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**THE COLONIAL EXPANSION OF AFRICA
AND THE FORMATION OF A NEW WORLD ORDER
(THE END OF THE XIXth – THE BEGINNING OF THE XXth CENTURIES)**

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to investigate the process of colonization of South Africa, namely the colonial rivalry of the world's leading powers, which gave an impulse to another major division of the world. Through the lens of geopolitical transformations of the past, to explain contemporary bipolarity. The methodology of the research is based on the principles of science, historicism, as well as the use of general scientific methods (analysis and synthesis) and special historical methods (methods of historiographic and source analysis). The scientific novelty is that through the prism of one situational colonial conflict the strategic landmarks of the leading countries of the world, which in the future will cause wars during the XXth century; lay the foundations of a modern post-bipolarity. The Conclusions. In the early 90^{ies} of the XIXth century the colonial division of the African continent was completed, making major adjustments to the world politics. In the history of the twentieth-century*

wars, the Boer War was the first, not only statistically, but also one that marked a change in the established world order. Thanks to the new colonial conquest, Germany became a leader in “world politics”, and England, on the contrary, lost its colonial dominance. The Portuguese possessions in the Sunda archipelago were divided between England and Germany. Russia was preparing for expansion in the Far East, Middle East and Central Asia. Thus, the uneven economic development of countries and regions caused the corresponding content of international relations, which focused on the formation of military-political alliances. The ideas of pacifism led to the emergence of such organizations as the Institute of International Law (1873), the Inter-Parliamentary Union (1887), and the Nobel Committee. Two peace conferences were convened in The Hague in 1899 and 1907. Unfortunately, this could no longer stop the interests of monopolies and the ambitions of politicians. The current world politics of appeasement of the Russian aggression by the leading countries, the struggle for impact on the periphery, the peoples' desire for self-determination without taking into account the experience of the historical past, unfortunately, does not add optimism to the future geopolitical transformations.

Key words: international relations, colonial politics, military-political alliances.

КОЛОЇАЛЬНА ЕКСПАНСІЯ АФРИКИ ТА ФОРМУВАННЯ НОВОГО СВІТОПОРЯДКУ (КІНЕЦЬ ХІХ – ПОЧАТОК ХХ ст.)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – дослідити процес колонізації Південної Африки, а саме колоніальне суперництво провідних світових держав, що дало поштовх до чергового великого переділу світу. Через призму геополітичних трансформацій минулого пояснити сучасну біполярність. **Методологія** дослідження спирається на принципи науковості, історизму, а також використання загальнонаукових методів (аналізу і синтезу) та спеціально-історичних (методи історіографічного та джерелознавчого аналізу). **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що крізь призму одного ситуативного колоніального конфлікту показано стратегічні орієнтири провідних країн світу, які в майбутньому стануть причиною світових воєн ХХ ст.; закладуть основи сучасної постбіполярності. **Висновки.** На початок 90-х рр. ХІХ ст. завершився колоніальний поділ Африканського континенту, що внесло суттєві корективи в світову політику. В історії війн ХХ ст. англійсько-бурська війна була першою не лише статистично, а й такою, що знаменувала зміну усталеного світопорядку. Завдяки новим колоніальним завоюванням, Німеччина перейшла в лідери “світової політики”, Англія ж навпаки, втрачала колоніальну домінанту. Португальські володіння в Зондському архіпелазі було поділено між Англією та Німеччиною. Росія готувалася до експансії на Далекому, Середньому і Близькому Сході. Отже, нерівномірності економічного розвитку країн, регіонів зумовили відповідний зміст міжнародних відносин, які були сфокусовані на формуванні військово-політичних союзів. Ідеї пацифізму зумовили появу таких організацій як Інститут міжнародного права (1873 р.), Міжпарламентський союз (1887) та Нобелівський комітет. В Гаазі у 1899 та 1907 рр. було скликано мирні конференції. Та, на жаль, це вже не змогло зупинити інтереси транснаціональних корпорацій та амбіції політиків. Сучасна світова політика з умиротворення російського агресора провідними країнами, боротьба за вплив на периферії, прагнення народів до самовизначення без врахування досвіду історичного минулого, на жаль, не додає оптимізму щодо майбутніх геополітичних трансформацій.

