

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



BULLETIN

ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Asian-African Conference Bulletin

EDITORIAL NOTE.

How time flies! Only a few more days now the eagerly-awaited Asian-African Conference will take place in the mountain city of Bandung. For six days representatives of 29 Asian and African nations will meet to discuss and find ways and means how to implement the four purposes of the Asian-African Conference.

The Conference will soon reach its climax of activities and to cover it, this bulletin will be produced daily from our Bandung Office.

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For further information, please contact the Editor of this Bulletin at Pedjambon 6, Djakarta, phone O.P. 1588. & during the Conference at the Office of the Ministry of Information in Bandung

April 1955

No. 2

PREMIER NEHRU

"Asian-African Conference essentially an experiment in co-existence"

IN his address to the Indian Parliament on February 25, 1955, Premier Nehru stated the following with regard to the Asian-African Conference :

"I was mentioning just now the change in Asia which is taking many forms. Presently, in the course of about seven weeks there is going to be a conference at Bandung in Indonesia, an Asian-African Conference it is called, to which a number of countries, independent countries of Asia and Africa, have been invited. So far as I know, every country that has been invited is likely to attend. I am not quite sure, all the answers have not come, but I think they will all attend.

Now, what this Conference is going to do exactly I cannot say. I cannot, it is not up to me or even to the sponsoring countries to draw up their agenda. It is the Conference that will decide. But, I was a little surprised to learn that hon. Member, Mr. Asoka Metha, said something about this Conference drawing up a vast programme for the liberation of suppressed countries. Now, we are all for the liberation of suppressed countries. There is no doubt about that. But the idea of associating this Conference with a programme of this type seems to me to misunderstand completely the purpose of this Conference.

Are we going to set up an agitation there? The House will remember this is an official-level Conference. Governments are represented. In fact, Prime Ministers are represented. And in the Conference there are completely different ideologies and political and economic structures so to say, completely different.

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There are countries in this Conference, which are aligned to this great Power Bloc or the other Power Bloc, and there are countries like India and Burma and Indonesia and others, which are not aligned with any. So, here we meet this curious assortment of countries of Asia and Africa, with certainly much in common, and also much not in common. It is going to be an extraordinary meeting. And yet, the mere fact of our meeting is of the highest significance. It is the first time that such a meeting is taking place. It does represent rather unconsciously, subconsciously, Asia and Africa coming to the forefront. I do not know whether this idea was present in the mind of the original sponsor of this Conference wholly, but because the proposal was made at the right time, it fitted into the spirit of the times, and this Conference has thus got an importance of very high significance.

Obviously, a Conference of this type is hardly likely to discuss highly controversial issues as between the countries represented there. Also, if I may express my own opinion, I hope it does not function as if it was setting up a rival group to others. It is essentially an experiment, if I may use the word, in co-existence, essentially an experiment in countries of Asia and Africa, — some of which are inclined this way, and some the other way in regard to the Power Blocs, meeting together, meeting in a friendly way, and trying to find what common ground there is to co-operate in the economic field, the cultural field or even the political field. Therefore, this is a development, which is, from the point of view not only of Asia but of the world, of great importance".

The Organs of the Conference

In the first issue of this bulletin, a brief introduction was given to the structure of the organs making the necessary preparations for the Asian-African Conference. Then we limited ourselves to the names of only the Secretary-General of the **Joint Secretariat** and the four heads of diplomatic missions in Djakarta who represent the other four sponsoring countries.

In order to facilitate those who wish to know or get in touch with the other personalities who serve on the Joint Secretariat, the Interdepartmental Committee and the Local Committee in Bandung, we are now including all names.

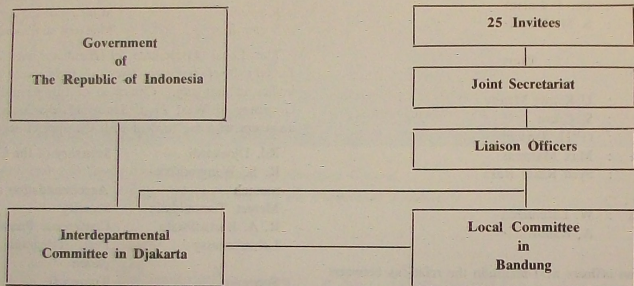
As already stated in the first issue, the Secretary-General of the Asian-African Conference is Roeslan Abdulgani

Ceylon
Moorthy
India
Dr. Appodora
M. Yunus
Iljas Hamzah
Munawir Sjadzali
Pakistan
S. M. Hussein

Members of the various sub-committees are as follows:

Political

Burma : Burmese Charge d'Affaires U Mya Sein
Ceylon : Ceylonese Minister M. Saravanamuttu
India : Indian Ambassador B. F. H. B. Tyabji
Indonesia : Sukardjo Wirjopranoto



(Secretary-General of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the other four leading members being the Burmese Charge d'Affaires, U Mya Sein; the Ceylonese Minister, M. Saravanamuttu; the Indian Ambassador, B. F. H. B. Tyabji; and the Pakistan Ambassador, Choudhri Khaliquzzaman.

The members of the staff who assist in the day-to-day work of the Joint Secretariat as well as those who serve on the various sub-committees are also recruited from the five sponsoring countries. Altogether there are ten staff members, two from Burma, one from Ceylon, two from India, four from Indonesia and one from Pakistan.

Staff

Burma
U Tin Maung
U San Nyein

Indonesia
Nugroho
Max Maramis

Pakistan : Pakistan Ambassador Choudri Khaliquzzaman

Economic

Burma : Burmese Charge d'Affaires U Mya Sein
Ceylon : S. Cruse
India : P. Vaidyanathan
Indonesia : Utojo Ramelan
Pakistan : Dr. S. M. Siddiq

Social & Cultural

Burma : U Kyawt Maung
Ceylon : Miss Jansze
India : G. H. Jansen
Indonesia : Moh. Yamin
Pakistan : Muh. Sultan

Budget

Burma	: U Kyawt Maung
Ceylon	: Ceylonese Minister M. Saravanamuttu
India	: P. L. Bhandari
Indonesia	: J. P. Pardede
Pakistan	: S. M. Hussein

Assistants	: Angwar Bani
	: Bahroem Noor
	: Chalid Fadyl
	: A. Diponegoro
	: J. H. Massie
	: P. Siahania
	: Sam Surat

Supply

Burma	: U Kyawt Maung
Ceylon	: Moorthy
India	: P. L. Bhandari
Indonesia	: Dr. J. Ismael
Pakistan	: S. M. Hussein

Press

Burma	: U Kyawt Maung
Ceylon	: S. Cruse
India	: G. H. Jansen
Indonesia	: Max Maramis
Pakistan	: Syed Rasul Rasa

Assistants	: W. Latumeten
	: A. Kamil

The **liaison officers** who maintain the relations between the Joint Secretariat and the Interdepartmental as well as the Local Committee in Bandung are Khurana from India and S. M. Hussein from Pakistan, who deal respectively with accommodation and transport, and press.

