

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



BULLETIN

ISSUED BY THE BUREAU OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Asian - African Conference Bulletin

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A Meeting of the Heads of Delegations.

FINAL COMMUNIQUE

OF THE

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Held at Bandung from 18th to 24th April, 1955

The Asian-African Conference, convened upon the invitation of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met in Bandung from the 18th to the 24th April, 1955. In addition to the sponsoring countries the following 24 countries participated in the Conference:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Afghanistan | 13. Liberia |
| 2. Cambodia | 14. Libya |
| 3. People's Republic of China | 15. Nepal |
| 4. Egypt | 16. Philippines |
| 5. Ethiopia | 17. Saudi Arabia |
| 6. Gold Coast | 18. Sudan |
| 7. Iran | 19. Syria |
| 8. Iraq | 20. Thailand |
| 9. Japan | 21. Turkey |
| 10. Jordan | 22. Democratic Republic of Vietnam |
| 11. Laos | 23. State of Vietnam |
| 12. Lebanon | 24. Yemen |

The Asian-African Conference considered problems of common interest and concern to countries of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their people could achieve fuller economic, cultural and political cooperation.

A. ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

1. The Asian-African Conference recognised the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region. There was general desire for economic cooperation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty. The proposals with regard to economic cooperation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for cooperation with countries outside the region, including the investment of foreign capital. It was further recognised that the assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region, through international or under bilateral arrange-

ments, had made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development programmes.

2. The participating countries agreed to provide technical assistance to one another, to the maximum extent practicable, in the form of: experts, trainees, pilot projects and equipment for demonstration purposes; exchange of know-how and establishment of national, and where possible, regional training and research institutes for importing technical knowledge and skills in cooperation with the existing international agencies.

3. The Asian-African Conference recommended: the early establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development; the allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development of a greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries; the early establishment of the International Finance Corporation which should include in its activities the undertaking of equity investment; and encouragement to the promotion of joint ventures among Asian-African countries in so far as this will promote their common interest.

4. The Asian-African Conference recognised the vital need for stabilizing commodity trade in the region. The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted. However, it was recognised that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade arrangements in view of their prevailing economic conditions.

5. The Asian-African Conference recommended that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilizing the international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements, and that as far as practicable and desirable, they should adopt a unified approach on the subject in the United Nations Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade and other international forums.

6. The Asian-African Conference further recommended that: Asian-African countries should diversify their export trade by processing their raw material, wherever economically feasible, before export; intra-regional trade fairs should be promoted and encouragement given to the exchange of trade delegations and groups of businessmen; exchange of information and of samples should be encouraged with a view to promoting intra-regional trade; and normal facilities should be provided for transit trade of land-locked countries.

7. The Asian-African Conference attached considerable importance to Shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines reviewed from time to time their freight rates, often to the detriment of participating countries. It recommended a study of this problem, and collective action thereafter, to induce the shipping lines to adopt

a more reasonable attitude. It was suggested that a study of railway freight of transit trade may be made.

8. The Asian-African Conference agreed that encouragement should be given to the establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies.

9. The Asian-African Conference felt that exchange of information on matters relating to oil, such as remittance of profits and taxation, might eventually lead to the formulation of common policies.

10. The Asian-African Conference emphasized the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, for the Asian-African countries. The Conference welcomed the initiative of the Powers principally concerned in offering to make available information regarding the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes; urged the speedy establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency which should provide for adequate representation of the Asian-African countries on the executive authority of the Agency; and recommended to the Asian and African Governments to take full advantage of the training and other facilities in the peaceful uses of atomic energy offered by the countries sponsoring such programmes.

11. The Asian-African Conference agreed to the appointment of Liaison Officers in participating countries, to be nominated by their respective national Governments, for the exchange of information and ideas on matters of mutual interest. It recommended that fuller use should be made of the existing international organisations, and participating countries who were not members of such international organisations, but were eligible, should secure membership.

12. The Asian-African Conference recommended that there should be prior consultation of participating countries in international forums with a view, as far as possible, to furthering their mutual economic interest. It is, however, not intended to form a regional bloc.

