Bandung 1955: The Search for Independence









Game booklet
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Not for distribution

Prologue

The world isn't fair. For too long, the world was dominated by colonialism and imperialism, at the hands of the wealthy and powerful lords of Europe, America and Japan. For some countries imperialism lasted for centuries. For others it was just decades, but the shock was all the worse for that. Colonialism robbed your people of their freedom as a nation, of their rights as individuals, of their very way of life as colonial economic systems intruded every village and shattered traditional ways of life. Your lands were reshaped, battered and manipulated by the colonizer.

Through it all, though, colonized peoples resisted. Some through violent methods and the defence of tradition; others through learning the colonizer's methods in schools founded by the colonizer or by local people on modern lines. Nations were reborn as nationalists worked for freedom from foreign rule.

Then came a devastating war, but also, with it, the hope of future freedom and self-determination. Britain and the United States began to promise independence for their colonies. The Atlantic Charter spelled out principles of freedom that would replace the brutal tyranny of fascism, and also lead to social justice around the world. A Grand Alliance formed to defeat fascism and militarism. The colonized world played its part, and after the war, began to claim its freedom. Middle Eastern countries gained independence even before the war. The Philippines, India, Pakistan and others followed, as America and Britain agreed to withdraw and hand power to non-communist nationalists. The Soviet Union, now a great power, put its weight behind freedom for the colonies. Japan was driven out of its Asian conquests – as much by the efforts of Chinese, Burmese, Indonesians, and Vietnamese as by the efforts of the great powers. When France and the Netherlands tried to regain their colonies in Southeast Asia, nationalist movements fought back, and won freedom for Indonesia and Vietnam. Only a handful of small colonies remain in Asia. And now, Africa is setting out on the road to freedom too.

And yet. Independence was meant to lead to a better life for people through economic growth. It was supposed to lead to a more fair world, with the former colonies treated as equals. The world was promised peace, but instead plunged into Cold War. And where were the deaths and destruction of this new confrontation? Not in Europe, but in Asia. Rather than the promised freedom, Korea was dissected into two, then its prone body fought over in a Cold War proxy battle. The lot of the former colonies is still poverty. Their advances are blocked by the wealthier countries, by a lack of capital for economic development, by dependence on raw material exports to a world market that sets the price in Europe or America. Every country is asked to choose a side in the Cold War, as if the former colonies were still pawns and not free agents.

Bandung aims to change that. You arrive in a chaotic tropical city in a country not long out of war. As the American (or French, as he is now) writer Richard Wright put it when he landed, customs agents work with "A great deal of smiling good will but an appalling amount of inefficiency." Bandung's "heat was like Turkish bath; the humidity was higher than in the African jungle." In Indonesia, as in so much of what another French writer has started to call the "third world," post-colonial society is poor and

desperate. "Family relations have been replaced by factory and financial relations, and the resulting picture of brutal and direct commercial activity is of a nature unknown even in cities like London, New York, or Paris," as Wright puts it. But amidst the "hot mud hole "of the Indonesian city is a country whose people are working hard to move ahead and whose leaders are well-educated and well-spoken as anyone in the cities of Europe or America.¹

The Cold War has spread across the world, engulfing lands that know nothing of the United States or the Soviet Union. With independence won, how shall the new countries of Asia and Africa face the Cold War dilemma and the challenge of economic development in a Cold War world?

Summary of the game

In this simulation, students will divide into groups to simulate one of the delegations to the Africa-Asian Conference of 1955, held in Bandung, Indonesia. The conference is often described as the birthplace of two key concepts of the 20th century: the "Third World" and the idea of "non-alignment," or remaining outside the Cold War power blocs. Each student will be assigned to play one participant in the conference, a member of one of the 29 delegations. This simulation is an exercise in participatory problem-based learning. Therefore, active participation in some form is expected of everyone. You will have a chance to meet in your group, then to develop proposals. You will be expected to write a briefing paper on behalf of your country on one issue, and deliver a short speech on the same subject. Speeches are delivered in plenary session or online. All groups will be given the opportunity to debate the issues.

The Historical Moment: Bandung, 1955

Like the First World War, the Second World ended (in 1945) with a sense that such wars should not be permitted to happen again, and with a commitment around the world to internationalism. One of the major outcomes of the 1945 moment was the United Nations, which attempted to avoid the problems of its predecessor, the League of Nations. The UN was granted the right to enforce Security Council decisions. But its success depended upon great-power cooperation. In the late 1940s, the United States and the Soviet Union embarked on a Cold War, each with military alliances backing them up. The US was supported by Western European and other states in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other alliances; the Soviet Union was backed up by the Warsaw Pact in Eastern Europe and (for a time) an alliance with the People's Republic of China.

Yet the Cold War, an East-West division of the world, was not the sole moving force of the second half of the century. Both superpowers claimed to support the end of European colonial empires. Partly as a result, a world of empires was transformed into a decolonizing world. In the 1940s and 1950s, most of Asia gained its independence from European colonial rule. In the early 1960s, most of Africa followed. The assumption was that most of these newly-independent countries would be poor and with little international power, forced to do the best they could in a Cold War setting.

¹ Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1956).

Bandung challenged all that. In 1954, five countries that had gained their independence in the very recent past called for a meeting of all the new countries of Asia and Africa. On the invitation of Burma (later called Myanmar), Ceylon (later called Sri Lanka), India, Indonesia and Pakistan, they gathered in 1955 in the Indonesian city of Bandung. Journalists were soon writing of this new gathering as the birth of a "third world" comparable to the "third estate" of the French revolution. This "third world" opted in many (though not all cases) for "non-alignment" – neutrality in the Cold War.

All countries represented at Bandung had been colonies before World War II. They were new to independence. The "Bandung spirit" asserted that these new countries would chart their own destiny. They would not be dominated by great powers and national interests: instead they would work to build a better world. Yet each also came with their own national interests and entanglements. Thus they faced major challenges.

In Bandung, there are no great powers, though some countries represented have larger populations and resources. The job at Bandung is not to end a war and create a peace: it is to build a world more just to Africa and Asia than the old order.

Countries represented at Bandung (not all are playable)

- 1. Burma, Republic of (later called Myanmar)
- 2. Ceylon, Dominion of (later called Sri Lanka)
- 3. India, Republic of
- 4. Indonesia, Republic of
- 5. Pakistan, Dominion of
- 6. Afghanistan, Kingdom of
- 7. Cambodia, Kingdom of
- 8. China, People's Republic of
- 9. Egypt, Republic of
- 10. Ethiopia, Empire
- 11. Gold Coast (later Ghana)
- 12. Iran, Imperial State of
- 13. Iraq, Hashemite Kingdom of
- 14. Japan, State of
- 15. Jordan, Hashemite Kingdom of
- 16. Laos, Kingdom of
- 17. Lebanon, Republic
- 18. Liberia, Republic of
- 19. Libya, Kingdom of
- 20. Nepal, Kingdom of
- 21. Philippines, Republic of
- 22. Saudi Arabia, Kingdom of
- 23. Sudan, Republic of
- 24. Syria, Republic of
- 25. Thailand, Kingdom of
- 26. Turkey, Republic of
- 27. Vietnam, Democratic Republic of (North Vietnam)
- 28. Vietnam, State of (South Vietnam)
- 29. Yemen, Mutawakkilite Kingdom of

<u>Groupings</u>: There were some broad groups within the conference, with the issue of military blocs dividing them. Two states were communist (China and North Vietnam). Of the five convening states, three were committed strongly to non-alignment (Burma, India, Indonesia) and two were more aligned with the West (Ceylon through defence agreements with Britain, and Pakistan through membership in the American-sponsored South East Asian Treaty Organization, or SEATO). Another eight countries leaned towards non-alignment and about a dozen were pro-Western. For convenience, the conference might be broken down as follows:

- "Conservatives" -- Pakistan, Ceylon, Philippines, Japan, South Vietnam, Thailand, Iraq, Iran
- "Radicals" -- Indonesia, India, Burma, China, North Vietnam, Egypt, Cambodia
- "Moderates: -- Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Libya, Sudan, Liberia, Saudi Arabia

The key issues

Thee broad issue areas have been identified for this simulation:

- The Question of Alignment and Military Blocs. As noted above, some states (indicated by *) were members of US-sponsored defensive military pacts. Turkey was part of NATO, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Iran, Iraq, Pakistan and Turkey were members of CENTO, the Central Treaty Organization (aka Baghdad Pact). Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand were members of SEATO, the South East Asian Treaty Organization (aka Manila Pact). SEATO claimed to be defending South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, though Cambodia rejected that "protection" as a colonist idea. Japan had a defence pact with the USA, China had one with the Soviet Union, Ceylon and Jordan had military agreements with Britain and Lebanon had one with France (which had just ended its war in Vietnam a year earlier). To the neutralist states, this all represented a threat to the peace. Should the conference accept military blocs, or try to assert the idea of non-alignment? And how would countries deal with the threat of Chinese or American intervention, or the loss of Western or Soviet economic aid?
- Ending Colonialism and Granting Independence to Non-Self-Governing Territories. Most countries at Bandung were very recently colonies themselves. India and Pakistan had been independent for seven years; host Indonesia was ten years from its declaration of independence and five years from the end of its war of independence; the Vietnams were just one year old as recognized states; Sudan was so new it did not yet have a flag and had to make one on the spot; the Gold Coast was still a British colony and would only become independent in 1957 (under the name Ghana). Even China, around for thousands of years, had only been a People's Republic since 1949. So the question of colonialism was very much on delegates' minds. Should the remaining colonies be freed immediately, even if they lacked the

- economic strength to survive? Should the UN mandate a phased but faster decolonization process? What about people who the colonial power claimed were already free as full citizens in another country, such as French Algeria, or Portugal's African colonies, or apartheid South Africa, or even the Palestinian people? How to end colonialism remained a hot topic, with multiple answers.
- Economic Development, the Terms of Trade, and South-South Economic Cooperation. Asian and African states had won their political independence. But most remained dependent on exporting crops or raw materials to markets in Europe and North America (Liberia's rubber; Iran's oil; Burma's ice; and so on). And most were poor, less developed countries. How could economic independence be achieved? Would it be through better terms of trade, so that Asian and African exporters could get a better price for their exports and thus fund development in a capitalist world trading system? If so, how could that be achieved? Would it be better achieved through economic self-reliance, loosening dependence on exports to wealthier countries and building up domestic industry? Should Africa and Asia trade more with each other (South-South rather than South-North trade)? Is more capital aid needed in order to boost the amount of capital in a country and thus allow more spending on development projects? Or did the answer lie in some combination of these, or something else entirely?

Rules

Class time for the simulation will be used in three ways: groups meeting to plan and work together; groups speaking privately with one or more other groups to try to build support for their aims; and plenary sessions in which the issues will be debated in open session and voted upon.

Only one person may speak at a time. Interruptions are not permitted: instead, ask the chair to recognize you. Interruptions such as applause, "hear hear" or "shame" and the like are tolerated, though considered poor manners by some of the more traditional diplomats. Only the person recognized by the chair as holding the floor are to speak. Time limits in plenary may be enforced – do not speak for more than three minutes.

The key consideration here is <u>mutual respect</u>: you are acting as if you were a diplomat in 1955, and addressing others as such. Disagreement <u>in-character</u> should not be confused with disagreement <u>out-of-character</u>. This includes respect for both members of your group (meeting your commitments to your fellow group members) and other groups (disagreeing in-character, certainly, but remaining respectful out-of-character to each other).

Don't simply read your proposal when presenting; instead, make a case and state the reasons that other groups should support your proposal. Debate period will allow other groups to ask questions of clarification or to state their responses. There will be a short consultation period after debate is finished and before the voting, to allow groups to consult internally (and with other groups if needed).

The game stresses compromise and negotiation, leading towards a final communique. (Recommendation: produce a google document and edit as needed.) Unresolved issues should be avoided if possible – as should the threat that the conference will fail, losing the emerging "third world" its chance to deliver justice to its people.

At the same time, press for your country's national interest. You may aim for ideal or adequate outcomes, and you should seek to avoid losses for your country or group. Within the push for consensus, do what you can to promote your own country's goals. These are laid out in your role sheets.

Schedule of classes

<u>March 15 (Monday)</u> – meet in groups to get organized. Bandung game booklet and source material available. In the following week, review the game books and prepare proposals for next week's class.

Conversation to continue on Teams forums between classes. The goal should be to create a resolution and have it passed, for instance "Resolved that the Conference calls on the Netherlands to transfer administrative control of West Irian to Indonesia" or "Resolved that the Conference calls for the creation of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development."

<u>March 2 – Plenary session I</u>: Political issues (military blocs and ending colonialism). Opening speeches; general debate; consultation break; decision if possible. Each country choosing this as their priority issue may make a proposal and speak to it in their opening statement. This can be during class time (orally) or on Teams (text or video/audio speech both acceptable).

Conversation to continue on Teams forums between classes. You are encouraged to participate by responding to the views of others.

<u>March 29 – Plenary session II:</u> Economic development and trade. Same format as first plenary.

Resolutions may be

Assignments: so what do I do, exactly?

Marks are based primarily on your individual writing, addressing an issue, and written from the perspective of your character. Don't write "President Sukarno believed..." Write as if you <u>are</u> Sukarno, or whoever you are assigned to play. You should submit a written brief of one to two pages, ending with clear recommendation in wording suitable for a final communique. This can be presented in draft form of as a simple recommendation during a plenary or on Teams, and can then be handed in as a final version at the conclusion of the simulation. Aim at about two pages. The briefing should include:

- (1) Your position on the issue
- (2) Reasons your country believes this is the correct policy
- (3) Reasons why other countries present should also support it
- (4) Reference to one or more source documents, eg the Bogor communique of the five sponsoring countries, President Sukarno's opening speech, the Panchsheel (five principles), etc.

Roles and playable countries

There are five sponsoring powers: Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan. They do not share the same perspectives on all issues. Rather, they are broken down into three broad groups, which have differences of opinion within them:

- "Conservatives" -- Pakistan, Ceylon, Philippines, Japan, South Vietnam, Thailand, Iraq, Iran
- "Radicals" -- Indonesia, India, Burma, China, North Vietnam, Egypt, Cambodia
- "Moderates: -- Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, Libya, Sudan, Liberia, Saudi Arabia

The delegates:

Country name	Delegate	Known informally as	Position in home government
Dominion of Pakistan	Mohammad Ali	Mr Ali	Prime Minister
Dominion of Ceylon	Sir John Kotewala	Sir John	Prime Minister
Republic of the Philippines	Carlos Romulo	General Romulo	Former Minister of Foreign Affairs
Japan	Tatsunosuke Takasaki	Mr Takasaki	Minister of State
State of Vietnam (South)	Nguyen Van Thaoi	Mr Nguyen (pro. Ng-win)	Minister of Reconstruction
	HRH Prince Wan		
Kingdom of Thailand	Waithayakon	Prince Wan	Foreign Minister
Kingdom of Iraq	Mohommed Fadhel Jamali	Mr Jamali	Former Prime Minister
Imperial State of Iran	Djalal Abdoh	Mr Abdoh	Director-General, Foreign Affairs
Republic of India	Jawaharlal Nehru	Pandit Nehru	Prime Minister
Republic of Indonesia	Ali Sastroamidjojo	Dr Ali	Prime Minister
Union of Burma	U Nu	U Nu	Prime Minister
People's Republic of China	Zhou Enlai	Comrade Zhou	Premier
Dem. Republic of Vietnam	Pham Van Dong	Comade Pham	Foreign Minister
Republic of Egypt	Gamal Abdul Nasser	Colonel Nasser	Prime Minister
Kingdom of Cambodia	HRH King Norodom Sihanouk	Prince or Citizen Sihanouk	Prime Minister
	HRH Sardar Mohammad		
Kingdom of Afghanistan	Naim	Mr Naim	Foreign Minister
Empire of Ethiopia	Yilma Deressa	Mr Deressa	Minister of Finance
Gold Coast (British)	Kojo Botsio	Mr Botsio	Minister of State
United Kingdom of Libya	Mahmud Bey Muntasir	Mr Muntasir	Former Prime Minister
Sudan	Ismael el Akhari	Mr Azhari	Prime Minister

Republic of Liberia	Charles D.B. King	Mr King	Former Prime Minister
Kingdom of Saudi Arabia	Faisal Bin Abd Al-Aziz Al-Saud	Prince Faisal	Prime Minister

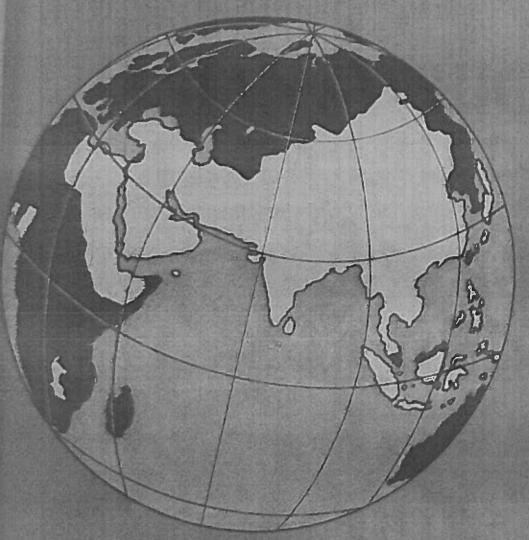
Source material

The attached source documents may assist you in making your case, learning about Bandung, and providing quotations and other support for your efforts to persuade others to your case. Source material consists of:

- 1. Asian-African Conference Bulletin, issue #1, excerpts. This magazine was produced daily during the conference proper with a few issues before and after by the energetic staff of the Indonesian conference secretariat. (For an account by an Australian-born naturalized Indonesian member of the secretariat, see Molly Bondan, In Love with a Nation.) The scan quality is low but is higher in the online version. Excerpts include:
 - a. the Bogor communique, issued in 1954 by the national leaders of the five sponsoring countries. This document lays out the purposes of the Bandung conference and invited delegations, plus some guiding principles.
 - b. An interview with Indonesian prime minister Ali Sastroamidjojo about the conference.
 - c. A map of the A-A area and a list of participants.
- 2. Excerpts from Brian Rusell Roberts & Keith Foulcher, eds, Indonesian Notebook:
 - a. Press editorial on the hotel accommodations and position of toilets as a political issue.
 - b. Notes from journalists on the conference environment and public welcome for some leaders.
- 3. The Panchsheel, as spelled out in the preamble to a treaty between India and China, signed 1954, from UN treaty series.
- 4. Text of the Southeast Asian Collective Defense Treaty (SEATO founding document), 1954.
- 5. Baghdad Pact (CENTO founding document), 1954.
- 6. UN Charter, Chapter XI on Non-Self-Governing Territories, the key document on granting independence to colonies.
- 7. Summary of the introductory speeches at the Bandung conference in the public opening session, transmitted by the British embassy to Indonesia.
- 8. George Kahin, The Asian-African Conference, first pages. An American academic provides a summary of the events and conversations leading to the decision to hold the Bandung conference.
- 9. President Sukarno's opening speech (will also be shown in video).

