

# ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



# BULLETIN

ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

## The four purposes of the Asian-African Conference

1. to promote goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations;
2. to consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;
3. to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g. problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;
4. to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.



# Asian-African Conference Bulletin

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## EDITORIAL NOTE.

*This bulletin and a similar one in the Indonesian language are published at the suggestion of the Indonesian premier and with the agreement of the Joint Secretariat of the Asian-African Conference. They are designed to advance public understanding of the aims, activities and the achievements of the Asian-African Conference which is in the cause of world peace and universal well-being.*

*We hope that they will be a useful source of information to both the Indonesian as well as foreign readers who are interested in the Conference.*

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March 1955

No. 1

FEB 6 1955

# Asian-African Conference

TOWARDS ITS REALISATION



Premier U NUU  
of  
Burma



Premier  
Sir John Kotelawala  
of Ceylon



Premier Nehru  
of  
India



Premier  
Ali Sastrouardjojo  
of Indonesia



Premier M. Ali  
of  
Pakistan

IT is fitting that a bulletin devoted to the Asian-African Conference should begin with a resume of events leading up to the holding of that conference.

For centuries countries in South-East Asia have been subjected to the colonial policies of the Western Nations. Colonialism separated these once-colonised countries from each other and prevented their closer co-operation. As colonies they were always pushed in the background and they never participated in the solution of world-problems, not even problems affecting their own fates.

Their positions of subjugation to Western nations never allowed them to develop natural resources to the benefit of their own national economy and remained therefore economically underdeveloped. Colonialism left them with a multitude of problems, to which solutions had to be sought as soon as they gained their national independence after World War II. These problems are common to the newly-born countries in South- and South-East Asia. To solve these common problems, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, invited the Prime Ministers of Burma, India, Indonesia and Pakistan to meet him in Ceylon for friendly discussions. The need for these friendly discussions was then felt all the more, when the situation in Indo-China

grew worse and could therefore easily affect their countries. All these five countries depend for their future and the wellbeing of their peoples upon peace as a prerequisite to their plans of development and reconstruction.

All five countries have economic problems which can only be solved through a degree of industrial development, and, in general, are still strangers to the industrial revolution. Indeed they had many common problems to discuss.

Therefore, the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met in Ceylon between 28th April and 2nd May, 1954. This meeting was referred to variously as the Conference of Asian Prime Ministers, or as the Colombo Conference from the name of the city where the five Prime Ministers met.

The meeting took place concurrently with the Geneva Conference which aimed at a solution of the Indo-China question. The five Asian Premiers proposed at Colombo that France should declare at the Geneva Conference that she is irrevocably committed to the complete independence of Indo-China. They suggested direct negotiations between the parties principally concerned; they looked for utilisation of the good offices and machinery of the United



Nations, and they hoped that the Geneva Conference would bring about a speedy termination of the conflict.

It was evident that so clear a stand on this issue, taken by five countries who are close neighbours of Indo-China, could not but influence other international discussions, such as the Geneva Conference. It was also plain that this degree of agreement on the Indo-China question would extend to other fields. It did.

Besides detailing the views about the Indo-China question, the final communique of the Conference of South-East Asian Prime Ministers (issued at Kandy on 2nd May, 1954) referred also to many other matters. Colonialism was regretted as a violation of fundamental human rights: the claims to independence of Tunisia and Morocco were considered due for recognition; grave concern was expressed for the fate of the Arab refugees in Palestine, and a desire for a just and early settlement of the Palestine problem was expressed. The Prime Ministers affirmed their faith in democracy, exchanged views on the national and international aspects of communism, and determined that, whilst they would respect each other's sovereignty and would not interfere in each other's internal problems, they would resist interference in their internal affairs by Communist or other agencies. They deplored the production of the hydrogen bomb and other implements of mass destruction. They considered representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations Organisation. They considered proposals for economic co-operation and mutual aid and referred these to their respective governments. Apart from expressing satisfaction with the Colombo Conference as paving the way for similar meetings in the future, they finally discussed the desirability of holding a Conference of Asian-African nations and favoured the proposal that the Prime Minister of Indonesia, who had brought forward this suggestion, should explore the possibility of such a conference.

Addressing the Indian Council of World Affairs, during his visit to India, on 24th September, 1954, Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo in Indonesia, stated the following:

"At the Colombo Conference it was decided that the possibilities had to be explored of convening a larger Conference of more Asian countries than the original set of five, together with African Nations. . . . This conference . . . will enable us to strengthen our co-operation, to expand our efforts for peace whilst it will also convince the world that this enormous area does not want in its affairs any interference from outside in the realisation of its peaceful policies."

In a radio-broadcast in New Delhi on 25th September 1954, the Indonesian Premier again explained his idea of the Asian-African Conference as follows:

"... Asians will have to make decisions on their own future, without interference by the Western World.

There has been a slogan which ran 'Let Asians fight Asians'. That is precisely what we do not want. What we want is to cooperate with our Asian and African neighbours, to live together in friendship and in peaceful co-existence, to strive hard, united in aim, for the common benefit of us all."

On the same day, 25th September 1954, Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo and Prime Minister Nehru issued a Joint Statement, declaring that:

"They discussed also the proposal to have a Conference of representatives of Asian and African countries and were agreed that a Conference of this kind was desirable and would be helpful in promoting the cause of peace and common approach to these problems . . . It was also considered by them that, prior to the meeting of such a Conference, it would be advisable for the Prime Ministers of the Colombo Conference countries to meet together, preferably at Djakarta."

Before returning from his visit to India, and at the invitation of Prime Minister U Nu of the Union of Burma, the Indonesian Premier spent three days in Rangoon for informal talks upon matters of common concern. At the conclusion of this visit a further Joint Statement was issued, which reiterated that the Burmese Premier considered that an Asian-African Conference was desirable and that it would further the cause of world peace.

After these visits, therefore, invitations were again sent to the four other Prime Ministers of the Colombo Conference, this time to a meeting in Indonesia which was to consider and to prepare for the proposed Asian-African Conference.

This meeting was eventually held in the mountain town of Bogor, and there the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met for three days from 28th to 31st December, 1954. During this Bogor Conference, it was decided that an Asian-African Conference should be held in the month of April, 1955, at Bandung in Indonesia. Four purposes were outlined for this Conference:

1. to promote goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations;
2. to consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;
3. to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g. problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;
4. to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

It was decided that twenty-five Asian and African countries should be jointly asked by the five Premiers to attend. The twenty-five countries are:

- |                               |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan                | 13. Lebanon          |
| 2. Cambodia                   | 14. Liberia          |
| 3. Central African Federation | 15. Libya            |
| 4. China                      | 16. Nepal            |
| 5. Egypt                      | 17. Philippines      |
| 6. Ethiopia                   | 18. Saudi Arabia     |
| 7. Gold Coast                 | 19. Sudan            |
| 8. Iran                       | 20. Syria            |
| 9. Iraq                       | 21. Thailand         |
| 10. Japan                     | 22. Turkey           |
| 11. Jordan                    | 23. Viet-Nam (North) |
| 12. Laos                      | 24. Viet-Nam (South) |
|                               | 25. Yemen            |

What do the Asian-African nations hope to achieve through this meeting? In this connection Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo, before the Indian Parliament, when he visited India last September, said:

"In our way of thinking, and keeping in mind the Principles of Pantja Sila, peace in our part of the world cannot be assured by military pacts such as was recently concluded in Manila.

There is a better way to the preservation of peace, I mean cooperation and co-existence. In this respect the Colombo Conference has opened a new alley. This Conference had a direct and immediate effect on the Geneva Conference. The nations of Asia intervened, and intervened successfully. This showed the world that Asian Problems cannot be solved without Asian Nations.

