Summaries

S U M M A R I E S

WIKTOR SZCZERBA

DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY AFRICA
IN THE LIGHT OF SOVIET SCIENCE

The principal aim of Soviet researches on key problems of the development of present-day Africa is to disclose, and possibly fully elucidate, the basic sources of transformations in the sphere of ideology, social, economic and cultural relations. In those researches special attention is paid to the uniform sources of the development of Africa as a whole (i. e. specific to that continent), the sources which provide premises for a rapprochement of the respective peoples and countries. It is only in this light that the specifics of the development conditions of the respective countries is examined.

Attention of Soviet scholars is concentrated, first and foremost, upon two issues: a) the struggle for national liberation and b) the struggle for social liberation (as a higher form of social consciousness). Investigating those problems one does look for even minor data which pertain to the activities displayed in that struggle by various institutions, organizations and individual African leaders.

The author of the article — basing his deliberations upon numerous publications of the Institute for Africa, Soviet Academy of Sciences, analyses the attainments of Soviet scholars working in this sphere.

Elucidating the key problems of the development of modern Africa from the viewpoint of Soviet science, the author presents and substantiates the following theses.

The starting point of the research involved is the thesis on the decisive role of the Great October Revolution in the history of modern Africa. "The victory of the Great October" — say a group of Soviet historians — "has exerted an enormous revolutionary impact upon the consciousness of many-millions strong masses of the population in the colonial and dependent countries. The Socialist Revolution was solving the tasks close and understandable to the colonial nations." That thesis is amply substantiated with source materials, dating mainly from the period of the First and the Second World War.

Investigation, in greater detail, of development dynamics of the respective social classes and strata in the political, social, economic and cultural life of contemporary Africa, leads to the second thesis which may be worded as follows: Under the conditions of socio-political weakness of the respective social strata and classes of African nations, in the new countries of Africa there are no uniform programmes for social reforms, no uniform social forces capable of drafting national programmes. In this situation a new social phenomenon has

become apparent and, namely, entering of i n t e l l i g e n t s i a upon the forum of economic, social and political life.

Thus, in the struggle against neo-colonialism there appears a way of out chaos as indicated by the following premises:

— due to the discovery of new resources of raw materials Africa becomes a continent of the future;

— the national consciousness of the African is awakening. In the works of eminent writers there is often to be found the following statement: ..."We are proud of being Africans. Our true leaders are those speaking the language of the nation"...;

— a continued growth is observed of co-operation, in various fields, between the African countries and those of the socialist camp.

The theses quoted above are illustrated by the author with a wealth of materials drawn from Soviet publications.

LESZEK DZIĘGIEL

INDEPENDENT AFRICA AND THE PROBLEM OF SUPREMACY OF THE WHITE MAN

Twelve years have elapsed since the famous speech delivered in Cape Town by Prime Minister Macmillan who referred therein to decolonization movement in Africa as the wind of changes, moving from the North to the South. Will that wind — which the African nationalists expected to abolish the power of white man in the Black Continent up to the Cape of Good Hope — really stop on the line of the river Zambezi? Are the African countries too weak to indicate the date — even in the distant future — of final disposing of the survivals of Europeans' supremacy in Africa? And, on the other hand, will the adversary wait idly for consolidation of the camp of Black Africa and its launching on a new offensive?

In the beginning of the sixties of this century, it seemed the days of the white man's power in Africa were numbered. In spite of the protests of the white settlers in Kenya and the industrialists exploiting copper resources in North Rhodesia, the British Government neither wanted nor was in a position to prevent tre rise of independent African countries such as Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Malavi, and Zambia. Likewise, attempts at saving colonial interests by establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have fallen to the ground since the African nationalists had reasons to suspect that would be a pretence for prolongation of the rule of the handful of white settlers and businessmen. At the same time, however, formation of the states of Malavi and Zambia, where the white made but a small minority, effected consolidation of the almost one-fourth million strong and compact ranks of Europeans in South Rhodesia. It would be much easier for them to dispose of the African nationalists in their territory had they not been directly faced with the centres of independence movement in North Rhodesia nad Nyasaland. And though attempts of advocates of the white man's supremacy in former British Central Africa to keep political

control over of the copper basin in Zambia have failed, so have the hopes of Africans in South Rhodesia for her liberation together with Zambia nad Malavi.

The one-sided declaration of independence by the white minority in Rhodesia makes an example of a stiffening of the stand taken by the spokesmen of the supremacy of the white man with regard to independence movements in Africa.

That attitude has been recapitulated by one of the Rhodesian politicians in the statement: "we are going to check the wind of changes."

In the course of time there has appeared the internal weakness of African states and dissent within the camp of independent African countries. Contrary to the stand taken by Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Neyerere, Presidents of, respectively, Zambia and Tanzania — who have declared themselves for continued solidarity with the pan-African nationalist movement — a number of countries, e. g. Ivory Coast, Ghana (after overthrow of Nkrumah) or Malavi and Kenya are sceptical as to the possibility of interference for the sake on the liberation of Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, and the territories of the Republic of South Africa. A discouraging influence has been exercised by the case of Namibia, i. e. the South-West Africa where the United Nations Organization proved unable to force the Republic of South Africa to recede from that trusteeship territory.

Another factor accounting for the weakening and discord within the camp of independent African countries is also the said Republic's policy pursued by Prime Minister Vorster and Minister Muller. It consists in a departure from the concept of the "stronghold" defending itself against infiltration from the North. The new concept of formation of the South African common market — which would incorporate, apart from the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies, not only the nominally independent states such as Lesotho, Botswana and Ngwane but also Malavi and Zambia — aims at separating the Republic of South Africa from the enemy camp by a number of buffer areas.

The first campaign waged by the Republic of South Africa was that for neutralization and, then, for complete political and economic subordination of the three enclaves of Africans which, it had to tolerate within own territory from the very beginning of its history and, namely, of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland, enjoying the status of separate British protectorates. The latter's fates were being shaped under the impact of their inhabitants' fear of the Boer invasion. Hence their efforts to secure themselves British protection.

After the Second World War, when the nationalist movement in the three protectorates heralded their forthcoming independence, the Government of the Republic of South Africa resolved at least to prevent the rise in the said enclaves of centres unfavourable to apartheid and the idea of the dominance of the white people in the South of the African Continent. The weak and politically inexperienced African intelligentsia in Lesotho, Botswana and Ngwane (Swaziland), connected with the persecuted groupings of African nationalists in the Republic of South Africa and voicing the radical slogans of social reforms, has lost in their own countries the struggle for power waged against the representatives of conservative chiefs and the local bourgeoisie enjoying the Republic's both, political and economic support. The Republic of South Africa providing employment for dozens of thousands of workers from the three enclaves had at its disposal sufficient means for intimidation of African electors and forcing through its candidates and parties.