Ключові слова: міжнародні відносини, колоніальна політика, військово-політичні союзи.

The Problem Statement. In the early 90-ies of the XIXth century the colonial division of the African continent was completed, making major adjustments to world politics. The latest diplomatic technologies were outlined, while players, who did not mind “tasting a piece of colonial pie” entered the arena. The colonial history of the British Empire attracted attention of many historians. In the history of the twentieth-century wars, the Anglo-Boer War was the first, not only statistically, but also one that marked a change in the established world order. Despite its considerable distance from Europe, reports about it were widely spread not only in Europe but also in many other countries. It was the most expensive of all the wars that the British had participated in between the Napoleonic wars and World War I. Despite the great

dominance of the British Empire over the small nation, this armed conflict lasted for more than two and a half years, from October 11, 1899 till May 31, 1902.

The war resulted from a rather long colonial rivalry, its exacerbation and struggle in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It brought widespread worldwide popularity to the Boers – a nation that most of the world did not even know existed, although the Boer and British confrontation had begun one hundred years before. It initiated the geopolitical transformation of the next XXth century.

The Analysis of Recent Research and Publications. South African aspects of British colonial politics have been reflected in many scholarly studies. Among the works used by the authors of this work is the multi-volume history of the nineteenth century edited by the French historians E. Lavisse and A. Rambaud (Lavisse, E., Rambaud, A., 1938 – 1939, p. 526), which has not lost its significance even today, the books by the German researcher G. Khalgarten (Khalgarten, 1961, p. 696), English author P. Brandon (Brandon, 2010, p. 983).

Among the foreign historiography, it is worth mentioning meaningful researches, which came out to the centenary of the Boer War and contain the summary theses and in general are historiographical publications. Thus, English researcher Fred van Hartesveldt (Fred Van Hartesveldt, 2010, p. 219) presents the changes in the interpretation of war by British and African historians, emphasizing the national aspect of the latter. The study contains a bibliography of military and partly political history. Well-known researches on the subject was conducted by Bill Nasson (Nasson, 1991, p. 271), (Nasson, 2011, p. 352). The author draws on new material, exploring how the Boer War shaped the future of South Africa and what influence it had on South Africa after apartheid. This is a regional study of the conflict, which shows the drama of the black population, who opposed the white colonialists, their tribesmen, and as a result lost both political and social independence.

The review will not be complete without works of the Dutch scientists. An original study by Vincent Kuitenbrouwer (Kuitenbrouwer, 2012, p. 408), which shows how the stereotypes of the Dutch, in relation to the British, were formed on the example of mass media. The author opens up about the protection of the Boers, organization of the international pro-Boers-movement, the impact on nation's formation both in the Netherlands and South Africa during that period.

The common problems of international relations, in particular the colonial rivalry of the great powers, were investigated by the Soviet scholars of the older generation A. Yerusalimskiy (Yerusalimskiy, 1968, p. 284), the development of English colonial possessions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is presented in the monograph by M. Yerofeev (Yerofeev, 1959, p. 263). Foreign political events related to the Anglo-Boer War are covered in I. Nikitina's research (Nikitina, 1970, p. 218). The monograph of I. Charnyy (Charnyy, 1970, p. 214) is devoted to the development of German colonization in Africa and the beginning of the Anglo-German colonial rivalry. The problems of the Anglo-Boer conflict and war are thoroughly analyzed in the publications of A. Davidson and I. Filatova (Davidson, Filatova, 2000, pp. 31–51).

In contemporary Russian historiography, the publication of S. Bogomolov (Bogomolov, 2010, pp. 159–163) draws attention to itself with an attempt to compare the British industrial and Boer agricultural models of a regional development, as well as the different principles of their relations with African tribes. Another Russian author O. Tsarev (Tsarev, 2010, pp. 3–5), while analyzing the problems of the Anglo-German relations regarding the Boer republics, tries to find out the reasons that forced Germany to take a neutral position in the Anglo-Boer

War, which, in his opinion, led to the persistence of the English-German stubbornness and became one of the causes of World War I.

