Summaries

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S U M M A R I E S

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ETHNIC GEOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNIC REGIONS OF AFRICA

Ethnic geography is a science bordering on geography, ethnography, sociology and cultural anthropology. It studies the distribution of ethnic groups and their relation to natural environment.

The term ethnic groups, or tribes, has usually been used to describe large social groups characterized by common descent and culture. They occupy territories in which they prevail in number, have their organization, cultivate land and customs, etc. The ethnic group adapts itself to the environment and, on the other hand, changes the environment in which it lives.

Criteria for distinguishing ethnic groups and the tribes they include are debatable, as is the terminology related to these groups. In Africa, one often refers to "people" or "sons" of such and such group, although Arabic, for example, makes distinction between various hierarchical terms describing tribal units. There is no doubt, however, that African ethnic distinctions were not invented by the colonizers; it is true they applied the principle of *divide et impera* but they were not interested in further sub-divisions of their subjects.

In independent African countries, tribal differences could not suddenly disappear. On the contrary, certain ethnic ties get even stronger as a result of economic development and migration (regardless of the policy of the particular governments). The newly established African nations also refer to the traditions of the particular ethnic groups. This is why the knowledge of ethnic geography of the continent is so essential. It is of paramount importance for the effective organization of trade, transfer of technology, urbanization and education.

It is difficult, however, to classify and record on the map a great number of varied and mixed ethnic groups inhabiting Africa. As a matter of fact, nobody could manage to elaborate generally accepted criteria of classification and compile the map which would draw unquestioned sub-divisions.

The most popular systems of classification in the world and Polish literature are those representing the anthropological and ethnographical point of view of H. Baumann, G. P. Murdock, M. J. Herskovits, B. Holas, D. Paulme, C. G. Seligman and J. Czekanowski. The systems of J. H. Greenber, P. Alexandre, M. Cohen, and D. Westermann are based on language criteria. L. Ratajski based his system of classification, which is widespread in Polish geographical literature, on descent, language and culture criteria. L. Ratajski divides Africa's population, including Indo-Europeans who settled there and the inhabitants of Madagascar, into eight principal families and three subfamilies, that are further subdivided into groups, subgroups and tribes.

H. Baumann, who is a world "classic", distinguished in Africa (excluding Madagascar) 28 so-called "civilization circles." Baumann's system merits special attention since it combines the particular cultures (civilizations) with the types of natural environment and methods of land cultivation adapted to the environment. It seems, however, that the system makes too many distinctions. Many circles might be combined to form clear-cut groups inhabiting larger areas determined both by nature and history, as well as present-day situation.

If one modifies the systems of H. Baumann and L. Ratajski, the greographical and ethnic realities of Africa may be divided into eleven chief areas: (1) North Africa adjacent to the Mediterranean Sea; (2) Sahara; (3) West-African savanna; (4) forest zone of West Africa (on the Gulf of Guinea); (5) the zone of the so-called central Sudan; (6) Ethiopian Plateau and Somali Peninsula; (7) drainage basin of the Upper Nile; (8) East Africa; (9) forest zone and humid savanna of Tropical Africa; (10) arid savanna to the south of the Equator; (11) South Africa — to the south of Angola, Zambia and Mozambique.

Madagascar and archipelagos of African islands constitute separate regions.

This simplified system is based on the whole group of criteria. In addition to some criteria accepted by H. Baumann and L. Ratajski, it distinguishes the criteria of similarity of the present-day economic development and the direction of influence of overseas cultures, as well as the criteria of the rise of national cultures.

Peoples inhabiting the particular regions exhibit similarities that are easy to capture. Coping with similar problems of natural environment encourages the exchange of experiences and skills, as well as the rise of forms of co-existence among hostile groups. It is not accidental that similar elements of clothing are found among the Regibat and Tuaregs, or similar concept of honour (gatje) may be met among the Wolofs, Tukuler and Fulani.

Each region is different from the remaining ones. This is why researchers of culture should avoid generalizations regarding African people. Africans do not exist. All one can do is to refer to Africans of the particular region — a given part of Africa.

