

General History in Polish Historiography 1945-1974

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THE THIRD WORLD

Poland has been in the position of never having owned colonies. Fortunate as it was, it has limited interest in Third World affairs in this country. Poland's stormy history encouraged many Poles to emigrate to distant lands, e.g. to different South American countries, but at the same time it did not promote more extensive interest in distant parts of the world.¹

Problems of non-European countries, only recently has appeared in Polish historiography, in fact at the end of the 1950s — beginning of the 1960s, when horizons of historical research were largely expanded. Up till that time, Asia, Africa and Latin America had interested Polish geographers, philologists, ethnographers and scholars specializing in various other branches, but not historians. If any of those scholars broached historical problems in their works it was merely by accident.² Somewhat greater attention was paid to the fortunes of Polish emigrants on distant continents. But interest in emigrants, in travel and missionary activity was only contributory. It is in-

¹ Few efforts have been made to ascertain the state of Polish knowledge on the world outside of Europe. See J. Rey chman, *Orient w kulturze polskiego Oświecenia* [*The Orient in Polish Enlightenment Period Culture*], Wrocław 1964; J. Tazbir, *Szlachta a konkwistadorzy. Opinia staropolska wobec podboju Ameryki przez Hiszpanów* [*The Polish Nobility and the Conquistadors. Opinions in Old Poland on the Spanish Conquest of America*], Warszawa 1969.

² It would seem that interest in historical problems was most frequently displayed by orientalists. See S. Stasiak, *Les Indes Portugaises à la fin du XVI siècle, d'après la relation du voyage fait à Goa en 1596 par C. Pa-*

teresting to note that until recently, the contribution made by Polish scholars to knowledge of the history of non-European countries was smaller than the role played by Poles in the discovery of distant lands, their conquest and exploration.

Serious Polish studies on the contemporary history of less developed countries were a logical consequence of research on crucial problems of medieval and modern European history undertaken in the 1950s.

In the former field, studies on the history of craftsmanship conducted by Professor Marian Małowist and his team, turned attention to problems of crisis in the feudal system and the origins of European overseas expansion.³ To the same contributed the interest in the Polish way of historical development, particularly in the origins of manor economy in this country.⁴ Turning attention to the expansion of trade relations between different zones in Europe, Professor Małowist eventually came to the

włowski, „Rocznik Orientalistyczny”, vols. III–V, Lwów 1926–1928; E. Słuszkiewicz, *Państwo i społeczeństwo w dawnych Indiach* [*The State and Community of Ancient India*], Warszawa 1949. In general, however, the word „Orient” was applied to the closest neighbourhood of pre-partition Poland. It was on this area that leading scholars concentrated their research. Previous interest and research were discussed by B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku* [*Knowledge of the Orient in Old Poland up to the 18th Century*], Łódź 1950. Interest in historical problems displayed by scholars studying the civilization of Arab countries Turkey, Mongolia, Japan and elsewhere has not abated, but no specific schools have been formed. E.g. M. Künstler, *Pierwsze wieki Cesarstwa Chińskiego* [*Early Chinese Imperial Period*], Warszawa 1972; S. Kałużynski, *Imperium mongolskie* [*The Mogul Empire*], Warszawa 1970. See J. Kieniewicz, *Czy i jak orientalistyka służy poznaniu i zrozumieniu Wschodu* [*Do Oriental Studies Promote Knowledge and Understanding of the East and If So, How*], „Przegląd Orientalistyczny”, vol. II (LXXXVI), 1973, pp. 134–140.

³ M. Małowist, *Zagadnienia kryzysu kapitalizmu w XIV i XV wieku w świetle najnowszych badań* [*Problems of Crisis in 14th and 15th-Century Capitalism in the Light of Latest Research*], „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 1953, No. 1, pp. 86–106.

⁴ W. Kula, *Teoria ekonomiczna ustroju feudalnego* [*Economic Theory of the Feudal System*], Warszawa 1962 and Paris, La Haye, 1970. See works by A. Wyczański, L. Zytkowicz, J. Topolski, A. Mańczak, A. Wawrzyńczykowa and others, which inspired scholars on non-European affairs. Various interesting essays were written on the margin of these problems, e.g. W. Kula, *Sottosviluppo economico nella prospettiva storica*, in: *Annali della Fondazione Luigi Einaudi*, vol. III, Torino 1969; A. Mańczak, *Il modello dell'economia Brasiliana di Furtado e la produzione agricola per l'esportazione in Polonia nel XVI e nel XVII secolo*, in: *Agricoltura e sviluppo del capitalismo*, Roma 1970, pp. 362–382.

Iberian Peninsula and overseas expansion by Portugal and Spain. The purpose of these studies was to demonstrate the influence of European expansion on the evolution of non-European communities, primarily in West Africa.⁵

On the threshold of the 1960s the typically Polish motives of these studies coincided with growing interest in countries considered at the time as part of the Third World. Over-simplified opinions established in the colonial period demanded revision. It was also necessary to verify patterns which had emerged during the struggle against colonial oppression. It was justifiably contended that knowledge of the past history of these countries would enable further understanding of their present complexity. Understanding of the nature of other communities was deemed essential and it was hoped that objective studies would also serve countries searching for their own road of progress and evolution. The optimism that prevailed at the time proved somewhat exaggerated, but nonetheless it helped the development of these studies, which filled in many important gaps and significantly advanced development of historical research in former colonial countries.

Polish historians contributed elements of Marxist methodology to studies on the history of the Third World as well as the experience they had gained in studying the history of this country, which had shown signs of backwardness for several centuries, a country whose feudalism had shown little or no evolution towards capitalism and in many respects recalled the situation which exists in the Third World. Historians broached these new problems according to the comparative method, perceiving its possibilities, for developing knowledge on historical processes in different regions.⁶ Scientific opinion remarked positively on this characteristic of Polish research.

