

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



BULLETIN

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Asian-African Conference Bulletin

EDITORIAL NOTE.

This Asian-African Conference Bulletin No. 10 is meant to make complete the series of bulletins covering the Asian-African Conference which were published in nine issues, before and during the Conference.

This closing number of the series covers the recorded closing speeches by the President of the Conference and by the Heads of Delegations and some other important events that took place towards the end and after the Conference, which obviously could not be published from Bandung.

CONTENTS :

	Page
Closing Speech by the President of the Conference	2
Closing Speeches of Heads of Delegations	4
Joint Statement by the Premiers of Indonesia and China	19
Treaty of Friendship between Indonesia and Afghanistan	22
World Press Opinion	23

For further information, please contact the Editor at Pedjambon 6, Djakarta, phone O.P. 1588.

June 1955

No. 10

Closing Speech

by

PRIME MINISTER ALI SASSTROAMIDJOJO OF INDONESIA
PRESIDENT OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



Your Highnesses, Your Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen, Friends !

Having arrived now, after a momentous week, at the close of this Conference, I should like to thank you all for the spirit of goodwill and the willingness to understand you have shown so clearly and continuously during our

fruitful discussions. It was this spirit and this willingness which made it possible to cooperate and arrive at good results, and, if you permit me a personal note, which made it a pleasure for me to be in the chair.

Many of you have just honoured me with your praise for which I am most grateful. I feel, however, that these laurels do not belong to me alone.

There are many who have made great efforts to make this conference successful. It is difficult to single out persons, committees or groups, but I feel that we are in particular indebted to the other sponsoring countries, the Joint Secretariat, the Chairmen of our Committees and our Rapporteur to whom we owe so much for preparing this Conference and for the smooth running of its machinery.

As for myself, I have tried to discharge myself of my duties as your President to the best of my abilities by applying the rules of procedure as flexibly as possible.

It may have happened, however, that I did not always succeed in giving every body the full share to which he deemed himself entitled.

For this I express my regret which I trust you will accept in the same good spirit of friendship which prevailed during the days we were together and for which I am most grateful.

When on the 18th of April we met at our first session many of us were strangers to each other. We gathered from all parts of the wide continents of Asia and Africa for the basic purpose, as it was put in the Memorandum of the five sponsoring countries, to become better acquainted with one another's point of view. We had the hope in our hearts that this acquaintance would lead to something more, something of value which would benefit not only the peoples of Asia and Africa, but also the world at large.

There were, however, doubts as well.

Would we really be able, more than one of us must have asked himself, to fulfil our aim by making a real contribution to the promotion of world peace and cooperation? Were we not aiming too high? Would the differences in political, social and cultural outlook amongst such a great diversity of countries not prove to be an insurmountable obstacle to such a contribution, or even to fruitful discussion?

Now, at the end of that same week, we can answer these doubts convincingly. We have not disappointed all those who did put their trust in us. We have made it clear that the peoples of Asia and Africa stand for peace. Before us and before the world is the joint-communique which we adopted a few minutes ago unanimously.

This document which, I am certain, will take its rightful place in world history, is the result of our labours and exchange of views. It will not be easy for anyone who has not followed our discussion closely to estimate the degree of mutual understanding and good will which was needed to arrive at this result.

It is obvious, however, that it would not have been possible to bring forward a document of this importance voicing the unanimous opinions and resolutions of more

than half of the world's population, were it not that the statesmen gathered here are men of peace and wisdom, able and willing to work together in order to give the world genuine peace for which it craves so much.

Moreover, this document would not have come into being if we had not practised amongst ourselves democracy in its best form. During our many discussions we agreed and disagreed, but ultimately we always succeeded in finding a common ground.

Thus our meeting grew to something more and better than a mere conference. We arrived at a mutual understanding through an atmosphere of cordiality and frankness. We came to believe in our own ability to make a valuable contribution to world peace, although we viewed our common aims from different angles.

If I call our joint-communique a historic document it is because we may expect that our opinion will carry weight not only in our continents but even more so over the whole world.

I should therefore like to emphasize that in drafting our recommendations and decisions we never restricted ourselves to the sole interest of our own countries but endeavoured to put the problem in a wider frame, asking ourselves how to reduce world-tension.

I most sincerely hope that when the rest of the world is taking due notice of our decisions they will do so in the same spirit of goodwill, tolerance, forbearance and wisdom as was so admirably displayed during this conference.

Not merely political problems had our attention. Your joint-communique gives proof that we devoted much of our limited time to economic and cultural issues and agreed wherever we could find common ground.

Upon returning to your homes and countries I am certain that all will carry with you the same gratifying feelings which are mine at the close of the first Asian-African Conference. We the peoples of Asia and Africa have shown that we can cooperate and that it is peace and peace above all which we want for the benefit of our peoples and the whole world. We have gained much for ourselves and for millions of others during our gathering.

There have been many friendships formed during these days, many useful contacts have been made. We now know amongst ourselves that we want to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours as the only sure and real basis on which mankind can prosper.

May we continue on the way we have taken together and may the Bandung Conference stay as a beacon guiding the future progress of Asia and Africa.

Closing Speeches of Heads of Delegations

Sardar M. Naim — Afghanistan

Mr. President, Distinguished Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen !

The Asian-African Conference has come to a successful end. On this occasion I wish to express my thanks to the governments of all the sponsoring countries, particularly to the government of the Republic of Indonesia. My thanks also go to the members of the Secretariat and everyone who has helped us in our work. Most particularly I would like to request you, Mr. President, to convey the message of our heartfelt thanks to the people of Indonesia. We are deeply touched by their warm sentiments and we feel extremely grateful to them. We shall always remember them and their beautiful country.

To this Conference we came with great hopes and I am happy to state that we depart with greater hopes. The Conference proved that all of us, from different parts of Asia and Africa, have felt and acted as one, for the achievement of our common desire for promotion of better understanding, preservation of peace and protection of human rights.

We are happy that in all our discussions the principles of the United Nations have been supported. We hope that this Conference will strengthen the position of the United Nations Organization in its high aims for the welfare of humanity.

We are glad to see that there is no doubt in anyone's mind that the deliberations of this Conference will make a great contribution to the situation in the world as a whole. This contribution, based on the co-operation of a great part of the world, and with the support of the majority of the population of the world, undoubtedly deserves the historic significance attached to it.

Mr. President, before I conclude I wish to thank you for your great efforts for making this Conference a success. You have presided over our sessions with great patience, statesmanship and impartiality, in a distinguished manner. I can say that all this has been appreciated by every one of us.

Thank you.

U Nu — Burma

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates !

As this Conference draws to a close, I should like to say a few words to express my feelings. First and foremost, I wish to say how very grateful we are to the Government of Indonesia, and particularly to its distinguished President and Prime Minister, for their lavish hospitality, and for the excellence of their arrangements both in regard to the Conference itself, and to our individual comfort and convenience. Those of us who have had the experience of playing host to international gatherings know that the responsibilities assumed by the Government of

Indonesia were extremely onerous. The smoothness with which the Conference operated, from start to finish, is an eloquent tribute to the careful planning and able execution on the part of our host Government.

Secondly, I would like to place on record our appreciation of the able, impartial and statesmanlike manner in which our deliberations were guided by our distinguished Chairman, my good friend, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo. I would like to say how grateful we are to our eminent Rapporteur, His Royal Highness Prince Wan Waithayakon, for giving us the benefit of his vast experience, and doing

it with such good understanding and cheer. For a Conference of this magnitude to have run through our extremely ambitious agenda in a week is no mean achievement. I know I speak for all of us when I say that it would not have been possible but for the guidance and assistance of these two distinguished gentlemen.

Thirdly, I cannot let this occasion pass without referring to the extremely cordial welcome and reception accorded to us by this charming city of Bandung. I shall always carry with me a warm recollection of the crowds lining the streets, the smiling faces and the cheers of the children. At the end of a long day, it was always a heart-warming experience. It was just as though we had been at home in Burma all the time.

And now a few words about the Conference itself. The Conference has not, of course, come to any earth-shaking or epoch-making decisions. But this is hardly surprising or unexpected. Indeed, that was not its purpose, which was to get together the leaders of the independent countries of Asia and Africa so that they might exchange views on matters of common interest and concern. This we have done. Our discussions have revealed the existence of diversities, and even differences of opinion among us. But this was only to be expected, considering the vast geographical area from which the delegates were drawn, each with his own beliefs, traditions and backgrounds.

Even though we could not reach epoch-making decisions, the fact that we could, freely and frankly, air our differences is a useful thing in itself. Such an exchange cannot fail to produce better understanding as between ourselves. In this troubled world, beset with suspicion, mistrust and misunderstanding, the achievement of even a little better understanding in any part of it must be regarded as a move towards stability and peace.

Another factor which precluded the reaching of historic decisions is the fact that most of us represented here are in no position to exercise such influence on the course of world events. We could have passed high-sounding resolutions here, but the world — despite the fact that we represent nearly two-thirds of its population — would have taken little notice of them. This is due

to our general weakness, and here I refer not to military weakness alone. The lesson to be drawn from this is that we must, all of us, develop our internal strength before we can expect to have a more effective say in the running of the affairs of this planet of ours.

Some of the subjects discussed were highly controversial. Some of the remarks made could have been regarded as provocative even if that was not the intention. It is no secret that at times the Conference reached what seemed a deadlock. But nevertheless, the moderation, the patience, the perseverance and the skill displayed by the distinguished delegates enabled us to find our way out of them and to reach common ground. In this sense, the Conference was a concrete demonstration of peaceful co-existence.

For many of us this was our first experience of an international Conference of this size. I think it will have proved to be a valuable experience. For a variety of reasons, which I need not enumerate here, most of us have, in the past, tended to live in little worlds of our own. Such knowledge as we had of the outside world was theoretical. Participation in this Conference has brought home to us the practical realisation that there is a world outside our own borders; a world, even in Asia and Africa, of diversity — diversity of belief, tradition, background and outlook. We learned that problems which to us appeared simple and straightforward had a different appearance to our friends, and we learned to appreciate the need for taking into account their attitudes and feelings, and to make adjustments. In other words, it was a lesson in human relations and human nature applied to the international sphere.

