

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



BULLETIN

ISSUED BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Asian-African Conference Bulletin

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COMMUNIQUE

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF CULTURAL COMMITTEE

22nd April, 1955.

The Committee on Cultural Cooperation started its third and final session at 9 a.m. today. It completed its session at 12.30 p.m.

It considered today the report of the Sub-Committee and its recommendations. After thorough discussion it decided unanimously to recommend certain measures for the promotion of greater cultural cooperation among Asian and African countries.

The Chairman will present these recommendations and the report of the Committee to the President of the Conference tomorrow.

PRESS COMMUNIQUE OF THE ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

22 April 1955.

1. The fifth meeting of the Economic Committee of the Asian-African Conference was held today at 3 p.m. His Excellency Professor Roosseno was in the chair. The Committee discussed its final report to the main conference. The report was adopted unanimously. It contains important recommendations on measures designed to promote economic cooperation within the Asian-African region and also on the development of peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

2. The Economic Committee held five meetings which were characterized by a spirit of cordiality, cooperation and compromise.

3. The Chairman, His Excellency Professor Roosseno made the following speech :

Gentlemen, now that we are at the end of our discussion in this Committee I should like to thank you wholeheartedly for the spirit of cooperation you have shown during our discussions.

In the three days which were allotted to us we have covered a wide field of economic subjects and although it was not possible to go into detail regarding every subject, I may state that we had a most useful exchange of views which will certainly bear fruit in the near future to the benefit of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

The Bogor Communique mentioned as the basic purpose of the Conference to become familiar with each other's point of view. In my opinion we have succeeded very well in this section in attaining this purpose.

We have even done more. Many useful suggestions have been brought forward which will constitute a basis for further and better economic cooperation within the continents of Asia and Africa.

We have shown that the representatives of the Asian and African peoples, however different their political and economical views may be, are able to work together in a constructive way.

I am certain that this gathering of ours will be followed by many others, building up gradually a close cooperation in development, in trade, and in the various other economic fields we have discussed.

I thank you all for the valuable contribution you have made to the progress of Asia and Africa.

I will not end before thanking on behalf of us all the able Rapporteur of this Committee, Mr. Akbar Adil, to whom we owe so much for the preparation of our discussion and the good functioning of this Committee.

Finally, I should like to extend our thanks to the staff who have so well assisted us in our work.

I thank you, gentlemen.

4. At the end of the meeting a number of countries expressed their warm appreciation of the able manner in which the Chairman, His Excellency Professor Roosseno, had conducted the deliberation of the meetings. They also expressed their deep appreciation of the work of Mr. Akbar Adil, Rapporteur/Secretary of the Committee.

Treaty on the Question of Dual Nationality Between China and Indonesia

It is clear that the Conference is providing delegates and visitors with many opportunities for forming the basis of lasting relationships at both personal and official levels. It is also providing an opportunity for furthering discussions and implementing arrangements which have already been begun between different countries. It is now clear that the friendly atmosphere of the Conference can result in concrete agreements on questions which have been under discussion for some time past.

A Treaty concerning the question of dual nationality was signed on April 22nd between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia.

A short ceremony was held in the Residence of the Governor of West Java, when the Foreign Minister of the Republic of Indonesia, Sunarjo, received Chou En-lai, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China. The ceremony was begun with the signing of the Treaty, after which Minister Sunarjo made a brief address and Minister Chou En-lai replied.

The following is the text of the Joint Communique which was issued subsequent to the signing of the document.

JOINT COMMUNIQUE ON NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF DUAL NATIONALITY

With a view reasonably settling the question of dual nationality, preliminary negotiations were held in Peking between the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia from November 2, 1945 to December 23, 1954. On the basis of the agreements reached in Peking, further negotiations were held by the two Governments in Djakarta and Bandung from March 29, 1955 to April 20, 1955. In accordance with the principles of equality and mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs and on the basis of friendly cooperation, the two sides, having fully exchanged their views, agreed to enter into "The Treaty between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia concerning the Question of Dual Nationality".

The plenipotentiaries of the two Governments signed the above-mentioned Treaty at Bandung on April 22, 1955.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, Chou En-lai, signed for the Government of the People's Republic of China.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Sunario, signed for the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.