⁵ M. Małowist, *Wielkie państwa Sudanu Zachodniego w późnym średniowieczu* [Great States of the Western Sudan in the Late Middle Ages], Warszawa 1964, and *Europa i Afryka w dobie wczesnej ekspansji kolonialnej* [Europe and Africa in the Early Period of Colonial Expansion], Warszawa 1969.

⁶ M. Małowist, *Wielkie państwa...*, p. 431, *Europa i Afryka...*, p. 10, also: *Les fondements de l'expansion européenne en Afrique au XVe siècle: Europe, Maghreb et Soudan Occidental*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, vol. XVIII, 1968, pp. 159–179. See: I. S a c h s, *Próba komparatystyki* [A Comparative Effort], „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 1965, No. 3; polemically: A. G.

It was perfectly understandable that research on European influence radiating to lands beyond this continent should in turn lead to studies on problems of overseas countries. Problems of European expansion, Spain and Portugal at first, then other countries, were studied in the last few decades in a new light provided by rich archival materials. Faced by such a handicap, Professor Małowist and his school had to find new original questions and research programmes. They are to be found in a series of articles published by Małowist and in his book on Europe and West Africa.⁷ Similar tendencies in views on interrelation between both sides participating in the process of contacts are to be found in works by Andrzej Dziubiński and Jan Kieniewicz. The former demonstrated the weakness of early Portuguese expansion in Morocco, which caused him to undertake research on the most important factors of that country's development in the 16th century.⁸ Dziubiński undertook a penetrating analysis of the Saadist period which had been neglected in the previous studies and demonstrated the strictly internal causes of its economic and political development. His greatest contribution was to concentrate attention on the period of the first sultans,

Hopkins, *Underdevelopment in the Empire of the Western Sudan*, „Past and Present”, vol. XXXVII, 1967, pp. 149–156 and Małowist's reply, pp. 157–162. Regarding the specifics of the Polish comparative method see also R. Karpiński, *Handel niemy w Afryce Zachodniej. Mit czy rzeczywistość?* [Silent Trade in West Africa. Myth or Reality?], in: *Społeczeństwo, Gospodarka, Kultura. Studia ofiarowane Marianowi Małowistowi w czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, Warszawa 1974, p. 245, and M. Tymowski, *Miasto i wieś w Zachodnim Sudanie w XIV–XVI w. Problem związków ekonomicznych* [Towns and Rural Areas in the Western Sudan in the 14th–16th Centuries. Problem of Economic Relations], „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. LXIV, 1973, p. 26.

⁷ M. Małowist, *Europa a Afryka Zachodnia w dobie wczesnej ekspansji kolonialnej* [Europe and West Africa in the Period of Early Colonial Expansion], Warszawa 1969; the same author, *Les mouvements d'expansion en Europe aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, „Annales ESC”, 1962, No. 5, pp. 923–929. Also: *Ekspansja portugalska w Afryce a ekonomika Europy na przełomie XV i XVI w.* [Portuguese Expansion in Africa and European Economy at the Turn of the 15th Century], „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. LIX, 1968, pp. 227–244.

⁸ A. Dziubiński, *Niektóre aspekty gospodarcze i społeczne portugalskiej okupacji atlantyckiego pobrzeża Maroka w latach 1471–1550* [Certain Economic and Social Aspects of Portuguese Occupation of the Moroccan Atlantic Litoral Between 1471 and 1550], „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. LVIII, 1967.

which threw new light on Moroccan expansion to the south.⁹ Kieniewicz studied the relationship between Portuguese military and trade ventures in the Indian Ocean and pointed to the adaptation of forms of expansion to existing economic and social structures.¹⁰

Małowist and Kieniewicz pointed out that an individual approach was necessary to separate each case of expansion and emphasized the resistance of local structures to influence exerted by various forms of European presence. The parasitic nature of Portuguese expansion was largely due to the circumstances which accompanied it and not to its intrinsic character. This fact led to questions of what the possible influence of this expansion on formation of the trends unfavourable to the evolution and development of the communities studied.

The matter required penetrating investigation. Małowist and his school concentrated attention on conditions in certain parts of West Africa, between the 14th and 18th centuries. In a series of contributions, Professor Małowist discussed the origins and character of the great medieval Sudanese states, their economic foundations and social structure.¹¹ Michał Tymowski was concerned with the region of the Niger Bend, primarily with the nature of the relationship between town and rural areas.¹² Rafał Kar-

⁹ A. Dziubiński, *La Chorfa saadiens dans les Sous et à Marrakesh jusque en 1525*, "Africana Bulletin", vol. X, 1969; in particular the book: *Maroko w XVI wieku (1510-1578)* [Morocco in the 16th Century, 1510-1578], Wrocław 1972.

¹⁰ J. Kieniewicz, *Le commerce en Asie et l'expansion portugaise vers l'Océan Indien au XV^e siècle*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, vol. XVIII, 1968, pp. 180-193, and *The Portuguese Factory and Trade in Pepper in Malabar during the 16th Century*, "The Indian Economic and Social Review", vol. VI, New Delhi 1969, No. 1, pp. 61-84. A characteristic of Portuguese expansion and its ties with Asian economy is provided in his book: *Faktoria i forteca. Handel pieprzem na Oceanie Indyjskim i ekspansja portugalska w XVI wieku* [The Factory and Fortress. The Pepper Trade in the Indian Ocean and Portuguese Expansion in the 16th Century], Warszawa 1970.

