

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



BULLETIN

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Asian-African Conference Bulletin

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Addresses by Heads of Delegations

At four in the afternoon of the first day of the Conference there was opened the first of a series of three plenary sessions to hear introductory addresses by the delegation heads. The other two sessions were held yesterday, the 19th, and by the time they were over, a little after six in the afternoon, every delegation leader who so chose had

contributed an address to the conference, verbally or in writing.

We print below extracts from seven of the first eight addresses to be delivered. Extracts from the other addresses will follow in subsequent issues of this Bulletin.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, Cambodia

We do not think that we are meeting at Bandung for a trial. Our ideal and aspirations are well known. But what should characterize our conference, is that:

(a) It puts in concrete form, for the very first time, the solidarity of African and Asian peoples, in their common love of freedom, equality, peace and welfare.

(b) It shatters the frontiers which separated two worlds: the communist and the non-communist. In this respect, our conference appears to be an Afro-Asian offspring of the United Nations Assembly and offers an opportunity for regretting that the United Nations have not yet opened their doors to some nations having already obviously fulfilled the conditions of sovereignty and capacity required for membership.

(c) It is capable of contributing considerably towards international security and co-operation, by fostering all over the world two ideals which most typically mark mankind i.e. first of all freedom and independence for all the peoples of the world, and then world Peace which comes as a corollary and even a consequence of the first ideal.

I will lay emphasis on this Peace which, though not being atomic powers — and precisely because we are not atomic powers — we may have the privilege of achieving, as a result of the unprecedented union of our countries

and thanks to our policy which is based on equally shared liberty and equality, on no-interference and co-existence principles, and which will be made practicable by the destruction of political and racial barriers and more particularly of the barriers created by suspicion and mistrust.

There is another way Cambodia would like to contribute to this conference and it is that which results from her present case, which might be used to test the practicability and the possibility of accomplishment of the aims laid down at this conference.

Independent and neutral Cambodia now finds herself on the separating line of two civilizations, of two races, of two political worlds and as such, has the dangerous privilege of standing the test and the application of the principles of the Pancha Shila.

My country has adopted these principles and wishes to apply them to the fullest extent. In so doing, she only requests an absolute reciprocity. She requests that her independence, her integrity, her security, her traditions and political ideology be not threatened.

Looking forward to this, Cambodia, through my voice, will express her conviction of the beneficent issue of this conference and her faith in its most important contribution towards the liberty, equality, welfare and, above all, the peace among all peoples.

Sir John Kotelawala, Ceylon

We meet today on an historic occasion. A critical juncture has arrived not only in the history of the Afro-Asian region but in the history of mankind. Not merely those nations now menaced by the immediate threat of war, but with them, and because of them, the entire human race stands on the brink of chaos, ready at the least miscalculation or lapse of vigilance to plunge forever into the abyss. The Great Powers who within recent

generations have guided the destinies of mankind have brought themselves and us to this calamitous pass.

The danger is in fact nothing less than the total destruction of that collective civilisation which the nations of the world have laboured over the centuries to produce — nothing less than the complete annihilation of mankind.

If this danger is to be averted, it is clear that what is wanted is a shift of emphasis, a change of heart, in

the methods whereby the statesmen and leaders of today are trying to preserve what remains of world peace.

The pass to which humanity has been brought by the domination and doctrine of force is the most vivid demonstration of the bankruptcy of force. Of what advantage is it to hold sway over vast territories, to have at one's command innumerable armies, to be able at the touch of a button to unleash the deadliest weapons science can invent, if, with all this, we are unable to rid ourselves of fear and hysteria and despair?

The nations on whom the responsibility has hitherto devolved of preserving the world's present armed truce, or planning its future peace, are at a loss. They are hag-ridden by the demon of progress, the monsters their scientists have created. Neither their science nor their statesmanship can afford them any protection.

Their diplomacy has failed in its efforts to devise machinery for the limitation of armaments by mutual consent or to set up an acceptable international authority for the inspection and supervision of nuclear weapons.

In these urgent and vital tasks, where the wisdom of the West has failed, is it possible that the nations of Asia and Africa can hope to succeed? I think it is. Have the nations of this region in fact anything to offer? I think they have. Has the time come to offer it? I think it has. I say, then, in all seriousness and in all humility that the peoples of this region have it in their power to apply to the problems of the present day world, and for the first time in recent history, that traditional respect for the spiritual values of life and for the dignity of the human personality which is the distinguishing feature of all their great religions.

We of Asia and Africa have a common interest in peace, and a common desire to achieve it, though some of us differ as to how it should be done. Not one country in this whole region manufactures nuclear weapons; most of them are ill equipped even with the conventional implements of war that date from the pre-atomic age. When the great powers of the West talk peace, their chances of agreement are weakened by the fact that each suspects the other's strength. We by contrast come to the conference table weak and relatively unarmed. We have no thermonuclear bombs in our pockets, no weapons of chemical or bacteriological warfare up our sleeves, no plans for armament factories or blueprints for ever more deadly methods of genocide in our briefcases.

A few months hence the Charter of the United Nations is due to come up for revision. The countries of Asia and Africa will then have an historic opportunity to demand that the U.N.O. be reconstructed so that it can be in fact what it was intended to be in theory —

an effective instrument of peace, and not merely a forum for the wrangling of opposed power groups.