The Interdepartmental Committee was formed on January 11 of representatives of Indonesian government bodies concerned in preparations for the Conference. Roeslan Abdulgani, who is Secretary-General of the Joint Secretariat, is concurrently Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee, where he also sits as representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The other members who represent the other Ministries and the State Police are as follows:

Mohammad Johannes Harjoto	Ministry of Communications Secretary-General of the Ministry of Information
Osman Raliby	Ministry of Information
M. S. Mintaredja	Ministry of Finance
J. A. H. Ondang	Ministry of Public Works

Dr. C. H. V. de Villeneuve	Ministry of Economic Affairs
Sutarman	Ministry of Education
D. A. Siregar	Ministry of Home Affairs
Lt. Col. Abimanju Umaragatab	Ministry of Defence State Police

The following officials from five Ministries have been appointed **advisors to the Interdepartmental Committee**:

Besar Martokoesoemo	Ministry of Justice
R. M. Oetoyo Mertonegoro	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
A. Koesoemo Oetoyo	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Tarbidin	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Max Maramis	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Iljas Hamzah	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
J. P. Pardede	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Alex Marentek	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Soebeci Astrawinata	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
T. W. Atkinson	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Abdulwahab	Ministry of Communications
Alimoedin Nasoetion	Ministry of Finance
Kaswadi	Ministry of Economic Affairs
Soenardjo	Ministry of Economic Affairs

The Local Committee in Bandung was formed on January 3 of representatives of Indonesian government bodies in that city. Chairman of this Committee is the Governor of West Java, Sanusi Hardjadinata, the other members who are to deal with the various sections being:

Rd. Djoekardi	Secretary of the Committee
R. S. Wangsadikoesoemah	Accommodation and food
Memet Tanumidjaja	Security
R. A. Kartadibrata	Conference Premises
Leiwakabessy	Post, Telegraph and Telephone
Soenarko	Transport
R. Kartasa Wargadirdja	Protocol
R. O. Martakoesoemah	Entertainment
R. A. Hirawan Wargahadibrata	Exhibition
Mrs. Emma Soemanegara	Women guests
H. A. Petrus	Electricity Supply
Dr. M. H. A. Patah	Health
Osa Maliki	Information

As the opening of the Conference comes closer, the relative importance of these various Committees one to the other is changing. For example, most of the work to be done by the Interdepartmental Committee is now accomplished, and so it is fading into the background. On the other hand, with the approach of the Conference the work of the Local Committee in Bandung becomes more important, and some of its tasks have already been taken over by the Joint Secretariat.



*PRESIDENT SOEKARNO accompanied by Secretary General
ROESLAN ABDULGANI in the Conference Building*

Bandung is Ready

The mountain city of Bandung in West Java stands now on the threshold of a historic meeting of Asian and African nations. Soon, on April 18, the Asian-African Conference will become a reality in that city. Preparations have been completed for the holding of the Conference, and Bandung is now ready to welcome the foreign delegates, journalists from the four corners of the globe, foreign observers and other visitors.

Accommodation has been arranged for 1300 guests in 14 hotels, 15 private and 8 Government holiday centres and in 8 houses belonging to the Indonesian Red Cross. Those who are unable upon arrival in Indonesia to proceed direct to Bandung and have to spend the night in Djakarta will be accommodated in the hotels Des Indes and Dharma Nirmala. In each of these hotels rooms have been booked for their convenience.

A Medical Centre, in the capable hands of Dr. M. H. A. Patah, has been especially set up. Three physicians and three nurses will be in attendance daily, and a nightstaff will also be maintained. The centre will have at its disposal two ambulances and 6 cars. First-aid posts will be organised in 3 hotels and in the holiday-centres and three nurses will staff each post. For emergency cases, 10 wards will be set aside in the Borromeus hospital.

For purposes of transport, 143 cars, 30 taxis and 20 buses will be provided. There will be 230 drivers available, 35 tons of petrol daily and another supply of 175 tons of petrol will be reserved for a period of five days.

During the Conference, the supply of electricity in Bandung will be increased, if necessary by limiting the use of electricity in Djakarta and Bogor. Generators have been installed in the Concordia building, the building of

Dana Pensiun, in the Governor's Office, the Swarga building and in the Orient Hotel. Extra lighting will be provided in the streets near the Conference buildings and the hotels.

Plenary meetings will be held in the main Conference building, the Concordia, whilst those of committees will take place in the building of Dana Pensiun. The Conference building will be provided with simultaneous translating equipment and with loudspeakers whenever required. For each participating country an office will be available in the Dana Pensiun building. The working language during the Conference will be English.

Delegates and journalists will be able to cable 100,000 to 200,000 words every day through the Post, Telegraph and Telephone Office. During the Conference, special stamps will be issued as souvenirs by the Post Office.

Arrangements have also been made for the visitors to attend places of worship according to their different faiths. National dishes will also be prepared in accordance with the faiths and customs of the visitors.

Very soon now the sight of the flags of the Asian-African countries fluttering in Bandung airport Andir, Djakarta airport Kemajoran, on the main Conference building, the Concordia, and on the Dana Pensiun building, will herald the beginning of the eagerly-awaited Asian-African Conference. The inhabitants of Bandung may feel very proud and honoured that their city has been chosen as the site of this Asian-African Conference which is the first of its kind in history, and which is aimed at peace and unity.

Bandung's Air Port Andir



Capitals, population and area

COUNTRY	CAPITAL	POPULATION	AREA IN SQ.M.
1. Afghanistan	Kabul	12,000,000 (1949)	245,000
2. Burma	Rangoon	18,859,000 (1952)	261,789
3. Cambodia	Phnom Penh	3,227,000	88,780
4. Ceylon	Colombo	8,103,000 (1953)	25,352
5. China (The People's Republic)	Peking	602,000,000 (1954)	3,760,339
6. Egypt	Cairo	20,729,000 (1951)	386,000
7. Ethiopia	Adis Abeba	18,180,000 (1953)	350,000
8. Gold Coast	Accra	3,989,000	78,802
9. India	New Delhi	356,829,485 (1951)	1,221,000
10. Indonesia	Djakarta	78,163,000 (1952)	735,865
11. Iran	Teheran	19,151,000 (1951)	628,000
12. Iraq	Baghdad	5,100,000 (1950)	116,600
13. Japan	Tokyo	85,500,000 (1952)	147,690
14. Jordan	Amman	1,500,000 (1950)	37,500
15. Laos	Vientiane	1,189,000	69,480
16. Lebanon	Beirut	1,285,000 (1951)	4,000
17. Liberia	Monrovia	2,750,000 (1953)	43,000
18. Libya	Tripoli	1,340,000 (1952)	1,100,000
19. Nepal	Kathamandu	7,000,000 (1948)	54,000
20. Pakistan	Karachi	75,687,000 (1951)	365,907
21. Philippines	Manila	20,631,000 (1952)	115,000
22. Saudi Arabia	Riyad	6,500,000 (1948)	870,000
23. Sudan	Khartoum	8,764,000 (1951)	967,500
24. Syria	Damascus	3,381,000 (1952)	66,046
25. Thailand	Bangkok	19,192,000 (1952)	200,148
26. Turkey	Ankara	20,935,000 (1950)	296,503
27. Vietnam (North)	Hanoi	9,851,000	127,380
28. Vietnam (South)	Saigon	5,579,000	
29. Yemen	San'a	5,000,000 (1952)	75,600
Total		1,422,414,485	12,608,938

