

Euros from 12

leagues that led to about 70 people being arrested.

While Yushchenko swept to power in a 2005 revolution that was also considered a negative factor.

Concerns still remain about the shortage of high-quality hotels and poor transport infrastructure in both Poland and Ukraine.

The proposed semifinal venues are more than 30 hours apart when traveling by train, although there are plans to expand the highway linking the nations.

The favourites Italy, which has hosted two European Championships and two World Cups, also had its campaign tainted by a series of off-field problems.

A widescale match-fixing scandal in Serie A last year was followed by the death of policeman when soccer fans rioted in Catania.

Earlier this month, accusations of brutality were leveled at Rome police after clashes with Manchester United fans at a Champions League match against AS Roma.

"The scandal was an embarrassment for world soccer," Italian delegation member Luigi Riva said. But Italy sports minister Giovanna Melandri insisted these problems didn't cost her country the vote. "It's a decision to enlarge the European football family," Melandri said. □

Identifying collaborators harmful to society, Cardinal Dziwisz says

In a "Catholic World News article" (CNA/CWNews.com), Cardinal Stanisław Dziwisz of Kraków said that a new norm requiring Polish citizens to disclose their collaboration with the Communist regime between 1944 and 1990 would only present a partial version of the truth about the past, would "harm many people," and would contribute to the "disintegration" of society.

According to the Italian news agency SIR, the cardinal said the new norm, which went into force on March 15, is "a painful legacy from the Communist regime" which exposes "the weaknesses of the victims of the system," who were often unaware of what they were doing. At the same time, he said, the norm exposes the "treachery of the enemies of the nation and of the Church."

SIR also reported that the norm requires those who collaborated with regime any time up to August 1, 1972, to publicly disclose by May 15 how long they collaborated with the secret police and in what way. The Institute of National Remembrance is charged with verifying the more than 700,000 declarations expected to be made. □

Bauman from 10

another one? We are losing our ability to "establish firm, solid, reliable and satisfaction-bringing relationships with other people," he says.

Bauman was born in Poznan, Poland, in 1925, so he was a teenager when the Germans invaded. His family caught the last train east to Russia. When he was old enough he joined the Fourth Division of the Polish exile army in Russia - not the Red Army, as is usually reported - with whom he entered Poland.

"Poland was a very backward country before the war, which was exacerbated by the "occupation. In an impoverished country you expect deprivation, humiliation, human indignity and so on, a whole complex of social and cultural problems to be dealt with. If you looked at the political spectrum in Poland at that time, the Communist party promised the best solution. Its political programme was the most fitting for the issues which Poland faced. And I was completely dedicated. Communist ideas were just a continuation of the Enlightenment."

And so, at 19, "when I hadn't even started my life", he became a member of the Communist party, and, by an accident of history, he says - because the Fourth Division was co-opted for the job, rather than, say, the second or third - became a member of the "internal army" - the force charged with "suppressing terrorism inside the country - the equivalent of that fashionable phrase now, 'the war against terrorism'. This is public knowledge - everybody knew that. I never hid it." He wrote political pamphlets for soldiers. "My job there was very dull, in fact."

"The fact that I for three years cooperated with intelligence - well, that's the only thing I never said." What did that involve, exactly? "Well, it's counter-espionage. Every good citizen should participate in counter-espionage. That was one thing that I kept secret, because I signed an obligation that it would be kept secret ... So that's the only thing. All the other 'news', so called, is completely in error."

Did counter-espionage mean informing on people who were fighting against the communist project? "That's what would be expected from me, but I don't remember doing [anything like that]. I had nothing to do - I was sitting in my office and writing - it was hardly a field in which you could collect interesting information." Did you do anything at all that might have had adverse consequences? "I can't answer that question," he says, upset now. "I don't believe there was any. At the same time, I was a part of a wider scene, and of course everything you do has consequences." What else did Musia's article get wrong? "Everything else. For example - just to give you an example - no. I really don't want to speak about it, because you've pushed me into doing exactly what I didn't want to do, assigning significance to something which is irrelevant."

Bauman soon quit the secret service, and as for the Communist party, "gradually, like so many others in my position, I came to the conclusion that there was a yawning gap between the official word and the practice ...

so I became a revisionist, rejecting the official version of Marxism."

He would pay dearly for his apostasy. "The thing that is completely missing from the stories is that though I cooperated for two, three years, I was the object of persecution from the secret services for 15 years. Immediately afterwards, I was spied on, I was reported on, I had my flat bugged, my telephone was bugged, and so on. I was thrown away from the internal army, and in the end, as you know, I was expelled from the university, expelled from any ability to publish." An anti-Semitic purge in 1968 meant that both he and his wife Janina lost their jobs. A mirthless laugh. "If the author of this lampoon was really working in the archives he'd probably discover that the files dedicated to me as the enemy are much thicker than the files dedicated to me as a collaborator. But I wouldn't expect balance from him ... I feel more like a victim, really, in this case." They joined their daughter in Israel, but he was not a Zionist, and they felt uncomfortable. By the time they arrived in Leeds they were in their 40s.

He sees his "outing" as part of a new kind of witch-hunt under way in Poland, a process of legitimisation for the rightwing government of Lech and Jarosław Kaczyński. "I think that's the explanation - I have never made a secret that I am a socialist. I was leftwing, I am leftwing, and I will die leftwing. Hopefully! So by discrediting me they may obliquely discredit the political left in Poland." And it is true that the brothers, who see themselves as moral patriots stamping out the remnants of communism, seem to be following a policy of disclosure and systematic file-leaking that involves vetting hundreds of thousands of people, a number of whom stand to lose their jobs. Some may well have done things for which they deserve to be called to account, but the atmosphere is reportedly poisonous. Bauman's treatment is thus, he says, "explicable in terms of a certain context ... That's what's going on. Nothing particularly novel about it, nothing very sensational, its just how things are."

Does he think those three years were a mistake? "They're part of my biography. I bear full responsibility for that. At that time it seemed to me the right thing to do ... Some choices in everybody's biography can be looked upon as wrong choices, except that it doesn't seem to be a wrong choice at that time. When I was 19 years old I didn't know as much as I know now that I'm 82."

Consuming Life is published by Polity □

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