Now, ten years after the United Nations was founded, the wartime alliance has broken up into two hostile camps which themselves threaten the peace they were intended to safeguard. They are both armed with the most terrifying weapons of destruction that man has ever possessed and they seem more likely to use them to annihilate the world than to preserve its peace. It is not the United Nations which has preserved the uneasy peace of the last decade. In all the major issues of world politics, such settlements have had to be carried on outside the framework of the United Nations. And the new Asia and Africa can justly take pride in the not unimportant role that some of the nations of this region have played in helping to bring these settlements about.

The time has gone by when the function of small countries in world affairs could be summed up by the words used by one of the war leaders at Yalta, "The eagle should permit the small birds to sing and care not whereof they sing." Today, on the contrary, the salvation of the world depends not on the great powers but on the lesser countries, many of whom are still voiceless in the councils of the nations. And I am sure that if Asia and Africa put forward an unambiguous and united demand for the reconstitution of the United Nations, by abolishing the Veto and converting the Security Council into a fully elected body responsible to the General Assembly, it will meet with powerful response from all the smaller nations of the world.

The Asian and African countries, if they stand together, can unquestionably make their voice heard for world peace. But the rest of the world will not listen to us unless we are ourselves united in goodwill and free from mutual conflicts. We have to prove by example to other nations that our own international disputes can be settled without resort to force. This conference will be missing a great opportunity if, before we part, we do not pledge ourselves, solemnly and wholeheartedly, to abjure war as a means of settling differences, to resolve all disputes by peaceful negotiation and to abstain from any form of interference in each other's internal affairs.

We, the nations of the new Asia and Africa, whatever our language, whatever our faith, whatever our form of government, whatever the colour of our skins — black, brown or yellow — have one thing in common: we are all poor and underdeveloped. Centuries of servitude and stagnation have left their mark, a dire heritage of poverty and ignorance, upon the masses of our peoples. All our ideologies and religions urge us, in the name of social justice and human compassion, to rid our countries of this evil of poverty. They demand of us that we should do it, also in the name of peace.

Lt. Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, Egypt

All over the world there is a growing sense of insecurity. The fear of war has been aggravated by the development of mass-destructive weapons capable of effecting total annihilation. The stakes are high in terms of the very survival of mankind. The challenge is great, the greatest and likely the last. Can the statesmen of the world meet the challenge? Never before — as at present — was there a desperate need for an effective international order, and genuine desire on the part of all the peoples of the world to combine their common efforts in bringing this through. Can we cope with this desperate need and translate such aspirations into a reality? We can earn no greater distinction than to seek and work for a true world peace.

To achieve this noble objective, it seems that five conditions are essential: — the first is the success of the efforts which the United Nations have been making for the regulation, limitation and reduction of all armed forces and armaments; also for the elimination of mass-destructive weapons. It is with a painful awareness of the extremely heavy burden of armaments which is tending to break the back of the world economy and is distressingly hampering social progress in the world, that Egypt, and I trust all countries represented here and even other countries not represented here, ardently hope that a stop be rapidly made to this race of armaments and that the world will soon awake from the horrifying nightmare which it causes.

Furthermore there is close connection between raising the standard of living of the peoples and decreasing the armaments burden.

It is also evident that modern science and technology, if utilized for peaceful purposes offer the possibility of greater well-being for the human race than has ever been known. Put to peaceful uses, atomic energy offers hitherto undreamed-of opportunities, especially for that vast majority of humanity that is still living in poverty and want in the economically under-developed areas of the world.

The second condition for world peace is the adherence by the United Nations to the charter and its principles. All decisions and actions taken by the world organization must be based on the charter. Had this been the case the flagrant injustice inflicted upon the people of Palestine and the unprecedented aggression committed against them would not have taken place. Permit me to make but a few remarks on a subject which involves my deep regret.

Under the eyes of the United Nations and with her help and sanction, the people of Palestine were uprooted and expelled from their fatherland, to be replaced by a completely imported populace.

Never before in history has there been such a brutal and immoral violation of human principles.

Is there any guarantee for the small nations that the big powers who took part in this tragedy would not allow themselves to repeat it again, against another innocent and helpless people?

It is almost impossible to believe that such injustice could exist in the twentieth century, the age of world order, and under the eyes of the United Nations, the guardian of international law and justice.

No less important as a condition for a world peace is the full respect of all states of their international obligations. Under the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights the treatment by any state of any national or ethnic group has ceased to be a matter of domestic jurisdiction as certain states still advocate. It has become a question of international jurisdiction and a matter of world concern. Discrimination in any of its forms does not only constitute violation of state obligations, it impairs friendly relations among nations. It is regrettable that racial discrimination is still practised in South Africa. This attitude was described by the United Nations commission on the racial situation in the United of South Africa in the following terms: "The doctrine of racial superiority on which the apartheid policy was based is scientifically false, extremely dangerous to international peace and security, and contrary to the dignity and worth of the human person".

There is another condition to which I like to make reference and which is usually overlooked especially by some of the big powers. The game of power politics in which the small nations can be used as tools must be stopped if the existing international tension is to come to an end.

The imposition by the big powers of certain policies for the sake of their selfish interest has the damaging effect of isolating the small nations and weakening the ties of unity and community of interests existing between them, thus causing them to fall under the grip of foreign domination.