Who's Who in the Conference



PRIME MINISTER OF BURMA, U NU

Born on 25 May, 1907, U Nu is the son of a well-known merchant of Wakema in the Myaungmya district. After graduating from University College, Rangoon, he took up the post of Superintendent of the National High School, Pantanaw, but later returned to the university to study law.

U Nu has been active in politics since joining the Dohbama Asiayone (We Burmese Society), and founded the Nagani Book Club in 1937 along the lines of the British Left Book Club. In an emergency Conference of Dohbama Asiayone held at the outbreak of World War II, U Nu moved a resolution offering co-operation with the British in the war effort, upon the condition, however, that Britain would assure Burma's independence at the end of the war; if this assurance were not forthcoming, Dohbama Asiayone would withhold its co-operation. This resolution was carried, but the British arrested U Nu and sentenced him to two year's imprisonment.

When in August, 1943, a Burmese government was set up during the Japanese regime, U Nu was first given the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs, and later (1944) the portfolio of Publicity and Propaganda. U Nu has been Prime Minister of independent Burma since July 19, 1947, after the assassination of General Aung San and other leaders.

PRIME MINISTER OF CEYLON,
SIR JOHN KOTELAWALA

Sir John was born in 1897 and concluded his education at Christ's College, Cambridge.

He came to prominence in public affairs when he inaugurated the Minneriya Development Scheme in 1934. Two years later he was given the post of Minister for Communications and Works, and during his period in office Civil Aviation was born in Ceylon. During the same period Sir John was responsible for the commencement of the hydro-electric scheme and for the construction of many roads and bridges all over the island.

Sir John is a foundation member of the United National Party (established in 1946) and has now become its president. In 1947 he was elected to the House of Representatives as the member for Dodangaslanda, and under the new Constitution was appointed Minister for Transport and Works. He became Leader of the House in 1951. He continued to hold both these posts after the general elections of 1952, and was appointed Prime Minister in 1953.



He was knighted in 1948 and was appointed a member of the Privy Council in 1954, in which year he was also awarded the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour by the French Government.



PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Nehru was born in 1889, the son of a well-known lawyer who at one time was leader of the opposition in the Central Legislative Assembly. From the age of 15, Nehru studied in England, taking a tripos in natural sciences at Cambridge, then studying law and being called to the Bar from the Inner Temple. Returning to India in 1912, he enrolled as an advocate of the Allahabad High Court.

Nehru had been a member of an organisation of Indian students in Cambridge and naturally enough entered the political field on his return home. In 1918 he became a member of the All-India Congress Committee, and its secretary in 1923. In 1926, attending the conference in Brussels of the International League against Imperialism, he made contact with many other future leaders, including Indonesia's Moh. Hatta. From 1929 when he was elected President of the Lahore session of the Indian National Congress, Nehru consistently bore leading positions in the struggle of the Indian people. He took an active part in the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps, who brought a constitutional plan from the British Cabinet which, however, was rejected by all the principal parties in India.

A member of the Congress Working Committee for over two decades, Nehru was arrested with other members in August 1942, and held in detention until June, 1945. This was his ninth term under arrest for his political activities.

In September 1946, Nehru joined the Interim Government as Member for External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, and was also nominated Vice-President. He has been Prime Minister of India since August, 1947, when India won independence.

Jawaharlal Nehru has travelled widely, in earlier days representing the struggle of the Indian people against colo-

onial domination, and, since independence, as the representative of the Indian state at many international conferences and upon state visits.

PRIME MINISTER OF INDONESIA,
ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO

Born in 1903 near Magelang, Central Java, Ali Sastroamidjojo studied law at Leiden University, Holland, graduating in 1927.

His political activities began while he was still a student. He was a member of the Indonesian Students' Association in the Netherlands, and was amongst the leadership of that body held under arrest for six months in 1927.

Upon returning to Indonesia in 1928, he took up a law practice in Jogjakarta, undertook teaching at the National educational institution, 'Taman Siswa', and became editor of the weekly 'Djanjet' (Link). He joined the Nationalist Party lead by Soekarno, and was elected to the Executive of this party. When this party was dissolved following Soekarno's arrest in 1929, Ali joined a new political organisation, the 'Partindo'.

It was only after the Proclamation of Independence in 1945 that political parties could be formed freely, and then the Indonesian Nationalist Party was formed again, and Ali re-joined it. During the years of armed revolution,



he held various important posts with the government of the Republic, including those of Minister of Education, member of the Republican Delegation for discussions with the Dutch, and Secretary General of the State Defence Council.

Before taking up the post of Prime Minister in 1953, Ali Sastroamidjojo was Ambassador to the United States of America.

**PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN,
MOHAMMED ALI**

Mohammed Ali, born in 1909 in East Bengal, comes of a family long prominent in Bengal politics. His grandfather, Nawab Ali Chaudhury, was the first Moslem to become a Minister of the Bengal Government and later a member of the Governor's Executive Council.

After graduating from the Calcutta University, Mohammed Ali entered public life at the age of 21; he took up posts on local bodies in his home district. In 1937 he was elected to the Bengal Legislative Council, and six years later was appointed a parliamentary secretary. He established an Arts College in Bogra, the Lake Hospital in Calcutta, and a Medical College in Dacca, and in 1946 was appointed Minister of Finance and Health in pre-partitioned Bengal.

The creation of Pakistan as an independent and sovereign state interrupted Mohammed Ali's career as an administrator, but it provided him with new experiences. He became a member of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, but very soon after was appointed Ambassador to Burma. His appointment as Pakistan's first High Commis-



sioner to Canada followed, and in February, 1952, he was appointed Ambassador to the United States.

Mohammed Ali has been Prime Minister of Pakistan since 17 April, 1953.

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World Press Opinion

ASIA AND AFRICA

AFRO-ASIAN CONFAB

.... The proposed conference has been the talk of the world for the principal reason that it is the first of its kind in displaying political solidarity between the Asian and African countries, great land masses which are the home of half of the world population. What would greatly enthuse and hearten the promoters of this conference, especially the host country of Indonesia, is the fact that it has generally received a most favourable reaction in the world press.