The favourable attitude of the governments of the three enclaves ensured, the Republic of South Africa started to treat them *de facto* as a kind of model "Bantu-states" where the black were allegedly free to live their traditional lives unpolluted by the "novelties" from beyond African customs. Nevertheless, the core of the matter was the drive to retain the reservoirs of cheap labor force for the South African industry, due to the support rendered to the paternalist governments of tribal oligarchy.

The second stage of the campaign for creation of buffer areas was that of winning over co-operation of Doctor Banda, President of Malavi, and establishing diplomatic relations with that country at the cost of economic assistance.

The case of Malavi is to show that an independent African state may advantageously co-operate with the Republic of South Africa, in spite of ideological differences with the latter, and be granted by it notable assistance. Construction of Lilongwe — Malavi's new capital, of the radio broadcasting centre and other projects make an illustration of the progress due to that co--operation. Its basic condition is, however, the demand of Malavi's not rendering assistance to political refugees from the Republic of South Africa nor to African insurgents offering resistance to the colonial forces of Portugal in Angola and Mozambique, and to the Republic's posts in the so-called Caprivi Stripe.

Expansion of the expeditionary corps of Portugal, which does not agree to any concessions with regard to African nationalists, and increase in the number of the armed forces of the Republic of South Africa are meant to discourage the independent African countries from any attempts at interference.

Under these conditions Zambia — whose support for the concept of the "zone of economic affluence" the Republic of South Africa seems in vain try to secure — is faced with the threat of being encircled by the territories of white man's supremacy. From the vanguard of militant pan-Africanism she is gradually turning into a desolated post of independent African countries. Zambia — depending on world prices of copper, connected with the outer world by a single railway line which runs through the territories administered by the white people, deriving the bulk of consumer goods from the racialist South and also depending for power supply on the power plant on the Karibia — has found herself under political, economic and even military pressure. The British wavering policy with regard to the usurpatory government of Ian Smith has undermined the trust of such African statesmen as Mr. Kaunda or Mr. Nyerere in honesty of Great Britain's attitude towards the cause of the liberation of Africa. In fact, it has turned out that, for economic and political reasons, the British are rather inclined to take into account Rhodesia and the Republic of South Africa (e. g. as regards abolition of ban on the deliveries of arms) than the numerous but weak camp of independent Africa.

The situation is additionally complicated by lack of unanimity within the milieus of African insurgents and of refugees from the Republic of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola nad Rhodesia, supported by Zambia and Tanzania. Dissent and factional struggles are largely responsible for the inability of the centres of African nationalism to effective operation against the well organized enemy in the South. Tending to strengthen her position in face of the impeding threat and to maintain her policy independent of the powerful South, Zambia as such tends to consolidate alliance with Tanzania and to break the monopoly of the white people in the sphere of transportation lines. It is precisely the idea

of unification of Zambia, rich in copper, with the rest of independent Africa that the Tan-Zam railway line, constructed with Chinese assistance and connecting Copperbelt with the Indian Ocean is meant to serve. Zambia, coping at present with such internal difficulties as economic monoculture, disputes between the tribes, lack of skilled personnel and corruption of local politicians breeding on both, tribal sentiments and social tensions in the conglomerations of the industrial basin, has kept in the international arena a high moral reputation, due to her unyielding attitude towards the advocates of the supremacy of the white man in Africa and towards proposals of "coming to terms" with the racialist regimes. Nevertheless, there is not much ground to expect liberation of the whole of Africa in the near future. For the point is that the situation of the Black continent today differs basically from that prevailing in Africa in 1957, when Ghana as the first won for herself the status of a sovereign African country.

ANTONI GRZYBOWSKI

THE RISE OF AFRICANDER NATION AND ITS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE BLACK MAN

The settlement of the white man in South Africa — at the foot of Table Mountain, April 6, 1652 — was initially connected with service of the station supplying the needs of ships of the Dutch East India Company. Five years later, nine families were allowed to set up there farms of their own. Thus, from a supply centre in the Cape of Good Hope, the settlement was turning into a colony of the white people. The local climate and environment facilitated the process of their adaptation. The indigenous population whom the white men encountered there — the Bushmen and the Hotentots — were none too numerous and, as nomadic tribes had no strong territorial connections. Thus, they did not present any major obstacle to expansion of the South African colony. After 1685, the date of revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a new culture-generating factor appeared in the Cape Country and, namely, two hundred Huguenot families which have found shelter there. They have become as if yeast in the Dutch dough. Then the others, mainly Germans, followed them. And so from the Dutch root there was growing up a new type of man. The link with the mother country was weakening and a new, though very small, nation — developing. Still later, as the colony was expanding, the white man got into contact with the very numerous Bantu people representing a different anthropological type than the Bushmen and the Hotentots and a higher degree of social development. The white man who became a new demographic factor in South Africa was faced then with its much more numerous black population. Thus, a confrontation had begun of the white race and the black one. The race problem was rising.

In 1713, when the epidemics of black smallpox decimated the scarce Hotentots, labour was formally based on slave system. The latter's introduction was of decisive significance to further fates of the colony and the character of its development. Instead of a complete white society, with all its social classes, there rose a two-grade one, composed of white masters and coloured slaves. Soon all

the unskilled manual labour was performed by the slaves — Negroes or Malays, immigrated from far of islands. Slavery has become an institution which weighed heavily on the mentality of generations.

Settling down of the English in the Cape Country shook the life of the Boers. To the English the economy based on slave labour was an anachronism, to the Boers — the very foundation of their economic system and, even, a regularity of social relations. No wonder abolishment of slavery in 1833 became one of the direct causes of the Great Trek (Groot Trek), that is, migrations northward and eastward of large numbers of the Boers. Theirs was an escape from the reality of social transformations. The Great Trek could ont but affect Boer's personality. That natural selection created the type of a stubborn and strong-minded man.

The process of the rise of Africander nation may be compared with that of the formation of the American one.

The nation-generating processes of both of them started about the same time. Both of them were rising by way of a spontaneous migration of settlers integrating gradually and only after some time establishing bonds of national type. In both the cases, too, the choice of territory, though accidental, was a matter of historic consequences. In South Africa the phenomenon consisted in outsting beyond the frames of the rising nation, the original inhabitants of the territory upon which the nation-generating process was taking place. In the United States — in their partial absorption by the American society. Here and there reservations were set up, however, the fate of the Indians left to live therein was not similar to that of Negroes in South-African reservations who had neither theoretical nor practical possibility of integration with the Africander society. There was one more difference in the rise of the two nations. In the United States, integration of the immigratory elements took place on the basis of English showing certain divergences from the literary language used in England but constituting no more separate quality than a slightly different dialect. In South Africa there has developed a new language — the Afrikaans.

The latter developed from the Dutch. It absorbed many words from French, Flemish and German and, also, some from the language of the Hotentots. The Afrikaans was generally spoken by Boers as early as the close of the eighteenth century though the Dutch still remained the written and official language. The Afrikaans was nevertheless gradually ousting the Dutch language and the struggle for the former's introduction made — as the Africanders say — their greatest epic in modern times. And, indeed, that language means to an Africander of today more than English does to an American. Moreover, it is for him also a symbol of same sort of "mission".

