive student forces, and of the cultural changes taking place throughout society.

EDMUND LEWANDOWSKI

THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

In Marxism the scientific nature of the history and sociology is based on the fact that social systems are generalised as a single category: the social formation is a dynamic system in which, in the final count, the economic base determines political superstructure and the forms of social consciousness. Social progress is a process of advance from a lower to a higher formation. Marx rejected the view that this advance could take place by evolution. Gradual reforms constitute no more than quantitative changes whose accumulation leads to revolution.

Revolution is a qualitative jump forward, in the course of which the old formation is negated by the new. In each social revolution we may distinguish an economic revolution, a political revolution, and a cultural revolution. Basically they take place simultaneously, but at different rates. The indispensable and sufficient cause of revolution is a sharpening of the conflict between the forces of production and the relationships of production. The strength of revolutionary motivation depends on the size of the needs, the value of the aims, and the probability of success.

Depending on what kind of formation is destroyed, and what kind takes its place, we can distinguish the following historical types of social revolution: 1. from the primitive community to the Asiatic way of production; 2. from the primitive community to the type of formation found in the Antiquity; 3. from the primitive community to feudalism; 4. from the Asiatic way of production, to feudalism; 5. from the formation found in the Antiquity to that of feudalism; 6. from feudalism to capitalism; 7. from capitalism to socialism; 8. from feudalism to socialism. All these types of revolution took place in the following forms: classical, military and peaceful.

The essence of socialist revolution is socialisation of the means of production, seizure of political power by groups representing the working class, and spread of culture to the broad masses of the population. The creators of Marxism warned the workers' leaders that they should not seize power too early. Engels thought the Communists should take over power only when the "intermediate," "liberal" parties had compromised themselves and found themselves in a political impasse.

According to the Leninist conception of socialist revolution, two moments are of the greatest importance: 1. circumstances should be ripe for the seizure of power by the workers' parties (or for their participation in power); 2. circumstances should be ripe for putting socialism into practice. Lenin was of the opinion that it was not necessary for the bourgeoisie in every country to create the grounds for the change-over to socialism. He believed that the conditions

necessary for socialism could be prepared more rapidly when power in the State belonged to the Communists.

The task of socialism is to abolish social classes. With this aim in view, according to Marx, Engels and Lenin, a dictotorship of the proletariat should be set up, that is, political rule by the working class. This rule means that the State issues and executes decisions that stimulate the abolition of private property — as the economic need for the socialisation of property arises, and as material conditions permit to carrying out of such a programme.

In the struggle against the bourgeoisie, the peasant class and the lower middle class have interests in common with the working class. If the small property owners reject the dictatorship of the proletariat, the only possibility left to them is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, since they themselves cannot become the ruling class. The formula "dictatorship of the proletariat," like that of the "dictatorship of the bourgeoisie," contains the objective possibility of alliance with the middle class.

Marx defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as "government of the people by the people." Traditionally Marxists take "the people" to mean the working class, the peasants, the lower middle class, and the intelligentsia stratum. These groups live on the fruits of their own work (not the work of others), and basically there is no exploitation relationship between them. Thus the dictatorship cf the proletariat is rule by the working people.

KAZIMIERZ BILIŇSKI

EDWARD ABRAMOWSKI AND THE IDEOLOGY OF THE POLISH PEASANT MOVEMENT

This article deals with a short section of the work of Edward Abramowski (1868—1918), which is typical of his connections with the Polish peasant movement, and the role of his views on that movement in the Kingdom of Poland in the years 1904—1907. Abramowski was active in the Polish Peasant Union, which was formed in 1904.

In articles which he wrote for the Polish Peasant Union press, and in popular brochures, Abramowski propagated the ideas of the peasant movement, and called for struggle against the Tsarist government in order to lead the Polish nation to freedom. Abramowski linked his independence slogans wih others calling for the building of a new social life in a liberated Poland. He regarded general conspiracy as the principal weapon against Tsardom. The food and agricultural associations which Abramowski advocated, as well as the unions of workers and servants, were to make that struggle an effective one.

The programme for a new, just social system in the rural areas, which was contained in a sketch by Abramowski, called *Our Policy,* was basically similar to the ideological principles of the peasant movement. It also testified to his wider view of the situation of the rural population. But Abramowski's programme was in some ways an Utopia, apart from progressive elements such as slogans calling for a struggle against the Tsarist authorities and for the freedom of

the peasants and workers. For his idea was that the new Poland should emerge
as a result of the numerical growth of assiociations and free communes based
on the principle of community of interests and brotherhood. Abramowski,
totally immersed in the vision of a co-operative Polish republic, overestimated
the role of the associations and the institution of free communes. Abramowski
was the author of the ideological programme of the Polish Peasant Union. It
was a bold programme, containing progressive elements, although it did not
set out clearly the agrarian question, that is, the question of agricultural reform,
the expropriation and nationalisation of the great landed estates.

Apart from Abramowski's influence on the ideology of the peasant movement,
his activities as a teacher were important, too. Together with Ludwik Krzywicki
he lectured at vacation courses for teachers, in the first agricultural school in
the Kingdom of Poland, which was opened at Otrębusy, near Warsaw, in 1900,
on the initiative of Maksymilian Malinowski.

