

Recherche Historique Courants et Structures

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THE MAIN DIRECTIONS OF INDIAN STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY POLISH SCIENCE

Attempts to overcome the errors of "Europecentrism" could not but lead to detailed studies of the cultures and history of various civilizations which have emerged on our globe. A number of premises—political, social, economic and cultural—spoke up in favour of a particularly intensive exploration of the Indian sub-continent and Polish science has been ever deeper involved in this matter.

In the endeavours to characterize the basic lines of studies of the said problem we wish to limit our efforts to reviewing works dealing with philosophy, modern history and socio-political relationships while leaving aside the considerable achievements in the sphere of philological, literary and art studies as well as the rather extensive popular-science literature.

*Polish oriental studies can be justly proud of the fact that the first efforts at a scientific approach to the history of India were undertaken by the eminent historian Joachim Lelewel who, in 1820, published his *Dzieje starożytne Indii* [Ancient History of India]. Today, the work has, of course, lost much of its original importance, yet it does confirm that even during the period of Poland's partition, the specificity of India and of its cultural ties with Europe have fascinated Polish scholars.*

In later years, especially at the turn of the 19th and 20th cen-

ture, the phenomenon of the "Indian renaissance"¹ exerted a powerful influence on stimulating interest in Indian research practically all over the world. The West, clearly disturbed by the intensification of various social and international conflicts and itself going through a crisis of faith and philosophy, began to take literally the old paroemia—*ex oriente lux*. Several works had then appeared dealing with religious, philosophical, literary and cultural studies. In Poland high acclaim has been won by works of Leon Mańkowski, Andrzej Gawroński, Stanisław Franciszek Michalski, Stanisław Schayer, Stefan Stasiak, Eugeniusz Słuszkiewicz and others.²

The fact that at that time India was not an independent state, focussed the interest of Polish scholars above all on cultural as well as philosophical and religious phenomena. Studies dealing with political analysis appeared but rarely and even more rarely were based on proven source material. A fundamental re-orientation of these interests came only in mid-fifties when, with considerable effort, works by well-known Indian scholars and politicians were published. Books which then appeared in Polish included: R. P. Dutt, *India Today* (1951); J. Nehru, *The Discovery of India* (1957); M. H. Gandhi, *An Autobiography* (1957); E. M. S. Namboodiripada, *The Mahatma and the Gandhism* (1959); translation of the excellent work by the Indian philosopher S. Radhakrishnan, *Indian Philosophy* (1959-1960), the work by A. L. Basham *The Wonder that was India* (1964). Somewhat later there appeared translations of books by the eminent Indian historian and diplomatist K. M. Panikkar, *A Survey of Indian History* (1965) and *Asia and Western Dominance, 1498 - 1945* (1972).

The publication of the above listed works was in itself a proof of the interest of the Polish people, and of Polish science in the

¹ This term embraces phenomena which have appeared in India's cultural, religious and political life from the third decade of the 19th century to the outbreak of World War I.

² Those interested in this particular stage of the development of India studies in Poland should refer to the articles by E. Słuszkiewicz, *India as Seen by Polish Travellers up to the 19th Century*, "Indo-Asian Culture", 1961, No. 2, pp. 385-403 and 1962, No. 1, pp. 336-338 and, *idem*, *India Studies in Poland*, "Indo-Asian Culture", 1959, No. 4, pp. 412-422 and *idem*, *Szkice z dziejów polskiej orientalistyki* [Essays on the History of Polish Oriental Studies], Warszawa 1957.

first place, in the problems of India while at the same time stimulating continued development of Indian studies. As a result, many papers were written dealing with Indian philosophy, history, sociology, politics, ideology, culture, religion and philological problems. As already stated, this paper concentrates on selected problems of philosophy, history and politics.

The first of the three domains opened with the works by the famous essayist Henryk Elzenberg, who undertook studies on the problem of ahimsa³ and pacifism, as well as on the philosophical premises of Gandhism. His first paper devoted to these questions was published in 1934.⁴ In it he attempted to confront ahimsa with European pacifism. Yet, he found more differences than similarities between the two. For, the similarities are only apparent and superficial while the differences are much deeper, concern the very essence of matter and reveal contrasting attitudes. In his analysis, European pacifism was bared of its outward appearances and brought to light were its passivity and cowardice, whereas ahimsa manifested itself as an attitude full of heroism, creative and, at the same time, militant.

