

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION.

Ever since "peace" was declared at the end of the Second World War there have been disturbance and convulsions all over the world. Governments have been overthrown and systems of Government radically changed. In some places foreign powers have been driven out of countries they have ruled for centuries, and people have been jerked out of their age-long habits of living and of thinking. A great writer and philosopher, characterizing this period, has said that mankind is living through an epoch of wars and revolutions.

Let us examine this statement. In order to understand its full meaning we must go back and briefly trace the development of society over the last few centuries. This time we are not going to load conference with a lot of details of facts. Every day the press carries a report of events from many parts of the world, including our neighbouring states in Africa. We shall, as far as possible, take the facts as given. Here we are more particularly concerned with drawing in broad outline a picture of man and his society, with this end in view - to give contemporary events a perspective and a meaning, which, in the general confusion, tend to elude us. Recent happenings can thus be seen not as haphazard accidents but as flowing from inherent conflicts and contradictions in the social, economic and political forces at work in the world to-day.

Feudalism, which for centuries was the prevailing system in many parts of the world, was vanquished piecemeal by capitalism. Now it was never the intention of the rising class in Europe, the early bourgeoisie, to remould the world according to its image. Yet it was to be the inevitable rôle of capitalism to subject all human transactions, all relationships between man and man and between men and things to the ruthless domination of its economic laws. Once started, capitalism had to spread like a nemesis over the face of the earth. Its method was revolutionary. A long train of bloody wars carried capitalism throughout the world. Under the ceaseless drive of the profit-motive, its vast expansion involved the breaking up of feudal powers and principalities, the smashing of tribal groups, relationships and modes of life, and the re-organisation of internal economies into single economic units, i.e. units of nation-states.

In its expansion to the far-flung corners of the earth, capitalism, in its stage of imperialism, used war as its main instrument of policy. Imperialist wars of conquest were its method of imposing its laws on all mankind. In the race

amongst/

amongst the Western European powers for colonial possessions and markets, Britain finally took the lead. Here the industrial revolution had first taken place. With the introduction of machinery and the enormous speed-up in production, the establishment of factories and huge cities of workers in the early 19th century, capitalism made a leap forward. The scramble for markets assumed greater intensity and before long the globe was carved up amongst the leading European powers into colonial possessions and spheres of influence. The latter part of the 19th century, with the rape of the continent of Africa, saw the completion of this ~~same~~ process. The tentacles of imperialism had reached out everywhere to the furthest corners of the earth.

German imperialism, coming late into the race, could find no fresh areas for expansion and exploitation. It could develop only at the expense of the other imperialist powers. From this stage onwards, any attempt at redivision involved a global conflict. The first World War, 1914-1918, demonstrated this.

But in the very upheaval of the first World War a new factor emerged. With the October Revolution, 1917, in Russia, one sixth of the world broke away from capitalism. Socialism entered the scene and set in motion new forces that were to bring about the transformation of the existing order. It was a new system with a new economy and a different social organisation. It could live, grow and expand to its fullest extent only at the expense of capitalism.

In the period between the two World Wars, however, the socialist sixth of the world was still so weak that the rival imperialists still dominated the stage, and the conflict between them exploded in the second World War. In the late twenties and early thirties Germany narrowly escaped a socialist revolution. With the financial assistance of British imperialism, its ruling class built up a colossal military machine, which was designed to smash the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) and divide up that vast land into colonies and spheres of influence under the ~~West~~ ^{Western} European powers. But the thieves fell out and the plan miscarried. Hitler, carried away by the myth of the invincibility of the German military machine, thought that he could afford first to settle old scores with British imperialism, before his seven-league boots should carry him triumphantly into Moscow. This miscalculation, together with other miscalculations ~~made~~ ^{both} on the part of Britain and America in the war, cost imperialism most dearly. It did irreparable damage to the forces of world capitalism.

By the end of the second World War there was a drastic shift in the

relationship/

relationship of forces, not only as between capitalism and socialism, (in the common jargon of the day called "West" and "East") but also within the camp of imperialists. Britain and France, once the unchallenged lords of the colonial world, were reduced to second and third rate powers. America saw itself stepping into the shoes of its impoverished European allies. Its enormous wealth and industrial resources thrust the leadership of the West on the shoulders of ~~this~~ the young, blustering giant, American imperialism. But this inheritor of the mantle of leadership was to discover that the historic times were too out of joint for it to enjoy its prize as its predecessors had done.