DANUTA REDEROWA

LUDWIK KUBALA AS HISTORIAN

This article gives an outline of the work of the historian Ludwik Kubala,
brings back to mind how it was evaluated, draws attention to views of his
which have so far been neglected, and finally attempts to probe the origin of
his view on history.

To begin with, Kubala's work was concerned with questions within the one
country. It dealt with problems not taken into account by Kazimierz Tymieniecki
when he described Ludwik Kubala as a "narrator of the Moscow campaigns, and
of the Swedish deluge," as an author "who never went beyond political and
military history." His view of history was not the result of reflection preceded
by long research (he was unable to defend his opinions successfully); his view of
history was already formed when he took up the role of historian. It should
also be remembered that the subjects mentioned above were different from
those of his later works; if later on he mentioned these subjects at all, he did so
as it were by chance.

He remains in the mind of readers as a splendid illustrator of times of war
in the 17th century.

The value of Ludwik Kubala's work lies above all in the fact that owing to
his outstanding talent as a writer he attracted legions of readers, and interested
them in Poland's past. It seems probable that Kubala regarded the task of
arousing the interest of the public in history as his chief duty and mission; as
Finkel remarked of him, that was how Kubala, "as historian-artist and historian-
teacher of his own people," understood the function of history.

MONIKA DOBROWOLSKA

ATTITUDES TO TRADITION IN THE LIGHT OF SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Reflections on the relationship "past-present," on the enmeshment of the past with the present and vice versa, bring to mind such terms as „social legacy," "tradition," and "sense of history."

In studying the category "social legacy," it is necessary realise its essential dualism — "social legacy" as a fact and as a value. With social legacy as a value are linked heterogeneous emotions stemming from the group's attitude to being burdened with the past. Social legacy viewed as a fact means that the behaviour of the members of some group is in certain respects the same as the behaviour of members of that group in earlier periods of its existence. Sociological conceptions of the "social legacy" are to be found in the works of Ludwik Krzywicki, Kazimierz Dobrowolski and Stanisław Ossowski. Krzywicki's conception of a "historical base" was an attempt on his part to bring within the framework of a uniform category all the different manifestations of the fact that the present is dependent on the past. "Social legacy" in Krzywicki's conception means not so much what the present generation inherits as a legacy from previous generations, but denotes the part of that legacy that hampers new, different actions in the present.

Kazimierz Dobrowolski's conception of "social legacy" is a factual one. In his view, the "historical base" enforces all the manifestations of culture which are inherited from past generations, and which affect the behaviour of living generations in varying degrees.

According to Stanisław Ossowski, the social legacy consists only of certain patterns of muscular, emotional, and intellectual reactions in line with which the dispositions of the members of the group are moulded. It does not consist of any external elements, which Ossowski describes as "material correlates of the social legacy."

This conception of Ossowski's has been taken up by Jerzy Szacki and Roman Zimand. Szacki draws a distinction between social legacy and tradition. He regards a group's tradition as that part of its social legacy that is evaluated either favourably or unfavourably. Roman Zimand, who agrees with Szacki, stresses too that before we can apply the term "tradition" to some cluster of phenomena, the important thing is society's belief that these phenomena do exist — it is not so important to ascertain that they did in fact exist in the past. Both authors treat "tradition" as "attitudes to the present." The distinction between tradition and sense of history is based on their different functioning in people's minds. Tradition goes along with an emotional attitude to the past; it is free of chronological classification; it takes its structure from values and emotions. Sense of history, on the other hand, is linked with a certain degree of society's awareness of itself; it is chronological; it is continuous, and the time element is important — that is, facts are positioned in time, whereas values and emotions are connected with the interpretation of events.

In postwar Polish sociology, research on attitudes to the past occupies a very modest place. As a matter of fact, investigations of this subject consist almost entirely of studies carried out by a team led by Professor Nina Assorodobraj in the History of Social Thought Department of Warsaw University. These studies were conducted between 1964 and 1970. The first of them consisted

of a questionnaire distributed in 1964 to representative samples of the rural population. Jadwiga Possart processed the results for the urban sample, and Barbara Szacka those for the rural sample. The aim of the questionnaire was to find out if people take an attitude to historical problems, and to discover the nature of what is commonly known as "sense of history," meaning people's varying attitudes to the past, to tradition, to the historical process.

As a result of this pilot study it has been discovered that in Poland the rural population is more attached to the present than is the urban population. In the minds of the country people, the past is associated with exploitation and poverty. Two elements of feudal tradition — the Kościuszko Rising and the figure of Kościuszko himself — are still very much alive in their minds.

The investigation mentioned here did not fulfil the authors' expectations, for it turned out that many questions were answered only by those respondents whose education had proceeded beyond the primary school level.

In order to eliminate this educational factor, the next research was carried out on a non-representative sample consisting of respondents all of whom were graduates. The author of this research, which was carried out in 1965, was Barbara Szacka. Two main topics were studied: the intensity of people's interest in history, and the role fulfilled by "calling up the past."