Henryk Elzenberg has returned several times to the problems of India. Immediately after the tragic experiences of World War II, he sought there inspiration for more general deliberations on the moral order of the world, on the goals and methods of its transformation. The philosopher is still fascinated by the person of M. Gandhi, and not only in its historical dimension—as the creator of independent India and a great social reformer—but also, perhaps above all, as a moralist whose principal concern was the proper meaning of life. Gandhism was shown there as “one of greatest ever ethical movements, one of the most decisive of the known collective efforts to raise human nature above its hitherto level and one whose social and political achievements are an element of this higher cause”.⁵ For Elzenberg, Gandhi is, first of all, an ethical genius. What does it mean? The

³ Ahimsa—non-injury, non-violence.

⁴ See H. Elzenberg, *Ahimsa i pacyfizm. Rzecz o Gandhizmie [Ahimsa and Pacifism. Notes on Gandhism]*, “Pion,” 1934.

⁵ See H. Elzenberg, *Gandhi w perspektywie dziejowej [Gandhi in Historical Perspective]*, in: *Próby kontaktu*, Kraków, 1966, p. 205.

author names thus a man for whom the moral point of view predominates, who is concerned above all with moral facts, who is capable of supreme devotion and is, in a way, advancing the *ultima* limits of human endeavour. Elzenberg expounded this concept revealing simultaneously the social implications of this attitude—e.g. Gandhi's concern for the pariah, his efforts to improve the lot of women and of the poor, and also his deeply held conviction that the attainment of these aspirations is not feasible without India regaining her independence.

Similar problems are taken up in the works by Professor Ija Lazari-Pawłowska. There, too, the Gandhi phenomenon is the dominating accent. With exceptional dependability the authoress collected and systematized Gandhi's moral postulates, building up foundations of an "ethical system" on the basis of the many *ad hoc* expressed instructions and advice by the leader of the Indian national-liberation movement. She is convinced that Gandhi precisely "for moral reasons became the leader of a political and social movement."⁶ This is a statement of extreme importance in that it largely determined the basic line of further analysis which, of course, is not to imply that in the works by Lazari-Pawłowska neglected were instances of conflicts between injunctions of normative ethics and concrete practical solutions. A whole separate chapter is devoted to the problem of controversies and conflicting situations in Gandhi's ethics. I would be prepared to risk a statement that not only in socialist writings but in the entire literature devoted to Gandhi I have not come across such a penetrating and consistent study from the methodological point of view.

Of a completely different nature is the work by the same authoress entitled: *Gandhi*.⁷ Addressed to an average reader it contains more illustrative and descriptive elements, revealing at the same time, however, not only full competence of the writer in penetrating philosophical and moral problems but also in the realm of more general historical conditions. The work contains

⁶ See I. Lazari-Pawłowska, *Etyka Gandhiego* [Gandhi's Ethics], Warszawa 1965, p. 12.

⁷ Warszawa 1967.

also the first, outside of Gandhi's Autobiography, compilation of Gandhi's original texts. For a less demanding reader, it is undoubtedly a representative book as it embraces ethical, social, political and religious contents and even Gandhi's divagations on the subject of culture. Yet, it is too small a fragment of Mahatma's vast heritage and thus cannot serve as a source foundation for research work. It still leaves open the question of elaborating a more representative selection of the works by the great Indian moralist and politician.

Though the above outlined philosophical studies certainly deserve a high mark, nevertheless a special place has been achieved by studies dealing with India's contemporary history, political system and sociology. Imposing in particular in this respect are works by Professor Bogusław Mrozek, a research scientist who spent many years in India, a fact which has made it possible for him to gain access to the very sources and also to confront on the spot specific theoretical assumptions with the prevailing political system of that country. He published dozens of works dealing with various problems of present-day India, including almost twenty extensive monographs. All of them concern chiefly the results of research into India's latest history—e.g. the shaping up of the social and political system of independent India, and an analysis of her political ideology.