In their attempt at justification of their different character and "exceptionality", the Africanders' imagination turned to religion which had been for them an additional bond and ideological basis before there was any question of their being a new nation. In America, where faith played an important part, its impact was modified by recognition and full acceptance of religious pluralism. According to the binding moral and ideological model, an American should be a religious individual though it is not essential what faith does he profess. Under American conditions, religious pluralism is an equivalent of that of the new nation.

In South Africa free from such pluralism, the Boers wanted, and still want, to find in the Bible a confirmation of their conviction they are the chosen people tha has found there the Promised Land.

In the United States (where the Negroes were not an indigenous element), the Indians made a minority the knowledge of which was not difficult. In South Africa, the problem of indigenous population had quite different proportions, what has weighed heavily on the structure of the Africanders' racial ideology and made an additional factor integrating the whole of the white population in that part of the African continent.

The first restrictions with regard to the black man were applied there as early as 1809 when he was prohibited to change his place of sojourn without a special permission (a pass). Territorial segregation was not being applied as yet. A large part of the members of the conquered tribes remained on the spot, turning into lease-holders or agricultural labourers on the farms owned by the white. The Boers occupied the areas inhabited by the black not only as a result of the wars but, also, of agreements concluded with the tribes of the Bantu. The latter did not know the notion of private ownership of land, hence the differences in their interpretation of the agreements concluded. The Negroes ceding their land to the white people were convinced they did not lose the right to its free cultivation next to them. Yet, it was the Boer interpretation, supported by force, that has prevailed.

The institution of reservations in South Africa came into existence but in the beginning of nineteenth century, upon the initiative of English missionaries, for the purpose of protection of the rests of Hotentots and Bushmen. That idea was first accepted, in its political context, by the British administration when the first reservations were being set up after annexation of Natal in 1845. This was consonant with the guidelines of the policy pursued by the English with regard to the Negroes and consisting, first and foremost, in restriction of the black man's right to land, in the system of passes and in taking advantage of chiefs of tribes for own administrative purposes.

Racial discrimination in Boer republics acquired the character of an institution but in the mid-nineteenth century. In the Transvaal Republic, grounded in 1853, the Volkraat convened three years later passed a resolution refusing the black equal rights with the white people, in church and government.

The discovery of the beds of diamond and gold in South Africa also exerted an impact upon its political and social relations. Seizing by the English of the exploitation of mineral resources made it easy for Great Britain to exert a pressure upon Boer republics under the pretext of protection of the interest of English gold-diggers. The ensuing frictions and encounters had eventually led to the so-called Boer War, 1899—1902, which ended in peace treaty in Vereeniging and loss of independence by Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

The discovery and exploitation of mineral resources was also a factor contributing to the growth of the black man's political consciousness and sharpening of the problem of racial relations.

The first political organization in the Cape — the Africans' Union (Imbumba Yama Africa) was set up in early eighties of the last century. In 1882 there was grounded (in Capetown) the Native Educational Association which organized two years later one of the first campaigns against the discriminating identity cards.

And though not mass movements, they were nevertheless utilized by the English in the war of 1899—1902.

The war developments also stimulated crystallization of national consciousness of the Boers — a final stage in its formation. A new term was then coming into use — the Africander nation. And however historically and geographically linked with the black man, it did not want to recognize — on equal rights — the latter's presence in South Africa. And yet, in view of the quantitative prevalence of the black people, the Africanders were faced with the problem of surviving in that part of the African continent. These matters were clearly touched upon in two documents connected with the then developments and later situation of the black man in the Union of South Africa grounded in 1910. The first of them was the secret letter written by Lord Selborne, the British High Commissioner in South Africa after the Boer War, to Ian Christian Smuts — leader of the Boers. The second was Smuts' political address delivered in Kimberley, 1895. Both these documents treat of similar problems. And both of them may be reduced to the question of the two races in South Africa — the white and the black one — handled in racial categories. In the speech of Smuts, as well as in Lord Selborne's letter, the problem of existence and survival was linked with the need for integration of the white people representing, in the authors' opinion, a superior race. And this was simultaneously connected with subordination to the latter of the black man as that finding himself at a lower degree of socio-cultural development.

Ian Christian Smuts was of the opinion the European model of democracy was not applicable to the complex development of many-race society in South Africa. The theory of democracy — as generally conceived and employed in Europe and America — was not adequate to the coloured people of South Africa. The reason was — said Smuts — that the African aborigines would not cover from day to day the distance the covering of which took "the most gifted white race" hundred of years. And as regarded education of the black, stress was to be laid rather on training of manual abilities than on development of the intellectual ones. Ian Christian Smuts' system of controlling the black was founded on his conviction of the white man's mission in Africa. In his opinion that mission in South Africa was justified by the course of the history of makind.

The list of Lord Selborne's proposals was topped by postulates for the natives being trained for "continued and effective work" what, after all, was dictated by the necessity of meeting the demand for labour force badly wanted in agriculture and the expanding industry. The intricate system of passes, developed by Smuts, hampered the regular operation of labour market. In Lord Selborne's view, simplification (and not abolishment) of that system would not decrease the number of aborigines looking for work on the farms — what the Boers were afraid of — but, under the condition of reasonable treatment of those natives, yield the opposite results. As regarded competition of the black man with the white, the a competition. Moreover, no one can carry out any experiment with the two problem raised by some white people, Selborne maintained even the mere thought of it was simply irrational as the black man was absolutely unable of such races without realizing the superiority of the white man. The whole course of history confirms this — says Selborne — and the interiority of the black race imposes upon the white one an obligation to exercise protective and supervisory functions.

As far as the programme for education of the natives was concerned, Lord Selborne's views coincided with those expressed by Ian Christian Smuts in Kimberley, 1895. The former maintained that the natives should master the elements of learning — the rudiments of mathematics, the ability to read and write and to cultivate Negro music. Starting from the assumption of the inferiority of aborigines, Lord Selborne also rejected the European model of their representation due to the electoral law. He proposed instead a system of the meetings held separately by the superiors of the Department for the Problems of Indigenous Population with representatives of the natives elected from the respective tribes so that they might freely express, their opinions on matters having great weight with them.

JERZY   ZAHORSKI-KOISZEWSKI

PAN-AFRICANISM — ATTEMPT AT DEFINITION

The rather wealthy political and scientific literature dealing with Pan-Africanism does not embrace any studies on definition of that phenomenon. This results from causes of both, objective and subjective nature. The principal among them is lack of historical distance which would provide for fully objective character of such a definition. This does not mean, however, one should resign from attempts at its more precise formulation just now.

In the present study the problem of Pan-Africanism has been examined in its legal and sociological aspect. The phenomenon is treated as a movement and, also, an ideology assuming the character of a political doctrine. The fates of Pan-Africanism in these days show how dynamic is the evolution of that ideology and how difficult — because of the practice of political life — the attempts at giving it a uniform shape. And it is this fact that makes it necessary to approach the problem from both, the historical and sociological point of view. From such an assumption there results the arrangement of the dissertation. Its first part is devoted to the history of the movement and the second — to basic attempts at interpretation of the latter and its history by the people who "created" Pan-Africanism, put it into effect or assessed it from some kind of political stand. It is but after examination of these two aspects of the problem that one may try to frame hypotheses concerning the essence of that political phenomenon.