The above-mentioned Treaty shall come into effect after ratification by the two countries and as from the date of exchange of the instruments of ratification at Peking.

The negotiations were conducted throughout in a cordial atmosphere.

Statement by Pham-Van-Dong, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam

Extracts from a statement by the Head of the Delegation made in lieu of an address because of his late arrival.

The Asian-African peoples have never provoked war. They do not have any vested interest in war. They have been victims of so many wars on their soils. Too often, the Asian-African territory has been turned into bloody battlefields, the Asian-African youth into cannon-fodder.

Today the destructive power of atomic and hydrogen weapons have driven home to everyone that there is only one path to follow: that of peaceful co-existence. On the other hand, the first successful attempts to use atomic energy in peaceful reconstruction have opened up the most brilliant prospect ever dreamed of by mankind.

Today those who want to wreck peace are the same aggressors who are trying by behind-the-scenes manoeuvres to enslave the Asian-African peoples. For this reason the struggle for the maintenance of peace instead of war for the Asian-African peoples is identical with the struggle for national independence against aggressive imperialism, the struggle for equality among the peoples against racial discrimination.

The Vietnamese people give their full support to the Chinese people's struggle to recover their territorial integrity, to the struggle for unity of the people's Democratic Republic of Korea. They energetically urge the solution of such problems as those of West Irian, Goa, Malaya, Kenya and such other issues, upon the basis of respect of territorial integrity and the right to independence and equality among the peoples.

In the history of the Asian and African countries extensive cultural and trade exchanges have proved to be a driving force for the progress of each country, for the general development and progress of all the Asian-African countries.

Colonialism and wars have broken these ancient and precious contacts, created barriers of segregation and racial hate, prevented all economic and cultural intercourse. Clear evidence of this is the embargo enforced in recent years which has caused great harm to the economic development in all the Asian-African countries and throughout the world.

After the Geneva Conference, the struggle of Viet-Nam entered a new stage, aiming at thoroughly implementing the armistice agreements, consolidating peace, achieving unity, independence and democracy all over the country. Under very difficult conditions, the Vietnamese people

have correctly implemented the provision aimed at ending the war and restoring peace.

The 300-day period for the withdrawal of the troops of both sides to their respective regrouping zones is coming to an end. A new period is opening, in which the problem of Viet-Nam's unity by free general elections must be settled. Viet-Nam is a united country, and no one can divide her. The word Unity has its imprint on Viet-Nam's history, geography, economy, culture, language, customs.

The Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam has declared its readiness to restore normal relations of all kinds between North and South in order to prepare the Consultative Conference, between the authorities in the North and the South next July 1955, as a first step towards the achievement of Viet-Nam's unity, and it has also declared its readiness to enter into contact with the authorities in the South.

But immediately after the restoration of peace in Indochina, the aggressive imperialists who had been planning the continuance and extension of the Indochinese war, endeavoured to organise a military bloc directed against the Geneva Agreements, within the so-called "area of protection" of which South Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos would be involved. They have tried their best to increase their intervention in the internal affairs of the South, to set up new military bases and send new weapons and military personnel to South Viet-Nam.

The suppression of democratic liberties, strangulation of the will for peace and unity of the people in South Viet-Nam, and creation of the present conflicts in the South, thereby troubling order and security and menacing the people's peaceful existence, are all actuated by their hands. One of their most devilish schemes was to induce and compel some sections of the people, especially the Catholics, to go to the South, in order to supply their newly created army units with soldiers and their rubber-plantations with labour.

All the aforesaid activities of the aggressive imperialists are part and parcel of the overall scheme to create new tensions in Asia, Africa and in the world, aimed at sabotaging peace, and enslaving the Asian-African peoples.

That is why this struggle will mobilize potentialities of the entire Vietnamese people, that is why it will enjoy the sympathy of all Asian and African peoples and of the peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

Who's Who in the Conference

Dr. Mohammad Fadhil Jamali



Dr. Fadhil Jamali (third from left) in Great Mosque, Bandung

Dr. Mohammad Fadhil Jamali, leader of the seven-man delegation from Iraq, is an expert on education who has twice been Prime Minister. Currently a Member of Parliament and Iraq's Permanent Delegate to the United Nations, Dr. Jamali has worked in the field of government and education since 1932.

