

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



BULLETIN

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Asian - African Conference Bulletin

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Every visitor to the Conference must have been shocked and saddened at the news of the plane disaster in the South China Sea on April 11th. Delegation members and journalists as well as members of the crew met their death within a few hours' flight of Djakarta. Of the nineteen persons on board the plane, it seems that only six have survived, and that three of these are badly wounded.

We cannot but be sensible of the fact that we had hoped to meet these men in an atmosphere of friendship, to exchange views and to confer with them for the advancement of our peoples and for the sake of peace.

In the midst of the assembled Conference, therefore, our thoughts turn to this loss of life, and we offer our deepest sympathy and most sincere regrets to the governments and press concerned and to the bereaved families.

Speech of President Sukarno at the opening of the Asian-African Conference 18th April 1955.

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,
Sisters and Brothers!

It is my great honour and privilege on this historic day to bid you welcome to Indonesia. On behalf of the people and Government of Indonesia — your hosts — I beg your understanding and forbearance if some circumstances in our country do not meet your expectation. We have, I assure you, done our best to make your stay amongst us memorable for both our guests and your hosts. We hope that the warmth of our welcome will compensate for whatever material shortcomings there may be.

As I survey this hall and the distinguished guests gathered here, my heart is filled with emotion. This is the first intercontinental conference of coloured peoples in the history of mankind! I am proud that my country is your host. I am happy that you were able to accept the invitations extended by the five Sponsoring Countries. But also I cannot restrain feelings of sadness when I recall the tribulations through which many of our peoples have so recently passed, tribulations which have exacted a heavy toll in life, in material things, and in the things of the spirit.

I recognise that we are gathered here today as a result of sacrifices. Sacrifices made by our forefathers and by the people of our own and younger generations. For me, this hall is filled not only by the leaders of the nations of Asia and Africa; it also contains within its walls the undying, the indomitable, the invincible spirit of those who went before us. Their struggle and sacrifice paved the way for this meeting of the highest representatives of independent and sovereign nations from two of the biggest continents of the globe.

It is a new departure in the history of the world that leaders of Asian and African peoples can meet together in their own countries to discuss and deliberate upon matters of common concern. Only a few decades ago it was frequently necessary to travel to other countries and even other continents before the spokesmen of our peoples could confer.

I recall in this connection the Conference of the "League Against Imperialism and Colonialism" which was held in Brussels almost thirty years ago. At that Conference many distinguished Delegates who are present here today met each other and found new strength in their fight for independence.

But that was a meeting place thousands of miles away, amidst foreign people, in a foreign country, in a foreign continent. It was not assembled there by choice, but by necessity.

Today the contrast is great. Our nations and countries are colonies no more. Now we are free, sovereign and independent. We are again masters in our own house. We do not need to go to other continents to confer.

Already there have been important meetings of Asian States in Asia itself.

If we look for the forerunner of this our great gathering, we must look to Colombo, capital of independent Ceylon, and to the Conference of the five Prime Ministers which was held there in 1954. And the Bogor Conference in December 1954 showed that the road ahead was clear for Asian-African solidarity, and the Conference to which I have the honour of welcoming you today is the realisation of that solidarity.

Indeed, I am proud that my country is your host.

But my thoughts are not wholly of the honour which is Indonesia's today. No. My mind is for a part darkened by other considerations.

You have not gathered together in a world of peace and unity and co-operation. Great chasms yawn between nations and groups of nations. Our unhappy world is torn and tortured, and the peoples of all countries walk in fear lest, through no fault of theirs, the dogs of war are unchained once again.

And if in spite of all that the peoples may do, this should happen, what then? What of our newly-recovered independence then? What of our culture, what of our spiritual heritage, what of our civilisation? What of our children and our parents?

The burden of the delegates to this Conference is not a light one, for I know that these questions — which are questions of the life or death of humanity itself — must be on your minds, as they are on mine. And the nations of Asia and Africa cannot, even if they wish to, avoid their part in finding solutions to these problems.

For that is part of the duties of independence itself. That is part of the price we gladly pay for our independence. For many generations our peoples have been the voiceless ones in the world. We have been the un-

regarded, the peoples for whom decisions were made by others whose interests were paramount, the peoples who lived in poverty and humiliation. Then our nations demanded, nay fought for independence, and achieved independence, and with that independence came responsibility. We have heavy responsibilities to ourselves, and to the world, and to the yet unborn generations. But we do not regret them.

In 1945, the first year of our national revolution, of Indonesia were confronted with the question of what we were going to do with our independence when it was finally attained and secured — we never questioned that it would be attained and secured. We knew how to oppose and destroy. Then we were suddenly confronted with the necessity of giving content and meaning to our independence. Not material content and meaning only, but also ethical and moral content, for independence without ethics and without morality would be indeed a poor imitation of what we sought. The responsibilities and burdens, the rights and duties and privileges of independence must be seen as part of the ethical and moral content of independence.

Indeed, we *welcome* the change which places new burdens upon us, and we are all resolved to exert all our strength and courage in carrying these burdens.

Sisters and Brothers, how terrificly dynamic is our time! I recall that, several years ago, I had occasion to make a public analysis of colonialism, and that I then drew attention to what I called the "Life-line of imperialism". This line runs from the Straits of Gibraltar, through the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea and the Sea of Japan. For most of that enormous distance, the territories on both sides of this life-line were colonies, the peoples were unfree, their futures mortgaged to an alien system. Along that life-line, that main artery of imperialism, there was pumped the life-blood of colonialism.

And today in this hall are gathered together the leaders of those same peoples. They are no longer the victims of colonialism. They are no longer the tools of others and the playthings of forces they cannot influence. Today, you are representatives of free peoples, peoples of a different stature and standing in the world.

Yes, here has indeed been a "Sturm über Asien" — and over Africa too. The last few years have seen enormous changes. Nations, States, have awoken from a sleep of centuries. The passive peoples have gone, the outward tranquility has made place for struggle and activity. Irresistible forces have swept the two continents. The mental, spiritual and political face of the whole world has been changed, and the process is still not complete. There are new conditions, new concepts, new problems, new ideals abroad in the world. Hurricanes of national awak-



ening and reawakening have swept over the land, shaking it, changing it, changing it for better.