With the convulsions of the second World War capitalism had been shaken to its foundations. The countries of Eastern Europe had been lost to capitalism, and 1948 saw the triumph of the socialist revolution in China. The People's Republic of China, with its 500 million people, took its stand on the side of the Soviet Union. This last event produced far-reaching repercussions on subsequent events in Asia and beyond it.

Western diplomacy was now faced with an entirely new situation. No longer was the fate of the smaller countries throughout the world dependent on the decisions taken in the seats of the mighty, in London, Paris, and even Washington. Indeed, that imperialism, that had been wont to browbeat and lord it over the lesser breeds of the earth, found itself occupying a very different position. Gone were the days when the pukka-sahibs could depose rulers and impose puppet governments on unwilling peoples. The emergence of the Soviet Union as a first rate power contending for world leadership, the competition between the socialist and imperialist systems in the effort to draw within their respective orbits the smaller and backward countries - these factors have created opportunities for colonial and semi-colonial countries to break the shackles that had bound them ~~in~~ so long to imperialism. It was in this setting that the spirit of liberation gripped Asia and spread to the Middle East and Africa. In one country after another in the Far East the oppressed peoples rose in revolt against foreign domination.

Now the imperialists could no longer afford a global war. For in the given situation such a war would inevitably turn into a struggle to the death between the two systems. The major issues were no longer between the imperialists - though their rivalries will continue to operate as long as they last out - It was a question of the very survival of capitalism itself. Faced with this impasse, imperialism was forced to fall back on a series of ~~innumerable~~ localised

wars as an instrument of policy. To this period belong the wars in Korea, Indonesia, Burma, Indo-China. The sum total of these struggles was a heavy loss not only of colonial possessions but of the prestige of world imperialism. Yet imperialism could not do otherwise. It had become evident that the Soviet Union was superior to the West in conventional armaments and was catching up on the atomic weapons. To this period belonged what has been called the policy of brinkmanship, i.e. a policy of bluff, seeking Dutch courage in the thunderous threat of war, but taking care to withdraw on the very brink of explosion. This period came to a close with the debacle of Suez in the Middle East, where Britain suffered an ignominious set-back, and with the equally resounding failure of American imperialism to re-establish a foothold in Hungary. Its attempt there to singe the Soviet Union's beard didn't come off.

By this time even America, which had long deluded itself on this score, had to admit that the Soviet Union had not only caught up with the West in nuclear weapons but had leapt far ahead. Sputnik 1, the first man-made satellite to bleep-bleep its way across the ~~xxxx~~ heavens in full view of the world, was an ominous portent of the shape of things to come. And then, when the Soviet Union ~~not only aimed at the moon but hit the bull's eye and~~, surpassing even this achievement, ^{aimed at the moon and} sent up Lunik 3 to scan the unknown face of the moon - a feat acclaimed by all scientists - then the military pundits of Imperialism were plunged in gloom. They realised the inescapable logic of this achievement. Compared with this, the sending of a guided missile to any chosen part of the globe would be child's play. This feat ^{drove the teeth fangs of} ~~outlawed~~ the time-honoured imperialist practice of using war as an instrument of policy. It reduced the brinkmanship game to a farce. Thus ended another chapter in the desperate tactics of Imperialism!

Imperialism was now faced with the necessity of yet another shift in policy. It had lost the initiative. It was a far cry from the time when imperialism bestrode the world like a Colossus, subjecting ~~it~~ ^{its peoples} to its global plans. To-day it is compelled to live a hand-to-mouth existence as far as the conduct of world affairs is concerned. It has had to fall back on what it calls the cold war on the economic front. Here, too, however, the prospect for imperialism is a bleak one. Its sphere of operation is steadily shrinking. It is not only in the Far East that it has lost control of the markets. In other parts of the world it is being faced with irresistible competition. In this regard it is interesting to hear America's economic experts sounding the alarm. They express grave concern, for instance,/

for instance, over what is happening ~~at their own doorstep, as it were,~~ in the Latin American countries, which have long provided a happy hunting ground of exploitation. The United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee ~~states~~ ^{reports} as follows: "The overwhelming problem there to-day and for the foreseeable future is the social revolution, the revolution of rising popular expectation. The problems are tremendous. Over half the people are undernourished - nearly half are illiterate. The overwhelming majority are propertyless, for both ~~the~~ land and natural ~~resources~~ are concentrated in the hands of the few. More than half the working population ~~lives and~~ ^{toils} ~~lives~~ under semi-feudal conditions which retard health, welfare and education."