The history of Pan-Africanism may be divided into three basic periods: that before the Second World War, that after its conclusion and after the "year of Africa", i. e. after 1960. Those stages analysed in greater detail, show we have to deal here with the birth of an idea — put into effect by politicians, social activists and intellectuals within the framework of the movement which was embracing ever wider circles — at first American and, then, African. Parallel with implementation of the idea, progressing over a few dozen of years certain changes were introduced in the objectives of the movement and the views of the mode of their implementation. Figuratively speaking the conditions were changing, and so were the people, Africa and the world. No wonder what could have been

preserved from the original assumptions of Pan-Africanism were but the elements defining in most general sense the aim of the movement.

This state of affairs could not but influence all the enunciations on Pan--Africanism which make an important source of the material for elaborating a definition of that movement. Depending on concrete objectives possible to be implemented in the given historical period and, also, on the political or ideological attitude of Pan-African leaders, representing not only the different countries or regions but in many cases also entirely different schools of political thinking, their definitionss of Pan-Africanism differed notably from one another. Those activists and leaders were united rather by the vision of the Africa of the future and the drive at its earliest possible independence than by community of their doctrines or concern for the latter's precise formulation. This is, and should be, a matter of course. And it is in this way that one should conceive the definitions given by Bu Bois, Nkrumah (however different in the respective periods), and others.

A separate group of statements are those by specialists in political science who tried to determine the substance of the term "Pan-Africanism" by way of historical and functional analysis. As follows from the quoted enunciations of Apter and Coleman the definition of that term should comprise a number of basic elements which make it more precise. First of all, it should take into account the fact of the evolution of Pan-Afracanism as such, proceeding from the theories of African nationalists to Pan-Continentalism which, however, did not bear an isolationist character since — as Alli A. Mazrui says — the idea of participation in world affairs is the principal component of African nationalism.

Recapitulating the statements above and making an attempt at a preliminary definition of Pan-Africanism one has to realize the latter may be treated as a movement, an ideology and a doctrine. To put it short, Pan-Africanism is an ideological movement which has gradually assumed the form of a political doctrine. The latter's root is the settled belief in the community of culture and the all-Affrican drive at abolishing colonial dependence and obliterating the negative survivals of the colonial system. This could be attained by common effort exerted by all African countries in the economic, political and cultural sphere. Hence the attention paid by that doctrine to the problem of political unification of the African continent. All the spokesmen of Pan-Africanism find this a prerequisite of Africa's development. However, many activists of the Pan-African movement differ in their opinions as to the methods which should be employed in order to attain that unity. Thus, beginning from the sixties of this century the rather uniform doctrine of Pan-Africanism started to split into a number of variants depending on the political circles voicing it and having in view either the interests of own country or, in the best case, of a certain region of Africa. And yet, this does by no means diminish the historic role played by Pan-Africanism in the past nor its importance to-day. It is a proof, however, that realization of the beautiful idea of the unity of Africa, the idea born at the close of the nineteenth century, still encounters serious difficulties.

JAN J. MILEWSKI

SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT IN NIGERIA

The article deals with social rise defined as "modern advancement". This notion is conceived by the author as promotion taking place in the capitalist sector of economy, state administration, in the army, etc. What has been omitted here is the phenomenon of advancement within the so-called traditional social structures. The main criteria of the said "modern" social promotion are as follows: the rise of vocational and educational standards, increase in fixed incomes and elevation of social prestige. Those three aspects are closely interrelated, the professional qualifications being treated in a very broad sense, of course.

The present development stage of Nigerian economy as well as the country's social structure clearly demarcate the boundaries and possibilities of social advancement. Hence their detailed presentation in the article.

In the author's opinion there are two principal roads of social rise to-day. The first of them leads to advancement attained due to independent activity within the capitalist sector of economy. That road may be defined as that of an enterpreneur. The second is the one of social rise due to employment in capitalist enterprises, in the army or administration. Thus, the advancement involved may be defined as that of an employee.

The first of them — advancement of an enterpreneur was the subject of numerous investigations. That is why the author restricts his deliberations but to pointing to the most important of them and to the resultant conclusions.

Special attention is, however, paid to social rise of the second type. The starting point of discussion on the problem is characteristics of the number, structure and dynamics of the group of permanently employed persons.

Next there is analysed in greater detail, the route on which permanent employment is obtained and social rise accomplished. The author points to the close interrelationship existing in Nigeria between the standard of formal qualifications (education) and the place taken by the given individual in the hierarchy at his place of work. In this field there is to be observed a steady rise of the employer's demands concerning qualifications of the person employed. In the first years of independence — in view of enormous demand for skilled labour of any kind — the attitude towards the problem was marked by a good deal of tolerance. At present the criteria of skilled labour are increasingly more severe. This is caused by the latter's much greater supply which, in many branches, has been exceeding the demand over a few years past.

Apart from analysis of the tendency in the field of the supply of, and demand for, skilled and unskilled labour, the author presents the basic features of Nigerian labour law. For — as indicated by the author — the present system of close interdependence of skill (professional qualifications) acquired and the possibilities of obtaining employment at adequate rank of hierarchy makes one of the most important features of the mechanism of advancement attained due to employment in Nigeria of to-day.

The author goes on to discuss the roads of acquiring vocational skill and education in that country. His attention is concentrated on two principal problems: education at ordinary (general) or vocational schools and on acquiring professional qualifications by vocationally active persons. Another issue discussed

is that of the financial outlays and social costs involved in acquiring education (qualifications) of various levels.

Those are compared by the author with real incomes of the population within the sector of permanent employment and beyond it. The said comparison shows that — under Nigerian conditions — acquiring of education or vocational qualifications of various levels involves enormous outlays. And, of course, the higher the standard of education, the higher the financial and social costs concerned. This dependence accounts for the fact that a large part of the population — even that in the milieu of independent businessmen — are practically deprived of the possibility of educating their children or improving own professional qualifications. And the latter's rise results in an enormous increase in incomes with the moment of employment. Under these circumstances, acquiring of vocational qualifications or education assumes the character of an investment. Its costs, however, are so high that only an insignificant percentage of potenial candidates can afford it.

Proceeding with his deliberations the author takes up the subject of acquiring and perfecting professional qualifications by vocationally active persons. A large number of evening schools and extra-mural courses serve this objective. Nevertheless, the costs are very high too, though relatively lower than those at day-schools.. Hence, the extraordinary popularity of those evening schools and courses. There are in Nigeria numerous ranks of ambitious people who — in spite of the difficulties involved — stubbornly aim at being promoted in professional hierarchy.