B. Mrozek is fascinated by the process of the transformation of the whole Indian sub-continent (i.e. India and Pakistan) from an object into a subject of international politics. He points out that the pace of these transformations during the inter-war period, has been determined by a number of factors, though chiefly by the Indian national-liberation movement. On the other hand, after World War II, the transformations were prompted above all by the consistent policy pursued by the leadership of the Congress Party,⁸ thanks to which India has gained the position of the leader of the non-aligned states. Thus, a special place in the set of research problems is occupied by the political role

⁸ The matter concerns the leadership of the Indian National Congress, the main political party which, since 1885, led the Indian national-liberation movement.

of M. K. Gandhi⁹ whose contribution to the creation of the sovereign Indian state is unquestionable, and that of Jawaharlal Nehru,¹⁰ the first prime minister of independent India.

Mrozek's book devoted to Gandhi appeared under the literary pseudonym Janusz Warda. It was published in a popular series but this is no reflection on its scientific value. The latter is particularly evident in these chapters which present the alignment of political forces in India during the years between the two World Wars and show the role of Gandhi against that background. The author seeks to penetrate the secret of Gandhi's influence on the Indian masses and thus sees him not only as a fighter for independence but also as a social and religious reformer who could so often identify himself with the dreams and aspirations of the poorest and most wronged of his countrymen.

A similar line of deliberations is encountered in the subsequent work by B. Mrozek, entitled *Nehru*.¹¹ This is, so far, the only monograph of the eminent Indian politician, the country's first prime minister. It is not only a biography of a statesman but also a detailed analysis of the various factors which, throughout the past century, exerted their influence on the formation of forces which guided the struggle of the Indian people for independence. The biographical threads were so selected by the author, as to present in a possibly most vivid way the mechanism of forming the political and ideological attitudes of Jawaharlal Nehru and of the entire milieu to which he belonged.

In Mrozek's work Nehru is presented as a leader of the national-liberation movement who gradually becomes aware of the close interrelations between political and social problems. An inescapable consequence of this process was the awakening of his interest in socialism and also in the problems of the international working class movement. A result of this course of events was that Nehru became the leader of the Congress' left wing, which,

⁹ The problem is taken up by B. Mrozek in his book entitled *Mahatma Gandhi przywódca Indii* [*Mahatma Gandhi, the Leader of India*], Warszawa 1968, published under the pseudonym Janusz Warda, and, though less systematically, in his other works.

¹⁰ See B. Mrozek, *Nehru*, Warszawa 1974.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

during the 1930s had played a major role in formulating the political platform of the Indian National Congress.

The final stage of this journey to a "meeting with destiny" abounded in many important and extremely difficult problems linked, above all, with the outbreak of the World War II. In the view of great many Indian patriots, the war provided an exceptional opportunity for launching a decisive struggle for independence. The leading advocate of this orientation was Subhas Chandra Bose, the founder of the Indian National Army, who saw the chance of achieving the ultimate goal in collaboration with Japan.¹² Nehru, on the other hand, held a different opinion. He realized full well that Nazism and Fascism represent a set of ideas formed by the lowest instincts and a practice which obliterated the achievements of humanity. He was also aware that the colonial peoples would not become involved on the side of the allies without obtaining guarantees which would augur unequivocally the fulfilment of their national aspirations.

The "meeting with destiny" brought with it the necessity to wage a decisive battle against machinations by British imperialism, particularly spiteful during the final phase of the war and in the immediate post-war period. Mrozek cites a number of arguments which clearly indicate that the British government, realizing that its colonial domination of India could no longer be perpetuated, has once again resorted to the principle of divide et impera, skillfully fanning and exploiting the Moslem aspirations to establish a separate state of their own.

The division of Hindustan into India and Pakistan, coupled with bloody massacres, excessive communalism and a catastrophic economic situation—that was the legacy inherited by Nehru as the first prime minister of independent India. These adverse phenomena were accompanied by the polarization and division of forces within the Indian National Congress which thus far was held together by the common struggle for independence and by

¹² S. Ch. Bose represented the left wing of the Indian National Congress, but during the war he came to the conclusion that in the struggle for independence, whoever fights against Britain should be regarded as an ally.

the charisma of Gandhi who often acted as the super-arbiter reconciling the dissenting factions.

