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LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ  
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CREATING A SOCIALIST MAN IN POLAND

Christine Dabrowska

A Thesis  
in  
The Department  
of  
Education

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement  
for the degree of Master of Arts at  
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ABSTRACT

CHRISTINE DABROWSKA

CREATING A SOCIALIST MAN IN POLAND

The purpose of this study is to examine the attitudes existing in contemporary Polish society in view of the attempt to create a new type of personality, a socialist man. Among the topics treated are the philosophical concept of the 'socialist man' and the role of the educational system in bringing up the younger generation according to the socialist ideal. In order to assess the extent to which this task of creating the socialist man has been realized, Polish research was examined on young people's attitudes toward the following: the state and society, religion, work and family life.

D

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Socialism emerged as the official ideology in Poland as a result of the political outcome of the Second World War. The political system, based on socialist ideology, introduced a new structure and organization of the society. For its development, the system required a kind of person whose altruistic character differs drastically from the traditional individualistic type. At the time of introduction of the socialist system, Polish society was almost feudal in structure and style. The country's short capitalist period did not develop the general conditions and type of personality suitable for rapid transition into socialist man. Thus, industrialization and urbanization had to occur as a pre-condition for the creation of a socialist society. The conditions within the new society were to induce the emergence of the new type of personality, one which would complement the socio-political structure. The educational system was expected to assist in the process. Throughout the last thirty years, continuous efforts have been made to improve the organization of the educational system in order to enhance its effectiveness. The latest analysis and evaluation of the educational system took place in the early 'seventies and resulted in the

School Reform Law passed by the Sejm<sup>1</sup> in October 1973.

### Scope and Purpose

The purpose of this study is:

1. To outline the social and educational objectives of Socialist Poland.
2. To find whether, or to what extent, these have been achieved by reference to evidence about existing reality as expressed in the young generation's moral values, work ethic, attitudes toward state property and the state itself.

There is evidence that the socialist system in general and its educational system in particular have not succeeded to the expected degree in creating the socialist type of man.

### Organization of the Thesis

The study will have four chapters. The first chapter will examine the Marxian ideal of the socialist man as well as the interpretation of this concept by contemporary Polish ideologists and sociologists. The

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<sup>1</sup>Sejm is the legislative body of the Polish government.

responsibility of the socialist man toward the state will be analyzed in relation to his political convictions and spiritual needs. Furthermore, the socialist man's responsibility toward the society will be examined treating work ethic and family responsibility. The second chapter will deal with the educational system in Poland. The role of the educational system in bringing up the socialist man and the role of the teacher will be considered in that process. Special attention will be given to the objective of educating the younger generation according to the requirements of the socio-political system, that is the education of the socialist man. The third chapter will offer evidence of the values and attitudes in contemporary Polish society with emphasis on the generations which have been brought up and educated under the existing socio-political system. Two major areas have been selected for particular scrutiny. They correspond to those which were dealt with in Chapter I on the concept of socialist man. They are:

1. The younger generation's attitudes toward the state with regard to their political convictions and attitudes toward religion and the church.



2. Their attitude toward their society in respect to the work ethic and family responsibility.

A final chapter will draw a conclusion from this analysis.

### Survey of Literature

There are only a few works written in the English language dealing with contemporary Polish society and education in the context of the topic of this study.

The latest computer print-out of the Concordia University Library of August 7, 1978, indicates a number of publications dealing with Polish society and education. All of these which were available were carefully examined. However, nothing of direct relevance to the topic of this study was found except for the article written by Aleksander Gella "Student Youth in Poland, Four Generations 1945-1970", which appeared in the monthly Youth and Society, Vol. 6, No. 3, March 1975. In his analysis of Polish youth, the author quotes the research carried out by R. Dioniziak, A. Pawelczynska, S. Nowak, and Jozefowicz, which was used in the evaluation of the attitudes of the younger generation in Chapter IV of this study. As such, the article does not provide additional information on the matter.

The other works devote a chapter to Polish education. Nigel Grant's book, "Society, School and Progress in Eastern Europe", describes mainly the organization and structure of the Polish education system after the Second World War. G. Bereday in his book, "Comparative Methods in Education" deals with the problem of indoctrination in Poland. Brian Simon's "Education in the New Poland" gives a very general description of the educational system as of 1952. By far more informative are the books of J. Fiszman: "Revolution and Tradition in People's Poland" which attempts an analysis of the society and the educational system in People's Poland up to 1970; and J. Szczepanski's "Polish Society". The author deals with education in the context of Poland's evolvment toward a 'socialist' type of society.

A number of primary sources were obtained from the Polish Consulate and the Polish Airline offices in Montreal. These are Express Wieczorny (The Evening Express) daily, Zycie Warszawy (The Life of Warsaw) daily, Trybuna Ludu (The People's Tribune) daily, Nowe Drogi (New Roads) monthly, Literatura (Literature) weekly, Kultura (Culture) weekly, and Nowa Kultura (New Culture) weekly.

The monthly review of Polish books, the New Polish Publications was very useful in selecting the newest publications dealing with education which were subsequently ordered from Poland. Particularly useful were books written by J. Szczepanski: "Rozwazania o Rzeczypospolitej" (Thoughts on the Polish Republic), "Refleksje nad Oswiata" (Reflection upon Education), "Polish Society", as well as the book edited by H. Maslinska "Podstawowe Problemy Moralnosci Socjalistycznej" (The Basic Problems of Socialist Morality), which contains lengthy chapters, contributed by leading Polish sociologists and ideologists, on questions directly related to this study.

Of considerable use were a number of Polish periodicals in their English editions, Polish Perspectives, Contemporary Poland, and the quarterly Dialectics and Humanism, and The Polish Review, all of which contain articles relevant to education and sociology. The above-mentioned publications are available in the Polish Library in Montreal.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CONCEPT OF SOCIALIST MAN IN POLAND

According to Marxism, man is part of nature and society. His world is independent of any forces beyond nature and society. He is a product of historical development, that is, he is a social product. He is born into a society and into social conditions which are determined by relations of production.<sup>1</sup> "The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their social being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness".<sup>2</sup>

Man is not a spiritual entity born with an innate sense of morality. He is born with a certain ability for

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<sup>1</sup> Szaff, Adam, "Marxist Concept of the Individual", Polish Perspectives, Monthly (Warszawa, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, Vol. VII, No. 7-8, July-August 1960), pp. 88-105.

<sup>2</sup> Marx, K., Engels, I., "Preface to a Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy", Selected Works, Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1955, Vol. I, p. 362.

development which depends on the particular relations in the society. His values, attitudes, evaluations and opinions are socially determined through education which inculcates certain ideals, manners, customs and morality. The society changes them under the impact of historical conditions, which means, that what man is like in given conditions, depends on the pattern of social relations. In the case of class relations, which are determined by the mode of production, the individual is determined by his class background or occupational group.<sup>3</sup> "Man creates himself in the process of labor and human practice".<sup>4</sup> Labor is the expression of human life and through labor man's relationship to nature is changed, hence through labor man changes himself.<sup>5</sup> As a result, the human process of creation becomes a process of selfcreation.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Soldenhoff, Stanislaw, "Socialist Transformations and Human Personality", Polish Perspectives, Monthly (Warszawa, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, Vol. IV, No. 2, February 1961), pp. 3-10.

<sup>4</sup>Szaff, Adam, Marxizm i Egzystencjalizm (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1961), p. 130.

<sup>5</sup>Fromm, Erich, Marx's Concept of Man, New York, Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1977, p. 16.

<sup>6</sup>Szaff, Adam, "Marxist Concept of the Individual", Polish Perspectives, Monthly, (Warszawa, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch), Vol. VII, No. 7-8, July-August 1960), p. 96.

## II.1 Responsibility Toward the State

### II.1.1 Political Convictions

The socialist man should be a man of high ideals because life without them is empty and senseless. He should, therefore, commit himself to the political ideology of his society. The society should become the center of his considerations, activities and concern. He should make the highest effort to develop his talents and abilities to the fullest in order to use them in his contribution to the society.<sup>7</sup> "Wherever we are, all of us must always remember that the socialist Poland is being created by all of us, by the entire nation. The Polish United Workers Party is leading the nation in its task to create a socialist state".<sup>8</sup> "It is the responsibility of every individual to participate actively in the process of creating socialism, an action which must be based on the conviction of the superiority of socialism over every other political system".<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Maslinska, Halina, Moralna Postawa Czlowieka Epoki Socjalizmu, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 79-105.

<sup>8</sup> Gierek, Edward, The First Secretary of the P.U.W.P. XVI Plenum KCPZPR, 6-7 stycznia 1975, (Warszawa, Podstawowe Dokumenty i Materialy, 1975) p. 23.

<sup>9</sup> Wolczyk, Jerzy, Elementy Polityki Oswiatowej, (Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1974), p. 23.

The socialist man should never consider his individual interests apart from the interests of the society.<sup>10</sup> The ideological and moral obligation upon him is that he subordinates his individual interests to those of his society. As a politically mature person, he is obliged to spread the Marxist - Leninist ideology among others. He must, in his work and private life, in all his relationships with others, give an example of the socialist morality. He should demonstrate support and confidence toward the state and the party, and ask the same of others.<sup>11</sup>

The motivations of the socialist man in all his activities should be political and moral. He must display an attitude of care and concern toward his work and state property. He should be aware of the needs of his society and his country and be conscious of his contribution to the well-being of both. He should feel personal responsibility for his country, for everybody and everything within the society. He should understand that the successful functioning of socialist economy depends on the moral responsibility of all members of the socialist society.<sup>12</sup> His direct concern

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<sup>10</sup> Maslinska, Halina, Moralna Postawa Czlowieka Epoki Socjalizmu, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 79-105.

<sup>11</sup> Michalik, Mieczyslaw, Marksizm a Problemy Moralne Wspolczesnego Swiata (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975) pp. 283-319.

<sup>12</sup> Szawarski, Zbigniew, Etyka i Moralnosc Pracy, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975) pp. 147-197.

with the interests of his society and country is his patriotic duty. His determination to defend the achievements of his socialist country, to devote his work, thoughts and heart to the cause of the society is his patriotic obligation.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, his love and devotion to national interests must be complemented by his concern for other countries and the working people all over the world.<sup>14</sup> The socialist man accepts responsibility for his actions taking into consideration their effects not only on his society, but also on human kind. The idea that patriotism and internationalism are inseparable is based on the principle of solidarity with other socialist countries and the workers around the world.<sup>15</sup> This solidarity is an important element of the political ideology and should be one of the moral values of the socialist man.<sup>16</sup>

Polish philosopher K. Kotlowski presents 'the model of the socialist man' in the form of the following schema:

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<sup>13</sup> VII Plenum KCPZPR 27-28 listopada 1972, Podstawowe Dokumenty i Materiały, Warszawa, 1973, p. 49.

<sup>14</sup> Muszynski, Heliodor, Zarys Teorii Wychowania (Warszawa, Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1976), p. 177.

<sup>15</sup> Janik, Zygmunt, Program Wychowania Ideowo-Moralnego w Świetle Dokumentów Programowych PZPR, (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1975) pp. 322-355.

<sup>16</sup> Kotlowski, Karol, Aksjologiczne Podstawy Teorii Wychowania Moralnego (Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, 1976), p. 118.



It is essential that the socialist man is:

- in good psychological and physical health
- physically fit
- able to see the truth
- intellectually active
- knowledgeable
- of scientific world outlook

As to his moral character, he should:

- appreciate beauty
- consider the moral and social aspects of all his actions and all things
- acquire the following values:
  - humanitarianism
  - collectivism
  - patriotism
  - internationalism
  - work
  - self-discipline <sup>17</sup>

The basic condition for the socialist man to reach his political maturity is that he must free himself from the theological world outlook and accept the scientific - materialistic view. It is only then that he will be able to identify his life goals and aspirations with those of his society.<sup>18</sup> In view of the above condition, the task of bringing up a socialist man in a strongly Catholic society, such as that of Poland, becomes extremely difficult.