The general conclusions ensuing from those deliberations point to aggravation in Nigeria of the situation in the sphere of social mobility. The present system of social advancement and the latter's range is not in a position to meet the needs and demands of the extremely dynamic Nigerian society. The fact is that vast ranks of talented, ambitious young people have no chance of any advancement, and in most cases, neither a possibility of getting a permanent job. Moreover, the number is rising of peple who have good education or professional qualifications and yet encounter difficulties in finding suitable employment. Thus, the modern social rise is becoming the privilege of only a handful from among those vast ranks of potential candidates what cannot but lead to intensification of class struggle.

ANNA   MROZEK

THE ROLE AND FUNCTIONS OF ISLAM IN THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL BONDS OF THE SOMALIS

The problem of the rise of national community of the Somalis presents considerable difficulties from research point of view. Irrespective of the fact of Somalis being divided — at the time of the rule of colonial powers and in the post-colonial period as well — into various zones of authority, what calls for separate studies on each of the respective territories, there appear in the social structure and customs of the Somalis numerous specific elements claiming detailed

investigation. This is even more necessary in view of the frequently controversial interpretation of those elements by the specialist literature. Studied separately the said elements seem apparently contradictory. This applies, in particular, to the seeming contradiction of the — even — under African conditions — exceptionally dismembered social structure of the Somalis and their strongly developed community spirit bearing a distinct national colouring.

The aim of the article is to trace the conditions of the rise that community spirit, from the viewpoint of its connection with Islam professed by the Somalis.

The first chapter presenting an outline of the latter's history is an attempt at determination of the time and causes of expansion of the Somalis over the area of the Somali Peninsula. In view of scarcity of sources and lack of scholars' unanimity in their interpretation, the purpose of the chapter is to establish approximate data concerning the history of that group of population, as a starting point for more detailed investigations.

The second chapter is devoted to an analysis of Somali Islam. It is here that the authoress endeavours to define the beginning of the penetration of Islam and the conditions under which it was taking place. This issue is not satisfactorily elucidated in the available literature. Having analysed in greater detail the substance of Islamic beliefs among the Somalis, the authoress concludes that — in spite of numerous age-long contacts with the Arabs and thus established routes for the penetration of Islam into the territory of Somalia — the religion of the Somalis makes a component of African Islam. Nevertheless, in its Somali version there has been retained an exceptionally large number of the elements of traditional beliefs and rites of the Somalis.

The latter feature of Somali Islam, contributing to consolidation of their connection with Islam, was also accounting for the integrative impact of that religion in the territory discussed. A most telling illustration of this fact have been two major armed ventures of the Somali, rallying a few of their tribes under the slogans of holy war against the "infidels".

That direction of the impact exerted by Islam upon the society of Somalis, as discussed in the last part of the article is examined in greater detail upon the example of the uprising organized by Sajid Muhammad ibn 'Abdille Hussan in 1919—1920. Assessing the activities of the leader of that uprising the authoress points to the inspiratory and creative influence of Islam at the time of these developments. Another fact emphasized is his exceeding at a later period, the sphere of activities based on religious slogans what was particularly strongly manifest in the anti-colonial accents of the movement in the form of political and social protest.

The slogans of community of all the Somalis on religious basis also constituted but a component of, or starting point for, the activity of later political parties in that area with regard to the progressive and essentially laic programmes formulated by those parties.

The authoress concludes her article in the statement Islam made in the history of the Somalis an important factor shaping their community spirit and continuing to exercise that role — under definite conditions — in some areas inhabited by that population. Nevertheless, it is no more the only or dominant force in view of the growing national consciousness of the Somalis, which goes beyond the slogans of religious community.

ZYGMUNT KOMOROWSKI

EDUCATION BASED ON TRADITIONS OF WEST AFRICA AND MAGHREB

The same model of education, imported from France, has been incorporated with entirely different social and cultural milieus that developed in the course of history on two edges of the Sahara. Simplifying the matter, one may point to two basic trends of traditional education: the tribal one, noted for both, division of youth into classes according to age and initiation in the worship of ancestors — characteristic of the so-called Black Africa and Islamistic education connected with Moslem Universalism and Arabic alphabet. The West Sudan, from Senegal up to the Republic of Niger, is an area of particularly strong clash of these two trends or, to be more precise, of the second overlapping the first one.

In spite of the fact that the indigenous tribal education is, as a rule, on the defensive at present, its vitality compels to reflection. For undoubtedly it represents — under definite conditions — values difficult to be replaced or negated to mention but inculcation of the sense of honour and personal dignity. Moreover, that education is by no means rigid but, on the contrary, displays notable ability of adaptation. It readily consents to coexistence (syncretism and tolerance) but, first and foremost, it is total, covering all the aspects of man's personality. Islam is total as well, nevertheless, it makes clear-cut division between what is public and open and what belongs to the sphere of intimate family life.

The countries of Maghreb have much older and more deeply rooted traditions in the use of writing. The latter has widespread there and acquired a hegemonic position. In this respect the North has a decisive prevalence over the South and a good reason to pride. Education in those countries has for the most part been imbued with the spirit of Moslem Universalism and evenly saturated with the elements of Arabic civilization.

In the South, in West Africa, the traditional education and learning are founded, above all, upon oral tradition. But for a few exceptions (Timbuctu, Djene) book-lore was a rarity there, not attaining any higher standard. Education within the milieu of tribal culture is subordinated to the specific interests of the tribes and, even of neighbourly castes and communities. Thus, in many respects, that is an education corresponding with the lower stage of social development, a more primitive one.

On the other hand, it is worth pointing to the relatively more "open" nature of precisely those cultural circles which base on the traditions of tribal education, together with the so-called "age-classes" and initiation rites. In face of revolutionary social, economic and political transformations, and when confronted with cultures of other regions of the world, they prove, as a rule, less "closed" then the circles boasting of their traditions of Arab-Moslem Universalism. They become integrated with the outer world without any major resistance — more curious of it and less mistrustful.

The ideology of negritude bears, above all, a defensive, compensative character. In the sphere of culture it tends at discovery of indigenous values but not at a separatist unifications as is the case with pan-Arabism. The intermixed tribes of West Africa, especially those in the zone of the savannahs have of old been used to co-existence and co-operation with aliens — to mutual tolerance, intermixing and formation of ever new "relationships."

In Maghreb countries, however, tradition maintains only the coreligionists may be recognized as "brethern". Mixing with infidels has always been branded and condemned there. Apart from trade exchange each group was confined to its own milieu, cut off from others. A telling illustration of this fact are the fortifield oasis-settlements of Mozabite refugees, who escaped to the desert a thousand years ago, and alienation of the scarce Christians in Kabylia. And in turn, South of the Sahara, the inhabitants of the banks of the river Niger found no fault in treating the great leader, founder of the might of Mali as both, a Mohammedan and a sorcerer. And likewise, no one is surprised at the fact that ardent Christians from the tribe of the Serers read dreams and worship the spirits.

That tendency to religious syncretism is, undoubtedly, a manifestation of predilection for synthesis.