Significant results were achieved in the study of colonial issues by Ukrainian historians. In this context, numerous scientific developments of the renowned researcher S. Troian (Troian, 2005, pp. 188–206) stand out due to their thoroughness. In the researches, on the basis of a considerable documentary base and the works of foreign scientists, the ideology of German colonialism is analyzed. In addition, author justifies his own concept, in his definition, of the peculiarities of the position and policy of O. Bismarck regarding the aspirations of German supporters towards the creation of a colonial empire, the role of German enterprises, travelers and missionaries in this process, the influence of Germany's colonial conquests on its transition to "world politics", etc.

The development of the Anglo-German contradictions on the African continent in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is covered by L. Pytlovana (Pytlovana, 2015, pp. 19–25). She singles out four stages in the process and, in particular, emphasizes that the Anglo-German colonial rivalry is most fully reflected in the Transvaal issue. England's policy in Africa at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is analyzed in the article by Y. Burakov and L. Pytlovana (Burakov, Pitlevanaya, 2016, pp. 20–39).

The Purpose of the Article. In this essay, the authors attempted to explore the process of colonization of South Africa in the late nineteenth century, through the prism of confrontation between the leading world powers, which gave start to another major division of the world. Emphasizing that neither the black man nor the white man in Africa was spoken of at the time.

It is clear that finding something new in the topic is rather complicated, especially after a series of encyclopedic publications to mark the 100th anniversary of the confrontation in southern Africa. We emphasized the fact that there are no small wars, that was confirmed by the well-known conflicts at the turn of the century that transformed into a world war. Now, as well as hundred years ago, world's most economically developed countries, import their own models of civilizational development into the African continent, neglecting the interests of indigenous peoples, that does not accept them, giving rise to new centers of confrontation of civilizations.

The Statement of the Basic Material. After the Portuguese navigator Bartolomeu Dias opened one of the capes on the edge of southern Africa in 1488, which was later called the Cape of Good Hope, many years passed before the European colonists arrived and the news of new lands, their favorable natural conditions reached European countries.

In addition to the Dutch, German Protestants began arriving here, and after the Edict of Nantes was completely abolished in 1685 – the French Huguenots (Evans, 2000, p. 9).

The national composition of the colonists became increasingly diverse, although most of them were still the Dutch. The descendants of the first colonists were called the Boers (Dutch *boeren* – peasants; close by name is German *bauer* – peasant), later Afrikaners (Rodrigues, 2010, p. 237).

The Boers created small settlements, farms scattered over a large area, gradually moving to new lands. Many of them were nomads – colonists in wagons, moving with their families and treasure in wagons pulled by oxen, following their flocks, constantly fighting the local African tribes for pasture and livestock (Brandon, 1781 – 1997, pp. 244–246). At first, European settlers encountered the warlike Hottentot pastoral tribes on the southern coast, and then, as they moved further into the mainland, the Bushman hunters, who lived east

of the Hottentot. After expanding their holdings at the expense of these tribes, the Boers began to oust the tribes of the Bantu group of peoples (Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Swazi, Shona, Xindonga, Matabele, etc.), larger and more developed than the Hottentots and Bushmen (Kirey, 1983, p. 110).

Dutch immigrants considered South Africa as The Promised Land, which they discovered, and they perceived themselves as God's chosen masters of this land. Most of them set up large cattle farms based on slave labor. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Cape Colony, with an area of nearly 650 thousands sq. km, was inhabited by about 20 thousands Boers, 20 thousands Hottentot slaves and 30 thousands imported slaves from West Africa, Madagascar and even South Asia (Rodrigues, 2010, p. 283).

The Boer language (Afrikaans) began to take shape as early as the seventeenth century based on different dialects of Dutch, German, French, English with admixtures of native languages of indigenous South Africa.

In addition to conflicts with local tribes and new settlers over land and pastures, the Boers were increasingly exacerbated by conflicts with owners of the East India Company over control and revenues from transit trade with India and local tribes in South Africa. In 1795, the Boer-colonists overthrew the Company authorities and convened their National Assembly. At the same time, in 1795, when the Napoleonic troops invaded the Netherlands, Great Britain occupied the Cape Colony, which it considered a bridgehead on the way to India, Australia, the Far East. In 1803 the Netherlands regained control of it, but in 1806 the British again occupied it, motivating it by the need for protection against the French (Lavissee, Rambaud, 1938, pp. 139–152). Finally, in 1814, by decision of the Congress of Vienna, the Cape Colony was transferred to Great Britain for "lifetime use". The Netherlands received compensation of 6 million pounds.