Very significant are also those of Mrozek's deliberations which point to the role played by Nehru in shaping the programme of social and economic transformations, in particular the programme of Indian socialism (Congress socialism)¹³. Notwithstanding the manifold difficulties and obstacles, the programme has for a number of years determined the rhythm of India's socio-economic life, and despite the fundamental changes that have taken place on that country's political scene, it still constitutes a major motive power for the Indian left.

Further on in his work, Mrozek presents Jawaharlal Nehru as an eminent statesman who managed to direct India's policy onto a track of progress. Nehru had the sort of training and abilities which made him so different from many other Indian politicians, especially from Gandhi—namely he could see the struggle of the Indian people in the wider context of international problems. He was fully acquainted with these problems, he understood them thoroughly and—the author claims—he could draw proper conclusions from them. Nehru was absolutely conscious of the predatory nature of imperialism and thus saw the need for an uncompromising struggle for total liberation of all colonial and oppressed peoples and was fully aware of the unpredictable in its consequences danger of a nuclear conflict.

Assessed very highly by B. Mrozek is Nehru as the founder and a staunch advocate of the policy of non-alignment, which mollified the tensions of the critical stages of the cold war period. India's role in the implementation of this policy could have been even more pronounced had the situation not been further complicated by unresolved regional questions, especially by the permanent state of conflict with Pakistan and by the new policy of China. Unfortunately this inauspicious climate accompanied Nehru's efforts to the end of his days and was to exert its influence on future developments on the Indian sub-continent.

¹³ Principles of Indian socialism were formulated in the documents adopted at the sessions of the Indian National Congress in Avadi (1955), Nagpur (1959) and Bhubaneswar. See also B. Mrozek, *O socjalizmie indyjskim* [On Indian Socialism], "Przegląd Orientalistyczny", 1965, No. 4.

A separate place in Bogusław Mrozek's scientific attainments is taken by works of a synthetic character, such as India wczoraj i dziś [India Yesterday and Today],¹⁴ Indie współczesne [Contemporary India]¹⁵, Pakistan. Przeszłość i terażniejszość [Pakistan. Its Past and Present]¹⁶, Historia najnowsza Azji Południowo-Wschodniej, 1917 - 1970. Zarys polityczny [Latest History of South-East Asia, 1917 - 1970. Political Outline].¹⁷ It is impossible to list in this article even the most basic problems reviewed in the said works. Thus we must of necessity restrict ourselves to attempts at extracting their common methodological features. The observation which comes to the fore is that B. Mrozek is analyzing every single problem in the typical for him historical perspective—in his considerations history creates the indispensable premises for the formation of individual phenomena of the present-day, providing at the same time a point of reference. Secondly—Mrozek's deliberations are marked by dynamism, i.e. political institutions are living organisms, are undergoing transformations and reflect in their structure and functioning the influence of varied external factors, chiefly economic and social. A successive methodological regularity consists in the observance by the author of the influence of socio-economic factors. He is far from referring to vulgarized economism which educes in a mechanical way socio-political relationships from purely economic premises. The influence is outlined subtly and is based on sound factological foundations. Finally, one finds in Mrozek's works a particular ability to link the fate of individual Asian nations—especially in his Latest History of South-East Asia he ventures far beyond the boundaries of India—with the ways and means of the functioning of world imperialism, British imperialism in the first place. He denounces the alleged civilizing mission of the British, revealing their egoistic objectives and the efforts to perpetuate their colonial domination.

Aside from extensive synthetic works, a special place in B. Mrozek's studies belongs to his problem analysis which, not in-

¹⁴ Warszawa 1962.

¹⁵ Warszawa 1971.

¹⁶ Warszawa 1966.