The relatively stronger inclination to "closing within itself," characteristic of the circles of traditional cultures in Maghreb countries, compared with the relatively much richer traditions of science and writing of that region, may seem a paradox. Nevertheless this is a phenomenon having certain justification. The fact is Universalism of ideology has been combined there, for centuries past, with separation from practical activity. The Arabs have once absorbed more foreign elements than any other people, however, that was connected with their conquests and dissemination of one idea. At the same time, separation from aliens has become a habit with them, which penetrated into their custom, and way of thinking thus weighing upon their culture as a whole. The hermetic nature of family life, conformism binding in public and exclusivism of culture could not but result in the loss of ability for adaptation. Another factor accounting for its disappearance was the predilection to extreme and uncompromising attitudes grounded by numerous historical, legendary and literary models. The fact that the University of Fez makes the oldest institution of this kind in the world is by no means tantamount to its being more fitted for modernization —· for replacement of old models by the new ones, especially in view of the rooted habit of learning everything by heart. Moreover, in Maghreb, like in other Arab countries there has been cultivated, for centuries past, respect for erudites and theoreticians, and, thus, for the letter of the books. And in turn, in West Africa where pure theory was unknown, the most important verification of all abilities have always been practical achievements, as L. S. Senghor says, everything that was a proof of harmony and could be recognized as "a manifestation of power". Hence, greater respect for praxis.

The article discussed deals with the following problems: tribal education — initiation rites, "age-classes" and associations; honour as foundation of moral code; koranic education in West Africa; berberic and Arabic traditions of education in Maghreb countries; position of mother, "addab", eloquence and erudition; the koranic schools North of Sahara; attitude towards history. The final part of the article presents a comparison of the two trends of tradition and their impact upon the "open" or "closed" character of culture.

STANISŁAW ŚWIDERSKI

MODERN RELIGIOUS POETRY OF THE FANG (GABUN)

The author presents a fragment of his researches on the community of the Fang, carried on in Gabun for a few years past. His article deals with the syncretic cult *buiti* together with its rites, requisites and, above all, its poetical texts. Those texts are syncretic as well, both as regards joining of traditional African religious elements with Christian symbols and notions and combining of strictly religious problems, with reformatory and social tendencies. This is a phenomenon well-known and frequent in the countries of West and Central Africa. The author shows that, however specific, the character of the Fang and of *buiti* worship that reformatory and social movement and its literature bear a similar religious and political character.

HELMUT MARDEK

LAW AND SOCIAL CHANGE. THE PLACE AND THE FUTURE OF CUSTOMARY LAW AND LOCAL COURTS IN THE AFRICAN STATES

At the date of independence, the general legal situation of the African states was characterized by existence of various legal systems differing from one another with regard to origin, degree of development, scope of application and meaning. They were relatively independent and partly superimposing. The system of judicial organs was no less complicated.

In the process of creating a modern national legal and judicial system, the customary law and the system of local courts acquire special importance. The topicality of this problem results from the fact that most of the legal relations of the absolute majority of the population are covered by the customary law, about 80% of all legal actions being decided by the local courts.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to reduce the question of national character of law and judicial organs but to that of the traditional law and the traditional organs of judicature. Hence, the correctness of the statement made by the Soviet lawyer — Professor Siws — that the national character "shows itself, above all, and mainly, in such a development of the national legislation which expresses to maximum degree the national interests and takes into account the national socio-economic conditions".

The customary law and the local courts do not make a close legal and judicial system. They rather represent the law and the institutions of administration of justice of the individual ethnical communities which are, in a number of regions, very strongly interfused with the islamic law. The general social development on the basis of colonial regime, incorporation into the colonial system and interaction of the different legal systems have modified, changed, further developed and, even, partly abolished the traditional legal and judicial system.

According to the extent to which the social conditions as a whole change and set aside the traditional socio-economic relations, the traditional legal and judicial system, too, will loose its original basis and thus cease to exist or will survive though in a modified form. This process is not one of short-lived character; it is unmistakably under way, but by no means concluded.

A general new valuation of the traditional legal and judicial system is bound to follow after achievement of political independence. This process will not only take a different course in the different African countries but also considerably differ in its impact. In Ghana (Nkrumah) and Tanzania the development might be the most progressive one. Here the new valuation of the traditional law includes its integration with the general legal system on the basis of equality.

Compared with customary law, the extent of reorganization of the system of local courts in the majority of the African states in the years after independence was much wider. Its general content is aimed at integration of these organs into the general judicial system of the states concerned.

The importance of the customary law is very different in the respective branches of law. While it is of little or, practically, no importance in a number of social spheres, particularly that of modern economy, its place in the family law, the law of inheritance and the land law cannot be overlooked. In these branches it undoubtedly determines the legal basis. This applies, in some extent, also to those countries where the exist uniform normative acts. The customary personal law requires, of course, essential changes — partial reforms having already been carried out in all the countries concerned — but its general negation is not possible in view of the present stage of development. Therefore decisions of this kind must be regarded as extremely doubtful.

The customary law represents social efforts of the present African countries in the field of social conditions and, also, of social ways of thinking and behaviour. Consequently, the question of the future place of customary law cannot primarily be that of an administrative act but rather of a spontaneous or conscious change of social and economic conditions.

The general social development has at least two basic sequels for the customary law:

(a) transformation of unwritten norms of the customary law into the written ones;

(b) unification of different systems of customary law.

Such a development process sets aside the customary law at least with regard to its classical way of determining terms — namely as unwritten law of the various ethnical communities. A written and unified customary law includes necessary modifications that will reach up to annulment of outdated norms and rules. For the customary law two ways generally present themselves: on the one hand it may continue to exist as a new, that is a written, shortened and changed in content, but independent source of law and, on the other, make a part of legal sources in the form of rules and principles and disappear as their independent source in itself. The present development shows these processes run in parallel.

The future of the customary law, however, is not only determined by the general social development. Of decisive importance is also the character of the development road entered upon.

The different courses of development do not exert an impact on the manner and pace of putting the process of recording and unification of customary law into practice but also on its effects which are of basic character. Thus, the non-capitalist development is based upon the effort to mobilize the positive powers of customary law in order to enhance the role of law as an active stimulus of social conditions.

This shows itself most clearly in the land law. While, for example, in Tanzania efforts are made to connect it to the collective title deed, the policy followed in Kenya is oriented on an intensified shaping and legal securing of private property. In Tanzania, while creating state ownership of land, one goes back to the absolute title of property, characteristic of the past, by vesting this in the President as trustee of the nation as a whole. This state of affairs in Tanzania is of basic importance because it has been proved there that overcoming of the traditional legal relations must by no means lead to formation of private property.

Translated by the author.

MAREK   ARPAD   KOWALSKI

TRADITIONS OF TRIBAL SCULPTURE IN EAST AFRICA

The first European travellers penetrating into Africa explored, above all, the western part of the continent. They were also acquainted with the Congo what determined Europe's first contacts with the art of local tribes whose works have soon attracted scholars' attention. That early acquaintance with sculpture of the tribes inhabiting the basins of the rivers Niger and Congo and their high artistic values and masterly workmanship have made the said sculptures being recognized as classical specimens of African tribal art.