Small nations are entitled and bound to play independently their constructive role in improving international relations and easing international tension.

Last, but not least, is the liquidation of colonialism which has always been a source of friction and unrest. Since the days of colonial expansion, the problem of

colonial rule by alien powers has lain at the roots of many wars.

We have been witnessing for some years the rising tide of nationalism not only in our part of the world but also in various parts of Asia and Africa. Our own experience shows us that nationalism when thwarted creates difficult problems; but if it is dealt with wisely and realistically; it responds with friendship and generosity. We greatly hope that this will be borne in mind in dealing with those remaining areas of the world where the natural urge of nationalism has not yet been satisfied. I hardly need to emphasize the fact that we live now in a difficult age and that the peoples have awakened and nothing can stem the tide of nationalism and progress. On what grounds can any one condone the fact that the countries of North Africa which, for centuries, were independent nations and the seats of great civilizations, are now being degraded to the status of non-self-governing territories? Are such policies conducive to peace and co-operation among nations? Most of the calamities of wars and conflagrations which have brought untold sorrow to mankind were always due to the fact that the right decisions were not taken at the right time.

To stay lagging behind the pressing events; to ignore

and disregard the urgent need for readjustment to the new era which was initiated in 1945, and the dictates of human progress; to oppose the laws and forces of dynamic change and reformation, is harmful, not only to those who commit these errors, but also to humanity. Here lies one of the main causes of world unrest.

The co-operation we have come eagerly here to promote can never attain its full and effective ends unless we all believe in the fulfilment of the following fundamental principles:

First: every country has the duty to respect the political independence and territorial integrity of every other country and also to refrain from intervention in the affairs of other countries.

Second: every country has the right to choose freely its political as well as economic systems.

Guided by purposes and principles our conference can no doubt reach agreement on such concrete proposals and practical steps as may make it possible to have a standing machinery for putting into effect the co-operation among our countries in the cultural, economic and social fields.

Kojo Botsio, Gold Coast

I bring you cordial greetings and felicitations from my Prime Minister, Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and the people of the Gold Coast on this eventful occasion. Dr. Nkrumah has asked me to express his profound regret at his inability to participate personally in this historic conference. He hopes, however, that success will attend the conference and that the seeds which are sown here at Bandung will bear good fruit for the peace and happiness of our peoples and of the whole world.

Although in our present transitional stage toward nationhood we are not yet responsible for our external affairs, nevertheless we were, on the receipt of the invitation, most anxious not to miss the unique opportunity of being represented at this epoch-making conference. Many of the questions which will be discussed here are matters in which we have a natural and legitimate interest; colonialism and racialism we have never ceased to denounce; world peace and happiness we all desire. However, because of the reasons already mentioned, our delegation attends this conference mainly as observers.

The Government headed by Dr. Nkrumah is pledged to achieve independence for our country within the term of office of our present Parliament, and plans for the

assumption of independence are well under way. Discussions between the United Kingdom Government and ourselves have been marked by statesmanship and cordiality on both sides, and we hope that soon it will be possible to make an announcement declaring the actual date when full sovereignty and independence will be transferred to the Government and people of the Gold Coast.

The transitional problems which face us in our country today are, however, immense, some of them very challenging. We are nevertheless consumed by the will to conquer, and we dare not fail. Failure in the Gold Coast would be a disastrous blow to the hopes and aspirations of countless millions in Africa and elsewhere struggling to be free.

A new spirit stirs Africa to activity and the Continent is shaking itself like a giant from sleep, fresh with the strength that follows rest. Let us all therefore work together for a newer and happier world in which all of us shall be free to live as men. It is our hope that this conference will succeed in advancing the cause of world peace, progress and prosperity. In that spirit, we wish the conference every success.

Dr. Mohammed Fadhil El-Jamali, Iraq

The Iraqi Delegation is very happy indeed to be in this beautiful country of Indonesia and to enjoy the hospitality and grace with which the Indonesian people and Government have received us.

In other words, we peoples of Africa and Asia, while benefiting from the fruits of modern science, practical efficiency and organization which are so well advanced in Europe and America, should not lose sight of our higher spiritual values and cultural heritage. We must see to it that a wellbalanced civilization for all mankind shall develop whereby the fruits of the thinking of both orient and occident shall integrate and that we shall have a human civilization, well integrated and harmonious in its composing elements. Integration and harmony between matter and spirit, between science, art and religion, between individuals and groups within each nation, and between the nations of the world, should be our guiding principles. To achieve this, we surely need peace. To achieve peace, we must fortify and strengthen the United Nations Organisation which, in spite of its many good achievements, has not been strong enough to put into practice its ideals and to implement its many resolutions.

As far as my country is concerned, we feel that there are three international forces in the world today that disturb peace and harmony and that need to be dealt with with realism and determination. The first is what we might call old-time colonialism which has been gradually crumbling since the end of World War I.

Unfortunately, colonialism is still well entrenched in many parts of the world. The people of North Africa, including those of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, are still under the French yoke, and no amount of local sacrifices and world opinion seems to influence the French to move more rapidly in recognizing the rights of these people to independence and freedom.

A typical example of old outworn colonial policy is shown in South Africa where colour prejudice and superiority of the white man has led to discrimination against the Indians and the natives, and to the segregation of the so-called coloured people.