¹⁷ Warszawa 1973.

frequently, are reminiscent of political expertise. It is, of course, impossible to enumerate here, all the pertinent elaborations. Let us, therefore, limit the list to those which we regard as the most valuable. Thus, mentioned above all should be the monographs devoted to the Indian National Congress¹⁸ and to the attitudes of the Indian political parties at the time of the outbreak of World War II;¹⁹ the studies dealing with the objectives and activities of the British diplomacy in India and in Asia;²⁰ the monograph analyzing the mechanism of the creation of Pakistan in the light of the development of the Indian national-liberation movement;²¹ and a series of papers describing the principles of India's foreign policy during the post-war period,²² as well as his searching study "Trzeci Świat" i neutralizm [The Third World and Neutralism].²³

The above quoted list falls far short of presenting all works by B. Mrozek devoted to India. It does, however, show the general lines and trends and is also an indication that Polish science has properly assessed the importance of India in contemporary world, creating, at the same time, the premises for a proper interpretation of her strivings and aspirations.

¹⁸ See B. Mrozek, *Indyjski Kongres Narodowy. Zarys historii politycznej* [Indian National Congress. Outline of Political History], Warszawa 1971.

¹⁹ See B. Mrozek, *Partie polityczne w Indiach w obliczu wybuchu II wojny światowej* [Indian Political Parties at the Time of the Outbreak of World War 2], Warszawa 1960.

²⁰ See B. Mrozek, *Dyplomacja brytyjska w Indiach, 1942* [British Diplomacy in India, 1942], Warszawa 1962; idem, *Polityka Wielkiej Brytanii w Azji po II wojnie światowej* [British Policy in Asia after World War 2], Warszawa 1972.

²¹ See B. Mrozek, *Pakistan. Przeszłość i teraźniejszość* [Pakistan. Past and Present], Warszawa 1966; idem, *Pakistan. Zarys sytuacji politycznej i polityki zagranicznej* [Pakistan. Outline of the Political Situation and of Foreign Policy], Warszawa 1959; idem, *Powstanie Pakistanu w 1947 roku na tle rozwoju indyjskiego ruchu narodowo-wyzwolenczego po II wojnie światowej* [The Establishment of Pakistan in 1947 as seen against the Background of the Development of the Indian National-Liberation Movement after World War II], Warszawa 1963.

²² See B. Mrozek, *Polityka zagraniczna Indii w latach 1956-1958. Dokumenty i materiały* [India's Foreign Policy in 1956-1958. Documents and Materials], Warszawa 1959 (manuscript rights); idem, *Zarys polityki zagranicznej Indii w latach 1966-1969* [Outline of India's Foreign Policy in 1966-1969], Warszawa 1970.

²³ Warszawa 1966.

It is, of course, not easy for the author of this article to present his own publications on the subject matter. Hence the following paragraphs will be limited only to outlining the theses contained in individual works without any attempts to assess their value.

The first work devoted to Gandhism was published in 1969.²⁴ Presented in it was an analysis of Gandhi's fundamental ethical concepts and their implications for shaping social and political opinions. A matter which then figured rather prominently was also the, so-called, Gandhi's social pedagogy, i.e., his efforts to mould the attitudes of the Indian society through the intermediary of either ashrams²⁵ or the many civic organizations and also by the leading political force—the Indian National Congress. Then comes the attempt to present the basic premises of Gandhi's socio-political ideology, and particularly those elements of it which have been subsequently developed and promoted in independent India.

The above study was a preliminary penetration of a vast area of research, an indication of key problems rather than an attempt at their exhaustive elucidation. The latter effort was undertaken in a voluminous work entitled Państwo i prawo w ideologii M. K. Gandhiego [State and Law in M. K. Gandhi's Ideology].²⁶ Discussed in it are, above all, problems of the state and the law, and hence, other issues are treated only as a background for deliberations on the subject-matter. The method applied in it differs largely from the formal and dogmatic method used in many legal works. If anything it is closer to a historic comparative analysis.

A point of departure for the author was the definition of the function of egalitarianism in Gandhi's ideology and the presentation of his views on democracy as an organizational form of a modern state. This served as the basis for an analysis of Gandhi's views on the state and on the prospects of its further evolution.

²⁴ See J. Justyński, *Doktryna społeczno-polityczna Gandhiego—“Mahatmy”* [Socio-Political Doctrine of Gandhi—“Mahatma”], “*Zycie i Myśl*”, 1969, No. 11/12.