In the early 70-ies, four white-ruled states existed in southern Africa: two British colonies – Cape and Natal – and two Boer republics – Transvaal (South Africa) and the Orange Free State. The British colonies were then granted the right to form parliaments, but at the same time considerable powers remained under their governors, appointed by the imperial government (Ayzenshtat, 1999, p. 162).

The attitude of British political and state circles to the idea of unifying the British colonies and the Boer republics changed after diamonds were found in the area of the Vaal River falling into the Orange River in 1867. Since then, the annexation of the Boer republics to the British colonies had become a major goal of British politics in South Africa (Ayzenshtat, 1999, pp. 169–179). In April 1877, an English military detachment occupied Pretoria – the capital of Transvaal, and the British government announced the inclusion of the republic in the British possessions.

The Boer conflict seemed to be settled. However, as noted by the English author M. Carver, this settlement was prevented by two factors. The first was the ambitious dream of Cecil Rhodes – a politician and entrepreneur, one of the organizers of the British colonial expansion in South Africa – to get a monopoly on diamond mining in Kimberley, and the second – the discovery of gold in 1886 in Transvaal (Carver, 1999, p. 7).

After giving up annexation for a while, London began a policy of encircling the Boer republics to cut them off from the outside world. In 1885, in response to German annexation of South-West Africa, the British seized the lands of the Bechuana, who separated the German possessions from the Boer republics, declared them a British protectorate of Bechuana land (present-day Botswana), and thus cut off the Boers from the west (Yerofeev, 1959, p. 153).

In 1886, almost in the center of the Transvaal lands, the Australian gold digger George Harrison found outbreaks of gold-bearing rocks in the Witwatersrand (White Water Range), or simply Rand. In general, this structure was later determined to be 100 km long (Erlikh, 2016, p. 108). Some authors give other figures: 200 km. long, tens of kilometers wide (Bossenbroek, 2018, p. 464). In any case, it was the largest gold deposit (more precisely a group of deposits) in the world.

The discovery of the rich diamond and gold fields made such a stunning impression on the world of the time that it considered to be the second discovery of South Africa. After the discovery of diamonds and gold, the massive inflow of emigrants began to make a significant impact on the development of the South African region. Thousands of gold-diggers, speculators, all kinds of adventurers moved to the Transvaal from England and other countries. The new settlers believed that the patriarchal state of the Boers was completely unfit for free entrepreneurship; the Boers, in turn, considered these “whitelanders” (foreigners) only eligible to pay taxes, and did not want to lose political power out of their own hands (Morton, 1950, p. 404).

South Africa also attracted the attention of the German colonialists. Propaganda of a colonial conquest had been around since the mid-nineteenth century. German travelers, merchants and missionaries took an active part in it. One of the travelers, E. Weber, in the 1870s, proposed the creation of German possessions in South Africa, which, in his opinion, expressed in the letter to O. Bismarck, could become the second homeland for German immigrants, “New Germany”. Weber paid a particular attention in this context to the Transvaal. The foundation for the future prosperity of the Transvaal, where the “blood brothers” live – the Boers, should be.... settlement of German immigrants. The next step would be the Anschluss of the Boers by Germany, and on this basis a huge empire “New Germany” would arise (Troian, 2014, pp. 178–179).

During 1883 – 1884, Bremen tobacco dealer A. Luderitz, landed on the Atlantic coast of the Southwestern Africa in the Angra-Peken bay, acquired new territories and expanded his holdings to 900 sq. mi. In the same year, O. Bismarck instructed the German General Consul General in Cape Town to formally declare that Germany was taking over the colonial possessions of Luderitz. Thus, Germany acquired its first colony in Africa (Aleksandrov, 1963, p. 61). The ownership of Luderitz was later expanded and called “German South West Africa” (Yerusalimskiy, 1968, p. 228).

On September 15, 1884, London’s journal “The Times” used the phrase “Scramble for Africa” for the first time (Vinogradov, 1991, p. 155), and when J. Chamberlain became British Minister of Colonies in mid-1895, the South African issue became dominant in the ministry. At the end of 1895, Berlin was informed of an escalation of the conflict between the government of Pretoria and the British gold miners in Rand. The German Foreign Ministry warned London against armed intervention. The German agents acted so vigorously that in the shortest possible time they were able to raise the flags of the German Empire over territories that were not under German control.