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<sup>17</sup> Kotlowski, Karol, Aksjologiczne Podstawy Teorii Wychowania Moralnego (Wroclaw, Zaklad Narodowy Imienia Ossolinski, 1976), p. 82.

<sup>18</sup> Maslinska, Halina, Moralna Postawa Czlowieka Epoki Socjalizmu, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 79-105.

### II.1.2 Spiritual Needs

The socialist ideology and its morality are rooted in a materialistic concept of the universe. This concept assumes that "all facts about man's mind and will and the course of human history are dependent upon physical process or even reducible to them. All forces operate within nature, and there are no forces other than those of this world. Accordingly, values originate in and out of social conditions. The supernatural is not needed and has no place. All is based on the materialistic dialectic".<sup>19</sup> The source of morality and all ideas is life itself. Morality is one of the forms of human social consciousness arising out of certain definite circumstances of the social conditions.<sup>20</sup>

The conflict between the materialistic and the theistic concepts of the world should be solved through creation of a social system in which the individual would find complete satisfaction, happiness and self-fulfillment, and, as a result, feel no need for other spiritual experience like that of religion.<sup>21</sup> The reason why people reach for religious faith and experience is that their participation and engage-

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<sup>19</sup> Maslinska, Halina, Marksizm a Moralnosc Religijna, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 247-280.

<sup>20</sup> Michalik, Mieczyslaw, Marksistowska Teoria Pochodzenia i Rozwoju Moralnosci (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975) pp. 7-40.

<sup>21</sup> Marx, Engels, Dziela (Selected Works, Vol. I, (Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960), p. 458.

ment in the life of their society, in culture, professional and creative activities is not sufficiently fulfilling.

Therefore, the opportunity to exercise their creativity and talents within the society will give them enjoyment and satisfaction. Their engagement in cultural, social and political activities of the socialist society will complete their self-fulfillment and eliminate the need for any other spiritual experience like that of religious faith.<sup>22</sup>

"Religion was a way to escape from poverty and unhappiness for the masses. Once the socialist society eliminates these conditions, the need for religion will be no longer there".<sup>23</sup> As Marx said: "Man makes religion, religion does not make man... Religion is the sign of the oppressed creature, the sentiment of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion, as the illusory happiness of men, is a demand for their real happiness".<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Michalik, Mieczyslaw, Marksistowska Teoria Pochodzenia i Rozwoju Moralnosci (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 7-40.

<sup>23</sup> Marx, Engels, O Religii, (Warszawa, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962), p. 75.

<sup>24</sup> Marx, Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy, edited by T. Bottomore and M. Rubel, Pelican Books, 1963, p. 41.

## II.2 Responsibility Toward the Society

According to the sociologist H. Maslinska, the socialist society relies on the principle of equality of all its members in all human relations, as well as in respect to all services that the society provides. The objective is to produce a completely developed human being - the socialist man - a highly skilled man who accurately fulfills his professional or vocational obligations and eagerly engages in political and social activity.<sup>25</sup> The envisaged member of the socialist society would have the following characteristics:

- dedication to hard work which will benefit his society and his country
- self-sacrifice for the common cause
- self-restraint and condemnation of profit seeking
- self-discipline<sup>26</sup>

Consequently, the ideal member of the socialist society is a hard worker dedicated to the ideological goals and seeking fulfillment of his personal objectives in the common welfare and in the happiness of others.

In like manner, H. Maslinska deals with the personal feelings of the individual suggesting that the socialist man would be

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<sup>25</sup> Maslinska, Halina, Moralna Postawa Czlowieka Epoki Socjalizmu, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 77-107.

<sup>26</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Polish Society, (New York, Random House, 1970), p. 170.

prepared to sacrifice his personal feelings or interests if his society asks for it. Parallel to the defence of one's country in a war situation, one should do everything for the society in time of peace. One's duty toward the country and society should take preference over one's personal life, happiness and obligations toward one's family.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, a prominent Polish sociologist, Professor J. Szczepanski, continues in the same vein that the Marxist-Leninist principles require the individual to put ideological loyalty before friendship and family ties.<sup>28</sup>

The individual of a socialist society should identify his personal values, morals and ideals with those of his society. In order to do so, the individual must internalize the values and ideals of his society. The process of internalization takes place, according to H. Maslinska, in three steps:

1. Intellectual reflection
2. Emotional experience
3. Acting<sup>29</sup>

These three steps should be integrated into a complete unity and closely followed in the process of inculcating the values of the society in its individual members.

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<sup>27</sup> Maslinska, Halina, Moralna Postawa Czlowieka Epoki Socjalizmu, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 92-95.

<sup>28</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Polish Society, (New York, Random House, 1970), p. 177.

<sup>29</sup> Maslinska, Halina, Moralna Postawa Czlowieka Epoki Socjalizmu, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 100.

An analogous conclusion about the need for complete submission of the individual to his society is reached by another Polish sociologist Alicja Glinska. She argues that the relationship between the individual and his society may be analyzed in two dimensions:

1. Descriptive and explanatory
2. Normative<sup>30</sup>

The first is the search for explanation of the society, the individual, and of the relationship between them. The second is concerned with the questions of importance and priority, as to whose interests are more important, and who should have priority, when the interests of the society are in conflict with those of the individual.

"The socialist society follows the collectivist concept where the individual is an integral part of the society. He could not exist outside of it, and vice-versa, the society could not exist and function without the creative and active contribution of the individual".<sup>31</sup> Man is a social creature, his needs, their type and variety are conditioned by the

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<sup>30</sup> Glinska, Alicja, Socjalistyczny Ideal Sprawiedliwosci Spo-  
lecznej, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 122.

<sup>31</sup> Marx, K., Engels, F., Dziela, (Selected Works, Warszawa, Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1956), Vol. 3, p. 112.

society. The society, in turn, is a context of situations and relationships of individuals toward one another. Therefore, the interests of the individual and the society should not be in contradiction or in conflict with each other.<sup>32</sup>

The dialectic of Marx explains that the interest and objective of the society is to develop, grow and provide better living for its members. The individual is interested in such growth and better living for himself. He can only realize his goals so far as the society can provide the conditions that are essential to this success. The well-being of his society has direct consequences upon his life. Both the individual and the society are therefore inter-related and interdependent.<sup>33</sup>

According to Gliniska, the socialist system condemns a situation where the interests of the individual would be considered over the interests of the society.<sup>34</sup> The interests of the state are of absolute priority over those of an individual.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Gliniska, Alicja, Socjalistyczny Ideal Sprawiedliwosci Społecznej, (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1975) pp. 108-146.

<sup>33</sup> Pierwsza Krajowa Konferencja PZPR, Warszawa, 1973, pp. 20-21.

<sup>34</sup> Gliniska, Alicja, Socjalistyczny Ideal Sprawiedliwosci Społecznej, (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1975). p. 122.

<sup>35</sup> VI Zjazd PZPR 6-11 Grudnia 1971, Podstawowe Materiały i Dokumenty, (Warszawa, 1973), p. 261.

In order to overcome the traditionally individualistic and selfish attitudes in favour of those concerned with the society and the state, Glinska suggests that the individual must put himself in line with the collectivistic - socialist tendencies, conform his conduct to them, and, insofar as he is able, to cooperate with them and hasten the achievement of the society, the state and the party. It is only when:

- satisfaction of the material needs will not be an end in itself, but means to a complete personal development;
- the opportunity for creative work will be provided, through which the individual could express his skills, feelings and desires;
- the individual will be physically fit for time to rest, recreational facilities and health care are essential;
- continuous education to update one's skills and knowledge will be offered;
- the individual will actively participate in political, social and cultural life;

that the transition of the personality can take place.<sup>36</sup>

The degree to which the individual will be able to fulfill his needs, desires and aspirations within the limits of

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<sup>36</sup> Glinska, Alicja, Socjalistyczny Ideal Sprawiedliwosci Socjalistycznej (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 131-132.



the best interests of the society will decide the extent to which he will be committed to his society.<sup>37</sup>

### II.2.1 Work Ethic

According to Marx, work is a moral value. The very existence of man in nature relies on the fact that he is capable of working and it is his work which makes him human. It is the capacity to work and work itself that created man in the process of evolution. Work is the origin of all values.<sup>38</sup>

The ideal of the socialist philosophy is that work should be free, creative, self-fulfilling and giving self-satisfaction. The ideal cannot be reached without first achieving a complete unity between theory and practice. Therefore, the Marxist work ethic emphasizes the necessity to develop in the individual two aspects of his dispositions. One includes his ability, aptitude, talents and professional skills, and another involves his desires, values, goals and moral and ideological beliefs.<sup>39</sup> The combination of the professional ability and the ideological preparation is essential. In an effort to develop it, Maslinska

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 132.

<sup>38</sup> Szawarski, Zbigniew, Etyka i Moralność Pracy (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1975) pp. 150-153.

<sup>39</sup> Maslinska, Halina, Moralna Postawa Człowieka Epoki Socjalizmu (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 78-83.

suggests that the upgrading of one's qualifications must be emphasized and a continuous instruction in political ideology provided.<sup>40</sup> Prof. J. Szczepanski goes further and proposes that the work of an individual be evaluated not only according to a technical standard or quality, but also in terms of its usefulness to the society and to socialism.<sup>41</sup> Likewise, another Polish sociologist, Z. Szawarski, distinguishes the values of the socialist worker as being:

1. vocational, meaning professional competence
2. social, meaning equal respect as a human being
3. political, referring to political maturity demonstrated in actions<sup>42</sup>

Having acquired these values, the socialist man, continues Szawarski, would consider good, honest and highly productive work as his greatest moral value. His motivation to work would be the realization that he works for the benefit of his society and himself as a member of that society. He would understand that the nationalized economy requires a special kind of motivation in which social and moral motives are as valid as economic interests. It means that he would fulfill his duties at work to the best of his ability, he

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid, p. 85.

<sup>41</sup>Szczepanski, Jan, Polish Society, (New York, Random House, 1970), pp. 97-98.

<sup>42</sup>Szawarski, Zbigniew, Etyka i Moralnosc Pracy, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 191-192.

would respect and safeguard the state property, and fight everything that is damaging and detrimental to the socialist state. The attitude of the individual to his work and to the state property provides the criterion for his moral and political evaluation.<sup>43</sup> H. Maslinska extends this argument by saying that "it is essential that the individual is satisfied and proud of his work when he does it well and deeply ashamed if he does not do it well or if he is lazy".<sup>44</sup>

To enhance the pride of the individual in his work, the Polish authorities have attempted an equalization of the treatment and respect for all kinds of work. The traditional lack of respect for manual work, which was regarded as demeaning, was a major target for changes. During the first years of the socialist system in Poland the equalization of the economic standards through more or less equal monetary gratification was considered to be the means toward progress in changing the traditional attitudes. With passing of time however, the importance placed on equal economic standards has diminished. Professor J. Szczepanski asserts that: "... the equal economic

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid, pp. 149-197.

<sup>44</sup> Maslinska, Halina, Moralna Postawa Czlowieka Epoki Socjalizmu, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 93.

standard is of much lesser importance and cannot be absolute. Better quality of work, higher qualifications mean a better contribution to the society and as such, deserve a better pay, a higher standard of living and more respect".<sup>45</sup> A similar opinion was expressed by the majority of young people participating in a survey carried out by Jozefowicz, Nowak and Pawelczynska in 1958. The concept of equalizing income was considered to be wrong by 49 per cent of those questioned.<sup>46</sup>

In another attempt toward equalization, a new Labour Law was introduced in Poland in 1974. Its purpose was to change the existing system of vacations, whereby a distinction was made between the blue collar workers who were entitled to only two weeks vacation per year while the intelligentsia and the white collar workers enjoyed four weeks vacation each year. According to the new law, the length of vacation time per year will depend on the years of experience rather than the type of work one does.<sup>47</sup>

## II.2.2 Family Responsibility

The socialist concept of the family is one in which a woman has a position equal to that of man. Article 14 of;

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<sup>45</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Rozwazania o Rzeczypospolitej, (Lodz, Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971), p. 101.