In conclusion, I should like to say that it has been an honour and a privilege for me to meet so many of the distinguished leaders of Asia and Africa at this Conference. I have been impressed by the erudition of many of the speeches and the wisdom which they reflect. If only the world would respond to the ideas and suggestions which underlie these speeches, at least part of the existing tensions and suspicions would be removed.

In bidding you farewell, I wish each and every one of you a safe and speedy return to your homes.

Chou En-lai — China

Honourable Chairman, Distinguished Delegates!

Our Conference has made achievements. First of all on behalf of the Chinese delegation, I would like to thank the five Colombo Powers for their initiative in sponsoring this Conference; to our hosts, the President, the people and Government of the Republic of Indonesia, for their warm hospitality; to the Chairman of our Conference, the Prime

Minister of Indonesia, for conducting the affairs of the Conference so ably and all his efforts to make it a success; to all the delegations for their co-operation, and the Joint Secretariat of the Conference and all those who have taken part in the work of the Conference for their valuable contribution.

The achievements of the Conference lie in the fact that

understanding among Asian and African countries has had a good start or been further promoted and agreements on some major issues have been brought about in this Conference. These achievements will be of great help to our common task of opposing colonialism, safeguarding world peace and promoting friendly co-operation between us. This Conference has to a considerable extent satisfied the aspirations of the peoples of Asia and Africa, as well of the world.

This conference has also reflected the fact that our approaches to and our views on many questions are different. We have also discussed in part our differences. However, such different approaches and views did not prevent us from achieving common agreements. We have been able to make such achievements in opposing colonialism, safeguarding world peace, and promoting political, economic and cultural co-operation, because we peoples of the Asian and African countries share the same fate and the same desires.

For the same reason, I would like to declare once again that the Chinese people extend their full sympathy and support to the struggle of the peoples of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia for self-determination and independence, to the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for human

rights, to the struggle of the Indonesian people for the restoration of Indonesia's sovereignty over West Irian, and to the just struggle for national independence and the people's freedom waged by all the peoples of Asia and Africa to shake off colonialism.

I want to point out further that the Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation adopted by the Conference will help to relax the international tension and, first of all, the tension in the Far East. It is our view that the full implementation of the agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China should be guaranteed by the parties concerned. As to the peaceful unification of Korea, the parties concerned should speedily seek the solution through negotiation. China and the United States should sit down and enter into negotiation to settle the question of relaxing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area. However, this should not in the slightest degree affect the just demand of the Chinese people to exercise their sovereign rights in liberating Taiwan.

Finally, I hope that the contacts among the Asian and African Continents and the friendly intercourse between our peoples will become more frequent from now on.

I wish all the delegates good health and bon voyage on their return journey. Goodbye !

Gamal Abdel Nasser — Egypt

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates !

Our Conference is drawing to a close after eight days of friendly and fruitful deliberations. These eight days have been preceded by extensive preparations and work by the Joint Secretariat which was of great help indeed. There is no doubt that our Conference has achieved a tremendous success, because international peace and cooperation will be greatly helped by the solidarity and harmony revealed in the decisions taken by our Conference. The cause of freedom will be greatly inspired by the deep concern and full support which all the Asian and African countries have shown with regard to the question of human rights and self-determination.

Mr. President, much of the credit for the success of

this Conference goes to you personally, to your personal experience and your patience, and to the patient and the salutary and friendly spirit in which the various delegations held their deliberations, particularly at times when disagreements and dissensions looked inevitable, and to your remarkable and masterful conduct of the affairs of the Conference; the wonderful facilities provided by the Indonesian Government and the generous hospitality shown by the Indonesian people, not only were of great help to our work, but also made our stay here most pleasant.

May I also take this opportunity to thank once more the five sponsoring governments for the appreciative efforts in taking the initiative to convene this Conference.

Thank you.

Jawaharlal Nehru — India

Mr. President !

For seven days we have been in this pleasant city of Bandung, and Bandung has been the focal centre — perhaps I might even say the capital of Asia and Africa during this period.

We have met here, but what have we accomplished ? We have laboured for these seven days and, as you all know, we have been successful in solving our common problems, political and economical. We have all met here because we were conscious of the fact that there is an irrepresible urge amongst the people of Asia and Africa

to meet here. We met because mighty forces are at work in these great continents moving millions of people, creating in their minds urges and passion and desire for a change in their dependent conditions. So, however big we might be, we have these great forces at work. So we met; and what have we achieved? Well, you have seen the draft statement which has been read out to you and I think it represents a considerable achievement. Other delegates have referred to it and you will read it too; I should like to draw your attention, to direct your minds, not to the statement which is an important statement, no doubt, but rather to the importance of the fact that we have met together here from thousands of miles away, conferred together, seen each other, argued with each other to solve our common problems and thereby made friends with each other.

My friend, the honourable Prime Minister of Burma, referred to our diversities of opinion as our differences and we wrestled with each other for these seven days because we wanted to adopt a common opinion and common outlook. Obviously, the world looks different from whichever angle you may try to look at it. If you are sitting in the far East of Asia, you have a different perspective of the world and world's problems. If you are sitting in far Western Asia, you have a different perspective again, and if you are in Africa, naturally the problems of Africa will be quite different. So, we all came with our own perspectives, with our own problems, considering each one his own problem the most important in the world, but, at the same time, trying to understand big problems of the world as also the second big problem of Asia and Africa and trying somehow to fit in our problems in this larger context because in the ultimate analysis, all our problems, however important they might be, cannot be approved along with these larger problems and can hardly be solved unless those larger problems are settled. Thus, how will you solve this problem or that problem if peace itself is in danger and thrown overboard? Obviously, you cannot. So, our primary consideration is peace. You and I sitting here in our respective countries are patently eager to advance our countries peacefully. We have been backward: we are backward. We have been left behind in the race, in the world race, and now we have got a chance again to make good. We want to make good and we have to make good rapidly because of the compulsion of events. It is not so much a choice of your own or mine, but the choice dictated by this compulsion of events, because if we do not make good, we will fade away or we stay where we are today not to rise again for a long time to come. Surely, we are not going to do that; we are determined not to do that. We are determined in this new chapter of Asia and Africa to make good. We are determined not, primarily, to be dominated in any way by any other country or continent. We are determined to rise again to our full stature. It is time for us to bring happi-

ness and prosperity to our people and to put an end to all the age-old shackles that tied us not only politically — you may call them shackles of colonialism, but shackles that are of our own making — but economically.

There have been differences, no doubt, in our discussions and it is a fact that there was greatest criticism levelled on certain resolutions; we had to advance such criticism because we wanted to achieve a common goal. I know we directed such criticism against ourselves because we thought that it is not the resolutions that will solve our problems facing us today, but it is our practices and actions that will bring success to our aims and ideals. It is only then, and then alone, that we can make good what we have lost in the past. We have to take a realistic view of all things and face them in a realistic spirit too.

But, there is yet another spirit of Asia today. As we all know, Asia is no longer passive today; it had been passive enough in the past. It is no more a submissive Asia; it has tolerated submissiveness for so long. Asia of today is dynamic; Asia is full of life. Asia might make mistakes, and has made mistakes in the past, but it does not matter so long as life is there in it. We can make advances, if life is there, but if there is no life, all our right words, our right actions will not hold good, and whatever we have achieved will be lost. I think, our achievements have not only been great — they have been very great and we have been in general agreement with all our resolutions, if I may say so — but much greater has been the background of all these agreements because when I said we have wrestled with problems, we have wrestled with our differences, we have argued till, should I say, fatigue overtook all our bodies and minds and finally in spite of those differences, we have agreed — and that is the main thing. We are not 'yes-men' I hope, sitting here saying "Yes" to this country or that, saying "Yes" even to each other. I hope we are not. We are great countries in the world who rather like having freedom, if I may say so, without dictation. Well, if there is anything that Asia wants to tell them it is this: no dictation there is going to be in the future; no 'yes-men' in Asia, I hope, or in Africa. We have had enough of that in the past. We value friendship of the great countries and if I am to play my part, I should like to say that we sit with the great countries of the world as brothers, be it in Europe or America. It is not in any spirit of hatred or dislike or aggressiveness with each other in regard to Europe or America. Certainly not. We send to them our greetings, all of us here and we want to be friends with them, to cooperate with them. But, we shall only cooperate in the future as equals; there is no friendship when nations are not equal, when one has to obey the other and when one dominates the other. That is why we raise our voice against domination and colonialism from which many of us have suffered so long and that is why we have to be very careful to see that any other form of domination does

not come in our way. Therefore, we want to be friends with the West and friends with the East and friends with everybody because if there is something that may be called an approach to the minds and spirit of Asia, it is one of toleration and friendship and cooperation; not one of aggressiveness.

I wish to speak no ill of anybody. In Asia all of us have many faults as countries, as individuals. Our past history shows that. Nevertheless, I say that Europe has been in the past a continent full of conflict, full of trouble, full of hatred and their conflicts continue, their wars continue and we have been dragged in their wars because we were tied to their chariot wheels. Now, are we going to continue to be dragged and tie ourselves to Europe's troubles, Europe's hatreds and Europe's conflicts? I hope not. Of course, Europe, Asia and America are all dependent on one another. It is perhaps not quite right to think in terms of isolation because we are not isolated, we have to live together and to cooperate with each other in this modern world which is going up towards the ideal of one world. Nevertheless, Europe has got into the habit of thinking, also other great countries in America — whatever their political persuasions may be — that their quarrels are the world's quarrels and therefore the world must submit to them this way or that way. Well, I do not quite follow that reasoning. I do not want anybody to quarrel in Europe, Asia or America, but if at least others quarrel, why should I quarrel and why should I be dragged into their quarrels and wars? I just do not understand it. Therefore, I hope we shall keep away from those quarrels and exercise our will not to quarrel. I realise, as the Prime Minister of Burma said, that we cannot exercise tremendous influence over the world. Our influence will grow, no doubt; it is growing, and we can exercise some influence even today. But whether our influence is great or small, it must be exercised in the right direction, in an intelligent direction, in a direction which has integrity of purpose and ideals and objectives as shown in our Resolution. It represents the ideals of Asia, it represents the new dynamism of Asia, because if it does not represent that, what are we then? Are we copies of Europeans or Americans or Russians? What are we? We are Asians or Africans. We are none else. If

we are camp followers of Russia or America or any other country of Europe, it is, if I may say so, not very creditable to our dignity, our new independence, our new freedom, our new spirit and our new self-reliance.