It is our sincere hope that this Conference will prove in a very modest way to be a great moral force of ideological disarmament and moral rearmament, and that it will inspire the nations gathered here to become active participants in serving the aims and ideals of the United Nations which embody the dignity of man, the freedom of individuals and of peoples, international cooperation and free exchange in the field of economics, science, art and religion. To achieve that we must strive to clean our hearts and minds. May I conclude with the meaning of a verse from the Holy Koran which I hope will be applicable to all of us here and to all those who are not with us but share our earnest desire for peace.

"Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change from within themselves".

Ato Aklilou Habtewold, Ethiopia

We represent not only more than half the peoples of the world, but also, those among whom social and political movements have been particularly accelerated. It is in our part of the world that, since the war, the movement for independence has known its greatest development. Notwithstanding this, it is still in the same region that are to be found, today, ninety-seven per cent of colonial peoples and territories. We have all suffered from colonialist ambitions.

I apply the expression "colonialism" to include also those territories subjected to the trusteeship regime. Ethiopia has always supported every proposition for fixing the earliest date possible for the freedom of every territory from a colonial or trusteeship regime, as for example, as regards the territory neighbouring Ethiopia today subjected to the trusteeship of that same Power which had so long administered it as a colony.

The similarity, and indeed the diversity of races, languages and religions should make a brotherhood of us all where all forms of fanaticism, racial or religious, are rigorously excluded. Too often we have failed to manifest to the world this community of ideas which inspire us all. It is to the degree that we ourselves demonstrate tolerance, that our claims for equality of races and religions in the other parts of the world can receive, at the United Nations and elsewhere, the consideration that they merit.

Gentlemen, the world finds itself at a turning point in history. We the Asian-African countries, have a unique role to play. We find ourselves between two opposing worlds. Indeed, it is we, more than most, who, since the most remote times of history, have had to live intimately with groups of languages, races and religions of the most divergent character and who have had to cherish the sentiment of tolerance as a condition of national life.

Tolerance must be everything or nothing. It cannot be applied by half measures. It must constitute a universal principle. Consequently, our role to conciliate cannot be achieved if we limit ourselves to particularist concepts. It is only to the extent that we, ourselves, demonstrate the spirit of comprehension of the universal problems confronting the world today, that we can hope to achieve the aims which lie closest to our hearts.

Ethiopia who certainly has had a direct experience and knowledge of the system of collective security on a world-

wide basis and who has, on the other hand, by every means within her power, from the days of the League of Nations to the present hour, supported that system, remains more than ever convinced that it is only an unwavering loyalty in act and in word to the common obligation to afford the security of collective action to all peoples, that the world can hope to establish a new era of peace and of loyal fruitful collaboration between the peoples of all races and religions in all parts of the world.

Tatsunosuke Takasaki, Japan

This Conference is an event unparalleled in the annals of mankind. In fact, it is eminently symbolic of the spirit of Asian-African renaissance. The Japanese Government being fully aware of the importance of this Conference, our Prime Minister was anxious to attend. Unfortunately, owing to the Diet now in session which requires his constant attendance, I have come to take his place. I bring to you all the cordial greetings of Japanese Prime Minister Mr. Ichiro Hatoyama, and his best wishes for the success of this Conference.

It affords me a great pleasure to take part in this momentous Conference and state the hopes and aspirations of the Japanese people as a member of the Asian-African region.

..... Japan as one of Asiatic nations whose destiny is identical with that of Asia cannot but attach the greatest importance to this Conference.

It would be trite to say that the Asian-African region is the cradle of world civilization. The glorious traditions of our past constitute part and parcel of the contemporary civilization, and they do form the life-blood that throbs within us. As such, these are the foundation of the sense of racial kinship among the Asian-African peoples. In spite, however, of the fact that these races are the pioneers of civilization, and they are possessed of abundant human and material resources, they have fallen behind in economic, and technological development. We should, I think, recognize this fact and should achieve genuine independence and progress through self-help and mutual cooperation. I hope this Conference will light the beacon of Asian-African renaissance and that we will once again raise high the torch-light of our indigenous civilization.

In World War II, Japan, I regret to say, inflicted damages upon her neighbour nations, but ended by bringing untold miseries upon herself. She has reestablished democracy, having learned her lesson at immense costs in lives and property. Chastened and free, she is today a nation completely dedicated to peace. As the only people who have experienced the horrors of atomic bomb, we have no illusion whatever about the enormity of an attempt to solve international disputes by force. Consequently, it has become our immutable policy to establish firmly peaceful democracy at home.

The present Conference, by promoting mutual understanding and neighbourly amity among the Asian-African countries, can contribute vastly to world peace and, at the same time, accelerate the economic progress of their entire region.

In the light of the foregoing statement, the Japanese delegation will submit to the Conference certain proposals on economic and cultural cooperation together with a proposal for the maintenance of international peace. I request that these be given careful consideration by the honorable delegates.

The world is now entering upon the age of nuclear energy. Whether nuclear energy is to become a deadly instrument of destruction that will extinguish the human race, or it is turned to peaceful uses to bestow infinite benefits on mankind, will depend solely upon the intelligence of man. The proper choice is possible only on a high plane spiritual and cultural. It is time, I believe, we the peoples of the Asian-African region went to work together to build the edifice for permanent peace, on a foundation of the moral and spiritual values handed down to them from the ages past.