A joint index representing people's "attitude to history" was constructed. A person with a high score on this index would think history was necessary to modern man, would have a keen interest in history, would be dissatisfied with the dissemination of historical knowledge among the public today, and would recognize the need to restore monuments of the past.

Through this research it has been discovered that "attitude to history" is correlated with age (a high index was less common among the younger respondents), and with occupation (a high index was found less frequently among technicians).

The most recent piece of research among the attempts to investigate people's sense of history was carried out by Jerzy Szacki, in 1970, by means of a questionnaire distributed to a nation-wide sample of the urban and rural population.

This questionnaire covered three main problems:
— the extent and intensity of family traditions,
— current evaluation of the present trend in history,
— the background of Polish people's interest in history.

The results has showed that a decided majority of the respondents come from families in which the history of past generations was handed down to the younger generations.

In the course of study of the historical process, it has been established that diminution of attachment to the past is possibly linked with people's attitude to change in general.

The answers were affected by age (it was found that the older respondents tended to be "traditionalists" opposed to change), and by social background (most of the "traditionalists" came from bourgeois families).

Interest in history as a subject is equally common in the urban and in the rural areas. Moreover, it has been discovered that more men than women are fond of history, and that there is a very strong correlation between interest in history and the existence of a family tradition handed down by word of mouth.

ZYGMUNT GOSTKOWSKI

TIME WASTED IN THE COURSE OF STUDIES AT SELECTED SPECIALIZATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ŁÓDŹ

Three successive real cohorts of students at four specializations (Polish Language, History, Mathematics and Law) were analysed, starting in the years 1964—1966. Independent variables influencing time wastage during studies were sex and socio-occupational background (father's occupation) of students; working class, intelligentsia and peasant backgrounds were distinguished. Time wastage was measured by means of several indicators such as: number of student-years wasted per one graduate in a cohort, per cent of those having completed studies with delay, per cent of those who dropped out in the course of the first year of studies, and of those having dropped out after the fourth year (grade) of studies. Structure of the total time wasted in a cohort was analysed, distinguishing proportions of wasted time due to particular sources of wastage such as: dropping-out and repeating at particular years (grades) of studies, repeating by students who finally dropped out, repeating of those who completed studies with delay. Results of analysis show that women had consistently much less time wastage; socio-occupational background of students influenced time wastage less consistently, with sex as an intervening variable, and depending on the specialization. Among men, (with the exception of Polish Language) those with working class background had always more time wasted than those with intelligentsia background; among women there appeared the same tendency, with the exception of Law where female students with intelligentsia background had always higher wastage indicators than those with working class background. Besides, background-determined differences in wastage among women were less marked than among men.

There was no consistent pattern of relationships between peasant background and wastage, probably due to small numbers of such students in the cohorts.

Structure of the total time wasted and structure trends which appeared in three successive cohorts at particular specializations reflected a maladjustment between the formal organization of studies (their normal duration, curricula, terms of examinations, repeating regulations, etc.) and the actual course of studies: e.g. at the Law specialization, the proportion of the time wasted on repeating by drop-outs increased, in three successive cohorts, from 6.2 per cent to 13.5 per cent, and the proportion of time wasted by students who dropped out from more advanced years of studies (grades 2 through 4) increased from 23.7 per cent to 51.6 per cent. Similar pattern appeared at the Polish Language specialization.

EWA ROKICKA

TOPICS FOR RESEARCH ON STUDENT DROP-OUTS

Sociological aspects of the problem of drop-outs (students who begin but do not complete their course of studies, either because they themselves give up, or because they are "thrown out") form the subject of this paper. The author reviews past research on this subject, and puts forward her own research proposals.

Research in the past concentrated mainly on analysis of the quantitative losses caused by students' failure to stay the course, and the causes that led to students' expulsion or resignation. The first stream of research that is perceptible in literature on the subject dealt with the numbers of the drop-outs. It formed part of a broader stream of research on the efficiency of teaching in the universities and similar schools. The reasons for failure were studied as part of investigations concerning the principles of recruitment and selection, the adjustment of first year students, the students' choice of course, and their motives for taking up a university course.

It was noted that previous research on student drop-outs did not include any follow-up on what happened to them later.

Rokicka therefore proposes that research should try to discover what correlations, if any, exist, between the students' reasons for terminating their studies (whether they gave up themselves, or whether they were struck off the list of students), and their subsequent history (re-enrolment as students, or taking up a job). She confronts their aims in life, ambitions and expectations during their student years with their aims, needs and ambitions after leaving the university or college. One might encounter the following situations:

1. In the case of some of the drop-outs it is possible that their needs and ambitions do not change, but that, being unsatisfied, these needs and ambitions become the source of the drop-outs' frustration and dissatisfaction with their current situation;

2. These needs and ambitions might disappear, and become modified in adaptation to the current situation (resignation);

3. One might also distinguish a group of respondents whose need and ambition for advanced education were so strong that they would have to be fulfilled through evening classes or correspondence courses, after again surmounting the selection barrier;

4. In the course of reorientation, these aspirations could become somewhat modified as a result of adjustment to the new situation; e.g. a more practical, vocational course could possibly be chosen instead of a more purely theoretical one.