²⁵ Ashram—a settlement of a nature of an ideological, philosophical or religious school.

²⁶ Toruń 1975.

In elaborating these problems we were deeply convinced about the need to consider both objective elements as well as the subjective motivations which guided their creator. Placed among the former were the prevailing class conditions in all their aspects and the situation created by the specific conditions of the Indian national-liberation movement, while included among the latter were the ethical motivations which dominated in Gandhi's attitude.

A great deal of attention in the said work has been focussed on Gandhi's views on the importance and the function of the law. Of much value for understanding the mechanism of the transformations which have been taking place in the consciousness of the Indian society were: the British reforms of the Indian legal system and their assessment by Indian historiography; the factors which determined Gandhi's awareness of legal matters; criticism of the British colonial law; the theory of fundamental law; offence and punishment; obligations of jurisprudence; the law in a state "predominantly free from constraint" and in "an ideal society of the future". In these deliberations Gandhi is shown as a lawyer, as a man who had traversed the long and complicated road from full submission to the British legal system to its complete rejection, and one who sought to define the foundations of the judiciary system of independent India and of the law in "an ideal society of the future". It seems that this was the first ever such extensive attempt to present the views of Gandhi on the law and its function.

A different problem analyzed by the author of the said work is Gandhi's influence on the further evolution of sociopolitical thought and practice in contemporary world. Considered with great attention are the parallels between Gandhism on the one hand, and socialism and other progressive forces of present-day world, on the other. The author reaches the following conclusion: Gandhism must not be left to conservative forces, but its progressive elements should be brought to the surface and used for progress.

Individual threads of Gandhi's ideology were also expounded in other publications. They were dealt with, above all, in the critical analysis of Gandhi's economic thought and its role in the

life of contemporary India,²⁷ and also in the reconstruction of his views which made up the so-called trusteeship theory.²⁸ These are extremely complex problems which still constitute an integral part of political debates in India. For, Gandhi's economic programme should not be seen as an attempt to choose but one of the concepts of economic growth—namely, resignation from capital consuming investments in favour of the road of development based on the utilization of India's vast labour reserves. This is, at the same time, an attempt to define a historical perspective which led to the emergence of the existing situation. Found there, aside from cogent critical remarks on Britain's "economic imperialism," are also a truly Utopian effort to condemn every "industrial civilization" and the idea of working out socio-economic solutions based on justice.

Gandhi believed that optimum conditions for economic advancement and for the implementation of the ideals of social justice would be created by the institution of trusteeship. The idea is, in fact, a reformist one. The trustee would really be the former owner, on the condition that he would agree to work for the benefit of all and treat the workers as his collaborators. The theory goes hand in hand with an idealistic vision of man who, in Gandhi's firm opinion, can in all circumstances reveal his positive sides. This belief eventually led Gandhi to substitute the Marxist concept of class struggle with that of class harmony achieved through mutual concessions.²⁹ The trusteeship theory has, however, played a role as a factor cementing the unity of the Indian society in its struggle for independence, though it could not perform the function of a basic instrument of transforming the society in the spirit of egalitarianism.

Closing the series is a study assessing Gandhi's theory of the

²⁷ See J. Justyński, *Myśl ekonomiczna Gandhiego i jej rola w życiu współczesnych Indii* [Gandhi's Economic Thought and Its Role in the Life of Contemporary India], "Ruch Prawniczy, Socjologiczny i Ekonomiczny", 1975, No. 3, pp. 185 - 207.