B. CULTURAL COOPERATION.

1. The Asian-African Conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural cooperation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilisations which have enriched other cultures and civilisations while themselves being enriched in the process. Thus the cultures of Asia and Africa are based on spiritual and universal foundations. Unfortunately contacts among Asian and African countries were interrupted during the past centuries. The peoples of Asia and Africa are now animated by a keen and sincere desire to renew their old cultural contacts and develop new ones in the context of the modern world. All participating governments at the Conference reiterated their determination to work for closer cultural cooperation.

2. The Asian-African Conference took note of the fact that the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa in whatever form it may be not only prevents cultural cooperation but also suppresses the national cultures of the people. Some colonial powers have denied to their dependent peoples basic rights in the sphere of education and culture which hampers the development of their personality and also prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples. This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed. Similar discrimination has been practised against African and coloured people in some parts of the Continent of Africa. The Conference felt that these policies amount to a denial of the fundamental rights of man, impede cultural advancement in this region and also hamper cultural cooperation on the wider international plane. The Conference condemned such a denial of fundamental rights in the sphere of education and culture in some parts of Asia and Africa by this and other forms of cultural suppression.

In particular, the Conference condemned racialism as a means of cultural suppression.

3. It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilisations and cultures that the Conference viewed the development of cultural cooperation among Asian and African countries. True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality, the Conference believed that Asian and African cultural cooperation should be developed in the larger context of world cooperation.

Side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural cooperation the countries of Asia and Africa desire to develop cultural contacts with others. This would enrich their own culture and would also help in the promotion of world peace and understanding.

4. There are many countries in Asia and Africa which have not yet been able to develop their educational, scientific and technical institutions. The Conference recommended that countries in Asia and Africa which are more fortunately placed in this respect should give facilities for the admission of students and trainees from such countries to their institutions. Such facilities should also be made available to the Asian and African people in Africa to whom opportunities for acquiring higher education are at present denied.

5. The Asian-African Conference felt that the promotion of cultural cooperation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards:

- (I) the acquisition of knowledge of each others' country;
- (II) mutual cultural exchange, and
- (III) exchange of information.

6. The Asian-African Conference was of opinion that at this stage the best results in cultural cooperation would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements to implement its recommendations and by each country taking action on its own, wherever possible and feasible.

C. HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF DETERMINATION

1. The Asian African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of Human Rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations.

The Conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a pre-requisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental Human Rights.

2. The Asian-African Conference deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which form the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world. Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights, but also a denial of the fundamental values of civilisation and the dignity of man.

The Conference extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by the victims of racial discrimination, especially by the peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa; applauded all those who sustain their cause; re-affirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of falling victims to the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it.

D. PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENT PEOPLES.

1. The Asian-African Conference discussed the problems of dependent peoples and colonialism and the evils arising from the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation.

The Conference is agreed:

- (a) in declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end;
- (b) in affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation;

- (c) in declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples, and
- (d) in calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

2. In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay.

E. OTHER PROBLEMS.

1. In view of the existing tension in the Middle East, caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.

2. The Asian-African Conference, in the context of its expressed attitude on the abolition of colonialism, supported the position of Indonesia in the case of West Irian based on the relevant agreements between Indonesia and the Netherlands.

The Asian-African Conference urged the Netherlands Government to reopen negotiations as soon as possible, to implement their obligations under the above-mentioned agreements and expressed the earnest hope that the United Nations would assist the parties concerned in finding a peaceful solution to the dispute.

3. The Asian-African Conference supported the position of Yemen in the case of Aden and the Southern parts of Yemen known as the Protectorates and urged the parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

F. PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION.

1. The Asian-African Conference, taking note of the fact that several States have still not been admitted to the United Nations, considered that for effective co-operation for world peace, membership in the United Nations should be universal, called on the Security Council to support the admission of all those States which are qualified for membership in terms of the Charter. In the

opinion of the Asian-African Conference, the following among participating countries, viz.: Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Nepal, a unified Vietnam were so qualified.