In the view of the author of this article, investigations of the type listed above would have both a cognitive value (since they would further our knowledge and sociological interpretation of the drop-out phenomenona), and a practical, sociotechnical one. The results of such research would enable us to predict with a given degree of probability the further history of the drop-outs.

DANUTA DYMEK

THE INFLUENCE OF THE HOME IN CAUSING CHILDREN AND JUVENILES TO GO ASTRAY

The author describes in this article certain aspects of the family situation of juvenile offenders. The question posed here is: Does their conflicts with the law stem from their home situation?

The subjects in this research were 325 families of juvenile offenders brought before the Juvenile Court in Słupsk in the period 1969—1971. Information about these families was taken from the court files, and in particular from the answers to questionnaire-based interviews on their family environment and from the reports of probation officers (both proffessional and voluntary) who are in a position to know their wards very well. The elicited information concerned the offenders' financial circumstances and housing conditions, their parents' job, level of education, and earnings, the quality of care given to the children, the structure of the family, the atmosphere in the home, and signs of social pathology — that is those elements which directly or indirectly affect and mould young people's attitude to life.

It was discovered that the financial and housing conditions of these families were very poor. As many as 44 per cent of the families were very poor, and nearly 15 per cent of them lived in extreme poverty, while 33.6 per cent were in very bad housing conditions. It is characteristic that bad housing conditions generally went along with poor financial situation (56 per cent). Moreover, in nearly half of the families living in those conditions, habitual drunkenness and even alcoholism were found among the parents or guardians.

The situation was also very poor as regards the parents' level of education and job qualifications — factors which affect the cultural level and general atmosphere of the home and often the young people's ambitions, too. As many as 72.4 per cent of the fathers or step-fathers, and 86.6 per cent of the mothers or step-mothers, had completed primary school at the very most. In nearly half the cases these were people who at the time of investigation were aged no more than 45. As many as 58.5 per cent of the working mothers and 18.8 per cent of the fathers had no concrete occupation, and were employed in services or subsidiary jobs.

In a third of the cases the upbringing of the children was hampered by faulty family structure, for in 4 per cent of the families one of the parents had died, while in 14.8 per cent of the cases the marriage was broken, and in 12.6 per cent either the mother or the father was living with another partner. Nearly 30 per cent of the families were large ones.

The investigation showed that the quality of care of the children was affected not so much by the fact of whether both parents worked or only one, as by the kind of care and attention, and time, devoted to the children after working hours. It was ascertained that only 22.5 per cent of the parents gave their children a fair modicum of care and attention, whereas 44.9 per cent did not bother about their children at all, but left them very largely to their own resources, to do what they liked.

The atmosphere in which the children were brought up, involving a whole set of situations that depended on the psychosocial traits of the various family members and on the interlacing of roles between them was good in only 70 families (21.5 per cent). In the remaining families, factors inconducive to a proper atmosphere for the psychological development of the child were found in varying frequency. The research showed, moreover, that the atmosphere in which the children were brought up was affected by the family structure (worst in the broken and reconstructed families), by financial and housing conditions, and above all by alcoholism which was found in 40.6 of the cases. In such families, the children were inadequately cared for, and this had led to backwardness in school subjects, truanting, running away from home, and other behavioural

difficulties which were much more common in these families than in the normal ones.

Analysis of the various elements of the family situation showed that it was very bad in many respects. In the majority of cases several negative factors occurred simultaneously. These are the families from which the very demoralised juveniles come — those who turn to crime again and again. Among the 325 families investigated here, only 23 (7.1 per cent) could be regarded (in the light of the information from the court files) as families in which upbringing of the children was normal. The investigation revealed that the majority of these families did not carry out their basic functions properly. They were families which either themselves depraved the young ones, or which were unable to put a stop to their children's behaviour difficulties in time. It must be concluded, then, that the family of the juvenile offender is the main source of their social maladjustment, which stems from a whole series of elements that constitute their immediate environment.

BOŻENNA CHMIELEWSKA

SOCIAL AND DIDACTIC ASPECTS OF THE SUPPLEMENTARY TRAINING OF TEACHERS

The results of a pilot study carried out in the Teachers' Training College in Słupsk in the academic year 1974/75 are presented here. With that college as an example, both social and didactical aspects of the supplementary training of teachers were investigated, as well as its effect on their school.

The author investigated the motives that had led the teachers to go in for supplementary training, and examined the teachers' assessment of its value in helping them to do their job better. More than 70 per cent of the subjects declared that before beginning this course their training for their job was insufficient. As a motive for undergoing supplementary training they spoke of their "own conviction" of the need to improve their qualifications and to take an M. A. degree. Apart from their conviction that the additional effort of getting their M. A. was worth while for the job itself, over 60 per cent of them said that an important motive was their wish to get a higher salary and higher pension rights.