<sup>46</sup> Jozefowicz, Z., Nowak, S., Pawelczynska, A., "Studenci, Ich Aspiracje i Poglady na Spoleczenstwo", Nowa Kultura, Weekly, Warszawa, October 12, 1958.

<sup>47</sup> Szawarski, Zbigniew, Etyka i Moralnosc Pracy, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 192.

the ~~Kodeks~~ Rodzinny<sup>48</sup> provides for equal rights and equal obligations for both woman and man.<sup>49</sup> The law clearly states that both spouses have equal obligations as to mutual help and cooperation in everything which is in the best interest of their family.<sup>50</sup> It is hoped that the responsibility to support the family, to bring-up children, to do housework and to make decisions will be equally shared by husband and wife.

The responsibility of the family in bringing-up its children is shared by the society at large. Day-care centre and kindergarten care is provided by the state with the objective of freeing the woman for her professional work and at the same time, gaining considerable control of the youngsters' upbringing. The responsibility of the society for the upbringing of the younger generation has an ideological connotation expressed in the idea that by fulfilling this responsibility, the society becomes a natural extension of the family. At the state-provided facilities, children of families with different social background would be given equal treatment and equal care which, it is hoped, would eliminate or diminish social class distinctions in the future. At the same time, the

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<sup>48</sup> The Family Law

<sup>49</sup> Glinska, Alicja, Moralnosc Malzenstwa i Rodziny, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 223.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid, pp. 223-224.

existing individual differences between families would be somewhat lessened.<sup>51</sup>

The socialist family is expected to fulfill two functions. One is to provide a happy life for its members, the other is the continuation of the society.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, the time and activities of the socialist family should be so organized, as to allow for the activities within the family circle, as well as, for the fulfillment of the obligations which the family has toward the society, such as participation in social and political activities. The interest of the family should correlate with those of the society.<sup>53</sup>

The moral responsibility of the family in bringing up a new generation is not limited to the relationship between parents and children, but extended to that of family and society. The young people should not only be skillful, able and happy individuals, but they should also, which is most important, be mature and responsible members of the society. The process of upbringing should have as its objective producing people who will be well prepared to live in a socialist society. As such, the members of socialist society should be able to:

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid, pp. 220-222.

<sup>52</sup> Komorowska, Jadwiga, Przemiany Rodziny Polskiej, (Warszawa, Instytut Wydawniczy Związków Zawodowych, 1975) pp. 10-11.

<sup>53</sup> Głinska, Alicja, Moralność Matrzeństwa i Rodziny, (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 224.

- fulfill their role in the society - whatever role they may choose for themselves or the society demands of them;
- participate and be effectively engaged in collective activities at their work place and in social and political organizations.<sup>54</sup>

The members of the communist party have a special responsibility for creating a family as close as possible to the socialist concept. They and their families should create model families for others to be followed.<sup>55</sup>

Polish ideologists and educationists in their interpretation of the concept of socialist man suggested a type of personality which was to serve as a model: unselfishness, concern for the interests of the society, and commitment to socialism were to be the main characteristics. The task of bringing up the younger generations according to that model was, to a great extent, the responsibility of the educational system. In Chapter III we now turn to a consideration of the educational reforms which were directed to this end.

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<sup>54</sup>Ibid, pp. 234-235.

<sup>55</sup>VII Plenum KCPZPR, 27-28 listopada 1972, Podstawowe Dokumenty i Materiały, (Warszawa, 1973), p. 93.

## CHAPTER III

### THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Poland has a centralized system of education. The Ministry of Education establishes curricula, approves textbooks and teaching methods, sets rules for the administration of schools, determines the size of the staff and budget. Education is free at all levels. All schools are secular.<sup>1</sup>

During the thirty years of People's Poland, the educational system has undergone numerous changes within its organizational structure and the curriculum content. In the first years immediately following the end of the Second World War, the educational system in Poland was modelled on that of the Soviet Union where seven-year elementary school was followed by a four-year general secondary education in the lyceum or vocational training in schools of two levels: five-year technikum or two and three-year vocational schools. The university was open to graduates of the lyceum and technikum who successfully passed the entrance examination and who fulfilled other requirements.<sup>2</sup>

The major objective of the educational system during this period of time was to provide free education to all

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<sup>1</sup>Januszkiewicz, Franciszek, Education in Poland, (Warsaw Interpress Publishers, 1973), p. 30

<sup>2</sup>The additional requirements were: working class background and political affiliation.



in an effort to eliminate illiteracy inherited from pre-war socio-political and educational systems.<sup>3</sup> Training specialists and skilled labor, which were badly needed after the devastating effects of the war, was another task of the educational system.<sup>4</sup>

In the first attempt to organize the school system, which took place in the early fifties, the emphasis was on the content and curriculum in schools especially in subjects like biology, literature and social science.<sup>5</sup> The objective was to introduce the younger generation to the principles of Marxism, and to emphasize the class character of Polish society and the social injustices resulting from it throughout history. The emphasis was on familiarizing students with Marx's and Lenin's major works and the socialist dialectics. The experience was not successful. Polish psychologist, M. Kozakiewicz, explains the reasons for the failure: "Character education including political-ideological education suffers because of the tendency to resort to propaganda and sloganeering rather than undertaking serious attempts toward indepth education and remodelling of the student's personality... The educational process must not

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<sup>3</sup> Pecherski, Mieczysław, Problemy i Perspektywy Rozwoju Szkolnictwa w Polsce Ludowej, (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1973), p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Januskiewicz, op. cit. p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Suchodolski, Bogdan, Edukacja Narodu 1918-1969, (Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1970), p. 185.

be merely a mechanical process of introducing the student to a scientific outlook or an acceptance of Marxist theory, but it has to struggle for the totality of the student's personality. When one speaks of forming a scientific Marxist world outlook, one means the formation of the state of affairs in which the person thinks Marx, lives Marx and acts Marx".<sup>6</sup> Professor J. Szczepanski also considers the lack of unity between theory and practice as the major reason for the failure. He noted: "... there must disappear that startling contrast between the ideal world about which they (students) are taught at school and the real world of which they hear at home or in shops, of which they read in the papers and which they see on television".<sup>7</sup> All research results confirm the fact that there is a contrast between what students are taught and the reality in places of work and everyday life.<sup>8</sup>

Bereday makes the same point: "The communist reversals (changes of governments and policies) seem to be due not to the nature of school instruction but to the failure of the regime to live up to its theoretical ideals and to the persistence of the religious and national traditions. The

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<sup>6</sup> Kozakiewicz, Mikolaj, O Swiatopogladzie i Wychowaniu, (Warszawa, Panstwowe Zaklady Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), pp.21-22.

<sup>7</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, "New Shape of Education", Polish Perspectives, Monthly, (Warszawa, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, Vol. XVI, No. 6, June 1973).

<sup>8</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Odmiany Czasu Terazniejszego, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1973), p. 409.

blatant enforcement of aggressive indoctrination may be the very reason for its failure... the teaching of communism once more is being reconsidered... They (the authorities) have cut down the more brazen - faced aspects of political teaching. To make their program less objectionable, they have shifted more towards nationalism"<sup>9</sup>.

In the 'sixties, another attempt to reorganize the school system was made. The elementary school was extended from seven to eight years and college level, post secondary vocational schools were introduced. The changes were prompted by an effort, on the part of the authorities, to update and expand the curriculum, and at the same time, to strengthen the role of the school in a child's upbringing<sup>10</sup>. The curriculum of the extended elementary school shows a strong scientific and polytechnical bias. The number of hours devoted to the natural sciences, physics and mathematics has been increased and polytechnical subjects were added. More attention was given to the aesthetic development of the child. Drawing had been extended to include art appreciation and singing extended to include music appreciation.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Bereday, George, Comparative Method in Education, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964, p. 68.

<sup>10</sup> Swiecki, Andrzej, Oswiata i Szkolnictwo w XXXleciu PRL, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), p. 54.

<sup>11</sup> Januszkiewicz, op. cit., p. 92.

Another innovation in the curriculum was the introduction in grades seven and eight of a new subject 'civics' which deals with the structure and responsibilities of administrative organs, jurisprudence and current socio-economic and political issues. The subject provides for a basic instruction in moral education. The fact that this subject was introduced indicates an attempt to familiarize youngsters with the structure and functioning of the socialist system rather than teaching them the socialist ideology itself.

However, the changes of the educational system in the 'sixties have not apparently had satisfactory effects because in the early seventies the government appointed the Committee of Experts which was to evaluate the hitherto efforts of the educational system and to bring forth recommendations for a new school reform.

The Committee of Experts, chaired by Prof. J. Szczepanski, pointed out in its report that the educational system cannot cope on its own with all the problems involved in the training and education of the citizens for a future society... that the system should be reinforced with a mechanism coordinating all educative institutions in the country. "All we are after", says Prof. Szczepanski, "is for the whole community to be wedded to roughly the same or similar educational ideals, methods of personality development, behavior patterns and standard of judgment - so that the

influence of, for example, school and factory do not cancel each other out".<sup>12</sup>

The reform started in 1973 with a bill passed by the Sejm and is expected to be completed by 1990. The major change in the new structure is the introduction of a compulsory ten-year school which will replace the present eight-year elementary and four-year secondary schools. The ten-year school will be preceded by three-year pre-school education which will also be compulsory.<sup>13</sup> The fact that the pre-school education will be compulsory indicates a desire for extending the influence of the school in the child's upbringing and diminishing the impact of the family. The graduates of the compulsory ten-year school will be entitled to sit for university entrance examinations or to choose from a wide variety of vocational schools.

It is evident that the effort to reorganize the educational system is directed toward its better effectiveness in the task of developing a type of personality which would be closer to the ideal of the socialist man. By

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<sup>12</sup>The New Shape of Education, an interview with Professor J. Szczepanski, Chairman of the Committee of Experts, Polish Perspectives, Monthly, (Warszawa, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, Vol. XVI, No. 6, June 1973), p. 20.

<sup>13</sup>Kuberski, Jerzy, Aktualne i Perspektywiczne Problemy Polityki Osviatowej, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1974), p. 313.

implication, it means that the results achieved up to that time were not satisfactory.

### III.1 Role of the Educational System in Bringing-Up the Socialist Man

The political system in Poland is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology. Its aim has been the creation of a socialist society. This process entails socialization of the economy, changes of the social class structure and re-organization of the cultural and educational institutions.<sup>14</sup> Realization of these changes relies heavily on the efforts and effectiveness of the educational system in transforming the individual's system of values.

Marx expressed the view that the purpose of education was to integrate the individual into a larger collectivity by way of transforming his consciousness so that he may be able to rise above his self and forsake his narrow, private interests for a higher universal benefit and purpose which is that of the collective or society.<sup>15</sup>

Lenin considered the educational institutions important weapons in the revolutionary struggle and as powerful means of spreading the political propaganda. The educational system

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<sup>14</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Polish Society, (New York, Random House, 1970) p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> Fiszman, Joseph, Revolution and Tradition in People's Poland, New York, Princeton University Press, 1972, p. 3.

was to be adapted to the needs of the new socio-economic system and the construction of a socialist society.<sup>16</sup>

The Polish educational system was entrusted with the task of accomplishing the goals spelled out by both Marx and Lenin. Education, says one of the most prominent Polish sociologists, Prof. J. Szczepanski, is a process of forming personality according to an accepted educational ideal. Therefore, schools should impart the greatest possible amount of knowledge, give the students an understanding of political processes and prepare them for occupational activities.<sup>17</sup>

In order to enable the educational system to approach the task of bringing-up the socialist man, the previous school system had to be re-organized and the school programs adapted to the ideological requirements. The previous system of education was considerably influenced by the Catholic Church. This meant a sharp contradiction in the world outlook between the religious views on one hand and the socialist scientific views on the other. In order to eliminate this contradiction and to ensure a wider acceptance of the scientific views, the schools were secularized and religious instruction discontinued in 1952-53.<sup>18</sup> Instead, courses

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<sup>16</sup> Piszman, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

<sup>17</sup> Szczepanski, op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>18</sup> Swiecki, Andrzej, Oswiata i Szkolnictwo w XXX-leciu PRL, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 51-52.

in moral and political education were introduced.