So, we mean no ill to anybody. We send out our greetings to Europe and America. We send out greetings to Australia and New Zealand. And indeed Australia and New Zealand are almost in our region. They certainly do not belong to Europe, much less to America. They are next to us and I should like indeed Australia and New Zealand to come nearer to Asia. There they are. I would welcome them because I do not want what we say or do to be based on racial prejudices. We have had enough of this racialism elsewhere. We have it today. We have passed many resolutions etc., about this country and that country. But I think there is nothing more terrible, there is nothing more horrible than the infinite tragedy of Africa in the past few hundred years. When I think of it everything else pales into insignificance —, that infinite tragedy of Africa ever since the days when millions of them were carried away in galleys as slaves to America and elsewhere, the way they were treated, the way they were taken away, 50% dying in the galleys. We have to bear that burden, all of us. We did not do it ourselves but the world has to bear it. We talk about this country and that little country in Africa or outside, but let us remember this Infinite Tragedy. But unfortunately, in a different sense, even now the Tragedy of Africa is greater than that of any other, I venture to say, even today. Whether it is racial, whether it is political, whatever it may be, it is there and it is up to Asia to help Africa, to the best of her ability, because we are sister continents.

So, Sir, I trust that the achievement that we have had in this Conference has left, I am sure, its powerful impress on the minds of all who are here. I am sure that it has left an impress on the minds of the world. We came here, I repeat, consciously or unconsciously as agents of historic destiny and we have made some history here. And we have to live up to what we have said and what we have thought and, even more so, to live up to what the world expects us, what Asia expects us, what the millions of these countries expect us. I hope we would be worthy of the peoples' faith and our destiny.

Sunario — Indonesia

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates!

May I say a few words to express the profound gratitude of the Indonesian delegation for the goodwill and cooperation which it has experienced from all other delegations participating at this Conference of Asian and African nations.

There were many speculations in the world press regarding the outcome of this Conference. Some were optimistic, but pessimistic views were prevailing in general. It was expected that the Bandung Conference would be the battleground of conflicting points of view, of irreconcilable character so that the Conference would end in failure. But no, it became a great success.

In the course of the deliberations and discussions about the many agenda items, it soon became evident that the frank exchange of views brought forward with great eloquence, ability and precision among the delegates, has resulted in becoming better acquainted with the views of one another and therefore in mutual understanding.

I would like to refer particularly to the item of vital importance to us all which is regarded by Indonesia as interpreting the very "raison d'être", the common ground for big meetings like this between African-Asian nations, that is the passing of the resolution on colonialism and imperialism which has met with a general unanimous condemnation.

In this respect I am grateful for the full support of the Conference given to Indonesia regarding the issue of West-Irian. The problem of West-Irian is, as everybody knows, of vital significance for our country. This whole-hearted and complete support of the Conference now, is a most important thing for us for which my Government and people are greatly indebted to all of you. A final settlement of the dispute with the Netherlands regarding this matter will certainly ease tensions in this part of the world and is conducive to global peace and international cooperation.

And then there is the other item of supreme importance to us all, that is world peace and world cooperation. We are aware of the fact that we are on our way to complete disaster if we don't find a more satisfying, i.e., peaceful approach to the problem of war and peace than has usually been done.

The world situation in which we find ourselves today is, as the great leader of India has put it, largely due to the "failure of world diplomacy." The Asian and African nations are vitally concerned regarding the trend of the world historical process of development leading to wholesale destruction or peace.

If peace must be the outcome of the human efforts, then the Asian and African nations have to exert themselves, in contributing with all their energy, with all their might and determination, and, if necessary, with great sacrifices, to the realisation of that noble purpose of world peace, — it means of genuine peace —, where there is no place anymore for fear or suspicion. Therefore, we should continuously endeavour from day to day to work constructively

for the avoidance of war, and for the harmonisation of conflicting interests. Our efforts should be directed in the spirit which has guided this Conference, that is the spirit of goodwill and cooperation, of mutual trust and common faith, which constitute an irresistible moral force. For in peace we can set our pace in the fulfilment of our tremendous task to build up our countries, to exploit our vast natural resources, to adapt ourselves to the requirements of science, technology and industry as the pillars of modern progress.

In peace we can cultivate and develop our personalities as individual nations based on our material and spiritual achievements. In so doing we shall greatly contribute to the peaceful and constructive progress of mankind and world civilisation.

I would like to add for your information that two days ago, during this Conference, Indonesia was very fortunate to be able to conclude a treaty with the People's Republic of China on the solution of the longstanding double-nationality question, which problem is obviously important also for other countries in South East Asia.

This treaty was concluded between two Asian countries in the spirit of goodwill and tolerance which has guided the Asian-African Conference itself. Furthermore, during this Conference, informal talks have been resumed on the still pending question of a treaty concerning war reparations and future normal diplomatic relations with Japan which Indonesia hopes to be able to conclude with that country in the very near future and in this way contributing again to the cooperation and peace in this part of the world. Those talks, too, were held in the atmosphere of harmony and hope which has prevailed during this Conference.

In conclusion, the Indonesian Delegation feels that besides all those successes registered at this Conference, Indonesia is most grateful for having the opportunity to establish, renew and strengthen her contacts with her neighbours. May this spirit of goodwill, neighbourliness and true cooperation be everlasting.

To our fellow delegates who are leaving Bandung very soon, the delegation of Indonesia wishes to extend a most cordial good-bye and an au revoir till the next African-Asian Conference.

Thank you.

Jalal Abdoh — Iran

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates!

It is difficult to hide one's emotion at a moment like this, when you feel that you were given the opportunity of

writing a page of history and you think that you have done your best to achieve it.

A week ago, in this same hall, I expressed the earnest hope of my delegation that mutual concessions would

bring the various views closer to each other to the best interest of all. On all issues unanimous agreement was reached. Such a unanimity, even if it was obtained on general principles, is a cause of rejoicing and pride, it is a clear manifestation of our common ideals of peace and freedom, our common will to resist and fight all forms of colonialism and subjugation.

During the Conference, the contact and the free exchange of opinions among us was of utmost importance for all of us. I do earnestly hope that it would be continued and thus help the promotion of closer political, economic and cultural collaboration in our two continents.

As the necessity of this gathering was in great part dictated by the needs of a closer economic cooperation, we should especially endeavour that such economic relations would be promoted and contribute to the development of better understanding and more fruitful collaboration in all other fields.

Perhaps the aims of this Conference would be better served by a wider publicity. However, I should add that if we thought it necessary to confine ourselves to closed sessions, none of us here had in mind to underestimate the importance of the public opinion, we were only eager to realize necessary conditions for the quickest possible way of exchanging views and coming to agreement without being hindered by undue publicity.

Also, I should like to express our deepest gratitude to the generous and inexhaustible hospitality of our host and promoters of the Conference who succeeded to realize all the means of material and spiritual comfort for all the delegates to the Conference. Our sincere thanks go to H.E. the President of the Republic of Indonesia and H.E.

the Indonesian Prime Minister under whose able leadership the Conference successfully achieved its program. The enthusiasm and the sympathy of all the population of Bandung and the organizers of the Conference will always be remembered with deep affection.

Before concluding I would like to add a few more words. On this bright Sunday of the 24th of April, in the green city of Bandung, the A.A. Conference is proud, after a week of hard labour, to have given birth to a most cherished child: a child of future with no special name, no special colour, no special race, but with certain specific features in which we all, more or less, recognize ourselves. It is a child whose frail body symbolizes the sufferings and the privations of a cruel, though magnificent, past and whose insistent cries call upon the brightest morrows of mankind. It is a child whose hands seem already capable of giving shape to the most fantastic dreams of our forefathers. It is a child which it is our sacred duty to bring up with utmost care, love and wisdom.

History will recall the Bandung Conference as the first diplomatic manifestation of the Afro-Asian solidarity and our consciousness and determined will to begin a new era, the era of gradual emancipation from the enslaving old chains of fear and tyranny of ignorance and want. Today we are proclaiming to the whole world the awakening of our two continents a historical phenomenon of our time, our conviction that completely independent and free Afro-Asia is possible and can, by itself, achieve such a political, economic and social emancipation.

Long live the Afro-Asian solidarity! Long live the fifteen hundred millions of brothers and sisters of our two continents!

Mohammad Fadhil Jamali — Iraq

Mr. President and Honourable Delegates!

At least two outstanding qualities characterised the spirit of the Bandung Conference. One is the cordiality and the friendly atmosphere with which we met each other and the second is the frankness, sincerity and clarity with which we expressed our respective points of view.

This Conference certainly broadened our international horizon and gave birth to new friendship and sympathies and fortified old ones.

It is natural that we should hold different point of view because we have different backgrounds, different problems; we have different philosophies and different ideologies. It is futile to ignore differences and disagreements. The important thing is to come together, to discuss and to know our points of agreement and act on them and to discover highly controversial issues like the

Taiwan and other such issues and avoid discussing them. We did our best, Mr. Chairman, under your able leadership to find many points of agreement. We unanimously agreed, for example, on subjects like Indonesia's right on West Irian, subjects like recognition of the rights of the Arabs of Palestine to their own homes, subjects like liberation of the peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and other subjugated peoples, wherever they may be. We agreed on the principle of self-determination of peoples. We agreed on disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons and on many other economic and cultural issues.

This Conference will go in history as a great world event. It has been a successful one. For the success of a Conference depends on its atmosphere of friendship and goodwill on the one hand and on its handling of the agenda with thoroughness, objectivity and realism on the other. These conditions were greatly fulfilled.

We are happy that our deliberations were guided by the United Nations Charter and this Conference supports and fortifies the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, Indonesia will always be in the hearts and minds of all of us here. The people of Indonesia inspired us with love, kindness and good nature. We are grateful to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Indonesia, to you personally, Sir, to your Government and to the people of Indonesia in general and the inhabitants of the city of Bandung in particular. We are indebted to the Colombo Powers for initiating this Conference and for effectively carrying out its plan. We thank them most heartily.