EDWARD SZYMAŃSKI

NASSER'S CONCEPTION OF SOCIAL CHANGES IN EGYPT

The army coup of July 1952 was designed to clean away a system that had been neither effective nor representative. Sweeping away the hollow or corrupt forms of the past was simple enough. The task which thereafter faced the Revolutionary Command Council — a group of officers headed by Colonel Gamal Abd al-Nasser, with General Mohammed Nagib as their intended figurehead — was far more difficult. The new regime set out to accomplish all the old had neglected: to fashion beyond the evident charismatic appeal of new leaders a disciplined, enthusiastic political organization able to come to grips with the problem of social change and willing to account for its actions to the Egyptian constituency.

Within a year after the July 1952 revolution, Nasser had written in his *The Philosophy of the Revolution* that "we are going through two revolutions [...]

a political revolution by which a people wrests the right to govern itself from the hand of tyranny [...] and a social revolution, involving the conflict of classes, which settles down when justice is secured for the citizens of the united nation." He anticipated inconsistencies: "It was not within our power to stand on the road of history like a traffic policeman and hold up the passage of one revolution until the other had passed by in order to prevent a collision. The only thing possible to do was act as best we could and try to avoid being ground between the millstones." The Six Objectives of the Revolution — "elimination of imperialism and its helpers, elimination of feudalism, elimination of monopoly and its domination of the government, the establishment of universal social justice, the formation of the strong, patriotic, national army, and the creation of sound democratic life" — were constantly kept before the public. In 1959 the government undertook to finance 60 per cent of the new project during the following years, and thereby double Egypt's standard of living within a decade. In the meantime, it continued to subsidize the four staples of the Egyptian: poor-tea, sugar, wheat and kerosene. By 1962, Nasser had nationalized all large Egyptian enterprises, expanded land reform, and placed all important sectors of the economy under the control of socialist planners.

| WANDA LEOPOLD |

GERMAN COLONIALISM IN CAMEROUN AND ITS PRESENT-DAY APPRAISAL

The article discusses the little-known and difficult (for the lack of documents) period of German colonization of Cameroun. The author presents the course and characteristics of German rule in Cameroun on the basis of works of various sources, approaches and types of assessment of such scholars as, E. Mveng, R. Cornevin, V. Le Vine and Ki-Zerbo. Although it is the historical type of elaboration, the article includes problems typical of Cameroun only, for example, the three different colonizations and the influence of this phenomenon on the nature of social change and the process of the rise of new social consciousness.

The author discusses the behaviour and attitudes of the natives towards Germans. She describes cases of resistance from the indigenous population, making distinction between the course of developments in the northern (Islamized) Cameroun and its southern and central region.

The author focuses on the Cameroun elite, particularly people in power, whose European origin links it with the elite of other African countries. While discussing these problems, the author emphasizes the character of the opposition in Cameroun of the late period of German colonization. The opposition was organized and led by the Cameroun citizens who had studied in Europe. The rise of the educated elite (in the social sense) in southern and central Cameroun is one of the most pronounced effects of German colonization.

While analyzing German undertakings in the various domains of the country's life, the author focuses on the problems of colonial education and its consequences today. It is emphasized, for example, that during colonization different types of attitudes were shaped within the elite (not only the Cameroun elite). The first

type of attitude is represented by Manga Bella; the other by the "advocate of
conciliation" — Charles Antagana.

The article closes with the four points under which German undertakings
in Cameroun are discussed and the analysis of the impact of these undertakings
on the present-day realities of the country.