From the Soviet bloc journals, praise for the projected Afro-Asian conference sounds unqualified and unequivocal. Said the Polish newspaper "Trybuna Lubu": "During the past few years no other continent has seen so much stormy development and experienced so many major political changes in Asia. Among these changes are the victorious revolution in China, the independence achieved by the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national liberation, the birth of friendly relations among new Asian states irrespective of their social system, the determined stand taken by Asian countries against colonialism and isolation of the imperialist puppets. The resolutions of the Bogor conference reflect the great changes that are taking place in the world, particularly Asia". The "Szabab Nep", organ of the Hungarian Working People's Party, comments that the conference will be an important factor in easing international tension. Similar sentiments were also the keynote of the "Nhandan", organ of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. So much for the opinions of one side.

The attitude of the Western Powers to the conference is one of caution and curiosity. Western Governments have not publicized their view on the topic, but Western observers are busy judging the possibilities that may arise out of the Afro-Asian conference generally by examining the character of its would-be participants. Some of them, indeed, belittle the importance and value of the conference. Still the popular American political writer Walter Lippman frankly upheld that the communique issued at the Bogor meeting was a warning signal to the West to be more realistic and less vacillating in their policies concerning Africa

and Asia. The opening date of the Afro-Asian conference, in his opinion, "sets the deadline for a great many issues, such as Formosa and perhaps North Africa as well." He considers that the Afro-Asian conference will be the judgment day by the East of the Western Powers who "are going to find themselves at odds with massive sentiments of Asia." He calls for a revision of policies on the East by the Western Powers in time.

The Afro-Asian conference is decidedly of vital necessity from the standpoint of many countries who have agreed to lend their participation. The least value it can have is to be the true forum of Afro-Asian opinion which does not always find its proper outlet in the United Nations and other world councils where Western political sway is indisputably in evidence. Yet the swift changes of world politics have affected these Afro-Asian nations in the last decade more than they have experienced before. They do want to help relax international tension, further the principles of co-existence, halt imperialism and promote prospects of world peace. And they want to do it in a manner most natural and suitable for them. The decisions and programme adopted at the Afro-Asian conference will also form the guiding principle of the foreign policies of the majority of the governments in two continents.

(Burma Star, Burma, 29-1-'54)

KOREAN PAPER HAILS ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Convening of the Asian-African Conference will be of historical significance in the life of the peoples in these two continents and in international affairs, says an article in the newspaper "Mindu Chosen".

The Korean people warmly hail the conference because to preserve and consolidate peace in Asia is in accord with their national interest. They wish that the conference will achieve positive results in preserving and consolidating peace in these two continents and in promoting cooperation and friendship among the countries there, the article adds.



Bandung's Preanger Hotel

The Korean people hold that the conference should open its door to other countries in these areas which have not been invited because this will enable it to realize its goal more satisfactorily. Undoubtedly, the larger the number of countries in these areas which participate in it the greater would be its success.

("Mindu Chosen," Pyongyang, 9-1-'55).

EGYPT AND THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Under the above headline, in today's issue, "**Al-Akhbar**" says that preparations are being speedily made for the departure of delegations to the forthcoming Asian-African Congress to be held in Bandung. As a proof of importance the Egyptian government attaches to the Congress is that Premier Lt. Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser will personally be at the head of the Egyptian delegation.

It adds that besides the universally recognized fact that the Congress is the first organised effort by the Asian and African peoples in the international field, it should also be pointed out that the various delegations meet without having in mind any intention of supporting a particular world against the other.

This, it continues, should render the Congress extremely useful because it will free the members from any spirit of partiality which may aggravate the present international tension. It is merely a congress representing a vast area of the globe the peoples of which are desirous of defending themselves against any attempt to encroach upon their right to independence and liberty without having any territorial ambitions of any kind.

It goes on to say that they will not form a bloc but will achieve rapprochement for the purpose of unifying plans and objectives.

There is also no doubt, it says, that the Congress will deal with such serious problems as the racial distinction policy in South Africa which remains as a curse to the Africa peoples and the development of the economic resources of Asian-African countries.

Greatest Country in Africa

Continuing, it says that Egypt, as the greatest independent country in Africa and the leader of Arab nations, will play an important role in the Congress, her chief

objective being that Asia and Africa should be entirely freed from imperialist domination.

Concluding, the paper stresses that an important fact will emerge from the congress: The Great Powers will no longer have the right to dispose as they please of small or under-developed nations.

Such a trend, it declares, will certainly contribute to the preservation of world peace, particularly as it will not longer be possible to force Asian-African peoples blindfolded to the massacres of major wars in which they have not the least interest.

(Mena, 7-3-55).

AMERICA ENCOURAGES HER ALLIES IN THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Some of the Diplomatic Representatives of the States Allied to America which have been invited to attend the Bandung Conference stated today that America is encouraging her allies among the Asian and Middle Eastern States to participate in the Asian-African Conference to be held in Indonesia in April next for fear lest the Chinese Communists and "Neutrals" spread their influences on the two Conferences.

These diplomatists assert that the Philippines, Siam and Japan have accepted the invitation to the Conference after it had discussed the matter from all viewpoints with the American responsible authorities, and they are inclined to the beliefs that Turkey which had no intention first to attend the Conference has subsequently accepted the invitation as a result of the encouragement it received from the American authorities.

American Government attitude

Responsible authorities in Washington declare that Pakistan, one of the five Colombo States which have sponsored the Bandung Conference is considered among the States friendly to America and can be relied upon to resist Communist and neutral pressure. The United States attitude towards the conference can be summed up in refrainment from all comment on the arrangements which are being made for its convocation or from pressure on the States to take part therein so long as it has not been invited to attend. Yet Diplomatic Circles in Washington assert that responsible Americans in the course of non official conversations with the representatives of the Middle Eastern and Asian States friendly to America that Washington looks forward to their attending the Conference and expressing their views on the questions under discussion.

American Proposals

The American authorities stressed the following points to the Course of their talks with the representatives of the Philippines, Siam, Japan and other States opposed to

Communism who are among these invited to Bandung Conference :

1. A delegation should be selected from among the representatives of these powers efficient and intelligent enough to know what is going on and to express with clarity and force its view points.
2. The delegation of States opposed to communism should be prepared to refute communist arguments aiming at winning the sympathy of neutrals among the representatives of the Asia-African States.
3. Preparations to submit practical proposals for cultural and economical cooperation among the States represented at Bandung. Such cooperation would render an invaluable service to the Asia-African cause.

Japan and her neighbour

The American officials, consider that the Asian African Conference will give a good opportunity for Japan to reconnect her friendly relations with her Asian neighbours who cut relations with her ever since last war.