This twentieth century has been a period of terrific dynamism. Perhaps the last fifty years have seen more developments and more material progress than the previous five hundred years. Man has learned to control many of the scourges which once threatened him. He has learned to consume distance. He has learned to project his voice and his picture across oceans and continents. He has probed deep into the secrets of nature and learned how to make the desert bloom and the plants of the earth increase their bounty. He has learned how to release the immense forces locked in the smallest particles of matter.

But has man's political skill marched hand-in-hand with his technical and scientific skill? Man can chain lightning to his command — can he control the society in which he lives? The answer is No! The political skill of man has been far outstripped by technical skill, and what he has made he cannot be sure of controlling.

The result of this is fear. And man gasps for safety and morality.

Perhaps now more than at any other moment in the history of the world, society, government and statesmanship need to be based upon the highest code of morality and ethics. And in political terms, what is the highest code of morality? It is the subordination of everything to the well-being of mankind. But today we are faced with a situation where the well-being of mankind is not always the primary consideration. Many who are in places of high power think, rather, of controlling the world.

Yes, we are living in a world of fear. The life of man today is corroded and made bitter by fear. Fear of the

future, fear of the hydrogen bomb, fear of ideologies. Perhaps this fear is a greater danger than the danger itself, because it is fear which drives men to act foolishly, to act thoughtlessly, to act dangerously.

In your deliberations, Sisters and Brothers, I beg of you, do not be guided by these fears, because fear is an acid which etches man's actions into curious patterns. Be guided by hopes and determination, be guided by ideals, and, yes, be guided by dreams!

We are of many different nations, we are of many different social backgrounds and cultural patterns. Our ways of life are different. Our national characters, or colours or motifs — call it what you will — are different. Our racial stock is different, and even the colour of our skin is different. But what does that matter? Mankind is united or divided by considerations other than these. Conflict comes not from variety of skins, not from variety of religion, but from variety of desires.

All of us, I am certain, are united by more important things than those which superficially divide us. We are united, for instance, by a common detestation of colonialism in whatever form it appears. We are united by a common detestation of racialism. And we are united by a common determination to preserve and stabilise peace in the world. Are not these aims mentioned in the letter of invitation to which you responded?

I freely confess it — in these aims I am not disinterested or driven by purely impersonal motives.

How is it possible to be disinterested about colonialism? For us, colonialism is not something far and distant. We have known it in all its ruthlessness. We have seen the immense human wastage it causes, the poverty it causes, and the heritage it leaves behind when, eventually and reluctantly, it is driven out by the inevitable march of history. My people, and the peoples of many nations of Asia and Africa know these things, for we have experienced them.

Indeed, we cannot yet say that all parts of our countries are free already. Some parts still labour under the lash. And some parts of Asia and Africa which are not represented here still suffer from the same condition.

Yes, some parts of our nations are not yet free. That is why all of us cannot yet feel that journey's end has been reached. No people can feel themselves free, so long as part of their motherland is unfree. Like peace, freedom is indivisible. There is no such thing as being half free, as there is no such thing as being half alive.

We are often told "Colonialism is dead". Let us not be deceived or even soothed by that. I say to you, colonialism is not yet dead. How can we say it is dead, so long as vast areas of Asia and Africa are unfree.

And, I beg of you, do not think of colonialism only in the classic form which we of Indonesia, and our brothers in different parts of Asia and Africa, knew. Colonialism has also its modern dress, in the form of economic control, intellectual control, actual physical control by a small but alien community within a nation. It is a skilful and determined enemy, and it appears in many guises. It does not give up its loot easily. Wherever, whenever, and however it appears, colonialism is an evil thing, and one which must be eradicated from the earth.

The battle against colonialism has been a long one, and do you know that today is a famous anniversary in that battle? On the eighteenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five, just one hundred and eighty years ago, Paul Revere rode at midnight through the New England countryside, warning of the approach of British troops and of the opening of the American War of Independence, the first successful anti-colonial war in history. About this midnight ride the poet Longfellow wrote:

A cry of defiance and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo for evermore

Yes, it shall echo for evermore, just as the other anti-colonial words which gave us comfort and reassurance during the darkest days of our struggle shall echo for evermore. But remember, that battle which began 180 years ago is not yet completely won, and it will not have been completely won until we can survey this our own world, and can say that colonialism is dead.

So, I am not disinterested when I speak of the fight against colonialism.

Nor am I disinterested when I speak of the battle for peace. How can any of us be disinterested about peace?

Not so very long ago we argued, that peace was necessary for us because an outbreak of fighting in our part of the world would imperil our precious independence, so recently won at such great cost.

Today, the picture is more black. War would not only mean a threat to our independence, it may mean the end of civilisation and even of human life. There is a force loose in the world whose potentiality for evil no man truly knows. Even in practice and rehearsal for war the effects may well be building up into something of unknown horror.

Not so long ago it was possible to take some little comfort from the idea that the clash, if it came, could perhaps be settled by what were called "conventional weapons" — bombs, tanks, cannon and men. Today that little grain of comfort is denied us, for it has been made clear that the weapons of ultimate horror will

certainly be used, and the military planning of nations is on that basis. The unconventional has become the conventional, and who knows what other examples of misguided and diabolical scientific skill have been discovered as a plague on humanity.

And do not think the oceans and the seas will protect us. The food that we eat, the water that we drink, yes, even the very air that we breathe can be contaminated by poisons originating from thousands of miles away. And it could be that, even if we ourselves escaped lightly, the unborn generations of our children would bear on their distorted bodies the marks of our failure to control the forces which have been released on the world.

No task is more urgent than that of preserving peace. Without peace our independence means little. The rehabilitation and up-building of our countries will have little meaning. Our revolutions will not be allowed to run their course.

What can we do? The peoples of Asia and Africa wield little physical power. Even their economic strength is dispersed and slight. We cannot indulge in power politics. Diplomacy for us is not a matter of the big stick. Our statesmen, by and large, are not backed up with serried ranks of jet bombers.

What can we do? We can do much! We can inject the voice of reason into world affairs. We can mobilise all the spiritual, all the moral, all the political strength of Asia and Africa on the side of peace. Yes, we! We, the peoples of Asia and Africa, 1,400,000,000 strong, far more than half the human population of the world, we can mobilise what I have called the *Moral Violence of Nations* in favour of peace. We can demonstrate to the minority of the world which lives on the other continents that we, the majority, are for peace, not for war, and that whatever strength we have will always be thrown on to the side of peace.

In this struggle, some success has already been scored. I think it is generally recognised that the activity of the Prime Ministers of the Sponsoring Countries which invited you here had a not unimportant role to play in ending the fighting in Indo-China.