Tatsunosuke Takasaki — Japan

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates !

Allow me to express the heartfelt thanks of the Japanese delegation to the Government of the five sponsoring Powers — especially the Government of the host country, the Republic of Indonesia — for organising and steering the Asian-African Conference to a successful conclusion.

I wish to tender my sincere congratulations to this eminent Conference on its superb and splendid achievements and its powerful contributions towards the enhancement of friendship and understanding among the peoples of Asia and Africa.

The deliberations of the past few weeks have sometimes revealed the existence of certain differences of opinion, it is true. But these have all been amicably settled and we feel greatly encouraged by the large areas of agreement that have been secured on our common problems, by the spirit of good fellowship and tolerance that throughout characterised the atmosphere of the Conference,

Katay D. Sasorith — Laos

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen !

At this closing moment of the Asian-African Conference, I raise my modest voice to convey to you the feeling of the delegation of Laos regarding the resolution we arrived at after all these days of continuous hard work. The delegation of Laos was following, with the greatest care and keenest interest, the long and protracted discussions raised by these important problems of liberty, freedom, peace and welfare of the people, and my delegation fully supports the important resolutions

May Allah lead us all in the path of brotherhood, happiness and peace for all mankind. May we all be inspired by a verse from the holy Koran which I will read to you:

Ya ayuhannasu Innaa khalaknakum min thakarim wa untha wa ja'alnaakum shu'uban wa qabaila lita'aarafu, inna akramakum 'indallahi atqaakum, innallaha alecum khabeerun.

This means that "You people, we created you from male and female and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know and befriend each other. The most esteemed by Allah are those who do more good."

and by the common determination, fully demonstrated by all the participating delegations, to work together with the rest of the world, for the promotion of the peace and welfare of mankind. This Conference opens a new phase in the history of the world. In fact, it ushers in the much awaited dawn of Asian-African renaissance.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Japanese delegation in going home feels happy to have taken part in this historic Conference with the distinguished delegations from the two continents and feels grateful for the kindness and hospitality of the warm-hearted people of Indonesia, and for the generous cooperation of you all. They are deeply gratified with the impressive results of this unique Conference.

Finally, it is our earnest hope that true to the remarks of the distinguished leader of the Indian delegation, this beautiful city of Bandung will ever remain the capital of peace of the Asian-African region.

Thank you.

arrived at in this Conference. All those resolutions, dictated by a spirit of deep wisdom and the unanimous desire of the people of Asia and Africa to witness the opening of a new era of justice, mutual understanding and universal brotherhood, will be a landmark in the history of humanity. Perhaps pessimistic minds would regret that these timely and wise resolutions are not followed by appropriate steps so as to make them respected by all countries, big and small. However, we may feel proud of the results secured which, undoubtedly, constitute a great step in the history of humanity. The spirit, the confidence, the solidarity is there and we hope that all people who are sincerely inter-

ested in peace will make it a moral obligation to fall in line with these principles and regulations, to the attainment of which they all contributed. We wish our best for the gathering of similar Conferences as often as possible. In this atmosphere once created and properly established, it is possible to develop mutual understanding and contribute to peaceful co-existence and collective security.

To conclude, may you allow me, Mr. Chairman,

Sami Solh — Lebanon

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates!

At the opening of the Asian-African Conference we expressed our wish that the work undertaken would lead to a happy conclusion and that the problems for specific collaboration between our peoples should be regularised according to justice and in the common interest. This wish seems to have been realized today.

At this moment, just before the Conference closes its

Excellencies, and Fellow Delegates, to convey to the sponsoring countries our deep sense of thankfulness for the opportunity given us to take part in this historic Inter-Continental Conference and also to convey to the Government and people of Indonesia our warm thanks for the lovely welcome given us in this beautiful and picturesque part of their country. Long live Indonesia! Long live the Asian-African Conference!

doors, it is particularly agreeable to me to congratulate all those participating in having put all their efforts in the common cause. There remains nothing for me but to thank the President of the Assembly for his clear thinking and the indulgence he has shown us and to express to him, as well as to the Government and people of Indonesia, in the name of The Lebanon our best wishes for happiness and prosperity.

Momolu Dukuly — Liberia

Mr. Chairman, Heads of Delegations and Members of the Conference!

We first of all thank the five sponsoring Governments of this great continent of Asia for having given Liberia the opportunity of participating in this Conference. Undoubtedly it is a great event, this gathering together of nations of two continents, not for the purpose of planning war or exploitation, and so on, but for the purpose of getting together for a common understanding for peace and world security. It is a great occasion, of which I think not only the peoples of Asia but also the peoples of Africa should be proud.

We thank that great statesman of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, for his very sympathetic references to the continent of Africa and the African peoples. We appreciate and we realize that there is a deep feeling of humanity in that continent towards the peoples of Africa. We harbour no ill-feelings. We have wronged no one. Africa has the feeling that she has wronged no continent or no people. Whether she has been wronged is the question to be answered. A little searching of conscience will show that Africa has been wronged.

We realize that each people and each continent must make its own peculiar contribution to the great world economy, and although Europe and America have been concentrating on the achievement of material prosperity, we, the people of Africa, including my humble country Liberia, have directed our attention to the intangible things of life. That is Africa's peculiar contribution.

The tangible things are material and the material things are tangible. Today there are fleets, arms, great institutions, arising everywhere. They are tangible. But the intangible things that cannot be touched are everlasting. They are moral and spiritual values. It is with these things that our two continents must make our contribution to the world community. We do not say that material things do not count. No. What we do say is that undue emphasis should not be placed upon these material forces leaving the moral and immaterial things behind, because these are the things that matter in the final count. Nations are putting their faith on things material. Kings and empires have arisen, based on material foundations, but where are they today!

We must thank God for having had in our deliberations thoughts of this kind emanating from the great and leading statesmen of the East. In our deliberations we have had various feelings, sentiments of loyalty and so forth, but we met here with a declaration of goodwill to all men. And, Mr. President, on behalf of our country, we extend to you our thanks and appreciation for the courtesy you have extended to us, for the invitation to us to participate in such a great and epochal event in the history of the world.

We also express to you our thanks for and appreciation of the very kind and hospitable treatment extended not only to our delegation but to all the delegations here assembled. We wish all the five Powers that convened this Conference continued wise leadership. We wish for

the Indonesian Government, our immediate host, continued prosperity, and above all we wish for the peoples of the continents of Asia and Africa peace and happiness.

Let us hope that with goodwill to all men we may

direct the world, in our own way, to those intangible but everlasting truths of justice and righteousness.

We thank you.

Mohammed Ali — Pakistan

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen !

This unique Conference of the nations of Asia and Africa is about to close. For seven days we, the representatives of the greater half of the people of the world, belonging to diverse faiths, races, cultures and civilizations, have united our efforts to promote the aims of justice, equality freedom and peace for all the peoples of the world. To you, Mr. President, and your associates on whom fell the main burden of arranging this Conference, the peoples of Asia and Africa owe a debt of gratitude for this remarkable assembly of twenty-nine nations in the beautiful city of Bandung. In convening this Conference in Indonesia you undertook a major task. The manner in which you people have discharged this heavy burden, and the hospitality and courtesy we have received everywhere have evoked the praise and admiration of all of us. To me, as it must have been to my fellow delegates, this Conference has been a memorable one. To have personally met so many top-ranking statesmen of two continents and exchanged views with them on the burning issues which trouble the peace and tranquility of the world has been an enriching experience.

I shall not in my valedictory remarks dwell on the records reached by us or the questions we have discussed in our meetings. I shall, however, say that it is most remarkable that in spite of the diversity of interests and our respective approaches to world problems and divergent policies, we have been able to reach unanimous agreement on a statement defining our attitude to the questions which pose a challenge to the world today.

Mr. President, in your statement to the first meeting of the Colombo Powers last year, you asked, "Where do we stand now, we the peoples of Asia and Africa?" This Conference has enabled us, the peoples of Asia and Africa,

to define our position on this question. We pledge ourselves to promote mutual economic and cultural cooperation and wellbeing of our peoples, and knowledge and understanding of our ways of life. We stand for the fundamental principles of Human Rights and self-determination of peoples as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

We pledge support for the restitution of the human rights of the Palestine Arab refugees, for a just settlement of the Palestine question and for the right of the people of North Africa to self-determination.

We stand for the equality of all races and all nations of mankind; we abhor the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which form the basis of Government and human relations in large regions of Africa and other parts of the world. We proclaim that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should be speedily brought to an end. We pledge our support to the cause of freedom and independence for all subject peoples. We call upon all the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples. We demand a greater voice in the counsels of nations and greater opportunities to influence the events which are shaping the destiny of mankind. We declare that universal disarmament, inclusive of all weapons, of effective international control is imperative for the preservation of world peace. We solemnly warn all nations of the disaster that is bound to overtake the human race should war break out involving the use of thermonuclear weapons.

Finally, in our declaration on world peace and cooperation, we have ventured to set out principles, the observation of which is essential if peace is to be maintained and international cooperation and will-being promoted.

Mr. President, this, in short, is our answer to your question. We commend it in all humility to the consideration and support of all peoples and all nations of the world.

Carlos P. Romulo — Philippines

We survey our work in Bandung with pride and humility. But let us not be like the writer who told his friend: "Have you heard? I am writing a book on humility. And let me tell you something; it is the last word on humility."

It is not for us to assess our achievements at Bandung. Only history can make that pronouncement. We should all like history to say that men from 29 nations came together at a time when the pulse-beat of the world was erratic and dangerously fast, and that as a result of what

we did, the health and vitality of the human community showed marked improvement.

We should all like history to say that though we did not provide the design for a perfect world, we did define the basis for hope.

We should all like history to say that we not only observed the newly won freedom of half the world's peoples but that we pooled our moral strength to help those who were not yet free to join this noble station.

We should like history to say that our freedom were more than merely celebrated at Bandung; they were made solid and given the substance of growth.