These grievances, they fear, will drive the people of Latin America into the arms of the Soviet Union, and they view with alarm the recent trade agreements between it and Brazil, Chile and Colombia. "Brazil has just sent a trade mission to Russia. Chile has just held discussions with the Russians on the installation of new industries. Colombia recently signed a trade agreement under which Russia pledged to buy a large amount of coffee.... Russia is expected to back its new drive by promising deliveries on credit of mass-produced surplus equipment, even whole factories." (Cape Times: 28th Nov. 1959.)

This pattern is being repeated in many countries. The fact is, imperialism is at a disadvantage. For one thing, the various imperialist powers are cutting one another's throats in economic competition amongst themselves; and for another, the anarchy inherent in their system of production aggravates the present crisis. The unified economy of a socialist country, on the other hand, places it in a ~~maxi~~ position where it can plan ~~an~~ development on a vast scale and control production, directing commodities in required quantities to internal as well as external markets. It is a planned economy where all industry is treated as one big trust, and it can centralize production, treating it as a single unit for the whole country. ~~Therein~~ lies its basic superiority.

As early as 1955 an English economist, Mr. Peter Wiles, in a B.B.C. nation-wide broadcast, stated: "Perhaps the most important fact in all modern economics is that the rate of growth of productivity is higher in the Soviet Union than in any important free country at the period of its maximum development, let alone now." He goes on to show that the best performance of any non-Communist country over a long period is 3 per cent per annum. "The Soviet economy," he said, "grew/

"grew by about five and a half per cent per annum before the war and by about seven and a half per cent since 1948....⁴ For mining and manufacture alone, the figure for the U.S.S.R. was 12 per cent." On this he makes the following comment:

~~Excerpt from the report~~ "We see that the overwhelming superiority in industry alone leads to a great overall superiority in the whole national income."

This, then, was the position before 1955, but we know that since then, ^{with} the introduction of automation in the various fields of industry in the Soviet Union the rate of development ~~had~~ has tremendously increased. Every day recently we read reports in the press that confirm this fact. As an example we quote the following:

"A delegation representing two committees of the United States Senate, which recently returned from a month-long, 12,000 mile trip in the Soviet Union, has impressive evidence that the Soviet Union has also overtaken the United States in the building of hydro-electric power dams. In fact, the power programme, though less dramatic, may ultimately prove to be of greater significance than missile and space exploration - for electric power forms the basis of the industrial might of a modern nation." (Cape Argus, Dec. 2. 1959.)

Note that the scientists themselves stress the basic factors that lead to superiority in productivity. They go on to report that the Russians already have in operation the world's largest dam, with a capacity of 2,300,000 kilowatts. America's largest dam, Grand Coulee, has a capacity of 1,900,000 kilowatts. The Russians are finishing another dam, Stalingrad, with a capacity of 2,530,000 kilowatts. By 1961 they will have completed another with a capacity of 4,500,000 kilowatts - more than twice that of the American Grand Coulee. Still another dam is under construction in Siberia will have a capacity of about 5,000,000 kilowatts, which, they say, "is almost twice the power capacity of all 31 dams in the Tennessee Valley, (U.S.A.)" "The Russians have developed new techniques which they contend will revolutionize the art of building dams." ^{The report goes} ~~They go~~ on to say that "power is being transmitted considerably longer distances in the Soviet Union than in the United States.... Already the Russians are transmitting power for more than 600 miles; America's longest transmission lines are about 300 miles.... The highest voltage now in use in the United States is 345,000 volts; the Russians are transmitting power at 400,000 volts, and within the next few months will step this up to 500,000 volts."