JAN PARYS

ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT
IN INDEPENDENT GHANA

The analysis of the industrialization pattern of Ghana starts with the history
of modern economic processes. The author discusses the role of Europeans in
promoting the development of supra-tribal economy and the activity of colonial
authorities. The pattern of industrialization introduced in 1957 by the People's
Party of Convention under Nkrumah is presented by way of characterizing the
successive economic plans of the government. The financing of investments, their
share in national income and their principal areas comprise the three issues
which make the author conclude that the pattern of industrialization adopted by
Nkrumah was inadequate in Ghanaian conditions. Slowdown of economic develop-
ment, inflation, financial crisis and adverse balance of foodstuffs led to a coup
in 1966, when the army overthrew the Nkrumah government. Economic difficulties
faced by the Nkrumah government had also their source in noneconomic apparatus
of political organs, inefficient civil service staff, dictatorship, and wrong policy
of the government pursued in relation to the particular social strata. The military
government, which has been in power since 1966, inherited worse situation from
Nkrumah than he himself did from colonial authorities. In 1966 Ghana had large
foreign debts, high degree of inflation and general disappointment. The government
was forced to stop investments and reprivatize numerous enterprises. It is not
until Ghana overcomes difficulties that one will be able to state whether the level
of development reached until 1966 may be balanced with many years of crisis.
When the military government came to power, it could not, as once Nkrumah
could, opt for economic development; all it could do was to search for way of
overcoming crisis, that is to say, instead of controlling the economy it was
dependent on it to a greater extent than it is usually the case. Economic effects
of the military government in the years 1966—1972 are presented by way of
characterizing economic programme and results of the balance of foreign trade.
The author concludes by saying that the development of the Ghanaian society in
the years 1966—1972 enables him to put forward five hypotheses that explain
internal mechanism of Ghana's political and social system. They are as follows:

(1) pan-classless and nationwide concept of the state is inadequate to the
situation when the classes are being shaped and struggle for power;

(2) making up of the industrialized society according to socialist pattern of
industrialization is possible on the basis of the class division, not of national
solidarity;

(3) absence of the stabilized social structure involves struggle for power,
which in difficult economic situation leads to a shift from civil government to
dictatorship (either military or bureaucratic);

(4) dictatorship does not allow social and economic conflits to appear; dictatorship lasts until social forces reach the state of equilibrium;

(5) politics may be the source of economic decisions unless it precludes rational purposes of the economy.

ịc is the subject of the comparative studies to find out to what extent hypotheses applied to Ghana's system may serve as historical generalizations explaining the development of the societies of other Asian, African and Latin American countries.

MAŁGORZATA SZUPEJKO

FROM PROTECTORATE TO MILITARY GOVERNMENT. THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL CHANGE IN UGANDA

The author attempts an answer to the following question: what was the background of a successful coup of General Amin in Uganda?

On the eve of independence Uganda's political system constituted the heritage of the whole colonial period. The system was created by forces active within this political unit (this is how Uganda of 1962 should be treated). Uganda was a political unit since it did not constitute a uniform state, not to mention the lack of any national features or other supratribal bonds. This has been stressed on numerous occasions by both scholars and political leaders of Uganda.

The period of the British Protectorate over Uganda saw the deepening of the conflict between the centre of the country and the remaining regions. This was the outcome of the signing by the British of separate agreements with the rulers of the four kingdoms: Buganda, Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro, that formed part of the protectorate. Their political systems were used for the purpose of colonial administration. On the other hand, tribes which did not have a wel-formed structure of power had to adopt administration together with the officials from other tribes.

An important effect of indirect administration was the functioning of political subsystems within one state, as well as the strengthening of tribalism in the whole Uganda. In order to grasp the sources of domestic conflicts in Uganda after independence, one should be aware of the peculiarities and political trends occurring in Uganda under colonial administration. This problem is discussed in Chapter 2 entitled "Kingdoms and Tribes of Uganda in the Colonial Period." The population inhabiting Uganda was a mixture of various tribes. According to the ethnico-linguistic criteria, it may be divided into three groups: Bantu tribes (central and southern regions); Nilo-Hamites (north-eastern region); and Nilotic people (in the north of Uganda). Taking into consideration the pre-colonial times, one can make a generalization that Bantu tribes reached the highest level of social development, forming a centralized and complex political system, whereas the Nilotic and Nilo-Hamite tribes were organized in a segmentary way.