The German-English rivalry and confrontation in South Africa demonstrated that Germany, without a sufficiently powerful navy, could only count on maintaining existing positions in the Boer republics. In order to succeed a compromise with England should have been reached. The search for a mutual understanding, initiated by Germany, ended with the agreement on August 30, 1898, on the division of the Portuguese colonies between the two countries in case if Portugal, that was extremely weak financially, is unable to pay its debts to one

of the contracting parties. It implied that Mozambique's Lorenzo – Marquez harbor, on which England had been obtaining a pre-emptive right for a long time, entered the sphere of English influence, and Portuguese possessions in the West Bank of Africa came under German influence. The Portuguese possessions in the Sunda archipelago were to be divided between the two great powers (Byulov, 1935, p. 135). The secret convention referred to a mutual opposition to any third country that tried to take part in the division of the Portuguese colonies.

The fact that the Anglo-Boer War became protracted was well noticed in other countries. England's prestige was falling, due to its inability to end the war quickly with the small powers and demonstrated the weakness of the English land forces. In addition, the war in South Africa began at the time of the aggravation of the Anglo-Russian and the Anglo-French relations. Tense relations with Russia improved somewhat since an agreement on rail construction in China was reached in 1899 (Khvostov, 1963, p. 460), but remained tough in general. In 1898 the Anglo-French conflict arose which led to the capture of the Egyptian settlement of Fashod in the upper Nile, very important point for African communications for both France and England, by Captain Marshan's French military detachment on July 10, 1898. The incident almost led to the war between England and France. The Anti-English propaganda in France reached its climax after Fashod incident (Khvostov, 1963, p. 465). The articles appearing in the French press were pointed directly against Queen Victoria (eg., under the title "Queen to be hanged"); insulting cartoons, offending the Queen and the representatives of the British Government were displayed on the boulevards, with some cartoons being so brutal that the British ambassador left Paris for a time as a sign of protest. The conflict was resolved as a result of the signing of the Anglo-French Agreement on March 21, 1899 (Klyuchnikov, Sabanin, 1925, p. 291). A. Tirpits believed that the rapprochement between France and England began in 1898 – 1899, with signing the Fashod agreement (Tirpits, 1957, p. 22).

What English diplomacy feared most was German intervention. The 1898 agreement with Germany on the division of the Portuguese colonies was intended to guarantee German neutrality in South Africa, but did not satisfy Germany. In August 1898, Germany raised the issue of the division of the Samoa archipelago, over which, in 1889, the condominium of Germany, England and the United States was established (Bolkhovitinov, 1960, pp. 388–389). The Agreement did not suit the Germans now, and they tried to get either the whole archipelago or the part of it to build a naval base for its fleet. Both England and the Dominions (Australia, New Zealand) were against such a "neighborhood" with Germany. The US position was close to English one. Thus, the German government provoked an internal conflict in the islands to destroy the condominium system. Such situation even caused military demonstrations of the naval forces of rivals in the area of the archipelago. At the beginning of March 1889, the British and American cruisers bombed Apia, the capital city of Samoa, where the Germans had actual control, and damaged the building of German Consulate. This incident caused indignation not only in the Reichstag but also in the broad audience of German society (Byulov, 1935, pp. 138–139).

The conflict over Samoa exacerbated German-English relations. However, the difficult situation of England due to the beginning of the Boer War, forced the British government to give in. On November 14, 1899, the German-English Agreement was signed, under which Germany received two islands of the Samoa archipelago (Khvostov, 1963, p. 469). This somewhat eased the tensions between two countries. At the end of November 1899, William II arrived in London, accompanied by B. Byulov. During their first meeting with British Minister of Colonies, D. Chamberlain, proclaimed that England would not disrupt the

German activities in Asia Minor, and during the second meeting, he also offered a part of the Atlantic coast of Morocco to Kaiser and stated that England would like to receive Tangier. A. Tirpits noted: "The proposals of the colonial possessions that the British neither own nor had the right to dispose, were made based on the Kaiser's temperament ... the mean was too brutal, and the purpose – too transparent" (Tirpits, 1957, p. 241).