Literary works required by the school program were carefully selected according to their usefulness or support to the political ideology. Social realism became the officially favoured trend in literature and art.<sup>19</sup> History books were re-written whereby facts which were considered to be damaging to the image of the friendly socialist countries or contrary to the desired version of the ruling party, were deleted or presented in a different light.<sup>20</sup>

The prominent Polish educationist, B. Suchodolski, lists the following changes as the achievements in the first few years of the People's Poland: "Students at all school levels were familiarized with the principles of Marx. The scientific world outlook was introduced in the school curriculum and textbooks. The new books of history presented the national history placing emphasis on the class character of the Polish society and the active role of the working classes in their revolutionary struggle against the unjust system. The Church and its role were presented as being reactionary and backward. Religious values and morality were criticized".<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Refleksje nad Oswiata, (Warszawa, Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1973), p. 59.

<sup>20</sup> Suchodolski, Bogdan, Edukacja Narodu, (Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1970), p. 185.

<sup>21</sup> Suchodolski, op. cit., pp. 185-186.



The question of values and morality was of great importance in developing a new personality because of the fact that Communist morality differs sharply from the religious. The communist ideologists say that religious morality, which is rooted in a supernatural power, should be officially discouraged, because the supernatural does not exist. Furthermore, the assumption is that there are no forces other than those which operate within nature. Therefore, values and morality originate in social conditions and life itself.<sup>22</sup> According to the communist moral principles, work is the greatest value. The development of good working habits, an attitude of care and concern for the state property, and the principles of a socialist society should therefore be the basic objectives of moral education.<sup>23</sup>

The Polish educational system was to develop in students the most fundamental of needs, the need to work. It was also to emphasize the importance on group and team work which would develop in the young people respect and concern for others and become a powerful tool in overcoming of individualism.<sup>24</sup> The following lesson from the program in 'civics' for grade eight illustrates the method of teaching the value of work in Polish schools.

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<sup>22</sup>Michalik, Mieczyslaw, Marksistowska Teoria Pochodzenia i Rozwoju Moralnosci, (Warszawa, Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1975), pp. 7-40.

<sup>23</sup>Bereday, op. cit., pp. 406-407.

<sup>24</sup>Suchodolski, op. cit., p. 23.

Lesson on Work as the Basis for Development  
of the Society<sup>25</sup>

Time: two periods

Topic: a. Work for oneself and the society as a  
basic condition for national development.

b. Work as the main criteria for evaluation of man.

Objectives: To inculcate that work for oneself and for the  
society is the basic condition for development  
of the country and that it is also the basic  
criteria for evaluation of man.

Students should understand that:

- work is a right, an obligation and a point of  
honor of every Pole;
- work is the main criteria for evaluation  
of man;
- work is the basis for national development and  
a condition for raising standard of living.

Materials to be used:

- Article 19 and Article 68 of the Polish Constitution.
- Thesis of the VIII Plenary Session of the Central  
Committee of the P.U.W.P., of November 2, 1962.
- Daily press.
- Literary works - list of which is provided.

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<sup>25</sup> Sniezynska, Sylwia, and Ura, Daniela, Text na Lekcjach  
Wychowania Obywatelskiego, (Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Szkolne  
i Pedagogiczne, 1976), p. 110.

The following are excerpts from the Thesis of the Plenary Session which is to be used as a text for classes of grades seven and eight:

"Work is a right and a moral obligation of every Pole. As the scientific and technical revolution progresses, so grows the importance of high quality of work which shall become 'pleasure and essential need of man' (Marx)".<sup>26</sup>

"All kinds of work are equally important and needed in the society... Developing respect for work, regardless of its type, is essential. To be demanding of a high quality of work of oneself and of others is equally important".<sup>27</sup>

The lesson presents the concept of work in a very abstract and formal way. The suggested literary works may inspire a discussion about work in historical perspective, which, if followed, might contribute to the quality of the lesson in making it less abstract.

Developing respect for work, especially manual work which traditionally was in very low esteem in Poland, had always been at heart of the Polish socialist system. In

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<sup>26</sup> Sniezynska, Ura, Op. Cit., p. 110.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, pp. 110-111.

the 'fifties, the Socialist Youth Movement (ZMS) organized a compulsory workman's apprenticeship for students. During one month of the two month summer holidays, students were to work in a factory or on a farm. By doing manual work, students were to realize how hard, difficult and indispensable is the work which workers and farmers do. Their close interaction with workers and farmers was considered to be equally important in giving the young people a better understanding of manual work and in developing a higher respect for it. However, due to the fact that neither the workers nor the students made any effort to give the experience a meaning, the program was discontinued. Polish sociologist, K. Kozniewski, examined the results of the experiment as well as the reasons for its failure. He reported that: "Almost everywhere students were a burden and an additional problem for the factories. Their direct contact with workers and their work was very limited. Most of the time, they were assigned simple functions like cleaning or delivery carriers as production work required skills which the students did not have".<sup>28</sup> What seems to have been overlooked here is the fact that students could have learned that work, very often, is simple and routine, and that cleaning or delivery is just another type of work which is needed and also deserves respect.

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<sup>28</sup> Kozniewski, Kazimierz, Studenci Ida w Las, Polityka, Weekly, No. 21, Warszawa, May 1972.

In the last few years, it has been suggested that students should get involved in environmental projects which would benefit themselves and the society.<sup>29</sup> "Cleaning the city's streets or parks, as well as planting trees is a good way to develop in the younger generation appreciation and respect for manual work"<sup>30</sup>, recommends B. Suchodolski.

The subject of 'civics' is also expected to inculcate in students the ideals of socialism. The following two lessons from the previously quoted textbook for grades seven and eight will illustrate the methods of teaching which should be employed in order to achieve the set objectives.

Lesson # 1 for grade eight:<sup>31</sup>

Topic: The Leading Role of the Polish United Workers Party (P.U.W.P.) in the Creation of Socialism in Poland.

Time: two periods.

Objectives:

- a) To inculcate in students the conviction that the P.U.W.P. directs the country's development in the best interest of the working class.
- b) To demonstrate to students ways in which the objectives of the Party may be realized by the young people within the school.

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Suchodolski, Bogdan, Edukacja Narodu, (Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1970), p. 191.

<sup>31</sup> Sniezynska, Ura, Op. Cit., pp. 91-94.

Teaching methods:

- a) Discussion of an example from a suitable T.V. program.
- b) Reading the textbook.

Preparatory Activity:

- a) Review of the working system of the regional committee of the P.U.W.P. by using notes from grade seven.
- b) Interview parents who are members of the P.U.W.P. on the question of 'How does the party influence the functioning of the factory or institution they work for'.

Notes to be given to students:

- The P.U.W.P. bases its actions on Marxist-Leninist ideology.
- The members of the P.U.W.P. are the most conscientious citizens. They are devoted to the creation of socialism in Poland.
- The P.U.W.P. realizes a program of creation of socialism which is in the best interest of the working class.

Conclusion:

The P.U.W.P. is the leading force in the nation because it represents the working class and the interests of the entire society. This leadership of the party ensures a comprehensive and harmonious development of the society.

Lesson # 2<sup>32</sup>Topic: National Ownership of the Basic Means of ProductionObjectives:

To teach students that national ownership of means of production is the basis of the socio-economic system in Poland and therefore every citizen has an obligation to guard and respect the state property.

Text:

Articles: 12, 15, 16, 17 and 18 of the Polish Constitution.

The aims of the above lessons are stated clearly in the textbook. The teacher should convince his students of the fact that the well-being of their country depends solely on the leadership of the P.U.W.P. He should also make students understand why they ought to respect and care for the state property. Similarly, as the lesson on work presented on page 37, these lessons are very didactic and hortatory with the views stated in the lesson being strongly impressed upon students.

### III.2 The Role of the Teacher

In search for ways to improve the effectiveness of schools, attention was focussed on teachers' qualifications and their attitude toward the socialist system. Special

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<sup>32</sup>Sniezynska and Ura, Op. Cit., pp. 89-94.

training was given to teachers and their conduct in the school was carefully outlined. Some of the requirements were that the teacher should:

- be generally cultured and mature,
- have civil courage and personal dignity,
- have the proper ideological and scientific views,
- display a positive attitude toward the socio-political reality and not be ambivalent in his ideological or political position,
- demonstrate his deep conviction of the socialist ideals,
- be unselfish and ever ready for self-sacrifice,
- the teacher's behavior, at all times, should be in accord with the officially proclaimed slogans and principles.<sup>33</sup>

J. Fiszman also lists the required characteristics of an average teacher in Poland. He is expected to be mature, intelligent, loyal, discrete and have a high sense of responsibility.<sup>34</sup>

In the first years of the socialist system in Poland, the expectation was that the young teachers trained under

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<sup>33</sup> Kozłowski, Jan, Nauczyciel a Zawod, (Warszawa, Nasza Księgarnia, 1966), p. 175.

<sup>34</sup> Fiszman, Joseph, Revolution and Tradition in People's Poland, New York, Princeton University Press, 1972, p. 184.



the new system would perform more effectively as agents of socialization into the new value system. It was hoped that they would respond more favorably to the values officially recommended than would the older teachers whose education and experience come from the previous social order.<sup>35</sup>

In 1951, Wladyslaw Ozga, then a Department Head, at the Ministry of Education, predicted: "The introduction of one hundred thousand new teachers into our schools during the period of the next six years will change radically the ideological and political character of the teaching profession in Poland. In 1955 we will have sixty per cent of teachers brought up in the schools based on the new ideology of People's Poland. They will be conscious defenders of the new order. These teachers, supported by the experienced older teachers who have accepted the Marxist-Leninist ideology, will create together a united Marxist army of educators of the new socialist generation in Poland".<sup>36</sup>

Teachers' training was designed to produce teachers according to a 'socialist model'. This training included detailed outline for the transmitting of the socialist

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid, pp. 156-160.

<sup>36</sup> Singer, Gusta, Teacher Education in a Communist State: Poland 1956-1961, New York, Bookman Associates, 1965, p. 190.

ideals to school attending population. The assumption was that the young teachers, having undergone a training in their subject area and the socialist ideology would be well prepared and motivated to pass it on to their students. The teacher's perception of himself was also considered to be influential in his effectiveness in the socio-political aspect of educational process of the younger generation.<sup>37</sup>

In spite of the fact that optimistic forecasts of internalization of the socialist values by the young teachers were made, the results were highly unsatisfactory. Well into the 'sixties the young teachers were less prepared to meet the challenge than the old ones. The youngest teachers demonstrated the least interest in political and social activism and maintained the strongest ties with the church. The teachers who participated most in civic and patriotic organizations were over fifty years old.<sup>38</sup> "The science and mathematics specialists did not perceive themselves as educators in the personal or ideological domain. Only teachers of humanities viewed themselves as educators"<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>Wesolowski, Jan, O Pozycji Społecznej Nauczyciela, (Lodz, Państwowe Zakłady Wydawnicze, 1964) p. 144.

<sup>38</sup>Fizman, Joseph, Revolution and Tradition in People's Poland, New York, Princeton University Press, 1972, pp. 200-206.

<sup>39</sup>Wesolowski, Jan, op. cit.