Look, the peoples of Asia raised their voices, and the world listened. It was no small victory and no negligible precedent! The five Prime Ministers did not make threats. They issued no ultimatum, they mobilised no troops. Instead they consulted together, discussed the issues, pooled their ideas, added together their individual political skills and came forward with sound and reasoned suggestions which formed the basis for a settlement of the long struggle in Indo-China.

I have often since then asked myself why these five were successful when others with long records of diplo-

macy, were unsuccessful, and, in fact, had allowed a bad situation to get worse, so that there was a danger of the conflict spreading. Was it because they were Asians? Maybe that is part of the answer, for the conflagration was on their doorstep, and any extension of it would have presented an immediate threat to their own houses. But I think that the answer really lies in the fact that those five Prime Ministers brought a *fresh approach* to bear on the problem. They were not seeking advantage for their own countries. They had no axe of power-politics to grind. They had but one interest — how to end the fighting in such a way that the chances of continuing peace and stability were enhanced.

That, my Sisters and Brothers, was an historic occasion. Some countries of free Asia spoke, and the world listened. They spoke on a subject of immediate concern to Asia, and in doing so made it quite clear that the affairs of Asia are the concern of the Asian peoples themselves. The days are now long past when the future of Asia can be settled by other and distant peoples.

However, we cannot, we dare not, confine our interests to the affairs of our own continents. The States of the world today depend one upon the other and no nation can be an island unto itself. Splendid isolation may once have been possible; it is so no longer. The affairs of all the world are our affairs, and our future depends upon the solutions found to all international problems, however far or distant they may seem.

As I survey this hall, my thoughts go back to another Conference of Asian peoples. In the beginning of 1949 — historically speaking only a moment ago — my country was for the second time since our Proclamation of Independence engaged in a life and death struggle. Our nation was besieged and beleaguered, much of our territory occupied, a great part of our leaders imprisoned or exiled, our existence as a State threatened.

Issues were being decided, not in the conference chamber, but on the battlefield. Our envoys then were rifles, and cannon, and bombs, and grenades, and bamboo-spears. We were blockaded, physically and intellectually.

It was at that sad but glorious moment in our national history that our good neighbour India convened a Conference of Asian and African Nations in New Delhi, to protest against the injustice committed against Indonesia and to give support to our struggle. The intellectual blockade was broken! Our Delegates flew to New Delhi and learned at first hand of the massive support which was being given to our struggle for national existence. Never before in the history of mankind has such a solidarity of Asian and African peoples been shown for the rescue of a fellow Asian Nation in danger. The diplomats and statesmen, the Press and the common men

of our Asian and African neighbours were all supporting us. We were given fresh courage to press our struggle onwards to its final successful conclusion. We again realised to the full the truth of Desmoulin's statement: "Have no doubt of the omnipotence of a free people".

Perhaps in some ways the Conference which has assembled here today has some roots in that manifestation of Asian-African solidarity six years ago.

However that may be, the fact remains that everyone of you bears a heavy responsibility, and I pray to God that the responsibility will be discharged with courage and wisdom.

I pray to God that this Asian-African Conference succeeds in doing its job.

Ah, Sisters and Brothers, let this Conference be a great success! In spite of diversity that exists among its participants, — let this Conference be a great success!

Yes, there is diversity among us. Who denies it? Small and great nations are represented here, with people professing almost every religion under the sun, — Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, and others. Almost every political faith we encounter here — Democracy, Monarchism, Theocracy, with innumerable variants. And practically every economic doctrine has its representative in this hall — Marhaenism, Socialism, Capitalism, Communism, in all their manifold variations and combinations.

But what harm is in diversity, when there is unity in desire? This Conference is not to oppose each other, it is a conference of brotherhood. It is not an Islam Conference. It is not a meeting of Malaysians, nor one of Arabs, nor one of Indo-Aryan stock. It is not an exclusive club either, not a bloc which seeks to oppose any other bloc. Rather it is a body of enlightened, tolerant opinion which seeks to impress on the world that all men and all countries have their place under the sun — to impress on the world that it is possible to live together, meet together, speak to each other, without losing one's individual identity; and yet to contribute to the general understanding of matters of common concern, and to develop a true consciousness of the interdependence of men and nations for their well being and survival on earth.

I know that in Asia and Africa there is greater diversity of religions, faiths, and belief, than in the other continents of the world. But that is only natural! Asia and Africa are the classic birthplaces of faiths and ideas, which have spread all over the world. Therefore, it behoves us to take particular care to ensure that the principle which is usually called the "Live and let live" principle — mark, I do not say the principle of "Laissez

faire, laissez passer" of Liberalism which is obsolete — is first of all applied by us most completely within our own Asian and African frontiers. Then only can it be fully extended to our relations with our neighbouring countries, and to others more distant.

Religion is of dominating importance particularly in this part of the world. There are perhaps more religions here than in other regions of this globe. But, again, our countries were the birthplaces of religions. Must we be divided by the multifariousness of our religious life? It is true, each religion has its own history, its own individuality, its own "raison d'être", its special truths which it desires to propagate. But unless we realise that all great religions are one in their message of tolerance and in their insistence on the observance of the principle of "Live and let live", unless the followers of each religion are prepared to give the same consideration to the rights of others everywhere, unless every State does its duty to ensure that the same rights are given to the followers of all faiths — unless these things are done, religion is debased, and its true purpose perverted. Unless Asian-African countries realise their responsibilities in this matter and take steps jointly to fulfil them, the very strength of religious beliefs, which should be a source of unity and a bulwark against foreign interference, will cause its disruption, and may result in destroying the hardwon freedom which large parts of Asia and Africa have achieved by acting together.

Sisters and Brothers, Indonesia is Asia-Africa in small. It is a country with many religions and many faiths. We have in Indonesia Moslems, we have Christians, we have Civa-Buddhists, we have peoples with other creeds. Moreover, we have many ethnic units, such as Achenese, Bataks, Central-Sumatrans, Sundanese, Central-Javanese, Madurese, Toradjas, Balinese, etc. But thank God, we have our will to unity. We have our Pancha Sila. We practise the "Live and let live" principle, we are tolerant to each other. *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika — Unity in Diversity* — is the motto of the Indonesian State. We are one nation.

So, let this Asian-African Conference be a great success! Make the "Live and let live" principle and the "Unity in Diversity" motto the unifying force which brings us all together — to seek in friendly, uninhibited discussion, ways and means by which each of us can live his own life, and let others live their own lives, in their own way, in harmony, and in peace.