- 10. Richard Wright, *The Color Curtain*, excerpts (pp. 11-15 provide the background to the conference and Wright's interest in it; pp. 71-75 give his take on the elites of Asia and Africa now coming to the fore; pp. 85-93 give some reaction form the international press and reflect on what was to be done at Bandung).
- 11. Yearbook of the Unite Nations, 1953. Provides a summary of debates around calls for the creation of a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED).
- 12. Maps: the participating countries, blocs at Bandung expressed in Cold War terms; the military situation in eastern Asia; a map of the world in 1945 defining countries as UN members, non-members, or colonies. When debating whether to concentrate on particular colonies, this may be useful.
- 13. Ho Chi Minh, Declaration of Vietnamese Independence, 1945, and Appeal by Vietnamese bishops for independence.
- 14. Alfred Sauvy, Three Worlds, One Planet, on the idea of a "third world."
- 15. Fifth Pan-African Congress, The Challenge to the Colonial Powers, 1945.
- 16. Gamal Abdul Nasser, The Philosophy of the Revolution.
- 17. Algerian National Liberation Front Proclamation, 1954.

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE



BULLETIN

PROCED BY THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFARES. REPORTS. OF INDONFRIA

Joint Communique of the Bogor Conference

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- The Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met at Bogor on the 28th and 29th December, 1954. The main object of their meeting was to consider matters concerning the proposed Asian-African Conference suggested at the first meeting of the Prime Ministers at Colombo last April.
- The Prime Ministers took advantage of the oppornaity of their present meeting to review briefly, and in general terms, problems and issues of common interest and concern to them all.
- The Prime Ministers agreed that an Asian-African Conference be held under their joint sponsorship. They also reached agreement on all consequential matters.
- 4. The purposes of the Asian-African Conference

to promote goodwill and cooperation between the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interest and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations;

 to consider social, economic and culturelations of the countries represented;

to consider problems of special interest to and African peoples, e.g. problems affecting nimoaal col"ercignty and of racialism and colonialism

- peoples in the world of today and the contribation of the promotion of the pr
- 5 The Conference will meet in Indonesia JD the last work of April 1955. The Government of Ind is have

agreed to make the necessary arrangements for this Conference on behalf of the sponsoring countries. A Conference Secretariat representing the sponsoring countries will be set up in Indonesia.

6. The Prime Ministers agreed that the Conference should have a broad and geographical basis, and that all countries in Asia and Africa, which have independent governments, should be invited. With minor variations and modifications of this basic principle, they decided to invite the following countries:

I.	Afghanistan	13	Lebanon.
,4	Cambodia	1	Laberia
3.	Central African	15.	Libya .
	Federation	• (!!	Nepal
	China	1	Philippines
5	Egypt	Ι"	Saudi Arab
6	Ethiopia	19	Sodan
7.	Gold Coast	:!; .	Sni
8.	1	:!1	
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The above twentyfive countries, together with the five sponsoring countries, namely, Burma, Ceyton, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, will, it is hoped, participate in the Conference.

Representation at the Conference will be at Ministerial level and it is hoped that each country invited will be represented by her Prime Minister and or Futeign Minister together with such other representatives as took government might wish to include in its delegation.



a. The Conference will determine its procedure and agends the general scope of which is set out in the purposes of the Crusterence.

9. The Prime Ministers wished to point out that accepspace of the invitation by any one country would in no way brooks or even emply any change in its view of the status of my other country it implied only that the country invited was in general agreement with the purposes of the Conference. They had also borne in mind the principle that the form of government and the way of life of any one country should in no way be subject to interference by another. Any view expressed at the Conference by one or more participating country would not be binding on or be regarded as accepted by any other, unless the latter so desired. The basic purpose of the Conference is that the countries concerned should become better acquainted with one another's point of view. The Prime Ministers hoped that this clatification would enable all the invited countricy to accept their invitation.

10. The Prime Ministers withed to state that in seeking to convene an Asian-African Conference, they were not actuated by any desire for exclusiveness in respect of the membership of the Conference. They did not desire either that the participating countries should build themselves into a regional bloc.

11. The Prime Ministers expressed gratification at the results of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China and the constition of hostilities. They expressed the hope that the Geneva Agreements would be fully respected and implemented by all concerned and that there would be no conside interference which would hinder their successful implementation.

12. The Prime Ministers in the context of their well-known artitude sewards colonishers, took note of the case of West Irian. The Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan supported the position of Indonesia in this matter. They expressed the earnest bope that the Netherlands Government would reopen negotiations to

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17. The Prime Ministers, meeting on the eve of the New Year, expressed their earnest hope that the year 1955 would witness a further growth in the friendly cooperation of the countries represented in the Conference as well as other countries and further the cause of world peace.

Premier. AH Sastroanlidjojo and the International News Service

The following are highlights of Premier All Mill off: depot answer to the acres of questions from I. H.h., ... I for United Video of the UNA.

\) What in your opinion ... It lill the ijnl !'ftl,t'll\. (If th

In my opinion the major objective of the Asian African Conference is what is said in paragraph 4(d) of the Joint Communique of the Bogor Conference as follows: To view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world more and comperation".

However, the three other points of that p should not be considered as unimportant, the contain issues which are of vital interest pooples of Asia and Africa in their relations t,-1 each other and the world at large.

Do you expect the Conference to tak ltCtic>Cl un the

The rll-lil=- ,r fc.,¢C'JUI rl>-,\ld.1-1,IJ.C ·"Ifthl 0<rh, Ur as a dem for discussion in the Conference in, ,L not only concerns the peoples of Asia and Af:1, ·1 but also other nations in the world. Whether the (...,J, rence will take actions on that issue, 1 do r,·, yel know.

is there any fear the Peoples Republic of China 11 use the Conference simply to strengthen the tuh L'I Community in Asia?

There is no such fear ffflm ih c ,1tic c,{ 1he fi"o ,-,11.

What do you envisage the Conferent, then 11, then 11, the limit through the second washington 1

This question must be viewed in the light of what I have said in answering your first question. What the Conference can do to ease world tensions depends on the outcome of the discussions concerning the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of saday.

What "common deseminators" can be expected

- It is not the common demonstrate might be the social economic and cultural problems and existent of the conference time most of the invites are today facing more or less the same economic attuation in their respective countries. Another base of common interest might be the spice tion of colonialism.
 - Is the Conference fundamentally a search for polisical and international solidarity by the non-white racial the world?
- In the proof of the invitees are numbers of the United 1(11%, it can be said that it will not decide from II fundamental objective of the United National Charter, of which the most important one is interestional solidarity. I can therefore state here that a spositively not an international solidarity of the conwhite races, against the "white races."

Why were the Arab nations invited, but not forced whether a country is to be invited, was decided by the five Prime Ministers unanimetally. The invitation to the Arab nations was agreed upon unanimously whereus there was no unanimity concerning family why was Communist China invited, but not Nationalist China?

- A The five sponsoring countries recognize only China, that is the People's Republic of China
- IJ Why were Vietnam and Vietnamh layered, has the Republic of Kores?
- As you know the five Printe Ministers of the extraring countries are more or less commuted with regith the Issue of Indo-China, since in April 1254 wh
 macting for the first time in Colombo, they have sale
 a common stand on the Indo-China postern
 world also knows that the Colombo discuss had
 considerable; influence on the Colombo
 tesulting in the state of affects processed
 indo-China. Now that our
 accepted by the Geneva Conference
 responsibility by invising all the less-China
 locluding south Victorian and Victorian
 Victorian.

That came reasoning did not apply to Korea

What will prevent the conference from developing into an afgament against the rest of the free world under pro-Communist slogans of anti-oclomatism and antiimperialism?

Anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism are not slogans monopolized by Communists, but are living realities in the minds of the masses of the peoples of Asia and Africa. Unfortunately these sentiments are generally tenored or manimized by the Western world. The presumption that anti-colomisism and anti-imperialism are merely Communist slogans, indicates an ignorance of the psychological intil ICIF, "I U". IC-1111 md Atrican natio QM which only recently emerged from coloi, ... I, t, II, ... mto independence It is therefore

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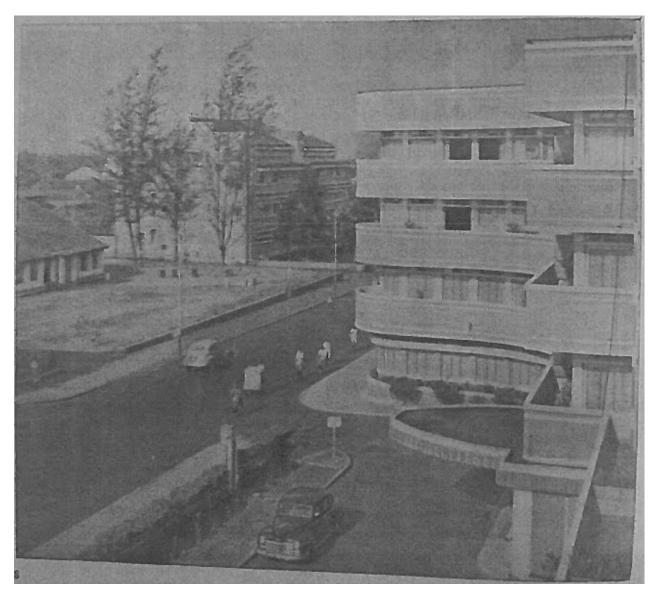
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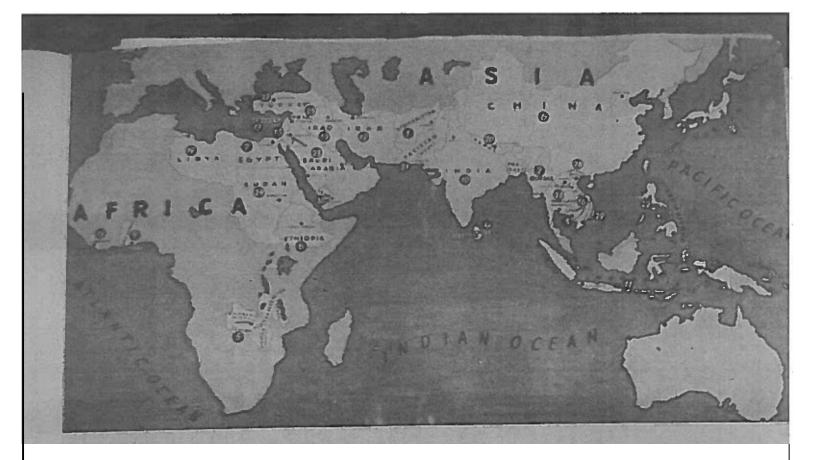
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Editorial: A Suggestion for Improvement

Initial publication: *Indonesia Raya*, Wednesday, 13 April 1955 SOURCE LANGUAGE:

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As the invited participants start arriving for the Asia-Africa conference, and the journalists covering the conference need to be given accommodations, the

shortcomings in the preparations for incoming visitors are becoming apparent. Without wishing to underestimate the hard work and activity of those who have been making preparations since the conference was first announced, we would like to draw attention especially to the matter of the hotels in which conference participants and journalists have had to lodge in Jakarta before being able to travel on to Bandung.

Yesterday, for example, a Japanese journalist and the famous writer Richard Wright were assigned a gloomy room next to the toilet and bathroom in the Hotel Shutte Raaf. The smell from the toilet went right into the room. As it happens, both these guests, the journalist and the writer, are people who are very sympathetic to Indonesia and the Asia-Africa conference. Welcoming them with a gloomy room next to the toilet amounts to nothing more than throwing cold water on guests to our country.

As individual experiences have a great effect on the way human beings view their surroundings, we suggest that those responsible for welcoming conference participants and journalists should pay attention to matters like this. Certainlr, there must be a minimum standard for the hotel rooms we are able • to provide for guests arriving in this country.

We hope that this suggestion for improvement will be noted, in the interest of the reputation of the government, and also the reputation of Indonesia itself.

Around and About the AA-Conference

Initial publication: *Het Nicuwsblad* voor *Sumatra*, Tuesday, 19 April 1955

SOURCELASGUAGE:DUTCH

11 as items are extracted from a more extensive source text for this anlele,

he Tok.')'o newspaper *Yomiuri* wrote on Saturday that it was "regrettable" at Takasaki, who during the war was president of the Manchurian Society

for Heavy Industry and as such was a "standard bearer" of the colonial policy of the then Japanese government, should now be assuming the role of leader of the Japanese delegation to Bandung. Yomiuri declared that it was also "embarrassing" that the delegation included Masayuko Tani among its members, since during the war he had been head of the information bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which had tried to implement the Japanese ideology of a "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere:•

"That these persons have been dispatched cannot be helped," the newspaper wrote, "and we must trust that they will do their utmost to explain the new Japan to the countries of Asia. It is our wish that when they speak they will look to Asia, and not to the US."

Without wishing to detract &om the hard work of those responsible for making preparations for the AA-Conference, *Indonesia Raya* wishes to draw attention to the fact that various correspondents who have transited in Ja. karta on their way to Bandung have been accommodated in third-class hotel rooms. A case in point is that of the well-known writer Richard Wright and a Japanese journalist, who found themselves in a small room next to the toilet in the Hotel Shutte Raaf. Being accommodated in a room like this must have been a bitter disillusionment for both these men, who are very sympathetic to Indonesia and the AA-Conference. The newspaper expressed the hope that cases like this will not surface again in future.

Bandung during the A-A Conference

by Indonesia Raya reporters Initial publication: Indonesia Raya, Thursday, 21 April 1955 SOURCE LANGUAGE: JNDONESIAN

Chou, Nehru, and Nasser Most Popular-Police Mobilized from All Over liidonesia-"Where Do You Come From, Sirr-Ellell Reporters from Jakarta Attacked by Autograp/I Hunters-"Hartini"from Pakistan-Regarding Mrs. Ali from llidonesia and Mrs. Ali from Pakistan. 10 Bandung, Thursday.

The Asian-African Conference has brought the people of Bandung a new level of activity and the sense of being part of a great festival. Although the ordinary people of this city, famous for its "peuyeum,"11 do not know much about what the delegates from the countries of Asia and Africa are talking about-other than what they read in the newspapers-and the conference centers like the "Merdeka" building (formerly Concordia) and the "Dwiwarna" building (formerly Pensioenfonds) arc closed to the public, there is a great level of interest in the conference among the city's people.

FROM MORNING TILL early evening, crowds of people gather in &ont of the "Merdeka" building in the center of Bandung to watch the members of the various delegations alight from their cars and enter the conference halls, or leave the building whenever a session concludes,

Chou En Lai, Ne/1n1, and Nasser most popular

The people of Bandung cheer each head of delegation, but they reserve their most enthusiastic welcome for the head of the delegation from the People's Republic of China, Chou En Lai, the Indian Prime Minister, Nehru, and the Egyptian Prime Minister, Gamal Abdel Nasser.

The state security forces have difficulty restraining the crowd when the leaders of those countries pass by, which, famously, is also usually the case in his home country when Chou is welcomed by applause &om the people of the PRC.

Representatives of the Gold Coast in their colorful national costumes also attract the attention of the crowds. The photographers mostly aim their cameras at Chou and Nehru when they exchange a few words of conversation before a session begins. It is very rare to see Chou smile, and his features are almost always those of someone on the verge of anger. This was also the case when he stepped up to the rostrum to deliver his speech, which he did in Chinese. An interpreter stood beside him to translate his speech. Maybe Chou was feeling somewhat incensed by the speech delivered by the head of the Iraqi delegation, Dr, Moh. Fadhil El Jamali, who criticized communism vociferously.

Police mobili:ed from all over Indonesia

To maintain the security of the delegations, members of the police force with the rank of commissioner or inspector have been brought in from all over Indonesia. Of course those who have been temporarily transferred to each delegation have a full command of English. Each delegation has been assigned a police commissioner or inspector as an "aide de camp; assisted by a number of regular police officers. They wear a badge on their chests with the name of the country whose delegation they have been assigned to. The task of maintaining the security of each of the delegations is understandably an onerous responsibility. It should not be surprising that anyone wanting to enter a restricted area is subjected to very strict inspection by the security forces. Fortunately, journalists are given some freedom of movement, unlike during the Bogor Conference, when the movement of both local and foreign journalists was severely restricted.¹² While the A·A conference is under way,

responsibility for the security of the city of Bandung lies with a coordinating committee consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Kosasih, Commissioner A. Dt. Palindih, Head of the Department of National Defense and Security in West Java, and Major Roesli.

"Where do you come from, Sir?"