But we cannot in truth expect history to say all this because the work at Bandung has only begun. The real work and the real achievements of the Conference are ahead of us. What happens in the months and year ahead will determine whether the mood created at Bandung was momentary and misleading or whether it was strong and clean and vibrant.

What we have done here, in effect, was to define our own commitments. We share, generally speaking, a common historical experience. We belong to the community of hurt, heartbreak, and deferred hopes. But even in the act of observing our release, it becomes important to say what we ourselves propose to do by way of maintaining those freedoms and fulfilling those hopes.

What are the commitments made at Bandung? I believe that we have committed ourselves, first of all, to a higher allegiance. We have recognized that our allegiance is not merely to our own nations or to each other as Asians and Africans; our first allegiance is to the human community. We have committed ourselves to something more important than to the accident of geography. We have committed ourselves to the cause of a world seeking both peace and freedom, for one is meaningless without the other.

And here, let me say that if the peace of the world is going to depend on concessions or more abstentions, it will not be real. It is not what we refrain from doing that will create a vital peace. It is what we freely give, how much each of us is willing to sacrifice, and positive values we contribute that will determine whether the vi-

sion we see here at Bandung can be brought to life. And let me refer once again to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, who belongs not to India alone but to the world: "How much we put of ourselves into a common purpose will determine whether that purpose will be fulfilled".

We have also committed ourselves to patience. Here at this Conference we have seen how, time and again, understanding could be reached if full allowance were made for the vagaries of human personality. We have not been defeated by petty behaviour nor have we allowed ourselves to become paralyzed by fatigue.

And patience is related to the art of persuasion. No one can say that such an art by itself can demolish fundamental differences, but certainly no issue can be settled without it.

I have been impressed, deeply, with the sincere attempt of all present to create not a lasting organization, but a lasting effect. And when I say **all** I mean **all**. I have never seen a group of men so finely animated by recognition of high purpose.

Now that we are leaving, let me express first of all the congratulations of the Philippine delegation to our host, the Government of Indonesia. The arrangements made for this Conference showed imagination, care, and efficiency of the highest order. I have also been asked by a considerable number of press correspondents to make a public expression of their own gratitude to the Government of Indonesia and to say that they have nothing but the highest admiration for the depth of planning that has gone to the amazingly complicated problem of arranging for full press facilities.

To the host countries, the Colombo Powers, the Philippine delegation desires to extend its thanks. Their conception of this project is one of the great achievements and contributions of our time.

Tomorrow, the Philippine delegation returns to the Philippines. We return with strong and important memories. These memories will grow in vitality with the years. In our own Filipino language may I say farewell — "Paalam sainyon lahat".

God be with you all.

Sayed Ismail El Azhari — Sudan

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates!

This is really a memorable occasion, when for the first time in history the representatives of Asian and African countries have met together to consider matters of common interest and get to know each other in order to

promote friendly relations among them and their peoples. Apart from any specific principles or particular problems which we could solve, the meeting in itself was significant because it has added to our prestige and moral value among other nations of the world. In addition we have

succeeded in finding solutions for our various problems and from that point of view our talks have been remarkable and singular. Many of us have come to know each other better, where previously few of us knew enough of each other's country and peoples. If we could maintain those friendly relations which have been brought into being here, we would have gone a long way in securing future success. Within the short time which we had at our disposal and the intricate problems which we had to solve, I am sure that we have achieved a great deal of success. This is only a start and I am sure that our next steps will be more sure and more fruitful. For this reason I fervently hope that we would be able to attend the future sessions of this Conference. We should not be disheartened if our discussions seemed protracted at times. The views of some of us seem irreconcilable because this is our first attempt.

We must have patience and try once more because every day that passes brings with it more understanding, more harmony and more cooperation. Ultimately it will dawn on the human community as a whole that we should work in collaboration with one another for a better world understanding. However, despite the difficulties which we have to face, our progress has been singular to the extent that it reflects credit on the delegates assembled here, for their good intentions, sober motives and high standard of diplomacy.

Khaled El Azm — Syria

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen!

We are at the end, yet we are at the beginning. The Conference is at an end, but we are in the beginning of our rising of Asia and Africa to a modern power and to material strength, power and strength that shall not be in the service of imperialism and colonialism, the power and strength which we shall not throw on the side of aggression, war or invasion, the power and strength through which we shall build a free world — a world not free from freedom, but a world dominated with universal freedom — power and strength not only to build power and strength but to destroy imperialism to the last ditch and colonialism to the last vestige.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished Fellow Delegates!

Our Conference is the world in miniature. We mix in diversity, diversity of language, diversity of political forms, diversity of ideologies, diversity of social and economic order. In the meetings we have conflicting views; we do find dissenting opinions and sometimes there is danger of losing unanimity, the danger of disagreement. As a humble servant in the United Nations, ever since the establishment of the United Nations, I have never seen any resolutions having been passed with unanimity. We disagreed and

The Sudanese delegation is really honoured to take its place among this distinguished body of able and leading statesmen. As I mentioned in my maiden speech, the Sudanese delegation has attended the deliberations of this Conference and its Committees with an open mind and has supported any motion which it has considered to be right, genuine and in the general interests of all nations, from wherever it came. We are very happy that we have been able to establish friendly relations with many delegations.

Before concluding I would like to repeat my thanks to the sponsoring countries and in particular to the Republic of Indonesia, who took great pains in organizing the Conference and making our stay here a very pleasant and memorable one. The Prime Minister of Indonesia has won our appreciation and gratitude for his wise conduct of the meetings and for the spirit which prevailed throughout our deliberations and thereby greatly contributed to the results achieved.

The previous distinguished speaker, the delegate from the Philippines, conveyed to us all and especially to Indonesia the gratitude and the thanks of the press. I, in my turn, must also thank the international press, which focussed the attention of the world on this Conference and drew a polished picture of its objects and intentions.

Good-bye and thank you, Mr. Chairman.

dissented, but finally we fell back on our hearts; we fell back upon our distress in the past; we fell back on our past in jails and concentration camps. At least I am happy to say that we adopted our resolutions unanimously in this framework of diversity. It was really, gentlemen, a miracle to achieve unanimity in this diversity, but we were determined and we did achieve that unanimity. But this is not an end of it, gentlemen. We do not end at this stage. We are unanimous today and we shall be unanimous tomorrow. Tomorrow is also a miracle to be unanimous, but we are determined to achieve that unanimity. Mr. Chairman, this is a great achievement indeed and we are proud of it. We are all united on the question of general peace, security and prosperity of all of us, after all one's claim of peace and security is a claim of pride. You all know, gentlemen, that Asia has produced messengers of peace and has sent messages of peace in all generations in the forms of prophets, masters and teachers. We have given the world the mission of peace and given the world the messages of peace. We as accredited successors of those great leaders, masters and teachers shall continue to give the world the mission of peace. We shall continue to carry the banners of peace to our fellow-beings throughout the length and breadth of the globe.

Mr. Chairman, on this specific problem we have spoken

our minds clearly, with boldness and unequivocation, namely on the question of Palestine, Algeria, Tunisia and Yemen, and also West Irian. We have supported the cause of these people through no egoism, through no discrimination, because we believe in universal righteousness and justice. And it is our duty, Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen, to be relentless and unceasing in our efforts so that these people achieve their national aspirations, so that in future Conferences we see them seated amongst us here as legitimate representatives of Palestine, of the people of Algeria, of the people of Morocco, of the people of Tunisia, with honour and distinction.

With regard to Indonesia, their cause is near our hearts. In addition, the hospitality that we have received from the host Government, not out of generosity and courtesy of the Indonesian Government, but because gentlemen, it is a historical coincidence that Indonesia is the cradle of our Conference. It is saddening, dispiriting and disappointing that we assemble here at a time when West Irian is not included in the territorial sovereignty of the Indonesian Republic and in fairness to our principles and in fairness

to the cradle of this Conference, our combined efforts in the United Nations and elsewhere must always be asserted so that in the next Conference we see West Irian included in the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, at the end of the recommendations passed by this Conference, there is a significant recommendation adopted by the Conference without any hesitation and it recommends that the Asian-African Conference should meet at the proper time and place after consultation with the participating countries. This recommendation is of paramount importance, of great significance. Simply this declaration to the world indicates that we are not at an end of our work. In fact, we declare to the world that we are only at the beginning and we declare that we shall continue to meet, cooperate with each other, discuss our problems with each other and pool our efforts and resources together till we see that all signs of imperialism and colonialism are destroyed in the world completely.

Amen !

Fatin Rustu Zorlu — Turkey

Mr. President, Honourable Delegates !

I wish to begin my statement by expressing again our gratitude to the people and Government of the brother nation of Indonesia for the hospitality which they have so graciously extended to us in this city of Bandung which has become for ever historic, and I want to thank the five sponsoring countries for having taken the initiative to bring us together in this Conference which has ended so successfully.

I consider it a pleasant duty to say that a large measure of great success is due to the ability and patience of our Chairman, His Excellency Ali Sastroamidjojo, the Prime Minister of Indonesia, and to the great talents and qualities of our Rapporteur, His Royal Highness Prince Wan of Thailand.

The Asian African Conference has now terminated its work. 29 delegations coming from countries thousands of miles apart have been assembled here to exchange their views on most of the outstanding problems of the world.

We have met here with friendly and brotherly countries, with which we have continual contacts, with other countries with which we have no diplomatic representation and also with still other countries whose governments we do not recognise, but with all these countries we have established something stronger and more lasting: relations of the heart.

If we think of the vastness of the question set before us, if we think of the divergence of outlook and of use on

many essential problems, I believe we must consider the Conference as having very successfully accomplished its purpose and rendered a great service to humanity at large.

One common aspiration has dominated every phase of our deliberations — our desire for peace and security and our conviction of the necessity of cooperation to maintain peace through security and confidence.

This is a source of rejoicing for us all, and we hope in all sincerity that these ideals shall find their implementation in all our practices and actions.

As we go back to our countries, it is our earnest desire to take from this Conference the hope that no member of this Conference shall resort to the use of force unless it is attacked, no matter what its particular problem may be and no matter whether it considers this problem of a national or international character.

This will be the test of our determination to implement the decisions which we have adopted.