If we succeed in doing so, the effect of it for the freedom, independence and the welfare of man will be great on the world at large. The Light of Understanding has again been lit, the Pillar of Cooperation again erected. The likelihood of success of this Conference is proved already by the very presence of you all here today. It

is for us to give it strength, to give it the power of inspiration — to spread its message all over the World.

Failure will mean that the Light of Understanding which seemed to have dawned in the East — the Light towards which looked all the great religions born here in the past — has again been obscured by an unfriendly cloud before man could benefit from its warm radiance.

But let us be full of hope and full of confidence. We have so much in common.

Relatively speaking, all of us gathered here today are neighbours. Almost all of us have ties of common experience, the experience of colonialism. Many of us have a common religion. Many of us have common cultural roots. Many of us, the so-called "underdeveloped" nations, have more or less similar economic problems, so that each can profit from the others' experience and help. And I think I may say that we all hold dear the ideals of national independence and freedom. Yes, we have so much in common. And yet we know so little of each other.

If this Conference succeeds in making the peoples of the East whose representatives are gathered here understand each other a little more, appreciate each other a little more, sympathise with each other's problems a little more — if those things happen, then this Conference, of course, will have been worthwhile, whatever else it may achieve. But I hope that this Conference will give *more* than understanding only and goodwill only — I hope that it will falsify and give the lie to the saying of one diplomat from far abroad: "We will turn this Asian-African Conference into an afternoon-tea meeting". I hope that it will give evidence of the fact that we Asian and African leaders understand that Asia and Africa can prosper only when they are united, and that even the safety of the World at large can not be safeguarded without a united Asia-Africa. I hope that this Conference will give *guidance* to mankind, will point out to mankind the way which it must take

to attain safety and peace. I hope that it will give evidence that Asia and Africa have been reborn, nay, that a *New Asia* and a *New Africa* have been born!

Our task is first to seek an understanding of each other, and out of that understanding will come a greater appreciation of each other, and out of that appreciation will come collective action. Bear in mind the words of one of Asia's greatest sons: "To speak is easy. To act is hard. To understand is hardest. Once one understands, action is easy".

I have come to the end. Under God, may your liberations be fruitful, and may your wisdom strike sparks of light from the hard flints of today's circumstances.

Let us not be bitter about the past, but let us keep our eyes firmly on the future. Let us remember that no blessing of God is so sweet as life and liberty. Let us remember that the stature of all mankind is diminished so long as nations or parts of nations are still unfree. Let us remember that the highest purpose of man is the liberation of man from his bonds of fear, his bonds of human degradation, his bonds of poverty — the liberation of man from the physical, spiritual and intellectual bonds which have for too long stunted the development of humanity's majority.

And let us remember, Sisters and Brothers, that for the sake of all that, we Asians and Africans must be united.

As President of the Republic of Indonesia, and on behalf of the eighty million people of Indonesia, I bid you welcome to this country. I declare the Asian-African Conference opened, and I pray that the Blessing of God will be upon it, and that its discussions will be profitable to the peoples of Asia and Africa, and to the peoples of all nations!

Bismillah!

God speed!

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

President Sukarno's address of welcome, which is printed above, ended at 10.20, after which there was a short interval.

The sitting was opened again at 10.45 by the Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr Ali Sastroamidjojo.

Immediately he had declared the meeting open, the

leader of the Egyptian Delegation, Prime Minister Nasser, proposed that Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo be the Chairman of the Asian-African Conference. This motion was seconded by Chou En-Lai, Prime Minister of the People's Republic of China, and supported by the leader of the Delegation of Jordan, Foreign Minister Wahid Salah, and by the leader of the Philippines' Delegation, Minister Romulo.



Address by Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia President of the Asian-African Conference

Your Highnesses,
Your Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Friends.

May I first of all express my gratitude for your confidence by entrusting me with the task of President of this Conference. I consider this not merely as a great honour to myself, but also and in the first place, to Indonesia and its people.

In the address of His Excellency President Sukarno to which we have just listened, a cordial welcome has been extended to you all on behalf of the Indonesian people and its Government. I should like to associate myself with the President's words of welcome. We are, indeed, much honoured that this Conference, this event of such great historical significance, is taking place in our country.

It is my privilege to welcome you also on behalf of the other sponsoring countries, Burma, Ceylon, India and

No other candidates were nominated and Prime Minister Ali's nomination was carried by acclamation.

Premier Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of the Delegation from India, then rose to propose that the Conference send a message of thanks to President Sukarno for his address of welcome. This resolution was seconded by the leaders of the Delegations of the other Sponsoring Countries, Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon, Prime Minister U Nu of Burma and Prime Minister Mohammed Ali of Pakistan.

At two minutes before eleven o'clock, the Chairman of the Conference, Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia, rose to address the gathering in the words which appear below.

ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO

Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia and leader of the Indonesian Delegation, elected unopposed to the Presidency of the Asian-African Conference.

Pakistan, who together with Indonesia have convened this Conference. I may express our deep gratitude because, notwithstanding great responsibilities at home and elsewhere, the statesmen and many high officials from 29 countries, representing many hundreds of millions of people in the enormous area of Asia and Africa, are, for the first time in history, assembled here under this one roof.

When extending our welcome wholeheartedly to you all, I include also the representatives of the press who have flocked together from all parts of the globe, and whose presence we may take as proof that the eyes of the world are upon us.

May I further welcome those who have come to attend this Conference as interested visitors and informal observers.

Unfortunately a dark shadow was cast over this Conference when we learned with much regret that by a tragic air-accident not all those who were on their way to Ban-

ding would be present amongst us. May I convey our sincere condolences to the Prime Ministers of the People's Republic of China, of India, and the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, and to the families of all who lost their lives in this disaster.

I have to make an apology beforehand. Jointly with the other sponsoring countries we have done our best to make adequate arrangements for your comfort and well-being, as well as for the organisation and technical equipment of this Conference. We hope the results of our efforts will prove to be satisfactory. We are well aware, however, that shortcomings there will be, and for which we ask your indulgence.

From the moment that our intention to convene this Conference was mentioned in the world press, there have been many speculations about its aims and purposes. There were utterances giving voice to hope and optimism, that at this Conference, a great and unique effort would be made to find a new way to overcome the impasse prevailing in the world of to-day. There were utterances as well of doubts and even suspicions, as if it were our aim to create another source of tension by constituting an anti-western and even an anti-white bloc.