At night, when members of the conference delegations or foreign journalists go walking on Jala11 Braga [Braga Street], taking in the Bandung air and buying souvenirs or just "window shopping," they are assailed by groups of teenagers, most of them junior high school students of various sorts. These students compete with one another in pursuit of autographs from foreign visitors, leaving the visitors somewhat nonplussed. The famous Negro writer Richard Wright was one of those who was targeted by these autograph hunte rs. ¹³

Some of the local journalists from Jakarta have also found themselves the object of these attacks, even after telling the students that they too were Indonesians, from Jakarta. "Where do you come from, Sir?" was one of the questions put to the Pedoman reporter Amir Daud, who, it would seem, looks like someone from South Korea. All Amir's efforts to avoid these "attackers" were in vain, and he was forced to write his signature in some of their notebooks. Drenched in sweat, he finally managed to escape them. Several other journalists met the same fate. The people of Band}lng, all out and about because the shops on Jalan Braga are open at night to mark the A-A conference, just laugh at incidents like this.

At1r11cti011s during the co11fere11cc

While the conference is in session, a number of restaurants are putting on nightly displays of a variety of dances, martial arts, *wayang golek* puppetry, and other art forms.¹⁴

Every night, people flood into restaurants like Naga Mas, Merdeka, Baltic, Snoephuis, and Bogerijen for these shows. Last night for example the Naga Mas held a "Batik Show," 15 with many of Bandung's most prominent ladies appearing as models.

The proceeds from these shows go to charity.

"Hartilli" from Pakistall

One evening there was an uproar among the crowds walking up and down Jalan Braga, when a rumor started to spread that "Hartini from Pakistan" was there. It appeared that Prime Minister Moh. Ali from Pakistan and his second

wife, his former secretary, were browsing Jalan Braga, moving in and out of shops along the way. The police had a hard time dispersing the crowds that gathered around the shops visited by these distinguished guests.

It was reported tJ1at Mrs. Ali Sastroamidjojo kept her dista11ce from this second wife of the Pakistani Prime Minister. When Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo and PM Ali were ambassadors of Indonesia and Pakistan respectively to the United States some years ago, Mrs. Ali Sastroamidjojo knew the Pakistani PM's second wife as his secretary, someone who was not her equal.

Apparently, while Mrs. Moh. Ali was in Bandung, the wives of the Indonesian dignitaries did not go out of their way to entertain her. This may have been because Perwari and other Indonesian women's organizations found it difficult to deal with a woman who was the second wife of a head of state. ¹⁶

Cultural News

Initial publication: *Het Nicuwsblad* voor Sumatra, Friday, 22 April 1955 SOURCE LANGUAGE; DUTCH

SOURCE LANGUAGE; DUTCE

The weultural News" column regularly listed a roundup of news ilems. These two llems are extracted from the column for this date.

As part of the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of liberation in the Netherlands on S May next, ten poets have been invited to read a few of their poems from the period of the resistance or the concentration camps, in the Amsterdam Municipal Theater. An indication that this gesture also extends to Dutch people who suffered under tl1e Japanese Occupation in Indonesia can be seen in the fact that among these poets is Willem Brandt, who will read a number of poems from his collection, *Binnen Japanscl1 Prikkeldraad* [Behind Japanese Barbed Wire). However, in view of the poet's absence abroad on S May, the task of reading his poems will be assumed by the well-known declaimer of poetry, the Honorable Mrs. Witsen-Elias, who will present a number of Willem Brandt's poems on that occasion, poems referring to the suffering of Dutch people in tJ1e Japanese camps during the last world war.

Richard Wright, the famous Negro writer who fled America and now lives in Paris, is at this moment in Bandung, where he is attending the AA-Conference as a journalist. His well-known books are: *Native* Son, *Uncle* Tarn's Cl1ildren, and The Outsider.

No. 4307. AGREEMENT ¹ BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON TRADE AND INTERCOURSE BETWEEN TIBET REGION OF CHINA AND INDIA. SIGNED AT PEKING, ON 29 APRIL 1954

The Government of the Republic of India and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China,

Being desirous of promoting trade and cultural intercourse between Tibet Region of China and India and of facilitating pilgrimage and travel by the peoples of China and India,

Have resolved to enter into the present Agreement based on the following principles:

- (1) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty,
- (2) mutual non-aggression,
- (3) mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs,
- (4) equality and mutual benefit, and
- (5) peaceful co-existence,

And for this purpose have appointed as their respective Plenipotentiaries: The Government of the Republic of India, H.E. Nedyam Raghavan,

Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of India accredited to the People's Republic of China; the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, H.E. Chang Han-fu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government, who, having examined each other's credentials and finding them in good and due form, have agreed upon the following;

Artitle I

The High Contracting Parties mutually agree to establish Trade Agencies:

- (l) The Government of India agrees that the Government of China may establish Trade Agencies at New Delhi, Calcutta and Kalimpong.
- (2) The Government of China agrees that the Government of India may establish Trade Agencies at Yatung, Gyantse and Gartok.

Tame into force on 3 June 1954, upon ntification by both Govenunenta, in accordance with article VI.

Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (Manila Pact); September 8, 1954

The Parties to this Treaty,

Recognizing the sovereign equality of all the Parties,

Reiterating their faith in the purposes and principles set forth In the <u>Charter of the</u> United <u>Nations</u> and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments,

Reaffirming that, in accordance with the <u>Charter of the United Nations</u>, they uphold the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and declaring that they will earnestly strive by every peaceful means to promote self-government and to secure the independence of all countries whose peoples desire it and are able to undertake its responsibilities,

Desiring to strengthen the fabric of peace and freedom and to uphold the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law, and to promote the economic well-being and development of all peoples in the treaty area,

Intending to declare publicly and formally their sense of unity, so that any potential aggressor will appreciate that the Parties stand together in the area, and

Desiring further to coordinate their efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and security,

Therefore agree as follows:

ARTICLE I

The Parties undertake, as set forth in the <u>Charter of the United Nations</u>. to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.

ARTICLE ||

In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the Parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and to prevent and counter subversive activities directed from without against their territorial integrity and political stability.

ARTICLE III

The Parties undertake to strengthen their free institutions and to cooperate with one another in the further development of economic measures, including technical assistance, designed both to promote economic progress and social well-being and to further the individual and collective efforts of governments toward these ends.

ARTICLE IV

- 1. Each Party recognizes that aggression by means of armed attack in the treaty area against any of the Parties or against any State or territory which the Parties by unanimous agreement may hereafter designate, would endanger its own peace and safety, and agrees that it will in that event act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes. Measures taken under this paragraph shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations.
- 2. If, in the opinion of any of the Parties, the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any Party in the treaty area or of any other State or territory to which the provisions of <u>paragraph 1 of this Article</u> from time to time apply is threatened in any way other than by armed attack or is affected or threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area, the Parties shall consult immediately in order to agree on the measures which should be taken for the common defense.
- 3. It is understood that no action on the territory of any State designated by unanimous agreement under <u>paragraph 1 of this Article</u> or on any territory so designated shall be taken except at the invitation or with the consent of the government concerned.

ARTICLE V

The Parties hereby establish a Council, on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall provide for consultation with regard to military and any other planning as the situation obtaining in the treaty area may from time to time require. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet at any time.

ARTICLE VI

This Treaty does not affect and shall not be interpreted as affecting in any way the rights and obligations of any of the Parties under the <u>Charter of the United Nations</u> or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security. Each Party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the Parties or any third party is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

ARTICLE VII

Any other State in a position to further the objectives of this Treaty and to contribute to the security of the area may, by unanimous agreement of the Parties, be invited to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a Party to the Treaty by depositing its instrument of accession with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines. The Government of the Republic of the Philippines shall inform each of the Parties of the deposit of each such instrument of accession.

ARTICLE VIII

As used in this Treaty, the "treaty area" is the general area of Southeast Asia, including also the entire territories of the Asian Parties, and the general area of the Southwest Pacific not including the Pacific area north of 21 degrees 30 minutes north latitude. The Parties may, by unanimous

agreement, amend this Article to include within the treaty area the territory of any State acceding to this Treaty in accordance with <u>Article VI</u>I or otherwise to change the treaty area.

ARTICLE IX

- 1. This Treaty shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines. Duly certified copies thereof shall be transmitted by that government to the other signatories.
- 2. The Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the Parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The instruments of ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, which shall notify all of the other signatories of such deposit.@
- 3. The Treaty shall enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the instruments of ratification of a majority of the signatories shall have been deposited, and shall come into effect with respect to each other State on the date of the deposit of its instrument of ratification.

ARTICLE X

This Treaty shall remain in force indefinitely, but any Party may cease to be a Party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the Republic *of* the Philippines, which shall inform the Governments of the other Parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

ARTICLE XI

The English text of this Treaty is binding on the Parties, but when the Parties have agreed to the French text thereof and have so notified the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, the French text shall be equally authentic and binding on the Parties.

UNDERSTANDING OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The United States of America in executing the present Treaty does so with the understanding that its recognition of the effect of aggression and armed attack and its agreement with reference thereto in Article 1V, paragraph 1, apply only to communist aggression but affirms that in the event of other aggression or armed attack it will consult under the provisions of Article IV, paragraph 2.

In witness whereof, the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed this Treaty.

Done at Manila, this eighth day of September, 1954.

- (1) TIAS 3170; 6 UST 81-86. Ratification advised by the Senate Feb. 1, 1955; ratified by the President Feb. 4, 1955; entered into force Feb. 19, 1955. <u>Back</u>
- (2) Thailand deposited its instrument of ratification Dec. 2, 1954; the remaining signatories (the United States, Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, and the United Kingdom) deposited their instruments Feb. 19, 1955.

Baghdad Pact; February 4, 1955

Pact of Mutual Cooperation Between the Kingdom of Iraq, the Republic of Turkey, the United Kingdom, the Dominion of Pakistan, and the Kingdom of Iran (Baghdad Pact), February 24, 1955

Whereas the friendly and brotherly relations existing between Iraq and Turkey are in constant progress, and in order to complement the contents of the Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighbourhood concluded between His Majesty the King of Iraq and his Excellency the President of the Turkish Republic signed in Ankara on March 29, 1946,@ which recognised the fact that peace and security between the two countries is an integral part of the peace and security of all the nations of the world and in particular the nations of the Middle East, and that it is the basis for their foreign policies;

Whereas <u>article 11</u> of the <u>Treaty of Joint Defence and Economic Co-operation between the Arab League States</u> provides that no provision of that treaty shall in any way affect, or is designed to affect, any of the rights and obligations accruing to the Contracting Parties from the United Nations Charter;

And having realised the great responsibilities borne by them in their capacity as members of the United Nations concerned with the maintenance of peace and security in the Middle East region which necessitate taking the required measures in accordance with <u>article 51 oLthe United Nations Charter</u>;

They have been fully convinced of the necessity of concluding a pact fulfilling these aims, and for that purpose have appointed as their plenipotentiaries ... who having communicated their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed as follows:-

ARTICLE 1

Consistent with <u>article 51 of the United Nations Charter</u> the High Contracting Parties will cooperate for their security and defence. Such measures as they agree to take to give effect to this cooperation may form the subject of special agreements with each other.

ARTICLE 2

In order to ensure the realization and effect application of the co-operation provided for in <u>article</u> 1 above, the competent authorities of the High Contracting Parties will determine the measures to be taken as soon as the present pact enters into force. These measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the High Contracting Parties.

ARTICLE 3

The High Contracting Parties undertake to refrain from any interference whatsoever in each other's internal affairs. They will settle any dispute between themselves in a peaceful way in accordance with the United <u>Nations Charter</u>.

ARTICLE 4

The High Contracting Parties declare that the dispositions of the present pact are not in contradiction with any of the international obligations contracted by either of them with any third State or States. They do not derogate from and cannot be interpreted as derogating from, the said international obligations. The High Contracting Parties undertake not to enter into any international obligation incompatible with the present pact.

ARTICLE 5

This pact shall be open for accession to any member of the Arab League or any other State actively concerned with the security and peace in this region and which is fully recognized by both of the High Contracting Parties. Accession shall come into force from the date of which the instrument of accession of the State concerned is deposited with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Iraq.

Any acceding State party to the present pact may conclude special agreements, in accordance with <u>article 1</u>, with one or more States parties to the present pact. The competent authority of any acceding State may determine measures in accordance with <u>article 2</u>. These a measures will become operative as soon as they have been approved by the Governments of the parties concerned.

ARTICLE 6

A Permanent Council at ministerial level will be set up to function within the framework of the purposes of this pact when at least four Powers become parties to the pact.

The Council will draw up its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 7

This pact remains in force for a period of five years renewable for other five-year periods. Any Contracting Party may withdraw from the pact by notifying the other parties in writing of its desire to do so six months before the expiration of any of the above-mentioned periods, in which case the pact remains valid for the other parties.

ARTICLE 8

This pact shall be ratified by the contracting parties and ratifications shall be exchanged at Ankara as soon as possible. Thereafter it shall come into force from the date of the exchange of ratifications.

In witness whereof, the said plenipotentiaries have signed the present pact in Arabic, Turkish and English, all three texts being equally authentic except in the case of doubt when the English text shall prevail.

Done in duplicate at Bagdad this second day of Rajab 1374 Hijri corresponding to the twenty-fourth day of February 1955.

Charter of the United Nations

CHAPTER XI: DECLARATION REGARDING NON..SELF-GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

- a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;
- b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;
- c. to further international peace and security;
- d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and
- c. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

Summary of the introductory speeches at the Bandung Conference (18-19 April 19.55)

Caption: In a telegram dated 26 April 1955, the British Embassy in Djalmrla prO\ide.s a summ, 11) of all the introductorr speeches that were gi\'en on 18 and 19 April at the Bandung Conference.

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Last updated: 01/o ',/2017



<u>UNCLAS8If1 EP</u>
No. 39 (1071/230/55)

DJAKARTA.

April 26,

Bir,

Yiith refelence to my despatch No.37 of April 21 reporting the opening on 18 April of the Aaian-Arrican Conference at Bandung I have the honour to enclos herewith for reference a summary of the introductory speeches made by the leaders of delegations at the opening session of the con: f'erenge on 18 and 19 April. I am sending copies or this despatch to lier Majesty's Commissioner General at Bingapore; to the Governor General of the Sudan; to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Kabul, Rangoon, Pnom Penh, Peking, Cairo, Addis Ababa, Baghdad, Tokyo, .Amman, Beirut, Monrovia., Katmandu, Manila, Bangkok, :Ce.maecue, Ankara, ank Saiopn; to Her Majesty's Ministers at Ventiane and Tripoli; and to the United Kingdom High Conmissionera at Colanbo, Karachi and Naw Delhi.

I have the honour to be, with the high st respect,

Bir,

Your obedient Borvant,

(O. C. Morlund)

Her Majuaty's Principal Secretory Of Btate or Foreign A:f' aire, Foreign Ollt'ice, e.W.l.

(Enclooule in Djakarta Despatch to Foreign orrlco Ho•.39 ol' 26 April 195·5)

ASIAN-AFRICAN GONI•EREIICE AT DAII'DUNG APRIL 1955

Summary of Introductol by Bpe ochoa mode on 18 and 19 April by Lender o of Delogutiona.

/ Noto. no introductory opoochoo were made by the leudera of the delegationa 01' Burmu, Indio, Pel·aiu, Saudi A?'nbia, Nor·th Vietnom, ond Yemen. The text of the introductory apeech of the Prime Minister of Indonooio, whow as elected Preoident of the Conl'erenco, wa check of the Prime Minister of the Conl'erenco, to the Foraign Office No.37 Or 21 April 1955d

1. AFGHANIS TAJT (H. R. H. Sardor Mohammed Nairn, Doputy Primo Miniatr and Miniator Of Foreign At'!'oirn).

Apart from convontiollLN greeting a dealt mainly, 11th economic collaboration and Al'ghnn noad of economic esoiatunce and development .

2. CAMBODIA (H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, !'ormcx-King}.

Cq ni' or e nco an opportunity to break dorm di via i on batwaen canmuniot and an ti-communi ot vtol'l:ds. Regrota non-mc nibar ohi p in Un1,tod Huti ona 01'!JlqnY participonta. Cambodlt1 hue adopted px-inciploa or Poncha Bh la and ,n.11 support ot ronr,er notions in u tempta to ocoure cooperation, for peuco through x-ospec,t ·f-.or territorlua. dmtogr:i.ty and independence of notiono nnd mutuail oboor van co ol: notironail. I ighto.

 CEY-r:.oli (.ho Rt. Hon. Sir John Kotolawa!La, Prime Miniutor1) •

Cont:arence meeto on 'b tnk O' Wol.':ld & yoa. ArHUlmmto of crorco muo.t gi vo _p:l!ace to thooo ot apil!ituai!, po;10-r. - Anion and Ai'ricnn nnti ons may au oopdwhere Weot huo fni lad, nnd nre appropri to medd:n:t:;01.0 blJtrto<Jn communilam and an ti-c ommuni um. Noed ro odmi<tto.noo oll furthor momboi:o to t_lnJ.ted ml.tiona, uaooc:l!ato mcmborehip o:r dopandont tor rl-t rioo, wicl chnnB'eo to pormit groutur Aoi:an and A:!':.ictm nfontbW'oll'.tp or Bocut'i ty Oounci. I:f we nro "tic bo ol l'oc:tlvo mcd':!!a-toro,10 muot roaal,v W!'erencoa bet\loon our.o•ivcio. Urgent nocd ot ooonomt c devolopmont und llt'tuc·k on povuvty in undel.'doyoloPoci countrica,...