²⁸ See. J. Justyński, *Teoria powiernictwa i zagadnienie własności w ideologii M. K. Gandhiego* [Theory of Trusteeship and a Problem of Property in M. K. Gandhi's Ideology], "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici," Prawo XIV—Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, 1976, No. 75, pp. 67 - 83.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 68 - 69.

nation against the background of Britain's imperial policy.³⁰ Some of the arguments thereof are of a theoretical nature and contain ascertainments regarding political and social consequences of the acceptance of a definite theory of the nation. It is pointed out on the strength of extensive source material that in the doctrine of the British Empire the attitudes evolved depending on current political objectives. Rather clearly apparent in it are three fundamental stages in the approach to the problem: 1) the assumptions of the "old school" which either rejected outright all theories about the existence of an Indian nation³¹ or else claimed that there were as many nations in India as there were language groups there;³² 2) the assumptions of the "liberal-imperialist school" which, influenced by the growing power of the national-liberation movement, was compelled to recognize the existence of the Indian nation, arguing, however, that this was a blessed result of the civilizing mission of British rule;³³ 3) the latest theory about Hindi and Moslems as representatives of two nations.³⁴ Found in this doctrine is also the suggestion that the interest in matters of the nation has developed only as a result of practical, political problems which have emerged in connection with the question of the partition of India.³⁵

³⁰ See J. Justyński, *Teoria narodu Gandhiego na tle imperialnej polityki Wielkiej Brytanii* [Gandhi's Theory of the Nation against the Background of Britain's Imperial Policy], "Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici," Nauki Polityczne VII, Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne, 1975, No. 69, pp. 85 - 99.

³¹ Its proponents included the authors of the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, p. 37.

³² See K. B. Krishna, *The Problem of Minorities or Communal Representation in India*, London 1939, p. 223, where a pointed criticism of the theory can be found.

³³ See F. Edwin, *Earl of Birkenhead, The Last Phase*, London 1936, pp. 245 - 246; "Nationalism". A Report by a Group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford 1939; also R. Bhaskaran, *Sociology of Politics. Traditions and Politics in India*, London 1967, p. 173. The latter's arguments are a rather uncritical transmission of British concepts to the Indian ground.

³⁴ The theory prevails in British and, partly also, in Indian historiography. Attempts are also being made to shift the responsibility for the political implications of the theory of two nations upon the leadership of the Moslem League while completely overlooking the role of Britain in promoting it. See, e.g., D. E. Smith, *India as a Secular State*, New Jersey 1963, pp. 51 - 52.

³⁵ R. Coupland, *The Future of India*, Part III, London 1944, p. 100.

Gandhi propounded the theory of one Indian nation and though some of its individual notions are open to question, he did it with dull consciousness of the political significance of this conception for the independence struggle waged by the people of India. Practically all the leaders of the Indian national-liberation movement were aware of the practical importance of Gandhi's theory of the nation, which, however, does not mean to say that all of them shared his opinion with regard to the nationalities structure in India. J. Nehru, for example, without entering into polemics with Gandhi's ideas, has in fact rejected the theory of one Indian nation, opposed the British theory of two nations inhabiting India and resisted the implications of the former multi-national theory, arguing that experiences observed in a number of world's leading countries, such as, e.g., the Soviet Union and the United States have proved that future belongs to multi-national states with a federative system and there was no reason why India should not herself adopt that model.³⁶

The most recent studies are devoted to the socio-political ideology of the "Indian renaissance".³⁷ This is an important research area which continues to be a subject of controversial evaluations in Indian historiography. The very notion of "Indian renaissance" gives rise to doubts—(some scholars prefer to use the notion of the renaissance of Hinduism or of Bengal renaissance)—as does also its role in moulding the face of contemporary India.

In the case of India the term "renaissance" means not only the return to the roots of her culture and civilization but also a specific intellectual revival which, under the influence of concrete socio-political conditions, has been particularly marked since mid-19th century. This extension of the meaning of "renaissance" is, in this instance, indispensable in view of the

³⁶ See J. Nehru, *Discovery of India*, (in Polish translation), Warszawa 1957, p. 557.

³⁷ See J. Justyński, *Spółeczeństwo i państwo w ideologii "indyjskiego renesansu"* [*Society and the State in the Ideology of the "Indian Renaissance"*], "Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne," vol. XXV, 1973, No. 2, pp. 141 - 160 ; *idem*, *Funkcja tradycji i wpływów zachodnich w kształtowaniu ideologii politycznej "renesansu indyjskiego"* [*The Function of Tradition and Western Influences in Shaping the Ideology of the "Indian Renaissance"*], "Kultura i Społeczeństwo," vol. XX, 1976, No. 1, pp. 127 - 148.

countless meanderings and ramifications observed in the evolution of the political ideas of these days. They were shaped by two major factors: native traditions and western ideology.