The Conference considered that the representation of the countries of the Asian-African region on the Security Council, in relation to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, was inadequate. It expressed the view that as regards the distribution of the non-permanent seats, the Asian-African countries which, under the arrangement arrived at in London in 1946, are precluded from being elected, should be enabled to serve on the Security Council, so that they might make a more effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. The Asian-African Conference having considered the dangerous situation of international tension existing and the risks confronting the whole human race from the outbreak of global war in which the destructive power of all types of armaments, including nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, would be employed, invited the attention of all nations to the terrible consequences that would follow if such a war were to break out.

The Conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilisation from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction. It considered that the nations of Asia and Africa assembled here have a duty towards humanity and civilisation to proclaim their support for disarmament and for the prohibition of these weapons and to appeal to nations principally concerned and to world opinion, to bring about such disarmament and prohibition.

The Conference considered that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such disarmament and prohibition and that speedy and determined efforts should be made to this end.

Pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, this Conference appealed to all the powers concerned to reach agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons.

The Conference declared that universal disarmament is an absolute necessity for the preservation of peace and requested the United Nations to continue its efforts and appealed to all concerned speedily to bring about the regulation, limitation, control and reduction of all armed forces and armaments, including the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of all weapons of mass destruction, and to establish effective international control to this end.

G. DECLARATION ON THE PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION

The Asian-African Conference gave anxious thought to the question of world peace and cooperation. It viewed with deep concern the present state of international tension with its danger of an atomic world war. The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connection, all States should cooperate, especially through the United Nations, in bringing about the reduction of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control. In this way, international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy may be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. This would help answer the needs particularly of Asia and Africa, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. Freedom and peace are interdependent. The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by all peoples, and freedom and independence must be granted, with the least possible delay, to those who are still dependent peoples. Indeed, all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, nations should practise tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours and develop friendly cooperation on the basis of the following principles:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.

4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

- (b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.

10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

The Asian and African Conference declares its conviction that friendly cooperation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, while cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all.

The Asian-African Conference recommended that the five sponsoring countries consider the convening of the next meeting of the Conference, in consultation with the participating countries.

Bandung, 24 April, 1955



A Drafting Committee at work.



A Delegation arrives for an open session.

CLOSING SPEECH

by

PRIME MINISTER ALI SASTROAMIDJOJO OF INDONESIA,
PRESIDENT OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



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

Having arrived now after a momentous week, at the close of this Conference, I should like to thank you all for the spirit of goodwill and the willingness to understand you have shown so clearly and continuously during our fruitful discussions. It was this spirit and this willingness which made it possible to cooperate and arrive at good

results, and, if you permit me a personal note, which made it a pleasure for me to be in the chair.

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

There are many who have made great efforts to make this Conference successful. It is difficult to single out persons, committees or groups, but I feel that we are in

particular indebted to the other sponsoring countries, the Joint Secretariat, the Chairmen of our Committees and our Rapporteur to whom we owe so much for preparing this Conference and for the smooth running of its machinery.

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

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

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

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

There were, however, doubts as well.

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

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

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

It is obvious, however, that it would not have been possible to bring forward a document of this importance voicing the unanimous opinions and resolutions of more than half of the world's population, were it not that the

statesmen gathered here are men of peace and wisdom, able and willing to work together in order to give the world genuine peace for which it craves so much.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Conference in Retrospect

"It's been a week of hectic hard work, but it's been worth it" is a common remark this week end amongst the 2000 at the Conference.

At Colombo in April-May, 1954, Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia brought forward the idea of an Asian-African Conference. The five Premiers at Colombo discussed the desirability of holding such a conference, and favoured the proposal that the Prime Minister of Indonesia should explore the possibility of holding it.

Later in the same year the Prime Ministers of India and Burma joined with Premier Ali in making public statements in favour of the conference. Abroad, however, not much heed was being paid. "Afro-Asia", as the press christened the idea, was thought little more than a slogan.

In December came the Bogor Conference. The five Prime Ministers could agree on the purposes that the Asian-African Conference would have, they could agree on the nations to be invited. It was decided that the Conference should be held and that invitations should be sent out.

Asian and African countries began to show interest in the idea, but, at least in some cases, scepticism still remained. Externally, the idea was often ridiculed.