A permanent contact with the eastern part of the continent was etablished but later, bearing, from the start, the character of colonial conquests, not preceded by any longer period of penetration into that area of travellers, merchants and explorers. The interest in local art was thus developed rather late. It was but at the end of the 19th century that the first collections were started, the pieces concerned still being treated rather as those of local handicrafts than of art. This is partly explained by the fact that among East African tribes the so-called figural fine arts were much rarer than among the communities of West and Central Africa. Soon an opinion was formed on East Africa being a region with practically no art of sculpture. The exceptions to this rule were explained as the result of migration of artistic ideas, external influence, etc. In extreme cases it was maintained the inhabitants of the eastern parts of Africa were deprived of any manual abilities whatsoever.

Nevertheless, the more precise researches on the culture of local tribes have led to a revision of those views. As a result, one has ascertained in East Africa there existed a traditional tribal art of sculpture. The fifties and sixties of this century saw many sensational discoveries in this field. No less suprising were

the findings of investigation of forgotten museum collections dating from the beginning of our century.

It is worth pointing in this connection to the contribution of Polish scholars. The only compact collection of East-African sculptures in this country is to be found at the State Ethnographic Museum, Warsaw. It comprises sixty pieces what is a modest number. Modest too are, alas, the traditions of Polish studies on Africa or, to be more precise, of the field-work involved.

A considerable part of the collection is the fruit of many years' explorations conducted by Wacław Korabiewicz, Ph. D. Staying after the Second World War in Tanganyika as field worker of King George V Museum in Dar-el-Salaam, Doctor Korabiewicz was also carrying on the researches for the museum in Warsaw. It was in the course of that work that he pointed to existence of interesting ritualistic masks, first mentioned by the German investigator — Karl Weule, in 1908. Irrespective of the masks, Mr. Korabiewicz has also contributed to the Museum numerous sets of sculptures deriving from the East-African tribes of Makonde, Wakere, Wazaramo, Wahehe and Wazigua. Another object of his interest was the new, "souvenir-art" of the Kikuyu and Kamba tribes in Kenya.

No mean number of specimens were collected by Polish travellers of the period between the two world wars and that after the second of them: Jan Karpowicz, Stanisław Ochocki, Stanisław Taczanowski and Marek Żelazkiewicz.

Jan Karpowicz conducted his researches among the tribes of Wahehe and Kamba, collecting their sculptures. Stanisław Ochocki's contribution were those of the Makonde, the ones of the tribes Kamba and Wazaramo having been offered by Stanisław Taczanowski and Marek Żelazkiewicz, respectively.

The explorers and travellers mentioned above were collecting those specimens in the forties and fifties. It is just from those years that derive the sculptures contributed by them. Nonetheless, there are among those works a certain number of older sculptures or those which — though coming from relatively recent period — were created within the milieu of traditional tribal culture and served the latter. Another group are some new sculptures not deriving from the social context existing so far. Thus, the Museum collection discussed depicts — as a whole — the changes taking place in artistic activities of the peoples of East Africa.

Nevertheless, the contrast between the artistic culture of East Africa and that of the other parts of the continent is striking. And there are a few factors accounting this state of affairs.

The principal of them is the fact of East Africa having been the area of wars and migrations of peoples alien from the view-point of their ethnical origin and culture. Now, sculpture is popular among the settled agricultural ones. The sculptures are the abode of the souls of forefathers thus justifying the given community's right to the land occupied by it. Moreover, they are also meant to remind of the unity of the tribe descending from common ancestors. The settled East-African tribes were exposed to incessant pressure of the nomadic ones. In the latter's milieu, tribal beliefs and unity were realized on a different route adapted to their wandering life and specific husbandry. At any rate they did not demand any figural representations. Moreover, the said pastoral tribes, had an efficient military organization what made it easy for them to impose their dominance upon settled agriculturists, often deprived of effective bodies of tribal power. The political dominance was followed by that in the sphere of economy,

culture, and, in some instances — religion. And this resulted in the agricultural tribes departing from the art of sculpture.

Moreover, the state of wars and conquests was not conducive to the rise of centralized state bodies together with a court and administrative machine. And these were to be met precisely on the opposite edge of the continent to mention but the kingdoms of Benin, Dahomey, Ashanti or Bena Lulua. The royal court was exercising there the role of a patron of fine arts. And that fact was an encouragement to tribal craftsmen eager to imitate works destined for the privileged what, in turn, popularized sculpture.

And, finally, the third factor accounting for paucity of sculpture in East Africa is Islam, as a rule, hostile to any iconographic representations. And though spreading in West Africa as well, in those regions it was skillfully absorbed and adapted to indigenous political institutions without destroying them as was the case in the East of the African continent.

And yet, however unfavourable the conditions, sculpture was once much more popular there than nowadays. It has been preserved until this day by the tribes of the interior, inhabiting the less accessible areas and not exposed to a prolonged impact of Islam.

In East Africa there is to be observed a new phenomenon and, namely, growing popularity of sculpture. However, this is not the classical tribal art. It becomes the realm of enterprising individuals, having some artistic abilities. In this situation — though able to avail itself of traditional symbols, typical of tribal art, both as regards the subject matter and form of the works — it is detached from the religious, social and economic context. Moreover, there is also to be observed the phenomenon of growing popularity of the so-called souvenir--art, its objects being manufactured to satisfy the demand of tourists, whereas in the former case the artistic pursuits are in a certain sense related with those of folk art of the European countries. The tribe is no more the orderer and judge of artistic objects. This role is in most cases exercised by a customer from beyond the tribe and the artistic appraisal accomplished by the simple act of purchase. Nevertheless, the said phenomenon, however a recent one, also claims attention. And it is worth mentioning the researches of Polish scholars — though perhaps too modest in their range — have already been turned in this direction as well.

CARLOS HUMBERTO DE LEON ARAGON

PROCESS OF LADINIZATION OF GUATEMALA INDIANS

The aim of the present deliberations on ladinization in Guatemala is to depict the process by which an Indian becomes a Ladino. The latter term denotes a man resident in Guatemala, the fact whether he is of Indian or any other origin being of no significance. "Ladino" is a notion pertaining to the sphere of culture, and not ethnology or race. Moreover, it is broader than the notion "métis". It is independent of race, place of birth, and financial position of the person concerned. Nevertheless, from cultural and ethnical point of view an Indian is not a Ladino