Many of these teachers who were training for higher qualifications encountered difficulties of various kinds. Only 1.5 per cent of those who answered the questionnaire said that studying for exams caused them little difficulty, whereas 40 per cent declared that they encountered a great deal of difficulty. The analysis of the exam results and post-examination ratings suggests that despite certain difficulties as many as 37% of the subjects managed fairly well, whereas as many as 63 per cent encountered serious difficulty.

The author tried to find out which factors — age, sex, whether married or unmarried, number of children, type of school finished before enrolment as a student, length of time-gap in studying — were most instrumental in intensifying the difficulties involved in pursuing a higher educational course.

The results undermined the generally held view that the mothers of small children have the greatest difficulty in following a training course like this.

The author also studied the conditions in which the teachers doing supplementary training at the Słupsk Teachers' Training College studied. It was found that teachers of mathematics, biology and geography expected far more help from the college than teachers of other disciplines. One of the sorest points was the lack of textbooks and scripts. Teachers living and working in the rural areas had most difficulty in obtaining these. More than 90 per cent of the teachers doing supplementary training complained about being too much burdened with other duties.

More than half the subjects stated that their domestic routine and family life were upset. They had far too little time to do their homework, look after their household and family, to do any social work, and, above all, to have any cultural pursuits. The number of those not forced to restrict their daily cultural consumption to a minimum (reading the paper) was barely 14 per cent.

The atmosphere in the schools where these studying teachers worked was also investigated. More than half of the respondents reported that their school was indifferent to the fact that they were doing supplementary training. About 30 per cent were in sharp conflict over this with their fellow teachers and headmaster. In many schools the need to look for replacement teachers, especially in subjects like physics, mathematics and Russian where stand-ins are difficult to find, caused serious complications in the pupils' regular education. Only 10 per cent of the teachers doing supplementary training stated that there were competent replacement teachers in their schools.

Apart from the disorganisation of school life, another worry is that the schooling of the children suffers, and schools results are poorer. As many as 45 per cent of the respondents thought that as a result of their going in for supplementary training their pupils' work was somewhat poorer than before, and 38 per cent believed it was much poorer.

JAN PARYS

THE METHODOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORISM

The author starts by declaring that historical sociology is not, as the majority of contemporary sociologists assert, an old-fashioned, 19th-century type of sociology which has no place in the 20th century. Here he brings up the name of Max Weber, Gyorgy Lukacs, and Lucien Goldman to prove that the trend towards the historicism of sociology belongs not only to the 19th but to the 20th century as well. He then concentrates on analysing the sociology of Stanisław Ossowski, since it is, in his opinion, an example of modern historism in sociology. In analysing Ossowski's sociology, Parys treats historism as a method based on two principles:

1) assumptions about the structure and generality of sociological statements,
2) assumptions about the origin and function of inner experience.

Ad 1. In his pre- and post- World War II writings, Ossowski held that social reality was of a historical nature. And he applied this hypothesis about its ontological character to the methodology of sociology. In his writings, the inclusion of historism in methodology was tantamount to recognizing that sociological statements are like historical statements — that is, they have a specific structure (they have space and time determinants), and they are historical in content. The historical character of sociological statements made Ossowski ask a question regarding sociology itself — namely, is sociology a general science, the product of which would be knowledge free from historical and cultural limitations? After studying the research procedure followed by Ossowski in his work *Social Structure in the Social Consciousness*, the author of this article comes to the conclusion that, according to Ossowski, sociology which takes into account the historical nature of reality may be a strictly general science, too. To sum up, the writer states that Ossowski distinguished three types of socio-logical statements:

a) historical statements about the behaviour of people coming under the influence of a given culture,

b) typological statements which we arrive at after inter-cultural comparative studies,

c) general statements which we arrive at after studying diverse comparatively isolated systems. By "comparatively isolated systems" Ossowski had in mind areas limited by the influence of a certain historical event.

Ad 2. Ossowski's conception of experience (he called it "inner experience") is different from that of the neo-positivists. Having accepted that sociology was a historical discipline (see above), he was compelled to modify his conception of the empirical base of his sociology. For since the sociologist should know the past if he wishes to propound statements applying to periods outside the con-fines of our own, he must make use of historical material. This in turn means that he must recognize historical sources as reliable empirical material. Owing to this expansion of sociology's empirical base, the concept of experience had to be different from that in traditional neo-positivism. In speaking of experience, Ossowski was not thinking of sensual experience, nor was he thinking of one's exploration of one's own ego by means of introspection. Ossowski rejected the view that some statements are those we build on the basis of directly observable reality. Use of a knowledge of history, the selection of historical source material, and the conclusions drawn from them, are all the products of the scholar's mind. This process of analysing historical material is what Ossowski called "inner experience." This is what he thought was the proper procedure for historical sociology to use. As may be seen from the above, the results of cognition in sociology are not just a reflection of the facts. The knowledge we arrive at is a construction of the sociologist's mind, based on the collected facts. Thus Os-sowski accepted that the subject makes a contribution to the process of cognition. His view was that the process of cognition in sociology is scientific in nature, despite the fact that the part played by inner experience means that certain unverifiable assumptions are introduced to learning.