The American's point of view which was declared to Asian diplomats are that America fears that Communists China will use the Bandung Conference for propaganda purposes. The Americans say that the conference will be a great benefit if the member States avoid criticising the western camp and try only to design a practical policy for the development of their own countries.

(Al-Ahram, Cairo, 2-2-55).

THE SOLUTION

In consideration of the fact that the Indonesian government, through an authorized spokesman, has virtually vetoed the appointment of Ambassador Romulo as chief of the Philippine delegation to the Afrasian conference at Bandung in April, the government is faced with a delicate problem in protocol.

The Indonesians and their co-sponsors insist that the chief delegates be either prime ministers or foreign ministers of the governments concerned. Now it is clearly out of the question for the President of the Philippines to head such a delegation. In the first place he has too much to do at home, and in the second place the conference, however important it may seem to its sponsors, is hardly of sufficient importance to require the presence of a chief of state. And in our system, fortunately, we are not burdened with a prime minister who holds office at the pleasure of a constantly shifting "majority" in the legislature.

The position held by the foreign secretary, who is also the vice-president, is also such as to preclude his being drafted for the mission.

There remains, then, a choice among the diplomatically-qualified men in and out of the government, and of these Ambassador Romulo clearly is the best choice.

If protocol at Bandung operates against his appointment in his present official position, the President need only to appoint him minister without portfolio to give him the rank required by the protocol-minded sponsors of the Conference.

Considering that the Chinese communist regime will have a good deal to say, the Philippines clearly needs to be represented by the one Asian diplomat who has been able to stand up to the communists in a much wider arena than the Conference hall at Bandung — and to make the communists back down.

(*Manila, The Manila Times, 17-2-55*).

JAPAN SHOULD ATTEND A-A CONFERENCE

.... The holding of the A-A Conference was decided at the Southeast Asian 5-Premier Conference held at Bogor in Indonesia at the end of last year. The common objective is said to investigate the joint interest to the Afro-Asian countries and to reciprocally increase the good-neighbor and friendship relations of each other. The invitation letters were dispatched to 25 Afro-Asian countries including Japan and Red China. The session is for around a week beginning from April 18. The place for the Conference is decided to be Bandung. A formal invitation of Premier Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia representing the inviting countries was received by Premier Hatoyama recently.

Japan now faces the forthcoming general election. As was stated by Foreign Minister Shigemitsu, whether or not Japan presents herself to this Conference should be ultimately decided upon by the new Administration which will come out after the general elections; however, whatever Cabinet is to appear, Japan should attend the Conference. Japan, which has been called the orphan of Asia for 10 years after the war, should not denounce the best

break to utterance attending the Asian country-held Conference. Japan should neither be reserved nor be hesitant to accept the chance, but should dispatch her representative willingly to the prospective Conference.

Undoubtedly, in order to attend the Afro-Asian Conference, Japan has to make various preparations. Foreign Minister Shigemitsu may have included the above when he had talked of Japan's preparation to attend the Conference.

Firstly, West European Powers including the U.S., the U.K. and France, has some doubts to the character of the Afro-Asian Conference from the right beginning. It may be that the Conference is said to introduce on the agenda of the Conference the issues of national sovereignty, racialism, colonialism, etc., as ones common to the attending Afro-Asian Countries.

Secondly, included among the invited countries are Japan and Red China; however, the neighboring countries R.O.K. and Nationalist China (Taiwan) are excluded out of the make-up, and the so-called Colombo countries are made nucleus of the Conference. Whether or not the countries like the Thailand and the Philippines which are membered among the Free Nation camp will absent themselves from the Conference is not clear yet. However, as long as the Leftist Socialist Party does not organize the new Cabinet, Japan will naturally attend to the Conference on the standpoint of the Free Nations. Japan's insistence must be definitely clear toward the Communist countries and peace area countries. In order to understand the reciprocal viewpoints of the countries concerned as has been made the fundamental objectives of the Conference, the above mentioned is after all inevitable.

(*Mainichi Shimbun, Japan, 27-1-55*).

EUROPE

FOR A LASTING PEACE FOR PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

by: T. Sambor

The second meeting of five Prime Ministers of the countries of South-East Asia — India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan — took place in the Indonesian town of Bogor at the end of December. A decision was taken at the meeting to convene a Conference of 30 countries of Asia and Africa in Bandung (Indonesia) at the end of April this year.

Quite understandably the question as to which countries should take part in this Conference interested broad sections of the public in different countries even before the meeting in Bogor was held. The point is that aggressive US circles, with the object of dividing the countries of Asia and Africa and counterposing them one to the other, have intensified pressure on individual governments, seeking to compel them to refuse to participate in the proposed Conference and, particularly, to object to the participation of the People's Republic of China. The US-manufactured bogey of the so-called "Communist menace" has once again loomed up on

the horizon. The intrigues of American diplomacy have, however, fallen through. Broad sections of the public in Asian and African countries have resolutely stood up for the participation of the People's Republic of China in the Conference, seeing in this the guarantee for the success of the Conference.

.... "The basic purpose of the Conference", reads the statement, "is that the countries concerned should become better acquainted with one another's point of view".

The Prime Ministers expressed the hope that the Geneva agreements on Indo-China would be fully respected and implemented by all the countries concerned. At the same time they again expressed their great concern over the A and H-bomb experiments.

The many comments in the press of various countries are evidence of the fact that broad public circles in the countries of Asia and Africa warmly support the decision of the Bogor meeting. In a leading article commenting on the outcome of the meeting the newspaper Kuangmingjhpao writes that Chinese people sincerely welcome the decision to call a Conference of Asian and African countries. It notes that fundamental changes have taken place in the Asia and Africa of to day and that the time has passed when foreigners could arbitrarily dispose of the destinies of the peoples of the East. Now, the paper writes, the peoples of Asia and Africa have enough strength to decide their fate themselves. The countries of Asia and Africa are uniting in the name of peace and close co-operation.

Touching on the hostile attitude towards the Bandung Conference on the part of the ruling circles of the Western imperialist countries, particularly by US ruling circles, the newspaper points out that the aggressive bloc headed by USA intends to frustrate this Conference. That is why the peoples of Asia and Africa must enhance their vigilance.

The results of the Bogor meeting are being widely discussed in the Indian press. The influential Indian newspaper Hindustan Times stated recently that the forthcoming Conference will open up the opportunity for the combined efforts by the countries of Asia and Africa for maintaining peace throughout the world.

The Indonesian newspaper Harian Rakjat, also points out that the question of strengthening peace can be satisfactorily solved if the co-operation of the countries of Asia and Africa is based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

The news of the convocation of a Conference in Bandung met with quite a different reception in Washington and London. The advocates of colonial oppression and the enemies of peace were embarrassed by the news that the countries of Asia and Africa have decided, independently, without the "help" of the USA and the West European countries, to meet in a Conference. The imperialist politicians are particularly put out by the fact that the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Viet Nam have been invited to the Conference. China, who has been refused admission to UNO, indignantly declares a United

Press correspondent, now receives an invitation to a Conference of first-rate international importance ... And the forthcoming Conference would stimulate the national liberation movement in Africa.