But there were still many difficulties in the way of success. How many of the 30 countries invited would actually accept when the time came? Could Indonesia, could Bandung, provide facilities for such a gathering? Could there be guarantees of Indonesia's ability to ensure the maintenance of security? These and many others were the doubts expressed in the Asian and African countries, as in the outside world.

Some doubts were dispelled when it was clear that 29 of the invitations had been accepted, but many queries remained until the very eve of the Conference, especially in the non-invited countries.

With the arrival of the delegates in Bandung, however, doubts began to be dispelled rapidly. Externally, opinion was faced with the fact that the countries invited had accepted, and that the delegations did arrive. This in itself could be seen to constitute success for the idea.

In Bandung, accommodation and transport, conference buildings and press facilities, were ready to function effectively. Furthermore, the security measures which had been taken gave no one the feeling of being restricted in his movements. Crowds and excitement notwithstanding, the atmosphere was remarkably normal. The Indonesians could see immediately that the preparations which had been made by the Joint Secretariat, aided by various

agencies of the Indonesian Government, were nothing to be ashamed of. The overseas visitors were generous in the comparisons they made.

On Monday morning the Conference began. Delegation after Delegation passed down the decked streets, and walked up to the main Conference hall between the press of people which lined the cleared roads.

The note struck by the two main addresses, of President Sukarno and the newly-elected Conference President Ali Sastroamidjojo, was humanity in its highest and widest sense. A number of those present compared the atmosphere with that in the early days of the League of Nations and at the time of the signing of the Atlantic Charter.

The hope which the addresses created was stimulated further by a number of practical decisions made quickly. One was the decision that the Conference should work by unanimous agreement, rather than by decisions arrived at by voting and a simple or two-thirds majority. Another was the agreement that there should be no political committee, as earlier envisaged, but a series of less formal meetings of Delegation Heads.

In the following days, a number of the difficulties which had been predicted made themselves felt. In the opening plenary addresses of some of the Delegation Heads, and later, reportedly, in closed meetings of the Economic and Cultural Committees and in those of the Heads of Delegations, the differences of policy long known to exist between various of the participating countries expressed themselves, sometimes very forcibly.

In discussions on what constituted colonialism, on "peaceful co-existence" and the well-known Five Principles, and on a number of particular regional issues, the points of view adopted were often in contradiction to one another. There was some degree of justification for the pessimism of much of the reporting of the Conference at this stage, but there was misreading of the situation in so far as it was reported as a portent of the failure of the Conference. It did prove possible to keep the work of Conference moving forwards.

At the end of the Conference, the mood is a very different one. Among the delegates and visitors in general, and the representatives of the sponsoring countries in particular, there exists widespread satisfaction at the ostensible results of the Conference.

Of notable importance is the fact that, on every occasion where partisan feeling on a particular issue became intense, the good offices of one or another leader of the Conference were able to prevent the creation of

an impasse. This in itself is a reflection of the atmosphere of goodwill, and of the serious desire for mutual compromise and agreement in the face of the urgency of the situation, which was present on all sides.

A number of developments, not actually part of the Conference but clearly a contribution towards its aims, have helped to mould the atmosphere of hope. One of these is the signing of the China-Indonesia Treaty on Dual Nationality, which took place on Friday. Another is the Treaty of Friendship between Indonesia and Afghanistan, which was signed on Sunday morning.

The last working session of the Conference, which lasted for virtually the whole of Sunday, produced no easy agreement. But the fact is that it did produce agreement. Moreover it produced a great deal of satisfac-

tion among the delegates. As the working session closed, with the adoption of a vote of thanks to the President, Secretariat, and Rapporteur, the delegates all looked happy.

The results of the Conference cannot, of course, be measured at the present time. Clearly one of the most important ways in which it was to achieve its objectives was that of informal contacts and discussions, some of which are no doubt still going on, and the outcome of which is necessarily undisclosed. Such contacts have certainly been established on a great many levels, including the highest.

History, of which the delegates at Bandung were so consistently conscious, will judge the significance of the Conference.



A "Betjak" driver reads one of the Conference posters.