KRYSTYNA LUTYŃSKA

SOME REFLECTION ON "THE STANDARDISATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL VARIABLES"

Standaryzacja zmiennych socjologicznych [The Standardisation of Sociological Variables], edited by W. Wesołowski, has been published by the Social Structure Group working in the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It consists of two volumes: I — *Age, Education, Income, Housing Conditions*, and II — *The Social Classification of Occupations* (this second volume is by K. Słomczyński and M. Pohoski). Simultaneously, in Łódź, as a result of consultations and involvement in pilot studies, the Team for Research on Methods, which also belongs to the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, became interested in questions regarding demographic data, and carried out research to find out if these questions were easily understood by the respondents, if they caused irritation, etc. The article summarised here emphasizes the immense importance of that work. Above all, the author stresses the need to standardize such demographic questions in the mass questionnaires used in sociological research. At the same time the writer points out a number of shortcomings in *Standaryzacja zmiennych socjologicznych*. For instance, it does not take into account all the variables found very often in the section on demographic data. The authors of *Standaryzacja...* put forward proposals for some more detailed questions, which would increase their number excessively and perhaps be unacceptable to many research workers. Moreover, no information is given as to the grounds taken for believing that a given questions has been tested, etc. The author of the present article suggests, on the basis of her own researches in the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology, and on investigations carried out by Łódź University, that investigations should be carried out to test the demographic questions. The aim of such investigations would be to find out which variant of a given question was the best (e.g. which are better — detailed questions or global ones?), then to test the value of the information obtained from the diverse questions and to test their value as indicators. Such investigations have already been planned and begun in the Łódź methodological centre.

ADAM PODGÓRECKI

CRITICAL SOCIOLOGY (FRANKFURT SCHOOL)

Although it has been in existence for half a century the so-called Frankfurt School is neither specially well known as having produced an all-round, theoretical synthesis of sociological knowledge, nor has it (in the present writer's opinion) been able to work out a new scheme of theoretical concepts that would completely explain social change.

The Frankfurt School, formed in Germany in 1923, transferred its main activities to France, Britain and the United States. After the Second World War, some of the founders of this school (e.g. M. Horkheimer and T. Adorno) returned to Germany, and there, in one way or another, continued the work of the School.

It is generally agreed that the main idea of the Frankfurt School is "critical attitude." This critical attitude was to be applied to the principles constituting the foundation of the structure of modern societies that are based on private property. Yet the criticism in question is not sufficiently original: it is a sort of half-way house between Freudism and Marxism, which, however, has satisfied neither the disciples of Freud nor the advocates of Marxism. Another of the basic ideas of the Frankfurt School is the conception of authoritarian personality. With the conception of authoritarian personality the conception of domination is somehow connected (the conception of how ideas, institutions, organisations, the law, and various other products of society stifle the individual, narrow his point of view, and compel him to be obedient to the ideas inherent in these social institutions). Another idea linked with the conception of domination is the idea of rationalisation.

WŁODZIMIERZ KUBIK

THE SOCIOLOGY OF HERBERT SPENCER

This article takes a closer look at the sociological threads in Herbert Spencer's thinking. The author distinguishes three groups of Spencer's sociological views. He stresses that in the past, discussion of Spencer's work solely from the point of view of his influence on evolutionism and social Darwinism had frequently led to distortion of his views, and his sociological views in particular. Following in the footsteps of Ludwik Krzywicki, the author perceives three spheres in Spencer's sociological writings: the first, which perhaps belongs more to journalism than to philosophy; the second, containing his views with regard to general sociology; and the third — detailed sociology: the sociology of religion, of the family, of customs and rituals, and likewise the sociology of industry. In the first sphere are those views of Spencer's which are known as "absolute individualism" in social life. Kubik cites two types of interpretation of Spencer's social individualism, and proceeds to discuss them at length. First of all he deals with the question of the analogy which Spencer drew between the biological organism and society, and shows the role it played in the interpretation of Spencer's views. He then goes on to discuss the consequences that resulted from Spencer's acceptance of the Darwinian law of natural selection. He illustrates Spencer's organicism by quoting some of his ideas about society. He supposes that the widespread acceptance of the belief that Spencer saw society solely as an organism stemmed from the social function of that idea. This function was the creation of a myth that Nature herself, by creating society on the pattern of an organism, gave some social groups the role of head and palate, and other groups the role of calloused feet destined to bear the burden of the whole. S. Andreski (Footnote 12) sees a link between Spencerian "organicism" and the "systematic" concept of society, and he endeavours to prove that the basic principles of modern functionalism may be traced to the works of Spencer. With regard to the problem of Spencer's influence on the functional school, it must be added that the founders of that school recognized Spencer's impact on their theories.