The opening of the Conference by President Sukarno

First Working Decisions of the Conference.

In the afternoon of the opening day, the Heads of Delegations met in closed sitting to consider a number of questions important for the proper working of the Conference.

THE AGENDA

It was decided that the agenda for consideration by the Conference be defined under five separate headings:

- Economic Co-operation
- Cultural Co-operation
- Human Rights and Self-determination
- Problems of Dependent Peoples
- World Peace and Co-operation.

Ways and means of dealing efficiently with the wide scope of the agenda were also discussed, and led to the following decisions.

Nothing will be considered to be a decision of the Conference unless it meets with unanimous approval. That is to say, the Conference will be free to discuss and exchange views upon any matter it may desire, bringing forwards suggestions which might perhaps be suitable for decision at a later stage. But any point which was not decided upon unanimously would be understood not to have the power of a decision.

THE COMMITTEES

It was decided — unanimously, as all decisions must be unanimous — that the Conference would do its work through only two Committees, the Economic and the Cultural. Minister Rooseno of Indonesia (holding the portfolio of Economic Affairs) and Minister Yamin of Indonesia (with the portfolio of Education, Tuition and Culture) were nominated for the posts of these two Committees respectively. These Committees will work in closed sittings, and must report back quickly to plenary meetings of the Conference.



Reception at Governor's Residence.

An overflow crowd of well over two thousand guests attended the reception and dance performance in honour of the opening of the Asian-African Conference held Monday evening by President and Mme. Sukarno and Vice-President and Mme. Hatta at the Governor's Residence in Bandung.

The guests at the reception included the chiefs of all the delegations, members of the Joint Secretariat, Indonesian Cabinet Ministers, members of Parliament, members of the diplomatic corps, and many others. Among the distinguished guests who were being interviewed and photographed by the large group of newsmen present were Prime Minister Nehru of India, Premier Chou En Lai of China, and Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia.

From the Preanger Hotel to the Governor's Residence, a distance of some three to four kilometres, the streets were solidly lined with crowds which had formed behind rows of soldiers and military police, and who waved and called to the car after car of passing celebrities.

The guests, many of whom were attired in their

colourful national costumes, crowded up the steps of the front veranda and waited to pass the receiving line while a band played military marches; they then played the Indonesian National Anthem and the reception was opened. Later the crowd spilled out onto the lawn at the back. The garden was lit by fairy lights and was roofed by two huge banyan trees. At one end a stage was set up and seats provided for guests to watch the performances.

The evening's entertainment was provided by a group of vivid and charming Indonesian dances, preceded by a performance of the *anklung*, a Sundanese bamboo orchestra. The stage was floodlit by spotlights hidden in the trees. The first item was a fourpart dance interpreting the different stages of a young girl's life.

The second was a Butterfly dance followed by the Peacock dance.

Some of the costumes of the dancers were especially designed for the occasion and some materials used were woven in Bandung.

Who's Who in the Conference

GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

Lieutenant-Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser, Prime Minister of the Republic of Egypt, was born on 15th January, 1908, at Beni Mer. Assuit Province, Upper Egypt.

He is the eldest son of Abdel Nasser, a postal clerk in Cairo and Alexandria. His family and ancestors were all "people of the soil". After finishing his secondary education, Nasser enrolled in the Military Academy in 1937 and graduated a year later. Thereafter he joined the army. At the outbreak of World War II, he was stationed at Alexandria and later in the Alamein area. Then followed two years of duty in the Sudan.

In 1942 Nasser was transferred to the Military Academy. Then he enrolled in the General Staff College.

Nasser was in combat duty during the Palestine war and was twice awarded the Fouad Military Star, with clasp, for outstanding service.

Nasser was the founder and leader of the „Free Officers“ secret organisation. This organisation was dedicated to fighting favouritism and corruption, as well as to abolishing agricultural feudalism and all forms of foreign domination.

Nasser was the leader of the coup d'etat of 23 July, 1952, which resulted in the abdication of ex-King Farouk and the establishment on 18 June, 1953, of the Republic of Egypt.



The Egyptian Prime Minister and his Indonesian colleague

Before becoming Prime Minister on 17 April 1954, Nasser was successively Secretary-General of the Liberation Rally and Deputy Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council, Minister of the Interior and Deputy Prime Minister. At present, he is also President of the Council of Ministers and of the Revolutionary Command Council.

Nasser was married in 1944 and now has five children.

Desks and Facilities

Djakarta, April 18. The city of Djakarta, which for weeks now has been the focal point of pre-conference activity, is deserted. The gay bunting at Kemajoran airport, which only yesterday fluttered briskly over the milling throng of delegates, newsmen, photographers, officials, and all the great and the near-great, droops in the aftermath of a quick late monsoon rain. Here and

there a spent flashbulb lies unnoticed under a corner table.

The job of the bright and smiling young Indonesian students, most of whom are from the Foreign Service Academy in Djakarta and the Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta, is over here until the end of the conference. Many of them have followed the personnel of the Ministry

of information, which is staffing the various information desks at the hotels, airports and stations, up to Bandung. There they are carrying on the job of shepherding the visitors and delegates through their hotels, booking taxis and theatre tickets, helping them to contact friends, and even teaching them a few words of the Indonesian language.

At the end of the Conference the Djakarta Information centers will again become active; meanwhile the few staff members who remain at their posts take care of late arrivals and departures, and wait for the city to come to life again.