as he does not speak Spanish and has his own, separate pattern of behaviour and material culture. The author expounds the view, ladinization in Guatemala results in integration of two groups of that country's population — Indians and non-Indians. Integration is understood in this case in a specific way. The point is, adoption by an Indian of the patterns of Ladino culture, by having covered all the stages of that process, negates his own personality. The latter process has so far not been studied in any greater detail. Hence, the need for a preliminary acquainting of the reader with the problems of Indians in Mesoamerica of to-day. A dichotomic division is employed by the author and, namely, into the group of Indians and Ladinos. The definition of an Indian, as adopted in his deliberations is the following: An Indian is a man living in the country, speaking one of the Indian languages. His customs and patterns of behaviour show that his culture is specific of the people speaking that language. These elements make a syndrom and if only one of them missing, the Indian enters the road of ladinization. And now a relevant definition of a Ladino. A Ladino is every man whose mother tongue is Spanish and his way of behaviour and material culture different from that of Indian population. Housing conditions of Indians and those of the Ladinos differ to the extreme. This applies not only to material conditions. The culture of each of the two groups differs basically. The first element worthy of notice is the place of residence. The former live in closed communities where there is no social stratification, the only structural division being that according to age. Their economy is a self-sufficient one and the administration makes an inseparable element of the religious institution, the so-called "Cofradia". Catholicism practised by Indian societies is that of folk or ezoteric type. And, indeed, it is difficult to establish where the old Indian beliefs end and those of the religion introduced by Spanish conquistadors begin. In the communities discussed there exist two professions absent in the Ladino ones, and, namely, that of an *ajkij* (shaman) and *ajitsel* (sorcerer). A Ladino availing himself of the services of a shaman or sorcerer reaches back to Indian traditions. An indispensable condition of an Indian's entering upon the road of ladinization· is his departure from the own closed community. The process of ladinization may not take place within the latter. The whole of that process has been divided into three main stages, separated from one another by innumerable indirect ones. The said main phases are as follows:

a) a traditional Indian, or the so-called zero-point. He is characterized by 1. an Indian costume (recently worn chiefly by women), 2. his being a monolingual individual, 3. the religious-political type of his social organization;

b) a modified Indian, his characteristic traits being: 1. the Indian costume — preserved exclusively by women; 2. his being a bilingual individual speaking both, Indian and Spanish; 3. his social organization and cultural patterns incorporating many elements of Ladino culture; in fact this is the first stage of ladinization — connected with departure from his own closed community;

c) a ladinized Indian, distinguished by: 1) complete giving up of Indian costume by both, men and women; 2) his being a monolingual person (speaking Spanish only and by 3) socio-economic organization and cultural patterns different from the Indian ones.

From cultural point of view, the ladinized Indian does not differ from a Ladino. The problem of caste arises, however, when the former wants to be recognized by the Ladinos as their own man. There is not the question of

a classical caste system like that in India, since attaining of the status of a Ladino is possible due to: marriage, mastering of a profession, a protracted stay in town, etc., depending on the region of the country.

In the process of ladinization of Indians in Guatemala a very important part is played by the army or, to be more precise, by military service. True, that institution does not ladinize an Indian nonetheless it prepares and facilitates ladinization due to the soldiers being taught Spanish, trained for a vocation, etc. In the course of his military service there occur — in an Indian's consciousness — some essential changes to mention but the fact of his ceasing to be a peasant, or his adopting a different system of values.

A broadly conceived ladinization is for an Indian tantamount to social promotion. Nevertheless, it may also mean his becoming a proletarian what is not necessarily linked with such a promotion. And, indeed, it often happens that the ladinized Indians — having not been admitted into the community of the Ladinos and ceased being "traditional" Indians — find themselves outside the pale of society. It is only the children of ladinized Indians that have a better chance for acquiring the status of Ladinos.

Ladinization of all the Indians in Guatemala is unavoidable, however, no one is able to tell when, and in what extent, it will take place since this is a very slow process occurring in a spontaneous, and not a controlled, way.

MARIA SAWICKA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN CHILE

Chile — former Spanish colony in South America — was until the end of colonial period a restless borderland. The country's population had a differentiated social structure what could not but exert an impact upon the development of education.

In the period of the colonial rule, its dissemination was the task of the Church, the most energetic activities being displayed in the field by the Jesuits and the Black Friars. They run schools of various rank both, for the children of white colonists and of the natives.

After Chile's becoming an independent country in 1818 there followed a serious development of the cultural life and education. A marked contribution was paid there by scholars from other countries who spent a large part of their lives in Chile. One of them was the eminent Polish scientist — Ignacy Domeyko.

In the period discussed keen attention was being paid to the growth of education. At the end of the nineteenth century Chile was more Europeanized in terms of intellectual development than the countries situated in the North.

At present in Chile there is binding a uniform system of education which is free and — at the rank of primary school — also obligatory. All types of schools — except for universities — are subordinated to centralized state administration. The educational system is directed by the Ministry of Education

(Ministerio de Educación Publica). A complete course of instruction at primary school covers six years. Nevertheless, there are still many schools — especially the rural ones — with but four, or even two years' course.

The secondary education schools are divided, as in the past, into two main types:

1. the general education secondary schools providing special instruction in humanities, in natural science, and in physics or mathematics;

2. secondary vocational and technical schools and, namely: agricultural, commercial and industrial.

The schools of the first type provide general education, they are not meant to train pupils for a profession but prepare them for further education at universities and other schools of university rank. Schools of the second group educate technicians for agriculture and industry and economists.

The complete course of instruction at general education secondary schools covers six years and at the vocational and technical ones, from five to seven years.

The graduates of secondary schools obtain a relevant certificate (*licencia secundaria*) which, however, does not make them entitled to enter university. In order to be admitted therein (in consonance with the acquired type of secondary education) they have to pass an entrance examination — *bachillerato en humanides* (after graduation of a general education secondary school) and *bachillerato industrial* — after having graduated of a secondary school of vocational education.

In Chile there are seven universities. The largest and oldest of them is the University of Chile (Universidad de Chile) founded in Santiago, 1842, to replace the colonial one — Universidad Real de San Felipe.

The universities in Chile enjoy autonomy in academic, administrative and financial matters.

The state sector of higher education dominates the private one — and to a certain extent also supervises the activities of private schools of higher education.

Appreciative of the indisputable attainments of the schools of higher education in Chile one cannot, however, ignore the difficulties with which they have to cope. The most important among them are financial problems and the obsolete structure of universities. Moreover, in Chile there is also to be observed the disconcerting phenomenon of big disproportions in the social structure of students. The cause of this state of affairs is the wrongly arranged system of scholarships and insufficient means for meeting the students' social and vital needs what makes it difficult for the youth coming from poor families to continue education at schools of university rank.

Moreover, serious difficulties are also encountered by the universities in their endeavours to ensure suitable conditions of work to their research staff and lecturers and, also, their graduates. The relatively low salaries, lack of research apparatus and insufficient equipment of the respective departments and laboratories account for the fact that many high-class specialists leave Chile.

At present the said country is passing through a period of essential transform-ations which have also embraced the sphere of higher education. President

Frei has proved by his educational policy, and Doctor Allende confirmed by his declarations, they treat education as the factor determining the economic, social and cultural progress of the country. It is for this reason that one should expect there in the years to come an even wider spreading of education and opening to the younger generation of ample opportunities to acquire it.

At present Chile ranks among South American countries with the best developed system of education.