From 1932 to 1942 he held the highest posts in the field of education in his country, studied and lectured in England, France, Germany, Turkey, Egypt and Iraq, and

attended five international conferences on student services and education in Europe and the United States.

As Minister of Foreign Affairs a post he has held several times, Dr. Jamali was Iraq's signator of the U.N. Charter in 1945. He has also twice been President of the Chamber of Deputies.

Dr. Jamali graduated from the American University at Beyrouth and received his M. A. and Ph. D. degrees from Columbia University in New York. He is married and has three sons.

Tatsunosuke Takasaki



Tatsunosuke Takasaki (right) upon arrival.

Mr. Takasaki, the Chief Delegate from Japan, was born February 7th 1885. In July 1906 he graduated from the Manufacturing Department of the Fisheries College run by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

In June 1917 Tatsunosuke Takasaki established Toyo Seikan Kaisha Ltd., where he was appointed Executive Director in June 1920. He became Managing Director of the same enterprise in June 1935. Between 1938 and 1940 he established and assumed the chairmanship of Toyo Steel Plate Company, Toyo Machinery Company and Toyo Canning Technical School. He also participated in organizing various other companies engaged in the production of iron, steel machinery and aeroplanes. He became Director of the Manchuria Heavy Industries Development Company in June 1940, Vice-President of the enterprise in February 1941, and President in December 1942.

In November 1947 Takasaki was repatriated from Manchuria. From September 1952 till July 1954 he was President of the Electric Power Development Company and Adviser to the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. In September 1954 he represented his government at the Sao Paulo Quadricentennial Anniversary. He became Minister of State and Director-General of the Economic Counsel Board in the first cabinet of Hatoyama. In March of this year he was Japan's chief delegate to the 11th plenary session of the U.N. Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, and was elected chairman of this session.

In the second cabinet of Hatoyama, Takasaki is Minister of State, and at the same time Director-General of the Economic Counsel Board and Chief of the Economic Deliberation Committee.

Momolu Dukuly, Liberia



Momolu Dukuly (right) in a plenary sitting.

The Honourable Momolu Dukuly was born in 1903 at Billama, Monrovia, and was educated there at the College of West Africa. Whilst holding Government posts from 1920-1930 he was called to the Bar of Moutserrado County, Monrovia in 1928.

From 1948-1951 he was Assistant Secretary of State and in 1949 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Haiti on a Special Mission. In 1951 Dukuly was Under-Secretary of State and 1953 Ambassador to Costa Rica on a Special Mission. Since 1954 he has been Acting Secretary of State.

BEHIND THE SCENES.

Many local organisations have eagerly participated in helping to facilitate the smooth running of the Conference. Boy Scouts and Girl Guides are assisting the police to patrol traffic and certain areas of pavement in front of the main hotels. Despite their vigilance however, many guests are suddenly surprised when someone dashes across from the crowd to obtain an autograph.

When the Japanese Delegation arrived in Djakarta its head Takasaki presented the Mayor of Djakarta with two Mandarin golden pheasants as gifts to the Zoo. On his return through Djakarta, Takasaki will be given birds of paradise, which are only to be found in certain parts of Indonesia, particularly the Moluccas and West Irian.



YEMEN

SAUD

Some Groups of Delegates



NEPAL

SAUDI ARABIA



Legates About Their Work



ETHIOPIA

WORLD OPINION

STATEMENTS BY VISITORS TO THE CONFERENCE

PRESS STATEMENT BY VISITORS FROM ALGERIA, TUNISIA AND MOROCCO

The North African Delegation to the Asian-African Conference, representing Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco welcomes this opportunity to meet you. We should like to express through you the salutations and greetings of our people to this historic and long-desired gathering together of the representatives of the Asian-African community of free nations. On their behalf also we wish to express our thanks and admiration to the Government and people of Indonesia who have extended to us their hospitality on this occasion, and whose efforts in concert with the other members of the Bogor Conference have made this Conference possible.