The Western European powers had gained their ascendancy over the world, thanks to the might of their industrial machine and their superiority in technology. But to-day, as the English and American scientists themselves tell us, the leadership in these fields is fast shifting to the Soviet Union. This fact has profoundly affected the global economic contest. The more backward countries no longer look towards Western Europe for guidance and assistance as a matter of course. The socialist countries are offering them not only advice but experts and equipment for setting up whole new industries as well as favourable credits on a long term basis. This has resulted in a desperate economic retreat for imperialism, and a drastic narrowing down of markets. In one country after another the Western powers see themselves worsted in this inexorable economic struggle. Confronted with this ~~plight~~^{plight}, they are focussing their attention on the continent of Africa. With an almost frantic hope they regard it as the pearl of great price which they must preserve at all costs. But even here they show signs of apprehension. Recently, at a meeting of the Western European Union, Monsieur Paul-Henri Spaak, described as "an elder European statesman who speaks with unsurpassed authority on such matters," stated the case with brutal frankness:

"The problems of to-morrow," he said, "are centred in Africa. But there is more than that behind them. The great dispute between Communism and the free world, which divides mankind to-day, is no longer a matter of cold war and military preparedness. That phase is past; it was only the first round, and Russia has won it.* The second phase consists of economic and trade competition, leading to Russian penetration in Africa and Asia. Signs of this are obvious enough, from the Aswan dam to the trade agreement with the Republic of Guinea." (Cape Argus, Dec. 2. 1959.)

After urging the Western powers to co-ordinate their economic policies in Africa, he said: "One centre of this struggle is in Africa. What the Communist side offers to Africa is racial equality and complete modernization and rapid progress."

The continent of Africa, which for centuries has been groaning under the iron heel of the respective imperial masters, suddenly finds itself the object of eager solicitations by imperialism on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other. These vie with each other in wooing the African states, offering economic aid and trade agreements. For example, there was the building and financing of the Aswan dam in Egypt, the biggest in Africa. Both America and England had jibbed at the colossal expense involved and Russia stepped in with generous financial aid and offered technicians who employed new techniques that have revolutionized the

building of dams. Every other day we hear of the visitations of trade representatives of both East and West to the various states in Africa, offering them economic aid, ~~technical~~ technical aid, educational aid and all sorts of aids.

The political centre of gravity, then, has shifted to Africa and events are being played out under specific conditions in which imperialism has completely lost the initiative.

The events which are taking place throughout Africa must be viewed against the background we have given. The speed of the vast changes sweeping away the dust and decay of outworn things, feudalism and tribalism, is in rhythm with the fundamental changes taking place on the international field.

Events claiming our attention in order of importance are De Gaulle's new Community plan for French Colonial possessions in Africa and overseas. The purpose and intention behind the Plan is to prevent another Indo-China débâcle in Africa. France does not want another war in Africa which may lose her her French possessions, including Algeria. On September 24th (1959) a referendum took place throughout her French possessions to decide whether they would (a) prefer to integrate themselves into the French Community consisting of France, Sudan, Algeria and four other French islands;

(b) accept autonomy within the French Community but agree to the Community's jurisdiction over

- (1) foreign policy and defence;
- (2) common economic and financial policy;
- (3) supervision of justice and higher education;

or, (c) prefer to break with France and be entirely independent of the French Community.

Of all the territories in Africa, Guinea alone by almost a unanimous decision decided for independence. The Ivory Coast under Houphouët Boigny has fully embraced De Gaulle's concept of integration, having one language (French), one flag (tricolour of France), one currency and one National Anthem (the Marsellaise) and one Community Senate in which ^{the} members from the Ivory Coast will sit alongside their French confrères in Paris.

The rest of the French Colonial possessions, Senegal, Volta, Chad, Niger, Congo and others have accepted the ~~new~~ half and half constitution, internal control, but control in external affairs, finance and higher education vested in France.

The complete break away of Guinea under President Sekou Touré has had great repercussions throughout Africa and in the world. Colin Legum in "Africa Column,"

Cape Times, Nov. 16, ^{writes:} Africa's most courted politician, President Sekou Touré of Guinea, was Britain's guest last week after completing his United States tour. The size and number of diplomatic missions in ~~Guinea~~ Guinea demonstrate the importance attached by both Western and Communist blocs to this tiny West African

republic/...