Much has already been achieved; much remains to be done. The views of Asian nations have already become an important factor not only in Asian affairs but in world

affairs as well. The advantage we have gained must be followed up. The principles of Colombo must be followed up and they must be expanded. We, the nations of Asia, have friends amongst the nations of the African Continent. To a large extent their position is the same as ours; to a large extent they face the same problems. A close Afro-Asian co-operation can be realised, and, I submit, will lead to an immense strengthening of the forces marching to peace. We must bear in mind that the strength, the moral and the spiritual strength of the whole will be greater than the strength of the individual parts. To this aim a conference of Afro-Asian countries could lay down the pattern.

We are not seeking peace for ourselves alone. Humanity the world over is crying out for peace.

Humanity is standing at the cross-roads of history, and much of the responsibility for the future of humanity rests upon us, the peoples of Asia and Africa. We must not shirk that responsibility; we must not mortgage the future and we must not endanger that independence, that freedom from foreign domination against which both our nations fought so long and which cost us so many of our dearest and best sons and daughters."

Now, Indonesia, in close cooperation with Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan, as co-sponsoring countries, is working hard for the preparation of the Asian-African Conference. The opening of the Conference is fixed for 18th April and it will last for about a week.

This is the first time in Indonesia's history that she is called upon to be the host to eminent statesmen and politicians representing more than one half of the world's population. Indonesia is looking forward to welcoming them and is using all means at her disposal towards the holding of a pleasant, cordial and successful Asian-African Conference.

*One of the Buildings to be used for the Conference*





# Joint Communique of the Bogor Conference

December 29, 1954

1. The Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met at Bogor on the 28th and 29th December, 1954. The main object of their meeting was to consider matters concerning the proposed Asian-African Conference suggested at the first meeting of the Prime Ministers at Colombo last April.

2. The Prime Ministers took advantage of the opportunity of their present meeting to review briefly, and in general terms, problems and issues of common interest and concern to them all.

3. The Prime Ministers agreed that an Asian-African Conference be held under their joint sponsorship. They also reached agreement on all consequential matters.

4. The purposes of the Asian-African Conference would be :

a. to promote goodwill and cooperation between the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interest and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations ;

b. to consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented ;

to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g. problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism ;

d. to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

5. The Conference will meet in Indonesia in the last week of April 1955. The Government of Indonesia have

agreed to make the necessary arrangements for this Conference on behalf of the sponsoring countries. A Conference Secretariat representing the sponsoring countries will be set up in Indonesia.

6. The Prime Ministers agreed that the Conference should have a broad and geographical basis, and that all countries in Asia and Africa, which have independent governments, should be invited. With minor variations and modifications of this basic principle, they decided to invite the following countries :

- |                               |                      |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan                | 13. Lebanon          |
| 2. Cambodia                   | 14. Liberia          |
| 3. Central African Federation | 15. Libya            |
| 4. China                      | 16. Nepal            |
| 5. Egypt                      | 17. Philippines      |
| 6. Ethiopia                   | 18. Saudi Arabia     |
| 7. Gold Coast                 | 19. Sudan            |
| 8. Iran                       | 20. Syria            |
| 9. Iraq                       | 21. Thailand         |
| 10. Japan                     | 22. Turkey           |
| 11. Jordan                    | 23. Viet-Nam (North) |
| 12. Laos                      | 24. Viet-Nam (South) |
|                               | 25. Yemen            |

The above twentyfive countries, together with the five sponsoring countries, namely, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, will, it is hoped, participate in the Conference.

7. Representation at the Conference will be at Ministerial level and it is hoped that each country invited will be represented by her Prime Minister and/or Foreign Minister together with such other representatives as each government might wish to include in its delegation.

*THE FIVE PREMIERS DURING  
THE BOGOR CONFERENCE.*

*From left to right: the Premiers of  
Burma, India, Pakistan, Ceylon and  
Indonesia.*



8. The Conference will determine its procedure and agenda, the general scope of which is set out in the purposes of the Conference.

9. The Prime Ministers wished to point out that acceptance of the invitation by any one country would in no way involve or even imply any change in its view of the status of any other country. It implied only that the country invited was in general agreement with the purposes of the Conference. They had also borne in mind the principle that the form of government and the way of life of any one country should in no way be subject to interference by another. Any view expressed at the Conference by one or more participating country would not be binding on or be regarded as accepted by any other, unless the latter so desired. The basic purpose of the Conference is that the countries concerned should become better acquainted with one another's point of view. The Prime Ministers hoped that this clarification would enable all the invited countries to accept their invitation.

10. The Prime Ministers wished to state that in seeking to convene an Asian-African Conference, they were not actuated by any desire for exclusiveness in respect of the membership of the Conference. They did not desire either that the participating countries should build themselves into a regional bloc.

11. The Prime Ministers expressed gratification at the results of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China and the cessation of hostilities. They expressed the hope that the Geneva Agreements would be fully respected and implemented by all concerned and that there would be no outside interference which would hinder their successful implementation.

12. The Prime Ministers in the context of their well-known attitude towards colonialism, took note of the case of West Irian. The Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan supported the position of Indonesia in this matter. They expressed the earnest hope that the Netherlands Government would reopen negotiations to

implement their obligations under the solemn agreements concluded by them with Indonesia.

13. The Prime Ministers expressed their continued support of the demand of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco for their national independence and their legitimate right to self-determination.

14. The Prime Ministers reiterated their grave concern in respect of the destructive potential of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions for experimental purposes which threaten not only their countries, but the world, and their far-reaching and yet unascertained effects which may do permanent damage to human life and civilization. They earnestly requested all concerned to bring about a cessation of such experiments. They also requested the Disarmament Commission to take this matter into immediate consideration.

15. The economic development of Asian countries, which is so urgently necessary for the happiness and well-being of their peoples, requires a planned approach with a view to the utilization, in the most effective manner, of the available resources. An essential pre-requisite of such an approach is full knowledge of these resources.

Surveys of physical resources, particularly of the mineral and sub-soil wealth of each country, should therefore be conducted, and cooperation in the supply of technical personnel and in other ways should be made available.

16. The Prime Ministers considered that cooperation in the economic sphere for the supply of technical personnel and in all other ways should engage the attention of their Governments. They considered that a committee of experts should be set up to consider economic questions of common interest to their countries.

17. The Prime Ministers, meeting on the eve of the New Year, expressed their earnest hope that the year 1955 would witness a further growth in the friendly cooperation of the countries represented in the Conference as well as other countries and further the cause of world peace.



# Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo and the International News Service

The following are highlights of Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo's answers to the series of questions from I. H. Gordon, Far Eastern Editor of the I.N.S.:

Q. What, in your opinion is the major objective of the Afro-Asian Conference?

A. In my opinion the major objective of the Asian African Conference is what is said in paragraph 4(d) of the Joint Communique of the Bogor Conference, as follows: "to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation".

However, the three other points of that paragraph should not be considered as unimportant, as they contain issues which are of vital interest for the peoples of Asia and Africa in their relations between each other and the world at large.

Q. Do you expect the Conference to take action on the issue of co-existence? If so, what?

A. The problem of peaceful co-existence might come up as an item for discussion in the Conference since it not only concerns the peoples of Asia and Africa but also other nations in the world. Whether the Conference will take actions on that issue, I do not yet know.

Q. Is there any fear the Peoples Republic of China will use the Conference simply to strengthen the role of Communism in Asia?

A. There is no such fear from the side of the five sponsoring Colombo countries.

Q. What do you envisage the Conference can do to ease world tensions, particularly those between Moscow and Washington?

A. This question must be viewed in the light of what I have said in answering your first question. What the Conference can do to ease world tensions depends on the outcome of the discussions concerning the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today.

Q. What "common denominators" can be expected to unify the invited nations?

A. Some of the "common denominators" might be the social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented in the conference since most of the invitees are today facing more or less the same economic situation in their respective countries. Another issue of common interest might be the question of colonialism.

Q. Is the Conference fundamentally a search for political and international solidarity by the non-white races of the world?