One of the recommendations of reorganization of the educational system in the 'seventies is to place stress on the aspect of character and personality formation in teaching of all subjects. Teachers' efficiency and intentions were questioned and the recommendation was to devise a method of evaluating teachers in their efforts to teach, as well as to bring up their students.<sup>40</sup>

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It has been suggested in this chapter that Polish sociologists have evaluated negatively the effectiveness of the educational system in helping to create the socialist man. Teachers' efforts toward this end were also considered to be unsatisfactory. The rigid methods of teaching were criticized. The analysis in the following chapter of the attitudes and values existing in today's society will give some indication of the degree of success and failure in the attempt to change human nature. It should also provide a better understanding of the problems encountered in this process.

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<sup>40</sup> Kuberski, Jerzy, Aktualne i Perspektywiczne Problemy Polityki Oświatowej, (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1974) pp. 95-98.

## CHAPTER IV

### EXISTING VALUES AND ATTITUDES

Since the introduction of the socialist system in Poland, the major problem and the essential objective of the ruling party was to gain acceptance of the socialist values and ideals by the majority of the society. One of the means considered to be instrumental in the achieving of this objective was the system of education. In order to enable the educational system to approach the assigned task of bringing-up the socialist man, numerous modifications of the school system were made. The model of the desired type of personality was outlined.

The results have been carefully observed and analyzed periodically. The educational system has undergone numerous changes designed to improve its effectiveness as its results were not considered to be satisfactory. The latest evaluation, which took place in the early 'seventies, resulted in a major school reform, the implementation of which is expected to be completed in 1990. The fact that a major reform was considered necessary at this time indicates lack of satisfaction with the results achieved so far.

The evidence of attitudes and values existing in the Polish society points to the fact that the desired and expected personality transformation has not taken place to any satisfactory degree. "The young people lack such basic

socialist values as political convictions, concern for their community, or for the interests of their society. Instead, their interests are very individualistic in their nature; personal happiness, quiet family life and a comfortable standard of living is what they look forward to".<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.1 Attitude Toward the State

##### IV.1.1. Political Convictions

As any political party in a position of power, the Polish United Workers Party (P.U.W.P.) sought support for its ideology and government among the population. The assumption was that the introduction of such measures as socialization of the economy, universal schooling, medicare insurance, guaranteed employment, etc., reinforced by indoctrination through the educational system would result in the commitment of the population to the ideology and the socialist system.<sup>2</sup>

The attention focused on the younger generation, which was brought up and educated under the socialist system. During the period of over thirty years of the socialist system in Poland, two major studies of the young generations' attitudes

<sup>1</sup> Golebiowski, Bronislaw, Youth - A Self-Portrait, Polish Perspectives, Monthly, (Warszawa, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, Vol. XVI, No. 2, February 1973), pp. 20-45.

<sup>2</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Polish Society, New York, Random House, 1970, pp. 38-39.

toward socialism were carried out. The first embraced the first decade, 1949-1959. The group under investigation comprised senior high-school and first-year university students. They had been educated by the new educational system and exposed to the mass media and social conditions which favoured the creation of an uniform type of behavior.<sup>3</sup> The objective of this research was to find out the reaction of the young, both to socialism as a political system and to its ideological values.<sup>4</sup>

The study was repeated by the same researchers on students of the same age and milieu in 1961. The following are samples of the research and its results.

Question # 1 - Socialism<sup>5</sup>

Total of answers: 725.

a) Would you like the world to proceed toward some form of socialism?

	% 1958	% 1961	% Difference
Emphatically yes	21.6	28.1	+ 6.5

<sup>3</sup>The period of 1946-1956, the Stalinist Era.

<sup>4</sup>Jozefowicz, Zofia, Nowak, Stefan, and Pawelczynska, Anna, "Studenci, ich Aspiracje i Poglady na Spoleczenstwo", Nowa Kultura, Weekly, Warszawa, October 12, 1958.

<sup>5</sup>Pawelczynska, Anna, Nowak, Stefan, "Social Opinions of Students in the Period of Stabilization", Polish Perspectives, Monthly, (Warszawa, Prasa-Ksiazka, Ruch, Vol. V, No. 2, February 1962), pp.38-50.

On the whole yes	46.1	44.5	- 1.6
No opinion	21.2	19.0	- 2.2
On the whole no	8.9	3.0	- 5.9
Emphatically no	0.7	2.7	+ 2.0
No data	1.5	2.1	+ 0.6

b) Do you think that the world is proceeding toward some form of socialism?

	% 1958	% 1961	% Difference
Emphatically yes	10.0	17.5	+ 7.5
On the whole yes	50.2	51.6	+ 1.4
No opinion	17.1	15.8	- 1.3
On the whole no	16.0	12.8	- 3.2
Emphatically no	4.8	-	- 4.8
No data	1.5	2.3	+ 0.8

c) Do you consider yourself a Marxist?

	% 1958	% 1961	% Difference
Emphatically yes	0.7	2.4	+ 1.7
On the whole yes	8.2	16.0	+ 7.8
No opinion	17.1	22.2	+ 5.1
On the whole no	31.6	31.0	- 0.6
Emphatically no	39.8	27.5	- 12.3
No data	2.6	0.9	- 1.7

The researchers suggest that the meaning of socialism and Marxism was intentionally not defined. The objective was to discover students' understanding of these terms from their answers to other questions. Some of these questions

were concerned with nationalization, equality of income, civil liberties and a hierarchy of values which the young people have internalized.

Question # 2 - Nationalization<sup>7</sup>

a) Do you think that there should be no restrictions on private initiative in small trades?

	% 1958	% 1961
Emphatically yes	79.6	51.8
On the whole yes	17.1	37.2
No opinion	2.2	2.5
On the whole no	0.4	4.9
Emphatically no	0.7	1.5

b) In your opinion, can the activities of private enterprise be admitted to heavy industry without any limitations?

	% 1958	
Definitely yes	2.6	'The results of 1961 did not differ to any significant degree
Rather yes	2.9	
No opinion	6.1	
Rather no	12.8	
Definitely no	72.0	
No data	3.6	

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<sup>7</sup>Pawelczynska, Nowak, Op. Cit.



In the case of heavy industry, the concept of nationalization has been accepted by a definite majority of 84.8 per cent. However, it is significant that the private enterprise of limited size received such a strong support of 96.7 per cent.

Question # 3 - Equality of Income<sup>8</sup>

Do you consider right to postulate that citizens' income should be roughly equal?

§ 1958

Yes, and it should be carried out as soon as possible	8.0
Yes, but it should be carried out slowly and cautiously	15.0
In principle yes, but its carrying should be postponed to a distant future	23.0
No, it is fundamentally wrong	49.0
No opinion.	2.0
No data	3.0

The results indicate a strong opposition to the concept of equalizing income, although some degree of egalitarian approach is desirable.

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<sup>8</sup> Jozefowicz, Nowak, Pawelczynska, Op. Cit.

Question # 4 - Civil Liberties<sup>9</sup>

a) Do you consider that people whose views and activity are particularly harmful to society should be prevented from influencing public opinion?

	% 1958	% 1961	% Difference
Emphatically yes	44.2	51.0	+ 6.8
On the whole yes	21.5	15.5	- 6.0
No opinion	5.2	8.1	+ 2.9
On the whole no	13.0	10.8	- 2.2
Emphatically no	10.0	9.0	- 1.0
No data	5.9	5.4	- 0.5

b) Do you consider limitations of civil liberty by the state for the sake of important social aims permissible?

	% 1958	% 1961	% Difference
Yes, even indefinitely	5.9	6.3	+ 0.4
Yes, but only for a limited period	10.0	16.5	+ 6.5
Yes, but only in exceptional circumstances for a very short period	58.0	51.2	- 6.8
I do not consider it permissible	23.4	21.2	+ 2.2
No opinion	2.6	4.4	+ 1.8

<sup>9</sup>Pawelczynska, Nowak, Op. Cit.

The first part of the question on Civil Liberties does not clarify what kind of views were considered to be 'harmful views'. However, the results indicate a high and growing number of those who would accept limitations on one's freedom of expression which may be considered as a certain degree of ideological success.

Question # 5. - Values<sup>10</sup>

Do you think that one should risk one's life in defence of:

	% 1958	% 1961	% Difference
Human life	89.2	87.4	- 1.8
Family	87.4	77.3	- 10.1
Country	85.1	75.2	- 9.9
Human dignity	72.5	63.5	- 9.0
Friends	63.9	63.6	- 0.3
Truth	62.5	46.0	- 16.5
Religion	50.0	31.3	- 18.7
Social Ideals	30.9	29.5	- 1.4

The readiness to risk one's life for any cause seems to be on decline in general. However, the order in which the students placed their values signifies no change from a traditional importance of human life, family and one's

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<sup>10</sup> Pawelczynska, Nowak, Op. Cit.

country. Social ideals, which, according to the socialist ideology, should become the individual's most important values, have not gained importance.

Generally, the results indicate that the majority of the students think of socialism as a system under which the basic means of production are nationalized with private enterprise retained in the small trades. Furthermore, they think that the system should be free from excessive differences in income, but total equality is clearly rejected. On the whole, their attitude toward socialism, as they understand it, is rather positive.

However, only 8.9 per cent considered themselves to be Marxists in 1958 and the rate doubled to 18.4 per cent in 1961. The increase indicates some progress toward a wider acceptance of Marxism, but the number could hardly be seen as impressive considering the intensity of indoctrination.

It must also be disappointing to see the social ideals placed as the least important on the given scale of values. The family and friends are still more important than the interests of the society. The ideological principle of "putting the interests of the society before friendship and family ties"<sup>11</sup> has apparently been rejected.

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<sup>11</sup>Szczepanski, Jan, Polish Society, New York, Random House, 1970, p. 177.

Polls conducted in 1972 and 1973 among secondary school students and their parents in two cities, Kielce and Warszawa, indicate that 90 per cent, among both parents and children, consider the family as the important primary social group with which they have powerful sense of family ties and for which they have unqualified approval, whatever its nature or shortcomings.<sup>12</sup>

Studies carried out in the 'sixties suggest that the goals, values and attitudes of the younger generation have not substantially changed. "Youth has not accepted the socialist ideology as its philosophy of life"<sup>13</sup>, declares the researcher Ryszard Dioniziak. Their values centre on knowledge, personal happiness and peaceful, comfortable life. Political issues and interests seem to be of no concern to them. The overwhelming majority of 83.5 per cent declared itself to be religious. In solving their moral dilemmas, 86.5 per cent base their decision on their conscience, which in the case of those who are religious (83.5 per cent) means following religious principles. Only 2.3 per cent would be guided by the principles of the socialist ideology.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Nowak, Stefan, "Like Father, Like Son", *Polish Perspectives, Monthly*, (Warszawa, Vol. XIX, No. 7/8, 1976), pp. 11-12.

<sup>13</sup> Dioniziak, Ryszard, *Młodzieżowa Podkultura*, (Warszawa, Wiedza Powszechna, 1965), p. 107.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

Question on religion<sup>15</sup>

- a) Religious beliefs:      yes      83.50 per cent  
    no      4.65 per cent  
    undecided      12.30 per cent

- b) What authority does the youth use in solving  
 a moral dilemma?

	High-school level	University level	Total Average*
Religion	2.65	9.25	5.85
Socialist ideology	1.35	0.00	1.75
Priest's opinion	0.65	0.35	0.50
Political authority	0.25	0.00	0.12
Own conscience	92.50	80.50	86.50
Family's opinion	15.50	20.45	17.97
Friends' opinion	3.80	19.40	11.60
Other (professionals)		15.20	

\*Students were allowed to check more than one choice.

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid, p. 107.

In choosing their occupation, students are motivated mainly by their individual interests and their future earnings. The usefulness of their work to the society was considered by merely 10.2 per cent. The interests of the society do not seem to command much of the young people's attention. Instead, personal and financial benefits head the list.