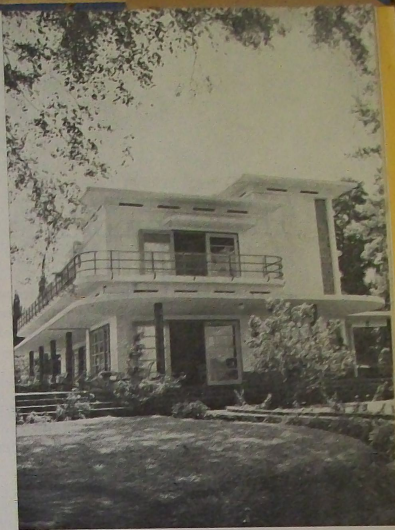
PEOPLE AND PLACE AT THE



Left:
At the street with
Javanese bridal dress
Saudi Arabian supper

Right:
Ladies at a tea.
Delegation houses

PLACES THE CONFERENCE



with the new name.
al dress at a batik show.
n supper at the Homann.

ea.
ouses on the hill.

The Memorable Last Day of the Conference

Sunday, the last day, found excitement mounting through both the meeting halls and the streets of Bandung. As the closed sessions at Dwi Warna building went on far longer than the schedule provided, the crowds in the streets became denser and denser.

Within the Dwi Warna pressmen waited patiently outside the closed doors of Conference Room No. 2. But almost without a break the session continued into the afternoon.

In the Conference hall at Gedung Merdeka it was announced at 3.25 pm that the open plenary session closing the Conference which had been set for 3.00 pm was postponed. A murmur passed over the crowd, which was already pressing restlessly against the lines of police and their jeeps, standing opposite the entrance of the main Conference building, Gedung Merdeka.

Within the Conference building the press room and refreshment bar were filled to capacity. Pressmen and photographers who had plane and train reservations out of Bandung for the late afternoon worriedly checked their watches. Small groups were seen anxiously consulting each other. What was happening? What was to be the climax of this historic week?

Suddenly at just on six fifteen there was a stir. The sirens of the police escorts could be heard in the distance. The excitement of the crowd became greater and greater. Then at last the delegates came, one little group after another. Most of them looked tired, but they clearly weren't disappointed. In a businesslike fashion they got into the session as quickly as they could, photographers and pressmen notwithstanding. The Conference Secretary asked the pressmen to leave the front of the hall and immediately the President opened the meeting.

The first item of the agenda was the Secretary's reading of additional messages to the Conference. A very long list it was, from the Presidium of the Mongolian People's Republic to the Formosa Democratic Independence Party, Tokyo, from the Indonesian Association in the Netherlands to the Foreign Missions Board of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A.

Then the final communique came. It was clear to the audience that the long delay had been due to the problems

which the drafting of this communique presented. Firmly and clearly the Conference Secretary, Roeslan Abdulgani, read the whole of the lengthy text. At every important point one or two pressmen left the galleries to get to the teletypists. Right through there were whispers in every part of the hall, with delegates and pressmen commenting to one another about the items that they had not expected — but concentrating at the same time, so as not to miss any part of the conclusions.

From seven till almost ten, eighteen of the twenty-nine delegation heads presented their closing addresses. The speakers thanked the Conference Chairman, the Indonesian Government, the Joint Secretariat and the people of Bandung for all that they had done to make the Conference a success. They were unanimous in their appreciation of the cordiality and good fellowship which had characterized the whole of the Conference. A number of the speakers commented on the specific achievements of the Conference, but almost all of them emphasized that today was a beginning not an end.

The final speech was the one of the Conference President, which we reproduce in this issue. When it was over the doors of the Conference hall were opened and the shouting of the crowd reached a pitch that was quite unprecedented. It was raining but the people of Bandung were determined to see the leaders of the two continents, on this their last opportunity. The delegates in their little groups walked to the front of the building, waved to the cheering crowd of onlookers, and walked off in the direction of Hotel Homann. It was a striking sight to see the Prime Ministers of India and Indonesia, clearly happy and oblivious of the photographers all around them, strolling together down the middle of Bandung's main street.

The reception at the Hotel Homann, given by the Prime Ministers of the five sponsoring countries, had been scheduled to begin at seven o'clock. It was after ten before it began, but by this time it was clear that the work to be done had been done. There was every reason to relax.