A. Since most of the invitees are members of the United Nations, it can be said that it will not deviate from the fundamental objective of the United Nations Charter, of which the most important one is international solidarity. I can therefore state here that it is positively not an international solidarity of the "non-white races" against the "white races".

Q. Why were the Arab nations invited, but not Israel?

A. Whether a country is to be invited, was decided by the five Prime Ministers unanimously. The invitation to the Arab nations was agreed upon unanimously, whereas there was no unanimity concerning Israel.

Q. Why was Communist China invited, but not Nationalist China?

A. The five sponsoring countries recognize only one China, that is the People's Republic of China.

Q. Why were Vietnam and Vietnam invited, but not the Republic of Korea?

A. As you know the five Prime Ministers of the sponsoring countries are more or less committed with regard to the issue of Indo-China, since in April 1954 when meeting for the first time in Colombo, they have taken a common stand on the Indo-China problem. The world also knows that the Colombo decision had a considerable influence on the Geneva Conference resulting in the state of affairs prevailing now in Indo-China. Now that our suggestions have been accepted by the Geneva Conference, we felt a special responsibility by inviting all the Indo-China countries including South Vietnam and Vietnam (North Vietnam).

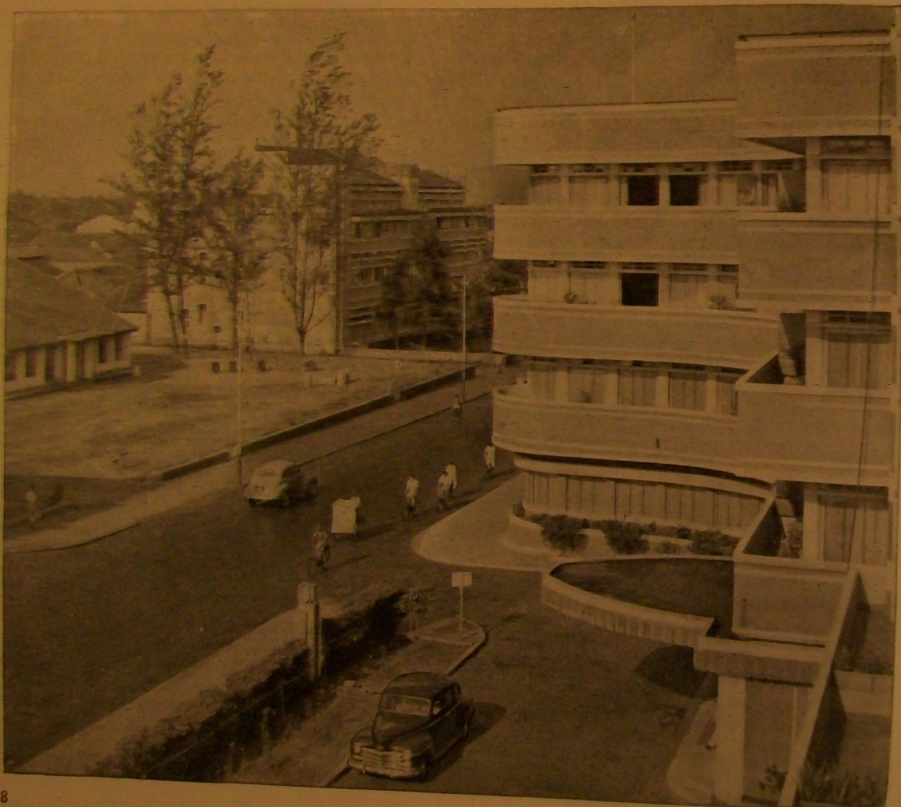
That same reasoning did not apply to Korea.

- Q. What will prevent the conference from developing into an alignment against the rest of the free world under pro-Communist slogans of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism?
- A. Anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism are not slogans monopolized by Communists, but are living realities in the minds of the masses of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Unfortunately these sentiments are generally ignored or minimized by the Western world. The presumption that anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism are merely Communist slogans, indicates an ignorance of the psychological impact on the feelings prevailing today among the Asian and African nations which only recently emerged from colonial status into independence. It is therefore wrong to anticipate that

the conference will develop into any alignment against or for any bloc in the world.

- Q. Will the conference leaders encourage the formation of a "third force" in world politics?
- A. No. In their joint Communique after the Bogor Conference the five Prime Ministers stated very clearly that: "They did not desire either that the participating countries should build themselves into a regional bloc".
- Q. What is your reply to the recent criticism of Secretary John Foster Dulles that the recent five-power communique was a "somewhat ambiguous document"?
- A. I have no official communication from the Secretary of State Mr. John Foster Dulles concerning his criticism. In my opinion the recent Five Power Communique was a clear document with a clear purpose.

*Bandung's Homann Hotel*







### *List of Invitees*

The five sponsoring Premiers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan have invited to attend the Conference the following 25 countries:

- |                       |           |                    |
|-----------------------|-----------|--------------------|
| * Afghanistan         | Iran      | Philippines        |
| * Cambodia            | * Iraq    | * Saudi Arabia     |
| — Central African     | * Japan   | * Sudan            |
| Federation            | Jordan    | * Syria            |
| * China (The People's | * Laos    | * Thailand         |
| Republic)             | Lebanon   | Turkey             |
| * Egypt               | * Liberia | * Viet-Nam (North) |
| * Ethiopia            | * Libya   | * Viet-Nam (South) |
| Gold Coast            | * Nepal   | * Yemen            |

\*) Have accepted the invitation as recorded until 12th March 1955.

— Not in a position to participate.

# THE JOINT SECRETARIAT

**I**MEDIATELY after the Conference of the five Colombo Premiers at Bogor, a Joint Secretariat was set up with the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Roeslan Abdulgani, as its Secretary-General. The other members of the Joint Secretariat are the Heads of the Diplomatic Missions of the other four sponsoring countries. They are Mr. B.F.H.B. Tyabji, the Ambassador of the Republic of India, Mr. Choudri Khaliqzaman, the Ambassador of Pakistan, Mr. M. Saravanamuttu, the Minister of Ceylon and Mr. Mya Sein, the Charge d'Affaires of the Union of Burma.

The Joint Secretariat is divided into the following committees:

1. Political Committee
2. Economic Committee
3. Social & Cultural Committee
4. Financial Committee
5. Press Committee
6. Technical Committee

The Technical Committee is subdivided into four

sections which deal respectively with Accommodation, Communication, Supply and Transport.

To serve the day-to-day running of the Joint Secretariat, a Daily Secretariat has also been set up. The Joint Secretariat is assisted by two Indonesian Committees:

1. The Interdepartmental Committee in Djakarta; this Committee consists of representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Communication, the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Defence and the State Police. Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee is Mr. Roeslan Abdulgani, Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry.
  2. The Local Committee in Bandung; Chairman of this Committee is the Governor of West-Java, Mr. Sanusi Hardjadinata.
- Liasion Officers of the five sponsoring countries maintain close relations with both the Interdepartmental and the Local Committee.

*Weekly Conference of the Joint Secretariat*







*Two Premiers & the Press*

## *Facilities for the Press*

### **Accommodation.**

Approximately 400 pressmen from overseas are expected to attend the Conference at Bandung. Preparations have been made for their accommodation. The Associated Press, United Press, Hsin Hua and Time & Life will rent houses for their headquarters and this is being attended to by the Bandung Committee.

### **Transport.**

Buses and taxis will maintain a shuttle service between the Conference building, the hotels and the Press rooms in the centre of the city. Transportation by bus will be free of charge. There will be a road which will only be open to

cars of delegates, journalists and officials of the Conference.

A few days before the Conference takes place, the Garuda Indonesian Airways will increase its service between Djakarta & Bandung by one additional flight, the last one from Bandung being at 18.30. Extra carriages will be added to the trains, which run between Djakarta and Bandung.

### **Pressroom.**

Two pressrooms will be available. The one at the Pension Building will comprise two halls, each with six booths for the newsagencies. The pressroom at the Concordia will have some recreation facilities including a bar.