As you are aware, the independence struggle of Morocco and Tunisia are already sponsored by most of the nations assembled here, who for the last five years have championed our cause before the United Nations and at the international level in general. For this reason both Tunisia and Morocco have been the subject of special resolutions incorporated in the Joint Communiqués of the Colombo and Bogor Conferences. Section 13 of the Bogor Communiqué states:

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

The people of North Africa, striving for independence in what may be termed a straight fight against French colonial domination, welcomed this further manifestation of solidarity and support. However today, and particularly since the outbreak of armed resistance in Algeria which commenced on November 1st last, no consideration of the colonial problem in general and of French-dominated North Africa in particular can ignore the extremely critical situation existing in Algeria also. The Algerian question differs in some technical aspects from those of Tunisia and Morocco but fundamentally the problem is one; we in North Africa are calling upon the nations assembled here in Bandung to proclaim their support to the Algerian independence movement, and to extend to the Algerian people, at present engaged in a desperate struggle against ruthless French military and police repression, that solidarity and sympathy which has already been so forcibly manifested towards Tunisia and Morocco. In the name of the 27 million people of

North Africa we appeal to the Asian-African Conference to proclaim its adherence to this cause in accordance with the declared aims of this conference as defined in Section Four of the Bogor Communiqué — namely:

"To consider problems of special interest to Asian and African people e.g. problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism."

We wish also to state that the situation in Morocco — the outcome of the crisis engendered by the deposition of H.M. the Sultan Muhammed Ben Youssef, the legitimate sovereign of that country — is extremely grave and dangerous and that no proposal for a settlement of any kind has been proposed by France.

We recognise the absolute determination of the Conference to root out colonialism wherever it may be. Yet we who still live under colonial domination, whether in Africa or Asia, cannot ignore the fact that the development of the present world situation has resulted in a dangerous consolidation of the colonial Powers and their allies and in a very definite stiffening of their resistance to the demand for the restoration or establishment of national independence. This has been demonstrated time and again whenever our cause has been debated before the United Nations. Nor can we ignore the fact that the colonial Powers have by no means abandoned the use of brute force in favour of peaceful settlement: in fact it is our experience in North Africa that even when negotiations are in progress the means of forceful repression are held in reserve. Moreover, the ending of the fighting in Indo-China — an event we welcomed for our long-suffering brothers in that country — has released the very considerable military forces now being utilised by France, against the national liberation movements in North Africa — particularly in Algeria and Morocco.

All this indicates in our opinion the necessity of this conference assembled here representing the greatest combination of anti-colonial forces in the world — to consider now the ways and means of bringing a more effective and immediate support to our problem in North Africa and to the question of colonial freedom in general — particularly in view of the proved inadequacy of the United Nations in this respect.

It is the considered opinion of this Delegation that the Asian-African Conference is the proper body to propose and decide the necessary measures to be taken to this end.

**PRESS STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE
SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS**

In less than seven years of Malan-Strijdom rule South Africa is today virtually a police-slave-state. The traditional policy of the country of denial of political rights to non-Whites, economic handicap, restriction on the freedom of movement, and social segregation and discrimination against the non-Whites, has been ruthlessly and shamelessly intensified under the name of apartheid. Today we have political regimentation and control of the non-White population, economic strangulation and expropriation of the property of the non-Whites. This is done in defiance of the resolutions and declarations of the United Nations Organisation.

This policy is straining race relations in South Africa to a very dangerous point. It is creating an anti-White feeling among the non-Whites, and while things may seem quiet and peaceful at present, the masses of our people are deeply wounded in the soul. They are bitter and sullen. One of these days there will be some terrible and shocking anti-White riots and explosions, the like of which has never been seen before in South Africa. Perhaps what we saw at Port Elizabeth and East London at the end of 1952 when innocent whites were killed by Africans in the "locations" was a foretaste, in miniature, of the shape of things to come.

No people on earth, no matter how loyal and law-abiding it may be, or no matter how overawed and cowed it may be, can endure for long such a policy of utter ruthlessness and shameless and flagrant injustices.

While the Whites in South Africa possess full citizenship rights and enjoy the fat, riches and comforts which that country can provide, the non-Whites are without any rights.