Most candid on Washington's and London's fears was Lippman, New York Herald Tribune commentator, who wrote on January 4: "Let us have no illusions about the fact that the United States and its leading allies in Western Europe are going to be the judged and not the judges at this April Conference."

Endavouring to weaken the general upsurge of the national liberation movement in the Asian and African countries and to scare off individual states from participating in the Conference at Bandung, the USA have already taken a series of "counter measures." One of these is the US decision to hold a Conference of SEATO members in Bangkok, capital of Thailand, in February. With the same object in view, Admiral Radford made a tour of American war bases on the territories of certain Asian countries. He has already visited Pakistan, Thailand, South Viet Nam, Japan and the Philippines. The measures adopted by the U.S.A. have, however, the peoples of Asia and Africa are retaliating to the provocative activities of the American brass hats and diplomats by stepping up the fight against colonial independence.

The vital interests of the Asian and African countries urgently demand a policy of co-operation and peaceful co-existence of states and peoples of these continents, irrespective of their socio-economic systems.

(Bucharest, 14-1-55).

"PEKING IN THE LIMELIGHT"

.... Nehru, as leader of a nation of about 400 millions, has a very great authority among Oriental politicians who stand more or less outside the Great Power bloc, and his responsibility is therefore greater. Although the initiative of the rather curious African-Asian Conference came from Indonesia, it would not have been possible at all without the support of New Delhi. Besides the five inviting, so-called Colombo states, twenty-five others are to take part, from the Philippines and Japan in the East, to the Gold Coast in the West. The names of the uninvited states are almost more interesting than those invited. Although this is not supposed to be a "coloured" Conference, the Union of South Africa and Israel are both excluded, as are the Formosa Government and both South and North Korea, while Communist China, South and North Vietnam as well as Laos and Cambodia are all included in the invitation. Formosa has been omitted because, it is said, all the invited states recognize Communist China, and Chiang Kai-shek does not represent any country — a statement that has aroused some query, at least in the case of Ceylon. Even more remarkable is the curious differentiation between Korea and Vietnam.

The programme of the Conference, which is to begin in April in Indonesia, at Bandung, is extremely vague. The main thing is apparently that the 30 states should get to know one another's opinions; such problems of common interest as the racial question and "colonialism" are also to be discussed. The spirit in which the conference is to meet is illustrated by the fact that the invited states — with the exception of Pakistan and Ceylon who are noticeably reserved — gave their support to Indonesia's claim to Dutch Western New Guinea, and to the North African nationalists.

A vote of disapproval of hydrogen bomb experiments was also taken, and hopes were expressed that the Geneva agreement on Vietnam will be fulfilled without interference from outside — hopes that are likely to be realised, since communist infiltration from within is already so effective as to influence well in advance the public elections which are to take place in 1956.

Inevitably in these circumstances China is bound to play a leading part, and it is also clear that she will make the most of every chance of increasing disension between the Western Powers themselves, and between them and other lesser Asian and African states.

It is understandable that the West should not welcome this mammoth conference with great enthusiasm. The Western Powers are well aware of their unfavourable position when it comes to psychological warfare in many of the Asian and African countries, and that much can happen before their plans of economic aid to these countries can be fully realised and have effect. The signatories of the South-east Asian Security pact, which was a result of the setback in Indo-China, are however, expected to meet in Bangkok on February 23, in order to "put teeth into" the pact — as it was expressed. But mere military measures at this stage cannot have much effect upon the Chinese and Asian "neutral" offensive. It is border-line cases such as these, where political undermining from within is hard to differentiate from armed external action that are the greatest and most immediate problems facing the Western Powers

(Svenska Dagbladet Sweden, 9-1-'55).

BANGKOK AND BANDUNG

SEATO is standing for the South East Asian defence organization. The agreement was made in Manila in the Philippines in September last year, and in these days the first ordinary meeting has taken place in Bangkok in Thailand. The member countries are The United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.

In April there will in South East Asia take place a competing conference. The place is Bandung in Indonesia, and here will countries like Japan, China, India and Indonesia be represented, and also the independent states in Africa — except South Africa.

The purpose of the two conferences is quite different, one might perhaps say contrary. The SEATO-conference shall organize the resistance against the Communism, the Asian-African conference is to mark the self assertion of the coloured world towards the white, which spotted by its imperialistic past. The message of the conference will be neutrality, but many of the representatives evidently mean that the Russians are not quite as white as Britains and Americans.

A comparison between these conferences clearly shows the weakness of SEATO. The purpose is the defense of South East Asia, but the support from the peoples which are going to be defended is very fragile. Thailand and the Philippines are no replacement for India and Indonesia. From the Asian SEATO-members, only Pakistan means something. Even if Head Quarters is decided to be established in Bangkok, the decision will be made as far away as in Washington, London, Paris and Canberra.

SEATO therefore cannot become an Asian NATO. There would be a small sense in establishing a common Head Command, because there are no forces of any importance to command. The obligations to grant each other help, are also looser formed than in the Atlantic Pact.

The need for establishing a defense against a Communist expansion South from China is a quite real one, but many are after all placing an interrogation at the value of SEATO. It is undoubtedly meaning a nerver to exposed countries like Siam and the non-Communist Indo-China, but this has to be counterbalanced to the hostile reaction among other Asian peoples, which look upon it as a new form of white imperialism. These are two opposing regards which both are heavy, and which in the present situation cannot be united.

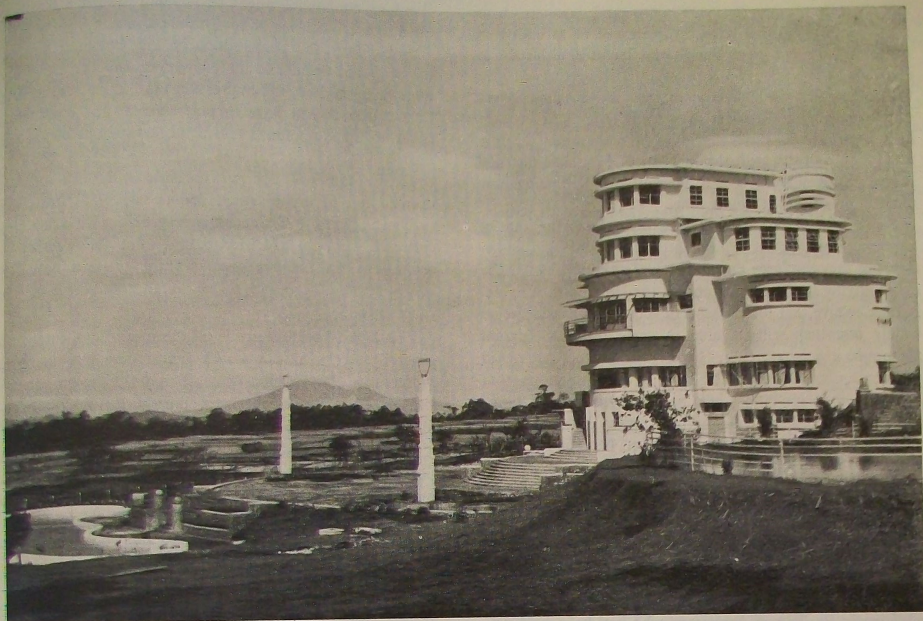
(Arbeiderbladet, Oslo, 26-2-'55).