The purposes my Colleagues and I had in mind were formulated in our joint-communique issued at the closing of the Bogor-Conference. It was precisely these purposes on which our invitation to attend this Conference was based, and it was these very purposes on which 29 Governments of Asia and Africa could agree.

Allow me to quote from paragraph 4 of our joint-communique the precise wording. Our purposes are:

- a) to promote goodwill and co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations;
- b) to consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;
- c) to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g. problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;
and — most important in my opinion —
- d) to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of to-day and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world-peace and co-operation.

The fact that we are gathered here together — and I should like to stress this point — is proof that we are in general agreement on these purposes. Let these purposes therefore be our guidance in our discussions.

This Conference is not the result of some wishful thinking, neither was it born by the urge to solve a specific and acute political controversy, nor by a desire to arrive at a new alliance of power.

It could be said that this Conference was born out of the fullness of time which has entrusted to the independent nations of Asia and Africa their new task in the destiny of mankind, but I venture to state that the foremost reason which gave birth to this Conference was the agonizing tensions from which the world is suffering to-day.

In making clear to ourselves and to the world what our common task is, we have to answer, firstly, the question: where do we, the peoples of Asia and Africa, stand, and for what do we stand in this world dominated by fear, fear that any one day another war may be unleashed upon mankind bringing horrors of destruction never dreamed of before.

When I answer this question by stating that we stand for peace, and for peace only, I quite realize that this sentence has been uttered many times before, even to a degree that it became very nearly a platitude.

What do we want when we say: peace? Not peace in the sense of a replacement of war. Not in the sense of an uneasy balance of power used as a deterrent for war; nor in the sense of cold war as the only possible alternative to hot war. The present precarious balance of power may shift in the near future, and nobody can predict what kind of action or incident will change the cold war overnight into a full-scale shooting war. In its present state it is fear and suspicion not faith which dominates the world.

Nor do we understand as peace a state of affairs where one power, more formidable than the others, would be able to dominate the rest of the world, thus imposing its will and dictating its own conception of peace. This is the false kind of peace we read about in history when the might of Rome could enforce peace around the Mediterranean and in large regions beyond, labelling it proudly as "pax romana", but ever with the thought in mind: "si vis pacem para bellum!"

We do not need, however, to look back too far in history, because in this atomic age we are experiencing the frightening race of atomic armaments, aiming to achieve superiority one above the other in order to fulfil the dream of another peace by domination. I call it a dream because at the awakening there would not be another peace by domination but only the total destruction of mankind.

We do not want any domination either by force or by ideology, no matter from whatever quarter it may come.

What we do want is genuine peace. On a previous occasion, I said that genuine peace is an absolute value and therefore a necessity. We know too well from the lessons of history that power politics, with an uneasy balance of power in its wake, cannot guarantee peace but will lead sooner or later to war.

Having this firmly in mind, to us there can only be one answer, one way to avoid war and to establish genuine peace. We have to promote with all our strength that the world be free from fear and suspicion. The building of a position of armed strength which causes so much tension in the world, is basically the endeavour of man to rid himself of fear, fear of being destroyed by the other side. But unfortunately the other side is thinking the same way. This is the reason why fear and suspicion are still so prevalent in the world of tension we know to-day. We have to give the world faith in which alone humanity can prosper without fear or suspicion.

The prerequisite of this is the willingness and determination of living neighbourly together, irrespective of each other's political, social or religious ideologies, on the principles of mutual respect for each other's national sovereignty and each other's territorial integrity; abhorrence of aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit.

In very recent times these principles have strongly been voiced and stressed by outstanding leaders and statesmen of Asia and Africa as the "conditio sine qua non" for achieving peace in the world.

Although I know that we, gathered here in this hall, have different opinions about them, these principles are nevertheless of the greatest concern to us all.

Unfortunately enough, there have been many suspicions, misgivings and misinterpretations about these principles. Is it because these principles were voiced and stressed by leaders and statesmen of Asia and Africa who were spoken of as being unrealistic day-dreamers?

I may put one more question: *who* are the unrealistic day-dreamers, is it the believers in the principles just mentioned, or is it those who foster the illusion that stockpiling of atom and hydrogen bombs can bring about peace?

It was by analysing history and the present-day race for atomic superiority that leaders and statesmen of Asia and Africa reached the inevitable conclusion that all this stockpiling and armament must lead to a war of total destruction.

Consequently, it is the Asian and African conception which has to be considered as the logical and realistic answer to the question how to attain genuine peace.

Undoubtedly we shall be asked how we, the peoples of Asia and Africa, intend to put these principles into practice.

It is obvious that we neither wish nor can evade the answer to this question, and it is precisely this Conference which can contribute so much to the *right* answer by its discussions and resolutions.

I mentioned already the purposes formulated in the Bogor communique. To materialize these purposes we have to start with ourselves by promoting goodwill and co-operation amongst the peoples of Asia and Africa; establish and further good and neighbourly relations.

This, in my opinion, implies that we must try and find, in a common effort, ways and means to eliminate the sources of conflict which cause international tensions.

Furthermore, we are faced with the task to try and find a solution to the problem of United Nations membership for Asian and African countries which for one reason or another are debarred from it.

Above all, we have to induce people all over the world by our own example to think in terms of peace and not in terms of balance of power, nor of power politics, suspicions and fear.

Among the main causes of the present-day tensions there is colonialism, the old scourge under which Asia and Africa have suffered for ages, which will be a subject of our special interest. It may be true that the larger part of mankind accepts the obvious truth that colonialism has to be considered as a thing of the past, but the fact is there that colonialism is still very much alive. When we look at the map of Asia and Africa we find many spots, and even whole countries which are still fettered by the chains of colonialism. Moreover, in the flesh of several of us are still sticking the thorns, small or large, of colonial rule.

We see also that former colonial powers still endeavour to continue their control, in one disguise or another, over ex-colonial or semi-colonial countries.

What is even worse, we have to witness that the principle of self-determination is misused as a cover for colonial purposes.

Our brothers in colonial territories, all those who are still fighting against colonial domination as we ourselves did in the recent past, might reproach us for discussing their interests in their absence. They may ask us why we do this, and why we did not invite them to attend this Conference?

We regret indeed that we had to restrict ourselves. Once the principle of holding this Conference amongst independent Governments of Asia and Africa was accepted, we saw no way to grant their wishes to be represented. I may assure them, however — and I know I am speaking on behalf of you all when I say our thoughts are very much with our brothers who are still living in bondage.