ENTERTAINMENT FOR LADIES.

The Women's Committee of the Asian-African Conference whose clubhouse is at "Pintu Terbuka", 3 Djl. Braga, has arranged a programme of entertainment for the lady visitors to the Conference. They have planned visits to social institutions and a teaparty at the Governor's Residence. Details of these may be obtained from the clubhouse. Ladies are also invited to use the clubhouse to meet one another and rest and have refreshments.

Also under the auspices of the Women's Committee a gift shop has been opened in Gedung Merdeka. Many lovely examples of Indonesian arts and crafts are for sale such as the famous Jogjakarta silverware, Balinese carvings, woven cloths and jewellery.

EXHIBITIONS AND ENTERTAINMENTS.

The following items will take place during this week in Bandung.

April 20th at 8am; Massed Choir of 10,000 school-children at Tegallega.

April 20th at 8pm: A Batik Show in Naga Mas Building.

April 18th — 2nd May. Exhibition of Classical and Modern Indonesian Art, at Lyceum Building, Dago Street.

April 17th — 24th. Exposition of Chinese Paintings and Oil Paintings at Sin Ming School Building, at 47 Atjeh Road; open from 9-12am and 5-7pm, daily.

April 17th — 24th. Exhibition of Indonesian Products at Djalan Nariipan, open from 7.30-12am and 4-7pm.

For further details please enquire at information desks.

MATERIALS AND FACILITIES AVAILABLE.

Postal, telephone and cable facilities (300,000 words a day), hand-outs of speeches made at the plenary sessions, guide books, information books, publications of the Bandung Chamber of Commerce, English language newspapers and Indonesian newspapers with inserts in English, are available at the information desks already mentioned.



The press and the information officers outside the main conference hall



A part of the crowd outside the Gedung Merdeka watching chief delegates arrive for a plenary session

World Press Opinion

ASIA

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA

In Bandung not only a conference will be opened, in Bandung a new period in the history of the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries will be opened.

For the first time in history the representatives of 29 countries representing more than half of mankind will meet to decide upon their own destinies and their own future.

Since ages their fates have been "decided" by non-Asian and non-African hands.

This conference now taking place is of extreme importance. Not because this conference — except for the

League of Nations and the UNO — is the biggest ever known in history, but because this Bandung conference is a landmark that alters the course of history; the destiny of Asia and Africa from now on will be decided by and in Asia and Africa.

From this it can be explained why the significance of April 18 cannot be measured in terms of days, months or years; April 18 will put its mark for ages.

It is quite easy to understand why the colonialists are loath to see this Asian-African awakening. It is also understandable that they will utilise all means possible to wreck this historic conference.

At first they maintained that it was an impossibility that twenty nine countries should meet and they referred to the fact that Pakistan, Thailand and the Philippines had

already joined Seato. But the fact that the Bandung conference is in progress and is also attended by Thailand, the Philippines and others, is a living proof that the desire for Asian-African co-operation is stronger than the wish to be enemies, that the desire to unite is stronger than the wish to dispute.

They furthermore alleged that the different levels of development and the differences in state systems, religions and convictions would make it impossible for the Asian and African peoples to get together. For the colonialists whose principal weapon is divide et impera, differences are indeed of far greater importance than similarities. But it is impossible for the colonialists to neglect the reality that however the twenty-nine countries may differ in various aspects, they do not differ in one question; they all want peace and wish to develop their countries.

It is at this direction that all the work and activities of the present Bandung conference are aimed. The optimism and the certitude shown by the participating delegations testify to the fact that this conference will not be in vain but on the contrary shall realise its aim.

Harian Rakjat Djakarta (English Edition 18-4-1955).

THE A-A CONFERENCE

This Bandung conference is of unprecedented importance in history and Indonesia feels proud that it can be host to this epoch-making gathering.

What dare we hope from this conference? It is obvious that this conference cannot come with clear cut and strong worded resolutions. The effects of the cold war will certainly make themselves felt at the conference and some fierce debates will most likely turn up. Nevertheless, these debates are highly appreciated as long as no party attempts to make this conference a springboard for propaganda. Some frank discussions on the most urgent problem which confronts Asia today would certainly be most useful. The possibility of preserving peace in Asia should become the most important topic of discussions.

We have stated on Saturday that this conference stands a good chance of winning peace in Asia as long as the participant nations can put aside their differences and try to seek the common ties which may establish their solidarity. With this the area of peace can be extended in the world so that the danger of war will be lessened.

It is in this field where the conference can hope to make its most valuable contribution and we hope that it will achieve this objective.

(Indonesian Observer, 18-4-1955).

ASIAN-AFRICAN EXPECTATIONS

(by Surveyer)

For sponsors and critics alike, the forthcoming Asian-African Conference has acquired something of the character of a big event of the season. Even those to whom any such conference not sponsored by the Western Powers is automatically suspect, have acknowledged in various ways that the conclusions of the Bandung meeting will almost certainly have a vital bearing on international affairs. It was clearly some appreciation of this that "cordial greetings" to the Asian-African delegates. A similar consideration appears to have been responsible for Thailand's sudden decision — in reversal of its earlier attitude — to participate in the conference.

Unobjectionable.