AMERICA

ASIA : CAN THE WEST HOLD BACK THE TIDE ?

"Everybody knows what must come to pass between Asia and the West, **the yellow race and the white**. It is imbecile folly for us to close our eyes to the inevitable . . . All the world understands that the gravest crisis in the destiny of the earth's population is at hand."

Western statesmen last week unhappily recalled these words of Kaiser Wilhelm II, popularizer of the phrase "Yellow Peril". They could reflect that the onetime German emperor was right as rain — and wrong as sin. He was right in foreseeing a crisis that now threatens in an even more virulent form than he envisaged — an Afro-Asian combination turned by Communism against the West. He was wrong in thinking that the problem was to fight this combination. The problem, according to those who have to deal with it today and tomorrow, is to prevent



Bandung's teachers college "Bumi Siliwangi"

its formation. That would be the burden of two conferences during the coming months that can shape the destiny of the world:

Bangkok: The Manila-pact powers (U.S., Britain, France, Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand) have agreed to meet on February 23 in Thailand's canal-coursed metropolis. Whatever their race, these nations of the East and West were resolved to implement their "Monroe Doctrine Against Communism." Moscow fumed that the U.S. was seeking "the more speedy unleashing of military adventures."

Bandung: The Colombo powers (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia) convoked an unprecedented conference of officials from 30 Asian and African nations, representing more than half of the world's people, for late April in this volcano-ringed Javanese city. The sponsoring powers seemed to be aiming at a sort of Monroe Doctrine Against Colonialism. Their basic philosophy was that the Asian and African nations have some common destiny, freeing them from the Atlantic and the Soviet blocs.

As if to counter this notion, Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden revealed in London that, after attending the Bangkok meeting, he would make his first tour of

southern Asian capitals. By visiting New Delhi, Karachi, and other cities, as John Foster Dulles did soon after taking over as Secretary of State, Eden would dissipate some of the Commonwealth grumbling against London's supposed pre-occupation with European matters.

Significance: Western diplomats recognize a serious challenge in the coming Afro-Asian conference. Should Washington and London advise their Asian and African allies to boycott the conference? Or should they urge their allies to participate in the hope of counterbalancing the powerful Communist and neutralist influences which will be at work?

Washington Discussion: In Washington, the question is now being discussed on the highest levels and may reach the National Security Council for decision. Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, leads those who favor a boycott. They contend its influence. They believe that any encouragement given participation will embroil the State Department with Nationalist China (not invited to Bandung) and Chiang Kai-shek's champions in Congress.

Those who oppose this view, including Secretary Dulles, claim that the pro-Western nations among the Afro-Asians,

including the Turks, Thais, Filipinos, and Japanese, have sufficient strength and talent to neutralize or at least dim Chou En-lai's and even Jawaharlal Nehru's influence at Bandung. They fear that a pro-Western boycott will give the Communists a walkover victory and will arouse charges of colonialism and sabotage against the U.S. Some of them look hopefully to Egypt's ambitious undertaking to line up at least a dozen countries in favor of weaning India and Indonesia away from Red influences and of barring new recognition of the Peking regime.

British Caution: The British are going out of their way not to sneer at or belittle the Afro-Asian gathering, lest they reinforce the anticolonial attitude which is the only unifying factor among most of the 30 nations. Privately they believe that the interests of these nations diverge so widely that they will be able to agree on little beyond meaningless generalities. The British hope Washington will not discourage "dependable" pro-Western nations from accepting their invitations and sending strong delegations.

The latest test of Communist Chinese intentions was under way in Peking. There the United Nations Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjöld, and Chou were deep in talks on the disposition of some 2,840 U.N. troops — including eleven U.S. airmen jailed as spies — whom the Chinese Reds still held in violation of the Korean truce. A hint of the possible outcome: Nehru's statement that U.N. handling of the affair was "unfortunate."

The Soviets made one gesture toward the West by releasing in Berlin two Americans who had been held prisoner in the notorious Vorkuta slave-labour camp near the Arctic Circle. They were John H. Noble, 31, of Detroit, a civilian arrested in Dresden in 1945, and Pvt. William Marchuk 38, of Nooristown, Pa., who disappeared in Berlin in 1949. The Army took Marchuk into custody on suspicion of desertion. Still in Vorkuta: Erika Wallach, adopted daughter of the mysterious Noel Field, and Pvt. William A. Verdine, of Starks, La., seized in Berlin in 1949.

(*Newsweek*, New York, 17-1-'55).

ARABS COOL TO INDONESIA TALKS

by:

(*O.M. Marshlian, Special Correspondent of The C.S.M.*)

The first political conference of Asian and African countries, to be held in the Indonesian town of Bandung in April, is getting a cool reception in Arab capitals.

The initial enthusiasm with which the Arab countries, particularly Egypt, welcomed the idea of the conference, grouping the liberated colonial nations of the non-white world, has given way to doubts and misgivings.

Since the preliminary conference of the five sponsoring Colombo powers — India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia — Arab leaders have come to realize that the

Bandung conference might be heading toward a direction alien to the countries of the Middle East.

Judging by the declarations of the Colombo powers, the proposed agenda of the conference and the list of nations to be invited, the impression here is that the Middle East countries will have to play second, and even third, fiddle to the Communist and neutralist nations of the Far East.

To woo the Arab and African nations, the five sponsors decided not to invite Israel, thanks largely to Pakistan's stubborn efforts, and have announced before hand that they endorsed Tunisian and Moroccan — but not Algerian — aspirations for independence. These gestures have not helped to stir, or rather revive, Arab enthusiasm for the conference.

This lack of enthusiasm is all the more significant since generally Arabs have a knack for holding high-sounding conferences of emotional value, if only for the propaganda and public-relations purposes, mostly for internal consumption.

Abdel Khaleq Hassouna, Secretary General of the Arab League, recently summoned the Indian and Indonesian Ambassadors in Cairo to demand a greater attention to North Africa in the conference. He asked them to convey to the conference sponsors the wish that nationalist delegates from Tunisian and Moroccan independence groups should not attend the conference as observers, but be permitted to address the gathering.