I hope that one day, and may it be soon, the opportunity will arise, or be created, to convene the representatives of independence movements in all colonial territories who are still struggling for the liquidation of colonial rule and for their national independence and sovereignty. We, the independent countries of Asia and Africa, have to do our utmost in supporting them in every peaceful effort which may achieve their freedom.

Recently there have been many statements made by colonial powers expressing their good intentions to end colonialism. I regret, however, to say that good intentions alone are not sufficient to abolish colonialism altogether from the world. More important for us are their deeds and policies which may give proof to the world of the sincerity of their good intentions.

Next to colonialism we meet racialism as an important source of tension. Racialism in fact is often, if not always, an aspect of colonialism based on feelings of superiority of the dominating group. Discrimination, however, based on differences of colour is contrary to the fundamental human rights, to the essential equality of mankind as rightly expressed in the Charter of the United Nations.

In today's world we are still a long way off from this equality and respect for human rights. How often are the timid attempts to have done with colour-bars outweighed by measures of ruthless discrimination? Is not apartheid-policy a form of absolute intolerance more befitting the Dark Ages than this modern world?

I am certain that this Conference will find it its duty to consider the problem of racialism in its various aspects.

Another and very serious source of tension is the low standard of living in practically all Asian and African countries. For centuries our countries have poured a never-ending stream of profits into the dominating countries, but we ourselves stayed poor and under-developed. During the aftermath of World War II we won our independence, but our political freedom could not yet bring us economic independence, could not yet erase the backwardness and under-development which our peoples had suffered from for so long.

In fact, most of the countries of Asia and Africa are still in a period of transition from colonial to national economy.

Meanwhile our populations are increasing at high rates and although we have managed so far to feed and clothe them, often with a bare minimum, we are still far off from welfare-states. We are planning to the best of our abilities for the development of our countries, but our limited means are often an insurmountable obstacle to the implementation of well-devised plans.

We cannot change this all overnight, but what we certainly can do is to co-operate closely amongst ourselves

in the economic field, to learn from each other, to assist each other, to devise ways and means to increase inter-regional trade, and gradually stay independent in the economic sense.

There is another field in which we can benefit largely by cooperation, i.e. the cultural field. The civilisations of Asia and Africa penetrated deeply into all corners of the earth, but gradually their impact on international affairs was lost because we concentrated too much on the spiritual aspect while neglecting the material side indispensable to progress as we have witnessed in the phenomenal advance of technology in the world of today.

We have learned this lesson. We have found our self-expression in our independence. We know that the advancement for which our peoples are eagerly longing, needs the impetus and the help of modern technology. There is no going back to the ages of mere contemplation. But equally we do not want to lose our soul in technology. We want to keep our valuable cultural heritage, and it is here that we have so much in common however different our religions may be.

Let us therefore co-operate to foster this heritage, giving it new life and expression in conformity with the requirements of the modern world.

This may be the substance which we should give to the resurgence of Asia and Africa.

The task we are entrusted with to make our contribution to world peace and co-operation has befallen us at a very important turn of world history, the beginning of the atomic age.

When the age of technology made its entry a hundred years ago, changing by its profound impact the lives of people all over the world, first in the west, but gradually in Asia and Africa too, it brought us steam, electricity, mechanisation, factories and many other things beneficial to the progress of all. It brought mankind also new ways of thinking and consciousness of social justice, but in its wake followed conquest, imperialism, war and destruction.

At present we are standing at the threshold of another new era, facing the tremendous consequences of the progress of nuclear science. New and formidable sources of energy are discovered in the world of atoms, the technical intricacy of which is far beyond the knowledge of the ordinary layman. But what we all understand is that these new forces can be used either to benefit mankind or to destroy him utterly. What we notice at present is that these new inventions, instead of being used for peaceful purposes and world progress, are being held in utmost secrecy, with the primary aim of building-up positions of strength.

Never before has mankind experienced such a frightening situation where powers of great might, commanding

the inexhaustible resources which science and technology have put at their disposal, are building-up daily positions of ever-increasing strength in world-politics.

It looks as if mankind is not morally prepared for the fruits of its own genius.

Let us, the peoples of Asia and Africa, not be overwhelmed by the revolutionary changes resulting from atomic technology which will enter into our daily life and thinking. Let us be prepared for these tremendous changes which I believe are not far away anymore. They have to be welcomed in our minds and hearts as a new step forward on the path of progress of mankind.

But we have also to be aware that we cannot enter into this atomic age with the same spirit, political or social beliefs, and moral attitudes only befitting the period which is about to draw to a close.

We have to face the birth of the atomic age with a new spirit, new ideologies and new universal morality which should form the basis of peaceful and brotherly intercourse between nations all over the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The world is following this Conference with great interest and high hopes. With great interest, because our gathering together on this large scale is a new and unique phenomenon in history. With high hopes, because many, all over the world, expect us to show them a way out of the impasse we find ourselves in to-day.

I received last month a letter signed by fourteen outstanding Americans, all leading figures in the fields of

science, religion and literature, expressing the hope that this meeting will fulfil our highest expectations. They said: "We shall be watching you, because any solution you discover should help us all".

Besides, many more letters and messages from all corners of the earth were sent to me by people of every walk of life voicing similar hopes.

The whole world is indeed watching us with hopes and expectations.

Let us therefore all speak the same language, however much our tongues and our ideologies may differ, the language which not only the peoples of Asia and Africa will understand, but which will be understood by the whole world.

Let us realize fully that it is our duty to make a solid contribution to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

On the other hand, let the rest of the world take due notice that it is the voice of nearly two-thirds of the world's population which will be heard from this Conference-hall.

If we are able to express our desire and determination for peace in unmistakable terms, if our labours will have some salutary influence on the way of thinking of mankind, if we can contribute to the eliminating of fear and want so eagerly hoped for by all, then this Conference will have fulfilled its historical task.

May the Almighty grant us wisdom and tolerance in our discussions.

CLOSING OF PUBLIC SESSION

At the conclusion of this address, the meeting was closed to all but members of Delegations.

NEW NAMES IN HONOUR OF CONFERENCE

After inspecting preparations in Bandung on April 17th, President Sukarno announced the following changes in place names:

Concordia Building: renamed "Merdeka" Building (Independence Building)

Dana Pensiun Building: renamed "Dwi Warna" Building (Bi-Colour Building)

Djalan Raja Timur (Great Eastern Road): renamed "Djalan Asia-Afrika" (Asian-African Road)

These alterations in names were made with the approval of the Mayor of Bandung during a gathering in that city, which was attended by local authorities, members of the Joint Secretariat of the Conference, and the press.