### Communication.

The Post, Telegraph and Telephone authorities are arranging to have 21 morsecast frequencies for the newsagencies. It is planned that newsagencies will be given separate frequencies and for this an impartial allocation will have to be made after consulting newsagencies likely to utilise the service. Post and telegraphic offices will be set up at four places, at the Pension Building, Homann Hotel, Preanger Hotel and at the Concordia. Special postal and telegraphic booths for delegates and for the press will be provided at the Bandung Post Office. Round-the-clock telegraphic service will be maintained.

Five special telephone lines will be provided for the press between Bandung and Djakarta. Cable and Wireless will have two lines for the requirements of the press between Bandung and Djakarta.

Radio-telephone links will be established with almost all of the 30 countries attending the Conference.

Courier service will be maintained by the Djakarta press between Bandung and Djakarta.

### Press collect.

To simplify the despatch of newscables from Bandung, journalists are recommended to make arrangements for

*Broadcasting Station in Bandung*





their telegrams to be sent press collect. This will prevent loss of time at the telegraphic counters and simplify the procedure throughout.

#### Immigration and Customs.

Both these authorities have promised simplified procedure at Tandjong Priok and Kemajoran Airport. Customs clearance will also function at Bandung Airport.

Indonesian Consular officials abroad have been instructed to simplify procedures for the issuance of visa to bonafide journalists. Five passport photos have to be sent to Djakarta for the presscard of the visitor and for other purposes.

#### Information centres.

Information centres with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Information will be located at Bandung in the Pension Building, Concordia, Homann hotel, Precanger hotel, the Railway Station & Airport and in Djakarta at Tandjong Priok, Kemajoran Airport, Kota Railway Station and at the hotels Des Indes and Dharma Nirmala.

At these centres journalists can receive their presscards, the names of the hotels and room-numbers. They will be helped with tickets to proceed to Bandung and the Intrabu Tourist Bureau will change their foreign currencies.

The Airport Information centres will be opened on 1st April, the others on April 8 and will be closed at the end of April.

The centres will consist of 39 officials in Djakarta and 100 in Bandung, including those attending the more elaborate pressrooms at the Concordia building.

#### Reading Material.

Antara and PIA — news services, the Indonesian Observer and the Times of Indonesia will be provided to assist journalists to follow world events.

#### Radio-Broadcast.

Radio Republik Indonesia will allocate broadcasting time of 10-minutes each day for foreign stations desiring to broadcast from Bandung.

### AVAILABLE FREQUENCIES

Frequency (kilocycles)	Call sign	Capacity (K.W.)	Time (Java)	Direction
14630	PMB23	40	0300 — 1400	Europe, U.S.A.
			1600 — 2000	
10680	PLB7	40	1100 — 2200	all directions
			0300 — 0730	
7985	PMB2	40	0730 — 1930	Europe, Oakland, Manila
18135	PMB6	40	2200 — 0930	Europe, Oakland, Sydney
4950	none yet	6	throughout	nondirectional
5335	none yet	6	throughout	nondirectional
4440	none yet	6	throughout	nondirectional
7650	PMA26	6	1900 — 0830	nondirectional
6870	PME	6	1900 — 0600	nondirectional
8045	PMC2	6	1900 — 0600	nondirectional
8180	PMA4	6	0800 — 2200	Europe, Oakland
9425	PMA9	6	1600 — 0600	Europe, Manila
10280	PMA6	6	1900 — 0600	Europe, Oakland
10260	PMB4	6	1600 — 0700	Europe, Oakland
10060	PMB3	6	1400 — 2100	Europe, Manila
15980	PMA7	6	1900 — 0600	Europe, Manila
10770	PMD	6	1600 — 0600	Europe, Manila
11000	PMB2	6	2000 — 0600	Europe, Manila
17630	PMC	6	1930 — 0600	Europe, Manila
16381	PMD3	6	throughout	Bombay
18108	PMB7	6	0900 — 1400	Tokyo
			1400 — 1500	Amsterdam, Osaka
			2100 — 0830	

# World Press Opinion

## ASIA AND AFRICA

### Afro-Asian meeting

Of the significance of the forthcoming Afro-Asia Conference, for which the foundations are being laid by the Colombo Powers at Bogor, there can be no doubt. It is in response to an increasing awareness of common interests and closer bonds among those Afro-Asian Powers which have remained uncommitted to either the Communist States or to the Western bloc. On many issues before the U.N. in deciding which, it was felt, there was a preponderance of Big Power influence, the smaller States of the Afro-Asian continents have invariably combined to exercise a moderating and restraining influence. To what extent the proposed conference will establish some form of machinery for mutual consultations on a regular basis — if, indeed, specific and formal procedure is considered necessary — is a question for the main body of the Afro-Asian Conference to decide for itself. The enthusiasm with which the prospects of closer co-operation among the Afro-Asian Powers have been received should not blind us to the very real difficulties of forming an organisation which is not a bloc but is at the same time sufficiently cohesive to represent the interests of countries covering so vast an area as that of the Afro-Asian continents. Clearly, anticolonialism is too negative a platform to provide the sense of constructive purpose which alone can make the organisation truly effective and acceptable as the spokesman of the Afro-Asian peoples.....

... Much will depend on whether Peking considers itself more Asian than Communist or vice versa. If the Afro-Asian Conference accomplishes nothing more than reveal to what extent Communist is willing to co-operate with its Asian neighbours and Arab States, it will be a worthy attempt on behalf of Asian solidarity. Peking will then be given an opportunity to establish its bona fides and if possible confound those sceptics who feel that, by the fact of being Communist, China is rearer to its fellow Communist States in Europe than to its Asian neighbours with which it has racial and cultural ties.

(*The Times of India, Delhi 28-12-'54*).

### Jakarta Conference

In a stirring speech made at a mass meeting at Jakarta, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali has reiterated the principles of Pakistan's foreign policy in very clear terms. His bold reference to Islam as a living force drew such an applause from the audience that he had to pause several times to let the ovation die down. The fact that Mr. Mohammed Ali is the Prime Minister of an Islamic State has placed him in an enviable position to talk to the people of Indonesia as freely as he would talk to his own people. The spontaneous and overwhelming response that his speech has evoked, brings to the fore the vigour and appeal that Islam commands as a force which can transcend the barriers imposed by geography, language and customs. His performance has indeed earned Pakistan a permanent place in the hearts of the people of Indonesia.

When the Prime Minister told the people of Indonesia "When you fought for your independence, the hearts of our people and their prayers were with you . . . . When you suffered, we suffered too in our hearts", he was not making a diplomatic statement, but was expressing the feeling of the people of this country. We have consistently upheld the right of those peoples who are struggling to free themselves from the bondage of colonialism. Our feeling of anxiety is all the more great if the oppressed people happen to be Muslims. In the international conferences Pakistan has not missed a single opportunity to uphold the cause of these peoples. In the independence of Libya, Pakistan played no mean a part. In the last Colombo Conference, it was Pakistan which sponsored the resolution declaring the full fledged support to the liberation movement in French North Africa. Likewise in the Jakarta Conference Pakistan has again succeeded in securing a pledge from the Asian Premiers to continue supporting the North African liberation struggle.

Pakistan's stand in the Jakarta Conference regarding the solution of outstanding disputes among the participating countries, has once again placed India in a difficult position. The logic of Pakistan's plea has thwarted the endorsement



of Nehru-Chou En-Lai five-point programme which would establish India's leadership over Asia. Though at the instance of Pakistan, the conference has agreed that the proposed Afro-Asian Conference was not aimed at creating a regional bloc, India has not completely abandoned the idea and is reported to be busy enlisting support for her plan. The best protection against India's attempts to reduce the conference into an instrument for the enhancement of its participation.