As for the basic law of Spencer's theory of evolution, the writer regards "interpretive monism" as a very important element in Spencer's work. He proceeds then to discuss at length sociological elements of the theory of evolution. Spencer thought that society evolved through the inescapable differentiation of human activities and needs. Evolution took place through differentiation, integration, disintegration, equilibrium, and segregation. Evolution is conceived by the creator of that term as the law of organic progress, that is, evolution which differentiates existing structures and forms new ones, makes them more and more stable, and thereby improves them. Evolution, according to Spencer, is a slow process, which is perceptible to people but which nevertheless is an unavoidable, inevitable one. The Marxist theory of revolutionary change can be combined with the Spencerian conception of evolution with the help of the dialectical law about the transition of quantitative changes into qualitative ones. It was fatal for the theory of evolution that it was applied only to such spheres of social life as the family, morality or religion, for in studying such spheres it is impossible to trace their development objectively. The proper application of the conception of evolution, asserts the writer of this article, is to use it in studying types of behaviour, for instance, or in the most general kind of analysis of different types of social institutions, but not in detailed analysis.

To sum up, the aim of the article is to draw attention to Spencer's impact on schools of sociology that are not often associated with the name of Spencer, and above all to point out the link between Spencerian theory and the English functional school.

KRZYSZTOF JASIEWICZ

FACTORS IN NATIONAL ASSIMILATION

We have here an attempt to create a preliminary set of hypotheses concerning the factors that stimulate or delay the processes of national assimilation. After J. Wiatr, the writer uses the term "nation" to mean a "historically moulded, permanent community which came into existence on the basis of a common history, a common commodity economy and common political institutions, a community characterised by the existence of a feeling of affiliation to the state, the principal component of group consciousness." These factors that promote national assimilaton are singled out by examining that phenomenon in single-nation states. Limitation of the field of observation to single-nation states is justified by the postulate that the course of social processes should be studied by analysing their simplest forms, and then by extending the conclusions drawn therefrom, suitably modified, to more complicated cases. The complicated ethnic structure of multi-nation states causes the parallel occurrence of assimilation in several different directions, a fact which by no means makes study of this phenomenon easier.

The writer defines "national minority" as a group
— which is characterised by a different feeling of nationality that is characteristic of the main group constituting the given State;
— which either forms part of some nation, or which is itself a nation, or the ethnic bond cementing it is very little different in character from a national bond.

"National assimilation" in turn is defined as a process which takes place between one generation and another, as a result of which a change of national affiliation, and a consciousness of the new affiliation, takes place in a given social group. The main constituents of that process are as follows:

— the minority group takes on the cultural patterns of the majority group (aculturation);

— the minority group is allowed to take part in the institutions and organisations of the whole community (structural assimilation);

— members of the minority group identify with the country of the majority, and regard it as their ideological homeland;

— inter-group marriages are contracted on a wide scale (amalgamation).

The term "assimilation factor" is applied to a phenomenon whose occurrence, or intensity, is not a matter of indifference to the course of the assimilation process. The author ends his preliminary remarks with the statement that assimilation processes in societies which have passed through, or are passing through, the period of industrialisation differ in many important respects from the processes of assimilation in pre-industrial societies. Industrialisation, which changes the character of the bonds between people, tends on the one hand to stimulate assimilation, and on the other hand to hamper it. The author then goes on to formulate 19 hypotheses concerning the factors of assimilation. He also discusses the interrelations between the various factors, and the ways in which some of them modify the working of others. These hypotheses are as follows:

Demographic factors

Immigrants find it easier to assimilate, the native-born find it more difficult;

The smaller the size of a national minority in relation to the population of the country as a whole, the easier is it for that minority to assimilate;

If a minority group is well spread out through the territory of the given country, it will find assimilation easier, especially if at the same time it has contacts on many different planes of social life with the majority group — in other words, if assimilation is not only spatial, but social, too;

Internal migration is favourable to assimilation;

Urbanisation promotes assimilation, owing to the nature of the human relationships which it produces;

Assimilation takes place more easily where the repertoire of social roles in which the minority appear in the eyes of the majority (and vice versa) matches the entire repertoire of roles in the given groups, or is similar.

Factors in the sphere of social structure and economics.

Vertical social mobility creates conditions favourable to national assimilation;

Where the ethnic structure matches the class structure, and where a national minority is in the majority in its class, at least within a confined area, assimilation is more difficult;

If the minority group occupies a separate place in the social structure, and especially if it occupies the position of middle-man minority, probably this will have a negative effect on the prospects for its assimilation, even after that situation ceases to exist;

Assimilation within a given social class is more difficult when rivalry for the things desired by that class (especially economic things) is in the nature of a game with a zero result.

The need for manpower is a factor that promotes assimilation, unless it is connected with the emergence of separate social strata differing ethnically from the others;

Class conflicts accelerate assimilation to an extent that depends on the class consciousness of the competing groups. Assimilation is easiest where class consciousness is strong, whereas weak class consciousness may make assimilation altogether impossible.

Factors in the sphere of social consciousness

The greater the ethnocentrism of the dominant group, the less the chances of assimilation of the minority group. An extreme product of the development of ethnocentrism based on identification with an ethnic group is nationalism. It appears in societies which are at the capitalist stage. Nationalism comes into being against the background of phenomena in the economy and in the social structure, as an ideology which favours the interests of the ruling classes.

Its intensity and its concrete manifestations depend on:
— the general level of frustration in the given group;
— the character of the group's ideology;
— the dominant personality type in the group;
— the level of education.