Question on:

Motivation in choosing occupation:<sup>16</sup>

Interests	50.55 per cent
Prestige	3.50 per cent
Requiring not much effort	6.15 per cent
Well paid jobs	17.55 per cent
Usefulness of work	10.20 per cent
Better chances in finding employment	7.40 per cent

The goals and values crucial to the course of private life are placed above goals and values of an ideological political or social type. The one exception is patriotism,

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<sup>16</sup>Dioniziak, op. cit., pp. 18-20.

the concept which has the strongest and oldest roots in national tradition.<sup>17</sup> Religion is not of the most importance but only a minority seems to be conscious atheists.<sup>18</sup>

The above findings were confirmed by other researchers. Dr. H. Swida, of the Institute of Pedagogics at the University of Warsaw, found in his research that the strong attachment to private life and the lack of willingness for active participation in social life are, indeed, the characteristics of contemporary Polish youth. The young people adds he, are impressed by one's knowledge and personality, but not by one's official position or status.<sup>19</sup>

Sociologist A. Szczypiorski sums up what the youth value most in a similar way: "... emotional satisfaction derived from love and friendship, and a decent standard of living is what they want. Next on their list is respect for education which would provide them with the ability to hold an interesting and well-paid job. They have no interest at all in the broader concerns of the

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<sup>17</sup>Wilhelmi, Janusz, "Młodzież", Nowe Drogi, Monthly, PZPR, Warszawa, November 1972.

<sup>18</sup>Urban, Jerzy, "Młodzież", Polityka, Weekly, Warszawa, No. 48, 1972.

<sup>19</sup>Dr. H. Swida, "Młodzież i ich Idealy", Zycie Warszawy, Daily, Warszawa, December 15, 1974.



society. Positions of power and authority lie outside their aspirations".<sup>20</sup>

Again similar evaluation of Polish youth came from the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, Edward Gierek, who said in 1972: "One of the characteristics of youth is impatience; they are not satisfied with what the society has to offer, they want more and better. They forget that more and better are things they alone can provide by better skills, better efforts, greater perseverance, discipline and initiative on their own".<sup>21</sup> The implication is that the young people failed on all of these accounts. "Honest, conscientious work", continues Gierek "should be their point of honor and their supreme patriotic duty which has not yet become apparent".<sup>22</sup> The message is clear. The conditions in the society will improve only when youth will acquire the values which the society asks of them. Then, Gierek himself admits the failure to bring up the younger

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<sup>20</sup> Szczypiorski, Andrzej, "Youth and its Values", Polish Perspectives, Monthly, Warszawa, (Prasa-Książka-Ruch, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, April 1975), pp. 43-44.

<sup>21</sup> Edward Gierek on Youth, Literatura, Weekly, Warszawa, No. 42, 1972

<sup>22</sup> Ibid

generation according to the desired model of a socialist man. "We still have to overcome both in the economy and the popular consciousness the remnants of the old system - the individualistic approach, the old backwardness, the old complexes, the old intellectual casts of mind and habits".<sup>23</sup> Again, the evaluation is very explicit. The political system has not succeeded in making the political ideology and its ideals the values of the population at large and its youth in particular. The social conditions during the three decades under discussion have not had the desired effect in the realization of the objective to transform the personality of the average Pole.

The educational system and the political indoctrination, in its dry, abstract and dogmatic form, have not succeeded in inculcating in the young people the new value system based on concern for others and the society at large. The individual interests and material gains remain overwhelmingly prominent on the value list of the majority. As Fiszman says: "... the young Poles seem to have assimilated values and styles that they associate with modernity which are quite removed from socialist ideals. Having been brought up under the new system and introduced

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<sup>23</sup>Gierek, Op. Cit.

from an early age to that system's normative aims, the young are more sensitive to the gap between what was promised and what the regime was actually able to deliver. They impress one another with desires which are shakingly private in nature. They emulate models and lifestyles which are related to the consumption of material goods; they want money, a car, clothing, a place of their own. A 'regular fellow' is one who can impress his peers with a new pair of shoes and a new tie, especially those within the age group 14 - 18".<sup>24</sup>

Fizman continues by stating that in general, "the relative well-being of the masses, resulting from industrialization and urbanization, instead of bringing people closer to the desired socialist perspective, seems to have induced a heightened yearning for material goods and gadgets, rather than for more idealistic values".<sup>25</sup>

Dr. Jan Wawrzyniak, a researcher at the Polish Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism - Leninism at the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, admits that even though the socio-economic conditions in

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<sup>24</sup> Fizman, Joseph, Revolution and Tradition in People's Poland, New York, Princeton University Press, 1972, p. 312.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, p. 152.

Poland have changed, there are still those who like the pattern of life followed in the political and socio-economic system contrary to that of Poland. There are still people in Poland who look for satisfaction in possession of luxury items instead of well done work. Whatever the luxury items may be, they are acceptable only if they serve the individual in improving the quality of his work and help in achieving the goals of the individual which are also valuable to the society. Otherwise, they must be condemned.<sup>26</sup>

In recognition of this state of affairs and in search for solution, J. Szczepanski sees a need for a socialist 'form of consumption'.<sup>27</sup> Economic development and the growing affluence of people give rise to new lifestyles, habits and consumption demands, he explains. The raising of living standards and the providing for needs must, in the socialist concept of consumption, meet the requirements for the self-development of man. The socialist model of consumption, he continues, places as much importance on social values as on the material ones. The socialist ideology aims at a progress of man much more profound

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<sup>26</sup>Trybuna Ludu, Daily, Warszawa, May 27, 28, 1978, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup>Szczepanski, Jan, "Towards Full Humanity", Poland, Monthly, Warsaw, No. 2 (270), 1977, pp. 21-24.

that can be obtained through material enrichment. The socialist consumer should be taught to realize what his needs are and be able to judge what material possessions are relevant to the betterment of his personality. The socialist form of consumption should follow the ideological principle that the maximum satisfaction of the needs of the society should be the ultimate goal of a socialist economy. In socialist society the levels and structures of consumption cannot be dictated by an individual's ambition to distinguish himself from other social group. A relative egalitarianism in consumption, i.e., equitable access to consumer goods, relative to the individual's contribution to production of such goods, is a logical consequence of the ideological projection of a socialist society. The purpose of satisfying needs is to permit the harmonious development of skills, interests and above all, the creation of possibilities for the largest possible contribution to the development of the society.<sup>28</sup>

The problems encountered in the process of forming the socialist man are not only with respect to the hierarchy of values or desire for a higher standard of living. The acceptance of the political system itself is in question.

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<sup>28</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, "Consumption Model for Tomorrow", Polish Perspectives, Monthly, (Warszawa, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, Vol. XVIII, No. 7/8, 1975), pp. 11-18.

The party had hoped, with all the power and all the means at its disposal, that it will be in a position to command the minds of millions, into its rigid line of political thought and thus gain complete approval and unquestioned loyalty.

On the whole, there seems to be a degree of acceptance of the socialist system, along with appreciation of the services such as free education at all levels, a comprehensive medicare program and pension plan, which it provides. However, indications are that there is also a desire for some modifications in the working of the political system. This desire is expressed by the so-called 'dissidents' who advocate 'communism with a human face'. "We do not want to overthrow the system" says one of the 'dissidents', Adam Michnik, "... we just want them to rule more justly. We want a dialogue with the party, not a clash. They must listen to us. We must have a forum where the minority ruling party can discuss reforms with the people".<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Carrol, N., "Communism in kid gloves for a state where most people are dissidents", The Sunday Times, London, England, April 9, 1978, p. 10.

#### IV.1.2 The Church and Religious Beliefs

Religious problems in Poland are complicated by the fact that the country has been traditionally Catholic. The influence of the Catholic Church started along with the very beginning of the Polish State in 966. Through the years of Polish history, the Church exercised a strong influence in all aspects of life. The socialist system, established in Poland after the end of the Second World War, was in sharp contradiction with the Catholic Church on a number of basic philosophical issues.<sup>30</sup> The socialist system, based on Marxist philosophy, introduced a concept of man as part of nature without the spiritual attributes of soul which the religious philosophy relies on. Marxist materialistic world outlook was in conflict with the theistic views of the Church.<sup>31</sup>

In terms of political influence, the separation of the State and the Church was not easily accepted by the Church which grew accustomed to the political role and influence it played over the years. Secularization of

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<sup>30</sup> Pluzanski, Tadeusz, "Marksistowski Pogląd na Katolicyzm", Nowe Drogi, Monthly, PZPR, Warszawa, No. 3, 1963.

<sup>31</sup> Fiszman, Joseph, Revolution and Tradition in People's Poland, New York, Princeton University Press, 1972, p. 311.

schools became another step in the disagreements between the Church and the regime represented by the members of the Communist party. "The Church felt its existence in Poland was being threatened, at the same time, the State considered the Church as its political opponent".<sup>32</sup> The influence of the Church upon people was what the regime feared, especially at the time when many traditional values, often identified as being religious values, were being reassessed and an attempt was made to replace them with the new system of socialist values. Fiszman sums up the situation as follows: "After years of conflict and coexistence between the Church and the State, the Church remains in opposition to the regime, offering the masses a competing value and belief system with a set of idealistic and patriotic symbols. The open conflict between the belief system of Church and State has forced people to choose sides. A deeply felt religious commitment is not compatible with the new national ideology just as a socialist consciousness, as Marx conceived it, is contradictory to religion".<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Rozwazania o Rzeczypospolitej, (Lodz, Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971), pp. 125-126.

<sup>33</sup> Fiszman, op. cit., p. 311.



"After years of conflict and hostility, at present, the relations between the Church and the State are in a very advanced stage of normalization".<sup>34</sup> The process of normalization which began in the late 'fifties, has been going on ever since, came to a climax with the latest step, which was the first ever face to face meeting between the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party (E. Gierek) and the Head of the Catholic Church (Pope Paul VI), in 1977.

However, after all the measures taken by the Polish government, aiming at elimination of the Church as a powerful and influential institution, the situation has not changed much. The government has not succeeded in its attempt to convince Poles that it is the Party and its ideology, not the Church and its religion, they should give their support to. The Church still exercises its influence and the Polish primate, Stefan Wyszynski, is considered by many Poles and foreign observers as a

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<sup>34</sup>Pluzanski, op. cit.

"symbolic leader of the opposition".<sup>35</sup> "Poland is the only country within the communist block where Catholic press is allowed to be published and Catholic Universities to operate. There are more than fifty Catholic papers of varied character. Some are strictly church papers, while others are concerned with problems of theology. There are twenty-nine theological seminaries and two Catholic institutions of higher education: the Catholic Theological Academy in Warsaw and the Catholic University in Lublin".<sup>36</sup>

As far as the population at large and its attitude toward religion is concerned, "the only noticeable change was in the urban areas where, apart from those who observe regularly the religious practices, there are those who have relatively lax approach to the rules of the Church".<sup>37</sup> E. Ciupak sees this change as a process of laicization which resulted from the diffusion of the new ideological and social ideas spread by the media. However, he also

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<sup>35</sup>Carrol, Nicholas, "Communism in kid gloves for a state where most people are dissidents", The Sunday Times, April 9, 1978, p. 10.

<sup>36</sup>Krasinski, Andrzej, "Believers and Non-Believers", Polish Perspectives (Warszawa, Vol. VI, No. 5, May 1963, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch), pp. 21-29.

<sup>37</sup>Ciupak, Edward, "The Changing Face of Rural Catholicism", Polish Perspectives, Monthly, (Warszawa, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, March 1975), pp. 24-35.

noticed that these people did not abandon their religion, they are only more inclined to accept certain aspects of secular culture.<sup>38</sup> The assumption of the ideological influence might be questioned. The attitude may be the result of adaptation to the requirements of the urban life rather than ideological motivation. In the rural areas, Ciupak claims, the grip of religious beliefs has been weakening. The process continues due to the lack of religious instruction in schools and the migration of the young people to the cities where they are outside of the parish and parental influence.<sup>39</sup>

According to the research done by sociologist of the University of Warsaw, Anna Pawelczynska, in the 'sixties 16.1 per cent of the total rural population were non-believers, religiously neutral or positively opposed to Catholicism.<sup>40</sup> Assuming that this segment of the rural population were sympathetic to the political ideology<sup>41</sup>, the low percentage could hardly be considered a success.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, pp. 24-35

<sup>40</sup> Pawelczynska, Anna, Dynamika Przemian Kultury Wiejskiej, Metoda Poszukiwawcza Głównych Kierunków, (Warszawa, Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1966), p. 214.