They are denied the right to take part in the choosing of the government which rules them and they have no say in the affairs and administration of their country. They are taxed without representation; denied freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and freedom of organisation. They are economically oppressed and exploited, they may not trade, live, buy or own land where they like. Under the Group Areas Act they are to lose their properties, businesses, institutions and places of worship. The civil service and skilled occupations in industry, trades and commerce are debarred to them. They are treated in a stepmotherly fashion in the provision of education and social services, and they are socially discriminated against and daily insulted and humiliated.

In addition to all this the Africans who form 67.5% of the total population have been allotted 13% of the land and the Whites who comprise only 20.9% of the

population have allotted to themselves 87% of the country's best land: rich in minerals, fertile and well-watered. They are paid miserable wages, starved of education, prohibited from entering urban areas, and subjected to humiliating pass, permit and liquor laws which were responsible for the conviction and sentence of 739,400 Africans in 1952.

Should there be any anti-White explosions in South Africa the Government will be responsible. But though the Government of the Union of South Africa will be responsible for any racial disaster that might occur there in the future, it would be criminal on our part — on the part of all democratic-minded people of South Africa and, to some extent, also on the part of the civilised and freedom-loving peoples of the world — were we to allow the situation in South Africa to get from bad to worse. It is absolutely imperative, therefore, that all men of goodwill should do everything in their power to try to ease the race tension in South Africa. We cannot allow the impression to get fixed in the minds of the non-Whites that all White peoples are against them.

What is happening in South Africa is not the concern of the people of South Africa alone but also the concern of the peoples of the rest of the world. The sufferings of the non-White people there are a challenge to all civilised peoples of the world. All who are free and who love freedom cannot look on silently and passively while a gross injustice in being done to a people just because of its race and colour.

Something must be done about the unhealthy human relationship and illtreatment of non-White peoples in South Africa before it is too late.

We have, therefore, come to this historic and world-inspiring conference of the free and non-racial nations of Asia and Africa with this main object: we have come to request them to use their good offices internationally to persuade the other civilised and freedom-loving nations of the world to prevail upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to abandon its unjust and disastrous policy of apartheid and racial discrimination.

We are convinced and confident that the Government of South Africa could be forced to reconsider its reactionary and inhuman policy if all the nations which do not approve of policies and practices of racial oppression and discrimination, particularly the Governments of the United States of America and Great Britain, would boldly take a firm stand against such practices. The United States of America and Great Britain owe it to humanity to see to it that justice and fairness are accorded all men in all countries under the sphere of their influence.

I. A. Cachalia
Moses Kotane

Bandung,
16th April 1955.

STATEMENT DISTRIBUTED BY AUSTRALIAN VISITORS

Australia was not formally invited by the Five sponsoring Powers to the Asian-African Conference. The reason given is that Australia was not considered to be in the region covered by the Conference.

It is our view that Australia does in fact lie in the Asian area; for if not in that area, to what region does she in fact belong?

Australia's place in the Asian area was recognised for the purpose of the two conferences which took place in Delhi in 1949 and in Baguio in 1950.

It is our view that Australia should have been invited to this Conference and should have accepted; and should on all future occasions be invited and attend.

Australian interest in and sense community with Asia is growing; it is unfortunate that exclusion from the Conference may check this sentiment and reinforce outworn attitudes to Asian problems.

Public sentiment for closer relations with Asia has been expressed both in the platforms of political parties

such as the Australian Labour Party and by non-party organizations such as the Australian Section of the World Council of Churches.

The Government of Australia has frequently stated its intention of increasing its representation in Asia and multiplying its contacts with the governments of independent Asia.

If a future conference or a continuing organisation is planned, we trust that Australia's position in Asia will be given due consideration.

Bandung, April 20th 1955.

John Burton.

C. P. Fitzgerald.

(Note: Dr. Burton, formerly Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, represented Australia at the Delhi Conference of 1949 and the Baguio Conference of 1950.

Professor Fitzgerald holds the Chair of Far Eastern History of the Australian National University Canberra).

PRESS EXTRACTS

INDONESIA

The speeches of the chief delegates to the Bandung Conference have shown one common ground: the question of colonialism and world peace.

Almost all of the nations attending the AA conference have had common experiences. It is therefore imperative that the Asian and African nations, whatever system of government and economy they have, must seek understanding of each other. Out of this understanding must be built a greater appreciation and must be concluded by a collective action to reach the common desire of all Asian and African nations in particular and of mankind in general.