¹¹ M. Małowist, *The Social and Economic Stability of the Western Sudan in the Middle Ages*, "Past and Present", vol. XXXIII, 1966, pp. 3-15; *Märkte und Städte in Westlichen Sudan vom 14 bis 16 Jh.* "Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte", vol. XI, 1967, pp. 281-305; *Les Débuts du système des plantations dans la période des grandes découvertes*, "Africana Bulletin", vol. X, 1969, pp. 9-30.

¹² *La ville et la campagne au Soudan Occidental du XIV^e et XVI^e s. (problème des rapports économiques)*, "Acta Poloniae Historica", vol.

piński concerned himself with the Hausa States,¹³ and Bronisław Nowak with local merchant groups.¹⁴ Barbara Stepniewska studied the problem of Islamic penetration.¹⁵ The purpose of these studies was to elucidate the causes and nature of the slow development of West African territories and sources of their subsequent regression.

Conforming with the general trend in world science, a group of Warsaw scholars concentrated on research of economic foundations of the phenomena studied. A series of interesting details were established in this respect.¹⁶ They studied various forms of trade and the social reasons of economic stabilization in Sudanese countries.¹⁷ It would seem however, that reflections on

XXIX, 1974, pp. 51–79, and above all: *Le développement et la régression chez les peuples de la boucle du Niger à l'époque précoloniale*, Warszawa 1974.

¹³ Karpiński also undertook verification of Małowist's hypotheses in: *Organizacja służebna a problem kast w Zachodnim Sudanie* [*Ancillary System and the Problem of Castes in the Western Sudan*], „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. LVII, 1966, No. 2, pp. 235–250, and subsequently dealt with the problem of reasons for the lack of state organization in the Hausa region: *Państwo-miasto Kano do dżihadu Fulanich. Struktury polityczno-gospodarczo-społeczne* [*The City-State of Kano up to the Fulani Jihad. Political, Economic and Social Structures*], in typescript, Warszawa 1973.

¹⁴ Making use of ethnographic studies and the retrogression as a method, B. Nowak concerned himself primarily with the role of groups which might have brought new elements to the Sudan, and shifted the centre of interest to a later period, between the 17th and 19th centuries: *Czarni kupcy Mandingo w Afryce Zachodniej w okresie przedkolonialnym* [*Negro Mandingo Merchants in West Africa in the Pre-Colonial Era*], Warszawa 1974.

¹⁵ *Portée Sociale de l'islam en Soudan Occidental au XIV^e–XV^e siècles* [*Social Influence of Islam in the Western Sudan Between the 14th and 16th Centuries*], „Africana Bulletin”, vol. XIV, 1971, pp. 35–58, and in particular: *Rozpowszechnienie się Islamu w Sudanie Zachodnim* [*Spread of Islam in the Western Sudan*], Wrocław 1973.

¹⁶ Particularly M. Tymowski: *Le Niger, voie de communication des grands états du Soudan Occidental jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, „Africana Bulletin”, vol. VI, 1967, pp. 73–95; *Les domaines des princes du Songhay (Soudan Occidental). Comparaison avec la grand propriété foncière en Europe au début de l'époque féodale*, „Annales ESC”, 1970, No. 6, pp. 1637–1658; *La pêche à l'époque du Moyen Age dans la boucle du Niger*, „Africana Bulletin”, vol. XIX, 1970, pp. 7–26.

¹⁷ M. Małowist, *Le commerce d'or et d'esclaves au Soudan Occidental*, „Africana Bulletin”, vol. III, 1966, pp. 49–72, and: *Quelques observations sur le commerce de l'or dans le Soudan Occidental au Moyen Age*, „Annales ESC”, vol. V, 1970, pp. 1630–1636. R. Karpiński, *Considérations sur les échanges de caractère local et extérieur de la Sénégambie dans la deuxième moitié du XV^e et au début du XVI^e siècles*, „Africana Bulletin”, vol. VIII, 1968, pp. 65–83, in which he concerned himself with less known territories on the Atlantic littoral.

the nature of ownership of means of production were given priority. Małowist and Tymowski hold that forms of private ownership existed in West Africa, and they originated from the disintegration of family communities.¹⁸ On the example of India Kieniewicz has reached different conclusions. He argues that it is necessary to establish a term another than private ownership for non-common property.¹⁹

Research by M. Małowist proved incontestably the existence of advanced centres of civilization of an early feudal type — or similar — in West Africa. He also established that theses regarding the permanent or “natural” state of backwardness in those territories were unfounded. Małowist gave a convincing outline of the process of evolution from traditional economic and social structures, caused by expansion of the slave trade. He contended that whereas in the tribal societies the formation of class systems was already noticeable in the period of Portuguese expansion, its definitely negative effects did not become apparent till about the mid-17th century. Studies by Karpiński, Nowak and Tymowski confirmed several of Małowist’s hypotheses. Extending their research to the 17th and 18th centuries, they affirmed that regression had already begun in the 16th century.²⁰ Thus, while Małowist concentrated on the period of greatness, his school devoted increasing attention to the long period of regression.

The characteristic feature of Polish studies on African history

¹⁸ M. Małowist, *Wielkie państwa...*, p. 150 and ff., 195, 196, 382–383, 408, 422; M. Tymowski, *Spór o charakter własności w Songhay (Sudan Zachodni) w początku XVI w.* [*Dispute on the Nature of Property Ownership in Songhay (Western Sudan) in the Early 16th Century*], in: *Społeczeństwo...*, pp. 375–380.