The lobbies of the Homann were full till the early hours of the morning with little groups discussing the meaning of Bandung for the future.

PERSONALITIES



Vice President Hatta and Mr. Subardjo of Indonesia stand beside Momolu Dukuly, Head of the Liberian Delegation.



The Acting Head of the Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

We wish to express our sincere thanks to the management and all the employees of N.V. Visser, Bandung, for their excellent cooperation which has made the daily publication of this Bulletin possible.

In Bandung during the Conference



Part of the audience at the aubade given by 50,000 school children.

The people of Bandung have taken much pride in preparing their city for the A. A. Conference. Though not offering luxury, they have earned praise for the good taste shown in the amenities they have provided.

Approximately 2000 guests, including members of delegations, pressmen, film-men and photographers, have been accommodated; for this purpose 17 hotels and 21 houses were requisitioned by the Indonesian Government. They were all redecorated and additional furniture installed: new linen and cutlery, thermos jugs and coat-hangers are examples of the smaller items which had to be thought of.

For those people with special food requirements, such food as Madras curry and Arabic nuts were imported; the export brand of local coffee was supplied to all establishments, and many European foods were imported.

Traffic routings within the city were altered for the convenience of people attending conference meetings. This was not so easy to arrange, because the two main conference buildings are rather far from each other, and traffic routings had to be of such a nature that, whilst the immediate environs of the conference halls were free to traffic for the delegates and press, the rest of the city was open for its normal business.

In practice, it proved that Bandung's traffic authorities are to be complimented on the way in which this problem was dealt with.

For a block or so along all entrances to the conference buildings, all roads were closed to all kinds of vehicles other than those bearing the special labels of the Conference. Special police, Boy Scouts, and a force of school boys and girls — the latter distinguished by their white uniform — kept the traffic flowing and, from time to time, checked the credentials of vehicles and their passengers entering the area.

Pedestrians, however, were entirely free to enter the area, but were kept clear of entrances in order to allow ease of access to delegates and conference workers. In this way, the public was able to come to very close quarters with delegates, and, naturally enough, autograph hunters were to be found everywhere.

Every day throughout the entire length of the Conference, the pavements in front of the Conference buildings were never entirely free of onlookers, who stood along the sidewalks, in shop doorways, and at every point of advantage, patiently waiting for hours at a time in order to see the people of so many different nationalities going about business of such importance.

THE SHOWS AND EXCURSIONS

A number of permanent shows were arranged in Bandung during the length of the Conference. "Cultural shops" were open to Conference people at a number of different centres, the chief one of which contained a horticultural exhibition and an illustration of the batik process, besides many artistic goods for sale.

Another Exhibition was one of oil and Chinese paintings which was on show in a nearby Chinese school.

Two organised excursions were arranged, one to the volcanic crater of Tangkuban Prahū, whose long flat top rises above Bandung city, and the other to Bogor's world-famous Botanic Gardens.

A number of the larger restaurants in Bandung were chosen as the site of nightly entertainments featuring Indonesian dancing, music, singing and drama.

CONFERENCE SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

Although pre-conference social activities started in Djakarta almost a week before its formal opening in Bandung, the formal opening of the Conference "season"

was the reception held by the President and Vice-President of Indonesia and their wives, at the Governor's Residence last Monday night, April 18th.

Following this official function, which was attended by most of those participating in the Conference, were many private parties given by Chief Delegates and other Conference leaders and their wives, from which the press were excluded. Other private gatherings were given by individuals and groups for friends in the hotels and private houses.

A number of Delegations gave receptions and cocktail parties for the press, at some of which films were shown. Other film shows from the participating countries were open to both press and Delegation members.

Various women's committees were active in providing teas and other social functions for ladies attending the Conference.

The reception to mark the end of the Conference was given by the Prime Ministers of the five sponsoring countries on Sunday 24th April, at the Savoy Homann Hotel.



At the Reception on Opening Day.



The plenary sitting



Prince Feisal of Saudi Arabia (right) and a member of his delegation with Minister Siradjuddin Abbas of Indonesia.



on the Opening Day.



Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo with Sir John Kotelawala and a member of the Syrian Delegation.



The Great Mosque, Bandung.

PUASA

At 5 a.m. on 24th April, Indonesian Moslems began to fast. This is Puasa, or the fasting month of Ramadan.

The month begins on the day on which a certain new moon is first seen to rise over the south coast of Java, news of which was at one time drummed from one end of the country to another.

During this month, Moslems may take no food or drink between sunrise and sunset. The time for the first meal of the day, called "buka puasa" — the opening of the fast — is announced by the drums being beaten in

the small feeder mosques or langgars. The last meal is called sahur, and is taken about half past four in the morning. People offer special prayers in the mosques and read parts of the Holy Qur'an.

Many people who do not consider themselves to be practising Moslems, like to follow Puasa nevertheless, for they consider it spiritual training in self-restraint.

Although of course it is not considered polite to be ostentatious with food, drink or cigarettes at this time, Moslems do not expect strangers to follow their customs.



Nehru and Krishna Menon; Sunario and Subardjo.

CHINA PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE WITH U. S. TO RELIEVE TAIWAN TENSION

In a statement made on April 23rd, Chou En-lai, Premier and Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, said that China is prepared to discuss with the United States of America the relaxation of tension in the Far East, especially in the Taiwan (Formosa) area.

The text of the short statement reads:

"The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States of America.

"The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and

enter into negotiations with the United States Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East, and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Taiwan area."

This statement was made by Chou En-lai at the Bandung residence of Conference President Ali Sastroamidjojo, where Heads of some of the Delegations to the Conference had gathered to discuss how tension might be reduced in the Far East. Delegations represented were: Burma, Ceylon, China, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.



Some of the Pressmen during an open sitting.

World Press Opinion

INDONESIA

"Suara Merdeka" of Semarang in Central Java wrote on 22nd April that one of the ideas which could smoothen the proceedings of the Bandung Conference is the understanding that the participating nations are in the first place Asian and African nations whose ways of thinking and destinies are not far different from one another. We can therefore reasonably expect that the Conference can arrive at concrete decisions regarding matters which can be carried out jointly.

If the Conference can produce tangible results, we are convinced that other conferences of Asian and African peoples to discuss problems of a more profound character can follow in the future. These conferences, the paper believed, could change the stand on fundamental principles of the nations now taking part in the Bandung Conference.

"Indonesia Raya" of Djakarta was of the opinion that despite the seemingly large number of participating countries, there were enough points of general agreement for a common stand to be taken in coping with the controversies faced by the great powers today.

Saying that nearly all the participants have once been colonised by Western countries, the paper pointed out that political independence is not enough. Economic independence is also important.

In the opinion of the paper a common stand on the question of preventing wars will not easily be reached, as most of the participating countries are bound militarily to the great powers. Nonetheless, "Indonesia Raya" said, the idea of preserving and promoting world peace will have the support of every delegation.

Writing in the same vein, "Thien Sung Yit Po", a Chinese language paper published in Djakarta, was of the opinion that owing to the different stands of the participating countries it will be difficult to come to unanimous agreement on practical questions, especially those relating to politics.

The paper termed the Conference "an epoch-making event in the world history" but regretted that some Asian and African countries, such as Israel, Formosa and Korea, had not been invited.

"*Harian Rakjat*" of Djakarta (English language) commented as follows:

"From many places in Indonesia messages were sent by the masses expressing their hopes that the Bandung Conference decide to demand the banning of the use and manufacture of atomic weapons.

"We are sure that these hopes are not only Indonesian hopes. These hopes are the hopes of Asia and Africa, of even the whole world.

"There are not words enough to depict the extent of the catastrophes which might be brought about if atomic weapons were used in any war, though President Eisenhower tried to cover it up with phrases such as "the tactical use of atomic weapons".

"Adlai Stevenson was right when in stating the alternative, he chose the formulation "co-existence or "no-existence".

"But no existence for whom?

"For mankind? For the world? For our whole civilisation?

"This cannot happen!

"Our strength and unity are too great to be wiped out together with imperialism.

"If an atomic war were yet to break out, the results would certainly be no-existence for imperialism!