The stronger the ethnocentrism of the minority, the smaller the chances of assimilation;

Differences of culture between the majority group and the minority group hamper assimilation;

When religious and national differences are superimposed, assimilation is more difficult. This is especially so of feudal societies;

Differences of race hamper the assimilation of the national minority. This is especially true of differences which are clearly visible, but also of differences based on science myths. Differentiation also plays an important role as a component of ethnocentric ideologies;

The more easily the minority is recognized as being different from the majority, the more difficult is it for it to assimilate.

Political factors

The policy of the State towards national minorities is an important factor in national assimilation. Among the four different types of policy which have been distinguised, we have: segregatory discrimination, denationalising discrimination, acceptance of differences, and pluralism. Of these, the acceptance of differences gives assimilation the best chance.

*   *   *

The author does not regard this list as closed. Amendments may be made to it in two directions — that is, some variables may still be added, while on the other hand some of the correlations suggested here may be abandoned, for they may prove to be only illusory ones. Assimilation factors always work together. They are interlaced one with the other. They all find expression in the social consciousness of both groups, and mould the social consciousness. For that reason their division here into four groups should be regarded as a purely arbitrary one. The differentiation of the various factors is arbitrary, too. Some

of them (for instance, group ideology) can be split up into several component elements, or even a dozen such elements.

The article ends with some propositions for research on national assimilation and ways of testing out these hypotheses.

MAŁGORZATA MISIUNA

CONTRIBUTION OF SOCIOLOGY TO THE COMPLEX DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES FOURTH WORLD CONGRESS OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY SEPTEMBER 9—13, 1976, IN TORUŇ, POLAND

The article gives an account of the Fourth World Congress of Rural Sociology, held in Toruń, Poland, on September 9—13, 1976, and provides information about the debates and the topics discussed there. It also contains general reflections on that event. In the writer's view the large number of people who attended the Congress (1,100), and of countries represented (70), not only distinguishes this Congress from others, but also is indicative of the favourable changes taking place in the world today, and of the distinct tendencies seen throughout the world towards integration of the socio-occupational movement, embracing rural sociology, too. A reflection of this tendency was the formation of an International Rural Sociology Association, the first general meeting of which was held during the Congress. Likewise during the Congress an Asiatic Rural Sociology Society was set up — the fourth regional society of this kind.

In the writer's opinion the Congress was also remarkable for the ambitiousness of its main topic, that is, one of the global problems of the modern world, a problem which is causing particular anxiety to mankind: the harmful effects on both natural and human resources caused by the way in which the economic growth is being achieved. 21 different papers not only noted sociology's past achievements and its contribution to the solving of the aforesaid problem, but also drew attention to sociology's weak points: to branches of sociology which needed waking up, and to the need for collaboration with other disciplines and socio-occupational movements, especially rural economy.

Altogether 470 papers were submitted at meetings of the 21 sections of the Congress or at its plenary sessions. Against the background of this debate, the article tells us that different regions of the world, and different countries were more particularly interested in different problems debated at the Congress. The author stresses the especially active part played by rural sociologists from the socialist countries. They presented 257 papers — that is, more than half the total number presented, and for the first time shared the results of their work on such a wide scale with other groups of countries. The author also drew her attention to the unprecedented growth of the developing countries' participation, and the increasing activity of rural sociologists from these countries.

In the writer's opinion the Fourth World Congress of Rural Sociology, through its choice of the main problem to be discussed, gave the representatives of other disciplines (especially economics) the opportunity to take part in it,

and to a large extent this opportunity was grasped. The range of problems dealt with at the Congress, and the way they were dealt with, may inspire the integration of many disciplines in common research. The results of the discussions that took place in sections where the members of other disciplines took part were encouraging, and may be used to illustrate how close collaboration between rural sociologists and those working in other disciplines, applied to a given problem, is conducive to successful research.

The author notes the particular interest (expressed both in the subject of the papers and in the discussion) evinced in the strategy of complex development, in circumstances where we have different socio-economic system in the world, and different groups of countries. She notes the interest taken in the social aspects of these problems and in the concrete possibilities that rural sociologists may be able to take part in solving them. This testifies to the growing social maturity of the socio-occupational movement among rural sociologists and indicates the role they should fulfil.

The article contains much detailed information about the topics raised at the Congress, and about the discussions which took place there.

EILEEN MARKLEY ZNANIECKI (1886—1976)

Florian Znaniecki came to the United States, arriving in Chicago in 1914. While in America, Znaniecki met and married on April 26, 1916, Eileen Markley, a Connecticut-born Lawyer trained at the University of Chicago, with degrees from Smith and Columbia. She was of great charm, high intellectual ability and extraordinary devotion. He converted her into a sociologist. Eileen helped Znaniecki with the *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1918—1920) and Cultural Reality (1919) as well as with all his later books and articles.

To the Gurvitch and Moore's *Twentieth Century Sociology* (1945) Eileen Markley Znaniecki contributed a chapter on sociology in Poland.

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ZYGMUNT DULCZEWSKI

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