¹⁹ J. Kieniewicz, *Kerala. Od równowagi do zacofania* [*Kerala. From Equilibrium to-wards Backwardness*], Warszawa 1975, at the printers. For certain social aspects of the problem see: *Najarowie i problem ruchliwości społecznej w Kerali przedkolonialnej* [*The Nayars and the Question of Social Mobility in Pre-Colonial Kerala*], in: *Społeczeństwo...*, pp. 173–184.

²⁰ B. Nowak, *Rola wsi niewolniczych w zaopatrywaniu miasta Kong w żywność w końcu XIX w.* [*The Role of Slave Villages in the Supply of Food to the Town of Kong at the End of the 19th Century*], in: *Społeczeństwo...*, pp. 241–246. M. Tymowski, *L'économie et la société dans la boucle du Niger entre le XVII^e et le début du XIX^e siècles*, “*Africana Bulletin*”, vol. XVIII, 1973, pp. 9–64.

is that they pertain to several communities with a varied stage of evolution, but always less advanced than Maghrebian or Hindu civilizations. Hence their backwardness is considered primarily as a process of relative retardment or as an atrophy of predispositions for development. More profound investigation of this problem is necessary, particularly since the above contention does not find confirmation when applied to more highly organized societies. Studying the economic foundations of 16th-century Morocco, Dziubiński proved they were not based on import of slaves. The economic crisis which developed at the end of the 16th century provided incentive for external expansion which struck a severe blow at the Sudanese countries, and thus prolonged the period of traditional economy there. Dziubiński holds the opinion that Moroccan collapse did not begin till the 18th century.²¹

It is interesting to note that events in India took a similar chronological course. Refuting the existence of stagnation between the 16th and 18th centuries, Kieniewicz also contested the existence of a process of economic growth.²² Referring to the concept of ecological balance, he contended that progressive economic regression was one of the variants of the collapse of this balance. Hence he provided an objective, not a relative concept of backwardness which, regardless of its merit, established a basis for discussion, a discussion which extended to the old standing controversy on socio-economic formations.

Results of archaeological research conducted by Władysław Filipowiak in the 1960s provided substantial support for the results of studies on African History.²³ The valuable African collection in the Pomeranian Museum in Szczecin, formed from exhibits

²¹ *Cukrownictwo marokańskie w latach 1516–1623* [The Moroccan Sugar Industry Between 1516 and 1623], „Przegląd Historyczny”, vol. LXXXVIII, 1971, No. 2.

²² *Przeobrażenia w Indiach we wczesnym okresie ekspansji kolonialnej w XVI i XVII wieku* [Changes in India in the Early Period of Colonial Expansion in the 16th and 17th Centuries], in: *Pamiętnik X Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Lublinie, Referaty*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 189–202.

²³ *Contribution aux recherches sur la capitale du royaume de Mali à l'époque du Haut Moyen Age (Afrique Occidentale)*, „Archeologia Polona”, vol. X, 1968, pp. 217–232; *L'expédition archéologique polono-guinéenne à Niani en 1968*, „Africana Bulletin”, vol. XI, 1969, pp. 107–117.

Filipowiak brought back from his archaeological expeditions, provides important material for future scientific research. In Cracow, Professor Tadeusz Lewicki formed a centre of research on the remote history of Muslim Africa. Professor Lewicki's studies on Arabic written sources for studying the history of Sudan are well known.²⁴ Alongside interesting studies on the Ibadites, Lewicki wrote a series of important essays on contacts between North Africa and territories south of the Sahara, and on various economic problems involved.²⁵

The problem of the origins of backwardness and of the nature of social formations was also broached in studies on conditions in American countries prior to the Conquista and the colonial period. In Warsaw, a group of scholars studying these problems, centred round Professor Tadeusz Łepkowski in the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences. In the Division on the History of Latin America and Africa directed by Professor Łepkowski, M. Kula wrote an essay on the colonial economy of Brazil. Beginning with a study of the economic organization of the Brazilian sugar industry, Kula endeavoured to illustrate the process of formation of colonial economy based on Negro slave labour.²⁶ He contended that the Brazilian plantation system in many ways resembled the Polish manor economy based on serf labour. It is interesting to note that according to Kula's assertions, the system established by the Portuguese in Brazil, contrary to the situation in Asia, showed no self-destructive tendencies. Kula described a particularly interesting example of an economy built up in almost complete isolation from previously existing Indian civilizations. A case which may be regarded as an equivalent, although entirely different, example of the emergence of backwardness.

²⁴ *Arabic External Sources for the History of Africa to the South of Sahara*, Wrocław 1969.

²⁵ *Traits d'histoire du commerce transsaharien. Marchands et missionnaires ibadites au Soudan Occidental et Central au cours des VIII^e-XII^e siècles*, „Etnografia Polska”, vol. VIII, 1964, pp. 291-311; *Pożywienie ludności Zachodniej Afryki w średniowieczu według źródeł arabskich [Food Habits of the West African Population in the Middle Ages According to Arabic Sources]*, „Etnografia Polska”, vol. VII, 1963, pp. 31-191.

²⁶ M. Kula, *Początki czarnego niewolnictwa w Brazylii [Origins of Negro Slavery in Brazil]*, Wrocław 1970.

It is only by comparing different variants of regression into backwardness that we can determine whether we are faced by a uniform type of process, or whether no sufficient number of convergent characteristics exists to uphold this contention. J. Szemiński and A. Macierewicz studied the functioning of a colonial economy built up on foundations of ancient Indian civilizations, taking the example of Peru. The results of these studies tended to prove that the economic system in pre-colonial Indian communities more closely resembled the European feudal system than is generally accepted.²⁷ This reflected on the results of their analysis of colonial economy which functioned as a specific combination of feudalism of Iberian origin and quasi-feudalism of the local Indian civilizations. Research by a group of Poznań ethnographers centred round Professor Maria Frankowska, was also concerned with the functioning of Indian pre-colonial and early-colonial communities. It is a characteristic feature of these studies that they combine the historical method with methods applied in ethnography and archaeology.²⁸ Every two years, the Poznań group of scholars holds seminars on American ethnography, at which attention is concentrated on Indian problems, no artificial distinction being made between the pre- and post-conquest period in the life of Indian communities. Problems relative to the backwardness and evolution of Indian societies are a rewarding field of cooperation between Poznań ethnographers and Warsaw historians.