The fact that ethnic and tribal subdivisions were strictly connected with the sphere of political and social activity of the tribes was crucial for the disintegration of Uganda. The country inherited from colonial administration the stratum of officials in which Bantu prevailed. Members of this group were educated and spoke English. Military activity, on the other hand, was the domain of the Nilotic tribes inhabiting north and south-west Uganda.

The fact that Bantu (and particularly Baganda) could be employed in political administration gave them definite economic benefits and was responsible for their privileged status in relation to other tribes. Their education was an indispensable condition for undertaking reforms aimed at modernization of the economy and forms of administration. Economic reforms carried out by the British entailed social change. Tribes that readily accepted innovation, for example Baganda, had a privileged position in the protectorate. This also influenced the status of Buganda in the independent Uganda. These problems are discussed in Chapter 3. After 1962 Buganda remained the headquarters of the federal authorities. The Constitution safeguarded the greatest scope of rights in the republic for Buganda. However, strong pro-monarchist and separatist political tendencies in Buganda caused that the dilemma: monarchy or republic provided motivation for the people undertaking political reforms. These tendencies were reflected in the programmes of political parties active in Uganda. Uganda People's Congress under M. Obote postulated to build a supratribal nation, and put an end to economic and political differences among the particular regions of Uganda. The Kabaka Yekka, the court party of Buganda, strove towards maintaining monarchy, autonomy, and supremacy of Buganda. The Democratic Party, which was unimportant as a separate political organization, also spoke against separatism and the policy pursued by the royal court. The alliance of the Uganda People's Congress with the Kabaka Yekka, at the cost of certain privileges for Buganda, ensured success in election of April 1962 for the Obote party, and Kabaka Mutesa II became President of Uganda.

These two utterly different political parties remained neutral for two years only. Obote, making use of the first political pretext (the issue of the so-called Lost Counties, that is to say clash over the frontier between Buganda and Bunyoro), broke his alliance with the Kabaka Yekka. Instead, he made efforts to win the army over, installing his Lango tribesmen in it. Since 1964 the army has gained privileges and politically strengthened. Backed up by the army, Obote could dismiss Mutesa II in 1966, taking advantage of the next occasion — this time Mutesa's protest against the suspension of the Constitution and his appeal for British intervention.

Chapter five discusses the political line of Obote, referred to as "The Move to the Left" and analyzes the causes of its failure, which directly led to the overtaking of power by Amin.

Obote implemented his policy by introducing "The Common Man's Charter." He described his programme as socialist and combined it with nationalization of the main sectors of the economy. The fear of such radical measures led to the opposition from both military and rich plantators from the south, as well as from the group of well-off officials who had family ties with the "coffee elite." Generally speaking, Obote met with opposition in the southern and central Uganda, where there were large coffee and cotton plantations. Their owners feared the far-reaching economic reforms. The other serious opposition came from that part of the army which had not privileges, that is to say, all those who were not Lango or Acholi. The army, which was an economically powerful group, had too much to lose. Amin, who was rapidly promoted after 1964 thanks to Obote and won popularity in the army, came to be his political rival and took power on 25 January, 1971 after a successful military coup. Amin introduced severe military government, abolished reforms of Obote and fulfiled the demands of the army.

It is characteristic that the domestic conflicts of Uganda had their roots in the ethnic and tribal antagonisms.

ANTONI GRZYBOWSKI

SOCIAL ROADS OF FORMATION OF "APARTHEID" IN SOUTH AFRICA

The problem of relations between the white and non-white population, which assumed the shape of apartheid after 1948 (when nationalists came to power in South Africa), had its roots in the early stage of the white settlement in southern Africa. The Boer settlers, who were under strong influence of the French fanatic Huguenot element, shaped their characteristic southern African Calvinism marked by the ideology of "predestination" and "chosen people". The religion had a strong impact on the process of formation of ideology and Africaner nation. The community which developed in the 18th century in the vast southern African weald dealt mainly with animal breeding and agriculture. It developed in a homogeneous way and created its own system of values subject to peculiar ideological interpretation of the Bible. The system sanctioned slave labour, which was inseparably connected with the functioning of the community, within the framework of social division of labour. When the homogeneous Boer community came in contact with the English at the beginning of the 19th century, it could not cope with the 19th-century European civilization in which slave economy was already an anachronism (whereas it continued to be the foundation of the system and regularity of social relations for the theocratic Boers). These different approaches to the existing realities caused mass migrations of the Boers in 1836 to the north and to the east (Groot Trek).