The Conference has stressed the fact that security is the basis of peace and that to have security we should aim at disarmament brought about by common agreement and through appropriate international systems of control. We hope that everyone of us will play his part in trying to bring about this vital end.

The Conference has stressed our love of freedom and independence, and the right of every nation to defend its sovereignty and integrity singly or collectively within the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The prin-

ciples of the United Nations have been upheld by all the members of this Conference.

Our discussions in the Conference have confirmed our aversion to racialism and to colonialism in all its manifestations.

Through the voice of many of its members, a momentous appeal has arisen from within this Conference for the respect and safeguard of the political, social, economical, spiritual and intellectual way of life of all countries, big or small, and for the condemnation not only of classical colonialism but also of the new types of colonialism practised by certain international doctrines through infiltration, subversion or the use of force.

The Turkish delegation is particularly pleased that the Conference has dwelt upon effective and realistic measures for maintaining security. The fact that the Conference has reaffirmed the principles of the United Nations Charter

on the formation of regional defensive organisation and that the final communique includes this affirmation is also a matter which has given us great satisfaction as it proves again that the nations of the world are conscious of the realities.

The linking together of disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons is also important.

In summing up, the contribution of the Conference to the cause of peace and security has been of considerable importance. Our common affirmation of our love of peace, freedom and independence will resound with vigour over the entire world.

May our actions and practices bring additional strength to this momentous message which we are conveying to the world.

Thank you!

Pham Van Dong — Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates!

Our Conference has been a success.

We have manifested our common aspiration for peaceful co-existence between the Asian and African countries and between the countries of the world, our strong opposition to colonial oppression, war, nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction; we have shown a common desire, and laid down principles, for economic cooperation and cultural exchanges. By exchanges of views, contacts, conciliatory attitude and good will, the mutual understanding and friendship between our countries have increased.

The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam feels gratified at such a successful outcome.

In the course of this Conference, I felt deeply grieved at the sight of a Viet-Nam not yet unified. This is but a temporary situation. As provided for by the Geneva agreements, the demarcation line which lies between North and South Viet-Nam is only a provisional one. The present situation is just a stage which must lead to the reunification of Viet-Nam by free and democratic election. Therefore, the entire Vietnamese people, from the North to the South, without any discrimination, are resolved to struggle with all their hearts and souls for this unity, at the same time for the consolidation of peace. These two tasks are intimately connected to each other. In this holy struggle, we all are confident in the warm support of the Asian and African peoples. That support we have

had the opportunity to sense it in this Conference; we have sensed it at the contact with the warm-hearted people who are our host. On behalf of my people, I express with deep emotion our thankfulness and solidarity to all the supporters of our cause, which, since it is a just cause, will certainly triumph.

In connection with the question of the promotion of world peace, one of the main purposes of this Assembly, I should like to stress here the importance of the Geneva agreements which have made a great contribution to the lessening of tension in South East Asia and in the world. The full and correct implementation of these accords will undoubtedly serve the cause of peace in Asia, Africa and the world.

This Delegation again states in unequivocal terms the resolve of the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to carry out fully and loyally the Geneva agreements, in order to consolidate peace, to achieve the unity and to complete the independence of Viet-Nam.

In this struggle, we do rely on the support of the Asian and African peoples, as we firmly believe in their ideal of justice and peace.

The Vietnamese people believe that at the next session of the Asian-African Conference there will be the delegation of unified Viet-Nam.

The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam expresses its sincere thanks to the sponsoring powers of this Conference, to the Chairman of this Conference, to the Indonesian people, to the Bandung authorities and population for their warm reception, to the Conference

staff for their contribution to the success of the Conference. This delegation extends its best greetings to all the fellow delegations to this Conference.

Long live the great and mighty friendship of the Asian and African peoples!

Nguyen Van Thoai—State Of Viet-Nam

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen!

At the close of this memorable Conference, the delegation of the State of Viet-Nam wishes to express again its deep gratitude to the Government and people of Indonesia and the five sponsoring Powers.

Coming to this Conference, we knew that there are a number of problems which are common to the Asian and African nations and which we should consider together. But we knew also that each nation has to consider the same problems in its own ways, because each country has its own existence to maintain and its own destiny to prepare.

President Soekarno, in his opening speech, has expressed the noble wish that this Conference would help to build the future of mankind with dreams and not with the past. Alas! Each country has also its own history, paved with many memories, some happy, others painful and for that reason, the more lasting.

It is why we should not be surprised that unanimity could not be acquired on all problems. We should on the

contrary be happy and comforted that some proposals have been adopted by this Conference.

These results are in line with the process which should lead us toward truth. For, in political matters, truth is not simple, especially because each one of us believes he holds his own truth. It seems fortunate, however, that this Conference has not given way to the terrible temptation to believe that only the greatest, the most numerous and the best organised ones, hold the monopoly of truth. It is because this Conference has assisted to the simplification of truth that it has shown the most understanding attitude toward the problems which have been submitted for its consideration.

That understanding is the very basis of tolerance and friendship. And I am proud to say today at the end of this Conference, that the Asian and African nations have succeeded during their first meeting in giving to the whole world that example of wisdom.

On behalf of the people and the delegation of the State of Viet-Nam I thank you all.

Joint Statement by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia and the Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China

Djakarta, April 28, 1955.

After the conclusion of the Asian African Conference, His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China came to Djakarta, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia, at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. He made a two-day visit as the official guest of His Excellency Sukarno, the President of the Republic of Indonesia. During this period Premier Chou En-lai had friendly and sincere exchanges of views with President Sukarno, Vice-President Mohammad Hatta, Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, Foreign Minister Sunario and other leaders of the Republic of Indonesia on matters of common concern and interest to the two countries. As a result of these exchanges of views, Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo and Premier Chou En-lai made the following joint statement:

1. The two Prime Ministers reaffirm that they will make joint efforts to work for the realization of the common desire affirmed by the Asian African Conference and the Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation adopted by the Asian African Conference.
2. The two Prime Ministers express satisfaction over the fact that Indonesia and China are living peacefully together as good neighbours on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. They are firmly convinced that the friendly relations between the two countries will be further developed on the basis of these principles.
3. The Prime Ministers express satisfaction over the con-

clusion of "The Treaty between the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China on the question of dual Nationality." They consider that this is a good example of settling complicated and difficult international problems by means of friendly negotiations. They declare that after the ratification of this Treaty, they will strictly observe the letter and spirit of the Treaty and facilitate the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty.

4. The two Prime Ministers declare that it is the inalienable right of the people of any country to safeguard their own sovereignty and territorial integrity. They express deep sympathy and support to the efforts of either of the two countries in safeguarding its own sovereignty and territorial integrity.

5. The two Prime Ministers hope to develop extensively mutual assistance and cooperation between the two countries in economic and cultural fields on the basis of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit.

They consider that such mutual assistance and cooperation between the two countries will be helpful to the peaceful development of their own countries as well as to the cause of world peace.

6. The two Prime Ministers agree that the Republic of Indonesia and the People's Republic of China should maintain close cooperation in order to strengthen the mutual understanding and friendly relations between the two countries. The two Prime Ministers are very happy to have this opportunity of meeting together and exchanging views. They believe that this will further the cause of peace.



President Soekarno & Lt. Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser



President Soekarno & Premier Chou En-lai touring Djakarta

The State Visits

of

The Acting President of Egypt, Lt. Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser &
Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China

Lt. Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser was a state guest in Djakarta for one day (April 25th)
and Premier Chou En-lai from 26th until 28th April.



Exchange of views between the Indonesian President and the Chinese Premier

TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP

between

The Republic of Indonesia and the Kingdom of Afghanistan

In the name of God,

Article III

The Most Beneficent and The Most Merciful

The High Contracting Parties agree to conclude, as soon as practicable, agreements, on a reciprocal basis, relating to consular services, trade custom, cultural relations, communications, extradition of criminals and all other matters of interest to the two countries.

Article IV

The Government of The Republic of Indonesia and the Government of the Kingdom of Afghanistan being desirous of strengthening and perpetuating the bonds of brotherhood and widening the scope of cooperation existing between their countries, have, in the interest of international peace and in consonance with the Charter of the United Nations, decided to conclude a TREATY of FRIENDSHIP, and for that purpose have appointed as their Plenipotentiaries:

The High Contracting Parties agree and affirm that all disputes between them shall be settled peacefully in a spirit of brotherliness through the usual diplomatic channels, failing which they reserve to themselves the right to adopt any other procedure in accordance with the rules and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Government of the Republic of Indonesia:
His Excellency Sunario,
Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
Republic of Indonesia

Article V

and

The Government of the Kingdom of Afghanistan:
His Royal Highness Sardar Muhammad
Naim, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the
Kingdom of Afghanistan

The High Contracting Parties agree that their representatives shall meet from time to time and as often as occasion requires to exchange views on matters of common interest and to consider ways and means for mutual cooperation in such matters.

Article VI

who, after having communicated to each other their full powers and found them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following provisions:

Article I

This Treaty shall be ratified by the High Contracting Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures and shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of the instruments of ratification which shall take place in the city of Kabul. In Witness Whereof, The Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty and have affixed thereto their seals.

The High Contracting Parties shall respect the independence and rights of each other and maintain perpetual peace and friendship between them and shall further strive for the continuance of the cordial relations existing between the peoples of the respective countries.

Done in duplicate at Bandung, on the 24th day of April 1955 in the Indonesian and Afghanistan languages, both texts being equally valid.

Article II

The High Contracting Parties agree to maintain between their countries diplomatic and consular relations in conformity with international principles and practices and agree that the diplomatic and consular representatives of either party in the territory of the other shall enjoy, on a reciprocal basis, the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities recognized and accorded by international practice.

For The Republic of Indonesia:
w.s. SUNARIO.
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

For The Kingdom of Afghanistan:
w.s. SARDAR MUHAMMAD NAIM.
Minister for Foreign Affairs.

World Press Opinion

ASIA

Indonesian Observer, Djakarta, April 25, 1955

CONCLUSION OF A HISTORIC EVENT

The Asian African Conference convened upon the invitation of the Prime Ministers of Indonesia, India, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan in Bandung came to a close yesterday evening. Problems of common interest and concern to the countries of Asia and Africa were discussed in a way which never has occurred before in international conferences.