Merdeka Building

What it was like

Watching the Opening Ceremony

The climax of all the excitement of preparations came yesterday, April 18th with the opening ceremony. The atmosphere had been tense enough the day before — for the thousands who heard President Sukarno speak at the students' rally in the morning, and the excited crowd which insisted on seeing the delegation heads as they returned to their hotels in the evening. But the climax came properly yesterday.

By 7.30 in the morning the route between the two delegation hotels and on to the main conference hall, Gedung Merdeka, was lined with soldiers and police. The crowd was already a large one, but quiet and rather overawed by the proceedings, in contrast to twelve hours earlier. By 8.15 when the delegates were about to start entering the Gedung Merdeka for the opening, the people in the streets were packed tremendously tightly behind the guards. A military band came to the front of the large white building, and then the delegates arrived, group by group. Many people's eyes ran quickly to the Burmese with their mauve and yellow longyi and headdress of matching colour. The Saudi Arabian delegates were another striking group, with their flowing robes of black and white, trimmed with gold. Individual Gold Coast and Vietnamese delegates stood out, as did the beautifully dressed ladies of the delegations, from among the suits of white, brown, grey and fawn.

It was 9.20 when the final party entered. It was led by President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta of Indonesia, and their wives, and in it too were the Prime Ministers of the five sponsoring countries, together with the heads of many of the delegations, including those of Egypt, the Philippines, Lebanon, the Gold Coast and China. The atmosphere was solemn as they walked in slowly. The doors were closed, separating the thousands outside from the hundreds who were privileged to see the opening.

The conference hall played its part in creating the atmosphere of the ceremony. Its two striking colours were red and white — the deep rich red of the large high curtain which hung from the ceiling in the arched back wall of the building, and the white of almost every-

thing else. White neon light came from behind wide inset bands in the large rounded ceiling, as well as from electric candles in many parts of the building.

Against the deep red curtain were the twenty-nine flags. Immediately in front of them were the places of the seven leaders of the opening. Prime Minister Nehru was on the left and next to him Prime Minister U Nu. The central position was occupied by the three Indonesian leaders, Vice-President Hatta, President Sukarno and Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo. The next two were Prime Ministers Sir John Kotelawala and Mohammed Ali.

In separate places at Prime Minister Nehru's right and Prime Minister Mohammed Ali's left, but slightly further back, were the six members of the Joint Secretariat of the Conference. A number of leading members of the Secretariat staff sat further forward and off the platform, also at two separate tables, and the rostrum had been placed centrally between them and the table of the seven leaders. Immediately in front of the rostrum and facing it sat Madame Sukarno and Madame Hatta.

The twenty-nine delegations occupied the main body of the building. On the long tables at which they sat were earphones for the translations — into French, and also from other languages as arranged by particular delegations. Sitting on the delegates' left were Indonesian cabinet ministers and their wives, and a little further back high officials of the Indonesian government. On the delegates' right were members of the diplomatic corps from Djakarta, and further back a party of leading Indonesian parliamentarians. Observers, visitors and certain members of the conference staff sat directly behind the delegates.

The balcony, with its two flanks going half-way up the length of the hall, was the place where the 200 privileged pressmen sat — and, when there was something special to be seen, stood! A small number of pressmen however, those who had the necessary permission, were able to move about in the hall below with their cameras. Film lamps and cameras were in almost every part of the building, but most of all up on the balcony. It is from

here that the running commentary on the proceedings — in English and Indonesian — was broadcast to the world outside.

Only a few seconds from the time when the guests of honour had taken their places, the ceremony began. Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo took only a few words to call the President of Indonesia to the rostrum. He came immediately and for 53 minutes there was complete silence — broken only for clapping at three or four points.

At just twenty past ten Dr. Ali announced an interval, and the party from the platform filed down to go out. Half-way down the central aisle they stopped, and there was a hush. As the front door was opened, the assembled company could hear "Indonesia Raja", the Indonesian national anthem, played softly by the band outside the building. All were still for a minute and then the platform party filed out. The conference opening was over.

At 10.45 Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo called the reassembled conference to the task of electing a President. The first to nominate a candidate was uniformed Lieutenant-Colonel Nasser of Egypt. His candidate, Dr. Ali himself,

was quickly seconded by none other than Prime Minister Chou En Lai, speaking in Chinese and then interpreted. The Jordanese Foreign Minister Wahid Salah was the next to support the nomination of the Indonesian Prime Minister, and the last was the smiling Carlos P. Romulo, head of the Philippines delegation. When other nominations were called for there was silence, then the beginnings of clapping, then suddenly very loud clapping. Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo had been elected Conference President.

Prime Minister Nehru rose at this point to move a vote of appreciation to President Sukarno for his speech of welcome. Immediately Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon supported the move, and the other two sponsoring countries, Prime Ministers U Nu and Mohammed Ali were quick to endorse the Indian Prime Minister's gesture.

Then for thirty minutes the newly-elected Conference President delivered his address.

At 11.30 the members of the press and all others who were not members of a delegation were asked to leave. There was a tremendous rush on the press room and the teleprinters began to send the story to the world.

Flags at Bandung Airport



World Press Opinion

ASIA

NEW ASIA AFRICA

Next Monday the sun will rise on an event such as has never taken place since God created the Universe. The mountain breezes will whisper the event to the beaches and the waves will breathe it to the beaches of the entire world.

The Asian African Conference is taking place ten years after the combined strength of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Britain compelled the fascism of Hitler-Mussolini-Tojo to crumble in the battlefield, ten years after the United States of America dropped the atom bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima as an experiment wrought upon the peoples of Asia, and ten years after the spiritual basis of the United Nations Organisation was established.

In those ten years the atom bomb has been perfected as an instrument of death and destruction. It has even produced its sister, the hydrogen bomb, which in destructive force surpasses the atom bomb.

But the tree of peace, whose roots were sprinkled with tears of hope after the end of the War, now seems to be far from fresh. The United Nations Organisation, which was expected to become the meeting place of statesmen in search of ways to make concrete the principles of humanity in terms of prosperity and happiness, has now become the scene of suspicions and of efforts of nations to strangle one another. The close friendship between the Soviet Union, America and Britain has ceased to exist. It is not peace, but the will to war, not justice but injustice, not independence but imperialism which is now dominant in the United Nations Organisation. The United Nations Organisation has become the instrument of those in power in America.