4. C!:fINA (Glicu En-h l'11 **Primo Mi.nietoJ71•**

/Noto. Chou J:n-lai CU'CUI ted h3io Pl:IJ!Ill?!f:d opooch, Wld in d!'crent terma in rop:ly to n.ttoclco on oanrtiuniom by thu Coyilon dolaglito and other oorlior opoultel'o,J

/(a) Proparod

- (n) Propured apocch. ooploa of Aoia an Af'rico have hitherto auffered silently under colonial oppression. Confurenco now reflects n profound hiotorical change aa ehacklee uro caot off. Importolco of joint effort for peace and quick complete liberation. Bottlemont in Inda-China due to norlo of Colombo Powers. Need ror rohibition of atomic neapons, economic development and independence, respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal nffairs, nnd fuller cultural exchanges. Support for five principles of peaceful co-existence. China ready to normalise relations VI th Jupnn, tho Philippineo, and Siam. Asians and Africans must stand united.
- (b) <u>Supulomentary suecch.</u> Chinese delegation has come here to seek common ground of agreement nnd not to quarNII. The1•e is enough common ground. We believe in connnunish but ideological differences need not come before the conference. We hnvo deliberately refrained from bringing up Formosu end Chinese representation in the United Nations. Mutual respect and cooperation cun be etrengthene on basis of five principles of coexistence. Religious belief is free in Chinn and countries with and *fi*thout religious beliefs can world together effectively. We do not believe in subversive activities in the territory of others: we protest against subversive activities of the K.M.T. and the United States in China. We should welcome visits to China by all delegatos, so that they can see the true state of ai'foirs for themselves.
 - 5. EGYPr (Lt.Col. Nasser, Prime Minister).

Asian and Mrican countries omerging from colonial ehackl.ea are faced with common problems and need for close cooperation. Democratic aime of Egyptian revolutionary government. Respect for United Nations Charter and oba rvance by members of commitments regarding nonaelt'governing territorioe almportance of disarmament, economic developmentond uso of modern science '!:or peaco: t'ul purposes Flagrant injustice of Palestine so tuatin. Abolition of racialism in South Africa. Constructive role of small countries and respect or their sovereignty. Urgent need ot indel) endenco '!:or North African territories. Each country's right to choose its own politicnal nd econanic, system.

6_o ETHIOPIA (Ethiopian Ambassador, Wne hi ng-ton).

Importance ct ending colonialism in every farm, rocial folit, nnd religious clioorimination. Support of Uni ed Notions Charte.r

Regret o:f Px-imo Minioter at ine.billity to attend Grateful. yor nsaociation, T'lhil.-e Y.'O are in process of ochiaving ind endence, ni other countllloe who have faced Same dU ficultica Gold Crast not yot responsiif!l.e for e ternaJ. a:f.t'aira, but sa,od to accept invitation though we attend mainly aa oboervera. -Pi-aeont Government pledged to attain independence tlhil.-c in,

/ oft-i ce.

of'ficc. Diecuaaions with the Unitod ICingdom Government ore proceeding in cordial otmosphero. Announcomont aoon of actual dato of full independence. New epirit in kt'ricn: n giant awal;:oning $fl \cdot om$ sleep.

IRAQ (Dr. Mohonmad Fadhil J tmli, former Prime Minister).

Conference is development from Asion-African group in United Nations which first met in 1947. En orgotic support for United Nations as forum for political and economic progress. Throe intornational force now prevent peace and harmony, and must be fought with dotormination. The first is colonialism, oni our prosonce hare io gaol proof of its r,enl,ening. But in Noloth M'rico France is still ignoring the principles of self-etermination, and rocial isu in South l\f'rican is extreme. The second is Zionism, the worst offspring of imperintiall: in Poloatine millions of Arabs, Christian and Moslem, have been exiled in order to set un an unreal Zionist other based on rocintiam and religious discrimination. The third is communism, atheistic and muteriallet. It is a subversive religion, breeding hatred. The mm ly-fred peoples of Asia and A!'rica are in danger of tolling out of the frying pan into the fire. The communist leaders seek territorialgain. Let us pender the idate of Turkestan, the Baltic Statea, Polsnd, and Czechoslovakia. Under the old colonialism the cries of the subjugated people could aomotimes be heard: under communist demination all is silence. We must therefore defend ourselves pending on ideological disarmament throughout the world. May this conference be o stop towards that essential end.

9. JAPAU (Mr. Tatsunosuke Tnkasnki, Minister of State).

Apology of the Prime t.iinioter of Japan :t'or inability to attend. Declaration of human rights corresponds exactly wilth main objective of conferenco, pranotion or mutual understandinu;, cooperation, und peace. Japun'a destiny is c199ely l.inked with duetiny of Asia. Aoia hos i'a len bahind in economic and scientificdovelopment and this conf?erence should holp to promote advance through mutua colQaborntion. J; nterIUltional tenoions impede peaceful progroaa. In tho 17ar Japan in:t'licted 1J11Cat material damage on neighbouring nations und br.ought disaster on lierseU. Now she is the interior of on the contribution to \"1e11!are of /\aia by contributing her oh the to oconanic progrosa cU!lturol exchanges. I shall!" aul>rnit to tho con:t'oronca

conc.ete proposals on thos two points, and a proposal or mnintuining poeco.

10. JORDAII (.Walid Bo:l:ah, Minietor o:t 'Po:tmign MtIIiI'D}

1-leed for er mutual undc.ro:t D.Ildi ng bot,roan participanta. It ne: J. aggression in Puthoetine wto -t ni l w •o o:ft Arab appoale to the unliked Nut ono. Injustice w'ld op_proseion by the French in ?forth.&rrica

11. LAOS (Roto y D. Snaorioth, Prune Minister).

.Approccia ion o op_portunity 01: a oaur aaaociattan_ $\mathbf{1}$ wi,th

with African and Asian coUT"triee facing similar problems. Supreme importance of seeking peace in threatening , orld si tuotion.

12. LEBANON (Semi Solh, Prime Minister).

Three main obstacles impede internationalpeace nnd prosperity: fanaticism in every form, extreme notionnliam, and hatred of f'oreigners. Liartyred Polestino is moat urgent o:f:problems affecting us, and we should concentrate on repairing terrible injustice to Arabs. Importance of tolerance and respectfor human rights nnd integrity of small nations.

13. LIBERIA (The Hon. Momolu Dukuly, Minister of State)

Conference the opening of a ner, ern for the A!'ricc.n and Asien peoples. We have come 'With no proconce i vod :plans but with a profound belief in the future of Africa and a hope for equality Elllong races and for world peace.

14. LIBYA (Mahmoud Bey Mwttasser, Ambassador in London).

Greeting to nations still under colonial yoke and support in their struggle for independence. Present world tension is due to colonialism (especially in French Uorth African territories), racialis, and external ideological interference. Thia last is a stronaor and more dangerous form o colonialism, involving intellectuol slavery, and threatenignnational sovereignty and orld peace. Problem of Palestine is pressing, and sUffering of Arabs demands our active support. Adharonc to ptoinciples of democracy ond to United liationa Choter.

15. NEPAL (Major General Sovag Jung Thapa, Poreign Secretlll'y).

support!'or democracyend the United Nationa Charter, und :tor oamisaion of ell nations to the United Notions organisation. Thre ahould be no attempt to rorm another worli bloc, though our nowly-rron freedom must be defended and consolidated. Support for Pundit Nehru's 1'1ve principles as boei Bt:or cooperationand good \7111.

16. PAKISTAN (Mr. Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister).

Countries of: Asia ond Africa not a group apgrt., but the ir problems bound up with those of the rest at: the rlorld. Process 0 £ nntionn!l. liberation hos gono or and is hl\ppily continuing. Ifew; J.y-1'recd nations are making growing contribution to wel.1Jare o ! mankind. and ore cager to help remaining dependent countlies to obtain f-reedom. But we must not be misled into opening our doore to u new and more insidious form of imperialiaril that mnaquerade in the guise at: Liberation. Seven princip!Les are necessary to maintain peace: raopect or aover.aignty o.nd territoric; Lintegrity, recognition of equal.ity of nil nations, non-interference in a country's internal airs, non-ag\$J."oseion, right sel.1'-del'ence Ill.one or oollec-

/tively,

collectivoly, right of eelidetormination and abhorence of colonialism, ond peaceful settlement of disputes. We must consider question of Palestine refugees, and independence of Tunisiu, Morocco, and Algeria. need of fuller membership in United Nations and proper representation on Security Council. Need ror economic development and pooling of scientific roeourcee: cooperation in tllis among ourselves as \'lell as hel:p from the west. Cultural cooperation to remove ignorance and misunderstanding.

17. PHILIPPINES (Hon. Carlos P. Romulo, Member of the Cabinet).

Coni'erence must avoid propaganda. and seek profitable cooperation realistically. A:1 participants are concerned with colonialism, political fr9 dom, racial equality and economic development, which are all world problems. Nations organisation hes been inndequate only through perfections or its members: we can strengthen it and help it to bccomo world instrument for human betterment. Political freedoms are being ,10n in various miya: British were wise enough to surrender power in Asia because they realised they could no longer hold it; the Dutch and French were forced to the same conclusion; the United States have sometimes finilod to match their actions to their principles, but they have faithi'ully chrried out their undertakings to us. But nntionnl independence is no more than a fiction if there is not freedom to criticse ond to form various political parti s. A polico state may be worse than colonial rule. The evil of raciali sm now worse than colonial rule. The evil of raciali sm now survives 1'ully only in Africa, and notably in the Union of South Africa: we must fight it with all our forces. are economically backward, owing in part to our colonial heritage, and we must strive to develop quickly Cllld be willing to accept western advice and help: no notion can remain econanically inddiendont of the rest of the r10rld. The :ruture of the world depends on how tho peoples or Asia and A!'ricn will go about the business or trnnaforming their lives and their societies. One road leads to dictatorship, the rigid control of human activity, and the ruthless suppression of opposition. Shall we emergo from colonialism only to full the prey of an. enslaving ideology; .? We muat seek. the real freedr:r.1 of the democratic wny ot lifo.

1B. SIAM (Prince Vian, Minister of Fol"eign Ar.flairs)

Siem is cager for greater cooperntion r/l.:th other participnnts, to exchange viewa, to secure 'l'wior cultural exchanges, and to emlt spiritual at.nor thnn .toriol values. Closer econanic fies, on a ooting o national equality, shouJ.d be formed oth among ouraslves and 1th tho reat of the world. European and American he:Lp is neceasD.l'y tor our econanic deve opment. We uphold the principles of racial equality, nntionaJ.; self-determination, W.id ilhe oorlieet possible grantins; of indepen ence to the rema n±n colonial torr±tories. We are happy that Ltlos, Cambodia Wld Vietnwn bnve regairtBd their ndopendence, and th tUll!l.aya is woll

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on the vmy to oolt-govrc.m:iont as tho prelude to full indopendonco. Simn does not oppose the five principle of co-exiatence, builthey require tormulation in greater det 11. Do they imply the principle or tolerance, stated explicitly in the United Nations Charter? Thai-speking Chinoae and others are being trained in Yunnan for inl'll trotion and oubvereion in Siam. What is the attitude of the CONTINUMITE Chinese government to the three million Chinese, eo-colled dual nationals, in Siam? There are also 50,000 Vietnemese re!ugees in north-eastBium, most of whom are socking repatrinted to northern Vietnam. Siam is facing a threat of inf'iltritionand subversion, if' not of aggression, and it is purely in self-defence that she has had to join, in uccordance nith Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, in a collective defence treaty, the Manila Pact, from those recent Council meeting a cordial message was sent to this conference.

19. SUDAN (Sayed Ismail El Azhari, rrimo Minister).

Welcome opportunity f'or closer association with many nc.tiona, most of \7h0!il hove t'eced same problems as Sudan no\7 faces. She has profited from oxrunple of EgYJlt, India, and Indonesia. Anxious to cooperate prof'itably in politicnl, economic, and cultural fields. Suda.n's first exercise of external sovereignty.

20. SYRIA (Khalid el Azrun).

Need to fight coloninl&11 in North A!'ricn, to support Indonesia on New Guinea, and to epoir wrongs done to !... abs in Palestine.

21. TURKEY (Fatin Ruatu Zorlu, Deputy Primo Minister).

Steady progr sa towards independence encouraging: synmithy with Indonesianindependence and progress. Tensions and insecurity cloud the nay to peaco. World today divided into two amps: one demobilieel its armios outer the 11ur. and relied on the Atlantic Cherter and the United Nationa: the other has seized independent countries and has threatened Turkish independence and integrity. We were forced to exercise our legitimate rights a'f aeJ.f-de'end and to join in the UATO and in various bilateral del'ensive arrangements. The peaceloving countries are uniting their efforts for pence, and in this unity lies theonly hope al peace and security. The il/'luaion is d'iaastroue that by passive innotivity a country can escape frow external dangers to its scullity: Czechoslovakia has alretuly been mentioned today. The conf'erence must realiae the groave danger invo:Lved i-n a. "midd!Le of the road" policy. We believe in the eradication of colonialill and racialdem, nod in the need to sateguerd the ind.ependence of aQJ.nationo.

22. VIE TIUW, SOUTH (:tguyen Van Thonl, M:l:nistor of PJ.unning and Reconstruction J.

Aan country ; luat liberated a:rtor uilmost o. century of :f'oroi oppression Vietnam greeto tha cont'orence i enthusiel3D1: she .ls anx.iow, to support other

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nntiono in their struggle to attain indopendonce, an to profit from the example of notions who have nlrd attained it. She is also unxious to promote the principles of true freedom and hur nrights, on the only safeguard which can protect the free worlld from the mennce of dictatorial commwliam. /.ftori the partition of our country, effected in spite of our protests, there has been a terrible exedus f'rum the north, which has coused untold suffering the have helped the refugeos to the best of our power !4id have endeavoured in the f'aco of great difficulties to give them the opportunity of life under a democratic government.

THE

Asian-African Conference

BANDUNG, INDONESIA, APRIL 1955



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The Asian-African Conference

THE Conference held in April 1955 by twenty-nine Asian and African countries at Bandung, Indonesia, was a unique and significant event. Its scope of membership was unusual; nearly all of Asia was represented-Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Communist China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and Yemen-and most of independent and nearly independent Africa-Egypt, Ethiopia, the Gold Coast, Liberia, Libya, and the Sudan. Likewise impressive was the range of problems it considered: human rights and self-determination, dependent peoples and colonialism, promotion of wtlrld peace and cooperation, and economic and cultural cooperation among the Asian and African countries.

The wide and varied composition of the Conference naturally militated against the attainment of any very extensive area of conesensus regarding these problems. Yet it achieved a surprising degree of success-modest, it is true, but more than most statesmen, Westem or Eastern, had expected.\For at Bandung the delegates representing this seeming congeries of nations were able to establish, or at least to delineate much more clearly than before, several important common denominators of their international orientation. Much of the agreement adlieved concerned relatively abstract matters or was of a character difficult to relate to feasible actions, but in several cases the area of agreement was one upon which such actions could be based.)

(Of probably greater importance was the contribution made by the Conference toward clarification of the relationships of the participant states among themselves and with the major powers outside of Asia.)rhis clarification tended to allay apprehensions of possible

THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

aggressive moves by Communist China and helped induce a relaxation of some of the international tensions, particularly those resulting from the precarious situation in the Straits of Formosa, which on the eve of the Conference seemed to have become so dangerous. Although undoubtedly the *dt!tenle* between the Communist and non-Communist worlds which seemed to be developing during 1951 and 1955 stemmed primarily from what appeared to be less trucu-lent and more peacefully inclined policies among Communist lead- ers in l\foscow and Peking, the Asian-African Conference clearly made a significant, even if relatively minor, contribution to this development.

The Immediate Bach.ground

The initiative for holding an Asian-African Conference was Indonesia's, the idea originating primarily with its Prime Minister, Ali Sastroamidjojo. At first his proposal was to invite only the Afro-Asian group within the United Nations, and it was with this in mind that he introduced the idea to the prime ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, and Pakistan at their meeting in Colombo at the end of April 1954. Initially only Pakistan's Mohammed Ali was enthusiastic; Ceylon's Sir John Kotclawala was willing to go along, but India's Jawaharlal Nehru and Burma's U Nu, while both nodding polite approval of the idea, were skeptical of the feasibility and value of holding such a conference. Not until his trip to New Delhi in late September 1954 did Sastroamidjojo win Nehru's full acceptance of his proposal.

Finally at the end of December, with India's and Burma's support now assured, the five Colombo states met briefly at Bogor in Indonesia to lay definite plans. Here they decided whom they would invite and determined the broad lines of the subjects which they hoped the invited countries would discuss. It was now agreed that those asked should not be restricted to the Afro-Asian group within the United Nations. Nehru's proposal for inviting Communist China, whose government all five Colombo states recognized, was accepted, and from then on India's and Burma's interest in the conference increased considerably. In addition to the United Nations'

Afro-Asian group, invitations were sent to Cambodia, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Nepal, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, and the partially independent states of Gold Coast, Sudan, and Central African Federation; only the last declined. There was never any suggestion that the Soviet Asian republics or Outer Mongolia be asked. The mutually hostile attitudes of North and South Korea and the fact that they had only recently been engaged in hostilities with a number of the invited countries was felt to be sufficient reason for excluding them. No invitation was sent the Union of South Africa because it was believed certain that the Conference would single out the Union when it condemned racial discrimination. Burma and India, in particular, pressed for an invitation to Israel; but Pakistan successfully opposed this, arguing that if Israel were invited the Arab states would refuse to come. Since many of the states invited had not extended diplomatic recognition to one another, it was agreed that any country's acceptance of an invitation to the Asian-African Conference "would in no way involve or even imply any change in its view of the status of any other country" and would only imply that it was "in general agreement with the purposes of the Conference."