The establishment of republics, contact and clash with the Bantu people, as well as the rise of the so-called racial problem (related to the ideology of southern African Calvinism) which continued to be the foundation of the social system of the Boers, followed by the Boer war which broke aut as a result of England striving to incorporate rich diamond and gold-bearing areas, led to the rise of the African nation with its own language called Afrikaans. The loss of independence, the period of the dominion and the re-gaining of independence enabled the Boers to shape their world in accordance with their own patterns in which religion, language and race were to play the principal part. These three elements marked the ideology of social policy based on apartheid after the Nationalists came to power in 1948. Apartheid is the policy under which the particular racial groups live separately and develop within their homelands. This practically leads to the subjugation of the Black population (the number of which is five times larger than that of whites) to white people (*baaskap*). Political situation in the world, and particularly in Africa, industrial development of South Africa and the resulting shortage of skilled labour (which is the result of the so-called "colour barrier" — the law that reserves skilled jobs for whites only), as well as economic rivarly (which is an important argument for businessmen to raise against the present-day forms of apartheid; as a matter of fact, economic reasons are more convincing than appeals to human feelings) caused that the government of South Africa makes certain concessions (without giving up the principles of apartheid) to the Black population of South Africa. In the first place, it does not take any measures when blacks take skilled jobs (reserved for whites by the law). This may be illustrated by the situation in the metal and engineering industries, (that specially need highly skilled workers), which employ 90% of blacks and only 10% of whites, whereas in 1950 the figures were 30% and 70% respectively.

ANDRZEJ KRASNOWOLSKI

SOME ASPECTS OF CULTURAL CHANGE OF
AFRICANS IN BRAZIL

Problems of the history of black slavery in the New World are numerous and require many-sided historical and sociological studies. They have already been dealt with by numerous researches. Studies on African communities in the United States and Brazil, which are the principal centres of black population in America, are conducted by so many scholars since they concern the evolution of cultures, nature of contacts and cultural exchange. Thus these are general studies on the principal problems of human culture and its development.

The author presents only those elements of culture of Africans in Brazil that had a decisive impact on personalities, social behaviour and character of culture of the group of the future black re-emigrants. Such an approach is connected with the more comprehensive investigation of the role of Afro-Brazilians in the process of transformation of the Slave Coast on the example of Benin (former Dahomey).

Black Brazilians — former slaves and their offspring — re-emigrated to their native coast on the Gulf of Guinea from the middle of the 18th century to the 20th century for various reasons. Their activity in Africa had direct impact on transformation of African societies of the region of the Slave Coast. Cultural contacts and their character were facilitated by the nature of culture of Afro--Brazilians as well as by the level of political and socio-cultural advancement of African kingdoms. The society of slaves — contrary to what is generally held — was highly differentiated.

The situation of a slave in Brazil depended on the branch in which he worked, on the type and size of a holding and on some unique situations. The differentiation of the society of slaves had a decisive impact on the course of the process of cultural change in particular groups.

These factors determined the opportunities (limited as they were) of emancipation and rise in social status of the emancipated Africans. They, too, determined social behaviour and culture of free Black Brazilians.