<sup>41</sup> The ideological principle of definite choice between religion and socialism.

Apparently, the efforts of the party in winning a strong support for its political ideology at the expense of religious beliefs have not been successful. A compromise of certain ideological principles may be necessary since they have not been accepted by the majority of the Catholic population in their present form. The idea, that one can be both pro-socialist and a catholic, suggested by some party ideologues, has not been received favourably as most party ideologues assume that nothing but full commitment on the part of the individual can assure the long range security of the new socio-political system.<sup>42</sup> The latter's influence on the government might be one of the reasons for the slow progress towards constructive and peaceful coexistence between the regime and the Catholic Church.

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<sup>42</sup>Fiszman, op. cit., p. 311.

#### IV.2 Attitude Toward the Society

The aim of the political system in Poland was to transform the Polish society into a socialist type. According to the Marxist-Leninist ideology, "the socialist society was to be a political society. It meant that every socially relevant decision had to be evaluated according to its political validity.— The political interests were to be the ultimate value in any kind of affairs whether economic, educational or other. The socialist society was to be based on a socialized economy".<sup>43</sup>

During the thirty years of the socialist system in Poland, both of the above principles were strictly adhered to. The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party formulates and approves the policies of the society and the state. The committees of the party in all regions, cities, towns and villages have the same role and authority in their respective locations. Here is an example illustrating the functioning of this political structure. In 1977, special committees were established in the region of Nowy Sacz in Southern Poland. The purpose of these committees was to examine

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<sup>43</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Polish Society, New York, Random House, 1970, pp. 38-39.

the situation existing on construction sites within the region. Furthermore, the committees were to assess the progress made, identify problems encountered and make decisions how to deal with them. These committees were made up of high ranking party officials of the region.<sup>44</sup>

The principle of socialized economy has also been adhered to. All production, transportation, commerce, housing, etc., were taken over by the state-owned enterprises. The only sector of the economy which resisted the process of socialization was farming. An almost violent attempt was made to establish state-owned farms (kolhozes) whereby a private ownership in the countryside would have been eliminated. However, due to a very strong protest and resistance by the peasants, the attempt was a failure. The sociologist J. Bijak, having done research on attitudes of farmers of this period, considers the following views of one farmer to be representative of this time:

"Things have changed since Gomulka came back.<sup>45</sup> I was still scared that they'd return to those kolhozes. Now

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<sup>44</sup>Trybuna Ludu, Daily, Warszawa, May 29, 1978, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup>1956, the end of the Stalinist Era..

I see they won't... In Krynice they made a cooperative farm and ruined a beautiful orchard, seven hectares out of the state funds... People are fond of private possessions; even a child says, that's my doll, or, that's my rocking horse. I get up at four in the morning and work hard because I know I'm working for myself".<sup>46</sup>

The profound socio-economic and political changes which had taken place were to have a far-reaching impact on all members of the society, on their personality development, career opportunities and their economic and political activities. They were to create the conditions for developing new moral standards, new attitudes and values, as "the new socialized economy required for its operation a special kind of motivation in which social and moral motives are as valid as economic incentives".<sup>47</sup>

#### Work Ethic

The success of the socialized economy depended on honest, responsible and efficient work, the ideological

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<sup>46</sup> Bijak, Jan, "Dwie Generacje", Polityka, Weekly, Warszawa, No. 44, 1967.

<sup>47</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Polish Society, New York, Random House, 1970, pp. 38-39.

motivation for it, and a concern for the state property, for the Polish Constitution provides: "The state property is the property of the entire nation and as such, it must be respected and cared for by every citizen".<sup>48</sup>

The problems encountered in the socialist economy in Poland indicate that the road to success is still distant. "At present, there are still many matters awaiting settlement." They include, above all, the problem of economic and moral incentives to work.<sup>49</sup> "There are serious problems in the morale of the workers and in their relationship to the state, which they supposedly own, but which rules them in an authoritarian way".<sup>50</sup> The economy is burdened by various problems such as low productivity, low morale, high absenteeism, alcoholism, bureaucracy, corruption, lack of respect for the state property and lack of organization.<sup>51</sup>

In March of 1978, the Council of Ministers

<sup>48</sup> Articles # 11 and 12 of the Polish Constitution in the Text na Lekcjach Wychowania Obywatelskiego, by Sniezynska, Ura, (Warszawa, Wydawnictwa Szkolne i Pedagogiczne, 1976) pp. 89-90.

<sup>49</sup> Suchodolski, Bogdan, "A Vision of Socialist Civilization, Polish Perspectives", (Warszawa, Monthly, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, Vol. XVII, No. 6, June 1974), p. 78.

<sup>50</sup> Tyrmand, Leopold, The Upper Class in Eastern Europe, Permanence and Change in Social Class; Readings in Stratification, edited by W. Clayton Lane, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, pp. 115-126.

<sup>51</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Rozwazania o Rzeczypospolitej, Lodz, Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971, p. 59.



evaluated the progress of the realization of food production plans for 1978. The Council found that the progress was very slow and unsatisfactory. Low productivity, poor organization, delayed deliveries, lack of coordination of cooperating industries and services, were blamed for the poor results.<sup>52</sup>

Also, the First Secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, E. Gierek, when discussing the continuous shortage of food and other consumption items, blamed the low productivity, poor quality of work, inefficient service, lack of organization and coordination, to be responsible for the problems. Only dramatic improvement in all of the above-stated problems, said Gierek, could bring about the badly needed change.<sup>53</sup> The degree of concern with the state of the socialized economy and a certain lack of confidence in its success is underlined by the fact that E. Gierek encouraged the opening of small private businesses such as bakery and vegetable stores and various repair services. The need to improve the existing situation, and the hope that private enterprise would succeed in doing so, was so great that the ideological compromise

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<sup>52</sup>Zycie Warszawy, Daily, Warszawa, May 29, 1978, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup>Zycie Warszawy, Daily, Warszawa, May 12, 1978, p. 1.

was made. The encouragement was followed by a special tax rebate issued by the Minister of Finance for those who would decide to take up the challenge.<sup>54</sup> The development is significant, for it demonstrates the government's recognition of the fact that the political ideology has not replaced personal gains as a basic motivation for people to work efficiently. It also implies an acknowledgment of the failure on the part of the system in transforming human personality. "It is an illusion to think that appealing to workers' moral obligation to the state and society will raise productivity and motivate them to work efficiently. People work efficiently only when they are rewarded for it by financial incentives and when they can foresee that through their honest and efficient work, they will be able to realize their personal life goals".<sup>55</sup>

Besides lack of motivation to work efficiently, alcoholism is another problem which contributes to the poor performance of the economy. The government blames alcoholism for high absenteeism at work, low productivity and poor quality of work.<sup>56</sup>

Bureaucracy, lack of organization, and lack of care

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<sup>54</sup> Dziennik Ustaw, May 11, 1978, Zycie Warszawy, 12-5-78.

<sup>55</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Rozwazania o Rzeczypospolitej, Lodz, Panstwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1971, 101.

<sup>56</sup> Trybuna Ludu, Daily, Warszawa, May 25, 1978.

for the state property are also common problems which the Polish economy is burdened with. "The enormous number of rules and regulations make the managing of an enterprise in a reasonable and business-like manner an impossible task".<sup>57</sup> Due to the bureaucratic regulations, for example, over just the two first months of 1978, thousands of chickens were destroyed while the country suffered severe food shortage. The Polish press reported in May of 1978 that the state-run Swiebodzinski Kombinat Rolny w Gronowie (The Agricultural Enterprise of Swiebodzin) has been proceeding with the destruction, because of regulations not allowing for transfer or sale of the chickens to a food store, at a reasonable price. The possibility of donating the birds to the store was, according to the management, not profitable and it also required minor formal arrangements. The easiest solution was destruction. The bureaucracy and poor management were responsible for the action. The example illustrates also a complete lack of concern for others, for the interests of the state and the society, on the part of those involved.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Szczepanski, op. cit., p. 113.

<sup>58</sup> The Evening Express, Daily, Warszawa, May 6 - 9, 1978, Special Edition,

The rate of wrong doings within the socialized economy prompted the government to introduce a bill which recommends the establishment of "Committees of Social Control". The Committees would be composed of members of the P.U.W.P., Workers' Unions and local social organizations. The role of these committees would be to find out about any kind of wrong doing within the state-owned enterprises and to report it to the appropriate authorities for further investigation and prosecution. The committees are expected to:

- Lift the moral standards within the society at large.
- Improve the sense of responsibility for the state property and interests.
- Fight against dishonesty and corruption in commercial and other state-owned enterprises.
- Eliminate corruption and neglect within the existing system of control.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Trybuna Ludu, Daily, Warszawa, May 25, 1978, p. 3.

The suggested role and objectives of the committees sheds light on the general state of affairs. Had the socialist personality ideal been accepted to any considerable degree, this type of measures would not have been needed. Professor Szczepanski made a similar assessment: "The basic reason for the lack of success of the socialist economy is the fact that the new personality ideal has not been accepted in practice to any considerable degree... Only when people find that by following the principles of the new ideal they are also successful in the attainment of their own personal objectives within the existing set of economic and political institutions, will this ideal become generally accepted".<sup>60</sup>

#### IV.2.2 Family Responsibility

The family, as a basic unit of social life, has an obligation to bring-up new members of the society in a way which will be of most benefit to it. As the political system based on the socialist ideology was established in Poland, the traditional model of the family was no longer suitable, for its main characteristics were in contradiction with the new ideals. "The traditional model of the family was

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<sup>60</sup>Szczepanski, Op. Cit. p. 168.

based on a patriarchal structure, a strong influence of religion on family life, on the importance of the economic function of the family and on strong ties of family solidarity".<sup>61</sup>

The socialist family, on the other hand, was to be based on the idea of shared work and responsibilities and joint decisions by all its members. Members of the family were to balance out the time and energy devoted to the family with their activities outside of home, such as work and social functions concerned with the interests of the society. The interests of the state and the society at large were to be considered along with the interests of the family itself. The family solidarity was to be replaced by loyalty to the state and the society. The socialist ideology was to take place of religion.<sup>62</sup>

In hope of establishing the new model "the state had to compete with the family in order to gain more

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<sup>61</sup> Szczepanski, Jan, Polish Society, New York, Random House, 1970, p. 181.

<sup>62</sup> Glinska, Alicja, Moralność Małżeństwa i Rodziny, (Warszawa, Książka i Wiedza, 1975) p. 200.

control over the younger generation, to withdraw them from the influence of the family socialization in the spirit of tradition and to educate them in the spirit of the new ideology".<sup>63</sup>

In an effort to achieve this objective, religious instruction in schools was replaced by indoctrination of the socialist ideology and its values. The emancipation of women, industrialization and urbanization were to create the conditions suitable for the process of change. The assumption was that the family will adapt itself to the new conditions.

The research carried out in Poland on the transformation of the family indicates a degree of success in some aspects and lack of it in others. "There is no argument about the fact that the economic role of the family has been almost eliminated. The farm which used to be a family enterprise in the countryside, as well as commercial family enterprise in the city, are dying out".<sup>64</sup> The rural population, which amounted to 75 per cent before the war, has fallen to 45 per cent in the 'seventies as

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<sup>63</sup> Szczepanski, Op. Cit., p. 181.

<sup>64</sup> Komorowska, Jadwiga, editor, Przemiany Rodziny Polskiej, (Warszawa, Instytut Wydawniczy Związków Zawodowych, 1975), pp. 370-385.