At their Bogor meeting the five prime ministers agreed that the Asian-African Conference would be held in Indonesia during the Jast week of April 1955, each country being represented by its prime minister or foreign minister; the Conference was to determine its own procedure and agenda, the general scope of which would follow its four stipulated objectives. These were:

- (a) to promote goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighborly relations;
- (b) to consider social, economic, and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;
- (c) to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples-for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;
- (d) to view the pasition of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

In their Bogor communique the five prime ministers also made clear their own stand on several 0£ the issues which they expected the Conference to discuss. "In the context of their well-known attitude towards colonialism," they "took note of the case of \-Vest Irian" (Western New Guinea), "supported the position of Indonesia in this matter," and "expressed the earnest hope that tlle Netherlands Government would reopen negotiations to implement their obligations under the solemn agreements concluded by them with Indonesia." Likewise, they "expressed their continued support of the demand of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco for national independence and their legitimate right o[self-determination." (No mention was made of Algeria.) In addition, they expressed their "grave concern in respect of the destructive potential of nuclear and thermo-nuclear explosions for experimental purposes which threaten not only their own countries, but the world" and "earnestly requested all concerned to bring about a cessation of such experiments."

l\iotivations and Expectations of the Conference's Sponsors The measure of the Asian-African Conference's achievements cannot be fully grasped through analysis of the agreements listed in its Final Communique and the debates and negotiations which led up to them. One must first know something of the basic motivations and expectations of its live sponsors: Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan. To begin with, their calling of the Conference was symptomatic of their protest-along with many of the states they invited-against the failure of the Western powers to consult with them and to share with them sufficiently in decisions affecting the countries of Asia. It was an assertion of thleir conviction that they have the right to take a greater and more active part in such matters, More directly,\it reRccted tlleir common concern over what they regarded as an increasingly dangerous tension between China and the United States and their fear that this might break out into a disastrous world war from whose atomic consequences they could not escape.)Related to this, though apparently less well understood in the West, was the desire of the five sponsors to lay a firmer foundation for China's peaceful relations with the

rest of the world, not only with the West, but equally with themselves and other areas of Southeast Asia peripheral to China. Thus they envisaged the Conference as providing an opportunity for working toward three important objectives of their foreign policies:

(I) avoidance of war, most immediately between China and the United States; (2) development of China's diplomatic independence of Soviet Russia; (3) containment of Chinese and Vietminh military power and political inRuence at the southern border of China and the eastern boundaries of Cambodia and Laos, and the combatting of illegal and subversive Communist activities in all non-Communist Asia, particularly in their own countries. This is not to deny that other objectives were of great importance to tlle Conference's sponsors. India, for instance, was anxious to promote her thesis that the more of the world remaining uncommitted in the Cold War, free from military pacts with either the Communist or ,vestern blocs, the better the chances for maintaining peace. In line with this thinking, she hoped to insure that Cambodia and Laos would desist from forging closer links with either the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) or the United States itself and would more closely associate themselves with the uncommitted "neutralist" group. Indonesia attached great weight to promotion of her brief in the dispute with the Netherlands over Western New Guinea. Pakistan, leaders of the other Colombo powers believed, envisaged the Conference as providing her with an important opportunity for building up a position of leadership among the Arab states, particularly through championing their grievances against Israel.

With all five sponsors, the first two of the three above-mentioned objectives were of paramount concern, and with India and Burma the third was of special importance. The reasons for the five sponsors' commitment to the first of these objectives should be self-evident. With respect to the second, their leaders have long been of the opinion that China's close diplomatic alignment with Soviet Russia works against the prospects of international peace in general and Asian political stability in particular. From experience in their own nationalist movements they-particularly the Indians, Indonesians, and Burmese-are convinced tllat China's nationalism is a force of

such strength as to ensure she will not align her foreign policy with that of Soviet Russia unless this is seen to be clearly in her own national interest. Thus they, and to a considerable extent the leaders of Ceylon and Pakistan as well. believe that if China were not so fearful of war with the United States and if she were given wider contacts and a broader range of diplomatic maneuver she would tend to move away some distance from the Soviet orbit. It is their opinion that to the extent that this develops, the tendency toward world politico-military polarization is diminished and thereby so is the danger of war. Coupled with this is their conviction that China is probably sincerely devoted to a policy of peace for at least several years to come and unlikely to undertake aggressive action unless persuaded that the United States is preparing areas of Asia peripheral to her as a springboard for hostile action. Moreover, it had long been the view of all five Colombo powers that one factor conducive to a warlike attitude on China's part was her leaders' lack of contact with the world outside. Because of this, they believed, the Chinese had developed a distorted impression of the outlooks of many of the non-Communist governments of Asia toward the West, underrating both their dislike of China's close relationship with the Soviet Union and their support of certain aspects of \Vestern foreign policy. The Colombo leaders felt that to the extent that the Chinese established further contacts with these states and came to understand their leaders' actual outlooks in international affairs they would be less inclined to undertake rash moves which might weight the balance further in favor of world war.

The counterpart of this is better known, namely, the conviction of the leaders of India, Indonesia, and Burma that many of the non-Communist governments of Asia seriously exaggerated the war-like disposition of China and underestimated the desire of the Chi-nese government for peace in order to attain its domestic objectives. Thus, the governments of the five sponsoring countries-but particularly India, Indonesia, and Burma-envisaged the Asian-African Conference as providing a means for enabling China to establish the contacts necessary to increase her diplomatic independence of Soviet Russia. They conceived of it as an educational device which

THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

would serve both to enlighten the Chinese as to the realities of their international environment and to educate leaders of those non-Communist Asian and African states which had little or no contacts with Communist China as to the actual attitudes of Peking's leaders toward both non-Communist Asia and the \.Vest.

With respect to the third of these principal objectives, it should first be noted that the Colombo powers' relative lack of anxiety over the possibility of overt Chinese aggression southward has not been matched by lack of concern over covert attempts by Peking and Moscow to support local Communist parties. All five of their governments were aware of the outside contacts and support of their domestic Communist parties. Ceylon and Pakistan were concerned with the extent of 1\foscow's interference. I\fany Indonesian leaders were uneasy over the considerable financial support made available to the Indonesian Communist party through the good offices of Peking as a result of levies by the Chinese Embassy and consulates on the large and wealthy Chinese business community in Indonesia. Though less concerned than a year before over the potential of communism within India itselr, Indian leaders remained as anxious as ever over development of Chinese power in Tibet and the possibilities of Communist subversion in adjacent Indian-controlled areas, particularly Sikkim and Bhutan. The Burmese recalled that in the Conference of the "\iVorlcl Federation of Trade Unions at Peking in November 1949 Liu Shao-chi, a leading member of the present Chinese Communist regime, attacked U Nu, as well as President Soekarno of Indonesia and Nehru, as imperialist stooges and sent greetings to the Communist insurgents in Burma, congratulating them and encouraging them. 1\foreover, Burma's leaders have for several years been aware of the fact that Burmese Communists have been given both sanctuary and military and political training across the long, only partially defined border separating their country from Communist China. They brought this to Chou En-lai's attention when he visited Rangoon between sessions of the Geneva Conference in 1954, and subsequently they sent him some very full substantiating documentation. In addition, both Indian and Burmese leaders-and to a lesser but significant extent those of Indo-

THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

nesia, Pakistan and Ceylon-attached great importance to maintaining Cambodia and Laos free from Chinese or Vietminh intervention or influence. (The attitudes of these leaders have differed with regard to the advisability and feasibility of t.rying to maintain South Vietnam free from Communist control.)

It was with the foregoing views in mind that the Colombo powers, India and Burma in particular, envisaged as a major objective of the Bandung Conference the application of a formula, first worked out by Nehru a year before, calculated to encourage China to follow a peaceful course. Though Nehru was in general convinced that China was honestly disposed to follow such a course, there remained in his mind some margin of doubt. These doubts were acknowledged by him in an unpublished circular letter to Congress party leaders written just after Chou En-Jai's visit to New Delhi in June 1954. Here, in reference to Chou's pledge of adherence to the Five Principles of Co-existence, 1 Nehru stated that the Peking government had to be given a chance to prove whether or not it would honor this pledge. Later he developed the thesis that Peking's disposition to do so might be increased if "an environment" could be created which would make it difficult or at least awkward for her to flout these principles. This environment could be created by China's reiterated public pledge of adherence to tlle principles against a background of the aroused and watchful scrutiny of Asian public opinion. Such an environment could constitute a significant moral interdiction against China's deviation from tllcse principles. The more frequent China's pledge to observe the principles, and the wider the audience, the more substantial would be the environment -and the dearer the moral interdiction. The Asian-African Conference was envisaged as providing optimal conditions for building up this environment.

'These arc: mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and wvcrcignty, nonaggression, noninterCcrence in each other's internal affaiTS, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co,cxistence. These principles were first announced in the preamble to the Sino-Indian agreement on Tibet concluded on April 29, 1!)54, in Peking. They were reiterated in talks between Chou En•lai and Nehru in June 1954 in New Delhi.

Organization and Procedure

From April 18 to 24, the twenty-nine Asian and African delegations met together in the West Java city of Bandung. Because the Bogar communique and the terms of invitation stipulated that the Conference would itself determine its procedure and agenda, this was the first order of business. Twenty-two of the delegations arrived in Bandung by noon of April I 7, a day before tlle Conference's official opening, and it was decided-primarily on the initiative of Jawaharlal Nehru-to dispose of these problems immediately so that more time would remain for the consideration of substantive matters. Prime: Minister Nehru was anxious to avoid the formalities of United Nations procedure and hoped that the Conference would approximate the informal, relatively unstructured procedure of the meetings of the Commonwealth prime ministers. Supported by his principal lieutenant, Krishna Menon, he was able to secure the agreement of the other twenty-one delegations tlms far present to a highly informal system of procedure. In addition, Nehru pressed for elimination of the scheduled preliminary speeches for which the head of each delegation had been allotted twenty minutes, Noting that their delivery would consume a full two days of tlle Conference's limited time, he pleaded that they be abandoned in order to save time and that each delegation merely circulate the printed text of its speech. Nehru was also of the opinion, though he did not express this to most delegates, that elimination of these speeches might forestall introduction of particular controversial problems and partisan sentiments which might deal an early blow to hopes for the Conference's unity and harmony. Again the twenty-one assembled delegations agreed to accept the Indian stand, but in this case the agreement of many was grudging.

When the Pakistan delegation headed by Mohammed Ali arrived shortly after this meeting, the Indonesian Prime Minister, Ali Sastroamidjojo, called an evening gathering of the Conference's five Colombo sponsors. Here tlle Pakistanis learned of the decisions already arrived at. They were furious that such matters had been taken up in their absence, particularly since Pakistan was one of the

Conference sponsors; they refused to accept the decisions, insisting that discussion of such matters could only be undertaken by all twenty-nine delegations meeting together. In particular they were adamant in their refusal to countenance the absence of firmer rules of procedure and the elimination of opening speeches. This stand begot sharp responses from Nehru and Krishna Menon and equally sharp rejoinders from :rvlohammed Ali and his delegation's principal negotiator, Aziz Ahmad. Stemming from this initial and not entirely unexpected clash, there was manifest an undercurrent of rivalry and often of friction between India and Pakistan that was to color many of the discussions during the ensuing week.

Pakistan's insistence that the decisions previously reached by the twenty-two delegations be opened again for discussion by all twentynine delegations was strongly backed by other of the later arrivals at the Conference, Turkey in particular, while several of those who had been present at the earlier meeting now reversed their positions and joined in this demand. In the closed plenary session held the next day the previous decision concerning speeches was reversed, each delegation now having the right to deliver one. In addition, the earlier agreement concerning Conference procedure was altered. The rules now adopted, though still more formal than desired by Nehru, were certainly much simpler than those followed in the United Nations. There was to be no formal voting. Instead, the President or committee chairmen were to ascertain whether or not there was a "consensus of opinion" amongst the delegations; if consensus could not be found, no decision was to he taken. All decisions taken by the Conference had, therefore, to be unanimous. Ali Sastroamidjojo, unanimously elected by the Conference as its President, was empowered to settle any remaining procedural questions which might arise. Undoubtedly this formula of procedure contributed considerably to the Conference's success. Had there been provision for the recording of votes for and against the proposals considered, differences in points o(view would have been emphasized and sharpened, and it would probably have been much more difficult to discover common denominators of attitude or to find the basis for compromise. The delegates were divided among three committees-Political,

Economic, and Cultural-and it was expected from the outset that the Political Committee would become the heart of the Conference and attract the top delegates. If differences arose on a particular question being considered by these committees, they were to refer it to a subcommittee whose decision would be referred back to the parent committee for further discussion and final decision. A conference Secretariat was created from the existing preparatory secretariat (staffed by personnel supplied by the five sponsoring countries) with tbat body's able Indonesian chairman, Roeslan Abdulgani, serving as its Secretary-General.

Key Issues Introduced in the Open Sessions

The Asian-African Conference was formally opened by Indonesia's President Soekarno and its Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo m speeches generally well received by the delegations. Soekamo noted that the countries represented at Bandung were bound together by the Ommon experience of p e-jous enforced sub to the West and that colonialism was as yet by no means deid'. Acknowledging that the delegati ns to the Conference represented nations "of many different social backgrounds and cultural patterns," he argued that they were united by "more imflort;mt things than those which superficially" divided them, "for instance, by a common detestation of colonialism in whatever form it a]:|p .. by aco mmon detestation of racialis. . .andby a c mon determination to preserve and stabilize peace in the world." While insisting that "the days are now long past when the future of Asia can be settled by other and distant peoples," Soekarno cautioned that Asians and Africans should not be parochial in their approach to world problems. He urged the majority of the world's population, represented at the Conference, to take a more positive part, a role more commensurate with their numbers, in influencing the course of international decisions of concern to their security and welfare. Pleading for mutual understanding, he observed that though having much in common the peoples of the countries represented at the Conference knew very little of one another: "Yes, we have so much in common; and yet we know so little of e ach other!" The Conference,

THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONIERENCE

better than before the Conference. And at Bandung non-Communist Asia asserted its will to be heard more attentively in the halls 0£ world diplomacy. As one pro-,.Yestern delegate privately remarked: "This Conference has represented an effort by these countries to regain their personality and international dignity and was an assertion of their personality vis-a-vis the 'west." This successful assertion of Asian and African personality tended to beget an increased self-confidence among many of the delegates, manifesting itse1£ in a greater determination to share more fully with the vVcst in decisions affecting the interests of their countries. It seems likely that this determination will endure.

Appendix

Speech by President Soekamo at the Opening of the Asian-African Conference, April 18, 1955

Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Sisters and Brothers!

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

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

I recognise that we are gathered here today as a result of sacrifices. Sacrifices made by our forefathers and by the people of our own and younger generations. For me, this hall is filled not only by the leaders of the nations of Asia and Africa; it also contains within its walls the undying, the indomitable, the invincible spirit of those who went

•This speech is reproduced from the text, Let a New Asia and a New A.Jrica Be Born! issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia (J!J55).

APPENDD(

before us. Their struggle and sacrifice paved the way for this meeting of the highest representatives of independent and sovereign nations from two of the biggest continents of the globe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And if, in spite of all that the peoples may do, this should happen,

what then? \Vhat of our newly-recovered independence then? What of our culture, what of our spiritual heritage, what of our ancient civilisation? What of our children and our parents?

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

For that is part of the duties oE independence itself. That is part of the price we gladly pay for our independence. For many generations our peoples have been the voiceless ones in the world. We have been the un-regarded, the peoples for whom decisions were made by others whose interests were paramount, the peoples who lived in poverty and humiliation. Then our nations demanded, nay fought for independence, and achieved independence, and with that independence came responsibility. We have heavy responsibilities to ourselves, and to the world, and to the yet unborn generations. But we do not regret them.

In 19•15, the first year of our national revolution, we of Indonesia were confronted with the question of what we were going to do with our independence when it was finally attained and secured-we never questioned that it would be attained and secured. We knew how to oppose and destroy. Then we were suddenly confronted with the necessity of giving content and meaning to our independence. Not material content and meaning only, but also ethical and moral content, for independence without ethics and without morality would be indeed a poor imitation of what we sought. The responsibilities and burdens, the rights and duties and privileges of independence must be seen as part of the ethical and moral content of independence.

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

Sisters and Brothers, how terrificly dynamic is our time! I recall that, several years ago, I had occasion to make a public analysis of colonialism, and that I then drew attention to what I called the "Lifeline of imperialism." This line runs from the Straits of Gibraltar, through the l'vlediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea and the Sea of Japan. For

most of that enormous distance, the territories on both sides of this lifeline were colonies, the peoples were unfree, their futures mortgaged to an alien system. Along that life-line, that main artery of imperialism, there was pumped the life-blood of colonialism.

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

Yes, there has indeed been a "Sturm ilher Asicn"-and over A[rica too. The last few years have seen enormous changes. Nations, States, have awoken from a sleep o[centuries. The passive peoples have gone, the outward tranquillity has made place for struggle and activity. Irresistible forces have swept the two continents. The mental, spiritual and political face of the whole world has been changed, and the process is still not complete. There are new conditions, new concepts, new problems, new ideals abroad in the world. Hurricanes of national awakening and reawakening have swept over the land, shaking it, changing it, changing it for the better.

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

But has man's political skill marched hand-in-hand with his technical and scientific skill? Man can chain lightning to his command-can he control the society in which he lives? The answer is *No1* The political skill of man has been far outstripped by hi technical skill, and what he has made he cannot be sure of controllmg.

The result of this is fear. And man gasps for safety and morality. Perhaps now more than at any other moment in the history of the world, society, government and statesmanship need to be based upon the highest code oE morality and ethics. And in political terms, what is the highest code of morality? It is the subordination of everything

to the well-being of mankind. But today we are faced with a situation where the well-being of mankind is not always the primary consideration. Many who are in places of high power think, rather, of controlling the world.

Yes, we are living in a world of fear. The life of man today is corroded and made bitter by fear. Fear of the future, fear of the hydrogen bomb, fear of ideologies. Perhaps this fear is a greater danger than the danger itself, because it is fear which drives men to act foolishly, to act thoughtlessly, to act dangerously.