"republic with fewer than three million people..... In the rapidly changing balance of forces in Africa, Guinea is in some ways as significant as China in Asia. Sekou Touré is the first Marxist leader to win power in Africa. His Marxism is as distinctively African as Khrushchev's is Russian and Mao Tse-tung's is Chinese. But like them he is engaged in building what he calls the first 'People's Democracy' in Africa....."

"There are 4300 elected village communities at the base of the political structure. At the apex is the politburo, indirectly elected by party members every five years. Active consultation, known in these parts as 'palaver', takes place constantly between the villages and the politburo. Touré calls it 'centralised democracy' and also 'the dictatorship of the people'." The writer goes on to say:

"There is dynamism and enthusiasm unequalled in any other African State. There is a remarkable sense of public morality....

Ministers and party officials are underpaid and work like Trojans. There is no ostentation, no large ~~luxury~~ chauffeur-driven cars for 'the boys'...The brightest feature of the régime is the tremendous enthusiasm, especially among the peasantry. Guinea's answer to her financial difficulties is to make peasants productive through voluntary communal labour known as 'investment'.....

"Offers of help, technical and otherwise, have come in from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and China..... Two out of every three students are studying in Communist countries."

He continues: "It would be rash to ignore her explosive potentialities.

Touré sees Guinea as a stepping ~~stone~~ stone towards the unification of all the former French territories in Africa. Already his policy has compelled two of the seven African members of the French Community - Senegal and the Sudan which comprise the Mali Federation - to demand complete independence within an alliance with France. But Touré sees the ~~destruction of the~~ present & framework of the French Community ~~in Africa as the~~ first step towards a United States of West Africa...

Leopold Senghor, the poet statesman, and ~~Kerouac~~ ^{77.} Kertu of the Mali Federation, Senegal and Sudan, are already in violent disagreement with De Gaulle in regard to the.../

the manner in which the French Community will handle external matters of foreign policy, defence and finance. DeGaulle is vague as to who will constitute this supra-national authority. Another vital issue is the question of maintaining separate national states, i.e. balkanization. Mali leaders are opposed to balkanization and say that the best interests of Africa would be served by encouraging federation which will provide economic and political cohesion against the forces of tribalism. If the Mali Federation breaks with France on these issues, it would result in the rest of the other National States, Niger, Chad, Congo, etc., breaking away rather than accept an "independent minus" state. Houphouët Boigny will be confronted by a formidable challenge in which the forces of progress will be arrayed against him. In other words, the struggle in Africa is only beginning, with the pace being set by the most politically advanced, viz. Guinea, which will from now be the point of departure.

Imperialism as a whole, whether British or French, would have blasted Guinea to pieces three years ago, just as they had attempted to bring Egypt to her knees when she expropriated the Suez Canal in 1957. It appears the two great imperialisms, Britain and France, have understood that, rather than lose the whole of Africa, they must come to terms with nationalism whose force is becoming irresistible.

The next important event in the coming year is the granting of independence to Nigeria in September, 1960. Already an election campaign based for the first time on manhood suffrage is in full swing. Polling day was the 10th December (this month) to decide which party will shall control the Federal Assembly when independence is declared. The premier of the Moslem North, the Sardauna of Sokoto, Sir Ahmadu Bello, representing the Northern People's Party, has 174 seats and has the support of the emirs (Moslem chiefs). 73 seats are held by the N.C.N.C. (National Council of the Cameroons) under Premier Dr. Azikiwe, while in the East, the Action Group under Dr. Awolowo holds 63 seats together with U.N. territory which proposes to secede from Nigeria. The N.C.N.C. under Dr. Azikiwe is putting up candidates in the East as well as in the West, while the Action Group under Dr. Awolowo is putting up candidates in all these areas. The whole country has been counselled to exercise restraint and to conduct the elections without animosity.

As quoted in the Cape Times, Dec. 9., in Foreign News Report:

"Zik's methods are quite different. He has secured an alliance with a

Trojan horse in the North in the form of an ascetic and radical-minded Muslim leader/...

"leader, Aminu Kano, whose Northern elements Progressive Union is leading a revolt against the feudal rule of the Emirs. Thus Bello is left to defend his citadel against an external and an internal attack on the traditionalist emirate system.....