Culture of Africans in Brazil is characterized by syncretism. Africans found themselves deprived of their culture and social system. Slavery destroyed African type of family and social life; no original structures survived. Cultural values, on the other hand, did survive and had to be adapted to new social situation. Various factors were responsible for the survival of certain African values. One of them was the fact that Africans in towns and on plantations formed ethnical groups. This was also the outcome of the policy of Brazilian government striving to maintain tribal antagonisms (*divide et impera*) as well as of the attitude of the Church that accepted transmission of the elements of African beliefs re-adapted to Christianism. Assimilation was also encouraged by the skill to accept and re--shape the dominating culture. On the other hand African culture and tradition survived to the largest extent in Brazilian towns.

In the group of the emancipated Africans in Brazil (mainly in towns) the principal forms of socio-cultural response were as follows:

(a) full cultural assimilation and acceptance of social system;

(b) adaptation of the way of life, partial assimilation elements of the indigenous culture being consciously stressed. It should be said, however, that some Black Brazilians revolted and partially denied the white culture (this was manifested in social uprisings and individual returns to Africa).

Groups of Africans coming back to Africa from Brazil recruited mainly from the former slaves who lived in towns or slaves who worked on medium-sized plantations. Patterns of social and economic behaviour, system of values and various elements of material culture constituted the elements of culture that underwent the strongest acculturation. Religious system and the related musical and artistic output were most autonomous and most resistant to acculturation. Ethnic ties constituted the element uniting individuals and distinguishing groups of the emancipated Africans.

ELŻBIETA REKŁAJTIS

SOCIAL INTEGRATION AND LANGUAGE POLICY IN MAGHREB

The survey of problems conveyed in the title has been made on the example of Marocco, Algeria and Tunesia.

To define the language policy in the newly independent states is an attempt to reconcile an important position of the metropolitan language of the colonial times with the independence aspirations. The necessary for the development synthesis of various cultural elements is made more difficult in the Maghreb countries because of the historically shaped and still popular stereotype of associating French with effectiveness and modernity and Arabic (and other vernacular languages) with backwardness and weakness. One comes across this stereotype also in scholarly publications all over the world. In practice, the basic choice in the field of language policy means either following the policy aiming at specific synthesis of various cultural elements or the lack of definite policy in general. It is true that only radical decisions and actions can bring back the dynamics and the evolutionary character to the Arabic language and culture in the Maghreb countries.

JANUSZ KAMOCKI

THE INDONESIAN LANGUAGE AND THE RISE OF NATIONHOOD IN INDONESIA

Many countries that arose after the Second World War often face the problem of shaping national community. Some of these newly established countries, for example Korea, are inhabited by the population that had already shaped its nationhood; others comprise various tribes having different culture, language, economic interests, etc. In such case it is essential to form one nation. This task is often associated with the problem of choice of a national language which would serve as the language of administration and everyday language to be spoken by the particular tribes. If, therefore, the newly established country does not have a language of its own (unlike cases when the rise of a new state is tantamount

to the winning of independence by the nation that had already existed — for example, Korea and Arab countries, it is forced to chose one of the following possibilities, each one having strong and weak points:

(a) to maintain the colonial language, which facilitates the continuation of administrative functions and the rapid cultural advancement but at the same time impedes the development of the indigenous culture;

(b) to give more chances to one of the tribal languages, which brings about conflicts among tribes, fear of new colonization and hampers the development of tribal ties;

(c) to restore a dead historical language, which was possible only in the case of Israel;

(d) to create a new national language on the basis of tribal language occurring in the country.

This article discusses the fourth possibility on the example of Indonesia, where this has been accomplished. The rise of a national language in Indonesia was made possible thanks to the fact that almost all the archipelago (except East Irian) is inhabited by linguistically related groups, sharing vocabulary and basic grammatical forms.

The main problem was cultural differentiation of Indonesian peoples manifest i.a. in religious and language differences. Along with peoples speaking poor languages, in Indonesia live old peoples speaking rich and complex languages having old literatures. According to linguists, the number of these languages ranges from 70 to 400. Languages of major tribes played the role of intermediaries among minor languages, serving as the *lingua franca* for small regions. The same part was played by traders travelling from island to island.