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

We are of many different nations, we are of many different social backgrounds and cultural patterns. Our ways of life are different. Our national characters, or colours or motifs-call it what you will -are different. Our racial stock is different, and even the colour of our skin is different. But what does that matter? Mankind is united or divided by considerations other than these. Conflict comes not from variety of skins, nor from variety of religion, but from variety of desires.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A cry of defiance and not of fear,

A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,

And a word that shall echo for evermore....

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

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

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

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

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

Not so long ago it was possible to take some little comfort from the idea that the clash, if it came, could perhaps be settled by what were called "conventional weapons"-bombs, tanks, cannon and men. Today that little grain of comfort is denied us, for it has been made clear that the weapons of ultimate horror will certainly be used, and the military planning of nations is on that basis. The unconventional has become the conventional, and who knows what other examples of misguided and diabolical scientific skill have been discovered as a plague on humanity.

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

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

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

What can we do? We can do much! We can inject the voice of reason into world affairs. We can mobilise all the spiritual, all the

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

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

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

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

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

However, we cannot, we dare not, confine our interests to the

affairs of our own continents. The States of the world today depend one upon the other and no nation can be an island unto itself. Splendid isolation may once have been possible; it is so no longer. The affairs of all the world are our affairs, and our future depends upon the solutions found to all international problems, however far or distant they may seem.

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

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

It was at that sad but glorious moment in our national history that our good neighbour India convened a Conference of Asian and African Nations in New Delhi, to protest against tlle injustice committed against Indonesia and to give support to our struggle. The intellectual blockade was broken! Our Delegates flew to New Delhi and learned at first band of the massive support which was being given to our struggle for national existence. Never before in the history of mankind has such a solidarity of Asian and African peoples been shown for the rescue of a fellow Asian Nation in danger. The diplomats and statesmen, the Press and the common men of our Asian and African neighbours were all supporting us. We were given fresh courage to press our struggle onwards to its final successful conclusion. We again realised to the full the truth of Desmoulin's statement: "Have no doubt of the omnipotence of a free people."

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

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

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

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

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

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

I know that in Asia and Africa there is greater diversity of religions, faiths, and beliefs, than in the other continents of the world. But that is only natural! Asia and Africa are the classic birth• places of faiths and ideas, which have spread all over the world. Therefore, it behooves us to take particular care to ensure that the principle whicl1 is usually called the "Live and let live" principlemark, I do not say the principle of "Laissez faire, laissez passer" of Liberalism which is obsolete-is first of all applied by us most completely within our own Asian and African frontiers. Then only can it be fully extended to our relations with our neighbouring coun• tries, and to others more distant.

Religion is of dominating importance particularly in this part of the world. There are perhaps more religions here than in other

regions of this globe. But, again, our countries were the birthplaces of religions. I\fost we he divided by the multiformity of our religious life? It is true, each religion has its own history, its own individuality, its own "raison d'etre," its special pride in its own beliefs, its own mission, its special truths whid1 it desires to propagate. But unless we realise that all great religions are one in their message of tolerance and in their insistence on the observance of the principle of "Live and let live," unless the followers of each religion are prepared to give the same consideration to the rights of others everywhere, unless every State does its duty to ensure that the same rights are given to the followers of all faiths-unless these things are done, religion is debased, and its true purpose perverted. Unless Asian-African countries realise their responsibilities in this matter and take steps jointly to fulfill them, the very strength of religious beliefs, which should be a source of unity and a bulwark against foreign interference, will cause its disruption, and may result in destroying the hard-won Creedom which large parts of Asia and Africa have achieved by acting together.

Sisters and Brothers, Indonesia is Asia-Africa in small. It is a country with many religions and many faiths. We have in Indonesia Moslims, we have Christians, we have Civa-Buddhists, we have peoples with other creeds. Moreover, we have many ethnic units, such as Adlenese, Bataks, Central-Sumatrans, Sundanese, Central-Javanese, l\fadurese, Toradjas, Balinese, etc. But thank God, we have our will to unity. We have our Pancha Sila. \text{\textit{Ve}} practise the \text{\textit{Live}} and let live\text{\text{principle}}, we are tolerant to each other. \textit{Bhinneka Tunggal Iha-Unity in Diversity-is} the motto of the Indonesian State. We are one nation.

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

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

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

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

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

Relatively speaking, all of us gathered here today are neighbours. Almost all of us have ties of common experience, the experience of colonialism. Many of us have a common religion. Many of us have common cultural roots. I\fany of us, the so-called "underdeveloped" nations, have more or less similar economic problems, so that each can profit from the others' experience and help. And I think I may say t11at we all hold dear t11e ideals of national independence and freedom. Yes, we have so much in common. And yet we know so little of each other.

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

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

SOEKARNo's OPENING SPEECH

act is hard. To understand is hardest. Once one understands, action is easy."

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

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

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

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

Bismiliahl God speed!

Books by Richard Wright

U11dt Tom's Chi/J,.,,

Native So11

U11tlt Tom's Children: Five umg Storirs

Native Soll (fbt Biog, apby of a Yormg Allli ricall): A Play il1Tt11 S,m a. With Paul Grul1

Bright alld Moniillg Star

12 1Hillior1 Black Voices

Black Boy: A Record of Childhood a11d Yo111!,

Cmque Uomil1i

The 011tsider

Savage Holiday

Black Puwtr. A Reronl of Rtaction il 1 n Ltmd of Pathos

Tbt Ca/or C1111am: A **Rrport** on tbt Bn11d1111g Crmftrrnct

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Wb1tc 1Wn11, Listen!

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Rtchm·d Wright Reader
F.arly Vorks: Lawd Today,

U11de Tom's Childrm, Native Son

Ltittr Works: Blncl: Boy (Amtrical 1 Hunger), 1ue011wdrr

THE COLOR CURTAIN

A REPORT ON THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE

By Richard Wright

With a fin-eword by G11n11ar Jvlyrdal and an afterword by Amritjit Singh

Banner Books University Press of Mississippi/Jackson

In order to spend Christmas with my family, I'd returned to Paris from a long, tiring trip in Spain where I'd been gathering material for a book. The holidays had passed, but, in one comer of the living room, sheltering a pile of children's presents, the glittering pine tree was still up. It was evening; I was alone; and my mind drifted toward Andalusia where I had work to finish...•

Idly, I picked up the evening's newspaper that lay folded near me upon a table and began thumbing through it. Then I was staring at a news item that baffled me. I bent forward and read the item a second time. Twenty-nine free and independent nations of Asia and Africa are meeting in Bandung, Indonesia, to discuss "racialism and colonialism" . •. What is this? 1 scanned the list of nations involved: China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Burma, Egypt, Turkey, the Philippines, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, etc. My God! I began a rapid calculation of the populations of the nations listed and, when my total topped the billion mark, I stopped, pulled off my glasses, and tried to think. A stream of realizations claimed my mind: these people were ex-colonial subjects, people whom the white West called "colored" peoples most all of the nations mentioned had been, in some form or other, under the domination of Western Europe; some had been subjected for a few decades and others had been ruled for three hundred and fifty years....

And most of the leaders of these nations had been political prisoners, men who had lived lonely lives in exile, men to whom secret political activity had been a routine matter, men to whom sacrifice and suffering had been daily companions And the populations of almost all the nations listed were deeply religious. This was a meeting of almost all of the human race living in the main geopolitical center of gravity of the earth.

I tried to recall what I knew of their leaders and my memory dredged up: Ali Sastroamidjojo, Prime Minister of Indonesia: exile, prison, war ... Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India: long years in prison ... Kwame Nkrumah, Prime Minister of the Gold Coast:expolitical prisoner and gifted organizer of tribalmasses •. • Chou En-lai, Premier of China: a disciplined Communist of the classical, Bolshevik mold, a product of war and conspiracy and revolution Ho Chi Minh, Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam: soldier, staunch Bolshevik, sagacious and pitiless leader of guerrilla armies The spised, the insulted, the hurt, the dispossessed-in short, the underdogs of the human race were meeting. Here were class and racial and religious consciousness on a global scale. Who had thought of organizing such a meeting? And what had these nations in common? Nothing, it seemed to me, but what their past relationship to the Western world had made them feel. This meeting of the rejected was in itself a kind of judgment upon that Western world!

I rose, walked the floor for a moment, then sat again

and read the aims of the twenty-nine-nation conference:

- a. to promote good will and co-operation among the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighborly relations;
- b. to consider social, economic, and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented;
- c. to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, for example, problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;
- d. to view the position of Asia and Africa and their people in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

It was simple; there were no hidden jokers. • . • The nations sponsoring the conference-Burma, India, Indonesia, Ceylon, and Pakistan-were all religious. • . • This smacked of something new, something beyond Left and Right. Looked at in terms of history, these nations represented *races* and *religions*, vague but potent forces.

It was the kind of meeting that no anthropologist, no sociologist, no political scientist would ever have dreamed of staging; it was too simple, too elementary, cutting through the outer layers of disparate social and political and cultural facts down to the bare brute resi•

dues of human existence: races and religions and continents. Only brown, black, and yellow men who had long been made agonizingly self-conscious, under the rigors of colonial rule, of their race and their religion could have felt the need for such a meeting. There was something extra-political, extra-social, almost extra-human about it; it smacked of tidal waves, of natural forces.... And t/ze call for t/ze meeting /zad not been sounded in terms of ideology. The agenda and subject matter had been written for centuries in the blood and bones of the participants. The conditions under which these men had lived had become their tradition, their culture, their raison d'etre. And they could not be classed as proletarians; they comprised princes and paupers, Communists and Christians, Leftists and Rightists, Buddhists and Democrats, in short, just anybody and everybody who lived in Asia and Africa.

I felt that I had to go to that meeting; I felt that I could understand it. I represented no government, but I wanted to go anyhow...

I called my wife and when she came into the living room I said to her:

"Look here, twenty-nine nations of Asia and Africa are meeting in a place called Bandung...

"Why are they meeting?"

"Read this," I said, giving her the newspaper.

When she had finished, she exclaimed:

"Why, that's the human racel"

"Exactly. And that is why I want to go...

"But you are going to Spain."

"Sure. But when I'm through in Spain, I could go to Bandung."

"What would you do there?"

"I'd try to report this meeting, what it means-"

"For whom?"

"I don't know. For somebody •.• I know that people are tired of hearing of these hot, muddy faraway places filled with people yelling for freedom. But this is the human race speaking .•• "

"But how would you report twenty-nine nations meet• ing together?"

"I don't know. But I feel that my life has given me some keys to what they would say or do. I'm an American Negro: as such, I've had a burden of race consciousness. So have these people. I worked in my youth as a common laborer, and I've a class consciousness. So have these people. I grew up in the Methodist and Seventh Day Adventist churches and I saw and observed religion in my childhood; and these people are religious. I was a member of the Communist Party for twelve years and I know something of the politics and psychology of rebellion. These people have had as their daily existence such pofitics. These emotions are my instruments. They are emotions, but I'm conscious of them as emotions. I want to use these emotions to try to find out what these people think and feel and why."

There was silence. Then my wife said:

"If you feel that way, you have to go."

take help from anywhere, if that help will enable them to build free nations."

To him the removal of oppressive conditions does not necessarily make men happy.

He feels that some culture should lead the masses of the world in establishing a universal humanism and that Buddhist cultures can do this for mankind.

I lifted my eyes; the pastel-colored apartment buildings of Madrid were flashing past. I sighed.

By far, this Pakistanian journalist had disclosed the deepest chasm between East and West that I had yet come across. His bitterness had been edged directly by his contact with missionaries. He felt that he had to rebel twice as passionately against the West to overcome "alien" influences lingering in him. Indeed, his most curious attitude involved religion: he was willing to allow religion to exist in his country in the future, but not for himself; he wanted the *masses to believe*. He feared a too-drastic industrialization of his country would result in those masses' lives being as stripped of tradition and meaning as his had been. If he were restless, how much more would be the illiterate millions when cast into the void ...?

It was clear to me that the East held by the West as a fond image does not exist any more; indeed, the classical conception of the East is dead even for the Easterner....

Here in his world, but he does not believe in it any longer; he holds on to its values with too much self-consciousness to live by them. In fact, his pretentious cling-

ing to those old values signifies that he is trying to save face. This Pakistanian journalist knew in his heart that the West had been irrevocably triumphant in its destruction of his culture, but he insisted that when he embraced a new way of life he was going to do so on his own terms, with no monitoring or overlordship from Westerners.

I was discovering that this Asian elite was, in many ways, more Western than the West, their Westernness consisting in their having been made to break with the past in a manner that but few Westerners could possibly do. The elite of the East was now the restless, the changeable, the critical. ... It would be naive to suppose that this journalist, having broken with the past, would now proceed to try to build a world that would be a duplicate of ours, and he could no more know the kind of world that he wanted to build than we knew when we started building ours.

Unless it was brought pointedly to his attention, the average white \Vesterner could never suspect how emotionally charged the Asian really was, how chronic his state of perturbation. The centuries-long dominance-military, political, religious, and economic-of the West over Asia had purged the Asian outlook of its naturalness and innocence. While the European, when he was

in Asia as an administrator or businessman, did not regard the Asian as his enemy, the Asian almost inevitably looked upon the European as his prime antagonist.

The journalist's vehement objection to marrying a

white woman was not based upon a fear of adulterating his family blood stream; it was a matter of hot pride. The West had kept their women out of reach, and he would prove, by spurning such women, that he did not react to them, did not want them....

Believing that the removal of oppressive conditions does not make men happy, he would not perhaps resort to a violent attempt at overthrowing what he felt to be oppressive conditions _ _ _ Yet his disinherited state makes him expect an over-alJ, universal culture; he dreams of men like Gandhi banishing the conditions that make for diversity and establishing unity....

Threactions that I had been able to gather could not possibly describe Asian reality; the questions that I had posed had not been designed to elicit that. But those replies did, to some degree, illuminate that narrow zone where East met West, and that zone was hot and disturbed.

The first general conclusion that could be drawn was that not one Asian had taken pains to defend that most sacred of all Western values: property.

The second conclusion: to justify his dominance, the European had sought to make his superiority seem historically natural; he had cited examples of the cruelties of Asians and Africans to one another to show how his long control over Asian and African destinies was merely what man had always done to man. What the European generally overlooked in his attempts at self-justification was that the Asian and African had indeed been cruel to

one another but that they had practiced their barbarities and brutalities within the confines of common cultures and religions which even the victims, in some measure, shared.

The trampling by a powerful West upon the traditional and customary Asian and African cultures, cultures sacred and beyond rational dispute, left vast populations at the mercy of financial and commercial relations which compounded the confusion in Asian and African minds. Attempts on the part of the sundered and atomized "coloreds" to reconstitute their lives, to regain that poise and balance that reigned before the coming of the white man, were regarded as a warlike threat by the powers originally responsible for the atomization of the customs and traditions. Present Asian and African mass movements are the frantic efforts on the part of more than one and one-half billion human beings to reorganize their lives....

Still another and, to the Western mind, somewhat baffling trait emerged from these Asian responses. There seemed to be in their consciousness a kind of instinct (I can't find a better word!) toward hierarchy, toward social collectivities of an organic nature. In contrast to the Western feeling that education was an instrument to enable the individual to become free, to stand alone, the Asian felt that education was to bind men together. Underlying most Asian tenets was a hunger for a strong leadership, for authority, for a sacred "head" toward which all eyes could tum for guidance and final sane-

tion. The Asian seemed to have a "picture" of life and wanted to find out where and how he fitted into that "picture." He sought no separate, unique, or individual destiny. This propensity toward the organically calleetive might be the residue from his past family, cultural, or religious condit ioning, or a reflecton of it; it's hard to tell.... Itany case, it certainly propelled him, irrespective of ideology, toward those collectivistic visions emanating from Peking and Moscow.... And all the fervid adjurations of Washington, London, or Paris to strive for individual glory and achievement left him cold and suspicious. And past colonial experience made him feel that unity with his own kind, the only strength he could visualize, was being threatened when he was asked to follow the lead of Western individualism.

To the Asian mind industrialization was not a project whose growth came with time, but a dogma in a religion, something to be experienced here and now with emotionally charged words; "race" was no longer a simple designation, nonscientific, of a people and their physiological differences, but an instrument of subjugation, a badge of shame, a burning and concrete fact that was proved instantly by the color of one's skin. . • . Religion was no longer a delicate relationship of a people to the world in which they lived, a relationship wrought through centuries and embodied in ritual and ceremony, but a proof of one's humanity, something to defend and cling to (even if one did not believe in itl) passionately, for the sake of one's pride, to redress the balance in the scales of self-esteem.

That elementary instinct that had made man conquer his environment, that right to name the items that surround one, was eagerly seized upon again as soon as the "white invader" had gone; then, like a child, he walked about his domain and touched his old playthings and called them again by the names that his father and his father's father had called them.

Rendered psychologically uncertain as to motive, the uprooted Easterner did everything self-consciously, watching himself, as it were. Behavior was spontaneous only when passionate action lifted him to the plane of self-forgetfulness. Hence, to feel a thing deeply made that thing the worth•while thing to do, indeed, made it the *right* thing to do. He felt that history now coincided with his feelings, for he knew that what he did was now making history; he might be right or wrong, but what he did would count historically for good or ill. Hecould not lose, really. A sort of depersonalization took place in his thinking, and this buttressed his personality toward an attitude of irresponsibility. Worlds of infinite possibility opened up before the eyes of the new, young Asians and Africans and they felt as gods.•••

In Madrid, on Easter Sunday, I boarded a TWA Con• stellation for Rome where I made connections with a KLM Cairo-bound plane. I was heartened when a batch of French newspapermen hailed me. They were Bandung-bound and had the latest news.