Poland is undergoing intensive urbanization and industrialization process. With the rural population expected to amount to 10-12 per cent by the end of this century, the family's economic function will be further whittled away.<sup>65</sup>

Women's emancipation and employment have transformed family life and are some of the basic factors in the metamorphosis of its structure. "The social status of working women has intensified egalitarian impulses within the family and is hastening the disappearance of the old patriarchal elements. Equality of married partners and joint decision-making on important matters are the features asserting themselves in the modern family".<sup>66</sup>

The transformation of the Polish family from the traditional, patriarchal type into the modern model, where wife and husband are equal partners, has been confirmed in the research carried out by the weekly magazine Argumenty in 1968. The change in the family structure was brought about by the employment of women. "In 1931 the proportion of married women among the total number of gainfully employed women amounted to

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

<sup>66</sup> Chylinska, Kamila, "Family Soundings", Polish Perspectives, (Warszawa, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, Vol. IX, No. 6, June 1966), pp. 19-25.



16 per cent. In 1960, it was 55 per cent and in 1967 70 per cent. The increased access of women of secondary and higher education has greatly enhanced the process, as more and more women are gainfully employed".<sup>67</sup>

The Polish government is very proud of the fact that men and women were guaranteed equal rights by the Polish Constitution. However, the fact of gainful employment of women has multiple implications on their personal and family life, which have been overlooked for a long time. The six day, 40-46 hour work-week<sup>68</sup> leaves little time for housework and family activities. The difficult living and market conditions do not ease the strain. Often families live in overcrowded apartments waiting many years for a larger apartment or a flat of their own. Services are largely inadequate and shopping is a time consuming and serious problem. The limited network of commercial enterprises, continuous shortage of goods and inefficient service, contribute to every day problems of the working housewife and her family.

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<sup>67</sup> Kossowska-Syczewska, Z., Jakubczyk, F., "Rodzina o Rodzinie", Argumenty, Monthly, Warszawa, Iskry, 1968.

<sup>68</sup> Lately, the Government introduced two Saturdays per month to be free of work. This fact allows for two long (Saturday-Sunday) week-ends each month.

Apparently, in recognition of the extremely difficult situation of the working woman, the Sejm legislated the right of woman to a three-year period of unpaid leave of absence after the birth of a child without any loss of continuity of service.<sup>69</sup> Yet another reason for the new law might have been the appreciation of the fact that even the most embracing system of public welfare (day-care centres) cannot replace the mother's role in the first years of a child's life. This measure, however helpful, will not make a drastic improvement of the woman's lot and will do nothing for those who do not fall into this group.

As far as the strong influence of religion on the family life and the question of family solidarity are concerned there has been little success in introducing a change. "The influence of the church and religion on the family life continues to be considerable. The family is regarded by the church as an institution for religious education and it has maintained its function successfully".<sup>70</sup>

"The school system" writes Fiszman, "is only one of the socializing agencies often in competition with other socializing agencies such as the family or the

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<sup>69</sup> Komorowska, Op. Cit., p. 378.

<sup>70</sup> Szczepanski, Op. Cit., p. 182.

church. Even children of high party officials are brought up in a religious tradition by their devout mothers and grandparents, often without the father's awareness".<sup>71</sup>

The latest assessment of the influence of the family on the younger generation indicates that the formative function of the family has slightly diminished with the spread of universal schooling and other forms of education. However, the family still plays a very crucial role in the upbringing of the young people. The attitudes to work, to the community, to public property and civic duty are formed, to a considerable extent, within the family.<sup>72</sup>

Despite the fact that the role to educate the younger generation is being increasingly assumed by the state, despite the influence of the press, radio and television, "the family is the first and prime influence in the development of culture, since the degree of participation in cultural life still tends, very frequently, to depend on the scale of values implanted in the family".<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>Fiszman, op. cit.

<sup>72</sup>Ginska, op. cit., pp. 200-204.

<sup>73</sup>Komorowska, op. cit., p. 152.

Similarly, despite the effort of the educational system and intensive ideological indoctrination, "the strong family ties, the family solidarity and priority for the family interests over those of the society and the state still prevail".<sup>74</sup> The changes which do take place transform the type, but do not question the principles of the institution of the family. Its basic relations and commitments to its interests remain unchanged.<sup>75</sup> The family solidarity is also confirmed by M. Parzynska: "The family undergoes a period of transformation, but its principle of strong family ties and solidarity is not questioned".<sup>76</sup> Professor Szczepanski explains the function of family solidarity in Poland: "Although the traditional economic functions of the household have been taken over by various service institutions, family solidarity is maintained in the mutual help of family members employed in various fields of the economy or public activity.

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<sup>74</sup> Nowak, Stefan, "Like Father, Like Son", Polish Perspectives, (Warszawa, Monthly, Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch, Vol. XIX, No. 7/8, July-August, 1976), pp. 11-12.

<sup>75</sup> Parzynska, M., Zycie Warszawy, Daily, Warszawa, October 12, 1966.

<sup>76</sup> Kossowska-syczewska, Jakubczyk, op. cit.

Thus, the members of peasant families employed in towns help their relatives to obtain jobs and get access to schools in exchange for economic benefits from the peasants in the country. The family solidarity takes form of exchanging of services, goods and benefits which has significance on the family ties".<sup>77</sup>

The rapid industrialization and urbanization process has had its effect on the family. The basic feature of the Polish family is its dwindling size. This is due to both a reduction of the number of children for practical reasons such as shortage of housing, overcrowded family dwellings and apartments, financial difficulty as well as disappearance of multi-generation families. "The traditional extended family is being replaced by the small two-generation family. A pattern of marriage with one or two children emerged more or less pragmatically, being dictated by practical needs and conditions".<sup>78</sup> The sociologist, Chylinska, interprets the fact of family planning as a reflection upon the degree of secularization that has taken place. However, there are no data to

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<sup>77</sup> Szczepanski, op. cit., p. 181.

<sup>78</sup> Chylinska, op. cit., p. 22.

support her conclusion. In fact, the results of the research carried out by A. Pawelczynska, E. Ciupak and J. Szczepanski point out to the contrary as far as the strength of religious beliefs is concerned. "There are many factors shaping a new pattern for families, but the traditional values and the influence of religion and the church are still considerable".<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Szczepanski, op. cit., p. 181.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

The aim of the political system in Poland over the last thirty years was to establish a socialist society which required a new type of personality. The socialist ideal of an individual called for a man who would be willing to forego his personal interests for the benefit of those of the society. The socialist measures such as nationalization of the economy, guaranteed employment, universal schooling, and medicare program, were to create the conditions for transformation of the personality. The educational system and ideological indoctrination were to assist in this task. The importance of the effectiveness of the educational system in the task of bringing-up the new generation according to the socialist ideal was emphasized as the hope for change was placed in the younger generation. The assumption was that it would be easier and almost natural for the young to grow up and develop according to the desired ideal, as the personality had not yet been formed and as they had no experience other than that of the socialist order.

The educational system was reorganized according to the political doctrine. The materialistic world outlook was introduced to the school curriculum, history books were re-written and literary works were carefully selected. As religious instruction in schools was banned, moral and

ideological instruction was introduced instead.

Poland was traditionally a strongly catholic country and the influence of the Catholic Church and religion has been considerable. The government and the party authorities considered themselves to be in competition with the Church and religion over their influence on the population. The relationship between the Church and the government became very tense during the first decade of the regime. Later, a policy toward normalization has been pursued.

A periodical research of the values and attitudes of the younger generation were carried out by numerous sociologists and educationists. Their findings were analyzed and the progress assessed. The results of each period studied indicated some acceptance of the socio-economic developments within the society, namely the nationalization of means of production, particularly in heavy industry, universal schooling and some others. However, the results also indicated the prevalence of traditional values and attitudes. The young valued their personal happiness, quiet family life and a comfortable standard of living. They showed no interest in political or social goals such as choosing an occupation which would serve their society best or to forego a higher standard of living for themselves for the benefit of the community or society. Their choices were made according to their personal desires, interests and gains. On the whole, they declared themselves to be religious.



The latter was especially significant because the acceptance of the political ideology was to be partially measured by the lessening of interest in religious beliefs.

The latest evaluation of the educational system took place in early seventies, and resulted in a major school reform which is to be carried out over the next twelve years, 1978-1990. The most important changes of this reform are: the establishment of ten-year universal school, which will place more emphasis on polytechnical education than the present eight-year elementary school does, and the introduction of three-year pre-school education compulsory for all children. The pre-school education is an attempt to strengthen the influence of the school on the youngsters and minimize that of the family. The family, as the source of the traditional values is held to be partially responsible for inculcating in the young people values which are not compatible with the ideological ones.

Furthermore, the problems existing in the Polish society do not indicate a progress toward the new personality. The ideological motivation for efficient work has not replaced monetary incentives as the low productivity and low morale indicate. The lack of concern for the interests of the socialized economy and the lack of respect for the public property give a similar impression. The attempted collectivization of private farms had failed for a similar reason. The individualistic character of Poles has not changed.

The individual is motivated by his personal interests and is not willing to make sacrifices for the socialist ideology. The ideological principles of concern for the society, of unquestioned loyalty to the ruling party, of foregoing of individual interests for the sake of the society and the state, of honest efficient and ideologically motivated work, have not been practiced in the society at large. This lack of unity between theory and practice had been considered to be responsible, along with the educational system, for the failure to develop the new personality.

One of the most prominent Polish sociologists, Prof. J. Szczpanski, also points out to the fact that there is a lack of practical implementation of the new values and attitudes in the society at large. As long as the theory taught in schools will not be practiced in every day life, says he, the educational system cannot succeed in its task... those patterns of behaviour that are accepted by individuals in their every day life can guarantee or block the successful attainment of goals... So far, the traditional ways of behavior, being transmitted as they are through the process of socialization are still powerful and influence every day activities more than the new ideal does.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Szczpanski, Jan, Polish Society, New York, Random House, 1970, p. 168.

It was pointed out in this study<sup>2</sup> that the theory taught in schools is very abstract and formal and that the hortatory methods of teaching it have not changed much from those which were previously criticized for "resorting to propaganda and sloganeering".<sup>3</sup> It was suggested that the educational system has not been successful in forming the personality of its students according to the desired model; that the values and ideals taught at school have not been internalized to a satisfactory degree since they are not followed in life. How far this failure is the responsibility of the school and to what extent it was inevitable, given the persistence of traditional institutions, is a matter for debate.

However, the most indispensable condition for success in creating the new personality seems to be the implementation of the ideological principle of 'unity of theory and practice'. This fact was pointed out previously by Prof. J. Szczepanski and is emphasized by M. Kozakiewicz: "The schools can succeed in their task only if in the entire organization of social life, in the opportunities open to all, in the treatment of the individual by the state, in the allocation of housing, rewards and honours, in the system of appoint-

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<sup>2</sup>Chapter III, The Educational System, pp. 27-42.

<sup>3</sup>Kozakiewicz, Mikolaj, O Swiatopogladzie i Wychowaniu, (Warszawa, Panstwowy Zaklad Wydawnictw Szkolnych, 1965), pp. 21-22.

ments these ideals are and are seen to be practiced. If school and family preach honesty and respect for public and private property, this message will only be effective on a mass scale, if examples of graft and jobbery, and the squandering of millions as a result of individual or corporate irresponsibility or incompetence, either are not part of the community experience, or, where they are, are known to meet with severe punishment and condemnation".<sup>4</sup>

It would appear that the attempt to transform personal values to suit the socialist ideology is being hindered by the strong influence of religion, family, tradition and other socializing agents (school, friends, nationalistic attitudes).

In conclusion, one should point out that the failure to develop a new type of 'socialist man' in accordance with the socialist philosophy, as interpreted by ideologists and educators in Poland, is not due to any specific aspect of the system, but rather to the complexity of societal transition from feudo-capitalist to socialist society.

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<sup>4</sup>Kozakiewicz, Op. Cit., p. 22.

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