Chamberlain's proposals on Morocco and Asia Minor were clearly intended to brawl Germany with France and Russia. The German leadership came to other conclusions from its disputes with England. In his speech to the Reichstag on December 11, 1899, B. Byulov said that while relations with Britain were friendly, Germany needed to build a powerful navy fleet capable of repelling the attack of the strongest maritime nation. And soon Germany became actively involved in the naval arms race.

Moreover, German diplomacy chose the tactics of inciting other nations against England. On October 18, 1899, Byulov, in an interview with the French ambassador, told him that interests of France and Germany in Africa were identical (Puankare, 1924, p. 44).

In a number of German incitements of other countries to act against England, the conversation of William II with the Russian ambassador in Berlin on January 13, 1900 was noticeable. In it, the Kaiser praised the mobilization of the Russian Army Corps in the Caucasus and their transfer to Kushka on the Afghan border. He further added that if Tsar ever had to send his troops to India, he (the Kaiser) would guarantee that no one in Europe would move. He would protect Russian borders. The Emperor also made it clear that such favorable conditions for taming the "imperialist encroachments of England" as now would never happen again. Regarding Russia's ally – France, Wilhelm II said that France aroused mistrust in him (Khvostov, 1963, p. 469).

All of this together created a favorable international situation for Russian expansion in the Far and Middle East, as Russia's main rival here – England – was drawn into a severe colonial war in South Africa. Shortly after its beginning in October 1899, in a letter to the sister, Grand Duchess Ksenii Oleksandrivny, the Russian emperor bragged: he has "a pleasant realization" that he has solely in his hands "... Radically change the course of the war in Africa. This tool is very simple – telegraph the order for all Turkestan troops to mobilize and approach the border. That's it. None of the strongest fleets in the world can stop us from dealing with England right there, in its most vulnerable place". (Nikolay Romanov ob anglo-burskoy voyne, 1934, pp. 125–126).

Russia's direct confrontation with Britain did not occur during the Boer War, but the government of Nicholas II pursued a clearly anti-British policy. Volunteers from Russia fought on the side of the Boers, the entire Russian press stubbornly criticized the actions of the United Kingdom. Nicholas II also hoped to increase the influence on British policies by proposing the mediation of the Continental States. In February 1890, M. Muraviov tried to find out the attitude of the French government to a possible mediation with Germany in the Boer conflict. T. Delcasse agreed to take part in it, but on condition that the initiative would be taken by Germany. Berlin responded that Germany could participate in the mediation on two terms: when Russia finds out about the position of London in this question and if France, Germany and Russia mutually guarantee their possessions (Davidson, 2005, p. 53). For France, this would mean abandoning claims for the return of Alsace and Lorraine, which it did not even suppose. Thus, both the German and Russian diplomats tried to lay the initiative on mediation on one another. Therefore, European states did not interfere in the Boer War and a continental bloc against England was not established.

The Conclusions. Thus, the military conflict between two different European groups of white colonialists for domination in South Africa clearly demonstrated the willingness of the leading countries of that time world to fight deadly for the economic and political spheres of influence that soon was confirmed by the events of the Great War. Increasing unbalanced economic development of countries and regions caused the corresponding content of international relations, which were focused on the formation of military-political alliances. Were there any attempts to minimize the possibility of international conflicts? Yes, there were. It was the ideas of pacifism that led to the emergence of such organizations as the Institute of International Law (1873 p.), The Inter-Parliamentary Union (1887), and the Nobel Committee. Two peace conferences were convened in The Hague in 1899 and 1907 to discuss the issues of disarmament, the resolution of international disputes and the rules of war on land. The International Peace Committee became more active, coordinating the activities of national committees and organizing international conferences, supporting pacifism. Unfortunately, this could no longer stop the interests of monopolies and the ambitions of politicians.

Today's world leaders, too dependent on world corporations, are pursuing a policy that is a hundred years old. France is playing with Russia, fighting for influence in Africa. Italy and Germany have an economic and social factor of dependence from Russia, Turkey (energy, refugees from the East), the US holds the economic balance with China, etc. The world, once again, is on the verge of emergence of a new world order. What it will be depends largely on the extent to which peoples and their leaders, given the experience of the past, are prepared to respect each other's right for a self-determination, to abide by international law and to act in the name of peace.

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