Through the hot night we flew high over Africa,

upon many of the Asian and African delegates who, above all, wanted to speak their minds freely and frankly among themselves.

The Launceston *Examiner* of Tasmania (Australia), December 30, 1954, gave vent to real fear when it stated:

Decisions by the "Colombo Premiers" arc of deep significance to Australia and the Western world. Their invitation to twenty-five nations, including Communist China, but excluding all Western countries, to a conference in April, could be the beginning of an upsurge of racial hatreds against the West. The decision to support Indonesia in its claim for sovereignty over \Vest New Guinea, though not unexpected, should show Australians where the sympathies of most of their neighbours lie.

Speculation about the role of Red China was voiced on December 8, 1954, by the Delhi *Times* of India. It stated:

, , , Much will depend on whether Peking considers itself more Asian than Communist or vice versa. If the Asian-African Conference accomplishes nothing more than reveal to what extent the Communist is willing to cooperate with its Asian neighbours and Arab States, it will be worthy attempt on behalf of Asian solidarity. Peking will then be given an opportunity to establish its bona fides and if possible to confound those sceptics who feel that, by the fact of being Communist, China is nearer to its fellow Communist

States in Europe than to its Asian neighbors with which it has racial and cultural ties.

The *Globe and Mail* of Toronto, January 1, 1955, observed:

What can bind these scattered countries together? What is the common interest of Red China and Ethiopia, of the Philippines and Lebanon, to name four of the invited? The answer is plain. These Asian and African states, with few exceptions, recently were or still are dependencies. With no exception whatever, tlley have a lower standard of living, measuring welfare by the distribution of material goods, than is enjoyed in other countries. This, of course, is obvious. What is significant about the call to Bandung is that the common plight of Asians and Africans has been recognized and proclaimed-in Asia.

Said Newsweek bluntly, January 1, 1955:

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

Western statesmen last week unhappily recalled these words of Kaiser Wilhelm II, popularizer of the phrase 'Yellow Peril.' They could reflect that the onetime German emperor was right as rain-and wrong as sin. He was right in foreseeing a crisis that now threatens in a more virulent form than he envisaged-an Afro-Asian combination turned

by Communists against the West. The problem, according to those who have to deal with it today and tomorrow, is to prevent its formation.•••

The *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston, January 23, 1955, summed up the meaning of the conference in terse phrases:

•.. The West is excluded. Emphasis is on the colored nations of the world. And for Asia it means that at last the destiny of Asia is being determined in Asia, and not in Geneva, or Paris, or London or Washington. Colonialism is out. Hands off is the word. Asia is free. This is perhaps the great historic event of our century.

Reflecting a feeling of long isolation, the *Burma Star* (London), Janu_ary 29, 1955, declared:

The Afro-Asian conference is decidedly of vital necessity from the standpoint of many countries who have agreed to lend their participation. The least value it can have is a true forum of Afro-Asian opinion which does not always find *its* proper outlet in the United Nations and other world co neils where Western political sway is indisputably in evidence.

On March 3, 1955, came an undisguised sneer from Portugal. Said *Diario Popular* of Lisbon:

.•• this spectacular conference is actuaUy a kind of a vast whirl of panic, as happens in ant hills on the approach of

some collective danger. Let us forget appearances and even the perturbing possibilities for our particular interests and let us face the problem of the West. It consists in calming that immense flock before it delivers itself up to bad shepherds and before it is too late to influence it.

On the same day, ten thousand miles distant, the *Times* of Manila, playing possum, said in a voice whose studied na"ivete did not ring true:

With the best will in the world it is difficult to understand what Premier Jawaharlal Nehru expects of the Afrasian conference at Bandung next April.

Said Walter Lippmann in the Paris *Herald Tribune* for March 1, 1955:

The list of the states they did not invite makes it very evident that this is no mere attempt to make a neutral bloc or a third force in between the giant military powers. Red China is no neutral and no third force. What this is, to put it plainly, is the most formidable and ambitious move yet made in this generation to apply the principle of Asia for the Asians.

The words that cut and hurt the Asian-African delegates most came from no less than the American Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles. In a radio-television address in Washington on the 8th of March, 1955, he referred to the conference as follows:

Three of the Asian parties to the Pacific Charter, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand, may shortly be meeting with other Asian countries at a so-called A£ro-Asian conference.

(This single phrase, "so-called Afro-Asian conference," echoed and re-echoed at Bandung as proof of American contempt; and the people who called attention to it were not Communists...)

On March 13, 1955, the Central African Federation, which is affiliated with the British Commonwealth, decided not to participate in the mammoth conference. Speculation had it that since a white man, Sir Godfrey Higgins, was the Prime Minister, he could not possibly speak in the interests of his African constituents. His presence at Bandung would have been a curious spectacle, to say the least.

On March 25, 1955, this announcement came from New Delhi; it was published in the New York *Times*:

India will ask the conference of Asian-African nations to put the problem of nuclear weapons on *its* agenda.

Then, from an unknown quarter, came sensational news that set off a frenzy of fear and speculation. On March 26, 1955, the New York *Times* carried the following item:

A significant change in policy and defense planning is under consideration here in the belief that Red China will begin its campaign to capture Matsu and Quemoy about the middle of April.

There is as yet no sign that President Eisenhower has de-

There is as yet no sign that President Eisenhower has decided to intervene militarily to prevent the capture of the islands.

On suclI a basis the United States would be committed to the use of precision atomic weapons against purely military targets even in a limited Far Eastern war.

The pending Asian-African conference began to loom more and more as a war council of the nations attending. The New York *Times*, March 27, 1955, quoted Senator Walter F. George, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as saying:

••. some credence was being given to the possibility of a Communist attack after the Asian-African conference. He was not prepared to say, Senator George added, whether the United States would become involved.

Burma's Buddhist Premier U Nu sought to allay war fears in a New York *Times* article, March 27, 1955:

. . • Communist China was afraid that as soon as the United States bases in Asia were 'completed' an attack would be launched against the China mainland.

Premier U Nu said he had not met many leaders of the United States but those he had talked with had told him of their fears of continued aggression from Peking.

Premier U Nu said he did not think the forthcoming

Asian-African conference was an 'anti-,Vestern' meeting. But he made it clear that he thought some \-Vestern powers would take a verbal slamming on the issue of colonialism.

On March 28, 1955, William Humphreys analyzed Nehru's probable relation to Communism in the Paris *Herald Tribune* in the following words:

Mr. Nehru spent ten days in Peking as the guest of Communist party leaders Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou Enlai, and on his return to India, November II, he extolled his 'peace and progress' mission as 'an historic event certain to influence all of Asia.' Rumors of the conference then began to circulate.

Thus, when the idea of the Afro-Asian meeting was formally projected a few weeks later, it appeared to be a reasonable conclusion that Mr. Nehru had set an international stage on which Red China would be presented as a peaceminded nation militarily intent only upon resisting United States' 'aggression.'

Behind all this frenzied speculation was, of course, something else. An American admiral, Carney by name, Chief of Naval Operations, predicted that the Chinese Communists were likely to attack Quemoy and Matsu in mid-April. On April 7, 1955, the Manchester *Guardian* reported:

In his opening remarks Admiral Carney said that the Chinese Communist leaders Mao and Chou had madea straightforward pitch on what they intend to do.

He went on:

"They have a series of unbroken successes and they are flushed with victory. They should feel safe in continuing to probe and they will probe. The first two things they will go after are the off-shore islands. They can take Matsu and Quemoy from the Chinese Nationalists. It could be ex n-sive for them but they will take the islands by expending enough. They probably will initiate the attack on Matsu i_n mid-April. The significance of the timing is that it would e in with the Afro-Asian conference in Bandung, Indonesia, from April 16 to 24. The all-out attack on Quemoy ould be some weeks later than that on Matsu. The bulld-up around Matsu includes the air near Foochow.

"The attack on Matsu may begin on April 15 or later during the conference. A month later, maybe in May or June, they could launch an attack on Quemoy....

"If the decision is made to participate it should not be on a localized tactical basis. We have to carry the thing to a conclusion and find what will wreck the enemy's efforts. That involves enlargement far beyond that tactical area of Quemoy and Matsu. We have t? enga e China i.n an all-out war. If we go in with the restricted view we wdl find ourselves about to lose all of Asia."

In the Manchester *Guardian*, April 13, 1955, Adlai Stevenson, leader of the Democratic Party in the United States, speaking in subtle, ironic tones, tried to draw attention to the essential horror involved in the whole discussion by asking a series of pointed questions:

had reached a pitch that involved the totality of man on earth.

BANDUNG: BEYOND LEFT AND RIGHT

Are the off-shore islands essential to the security of the United States? Are they, indeed, even essential to the defense of Formosa-which all Americans have been agreed upon since President Truman sent the Seventh Fleet there five years ago? Or is it, as the Secretary of Defense says, that the loss of Quemoy and Matsu would make no significant military difference?

Such was the atmosphere, brooding, bitter, apprehensive, which greeted the projected conference. Everybody read into it his own fears; the conference loomed like a long-buried ghost rising from a muddy grave....

Can they be defended without resort to nuclear weapons? If not, while I know we now have the means to incinerate, to bum up, much of living China, and quickly, are we prepared to use such weapons to defend islands so tenuously related to American security?

afternoon of April 12, we landed at Jakarta airfield, which was decorated with the Hags of the twenty-nine nations attending the conference. As soon as I became entangled with the bureaucracy of Indonesian customs and immigration, I discovered a great deal of smiling good will but an appalling amount of inefficiency. The brown young men seemed at a loss as they fumbled with papers, searched about for rubber stamps. It was clear to me that these young men had not had much previous experience in administration; under Dutch rule few Indonesians did such work. Ten minutes sufficed to reveal the void left here by the much-vaunted Dutch imperialists.

It should be remembered that these quotations fit into a real, concrete, historical context. These molten words, dealing with the incineration of continents, were related to a process that began directly after World War II when Western Europe, prostrate from Hitlerian dam• ination, was anxious to stem the tide of Stalinist revolutions that were sweeping into Europe. America, leader of the West, then launched a campaign, the intensity of which it did not appreciate, to frighten the men of the Kremlin, and month after month that campaign kept up, flooding the world on all levels of communication. And it was successful, too successful; it not only scared and deterred Russian Communists, but it frightened the living daylights out of the human race. It was a cam. paign so fierce, so deadly, so unrelenting that it created precisely what it sought to defeat, that is, an organization of Asia and Africa around a Communist cell on a global scale: BANDUNG.... The dialogue of events

The heat was like a Turkish bath; the humidity was higher than in the African jungle. I was met by P.E.N. club officials and Mochtar Lu bis, editor of the *Indonesia Raya*, an independent Socialist daily. Lubis took me in tow, loaded my luggage into his car, and we nosed into the wide streets of a chaotic, Oriental city. Jakarta, like Accra in the Gold Coast of Africa, presents to Western eyes a commercial aspect, naked and immediate, that seems to swallow up the entire population in petty trade

Yearbook of the United Nations, 1953, excerpts

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF UNDER-DEVELOPED AREAS

The fundamental position of the United **Nations** with respect to the financing of economic development of under-developed countries was set forth in resolution 400(V) of the General Assembly. In this resolution the Assembly had recognized that, although the economic development of under-developed countries depended primarily upon the efforts of the people of those countries, the necessary acceleration of that development, on the basis of their own plans and programmes, required not only technical but also financial assistance from abroad, and particularly from the more developed countries.

The General Assembly had also considered that the domestic financial resources of the under-developed countries, together with the international flow of capita} for investment, had not been sufficient to assure the desired rate of economic development, and that the accelerated economic development of under-developed countries required a more effective and sustained mobilization of domestic savings and an expanded and more stable flow of foreign capital investment.

The General Assembly had further expressed the conviction that the volume of private capital currently flowing into under-developed countries could not meet the financial needs of the economic development of under-developed countries, and that those needs could not be met without an increased flow of international public funds.

Since the fifth session of the General Assembly, and on the basis of the principles set forth above, the Assembly and the Council7 have considered a number of studies of methods whereby an enlarged and more stable flow of international finance for the economic development of underdeveloped countries might best be secured. [...]

SPECIAL UNITED NATIONS FUND FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT (SUNFED)

(1) Report of the Committee on a Special United Nations Fund

As provided by Council resolution 416 A (XIV),8 the Secretary-General appointed a committee of nine members to prepare a detailed plan for a special fund in accordance with the terms of Assembly resolution 520 A (VI). The Committee, which held a seven-week session beginning 21 January 1953, prepared, in accordance with its terms of reference, a detailed plan for the establishment (when circumstances permit), operation, management and control of a special fund for grants-in-aid and low-interest, long-term loans to under-developed countries for the acceleration of their economic development. The Committee's report, entitled Report on a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (E/- 2381), presented the unanimous recommendations of its authors, who acted in their personal capacities and put forward their recommendations on their own responsibility. [...]

(Z) Consideration by the Economic and Social Council at its Sixteenth Session

The Council considered the report during its discussion of the agenda item "Economic development of under-developed countries" at the 138th to 140th meetings of its Economic Committee, on 21 and 31 July and 3 August, and at its 725th to 731st and 749th plenary meetings, on 15 to 18 July and 4 August 1953.

There was a substantial measure of agreement in the Council on the need both for increased financial assistance to accelerate economic development and for an international fund to make grants to underdeveloped countries. Almost all representatives expressed their high regard for the Committee's constructive report.

The representatives of the more-developed countries stated that it was the settled policy of their governments and their peoples to aid the efforts of the peoples of under-developed areas to develop their resources and improve their working conditions. Several of these representatives, among them those of Australia, France and the United Kingdom, reviewed the substantial programmes of international aid that their governments were currently undertaking. The United States representative referred to the increasing scale of such aid, in spite of the fact that his country had been compelled to join other free nations in repelling aggression, and pointed out that the citizens of his country, both as private individuals and through the government, were making large investments to this end. He regretted that circumstances, over which his country had no control, had limited the scale of the assistance provided.

The representatives of under-developed countries warmly commended the Committee's findings. The representatives of Egypt, the Philippines and Turkey instanced, in particular, the following features of the report as commendable:

- (1) that the Committee had recognized that the economic development of under-developed countries must primarily be the concern of such countries themselves;
- (2) that it had taken as a "fundamental premise" the need for non-commercial capital in the form of grants-in-aid or long-term, low-interest loans;
- (3) that it had viewed realistically the strain on the economies of developed countries in suggesting the modest initial requirement of \$250,000,000;
- (4) that in suggesting the minimum of 30 contributors it had endorsed the view that the fund's strength would reside, initially, not in its absolute size but in its widespread support by the United Nations: and
- (5) that the Committee had appreciated the current situation in recommending that contributions, apart from those to the administrative budget, might be made in local currency and that governments might reserve the right to restrict the export of goods regarded as essential to their domestic economies.

The USSR representative stated that the proposals made by the Committee had envisaged a fund designed to stimulate the flow of foreign capital to the under-developed countries. But experience had shown that foreign investments were usually made in the under-developed countries on such terms that they served to worsen the already bad economic situation of those countries and resulted, contrary to United Nations principles, in interference in their domestic affairs. It was therefore impossible, he said, to accept the view that foreign capital should constitute the principal method of promoting the economic development of the under-developed countries. It could play some part in that development (though only an auxiliary part) provided it was made available on conditions which were not detrimental to the national interests of the under-developed countries and without interference in their domestic affairs. The representative of Poland, supporting this statement, expressed the view that the

establishment of a special fund (or international finance corporation) would not be beneficial in the current political situation.

The representatives of India and Uruguay felt that it was incumbent on the Council, in the light of General Assembly resolution 520 A (VI) which had requested the Council to submit a detailed plan, to study the report and to express views on the merits of the Committee's proposals. However, among others, the representatives of China, France, Sweden, the United Kingdom and the United States felt that to debate the precise organization of the proposed fund and even the broader issues raised in the report would be premature since the circumstances which would prevail at the time the fund was established were still unknown. At the Assembly's sixth session it had been recognized that the time was not yet ripe for the establishment of the proposed fund and circumstances had not changed since then.

[...]

Further discussion in the Council tended away from detailed examination of the Committee's recommendations. Discussion was mainly concerned with the questions of the adequacy of the resources presently available for economic development and a proposal that savings from disarmament be devoted to economic development through an international fund.

The insufficiency of the resources available for more rapid economic development was stressed by representatives of under-developed countries. While fully accepting the position that the more energetic mobilization and utilization of domestic resources must be the basis for accelerated economic development, they felt that renewed emphasis on this proposition, which was self-evident and generally agreed, was out of place, and they considered that it would be more useful to stress the severely limited extent to which investment could, in practice, be financed from domestic resources. [..•]

A number of representatives pointed out that exports of primary commodities by under-developed countries constituted a more important source of foreign exchange than foreign Investment. In this connexion, the representatives of Egypt, Poland and Venezuela stressed the difficulties for under-developed countries resulting from the fact that the markets for the primary commodities which such countries export are subject to very considerable instability. Representatives of the under-developed countries emphasized the importance of achieving stability in commodity prices as a condition of economic development. The Argentine representative, in addition, considered that commodity price stabilization would succeed only if it were undertaken on a comprehensive basis. An equitable level of prices for primary commodities in relation to those of manufactured goods was required. The representative of Indonesia, speaking as an observer, stated that the provision of foreign finance as a supplement to domestic **savings** would afford only limited support to the development plans of underdeveloped countries unless the markets for their exports were stabilized. [...]

While the majority were in agreement concerning the need to expand the volume of international assistance for the economic development of under-developed countries at the earliest possible date, representatives of the more developed countries which would be the major potential contributors to the proposed fund stated that their countries were unable to assume, at present, any additional financial burdens.