Indonesian national movement, which started to create (with the aid of Dutch linguists) common Indonesian language, undertook the difficult decision to break with the beautiful languages that have too complex forms and would be too difficult for the primitive tribes. The Indonesian language has been based on resources common to all the community and on the forms of trade languages. In this manner the supra-tribal language was formed, which is taught in schools and has come to be the second language — after tribal languages spoken in private life — for most Indonesians. The language is neutral as regards tribal aspirations; it is the language of administration, school, radio, press, technology, and the Church (in Catholic regions). It is also spoken by the migrants, whose number is increasing in Indonesia. Today, there are people who are still more proud of their tribal than national ties, but the Indonesian language (*bahasa Indonesia*) has already come to be the language of all Indonesians. It is a cementing factor around which the nation is built.

STANISŁAW TOKARSKI

COMMUNITIES OF THE PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN INDIA

When discussing the passive resistance as consisting of philosophical and religious doctrine, a set of fighting techniques and community practices connected with the upbringing of the new generation of the Hindu, the author of the article

outlines a broader work which he intends to write. It will be concerned with the role of the idea of ashrams in the socio-cultural changes in India during the first fifty years of the 20th century, and in the West of the last 25 years.

The passive resistance is, according to the author, fundamental for the development of the movement of rebirth of the great tradition as it contributed to a large extent to the proclamation of the Republic of India. In the communities established by Gandhi the concept of this type of struggle found its full expression, modifying other, less conscious or more concealed forms of the philosophical religious theory, methods of activity and community practices.

The history of the emergence of the doctrine of passive resistance is closely related to the life of Gandhi, though he did not consider himself as the originator of it, nor did he put it within the frames of a mature system, referring both to the examples from the past (Jesus, Socrates, Krishna), as well as to the visions of the society of the future, filled with the spirit of love.

The doctrine of the passive resistance has the following aspects:

a) anthropological — indicating the ways of improving the individual and the human species;

b) cosmological — stressing the importance of the process for the future of the universe;

c) religious — considering the indicated way as the realization of divinity;

d) individual — postulating it as dharma of every man;

e) social — treating "social service" as the only way of realizing that dharma.

Together with the development of the doctrine, the movement led by Gandhi worked out methods of struggle. The outline of their history is given in the second part of the article. It deals with the application of the principles of passive resistance through marches, open breaking of certain laws, hunger-strikes, rejection of cooperation, struggle for the abolishment of the untouchability and for economic self-sufficiency. The intensification of the subsequent actions originated, according to the author, from Gandhi's ashrams, the inhabitants of which constituted a certain laboratory, the source of Mahatma's ideas and power.

The article concludes with a survey of Gandhi's subsequent ashrams, Phoenix Farm, Tolstoi's Farm, Satjagraha Ashram, Sevagram Ashram. Each of them was connnected with different aspects of the movement.

Setting the idea of passive resistance in the national independance aspirations which followed the transformations of the Indian Renaissance of the 20th century, the author finds it necessary to investigate the neo-Indian ashrams. He hopes to get a fuller and more real picture of the variety of confronting certain elements of the Indian tradition (not only that which has been popularized in the text--exporting versions since the 18th century) and the elements of the Western tradition. The idea to analyse the theory and practice of those communities is based on the assumption that the ideologies of the neo-Indian communities had certain features in common, and other features which were contradictory. It found confirmation in the socio-political life of contemporary India, as well as in the contestant movements, continuing the neo-Indian syntheses of elements of the Western and Oriental culture as a great old-Indian tradition together with the patterns of struggle against sociotechnology, transformed in the community movement of the counterculture. The research worker investigating the contemporary culture of the West can get a better picture of the period of the great "revolt of the youth" thanks to the analysis of the first stage of cultural expansion of the

Orient, which took place in India, penetrated culturally and invigilated socio-
-politically by the British. This understanding together with the understanding
of the culture of a contemporary Hindu, an inhabitant of the Republic of India,
is linked by the author with the analysis of the practice of the neo-Indian ashrams
as prototypes of the counterculture of the West and the source of many political
tendencies in India.