It is impossible to predict what the outcome will be of this struggle which is releasing powerful new forces disrupting the old tribalist societies in a way that 80 years of foreign rule has failed to do.

The first full blast of democracy in Nigeria is having the same impact as a full scale revolution and it is surprising that there is not more violence than has so far broken through the surface of the old order."

Anthony Delius in "Africa Column," of the Cape Times, November 30, has this to add:

"This year(1960) is going to be one of the great dates in African history.

It will be so not only because four or five more countries will obtain independence and the total of Africans under their own governments will rise to about 140 million, but there are considerations beyond even that

The competition between Europe, America and Asia to offer aid and make friends in Africa will rise to a crescendo.... The extraordinary feature of African statesmanship has been the astuteness with which the various new African leaders have played their cards. They have shown they can make use of their opportunities like born diplomats."

On the East coast of Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda and Nyasaland, with the rise of Nationalism and the inability of the imperial powers to keep this mighty force in control, various political changes fundamental in scope are planned for 1960. Under the leadership of Julius Nyerere, the principle of majority rule has been forced upon the British in Tanganyika. In Uganda the Governor sought to crush the Uganda National Movement, the U.A.T., and declared it to be a "disturbed area". Restrictions upon leaders were imposed, political gatherings were broken up and there were threats of press censorship. The U.A.T. has called for self-government in 1960.

~~In Nyasaland today imprisonment is the passport to leadership.~~

In Nyasaland, Banda and over 600 people are still in prison as a result of the emergency declared in March of this year. The charge against them of secretly plotting the overthrow of the State has been rejected by the Government-appointed mission in the Devlin report. Nyasaland had been promised a new constitution for

195 1957, /...

1957, independent of Rhodesia. But this was delayed time and time again, until in 1953 Nyasaland found itself in a federation with the Rhodesias, to which she is opposed. As the Listener of 1st Oct says:

"The arrests in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia have consolidated support for the Nationalist leaders. When Dr. Banda was arrested it was hoped by the Government that another Nyasaland leader, Dr. Wellington Shirwa, would voice more moderate views. Instead, he made the same demands as Dr. Banda had made weeks before. When I reported the matter to Dr. Banda in prison, he showed no surprise or gratification. 'Of course', he said, 'no one can speak any other language in Nyasaland now.' Here is another pointer: only three out of Nyasaland's thirty five university graduates have not been arrested."

In August of this year, the Mboya Group, calling itself the Convention Party, split from the more moderate Kenya National Party and are demanding full responsible government in 1960, with a totally elected legislature and no seat reservations at all, i.e. communal representation. The constitutional talks are scheduled for January 18th. in London. We all know how Mboya was arrested in October when he planned to present a petition to the Governor on the 7th anniversary of Jomo Kenyatta's arrest, to ask for his freedom. The court acquitted him and the net result was a popular demonstration in his favour. Mboya is also the president of the Kenya Federation of Labour. In the moderate Kenya National Party disagreements are breaking out amongst the Asians and the Africans ~~in regard~~ and racialism shows itself in regard to land rights. There is every possibility that Mboya's Convention Party will ~~be~~ grow. It represents the political aspirations of the people. Certainly Mboya is the man to watch - his politics are those of the Labour Party, but today in Africa there can be no final judgment.

In Northern Rhodesia, Kenneth Kaunda, who is called "one of the new school of African nationalists, uncompromising, ascetic and dedicated", has broken away from Nkumbulu's Congress and formed the Zambia Congress. Nkumbulu belongs to the school of compromisers and is a believer in multi-racialism, and he has the approval of ~~the Governor~~ Benson, the Governor. Recently Kaunda has been arrested on the charge of "plotting", which will ensure the rapid growth of the Congress Movement.

In the Belgian Congo a battle has been waging against the authorities and shootings and imprisonment are on the order of the day.