Questions will probably be raised by cynics what actually are the results of this 29-Nations gathering? Has the conference achieved its aim, or was it just a teaparty of no importance to current international problems?

Undoubtedly this conference achieved its aim as planned by the initiators.

The Asian and African nations, some just having gained their independence, others still semi-colonies or independent in name came together to talk about their common problem which was not confined to political issues only. Economic and cultural development of these nations in their own boundaries were the issues which had to be discussed among neighbours in the first place.

The people of Asia and Africa should promote closer cooperation for the well being of the nations concerned. It is quite heartening to know that the Asian-African Conference has come to a close after unanimously accepting a communique which will have a far-reaching influence on the continents in the world. The resolution on economic cooperation has for instance been accepted to open the way for encouragement of joint ventures among Asian-African Countries for the benefit of common interest. Other sidelines of economic cooperation have been stipulated in the decision of the 29 nations, and all these have to be carried out genuinely for mutual economic interest. Next comes

the cultural cooperation. In the past cultural cooperation among Asian and African nations was unthinkable, as national cultures did not have the freedom to be developed. Colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa not only prevented national culture to develop but also suppressed it in order to give place to the culture of the oppressors.

The human right and self-determination resolution was also a masterpiece of joint effort to make the conference a success. Decision on problems of dependent peoples, promotion of world peace and cooperation are in fact the highlights of the historic Asian-African Conference.

The last resolutions are contributed by men of great responsibilities for the welfare of mankind. The different views of the nations in the A-A Conference did not hamper to produce these resolutions which are of such a historical value and have had no comparison in the past.

Some of the Asian and African nations have close relations with colonial powers. They are allies or members of a pact or pacts in which the colonial powers play an important role. But in whatever position they are, they did not reject the genuine atmosphere prevailing in the conference hall to bring an end to colonialism as "subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitute a denial of fundamental human rights".

The promotion of world peace and cooperation was a problem which was not easy to overcome. Conflicting interpretation of "peace" was a drawback in finding a meeting of mind among the opposing views.

But mutual understanding, so necessary in human relations and international cooperation and conciliatory attitude emanating from a genuine desire for tranquility and peace in this world was the motive behind the resolution adopted. The dangerous situation of international tension which exists and the risks confronting mankind from the outbreak of global war in which could be employed nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, made it a duty of the

conference and to express an appeal to the Powers concerned not to ignore the voice of two third of the world population.

The promotion of peace is not only based on the suspension of using nuclear and thermonuclear weapons or disarmament in a big scale, but the right of selfdetermination should also be accepted as a means of promoting peace.

Freedom and peace are interdependent. Freedom from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, practicing tolerance and live together as good neighbours, respect from the right of nation to defend itself singly or collectively, settlements of all international disputes by peaceful means are the fundamental issues to promote world peace.

Peace, genuine peace as hoped by all the Asian and African nations was the Leitmotiv to convene the Conference. Whatever ideology the individual A-A nation may have, these nations have come to a conclusion that peace must be preserved for common prosperity of all.

In putting this desire in words which formulate the hope of two-third of the world's population, the Asian-African leaders made the Asian-African Conference a historical event, which cannot be ignored or belittled.

Pakistan Times, Lahore, April 27, 1955

The Asian-African parleys, which concluded on Sunday evening, ended on a note of unanimity for the political future of two continents and the teeming millions who inhabit them. At one stage, the Conference seemed destined to break up under the conflicting pulls of the seemingly irreconcilable opinions. But some of these differences were solved and in the end the Conference succeeded to a considerable extent in satisfying its sponsors' wish that it should symbolise the new spirit of freedom which animates the feelings and the actions of the newly awakened peoples of Asia and Africa.

The unique Bandung Conference has cemented solidarity between Asia and Africa and it has indirectly shown the path to the two much exploited continents to realise their destiny of freedom and equality. Bandung has brought twenty-nine nations with different political systems and ideologies onto the same platform and has shown what aspirations they share among themselves. There cannot be any doubt that Bandung is going to have a profound impact on the present trends in international relations, on the struggles which are being conducted by the subject peoples and on the unequal relationship that has so long existed between the Western countries on the one hand and the many lands of Asia and Africa on the other. Notwithstanding the serious disputes that cropped up over the definition of colonialism and the principles of peace and disarmament, there were successes which cannot but successively lead to the strengthening of freedom and peace.

The direct personal contacts which were established amongst the statesmen and the leaders of the twenty-nine Asian-African nations has without doubt helped to foster better understanding of one another's point of view. In some cases these have produced most remarkable results. The conversations which Chou En-lai had separately with the leaders of the Colombo Powers provided an opportunity, such as could not be furnished by diplomatic channels, for a free and frank exchange of opinions on a number of vital questions which affect free relations and peace in South-East Asia. To the impulse which was provided by these exchanges is attributed Chou En-lai's dramatic offer to negotiate directly with the United States for the purpose of bringing about a relaxation of tension in the Formosa area and in the Far East generally. Another result is the acceptance by the leader of the Cambodian delegation of the Chinese Premier's invitation to visit China in order to discuss the implementation of the Geneva Agreement. Lastly the contacts between the Chinese delegation and the representatives of the Arab states have encouraged the hope that at least some of the latter will find it possible to extend diplomatic recognition to Peking.

Some of the resolutions passed by the Conference embody fullblooded expression of Afro-Asian sentiments and these generally concern issues on which the participants had a large measure of unanimity. Under this category fall the resolutions which lend support for Indonesia in respect of West-Irian, to the peoples of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia in their struggle for their rights and to the demands of the Arab States that the United Nations resolutions on Palestine should be implemented. Under the same category can be classed the forthright resolutions reaffirming the determination of the Asian and African peoples to eradicate racialism and deploring the policies and the practice of racial segregation and discrimination. The Conference, however, ran into serious difficulties when it sought to define its attitude towards colonialism. On the question of peace and co-existence the participants have been known for a long time to have been pursuing widely divergent policies. It has been proved impossible to narrow down these differences to any considerable extent and to pave the way for an understanding which could enable the states of Asia and Africa to work for their individual and collective security while at the same time steering clear of the conflict between the two blocks. The ten point "charter of co-existence" has been framed in a manner so as to permit the forging of military alliances and participation therein even when such alliances involve acceptance of colonialism — as is shown by the NATO'S guarantees to France's North African Empire and in increasing the danger of war.

The greatest difficulty arose when it came to the question of defining and condemning the curse of colonialism. Here it was found that the participants, many of whom have only recently succeeded in shaking off the

yoke of imperialism, did not know how to evolve an agreed definition of the phenomenon of colonialism. There was vacillation and equivocation on the question of identifying and exposing something which has been or even now is so familiar to the peoples of Asia and Africa. It was left to Sir John Kotelawala, Ceylon's Prime Minister, to bring in the extraneous question of ideological affiliations by referring to the Socialist Republics of East Europe. Sir John evidently forgot that colonialism and ideological alignment were two different things. An attack on British colonialism, for instance involves a condemnation of the metropolitan power's occupation and exploitation of another country but it does not mean a denunciation of the political system obtaining in Britain. It is a matter of great regret that our spokesmen at the Conference should have strengthened the hands of the Ceylon's Premier and should thus have been instrumental in watering down the Conference's attitude towards a phenomenon which is responsible for so much suffering and misery in the world and which is based on the simple logic of barbarism.

It is also difficult to understand why the Pakistan representative opposed the idea of the Conference which criticised certain U.N. policies. While some of the moves made by Pakistan were creditable, others gave the impression that Pakistan was functioning as a member of what may be called the U.S. lobby at Bandung. Although Mohammad Ali's statement that Pakistan will not join any aggressive war started by America will be received with welcome relief in this country, the people may well ask themselves why the Government has put itself in a position that made such a statement necessary. The people of Pakistan cannot resign themselves to the Government's close association with the Anglo-American bloc and the consequent change in our foreign policy, including moderation of our attitude towards colonialism. The whole gamut of foreign relations needs to be reviewed, and a return to Pakistan's earlier policies to be brought about by public pressure.

It is earnestly hoped that the next Conference of Asian and African nations will display a greater sense of common destiny and greater and greater awareness of the community of social and political ideals which lie at the bottom of the movement for Afro-Asian resurgence, and that Pakistan will be able to play a more effective part in promoting these ideals and in helping Asia and Africa to attain peace and freedom.

The Philippines Herald, April 26, 1955

BANDUNG AND THE MODERN WORLD

Judging by the final communique of the Asian-African conference which came to a close over the weekend and by the reaction shown in the main capitals of the world, Bandung will go down in history as marking an entirely new era in world relations. It is epochal in its significance and

of far-reaching consequences in the future relations of peoples, races and continental groups, particularly in its impact in a regime of power politics which has heretofore dominated international affairs. It set a power balance between the under-developed nations and "submerged races" on the one hand and the stronger and better developed western colonizing group that has held control over much of the surface of the earth for so long on the other.

Bandung derived its strength from the great moral forces of the cause that it represented and the vast, though still latent, power of more than half the world's population now organizing for common advancement and security. The agreements and proceedings in the conference will exert a tremendous influence in future world relations because behind them is an aroused public conscience and a mobilized opinion of inter-hemispheric scope. It just cannot be ignored. It cannot be taken lightly by the so-called world powers. It will have to be heeded and respected from here on.

Perhaps the outstanding achievement of the Asian-African conference has been to prove the maturity of the leadership of the peoples therein represented and its capacity and vigor to integrate half-a-world in the interest of common causes and aims. This alone will have the effect of putting up a stop-sign beyond which further abuse and exploitation of the weak and the poor by the strong and the rich will not be countenanced or tolerated. Their views can no longer be deliberately disregarded. Theirs will not be the same lone and weak voices that have often been too easily lost in the deliberations of international forums and councils.

The unanimity of action on the remedies and solutions that Bandung offered toward overcoming the ills and fears which nations in Asia and Africa suffer constitute incontrovertible evidence of the strength that Bandung generated. That strength may be merely potential for the time being but its reality can no longer be doubted. For sometime to come, the power that it yields will be moral but even now that is perhaps the only force that no nation or bloc of nations, however militarily strong, will dare challenge.