Pakistan has already proposed that Turkey should be invited in the proposed conference as she has vital interest in Asia and Africa. With the decision already taken to invite Japan to the conference, there will be a formidable combination against any attempts by any country to dominate the region. The first duty of the proposed Afro-Asian Conference will be towards itself. If the conference fails to solve those issues which are faced by the nations participating in this conference, it will have forfeited the claim to show the rest of the world the way to peace.

*(Pakistan Standard, Karachi 1-1-'55).*

### **This "Afro-Asianism":**

The meeting at Bogor, Indonesia, of five Asian Prime Ministers, representing the so-called Colombo Powers, has decided to issue invitations to 25 other countries besides the sponsors to attend a larger conference planned for April this year. If every invitation is accepted, all the independent States of the two continents will gather together four months hence — with two exceptions: Israel and the Union of South Africa. Thus, a new international body comprising exclusively the "coloured" races and nations, seems to be taking shape. Whether this further sub-division of mankind is likely to be conducive of good for the world and the human race is problematical. The United Nations, as it exists and functions today, may be far from a perfect institution, but this attempt to create what may well prove to be an even more unsatisfactory "united nations" of Asians and Africans alone is not the answer. Can it not be, that a sort of inferiority complex, magnified to international proportions, underlies the urge to bring together the yellow, brown and black pigmented peoples in an exclusive organisation of their own? It may be said that only loose periodical meetings, and no permanent organisation, is at present contemplated, but such moves inevitably lead to the emergence of organisation.

According to the communique issued by the "Colombo Powers" — which term is in itself a misnomer — the purpose of the larger Afro-Asian meet — which will probably result in the discovery of a new name, the "Jakarta Powers", would be :

"A. To promote goodwill and co-operation between the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their

mutual as well as their common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations.

"B. To consider the social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented ;

"C. To consider the problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g. the problems affecting the national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;

"D. To view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation".

With regard to "A", can such meetings alone achieve this object? A negative answer is suggested by the failure of the first meeting in Colombo to promote "goodwill and co-operation" between, for example, Bharat and Pakistan. In fact, the relationship between these two countries considerably deteriorated after that meeting. As for "B", every country in the world has its social and cultural problems, with which it deals in its own way, and in the solution of which there is not much scope for practical international co-operation, unless the aim is to exchange and transplant social and cultural characteristics, which would be an absurd proposition. Economic problems, no doubt, provide greater scope for co-operation and mutual help, but in this assistance of the economically advanced and flourishing nations of the rest of the world is needed even more. The cult of Afro Asian exclusiveness that is being fostered is not likely to encourage that assistance. And why under "C", does the communique mention only national sovereignty, racialism and colonialism as problems of special interest to Asia and Africa? Such vestiges of colonialism and racialism as still remain and as imply the superiority of or domination by one people over another, must no doubt be ended, but is there no racialism and colonialism inside the Afro-Asian world itself? Do we not behold across our own frontiers a new racialism of the worst possible type rearing its ugly head, and do we not ourselves possess a neighbour who has many times in recent months attempted to be-little our own national sovereignty? And most important of all, are not international goodwill and co-operation, as well as peace itself, threatened by the dispute over Kashmir, the people of which territory continue to groan under the yoke of an Asian country? It is only a pretence for the "Colombo Powers" to think that while on the one hand they ignore these internal realities within the "Afro-Asian" world, they can, on the other hand, promote "world peace and co-operation" by mobilising Asia and Africa against the rest.

Our Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, has done well to point out emphatically at Bogor, as he did on the previous occasion at Colombo, that if such meetings and conference are to serve any useful purpose the internal problems of the region, such as disputes between the con-





*Badshahi Mosque in Lahore*

ferring countries themselves, must be taken cognizance of and dealt with, instead of pretending as if they did not exist.

Last but not the least important is the question why the threat of Communism to the countries of Asia and Africa has found no mention at all in the Bogor communique? In the communique issued after the first conference at Colombo the following important passage was included under the head "Communism and external interference" — "The subject of Communism in its national and international aspects was discussed. The Prime Ministers . . . declared their unshakable determination to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external Communist, anti-Communist or other agencies. They were convinced that such interference threatened the sovereignty, security, and political independence of their respective States . . ." How did it come about at Bogor that in drawing up the aims and objects of the larger Asian-African conference the threat of Communism was wholly forgotten? If the explanation is that Communist China being one of the new invitees, the mention of Communism was left out so as not to offend the susceptibilities of that country, then it would be a confession of a complete ideological surrender.

And finally the vital principle that in such conferences decisions would not be taken by a majority but only on

the basis of absolute unanimity, seems to have been abandoned in practice. The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala made what one must regard as a damaging revelation when he said after the conference: "You have to abide by the majority's views and decisions at such conferences." Our own Prime Minister said the same thing in different words when he disclosed that the decision to invite Communist China "was not unanimous from the start." In view of this change in the procedure by which decisions are now taken at these conferences, Pakistan, we suggest, should continue to participate in them only if the original principle of no decision by majority is revived and strictly adhered to. And greater resistance should be displayed in future to "persuasion" intended to obtain unanimity at the sacrifice of the principles for which Pakistan stands.

(*Dawn, Karachi 2-1-55*).

### **Brown man's burden.**

The peoples of Africa, on their tortuous path to freedom, look to the peoples living in Asia for spiritual and moral support. They believe that Asia which has but recently been living in subjection will look on their problems sympathetically.

Africa is the most glaring example of imperialist exploitation and the continent in which the enslavement of men has reached its most degrading depths. The vestiges of colonialism survive in other lands, too, and the peoples of Goa, Irian, Malaya, Guiana, and Cyprus are in the melancholy list of those denied the right of self-determination.

The conference of the Colombo Powers will lay its plans for a meeting of the Afro-Asian powers to discuss colonialism. It is an encouraging thought that whatever unity exists already among the peoples in this region is built around a sympathetic concern for the oppressed colonial peoples. Vague though the cohesion of this block is it shows itself, in the United Nations especially, through the Arab Asian group which springs into action as soon as it hears a report of ruthless colonial exploitation or the suppression through force of arms of a people's urge to freedom.

So far the anxiety of the Free Asian nations and that of the Arab powers who, too, will take part in the Afro-Asian conference, has been excited mostly when the simmering unrest of the colonial peoples has erupted in violence. They need now to be vigilant on the normal conduct of colonial affairs to see how the transfer of power to indigenous peoples may be accelerated.

The colonial powers, it is true, have defined their aims as the progressive realisation of self-government. Some times the formula is varied to one of "partnership". All these are invariably unctuous terms intended to soften the harsh fact of ruling land and exploiting its resources primarily for the benefit of its White overlords.





*Mass-meeting at Djakarta's Stadium*

To the microscopic minority of White settlers "progressive realisation of self-government" means a convenient process by which they will continue to dominate large coloured majorities, and they, their sons and their sons' sons will enjoy the exclusive privileges they have arbitrarily created for themselves.

And "partnership", as a survey made in this issue of *Jana* indicates is understood by the dominant White group to be an arrangement in which they take the profits and the coloured races all the risks.

Unless the Colombo powers, and later the Afro-Asian group, mean merely to pass a platitudinous resolution saying they abhor colonialism they must exert themselves to see how their solicitude for the freedom of the colonial peoples can be translated into fruitful action.

There is much they can do immediately to achieve peacefully a transfer of power.

Those Colombo Powers for instance, who are members of the British Commonwealth could exert their friendly persuasion on Britain as the single-largest colonial power to speed up the pace at which power is being transferred to the nationals of a country. A similar attitude may be

induced in the other colonial powers through the agencies of the United Nations.

In the concept of "trusteeship" the nations of the world have acknowledged that others besides the colonial powers may take an interest in the welfare of the colonial peoples. It is irrelevant to dismiss such concern as interference in the domestic affairs of a nation. But "trusteeship" as it is now operated by the UN is generally ineffective.