Research on the various ways of evolution of non-European communities in the pre-colonial period and after the conquest is essential as an introduction to research on advanced colonial

²⁷ J. Szemiński, *O tajemniczych początkach imperium Tawantinsuyu* [The Mysterious Origins of the Tawantinsuyu Empire], „Etnografia Polska”, vol. XVII, 1973, No. 2, pp. 147–177; A. Macierewicz, *Inkap Runam czyli o tym jak rządono Tawantinsuyu* [Incap Runam or the system of Government in Tawantinsuyu], „Etnografia Polska”, vol. XVII, 1973, No. 2, pp. 179–210. A different opinion was held by M. Kula, *Państwo Inków — formacja hydrauliczna?* [The Inca Empire-Asiatic Mode of Production?], „Historyka”, vol. II, 1969, pp. 81–88.

²⁸ M. Frankowska, *Podstawy gospodarki w Peru w ostatnim okresie panowania Inków i w pierwszym stuleciu po konkwiescie. Wiek XVI i pierwsza połowa XVII w.* [Foundations of Rural Economy in Peru in the Final Period of Inca Rule and in the 1st Century after the Conquest. The 16th and First Half of the 17th Centuries], Poznań 1967.

communities and subsequent emergence of national liberation movements, a subject which arouses considerable interest in Poland. In this group of problems, research is less compact as regards subjects dealt with than was the case in the previous group discussed. J. Halpern and J. Milewski studied the social and economic history of Nigeria and West Africa. The former investigated the emergence of money economy in Nigeria and Ghana, the emergence of a dual economy in these countries (pre-capitalist and capitalist), exploitation of Nigeria and Ghana by British companies between 1937 and 1957, and the characteristics of processes of accumulation and economic development (backwardness).²⁹ In all probability, these same problems will be discussed in a synthesis on the economic history of Nigeria in the 19th and 20th centuries on which Jan Milewski is working at present.³⁰ Milewski is also studying the process of evolution of the Nigerian nation, which subject brings him close to other authors in whose works problems of nationality play a substantial role. A work by Tomasz Wituch on the Young Turkey Movement may be quoted as an example here, although Wituch argues that the Young Turkey Movement,³¹ which testified to Turkey's national awakening, did not originate from national as much as state motives. The impulse which gave birth to this movement was the concern of young Turkish intelligentsia for the future of the Ottoman Empire, which was obviously incapable of holding its own in confrontation with European powers. In view of the precursory nature of the Young Turkey Movement in relation to various social movements which eventually emerged in many Third World countries, it is to be hoped that this work would be published. Problems of nationality were also given prominent place in three works which demonstrate that emancipatory trends in Third World countries were influenced by the overall political situation in the world, particularly on the eve of and during

²⁹ J. Halpern, *Nigeria i Chana. Z historii rozwoju gospodarczego [Nigeria and Chana. History of Economic Development]*, Warszawa 1964.

³⁰ See published fragment: *Wielki kryzys lat 1930-tych w warunkach kolonialnych. Nigeria [The Great Crisis of the Thirties in the Colonies. Nigeria]*, „Dzieje Najnowsze”, 1973, No. 3.

³¹ *Ruch młodoturecki 1889-1909 [The Young Turkey Movement 1889-1909]*, Warszawa 1972, in typescript.

World War II, when these countries became an object of rivalry between the great powers. Łukasz Hirszowicz wrote an essay on the role the Middle East played in the policy of the Third Reich.³² On the one hand, Hirszowicz demonstrated that German strategists, envisaging continuation of the war in the Middle East theatre after the expected rapid defeat of the Soviet Union, counted on the nationalistic Arab movement, and on the other hand he showed that extreme nationalist Arab politicians considered the war a unique opportunity to gain independence and staked on Germany as opposed to Britain and France. Hirszowicz claims that this policy was short-sighted. It was the victory of the anti-Nazi coalition which opened concrete prospects of liberation to Arab countries. R. Stemplowski³³ illustrated a similar problem basing on the example of Argentine, with the difference that whereas in the case of the Arab countries discussed by Hirszowicz, their attitude to the rivalry between great powers depended primarily on changing fortunes of war, that of Argentine was influenced primarily by the monolythic nature of her exports and the internal alignment of socio-economic forces it entailed. The third of these works, by A. Bartnicki deals with Italian intervention in Ethiopia.³⁴ This work discusses three main problems: British policy in relation to the Ethiopian problem, that of smaller countries which quite naturally viewed the Ethiopian problem as precedent of a certain type of policy, and the policy of Emperor Haile Selassie I, who hoped to strengthen Ethiopia's international position by establishing relations with small countries. Bartnicki demonstrated that unless the international significance of the conflict between Italy and Ethiopia was taken in account it would be impossible to understand the course of events which led to the outbreak of World War II.

³² *III Rzesza i arabski Wschód [The Third Reich and the Arabic East]*, Warszawa 1963.

³³ *Zależność i wyzwanie. Argentyna wobec rywalizacji mocarstw anglosaskich i III Rzeszy [Dependence and Challenge. Argentine in Face of Rivalry Between the Anglo-Saxon Powers and the Third Reich]*. In printing.