"Let the imperialists, our hereditary enemies, make this choice if they prefer.

"But for us, why should we prefer existence with sacrifice to existence without sacrifice. Let us choose the latter! Let us make it from a possibility into a fact!

"The delegates who are now conferring at Bandung are in a position to do much in this respect."

BRITAIN

"*The Times*" of London on 21st April reported that the high hopes of the Conference had been shattered and the fears reduced. It commented that if the Conference had marked any swing in allegiances, so far it had been in accretions to the neutralist forces. "*The Times*" continued that probably the most important work of the Conference was being done in its social gatherings through introductions between Asian premiers who had never met before.

The London daily "*Telegraph*" admitted that there was less anti-Westernism displayed by the Conference than it had expected.

"*The Manchester Guardian*" referred to the favourable aspects of the opening stages. This paper said that differences over communism were overridden by the feeling that Afro-Asianism was more important, and that the

danger that communists might dominate the Conference had been averted by the moderate course adopted by Chou En-lai.

The most impressive feature of the Conference, the *Manchester Guardian* went on to say, was the widespread hope that Asian non-resistance was more powerful than the dependence of the industrialised powers on military weapons. "This neutralism which is inherent in every weak nation", the paper said, "becomes an incalculably powerful factor now that two continents, which hitherto have been despised, have found how much they have in common."

"*The Economist*" on 19th April reported a comment by G. Adam, who held that the Conference was mainly the work of Indonesia, probably in order to distract attention from her home troubles. But the result was historic because such a gathering of coloured statesmen had never happened before.

Adam said that it was interesting to see the role of China in the Conference where Russia was not present. Chou En-lai had a good platform for propaganda, but the Turks, Iraqis, Pakistanis, and possibly the Japanese were preventing him from dominating the Conference, and were in a position to strike a blow for freedom. It is to be neither war nor communist imperialism, the East and West must learn to work together, and neither of them can live on their own, the report states. The "*Economist*" article concludes by saying that the test of the Bandung Conference will be whether it makes such co-operation easier or more difficult.

The "*News Chronicle*" contains an article by James Cameron who expresses the opinion that the destiny of man has shifted a few points from its course, which, he remarks, may be a good thing in the end. He says: "It is odd to think that probably the century's most momentous political meeting so nearly (so far as we are concerned) missed the boat altogether."

"The Afro-Asian Conference has been sweating it out in an atmosphere of drama, super-tension, exhilaration, anxiety and self-conscious wonder". Delegates have one thing in common, he says, and that is that they are neither European nor American and their skins are not technically white. But, for the moment, without a shadow of a doubt these representatives are the most important people alive.

The Conference is anti-colonial, the report continues, but it shows no signs of being anti-American. President Sukarno's address on the opening day is described as "genuinely moving". The article concludes by remarking that although hard facts are scarce, the significant point is that one half of the world's population has found a voice of a kind — and that is one of the biggest things that has happened in our time.

FORMATION OF ASIAN-AFRICAN JOURNALISTS' ASSOCIATION

Asian and African journalists covering the Asian-African Conference held an informal meeting on Saturday, April 23, at 7.30 p.m. in the Press Room of the Conference building, Gedung Merdeka. The meeting discussed the possibilities for the setting up of an Asian-African Journalists' Association to cement the ties of friendship between the journalists of the two continents, and to further the purposes of the Conference.

The meeting called upon Asian and African newsmen to form a non-political and mutually benefiting association, and urged for wider coverage in their newspapers of news on Asian and African developments. An exchange

of journalists and the cutting of cable rates in their regions were also discussed.

The meeting expressed the deep gratitude of the journalists to the Governments of the sponsoring countries, in particular to Indonesia, for the arrangements which have been made for their convenience and comfort. The warm hearts and the hospitality of the people of Bandung were also appreciated.

The meeting was sponsored by S.J. Sulaiman of Indonesia, Antoun Assaf of Egypt, Denzil Peiris of Ceylon, Vincente J. Guzman of the Philippines, Kazem Zarnegar of Iran and Samad Ismail of Singapore.



Dwi-warna Building, site of Committee meetings.