There is nothing objectionable in the view that non-neutral Asian Powers such as those that have accepted Seato commitments should attend the Bandung conference in an attempt to modify the policies of the non-aligned Asian Powers. A conference of the sort which the Colombo Powers have in mind cannot in any sense be exclusive, and the more hospitable it is to various and even conflicting points of view, the better it will serve its purpose as a clearing house of ideas and policies designed to ease international tension. With Japan, Thailand and Pakistan as well as the Middle Eastern countries fully represented at Bandung, there will be no question of an uncritical acceptance of all the principles and policies favoured by the Colombo Powers.

This is not to say that there is likely to be any serious opposition to the Pancha Shila or that the principle of non-alignment will be effectively disputed. What is hoped for is that — as in the British Commonwealth — despite differences of approach of assessment a general sense of the meeting will emerge to enable the Asian-African Powers to play a more influential role in world affairs. It is easier to specify what the conference should not be rather than to define its objectives. Obviously there is an impression, particularly in the United States, that there is to be a sort of "ganging up" of the Asian-African powers in an attempt to offset Seato and provide the machinery for an anti-colonial campaign.

Some of the participants at Bandung are likely to have similar ideas unless it is made clear in good time that the meeting is not intended in any way to be "agitational." The ventilation of grievances, particularly against the Western Powers, is no way to conduct constructive policies and would merely add to international tension and misunderstanding. Something more positive and substantial is expected of a conference so comprehensive and unique. Since its members will include Communist China, Japan,

the Arab States, the Gold Coast and even the Central African Federation, it can hardly deteriorate into a so-called "third bloc." Nor can racialism — a negative and profitless approach to world affairs — dominate a meeting of this kind.

Whether any acceptable programme can result from a meeting of States covering so large an area as the Asian and African continents is doubtful. It would certainly be too much to expect vigorous and positive policies to result. But policies are not the vital need. More important is the need to identify the Asian-African Powers with an approach to world affairs that accepts international peace as the primary objective, not cold war advantages or ideological victories

(The Times of India, March 28, 1955).

..... Because of the divergence in the point of view of the participating countries, large areas of agreement on concrete problems cannot be reasonably expected. In exploiting the resentment against colonialism and imperialism of peoples who have only recently gained independence, the Asian-African Conference will furnish a convenient point of departure for the propaganda of the puppet Peiping Communist regime.

Instead of creating better understanding among the participating countries, the struggle for leadership in the conference and subsequent to it may cause some trouble. If India would try to insinuate herself into the better graces of the Arab countries, she would not be improving her relations with either Egypt or Pakistan. Should India let Peiping have too great a hold on the conference, Nehru would be jeopardizing his own position of preeminence. Vice versa, Peiping could not be expected to play second fiddle.

The philosophy of the proposed conference cannot be divorced from the desire of India to play "Follow the Leader" with the other youngsters of the neighborhood with herself as leader. The leadership of India is essentially in the hands of Nehru. A generation ago, Nehru wrote: "Much in Soviet Russia I dislike — the ruthless suppression of all contrary opinion, the wholesale regimentation, the unnecessary violence but there is no lack of violence in the capitalistic world." In the final analysis, Communist violence is to be preferred, for "violence was common in both places, but the violence of the capitalist order seemed inherent in it, whilst the violence in Russia, bad though it was, aimed at a new order based on peace and cooperation and real freedom for the masses."

Such are still Jawaharlal Nehru's views. Such seems to be the philosophy underlying the proposed Bandung Conference.

(Daily Mirror, Manila, 19-3-55).

AUSTRALIA

RED HERRING

Why should Dr. Evatt want to buy in to the Afro-Asian Conference?

Whit his party crashing about his ears he should have plenty to keep him busy at home.

The Australian Government will not be represented at the Conference.

By seeking to attend in any status Dr. Evatt appears guilty of unnecessary interference in the nation's affairs.

He is unable to formulate a unified policy for his party but, by inference, in the eyes of Afro-Asians he would appear as an Australian policymaker.

Many Australians will believe his real concern is to divert attention from the Labor catastrophe.

(Daily Telegraph, Sydney, 24-3-55).

A M E R I C A

WEST WILL HAVE FRIENDS AT ASIA-PARLEY

By Chalmers M. Roberts

Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru the other day described the Asian-African Conference which opens at Bandung, Indonesia, as "essentially an experiment in co-existence".

The evidence is beginning to pile up that the "experiment" is going to be one of the most fascinating in recent years and that the results are likely to be of great importance in today's global conflict between freedom and communism.

Ready to speak. Semantically speaking, the conference may not "discuss" freedom vs. communism. But evidence is beginning to appear that the conference is not just going to pass resolutions opposing colonialism, imperialism and racial discrimination and favoring peaceful co-existence. There is very likely going to be a real effort to speak up and be heard of the nations which most palpably feel the hot breath of communism on their necks.

There is a solid piece of public evidence for this view, a completely overlooked statement issued on the last day of the recent Southeast Asia Treaty Organization conference at Bangkok. That was the meeting of foreign ministers from the United States, Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.

The statement noted that the last three named would also be at Bandung. It said that the Seato Council "accordingly asked those Asian members of the Council to transmit cordial greetings to the other free countries and to express the hope that out of their conference at Bandung would come increased assurance that the free nations would remain free and that all peoples would come increasingly to enjoy, in peace, the blessing of liberty.