The Colombo Powers should note, too, that the patterns of political suppression have increased. While the imperial domains of the European Powers are shrinking, a new slavery has arisen in the rule of Soviet Communism arbitrarily imposed through the force of the Red Army on the countries of Eastern Europe. The Free Asian Nations cannot be indifferent to the suppression of civil liberties and human rights in the satellite states of Sovietised Europe.

Action which will bring freedom to all the oppressed peoples, however, is not full measure of the obligations which the Free Asian nations must assume towards the colonial peoples.

The transfer of power, for instance, will create new problems of administration. In the African regions and in other colonial areas either through a deliberate policy of the rulers or as a result of the cultural backwardness of some of its peoples skilled indigenous administrators are scarce. The Asian nations which have developed their own administrative skills can assist the peoples of the colonies to develop these talents.

Whether they are the inhabitants of the older colonies or of the new Soviet imperialisms they have a similar problem of under-developed economies. The Free Asian nations which are themselves struggling to overcome the difficulties inherent in such economies can pass the experience they acquire to the colonial peoples as they emerge into freedom.

The brown man, too, has a burden to carry in a world where insecurity and unrest in one region threatens the peace and stability of all.

*(Jana, Colombo January 1955).*

### "Neutral strip"

The mere fact that the proposal for a "neutral peace-strip", from Egypt to the Philippines, which is to be the main purpose of the Afrasian Conference contemplated by the C-Power premiers, has the endorsement of Red China should make it suspect to all men of decent minds.

Peace is indivisible. It must be global in concept and implementation, or it is not peace. If the moving spirits behind the Afrasian Conference, as projected, think that they can enclose the region between Egypt and the Philippines in a sort of verbal barbed-wire stockade through which war with its terrors, however it may rage outside, will never penetrate, then they are deluding themselves and all who follow them most sadly — and most stupidly.

The arbitrary delineation of the "peace strip" is in itself anomalous. It comprises some of the most backward nations on the globe: The combined influence of their peoples can be no more than sentimental, with an appeal to the sympathies of the great powers — or to their cupidity, as the case may be. Recent history is the best source to which one may turn to determine which of the powers are more distinguished by cupidity than by sympathy.

As to the practical value of such a "neutral" strip, one wonders what possible defence it could offer if Red China were to strike, for instance, through Malaya and Indo-China to the southeast of Asia; if the USSR were to drive through Iran and Eastern Turkey to the southwest, and if both should essay the latest in the endless story of conquests of India through Afghanistan and Tibet.

Perhaps it is careful calculation which delimits the western and eastern boundaries of the "neutral peace strip" by position where Britain and the United States sizeable defense "anchors." Denial to these two powers of the use of the area between, where the blow south is sure to come, is certain to earn the approval of Peiping — as it already has done.

*(The Manila Times, 1-1-55).*

*By Farvydan Sudri*

The Conference is dawn which may be said to ensure peace in Asia, and be instrumental to bring about unity among its member countries. It is hoped that in the future through economic co-existence and cordial reciprocity war and bloodshed will not be allowed to penetrate in Asia.

*(Elmi, Iran 9-1-55).*

## AUSTRALIA

### Very close to home

Australia's sincere good wishes will go out to Afro-Asian Powers who will confer in Djakarta in April . . .

A vast number of them live in the territory that umbrellas our northern seaboard.

And Conference decisions could affect us as much as any participating Power.

It is disappointing therefore, that the organisers have not invited this country to Djakarta.

Mr. Nehru's view that we do not qualify geographically is difficult to accept.

And, despite our difference of opinion with Indonesia over West New Guinea, we have proved our good neighbourliness.

Australia was Indonesia's most active ally in that nation's UN fight for nationhood.

Australia originated the Colombo plan, and persuaded other Powers (including Britain) to support it.

And besides allocating millions of pounds to implement the Plan we also support UN Asian aid programmes.

These things aside, however, it is perhaps a good thing that Asian and African peoples should work together on mutual problems.



These problems are tremendous, and will not be beaten by aid programmes or individual effort.

Some nations would have been happier if the Djakarta Conference had been called under UN auspices.

But this was out of the question, because some Powers (including Japan and Red China) essential to the parley's effectiveness are not UN members.

However, with genuine peace-lovers like Mr. Nehru and Mr. Mohammed Ali playing leading roles, the Djakarta Conference could prove of wide benefit.

*(Daily Telegraph, Sydney 4-1-'55).*

### Turn to the wheel

Decisions by the "Colombo Premiers" are of deep significance to Australia and the Western world. Their invitation to 25 nations, including Communist China, but excluding all Western countries, to a conference in April, could be the beginning of an upsurge of racial hatreds against the West. The decision to support Indonesia in its claim for sovereignty over West New Guinea though not unexpected, should show Australians where the sympathies of most of their near neighbours lie.

The Colombo Premiers were insistent that their sole object in calling the conference of Asian and African countries was to promote understanding. But another note was sounded when the Premier of Ceylon said he saw no reason for inviting South Africa to join. The reason given for the omission was, "We are not allowed there, so why should we ask them here"?

There is no suggestion that Communist influence has dictated the decisions, but they are in the Communist tradition and undoubtedly play into the hands of Communist propagandists.

Australia and the Western world desire and need the friendship of these nations. The West is showing its good faith in a practical way through the Colombo plan, which has already given all the "Colombo Premiers" help and will give more.

Quite clearly, however, more than economic or military aid is needed. These potentially great nations of the future are demanding the equality of friendship as well as its material benefits. The Western world would do well to decide without delay what it proposed to do about it.

*(Examiner, Tasmania 30-12-'54).*

## EUROPE

### Afro-Asian Talks

The Afro-Asian conference which is to meet in Indonesia — almost certainly at Bandung — at the end of April is to have the widest possible representation and no less wide opportunities in drawing up its own agenda. A statement issued to-night at the close of the meeting at Bogor of the five Prime Ministers of the Colombo Powers says that the joint sponsors of the conference are to invite: Afghanistan, Cambodia, etc. . . .

The long statement issued emphasizes in phrase after phrase the general "get togetherness" and uncommittedness of the proposed conference. Co-operation, mutual interest, cultural relations, economic relations, the promotion of peace — these are the recurring phrases, and if something more precise, like racialism and colonialism, can be picked out, it is hardly surprising. The only conclusion can be that with such a heterogeneous collection of guests what comes out of it will depend on what is put into it, and as the task of drawing up the agenda has been left to conference itself there is little to go on.

### Getting Acquainted.

Those to be invited are assured that their presence will involve no commitments or any change in their attitude to other participating States and that there is no intention

of changing forms of government or ways of life. The sponsors are motivated by no desire for exclusiveness, and have no intention of forming regional blocs. The basic purpose is to become better acquainted with one another and with one another's points of view.

What some of these points of view may be is revealed in some other paragraphs of the statement. The visiting Prime Ministers took note of the Indonesian position on Western New Guinea and gave it their support; they supported nationalist demands in Tunisia and Morocco — unofficial representatives of which have been buzzing around the fringes of the Bogor meeting — expressed grave concern at thermonuclear experiments, and hoped that the Geneva agreement would be fully respected, with no outside interference. They concluded by hoping that 1955 would be a year of friendly co-operation.

The statement admits, however, that much of the interest of the conference will revolve round the inclusion of China. Clearly, if tension is to be eased or the blocs brought closer together, the Colombo Powers are best equipped to do it. There was, however, some opposition to the inclusion of China from Pakistan and Ceylon. But the recent visit of Mr. Nehru and U NU to that country and, it is reliably reported, the assurance given to U NU in Peking that China would welcome an invitation were sufficient to turn the scales.

As to the inclusion of Japan the opposition came from Indonesia, but was evidently not pressed. Obviously Japan is anxious to find her way back to the Asian scene politically as well as economically, and the new Government in Tokyo may find the invitation most timely. Support for Japan seems to have come particularly from the Burmese Prime Minister, if one may judge from remarks he made when addressing school children that morning of December 29, 1945, when they gave a concert as an entertainment to the Prime Ministers before the conference began. He quoted Japan as an instance of an Asian country which was not very rich materially, but whose strength lay in her sons and daughters, whose loyalty had contributed to making Japan a first-class Power.