President Sukarno mentioned the fact that colonialism is not yet dead. Many shapes of colonialism have to be wiped out to guarantee a free and independent action of every individual nation, small or big to work for the benefit of its own people. It is therefore a question of great importance that very nation-attendant of the AA Conference should analyse first of all his own position in the rank and file of nations of the world before going to attack the principles and the political creeds of any individual nations, whether in Asia, Africa or the West.

If we start attacking communism in all its forms, we could also launch attacks on colonialism and imperialism.

If a nation, naive and unexperienced steps forwards with the question: does lenin-marxism concord with the co-existence principles, or is it not aggression what the communists have done in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other countries in Eastern Europe or in China in order to secure their power? — then the question could be raised what the Americans are doing in European countries with their mighty air, sea and landforces, or why Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria are still suffering under the yoke of French imperialism. We do not yet mention West Irian, which is a threat to Indonesian independence as much as Taiwan is a threat to China's independence or Cyprus and Suez Canal to Greece and Egypt.

To possess part of a nation's territory or the territory as a whole is aggression, but a frozen one. So to say if the West attacks the East or vice versa, then it must be remembered that both of them are sitting in the same boat.

The A-A Conference is not meant to be another battlefield of these two conflicting ideologies and Weltanschauung. It is our common desire to contribute to world peace.

It is for us Asian and African countries that we must cooperate in all fields, particularly in the economic field, as all of us are needy nations. All this can be done

when there is no world tension which upsets all efforts of reconstruction for the benefit of the countries and peoples concerned.

Indonesia, which has had a turbulent past can be a sample to the world that she is fighting now to forget the past and to head for the future.

Tolerance is the biggest asset of Indonesia. Indonesians fought colonialism and imperialism without mercy, but she is now trying to forget this unhappy memories. And the same Indonesia fought communism at the same time, so that our country has had the experience of fighting colonialism and communism. However, tolerance should replace hatred, because only through tolerance and understanding a nation can be built and peace restored.

All we want is peace. Let it be the only aim of this conference. Because peace in the real sense implies the possibilities of all the nations to work for their future. The voices of the representatives of three-fifths of the world population cannot be ignored, if all of them are genuine fighters for the preservation of peace.

(Indonesian Observer, 23 April 1955).

Asians, who have been under the domination of Western countries, are naturally in full agreement with the aims of the Asian-African Conference which is now in progress in Bandung.

For centuries the peoples of Asia and Africa were not able to determine their own destinies and had to take orders from foreign peoples who dominated them. Meeting in Bandung in a united front, their representatives are now able to tell the world that we, as God's creatures, are of the same value and importance as Western peoples and have to be accorded equal treatment as human beings.

The Western nations are superior as regard the making of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and other weapons of destruction, but on the other hand the Eastern nations may boast of their religions. Clearly then they are superior in spiritual development.

While arms superiority has always been boasted of at SEATO, NATO and other similar conferences, co-operation and peace are the primary purpose of the Asian-African Conference.

We are now witnessing the clash between armed might and the spirit of peace. History has shown that authority that is backed up by force is not lasting. We are therefore convinced that in the end the spirit of peace will triumph.

(Sin Min, Semarang, 18-4-55).

BRITAIN

In sheer geographical scope the gathering in Bandung makes all the congresses Europe has held over the centuries look like a neighbourly chat over garden fences.

Mental distances between peoples have not yet been reduced as drastically; and here the doubts about the Bandung conference begin. Some common denominators exist. Most states are relatively new creations and even most of the ancient sovereign oriental nations share their yearning for more clearly asserted status in world affairs. Equality in such institutions as United Nations is insufficient. Europe has its own institutions such as the Strasbourg Assembly; Asia has the right to follow suit. The mere fact of the holding of the Bandung Conference thus gives great satisfaction to countless people in the East. And nobody in the West would grudge that.