This dissatisfaction with U.N.O. is one of the things which has caused these Asian nations who are really against imperialism and do not want to side with this bloc or that bloc, to take the initiative to set up a new Asian-African platform on which the nations of Asia and Africa through their representatives can have discussions uninfluenced by the countries who want to light the flames of discord.

A new Asia Africa! Let Asia Africa unite! The new Asia Africa does not want to be under the "leadership" or "protection" of the Western countries which means nothing but colonialism wrapped in silk! Asia and Africa

are united, because their countries need unity and friendship badly for their individual as well as collective progress.

There are those who state that several delegations will bring forward the voice of their masters in the Conference, namely the voice of America and Britain. However AS YET we do not believe such gossip not until we hear and see its truth.

There is news for instance that the Philippine delegation is bringing instructions of portent which will be a time-bomb in the Conference and that Romulo whom we honour as our guest will do his utmost to prevent the admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. We won't believe this until we hear the time-bomb explode, not until we hear the voice of Romulo himself.

Our honoured guest General Romulo certainly realizes that to refuse to a state like the People's Republic of China with a population of 500,000,000 membership of a body established for the very purpose of bringing all states together, is diametrically opposed to justice. The Philippines is an Asian country. Fancy an Asian country feeling itself closer to the West which still has the will to colonialism than to an Asian which has the will to freedom and self-development.

The Philippines has given birth to a great man, a man who has struggled heroically for freedom and justice. Jose Rizal was a Philippine hero, a hero of the Malay race, a hero of Asia, a hero of the East! We are confident that the Philippine delegation will not betray the spirit of Rizal, and therefore we do not believe that there will be voices raised in the interests of the West. —

(Pikiran Rakjat, Bandung April 16).

AMERICA

INDONESIA — INDIA CO STAR

By Gordon Graham

..... The growing friendship between India and Indonesia is seen by observers in Asia as both a cause and an effect of the Asian African project. Already the pillar and unifying forces of the Colombo Powers, these two great Nations are now about to lend their combined strength to the proposition that the past colonial Nations of Asia and Africa can hold the balance and keep the peace between the East and West.

Last December on the Bogor occasion, which was a meeting of the Colombo Powers, observers remarked on the respect and affection with which President Sukarno of Indonesia treated the Indian Leader. Western and Asian observers say that Indonesian understanding is not only the cohesive of the Colombo Group but the counter-balance which makes the Manila Pact (Seato) group essentially not representative of non-Communist Asia. Stretching from the borders of China to those of Australia, and comprising a 16th of the world's peoples, India and Indonesia together dominate the future of Southern Asia even as China and Japan dominate the North. Any plan to preserve the integrity of the area is considered meaningless without their cooperation.

Whatever decisions the Asian African Conference reaches will require the full support of both these powers. It will rest chiefly on them to restrain or encourage Communist China's influence on the assemblage. Association with India may well help Indonesia to attain more balance in its international outlook, which still is preoccupied more with the dangers of colonialism than anything else.

(Christian Science Monitor, N. Y., 2-4-55).

EUROPE

THE BANDUNG ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

By Jules Sauerwein

They are not inviting any European nation — considering the white race as stained by "colonialism" — and they are going to listen to the complaints of one or the other, as well as copious expositions of doctrine, to arrive perhaps, finally, at no practical result. This is not to say that this gathering — which comprises the colours that go from yellow to black — is of no importance. It would be shallowness on our part to overlook the fact that the inviting powers possess, by themselves alone, six hundred million persons, and that the twenty-five invited speak in the name of one billion. They therefore represent a considerable portion of the human species.

To take a stand against one or the other of the two armed blocs of the world, would be an imprudence, and, for the moment at least, they do not think of that. None of them possesses an atomic or thermo-nuclear bomb. But we shall see in Bandung Communist China who with the might which her half a billion population gives her, her success in Geneva, and the beginning of her arms drive under Russian tutelage, will try to secure a preponderating position. In spite of the remonstrances of the Philippines, Siam, Turkey, and other allies of the West, if the enormous wavering mass inclines towards any side, it will

probably be towards the Soviet block. China will arrive at the Conference carrying subtle and tempting suggestions, stemming indirectly from Moscow, and she will proclaim herself a fervent friend of the coloured peoples who desire to win their freedom.

There is no doubt that in the assembly there will be anti-communists. Unfortunately, the most powerful of them all, Japan, has left sad recollections in Indonesia. Islam, which is the religion of 90% of the Indonesians, and of many of the participating countries, is opposed to Communism in all its principles. But China will carry great weight and in Indonesia herself she has an active colony of three million nationals, perhaps divided but communistic in the greater part.

The most disturbing factor is that the conference's objectives are vague. For example, for economic development, which clearly is the prime need of that one billion and a half of human beings, it is certain that American, British, French or Dutch help, is worth more to Asia than the mutual goodwill amongst peoples so opposite and unarmed. Hate for the white master of former times, or of to-day, incites that multitude. But in the resolutions of Bogor, which form the programme of the coming Conference, there is an article, number 14, which seems to me to be highly elucidating for one who seeks the origins of human undertakings not in lucid plans, which hardly ever exist, but in the primordial feelings that dwell in all human hearts. For those peoples — born but recently for an independent life — the strongest of sentiments, stronger even than hate, is fear, the fear of destruction. Article 14 expresses "the grave concern caused by the nuclear explosions and the fear of those devices" that threaten the world and human organisms with lasting destruction. The Asians know that in the face of that peril the number of combatants counts for little. As their anguished appeal will certainly not be listened to, and as bomb U follows bomb H while the cobalt bomb is awaited, we have to fear that the legitimate terror of those peoples may be exploited by the simple method of offering to them the armament which will probably serve to attract the thunderbolt that will fall over them, but which to their oriental imagination should appear like a charm and the guarantee of their beloved freedom.

In short, this spectacular conference is actually a kind of a vast whirl of panic, as happens in anthills on the approach of some collective danger. Let us forget appearances and even the perturbing possibilities for our particular interests and let us face the problem of the West. It consists in calming that immense flock before it delivers itself up to bad shepherds and before it is too late to influence it. This would indeed be the mission of the white bearers of power, were they not so deeply divided.

Diario Popular, Lisbon, 9-3-55.