On the horn of Africa, Italian and British Somaliland, ~~Sierra Leone and Guinea~~ are due for independence next year and ~~are~~ are demanding constitutions. ~~French Somaliland is also independent.~~ French

What we are witnessing to-day is a great awakening of the peoples of Africa. The continent presents a scene of vast activity; it is seething with change. Countries that have been stagnant for centuries under the heel of imperialism are quick with life. Many of them have gone past the first stage, which is marked by a general rejection of inferiority and a confused demand for freedom. At this stage almost any demagogue could get a popular following so long as he used the language of liberty. But the people are reaching a stage where there is an ever-sharpening formulation of their demands. This enables them to weigh up their leaders on the basis of the programmes they offer. And new leaders are emerging, who better represent the urgent demands of the people. In one country after another we see splits in the national movement. Everything is in a state of flux. From what we can gather at this distance, these splits are not to be regretted. They represent a necessary development, a change from quantity into quality in the struggle. Opposing forces must separate out. In the general ferment, the respective ideologies propounded by the different groups represent ^{con-} conflicting aims and interests and have to be hammered out in public view before the people who have ultimately to make their choice.

The important factor, which must be borne in mind when examining ~~the~~ all the struggles in Africa, is that the people are striving towards liberation against the background of a larger conflict, a conflict that is proceeding on a world scale - the conflict between capitalism and socialism. And it is being fought ~~simultaneously~~ simultaneously on the soil of Africa. In this period of rapid change yesterday is already old and the leaders, who in their outlook represent the old balance of power, find themselves being jettisoned by the younger and more radical elements. ~~They are operating in a different political and social milieu.~~

The point that every political observer in Africa makes - and we have quoted several of them - is that historically the centre (essence) of the ~~fight~~ struggle is no longer between tribalism and feudalism on the one hand and progressive capitalism on the other. This stage belonged to the 19th and early 20th centuries. It is true that the backward countries will still have to go through these stages, however telescoped the process will be. But that system which
is/...

influence

is to take ascendancy in the world is bound to ~~influence~~ very radically the course of development of national movements in Africa.

Whoever fails to take cognisance of the interconnection between the nature, the development of national struggles and the overall struggle, ~~embracing~~ embracing the international arena, will find it impossible to grasp what is happening. Whoever fails to understand that these movements are taking place in a political milieu very different from all previous national struggles, is in danger of serving as a tool of imperialism. To this camp belong all those who have a mechanical approach to events that are taking place in the continent of Africa, and hold up their hands in ~~horror~~ horror at what they call the rising Black ~~middle class~~ middle class. In the first place let us state emphatically that a middle class, whether black, white or blue, possesses the same political attributes, evinces the same ambitions, displays the same greeds, the world over. To introduce colour and and single out the Black of the species is to fall into racialism and to betray an emotional approach conned from all the prejudices, fears and terrors of the herrenvolk.

We have to look at the various classes of society objectively, weighing each of them from the point of view of its historic tasks and functions in the present era. It is logical, and even inevitable, that imperialism, in its desperate straits, should try to come to ~~terms~~ terms with that class which at this very moment is busy moulding itself in the image of its masters. Imperialism is bribing this class in Africa, as it did in India, with an offer of so-called independence. In other words, it ~~ix~~ offers it a junior partnership in the proprietary company for the exploitation of the masses.

Now this class, by the very nature of its requirements, finds itself playing a progressive rôle, despite itself. Its class interests dictate a war to the death against tribalism and all the backwardness of feudalism. But in the very process of doing so, it cannot help releasing other forces which have a logic of their own, and which, in the given relationship of world forces, they cannot control ~~at will~~ at will. Thus we see that imperialism, while it may succeed in wrenching the top sections, does not by any means resolve its problems. On the contrary, at every turn it comes bang up against still more acute problems. It comes face to face with sections of the population who speak a totally different tongue, with much ~~ix~~ more radical demands.

As we set out to explore the events in the continent of Africa against the

background/...

background of the international situation, we found ourselves ~~willy-nilly~~
willy-nilly discussing the problems of imperialism. We pointed out that, in its
heyday, it used war as its instrument of policy, but step by step it has lost the
initiative and fallen back on other methods. We may have given the impression
that, with the ascendancy of the East, war has become a thing of the past.
But this is not so, and cannot be so. No social system has ^{ever} quietly shuffled
itself off the stage of history. There will still be gigantic struggles ahead.
The two systems must fight it out to the death. The war may start as a series
of civil wars, but whichever way it happens, a third World War is coming.
And all mankind will be called upon to take sides.

Dec. 1959.