Nevertheless the conference must not be like a flower show; it ought to create and not merely demonstrate. Certainly the sponsors have called for a political discussion but they have never seemed agreed or clear about the aims of this discussion. Never perhaps have the representatives of so many governments assembled with so little idea of what they are going to do. Unlike Strasbourg, the delegates are not gathered to experiment in political and economic unity nor under the shadow of fear and common peril. The European nations are bonded by communist pressure while Asians have billed the Chinese People's Republic the star performer at Bandung. What concrete result can be expected by the participating powers? The sad fact is plain that most of the delegations are coming with expectations so different from each other as to be virtually contradictory.

The Indonesians, who initiated the whole project are perhaps the most likely to achieve their purpose, which was primarily to gain prestige and divert attention from their domestic rift and failures by playing host to a glittering assembly. However even this is endangered if internal disorders occur as at the Bogota Pan-American Conference. For the rest so many different harps are being brought. But few can expect general applause. There is likely to be little support for Arabs inveighing against Israel or Thailand fearing Vietminh infiltration.

The Conference, lacking positive purpose, is likely to fall back on negative ones, to descend to the lowest common denominator and stay there, and where Asians are gathered the denominator is anti-weternism, still usually labelled anti-colonialism in spite of the colonial retreat in the last decade. It is ironic that the only colonial Empire in Asia is Russia's, while anti-colonialism is used as a stick to beat America's traditionally anti-colonial policy. Though anti-colonialism is absurdly outmoded, many use it as a slogan to propitiate the people and incidentally to loosen the western purse strings if possible. It may

be assumed that strictures will be voiced on the Dutch in Irian, the French in North Africa, the Portuguese in Goa, and the British in Malaya.

All this is convenient for the Communists who staged a warm-up in Delhi in the previous week where Peking mouthpiece Kuo, oblivious of African problems, chiefly aimed at branding American Formosa policy as colonial by associating it with remnants of colonialism in Asia. The Communists at Bandung will probably show their usual skill in concealing their real aims. To carry other countries they will probably induce only oblique denunciations of America in the final communique. If they cannot convert they can at least divide, exploiting differences between states with and without defensive links with the West and painting a picture of pro-Western governments against the rest, and pose as friends and sympathizers of the unattached.

Yet the more clear-sighted non-Communists will see the real division between China and vassal states on the one hand, and the rest of Asia on the other. Since 1950 the rest of Asia has had no real contact with the Chinese

People's Republic, as news is censored and foreign envoys segregated. The Chinese delegation must work hard to disguise this cruel fact, which is backed up with an unrivalled propaganda machine and with unrivalled military power in the background.

Will the non-communists let themselves become red puppets, or look behind the smiles of Chou and Dong, noting the Chinese People's Republic's admission of a bottleneck in industrialization and resistance to collectivization, and the fact that the Chinese People's Republic's revolution, like Russia's, has begun to devour its own children such as Kao Kang.

If the Communists put on too much pressure at Bandung they may come away as disappointed as many other delegations will; and some useful lessons in realism will then be taken to heart. But one would be rash to count on any definable gain from the conference that would offset the danger of a welter of inchoate, in part harmful, rhetoric. This first council of Asia has an inauspicious setting.

(Economist, London, 18-4-55).



Waiting for a meeting of the Economic Committee.

Memento of Opening Day Reception

ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE LADIES

The Governor's Residence was the scene of another enjoyable gathering on Thursday afternoon when the Women's Committee entertained the lady guests of the Conference.

A fashion show of many Indonesian national costumes aroused much interest. Dresses from East Sumatra, with the rich cloth interwoven with gold and silver thread, the Balinese temple dress with its elaborate headdress of real flowers, the different costumes of Jogjakarta including the dress of a Princess with its richly embroidered jacket and the bare-shouldered style worn in the Sultan's court, and the colourful costumes of Makassar, Minahassa and the Moluccas, were all widely admired.

An unusual feature was the women's gamelan orchestra which accompanied a fine performance of the Tari Topeng or Mask Dance. Later a choir of girls from the training school for kindergarten teachers in Bandung sang the song of Kartini, leader of women's emancipation, and played the angklung. This is an orchestra of bamboo instruments, each of which plays only certain notes. Since 1943 angklungs have also been made with western tone scales.



One of the dancers.



Watching the dance performance.

TWO SOCIAL GATHERINGS

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Tea party given by the wife of the Governor of West Java



Opening Day Reception