³⁴ *Pierwszy front II wojny światowej. Konflikt włosko-etiopski 1935–1936 [First Front of World War II. The Conflict Between Italy and Ethiopic 1935–1936]*, Warszawa 1971.

National problems were also reflected to some extent in research on Asian history. For example, Professor Bogusław Mrozek, studying the evolution of the foundations of India's statehood, saw the roots of India's present situation in the period of struggle against British domination.⁸⁵ Other works by Professor Mrozek and a group of his assistants concentrated on the problem of national liberation movements which followed the conclusion of World War II.⁸⁶

These problems were given fullest expression in studies on Latin America. So far, it was only in research on the Latin America that these problems were given independent status, whereas in research on Africa, the Middle East and Asia, analyses of national problems were combined with analyses of broader historical problems. Here, Professor T. Łepkowski's work on the origins of the Haitian nation and state deserves first mention.⁸⁷ Łepkowski discussed the basic problems in the complicated history of the revolution and liberation of slaves on Saint-Domingue with special emphasis on the beginnings of independence. He discussed the formation of the first modern Negro state as well as the formation of a new nation with its complex heterogeneous ethnical and racial elements. Professor Łepkowski also wrote a popular book on Bolivar and Juarez.⁸⁸ At present he is working on a book on the 19th-century Cuban community. In fact he seems to have made the problem of formation of nations the principal subject of his studies. The great experience he gained in studying analogous subjects in Polish history, gives him a broad comparative background for analyzing nationality problems in different countries. As regards the typology of processes of nation formation, the examples of Latin America and Haiti in particular seem to be of exceptional interest.

⁸⁵ *Indie współczesne* [Contemporary India], Warszawa 1971.

⁸⁶ B. Mrozek, *Ruch narodowowyzwoleńczy po II wojnie światowej* [National Liberation Movements After World War II], At the printers'; T. Iwiński, *Zarys historyczny polityki kolonialnej Portugalii w Azji* [Outline of the History of Portuguese Colonial Policy in Asia]. At the printers'.

⁸⁷ *Haiti. Początki państwa i narodu* [Haiti. Origins of the Nation and State], Warszawa 1964, Spanish translation Habana 1968-1969.

⁸⁸ *Dwie biografie amerykańskie. Bolivar i Juarez* [Biographies of Two Americans: Bolivar and Juarez], Warszawa 1970.

Works dealing with problems of the formation of nations and national emancipation connect up with other works dealing with revolutionary movements which, in Third World countries, were frequently movements of national emancipation also. Robert Mroziewicz for instance studied the political history of the Mexican revolution.³⁹ His primary purpose was to demonstrate the role of the agrarian question and the struggle over agrarian reform. Mroziewicz states that social tension in rural Mexico was provided a catalyst by the Diaz government when it endeavoured to transplant capitalism to the entirely feudal conditions in Mexican agriculture. Changes which revolution brought in Mexican agriculture, their influence on the rural structure and the volume of agricultural production were discussed by Klara Bobińska in a work only fragments of which have been published so far.⁴⁰ M. Kula is preparing a work on the Cuban revolution of 1933 and another on the Bolivian revolution of 1952, but so far, only the introductory outline of the latter has been published.⁴¹ Zbigniew M. Kowalewski is studying contemporary revolutionary movements in Latin America, partisan movements in particular. He has already published several essays on these subjects and at present is working on a more extensive work dealing with the same problems.⁴² Joanna Gutkowska is studying certain aspects of the Algerian revolution, or rather the Algerian war of liberation. The subject of her work, which is nearing completion, concerns the attitude of French public opinion to that war. K. Gawlikowski is interested in the Chinese revolution. He is doing research in the revolutionary movement, within broad context of Chinese history

³⁹ *Revolucja meksykańska 1910–1917. Zarys historii politycznej [The Mexican Revolution 1910–1917. Outline of Political History]*, Warszawa 1973.

⁴⁰ *Przeobrażenia agrarne w Meksyku [Agrarian Changes in Mexico]*, Warszawa 1971, in typescript; *Estructura agraria de México después de la realización de la reforma agraria*, "Estudios Latinoamericanos", 1972, No. 1.

⁴¹ *Boliwia: latynoamerykańska wersja ustroju pośredniego [Bolivia: The Latin American Version of an Intermediary Regime]*, „Ruch prawniczy, ekonomiczny i socjologiczny”, vol. XXXIII, 1971, No. 1.

⁴² *Revolucja kubańska w myśli społecznej Ernesto Guevary [The Cuban Revolution in the Social Concepts of Ernesto Guevara]*, „Kultura i Społeczeństwo”, 1972, No. 2; *Guerilla estratégica: vanguardia y método de movilización campesina*, Caracas 1973; (jointly with N. Sobrado), *Antropología de la guerrilla*, Caracas 1971.

and civilizations, studying mainly the traditional and the new roots of the revolutionary ideology.⁴³

Alongside studies on social problems, understood in the broad sense of the term, several centres in Poland are conducting research on international affairs, primarily the Polish Institute of International Affairs and the Warsaw University Political Sciences Institute. Much attention has been devoted in Poland to the position of the Third World on the international forum. Studies on the Asian policy of great powers and the evolution of political concepts in former colonies deserve first mention.⁴⁴

As regards approach to and method of research works dealing with revolutionary movements are more scattered than works on the increase of backwardness in the period of early colonial expansion, or on Third World nationality problems. Without saying that this variety is a bad thing, we nonetheless are of the opinion that there is lack of something which could be termed a Polish school in this branch of research. To some extent, this is due to the present condition of Polish sociology which has devoted little attention to social movements outside Poland and even less to movements in the Third World, and evolved no methods which might be of service to historians. Fortunately, the same cannot be said of the economic sciences which have attained unquestionable successes in research on Third World

⁴³ *Historia Komunistycznej Partii Chin. Okres formowania i rozwoju. Chronologia ważniejszych wydarzeń [History of the Communist Party of China. Period of Formation and Development. Chronology of More Important Events]*, „Dzieje Najnowsze”, 1972, No. 3 and 1973, No. 1. See also: *Ideologia KPCh a klasyczna filozofia chińska [Ideology of the CCP and Chinese Classical Philosophy]*, „Studia Filozoficzne”, 1973, No. 3, No. 9; 1974, No. 3; *The Chinese Warlord System, Its Origin and Changes*, „Acta Poloniae Historica”, vol. XXIX, 1974, pp. 81–110.