"The Council also invited a broad sharing of their dedication, expressed in the Pacific Charter, to uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and to promote self-government and to secure the Independence of all countries whose people desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities".

This statement is a clear outline of the task which those nations at Bandung most closely associated with the United States are going to take in April. Adherence to such a course is expected from such varied countries as Japan, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Turkey, Ethiopia, Liberia and some of the Arab states — in all, a formidable number of the 30 invitees.

Just how much preconference consultation has been going on among these nations is hard to say. But there are good reasons to feel the Bangkok statement can safely be taken as the head of the iceberg.

The idea of the Bandung conference originally revolved around economic, and cultural matters. But it was Nehru who put over the conference last December after

his trip to Peiping. It seems reasonably clear that his idea was that the conference would be a good opportunity to demonstrate his theory that Red China should be accepted by the world community and thus be subject to its rules, such as they are.

This was clearly to Peiping's liking. Premier Chou En-lai, who is expected personally at Bandung, said in announcing Red China's acceptance that the conference "reflects the ever stronger desire of Asian and African countries to take their destiny into their own hands and to enter on an equal footing into friendly cooperation with the other countries of the world."

"The main enslaver". All of this set the scene for Chou to produce at Bandung the Big Bad Wolf of Asia — the United States. Moscow has openly indicated the Communist line in a Pravda editorial headed, "Against Imperialist Oppression." Pravda declared that "American Imperialism, acting the part of the main gendarme and enslaver of the colonial peoples, is attempting in every way to thwart the great process of the renaissance of the peoples of the East." Peiping Radio has been full of the same.

Perhaps a middle position was best expressed by the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, when he said: "Moscow and Washington must realize that there are others, too, in the world and that the main concern of these others is peace."

(Washington Post, 6-3-55)



A part of the plenary session at work

EUROPE

"ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE"

Although it may be questionable whether the twenty-five countries invited to attend the Afro-Asian Conference in Indonesia in April have enough in common to achieve any positive result, the purpose of their meeting, even if it is not couched in the clearest terms, is significant. The five Asian powers who have sent out the invitations — India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia — must consider their uncommitted position in world affairs to be positive enough to appeal, under the heading of "mutual as well as common interests," to countries as far apart as Japan and the Gold Coast.

There has been a noticeable feeling among Asian leaders for some time that world policies are the result of western thinking, both from inside the United Nations and out of it. This western dominance not only adds to the general feeling of affront, but it offers no solution for the common problems, economic and political, which face the countries of the area. There is a common approach among the countries of the East to certain problems, and there is no doubt that Middle Eastern and African countries view their problems in a similar perspective.

One of the surest facts they will find when they take stock of their position is that on the economic plane they have a great deal in common, for all of the countries invited, except Japan, are beginning, or will shortly begin, to move into a stage of industrial development. To achieve this smoothly and rapidly, as India has so often made clear, it is vitally necessary to avoid involvement in the issues which create tension between western democracy and Communism. The whole question of economic aid from the West, and chiefly from the United States, has created suspicions among the Asians that its acceptance would possibly commit them in some small way to support of the donor's policies. The Colombo Plan is acceptable because of its emphasis on mutual and self-help. There has been no great enthusiasm for the proposed American "Marshall Plan for Asia," and it is possible that in the minds of many Asians there is a hope that the coming Afro-Asian Conference will go some way towards finding a solution to economic problems within the framework of cooperation.

That there is a desire among the countries of Asia to be unencumbered by obligatory economic ties with the

West cannot be denied, but whether the desire will be felt as strongly by the Middle Eastern and African countries is not so certain. But they must, in general terms, feel much the same about political and economic relations with Europe and America as the Asian countries do, because had it been otherwise the five Prime Ministers could not have talked at Bogor so assuredly of common interests.

No one can say at this early stage whether the conference in April will be successful, or if it will achieve anything at all. There is no question, apparently, of its being regarded as a kind of regional United Nations. Whatever way it is regarded it is regrettable that neither Malaya nor Israel was invited. Both come within the purview of the invitation. Malaya was apparently regarded as too much of a colonial administration to be represented, but, with the elections pending, it might at least have been courteous to invite some prominent political Malayan leaders like Sir Cheng-lock Tan and Tunku Abdul Rahman as observers; after all, the Central African Federation has been asked to attend. The ignoring of Israel is less defensible. Her economic problems and most of her political ones in the global context are similar to the other invited countries. It is, of course, obvious that had she been asked to attend the Arab countries would have refused, but this very factor undermines the emphasis laid upon the promotion of peace. This is the danger implicit in bringing an intangible idea down to practical levels and widening its scope: national rivalries become apparent, and they weaken the purpose. The important feature is that China has been asked to attend, and it may well be that Mr. Mohammed Ali agreed to China's invitation only if Mr. Nehru and U Nu would cease to press (as it is known that they did) for the inclusion of Israel.

It will be a big conference, and a little unwieldy, if all 25 countries attend, but it has great possibilities. Apart from economic questions it seems apparent that the Indian theory of dynamic neutralism will be the dominant theme, and, if China can be persuaded to see the sense in other countries adopting it as a foreign policy, what would those countries have to lose by doing so? By being committed to either side, the countries of Asia, Africa and the Middle East will not achieve satisfactory national progress. Neutralism plus economic co-operation could be the long term answer to their problems.

(Eastern World, London, Febr. 1955)