It was again U NU and Mr. Nehru who drew the attention of the conference to Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia. Both Prime Ministers have passed that way lately, and Mr. Nehru has ample information at his disposal from the Indian staff of the international commissions in all three countries. Obviously this is an area which the Colombo Powers are interested in watching.

The Indian and Burmese Prime Ministers also gave some account of their impressions of China, and seem to have given a favourable verdict on that country as well as co-operative and peace-loving.

There is a feeling that the proposed conference will be rather too vague and purposeless, not to say heterogeneous, if all those invited accept. Perhaps the whole thing has been left vague lest any feeling of failure should cloud the participants if precise goals were aimed at.

*(The Times, London 30-12-'54).*

#### **In April the A-A Conference on the Island of Java**

The conference of the five Prime Ministers of the "Colombo group" — as INDIA, PAKISTAN, CEYLON, INDONESIA and BURMA have been called — started in an atmosphere of great cordiality at Bogor, Indonesia's summer capital . . .

. . . The five Premiers, Nehru, Sastroamidjojo, Mohamad Ali, U NU and Kotelawala — had a thorough exchange of viewpoints regarding the arguments which have to be discussed by the conference and regarding the countries which will be invited to participate. There should not be any disagreements about the first point, because the conference will examine suitable means for a relaxation of tension in Asia as well as in the rest of the world, and all agree on this point. Disagreements might arise regarding the invitations to be sent to some countries, first of all to the People's Republic of China and secondly to Israel.

Regarding the latter, the opposition comes from the Arab countries which lately assumed an increasingly rigid attitude towards the Tel-Aviv government and which miss no chance to isolate the Jewish State more and more.

The question of the invitation of China is more complicated. India, Burma and Indonesia are favourably inclined towards including the Peking government among those due to be permitted to participate in the conference, while Pakistan and Ceylon — though they have not assumed a contrary attitude — are rather reserved and diffident on this issue. It is feared that the presence of the Chinese delegates might induce some of the Asian countries, such as the Philippines and Siam, which have not recognized the Peking government, to desert the conference. In fact, there are already rumours according to which America is bearing pressure to induce these two countries to assume a similar attitude.

In this connection we must recall that Siam and the Philippines belong to SEATO, whose function is decidedly anti-Chinese, and therefore it is, apparently, being considered that their presence at the same conference table with the People's Republic of China would be rather anachronistic.

These arguments are, however, being rejected by Nehru and U NU, who pointed out that, above all, the people's Republic of China is fully authorized to participate in said conference in so far as she has fully recognized and approved the famous "five points" of the Colombo plan, which represent the foundation of solidarity and friendship among the Asian nations. After all, the Bandung conference is not supposed to produce the formation of a political and military Afro-Asian bloc, but should only serve the purpose of discussing and approving some fundamental principles — which might be the same "five points" of Colombo — insofar as they could serve as a presupposition and guiding principle for the relations between the two continents.

The importance of next April's conference, the foundations of which were laid last May during the meeting of the five Premiers at Colombo, can easily be evaluated if we consider the fundamental part played by the Asian countries — and particularly by India — during the last year. It is sufficient to recall the happy results achieved by the Geneva conference for peace in Indochina, the success of which was greatly due to India's acting as intermediary.

The task of the next Bandung conference in which some countries will participate will be the unification of the forces of the Afro-Asian countries; for the realization of peace policies and the creation of an area of security and stability in that vast part of the world. It would be absurd to exclude China from the number of the invited powers.

*(Avanti, Italy 29-12-'54).*

#### **What Bogor Conference Showed**

American ruling circles are now devoting all efforts in order to hamper Bandung conference or at least to get the conference to limit itself to discussion on cultural and economic relations and not touch political problems. USA would like to turn the conference into teaparty wick



would not impose any obligation. Dulles Department already taken counter measures in connection with forthcoming Bandung conference. It decided to send its emissaries to Asian countries. General Paoshrianon director general Thailand police who recently visited USA being sent to Indonesia and Burma. Fieldmarshal Pinchun-havan deputy Prime Minister Thailand being sent to Laos and another deputy Prime Minister of Thailand being sent

to Cambodia. The Thailand is given important role in American attempt to hamper the success of the conference. Manoeuvres of State Department prove blindness of imperialists who don't want to see awakened peoples of East and have enough power and resolutions to decide their fate of themselves. The convening of Bandung conference will mean practical carrying out of peaceful co-existence.

(Literary Gazette, Moscow 6-1-55)

## AMERICA

### Today and Tomorrow

(By Walter Lippmann)

As the old year was coming to an end, there became visible something of the shape of things to come. I know that in a venture of this sort we are all of us like the blind men in the fable who were trying to describe the shape of the elephant from what they could learn by touching it. But there have been three stories in the past three weeks which, put together, foretell something big and important that we shall be running into.

One is the crisis of indecision in the French Parliament on the role of France in Europe and in the world. The heart of this crisis has been that the democratic Assembly is so divided in its aims and so contradictory in its views that it cannot render a firm judgment about the vital interests of France. This malady of the French democracy is not confined to France. Our own Congress, for example, is in a similar state of deadlock and confusion over our policy in the Far East. The members of Congress are so divided within their own mind, they are so committed by the many statements and speeches they have made, that they cannot go beyond saying no to those who want to make war and no to those who do not.

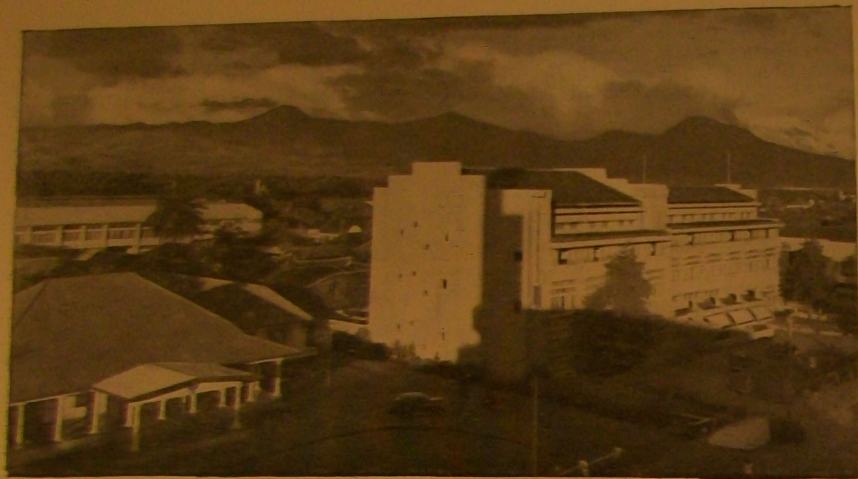
The second story is that Moscow and Peking have for the time being returned to the tactic of increasing rather than of relaxing the tension. This is understandable enough in regard to Europe in the face of the Western push to rearm Germany. But the German problem is not a sufficient explanation of why Peking has also chosen this time to increase the tension by such acts as the conviction of the American airmen. For when Peking made this decision the American policy in the Far East was undergoing the important modification of limiting the Nationalist's practical aims to the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores. This was a decisive step in withdrawing American support from counter-revolution in China. Yet Peking chose that moment to exacerbate the relations not only with the United States but with the European nations who fought with the United States in Korea.

The third big story at the year's end is probably the biggest of all. It is the decision at Jakarta by the Prime Ministers of the Colombo powers, that is to say of Pakistan India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, to call a conference in April of the thirty "independent governments" of Asia and Africa. The more closely one reads the text of this historic communique, the plainer it is that we and our leading European allies are not going to be able to afford the luxury of parliamentary confusion and delay which prevents our governments from making clear and firm decisions in Asia and in Africa. The fixing of April as a date for the meeting of the Asian-African conference is in effect the setting of a kind of deadline for a great many issues, such as Formosa, and perhaps North Africa as well — which will have to be much more clearly dealt with than they are now.