⁴⁴ H. Ciechanowska, *Walka Indonezji o niepodległość w latach 1945–1949 [Indonesian Struggle for Independence 1945–1949]*, Warszawa 1962; B. Mrozek, *Dyplomacja brytyjska w Indiach 1942 [British Diplomacy in India, 1942]*, Warszawa 1962; *Indyjski Kongres Narodowy. Zarys historii, polityki i programu [Indian National Congress. Outline of History, Policy and Programme]*, Warszawa 1971; W. Góralski, *Polityka Stanów Zjednoczonych w południowo-wschodniej Azji 1945–1954 [United States Policy in South-East Asia 1945–1954]*, Warszawa 1968; A. Abraszewski, *Ameryka Łacińska w ONZ [Latin American Countries in the United Nations]*, Warszawa 1967; W. Römmel, *NRF w Ameryce Łacińskiej [Federal Republic of Germany in Latin America]*, Warszawa 1970; J. Prokopczuk, *Federacja Mali — narodziny i upadek [Mali Federation — Rise and Fall]*, Warszawa 1964.

problems. Since this is not the right place to discuss these matters, we shall confine ourselves to mentioning works by Michał Kalecki on the theory of growth in underdeveloped countries.⁴⁵ Subsequently, his work was continued by the Centre of Research on Underdeveloped Economies in Warsaw which attached great importance to research on the mechanisms of development in Third World countries, viewed against a historical background.⁴⁶ It is to be expected that this trend of research will be continued by historians. M. Kula's research on contemporary evolution in Bolivia, on which he is working at present⁴⁷ may be cited here as an example.

The history of Polish emigration to Third World countries presents another group of problems on which the interest of Polish historians is centred. In fact, to a large extent interest in those countries was aroused in Poland by the presence there of a large number of Poles, hence this interest has been strongly centred on Polish affairs. The only reason we mention the subject here is because the history of different immigrant groups, particularly in countries which attracted massive immigration, is an important part of the history of these countries. There is a long-standing interest in studying the problems of emigration in Poland. This interest increased significantly after the war, particularly after 1956. Traditionally, this interest was centred primarily Polish centres in Brazil. Omitting belletristics, memoirs and reminiscences, foremost mention must be made of works dealing

⁴⁵ In particular, M. Kalecki, *Selected Essays on the Economic Growth of the Socialist and the Mixed Economy*, Cambridge 1972, part III: *The Mixed Economy*.

⁴⁶ See: „Prace i Materiały” [Essays and Papers] and „Essays on Planning and Economic Development”, 1963–1968, published by the Centre of Research on Underdeveloped Economies. Also: *O gospodarce mieszanej w krajach „trzeciego świata”* [Mixed Economy in Third World Countries], Warszawa 1967; I. Sachs, *Drugi i manowce świata „B”* [The Roads and Impasses of „B” World], Warszawa 1964; *Sektor państwowy a rozwój gospodarczy* [The State Sector and Economic Development], Warszawa 1961; *Handel zagraniczny a rozwój gospodarczy* [Foreign Trade and Economic Development], Warszawa 1963. See: *Las investigaciones sobre Latinoamérica del Centro de Problemas de la Economía de los Países Subdesarrollados en Varsovia*, „Ibero-Americana Pragensia”, 1967.

⁴⁷ Begun jointly with M. Kalecki. See: M. Kalecki, M. Kula, *Bolivia, un „Régimen Intermedio” en América Latina*, „Economía y Administración”, Concepción (Chile) 1970, No. 16 (Reproduced in: „Estudios Internacionales”, Santiago de Chile 1970, No. 15).

with the so called Brazilian Fever — a massive peasant emigration movement from the Congress Kingdom of Poland to Brazil, about the year 1890.⁴⁸ A conference on The Centenary of the Polish Emigration to Brazil, held in Opole in 1969, had great significance for the development of research on the life of Poles in Brazil. The People's Publishing Cooperative has prepared a special publication for this centenary. It contains a selection of materials which document Polish presence in Brazil in a comprehensive manner.⁴⁹ The publication is in the nature of a memorial book. Mention must also be made of a recently published documentary publication, which among other things includes 60 letters from Polish peasants in Brazil written at the end of 1890 beginning 1891.⁵⁰ These letters were written by emigrants from the northern part of Płock Province to their families back home. In an effort to prevent emigration, Tsarist authorities confiscated letters from emigrants. Thanks to this autocratic measure, a mine of information has been preserved on conditions prevailing in Brazil at the time, on the life of Polish settlers in Brazil, their feelings and state of mind.