It is not important to record which group or which nation won more points than others. Nor is it necessary to emphasize that the views of one delegate were more ably presented or warmly accepted than those of another. What is truly of historic moment is that there has been found, after laborious negotiation and conciliation, a meeting of minds on the more vital issues with which the peoples of Asia and Africa are deeply concerned.

It is, of course, pleasant for us Filipinos, as it must be for our friends in the democratic camp, that our General Romulo has so distinguished himself in the defence of our interests and those of the Free World but we should be prouder yet that his greater contribution to the success of the conference consisted in being able to exert his vast

experience and influence in the direction of helping bring closer together and unify peoples of divergent origins and needs never before afforded the opportunity to think and act as a group in their own interest. Defence of our own policies of an ideological character, however brilliant and impressive, in itself would merely have accentuated the animosities and conflicts that now beset all humanity.

In the sense that the Bandung conference made the world aware of the dangers arising from the crisis over Formosa, even the debates on that subject may be held to have contributed to lessening the tension in the Far Eastern situation. For now, Communist China cannot possibly overlook the gravely expressed concern of so many of the participants in the conference over the dangers of an explo-

sion that may spark a world conflagration. And it is entirely possible that realization of this fact may have led Chou En-lai to make the wholly unexpected gesture of pretending to be amenable to a peaceful settlement of the Formosa issue in direct negotiations between Red China and the United States. If so, let this again be credited to the collective wisdom and influence of the conference.

The nations represented in Bandung equally share credit for the success of the conference and deserve congratulations. We should accord to our delegation, under the able leadership of General Romulo, due to return this evening, public recognition and our proud appreciation of the significant role that it played to help achieve that success.

EUROPE

Manchester Guardian, Britain, April 23, 1955

The Bandung conference has been full of confused noise (though fortunately not with garments rolled in blood). It was bound to be so. A conference of twenty-nine Governments and with no agenda in advance could not be orderly and tidy. The ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and the Ethnarch of Cyprus had to be fitted in as well as the delegates of Governments. But behind the smoke it is possible to see a pattern of events. Though most of the proceedings were supposedly in secret, this has not prevented the publication of detailed accounts of the brushes between the delegates and of their demeanour. At the start of the conference some of the countries were evidently set on preventing China from dominating or manipulating it. The conference had risen out of the activities of the Colombo countries: there was anxiety to see that it was not appropriated by Peking. Who can say that Sir John Kotelawala, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, did not make a most spirited attempt to save the conference from being bewitched by sophistries? The challenge of little Ceylon to the mighty Chinese Empire will have won a lot of sympathy. But some of the delegates who thought like him made such vigorous attacks on communism that they may have overlaid their hand and won a more sympathetic hearing for Mr. Chou En-lai. The blandness of Mr. Chou En-lai countered them. He has been business-like, affable, approachable, and brief. He has held himself in check from retorting in kind. He was able to state, apparently without exciting derision, that the presence of Nai Pridi in Yunnan recruiting "Free Thais" was not a threat to Siam. He acted skilfully in choosing the conference as the place at which to sign the treaty with Indonesia regulating the question of the dual nationality of the overseas Chinese, about which the countries of free Asia have been so anxious. This conference, coming after

Geneva, has shown again that if conference diplomacy is employed in solving the problems of Asia, Mr. Chou En-lai will play a formidable part.

The trial of strength at the conference between China and its critics was postponed yesterday and may be settled to-day. China is opposing a declaration against "infiltration and subversion" which has been tacked on to the resolution calling for all colonies in Asia and Africa to be freed within a time-limit. It must strike some delegates as sinister that Mr. Chou En-lai objects to this declaration, however friendly he may appear. The conflict with China has distracted attention from what should be the main business of the conference. It was a good idea for the Governments of Asia to come together and confer upon the dangerous tensions in Asia. The worst of these is over Formosa. The Asian countries have every right to play a part in trying to avert calamity there: life and death for them depends on what happens. Perhaps Sir John Kotelawala was premature in thinking that the time had come for the Colombo countries to mediate. There cannot usefully be a conference about Formosa until the main parties signify, perhaps indirectly and cryptically, that they are at last ready to bargain. In the meanwhile let the problem be talked about, let all possible solutions be advanced, let all possible weight of public opinion be mobilised in order to persuade the parties to keep well away from shooting. Discussion of this kind and the making of public opinion was obviously one of the main purposes of the Bandung conference. It must be hoped that it has been achieved.

It will not be possible to assess the results of the conference until it has been over for some time. This is a conference which cannot be judged simply by the not very startling resolutions which it has passed. Many political leaders are meeting each other for the first time. Ideas are being propounded to them in a kind of tropical

atmosphere which may make them more compelling than they have been in the past. What has gone on in the discussions outside the conference halls will probably be more important than the official transactions. The effects will have to be observed in the groupings of Asian Governments during the next few months. It would be a pity if anything which had happened at Bandung jeopardised the intimate co-operation of the smaller group — the Colombo countries — which sponsored the conference. Countries and persons have put their prestige at stake, and the results will presently show. It will be interesting to compare in retrospect the impact made by Mr. Chou En-lai and by Mr. Nehru. Perhaps the conference will have disseminated information which may effect action. The Chinese delegates can scarcely travel back to Peking with none of their misconceptions in any way affected: China's isolation might be broken down still more if China acted on the conference resolution to promote a freer exchange of news in the press. One fact should be kept in mind: this has been a conference of Governments, not of peoples. It would be wrong therefore to quote its views as expressing the spirit of the peoples of Asia: even if Mr. Nehru can claim with some justice to speak for all India, eminent Chinese like Dr. Hu Shih would certainly deny the claim of Mr. Chou En-lai to speak for China. The Bandung conference was first thought of and created in a rather haphazard way and has grown into an Asian convention with more ambitious purposes than were at first thought of. Bandung may not be allowed to sink into history as a singular and curious

gathering which striking events of the day had made possible: Asian conventions may instead become a regular institution. What has so far happened at Bandung suggests that this would be useful in spite of the disputes - without which no convention is interesting.

Pravda, Moscow, 28-4-'55

Great changes are taking place on the continents of Asia and Africa. In Asia the end has come for imperialism. Asian-African peoples are making a great contribution to peace. The meeting was not attended by the representatives of old Asia and Africa. That's why the old masters of the colonial world met the Conference with hostility. The colonial powers, especially the U.S.A. tried to sow discord at the Conference in order to prevent any agreement being reached, but failed in their intrigues. The Bandung Conference achieved results because it did not depend on U.S.A. dictations as have taken place in U.N.O.

It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the Bandung Conference. The main characteristic of the decisions is their anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism which are serious blows to the colonial powers. The Bandung Conference made a great contribution to the strengthening of the national conscience of the Asian-African peoples, which is a new step towards developing cooperation. Its decisions will help to lessen international tension and preserve peace. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. greet the success of the Bandung Conference.

AMERICA

On April 24, the NEW YORK TIMES carried several articles concerning the Asian-African conference. One of the articles reported U.S. Congressman Powell's statement in Bandung that President Eisenhower's message for financially aiding the Asian nations did not make any impression at all in Bandung. Powell believed that a more tolerant and kind gesture of Eisenhower by extending cordial greetings to Bandung would have been much better appreciated. The Congressman warned the U.S. that the U.S. would lose Asians, if the U.S. was continuously standing aloof on world colonialism. Powell from Bandung concluded that if the U.S. was to maintain Asian-African friendship, the U.S. then must condemn not only all forms of colonialism, but the U.S. should also use its influence to stamp out the racial discrimination policy as practised in South Africa.

Calling for better U.S. understanding in Asia, another article stressed that the Bandung conference was after all a very useful exercise in international relations, and it was

very pleasing to observe that official circles in Washington were very relieved now that Nehru and Chou En-lai could not dominate the Bandung conference but rather became the target of small leaders who frankly showed a distaste of communism.

The third article said that it was apparent that colonial and racial issues became major items in Bandung. Consequently the paper called for complete U.S. understanding that the Asian revolution demanded that the physical need of its people had to be met and their hunger for human dignity be satisfied.

An article in the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR from Boston said that the Bandung conference was not a rally of tinted peoples mobilizing against the whites, was not dominated by neutralism, but it was a combination of trends and forces, an interesting study of diversity. From the Bandung conference may come the conviction that today the strength of peoples and nations in the world rested in diversity.

AUSTRALIA

Canberra Times, 22 April, 1955

The discussions have led to a useful stock-taking, though not necessarily as expected by the chief sponsors. It could never have been claimed seriously that the conference was representative of Africa.

The fact that the Asian delegates have not been in agreement on many points shows that the Asian countries are thinking and speaking for themselves and decline to have their policies shaped in a common mould fashioned either in the East or West. The most impressive passages of the conference have been the criticism of communism and the declaration of concern lest the future of Asia be dominated by an ideology foreign to the faith of the millions of Asian. This is a demonstration to the rest of the world that if Asia resists the influence from the West, it is also determined to combat un-Asian activities from the East. In the West, events are shaping towards a meeting with Russia. Asian discussions may bring a new approach to the settlement of outstanding Asian problems. Altogether, a new chapter is about to open in seeking a firmer postwar settlement.

Writing in the April issue of "VOICE", in connection with the Asian-African Conference, Dr. Burton stated that on any reading of the U.N. Charter, Seato was quite contrary to its provisions governing regional arrangements as set out in chapter eight. The Asian African Conference on the other hand was strictly within the terms of the Charter. Australia and the U.S.A. had determined to maintain Chiang and Rhee, and colonialism in Malaya and Dutch New Guinea.

In its editorial, the "Voice" stated as follows: "Perhaps the most important result of the Asian-African Conference is its reminder to the Western World: Asia is no longer a number of countries blanketed in a feudal past, but mostly emancipated from feudal and colonial bonds and bringing with them the determination that their entry into the twentieth century will not be still-born in the ideological conflict engulfing the West. The failure to appreciate this fact can not only lead to the unnecessarily precipitous foreign policy, but can build antipathy where friendship and goodwill are most needed. It is in this context that the recent foreign policy statements by both the Federal Government and the Labour Party need to be approached.