The "Indian renaissance" has evolved spontaneously on the basis of internal intellectual forces. It was the result, above all, of the fact that the British colonial authorities were concerned chiefly with collecting taxes, maintaining order and defending the country's borders, without showing the least interest in any concepts of a social transformation which would lead to the development of India and to improving the people's living standard. Thus, fully correct is the assertion by M. K. Panikkar that the British authorities provided accessories to civilization without, however, undertaking any civilizational work.

If, in spite of this, western ideology has become part of the doctrine of "Indian renaissance", it must be attributed, on the one hand, to the efforts of the students of Indian culture and traditions and, on the other, to the work of those representatives of India's intellectual life who were brought up at the junction of Indian and European cultures.

There are three distinct phases in development of the "Indian renaissance". The first, represented by Ram Mohan Roy³⁸ and Brahma Samaj³⁹ was characterized by a fascination with everything European and by rather uncritical efforts to transplant western ideas onto the Indian soil. The successive phase (Dayanand Saraswati and Arya Samaj⁴⁰) was a reaction to formerly existing European influences (especially in the sphere of religion) and expressed pride with everything Indian. Though this particular phase exerted no small influence on shaping Indian mentality, yet its inherent conservatism did not augur it a long life. Hence, relatively soon the bias towards western ideology became less pronounced, but at the same time emphasized was the need to blend it harmoniously with local conditions.

³⁸ Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), eminent Bengali scholar and reformer.

³⁹ Brahma Samaj—the Brahma Society—a very influential 19th Century movement which propagated reformed Hinduism and formulated many new social and political ideas.

⁴⁰ Arya Samaj—the Aryan Community. Members of this society accused representatives of Brahma Samaj of neglecting old Hindu culture and traditions. They saw the source of revival in the slogan "back to Veda".

This particular phase is defined as the period of a "great synthesis". Obviously it was not politically homogenous. Within it, there clashed two basic doctrinal trends, liberal and democratic, expressing different ways of the country's capitalist development—reformist and radical, as well as a different approach to the question of national liberation.

The "Indian renaissance" is seen today not only as a specific cultural phenomenon; it represents also an essential phase in the formation of Indian national consciousness, thus playing a prominent role in preparing the country to tackle the problems which it would have to face on regaining independence.

It seems, that it would be only proper to draw the attention also to the historical works by Jan Kieniewicz and to a panoramic review of the problems of contemporary India written by Stefan Wilanowski. Of the works by J. Kieniewicz, worthy of special mention is his analysis of the methods of Portuguese colonial expansion in Indian territories,⁴¹ and an outline history of Bengal which includes some observations on the origin of Bangladesh.⁴²

The purpose of the above review is not to present a list of all works touching upon the problems of India, which have been published in recent years. It rather indicates general problems dealt with by Polish scholars and is an attempt to characterize the accepted solutions. Polish scientists are of the opinion that the results of their studies can not be regarded as being fully satisfactory and that it is necessary to pursue the analysis of the social and political transformations which are taking place in India. They agree that there is a lack in Poland of a synthesis of India's latest history, of a broad panorama of the trends which have appeared during the "Indian renaissance" of a review of the political ideologies of modern times and also of a detailed and comprehensive comparative study of relations between Indian socialism and the doctrine of Arab, African a.s.o. socialism. Still felt is the shortage of source material, especially of the published

⁴¹ See J. Kieniewicz, *Faktoria i forteca, Handel pieprzem na Oceanie Indyjskim i ekspansja portugalska w XVI w.* [Tradingpost and Fortress. Pepper Trade in the Indian Ocean and Portuguese, Expansion in the 16th cent.], Warszawa 1970.

⁴² See J. Kieniewicz, *Od Bengalii do Bangladeszu* [From Bengal to Bangladesh], Warszawa 1976.

works by Gandhi, Nehru and by the ideologists of the "Indian renaissance". The list of such needs is quite long, indeed, but it is believed that many of them are already being tackled in the studies carried out by Polish scholars.

(Translated by Leon Szwajcer)