Concluding this brief review of Polish research on Third World history it should be added that synthetic works on several Third World countries and regions have been published in Poland. First to be mentioned is the *History of China* by Witold Rodziński. The second Góralski's popular outline of the South-East Asia contemporary history. Next outlines of African, Brazilian, Ethiopian and Turkish history, destined for the broad public. Similar work on the history of India by J. Kieniewicz is in preparation.⁵¹

⁴⁸ K. Groniowski, *Polska emigracja zarobkowa w Brazylii 1871–1914* [Polish Emigration to Brazil in Search of Work 1871–1914] Wrocław 1972; I. Klarnier, *Emigracja z Królestwa Polskiego do Brazylii w latach 1890–1914* [Emigration from the Kingdom of Poland to Brazil 1890–1914]. At the printers'.

⁴⁹ *Emigracja polska w Brazylii. Sto lat osadnictwa* [Polish Emigration to Brazil. A Hundred Years of Settlement], Warszawa 1971.

⁵⁰ *Listy emigrantów z Brazylii i Stanów Zjednoczonych 1890–1891* [Letters from Polish Emigrants in Brazil and the United States, 1890–1891], prepared for publication and given an introduction by W. Kula, N. Assorodobraj-Kula and M. Kula, Warszawa 1973.

⁵¹ W. Rodziński, *Historia Chin* [History of China], Wrocław 1974; W. Góralski, *Od Malakki do Wietnamu. Dzieje nowożytne i najnowsze Azji Południowo-Wschodniej* [From Malacca to Vietnam. The Modern and Contemporary History of South-East Asia], Warszawa 1973; B. Mrozek,

An outline of 19th- and 20th-century history of Latin America is also in preparation. This will be a collective work in three volumes compiled by members of the Division on the History of Latin America and Africa of the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences.

Mention should also be made of two foreign language publications in which works by Polish historians studying the history of Third World countries are published. The first is the "Africana Bulletin" published since 1964 by the Institute of African Studies at Warsaw University. 20 issues of the Bulletin have been published to date. They contain articles dealing with problems of Africa including historical problems. The "Bulletin" runs a large information column. The second publication, "Estudios Latino-americanos" is published by the Division on the History of Latin America and Africa of the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences. Two volumes have been published to date, the first in 1972, the second in 1974. The plan is to publish a volume on specially selected subjects every two years. The first volume was devoted to the social history of Latin America and contained articles on the Mexican revolution (R. Mroziejewicz, K. Bobińska), Indian communities in Mexico and Peru (M. Frankowska, J. Szemiński), and formation of the Brazilian working class (M. Kula). Problems broached in the second volume bordered on ethnography and included an article on the Rising led by Tupac Amaru II (J. Szemiński), on Rastapharism (E. Nowicka), the Indian revolutionary movement in the Andes valleys of Southern Peru (Z. M. Kowalewski), and on conservative and revolutionary trends in Indian communities (A. Posern-Zieliński). The third volume, now in preparation, will be devoted to international relations of Latin American countries. Beginning with the 2nd volume, "Estudios" runs a column on relations between Poland and Latin America. "Estudios" also runs an information column,

Historia najnowsza Azji Południowo-Wschodniej 1917-1970 [Latest History of South-East Asia 1917-1970], Warszawa 1973; J. Prokopczuk, *Historia Afryki w zarysie* [Outline of African History], Warszawa 1964; J. Reychman, *Dzieje Turcji od końca XVIII w.* [Turkish History from the End of the 18th Century], Warszawa 1970; S. Zaborski, *Cukier, złoto, kawa. Dzieje Brazylii* [Sugar, Gold, Coffee. History of Brazil], Warszawa 1973; A. Bartnicki, J. Mantel-Niećko, *Historia Etiopii* [History of Ethiopia], Wrocław 1971.

reviews, publication of Polish sources on Latin America and bibliography of Polish publications concerning the Continent. A file of Polish documentary materials on Latin America compiled by the Governing Board of Polish State Archives and the Division on the History of Latin America and Africa of the Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences, is a great help in finding of these documents.

Summing up, it may be said that the first decisive step has been taken to develop Polish studies on the Third World. Nonetheless, tremendous difficulties remain to be surmounted, difficulties caused by lack of traditions in this type of research as well as in non-scientific relations with Third World countries, which remain very limited. One would like to say that Polish studies on these problems have "entered the road of development," but as it often happens in the Third World, they are not always capable of progressing along this road as rapidly as one would wish.⁵²

(Translated by Stanisław Tarnowski)

⁵² For details on Polish research on Latin America see: T. Łepkowski, *Latinskaja Amerika w rabotach polskich istorikov*, „Novaja i Novejšaja Istorija”, 1968, No. 1; *Polskie badania nad dziejami Ameryki Łacińskiej XIX i XX w.* [Polish Research on Latin American History in the 19th and 20th Centuries], „Dzieje Najnowsze”, 1971, No. 3; *Sociétés et nations latino-américaines. Recherches polonaises: informations et problèmes*, Warszawa 1972; M. Kula, *Polska literatura dotycząca Ameryki Łacińskiej XIX i XX w.* [Polish Literature on 19th and 20th-Century Latin America], „Dzieje Najnowsze”, 1972, No. 2; J. Sarnacki, *Latin American Literature and History in Polish Translation. A Bibliography*, Port Huron, Mich. 1973 (mimeo; in spite of the title it covers original Polish works also); M. Małowist wrote about the nature of African Research: *Le séminaire d'histoire africaine à l'Institut Historique de l'Université de Varsovie*, „Africana Bulletin”, 1966, No. 4. See: R. Karpiński, *Le professeur M. Małowist*, „Africana Bulletin”, vol. XVIII, 1973; B. Rosengerger discussed Dziubiński's studies on Morocco, *Travaux sur l'histoire du Maroc au XV^e et XVI^e siècles publiés en Pologne*, *Hesperis-Tamuda XII*, Rabat 1971.