Mr. Hassouna also voiced dissatisfaction at the sponsoring nations' decision not to invite a delegate from the Arab League secretariat as an observer.

Egypt might have completely ignored the conference had it not been for position and prestige. After all, six out of eight members of the Arab League are Asian countries, even though a world apart from the countries of south and east Asia. Egypt as the leader of the Arab states would like to be present at the conference.

Similarly, by attending the conference as the major African nation, along with Ethiopia, the Gold Coast, Liberia, Libya, and the Sudan, Egypt wants to see to it that African affairs are settled by the Africans themselves, and not by eager trustees from Asia.

Had this conference taken place a year earlier, when Egypt had not yet settled its differences with Britain and the Arab countries were not then in any mood for political and military alignment with the West, it might have suited the purposes of the Arab leaders to appeal to local public opinion and threaten the Western nations with the bogey of neutralism.

However, the political thinking of the Arab leaders has evolved a great deal in the past few months and their pro-Western orientation is no longer a secret.

By attending the Bandung conference, the Arab countries would be facing another dilemma. None of them recognize Communist China and none have the intention

of doing so in the near future despite occasional persuasive talk from the neutralists. Yet, it already appears certain that Communist China's Premier Chou En-Lai will not only be at the conference, but may be in a dominant position.

Already there is the feeling in some neutral quarters that the nations of the Middle East and Africa, for the great part Moslem, will form a bloc within the conference and might stand aloof from the ideological tendencies of the Far East. Incidentally, the Bandung conference will mark the greatest reunion of independent Moslem countries in history. Of the 30 nations to be invited, 14 are Moslem, including the host country, Indonesia.

Already some Indian quarters have voiced concern that Pakistan and Egypt may use the Bandung conference to establish contacts and drum up support for a Moslem bloc and that the conference might indirectly strengthen the hand of Pakistan to successfully block the intentions of neutralist nations.

(Christian Science Monitor, Boston, 22-1-'55).

ASIA VS. DULLES

While American attention was centered on the Paris debates an event of momentous importance occurred at Bogor, Indonesia.

The Prime Ministers of five key Asian States - India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma and Ceylon - decided to call a peace conference of Asian and African nations next April in Indonesia.

These five Asian leaders decided to invite the People's Republic of China to their peace conference.

They decided NOT to invite the Chiang Kai-shek clique which is kept on Formosa with US arms and US dollars.

This action is, of course, a recognition of the realities in Asia, and the Asian leaders are compelled to face up to realities in their part of the world. By the same token, the action is a resounding slap at the stupid and stubborn policy of the State Department which "recognizes" the Chiang Kai-shek clique, but refuses to recognize the reality of China.

Moreover, an all-inclusive Asian-African peace conference as envisioned by the five Prime Ministers, serves to expose the mockery of the so-called Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which Secretary of State John Foster Dulles manufactured some time ago.

You might recall that Dulles' supposedly Asian alliance is composed of eight members, five of whom are such Asian states as the U.S., Britain, France, Australia and New Zealand.

What do you suppose the peoples of Asia (and Africa) will think when they compare Dulles' SEATO with the projected 30-nation peace conference, and see that the list of 30 somehow excluded such "Asian" states as Britain, France, the U.S., Australia or New Zealand?

Dulles' SEATO was supposedly fashioned to resist "Communist aggression," but the official communique on the projected Asian-African Conference asserts:

"The conference will work for world peace, economic and social development of Africa and Asia and tackle such special problems as colonialism, racialism and national sovereignty."

In brief, a bona fide conference of Asian and African peoples proposes to deal with their bona fide problems rather than the nightmare figments of Dulles' imagination.

The very calling of the conference, it seems to us, emphasizes the bankruptcy of the Dulles-Eisenhower policy in Asia. It demonstrates that the only support the policy can enlist in Asia is from such miserable puppets as Chiang Kai-shek, who are so despised that they are not even invited to the councils of the Asian peoples.

If we really want a policy that will promote peace and win our friends in Asia, then we should dump Chiang Kai-shek and begin dealing with China, the nation without which no real settlement can be attained in Asia.

(People's World, San Francisco, 30-12-'55).

BANGKOK AND BANDUNG

In the steaming heat of Bangkok with its glittering temples and turgid canals the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization powers meet to build a defense against an aggressive Communist imperialism.

All the familiar exotic surface of Asia is still there. But there is a new Asia too. It is the Asia of rising nationalism and a blazing desire to master its own destiny.

The Manila Pact Powers — Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States — know this is the dominant force in Asia today. But they recognize the crucial need now for a second force to counteract the outward pressures from Communist China. The effort to draw a tough line down the Formosa Strait is part of the same recognition.

So Bangkok will try to create a military bulwark of some kind; to specify ways to combat and extinguish subversion; and to work out economic aid for underpinning the societies of Asia's Southeast.

This may throw up a barrier for a while. But can we assume it will guarantee against a Communist takeover for all time to come? The Manila Pact is primarily a western operation with only three Asian powers cooperating. The future of Asia will be determined by the thinking and acting of Asia.

We have only to consider the coming April Afro-Asian meeting at Bandung to realize that. The West is excluded. Emphasis is on the colored nations of the world. And for Asia it means that at long last the destiny of Asia is being determined in Asia, and not in Geneva, or Paris, or London, or Washington. Colonialism is out. Hands off is the

byword. Asia is free. This is perhaps the great historic occasion of our century.

So what is there beyond Bangkok? What can be done that will fit into the mood of Bandung?

Asia must be helped toward selfrealization free of domination by communism masquerading as democracy and freedom, and free in its own mind of what it sees as western meddling, always suspect because of a colonial past.

At Bangkok economic and technical aid will be discussed and this is all to the good. The Commonwealth Colombo Plan with the same goals goes forward. America's Point Four spends its millions and plans one billion more this year. And there is the slender but effective United Nations technical assistance programme.

But the crying need in Asia is for literacy programmes. To read in a democratic atmosphere is to be free. Village-level reading and writing is foundational. Point Four

administrator Harold Stassen has reinforced this by saying agricultural aid must be complemented by education.

Beside education aid, and agricultural and industrial techniques, there is a need of widespread investment, enlarged grants for Asian exchange students in every field, and the export of governmental know-how.

There is a place too for sincere, utterly frank and truthful propaganda — information about the United States and the Western way. But this, and the educational and technical programmes, must be rigorously purged of all selfish interest and bread-beating. This is not easy. A good deal can be said for placing more funds in the independent, disinterested hands of the United Nations.

This is a programme which could move beyond Bangkok in the mood of Bandung. It requires further disengagement from the colonial past, sacrifice, and humility.

(Boston, *Christian Science Monitor*, 23-1-'55).

To Tangkubanprahu volcano near Bandung