Let us have no illusions about the fact that the United States and its leading allies in Western Europe are going to be the judged and not the judges at this April conference. The official communique all but says in so many words that the conference will consider our intentions in Formosa and Korea, the French intentions in North Africa and South Viet Nam, the Netherlands position in New Guinea, the British in such places as Cyprus.

The list of the non-invited countries is interesting. Among the countries which are in Asia as a matter of geography, the non-invited are the Soviet Union, Australia and New Zealand, North and South Korea, Nationalist China and Israel. There appear to have been two main criteria of non-admission. One is to be now a satellite or colony of the West. Formosa and Korea are not to be treated as "independent governments". The second criterion is not to be of Asian stock, as the Soviet Union, Australia and New Zealand are not.

The list of the states they did not invite makes it very evident that this is no mere attempt to make a neutral bloc or a third force in between the giant military powers. Red China is no neutral and no third force. What this is to put it plainly, is the most formidable and ambitious



*A View of Bandung*

move yet made in this generation to apply the principle of Asia for the Asians.

The members of this conference are to include all the great Asian powers — foremost among them India, Pakistan, Japan and China. The conference intends to promote economic, social and cultural cooperation. But the least common denominator among the members the sentiment which unites them most easily, is their alignment on what the communique describes as "problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and of colonialism." The United States and its allies are going to be put on the defensive, and they had better not lose much time seeing to it that the positions they are going to defend are in fact defensible.

So far as we are concerned, Formosa is the place of greatest vulnerability. It is vulnerable not perhaps because there is danger of war but because of the danger of our finding ourselves isolated from and at odds with the massive sentiment of all of Asia. In point of fact the American position in Formosa is by way of becoming more rational and, therefore, more intelligible and defensible. But this is being done surreptitiously, indeed it appears that it is being done by the dubious device of secret clauses attached to open treaties. The reason for this is not wholly but mainly because Congress is supposed to be unwilling to face up to a rational and workable decision.

In Washington, in Paris, and in some degree in all the

democratic capitals, the question is whether the elected assemblies will support those revisions of judgment and those decisions of policy which are called for by the swift march of world events.

*(New York Herald Tribune, 4-1-'55).*

#### **A conference on a grand scale**

There is an element of unreality about the "African-Asian" conference which the five Colombo power Premiers propose to hold next April. These five statesmen representing India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia have themselves a fair amount of subjects to discuss which they hold in common. The conference they now propose to hold will have no binding quality.

Offhand, indeed, it is possible to think of only two common qualities. One is that all the nations involved are non-white. The other is that all of them have emerged, or are emerging, from some form of subject or inferior states. As that status was imposed in all cases by the white peoples of the western world, they all hold strong views on the subject of colonialism which, it is expected, will bulk largely on the proposed conference's agenda.

What makes for the conference's unreality is, however, the fact that the practical issues that now face this substantial group of powers are now by no means the same. Some of them indeed are barely on speaking terms, and distrust their neighbours deeply. An example of this is



to be found in the fact that no invitation will be sent to Israel. If Israel were invited, so the argument runs, the Moslem powers would not attend. Israel of course belongs at such a conference as much as any of the others. Israel, when Palestine was a British mandate, learned much about "colonialism" in a broad sense. But the common bond which exists among all of them because of colonialism is overlooked in Israel's case because Israel's neighbours are virtually in a state of war with it.

Similar difficulties exist in the case of India and Pakistan which, in 1947, partitioned the Indian sub-continent between them and have since fallen out violently over the major boundary dispute involved in the future of Kashmir. There are also reports that, if Red China is invited some of the sponsoring powers won't even turn up. There is a fear in Asia over China's ambitions, and that fear grows stronger as the feeling of Asiatic identity loses its original driving force.

It seems likely then that the conference, if and when it takes place, will spend its time drawing up resounding declarations of broad general principles. The text of each resolution will be carefully combed to make sure it does not interfere with complete freedom of action of each nation represented. They will be against the old colonial order of things. They will be for nationalism and independence. They will also probably declare that the big world power struggle with its poles in Washington and Moscow is something to stay out of.

"Peace, it's wonderful", will be the slogan, but whether it is necessary to hold a vast conference in order to recite the phrase in chorus is something that can be questioned.

*(The Montreal Star, 12-29-'54).*

#### Asian powers at work for peace

Common problems and common danger have disposed the countries of Southeast Asia to draw closer together, even though serious political differences divide some of them. The Colombo powers, so-called because their leaders first met in Ceylon, are conferring now in Jakarta, Indonesia, and their main purpose is to plan a broader Afro-Asian meeting there in April. Their aim is to preserve an area of peace in a troubled world, for war could ruin their hopes of a better life in their populous lands.

India is prepared to give "peaceful co-existence" with Communist China a chance, and no one could do more than Prime Minister Nehru has done to establish good relations with Peking. If in the future those relations change for the worse, it is not likely to be India's fault. To assume that peaceful co-existence is possible, and to act on this assumption while at the same time giving due attention to defence, is a more hopeful policy than stubborn hostility . . .

. . . Premier U NU of Burma has carried a step further the Indian policy of good will and good offices. He rejects

the policy of anti-Communist alliance, considers passive co-existence inadequate, and favors active friendship toward all other powers.

This policy ought, as a matter of fact, to commend itself to those powers that regard themselves as predominantly Christian. Active friendship, again, does not preclude keeping the powder dry. It does, or would if put into effect, give efforts to stabilize peace a maximum chance of success. Burma's advocacy of active friendship is an important contribution to thought about international affairs.

*(Ottawa Citizen, 12-30-'54).*

#### Warning and challenge

A momentous conference, the like of which has not been seen on earth before, is to take place next April in the Indonesian mountain city of Bandung. If all the invitations are accepted, thirty Asian and African countries, inhabited by half of mankind, will be represented. The meeting will offer a warning and a challenge to the other half of the human race, and especially to the nations of the Commonwealth.

The list of people bidden to Bandung is unique in two respects. It brings together Asian and African leaders unaccustomed to exchanging ideas except in the United Nations Assembly; and it brings together the spokesmen of states at different stages of political development, unaccustomed to meeting anywhere. There are sovereign nations on the list — Turkey, Egypt and Japan among them. There are communities still under some form of tutelage or external control, shaky though it may be — the Gold Coast, the Sudan, the Indo-China states and others.

What can bind these scattered countries together? What is the common interest of Red China and Ethiopia, of the Philippines and Lebanon, to name four more of the invited? The answer is plain. These Asian and African states, with few exceptions, recently were or still are dependencies. With no exception whatever, they have a lower standard of living, measuring welfare by the distribution of material goods, than is enjoyed in other continents. This, of course, is obvious. What is significant about the call to Bandung is that the common plight of Asians and Africans has been recognized and proclaimed — in Asia.

It is true that the invitation to the Conference does not speak directly of grievances. The five inviting countries — India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia — refrained from suggesting an Afro-Asian bloc with revolutionary aims. Their objectives, however, are plain on the agenda they have proposed. Colonialism, racialism and economic problems are to be discussed. Bids to the Red regimes in China and Northern Vietnam are an acknowledgment of communism as a factor in Asia's upheaval.

South Africa, headquarters of discrimination against the Negro, has been pointedly excluded from the list of guests.

Any working combination of African and Asian peoples to banish Western influence from their two continents may be a generation away. Seething discontent in Africa and Asia is a current fact and Bandung may prove to be a rallying point. The fortunate nations of the earth have much to offer to the discontented in their search for liberty

and well-being. They can offer political education, economic help and, above all, friendship. The British Commonwealth, to which three of the five Bandung hosts belong, is especially well equipped for the job. Unfortunately, its English-speaking members as a group are doing woefully little about it.

(*The Globe and Mail*, Toronto 1-5-55).