However, in the course of the discussion the United States representative reminded the Council that the President of the United States had recently declared, after outlining the ways in which international tension could be relieved and the burden of armaments reduced, that his Government was ready to ask

the American people to join with all nations in devoting a substantial percentage of the savings which would be achieved by such disarmament to a fund for world aid and reconstruction. [...]

Many representatives warmly welcomed the initiative taken by the United States representative in placing such a draft declaration before the Council, and associated themselves with the general purposes of that declaration. [...] A number of representatives, including those of Argentina, Egypt, India and Yugoslavia, considered that the expansion of financial aid to the under-developed countries should not be entirely contingent upon disarmament, even though it might well be recognized that many countries might not be in a position to make a maximum contribution to such an expansion until the burden of armaments expenditures had been somewhat eased. [...]

Following informal discussions, a joint draft resolution (E/AC.6/L76), superseding all other draft resolutions and amendments, was presented by Australia, Cuba, Egypt, India, the Philippines, the United States and Yugoslavia at the Economic Committee's 139th meeting on 31 July.

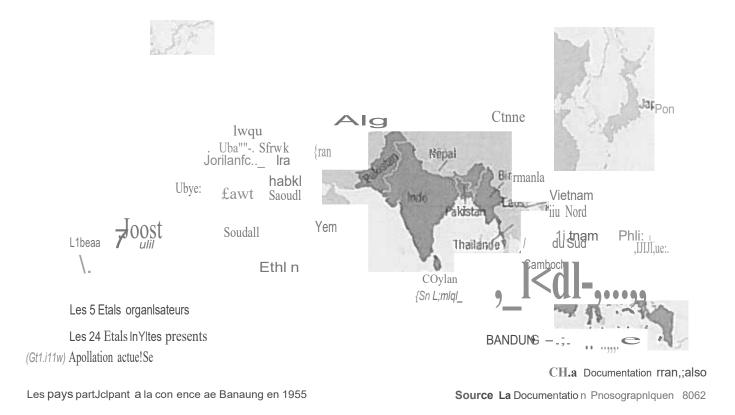
It was adopted, without further discussion, by the Committee (E/2505 I) by 15 votes to none, with 2 abstentions, and by the Council at its 749th plenary meeting on 4 August, by the same vote, as resolution 482 A (XVI).

It read:[...]

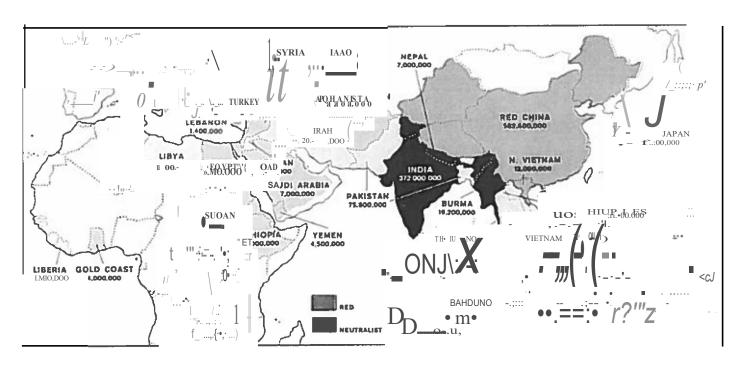
I"The Economic and Social Council ... recommends that the General Assembly consider, in the light of the report of the Committee and the records of the sixteenth session of the Council, what other preparatory steps might usefully be taken towards the establishment, when circumstances permit, of an international fund designed to assist development and reconstruction of the under-developed countries."

If "The Economic and Social Council ... recommends that governments consider joining, at the eighth session of the General Assembly, in the following draft declaration:

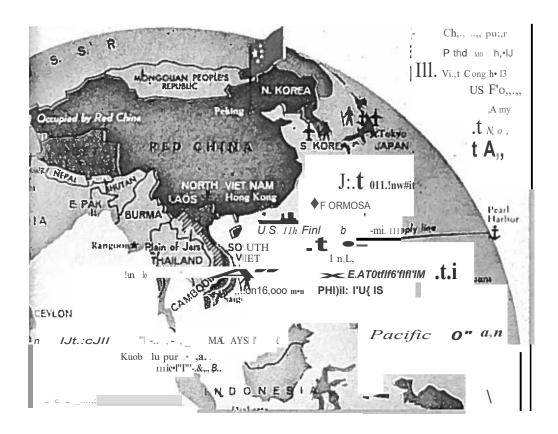
We, the governments of the States Members of the United Nations, in order to promote higher standards of living and conditions of economic and social progress and development, stand ready to ask our peoples, when sufficient progress has been made in internationally supervised worldwide disarmament, to devote a portion of the savings achieved through such disarmament to an international fund, within the framework of the United Nations, to assist development and reconstruction in underdeveloped countries."



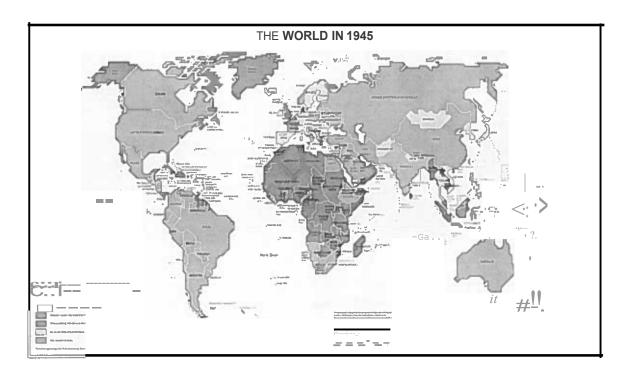
An Asian-African world: The 29 participants at Bandung (5 sponsors plus 24 invited states; the Federation of Rhodesia declined the invitation)



Blocs in Cold War terms: as pictured by life Magazine



The strategic situation: as pictured by Life Magazine



The world in 1945, according to the United Nations Decolonization Commission. Blue= UN members; yellow= countries not members of the UN; orange= countries promised independence (achieved 1946-47); green= trust territories in preparation for independence; red= non-self-governing territory. By 1955, independence had been achieved by NGSTs Libya, Sudan, Burma, Ceylon, Laos, Cambodia, and Indonesia, with independence promised to Gold Coast. The remainder remained colonies.

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- to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
- to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH **THESEAIMS**

Accordingly, our respective Governments, through representalives assembled in the city of San Francisco, who have exhibited their full powers found to be in good and due form, have agreed lo the present Charter of the United Nations and do hereby establish an international organization to be known as the United Nations. . . .

Chapter XI

ARTICLE 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation lo promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

- a. to ensure, with due respect for U1e culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, aJJd their protection against abuses:
- b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;
- c. lo further inlernal.ional peace and security;
- d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and lo co-opentte with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialized international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and

e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

ARTICLE 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their polky in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

3

HO CHI MINH

Declaration of Independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

September 2, 1945

In 1941, the leaderoftl,e Communist party of Vietnam proposed that all groups involved in resisting the Japanese occupation forn, a united front, which took the name League for the Independence of Vietnam (Vietnam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi). It was usually referred to as the Viet Minh League. Nguyen Sinh Cung, better known by his nom de guerre, Ho Chi Minh, soon came to lead this organization. By the elld of World War II, the Viet Minh League had gained control over large parts of northen, Viet11am, where it began to establish local governments and oversee the redistribution of land to peasant farmers. On September 2, 1945, Ho Chi Minh read the following declaration in Ba Dinh Square, in the colonial

From Ho Chi Minh, Selected Works (Hanoi: Foreil, '11 Lnn1, ruages Publishing House, 1961), 3:17-21.

Alt men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among these are Life, Llberty and the pursuit of Happiness.

This immortal statement was made in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America in 1776. In a broader sense, this means: All the peoples on the earth are equal from birth, aU the peoples have a right to live, to be happy and free.

The Declaration of the French Revolution made in 1791 on the Rights of Man and the Citizen also states: "Men are born and remain free anct equal in rights."

Those are undeniable truths.

Nevertheless, for more than eighty years, the French imperialists, abusing the standard of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, have violated our Fatherland and oppressed our fellow-citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice.

In the field of politics, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty.

They have enforced inhuman laws; they have set up three distinct poJitical regimes in the North, the Center and the South of Vietnam in order to wreck our national unity and prevent our people from being united.

They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood.

They have fettered public opinion; tlley have fostered ignorance among our people.

To weaken our race U1ey have forced us to use opium and alcohol. In the field of economics, they have fleeced us lo U1e backbone, impoverished our people, and devastated our land.

They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests, and our raw materials. They have monopolized the issuing of bank-notes and the export trade.

They have invented numerous unjustifiable taxes and reduced our people, especially our peasantry, to a stale of extreme poverty.

They have hampered the prospering of our national bourgeoisie; they have mercilessly exploited our workers.

our country to them.

Thus, from that date, our people were subjected to the double yoke of the French and the Japanese. Their sufferings and miseries increased. The result was that from the end of last year to the beginning of this year, from Quang Tri province to the North of Vietnam, more than two million of our fellow-citizens died from starvation. On March 9, the French troops were disarmed by the Japanese. The French colonialists either fled or surrendered showing that not only were they incapable of "protecting" us, but that, in tile span of five years, Uley had twice sold our country to the Japanese.

On several occasions before March 9, the Viet Minh League urged the French to ally themselves with it against the Japanese. Instead of agreeing to this proposal, the French colonialists so intensified their terrorist activities against the Viet Minh members that before fleeing they massacred a great number of our political prisoners detained at Yen Bay and Cao Bang.

Notwithstanding all this, our fellow-citizens have always manifested toward the French a tolerant and humane attitude. Even after the Japanese putsch of March 1945, the Viet Minh Lea!,,rue helped many Frenchmen to cross the frontier, rescued some of them from Japanese jails, and protected French lives and property.

From the autumn of 1940, our country had in facl ceased to be a French colony and had become a Japanese possession.

After the Japanese had surrendered to the Allies, our whole people rose to regain our national sovereignty and to found the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

The truth is that we have wrested our independence from the Japanese and not from the French.

The French have fled, the Japanese have capitulated, Emperor Bao Dai has abdicated. Our people have broken the chains which for nearly a century have fettered them and have won independence for the Fatherland. Our people at the same time have overthrown the monarchic regime that has reigned supreme for dozens of centuries. In its place has been established the present Democratic Republic.

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government, representing the whole Vietnamese people, declare that from now on we break off **an** relations of a colonial character with France; we repeal all the international obligation that France has so far subscribed to on

behalf of Vietnam and we abolish all tlle spedal rights the French have unlawfully acquired in our Fatherland.

The whole Vietnamese people, animated by a common purpose, are determined to fight to tlle bitter end against any attempt by the French colonialists to reconquer their country.

We are convinced that the AUied nations which at [the 1943 "Big Three" meeting between Joseph Stalin, Winston Churchill, and Franklin Roosevelt in] Tehran and [in signing the 1945 United Nations Charter in] San Francisco have acknowledged the principles of self-determination and equality of nations, will not refuse to acknowledge the independence of Vietnam.

A people who have courageously opposed French domination for more than eight years, a people who have fought side by side witll the Allies against the Fascists during these last years, such a people must" be free and independent

For these reasons, we, members of the Provisional Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, solemnly declare to the world that Vietnam has the right to be a free and independent country-and in fact is so already. The entire Vietnamese people are determined to mobilize all their physical and mental strength, to sacrifice their Jives and property in order to safeguard their independence and liberty.

4

An Appeal of the Vietnamese Bishops in Favor of the Independence of Their Country

September 23, 1945

On September 23, 1945, sootz after Ho Chi Minh proclaimed Vietnamese indepe,idence ill Hanoi (see Document 3), four Romatz Catholic bishops of Vietnamese origitz put their tzames on this public letter to Pope Pius XIL 011 November 4, 1945, as Fretzch troops moved to reassert control over their nation's Southeast Asiatz colonies, the same men published the "Message of the Four Vietnamese Bishops to the Christians of the World and to the People of the United States of America and the United

Kingdom." b, both itistatices, the Viet Minh League leadership asked the bishops to intervetie, the appeals were broadcast by the 11ew Democratic Republic of Vietnam state radio, atzd the state and its allies abroad published copies and distributed them internationally. Copies were left otz the steps of some clmrches itz Paris as well. 77,e bishops spoke for the 1.2 million Catholics i11 Viettzam at the time. Catholicism had been brought to the region by missionaries in an effort long supported by European colonial powers.

Our beloved people of Vietnam have sought to take advantage of the mediation of their four bishops to extend the honor of their deep respect for Your Holiness and to implore Your benediction, your magnanimity and prayers in favor of our independence, which it has just acquired and intends to hold on to whatever the cost

Our Government has taken the happy and thoughtful decision to adopt as Vietnam's national holiday the holiday that the Holy See [the Vatican) authorized for our Vietnamese martyrs, the first Sunday of September. All Vietnamese people, regardless of their religion, will celebrate this festival of September 2nd in a spirit of unprecedented and sincere patriotism, through grandiose and enthusiastic events, which WiU give witness to their shared and unshakable resolve to defend their government until death.

In the face of these extremely moving events, and touched to the depths of our hearts by the sacred trust we owe our Fatherland, we the Vietnamese bishops implore Your Holiness, the court in Rome, their eminences the cardinals, their excellencies the archbishops, the bishops, and all of the world's Catholics, especially of France, to support the decision of our cherished nation. With deep veneration and filial devotion.

7

ALFRED SAUVY

Three Worlds, One Planet
August 14, 1952

Alfred Sauvy was an influential French demographer (an expert on the growth 011d decline of human populations) who published the first text to introduce the term third world foto international discussions about global relations. His article appeared in the Observateur (Observer), a left-wing French magazine known for its criticism of both the Soviet Union and the United States. In the followifly excerpts, he combines a political analysis of the cold war, which brought irzto conflict the "first" (Western, or pro-U.S.J and "second" (Eastern, or pro-Soviet) worlds, and a social scientific argument abollt how population growth would tmmp political projects. It was only the final lines, however, that became widely cited, ;,, which Sauvy adroitly compares the third world to the Third Estate. In pre-revolutionary France, the Third Estate was a legal category that included well over 90 percent of the population, in contrast to the much smaller First Estate (clergy) and Second Estate (aristocracy). The common people of the Third Estate produced most of France's wealth, but they played no direct role in how the country was governed. According to many itzterpretations, the disregard and exploitation of the Third Estate caused the French Revolution of 1789.

We readily speak of the existence of two worlds, of the possibility of war between them, of their coexistence, yet all too often we forget that a third world also exists, the most important of all and, really, in terms of chronolo_gical age, the first world. It consists of aU those countries that, in United Nations-speak, are called underdeveloped.

Things appear differently when we take the point of view of this largest J., rroup: From their perspective, two vanguards are several centuries ahead, the Western and the Eastern. Is it necessary to follow one or the other, or is a different path possible?

From Alfred Sauvy, "frois mondes, unc plancle." *L'Observateur*. August 14, 1952, 14. Translation by author.

Without the third-or maybe the first-world, the coexistence of the other two would not pose a big problem....

What interests each of the two [developed] worlds is lo conquer the third, or at least to have it on its side. And this is what makes coexistence so difficult ...

Unfortunately, the struggle to control the third world does not permit the other two to go peacefully along their way, each one in its separate valley, the best one, of course, the only one, the "true path." ...

[Both sides are fixated on the other, but this fixation prevents each from recognizing the enormous pressure for dramatic changes that is coming from the third world.]

The underdeveloped countries, the third world, have entered a new stage. Certain medical techniques are becoming widespread for one important reason: They cost so little. A whole region of Algeria was cleansed of malaria by DDT: It cost 68 francs [a few dollars] a person. Elsewhere, in Ceylon, in India, etc., similar results have been achieved. For a few cents, a man's life span rrows by several years. TI1anks to this, those countries have the (low) mortality rates we achieved by 1914 but still have the [high] birthrates we had in the eighteenth century. Certainly, economic conditions improve: a lower child mortality rate, a higher rate of productivity among adults, etc. Yet still it is easy to i rrasp that this demographic growth needs to be accompanied by substantial investments so that these societies can meet the needs of their inhabitants. But these necessary investments cost much more than 68 fr.mes a person. The financial needs of the cold war make it impossible for these other needs to be meL Can you not hear, on the French Riviera, the voices crying out across the Mediterranean, from Egypt or from Tunisia? Do you think what is happening there is nothing more than palace intrigues or the gesticulations of a few ambitious men, eager to push into power? No, no: The pressure is rising steadily in the boiler room of humanity.

For all the misery of today, for all of tomorrow's catastrophes, there is one untouchable remedy. You know what it is: It drips slowly on our side from the demands of the AUantic pact [which created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or NATO] and on the other side from the agitated production of weapons that will no longer be up-to-date in three years' time.

There's a mathematically certain outcome to this brinkmanship.... Since preparations for war are the first concern, secondary cares such as world hunger require only enough attention to avoid an explosion, or more accumtely, only enough to altow the first objective to carry on 2

Defining New International Connections

5

FIFfH PAN-AFRICAN CONGRESS

The Challenge to the Colonial Powers
1945

In 1919, the first Pan-Afn'can Congress met in Paris, concomitant with the Paris Peace Conference negotiations that followed World War I. The American writer and activist W. E. B. DuBois organized the meeting, and the French deputy from the Senegalese city of Dakar, Blaise Diagne, presided. The fifth Pan-African Congress, which met at the close of World War II in Manchester, England, was the first such gathering lo be dominated by delegates from Africa. Its primary organizer was George Padmore, a Trinidadian radical activist who, after he left the Communist party in the 1930s, had focused on Pan-African politics (which, in his view, should build on the shared struggles of all people with roots in sub-Saharan Africa). Younger West Africans, notably the Sierra Leonean labor activist Wallace Johnson and Kwame Nkrumah, from the Gold Coast (now Ghana), also played key roles and helped focus attention on Africa itself. While questions of racism and economic injustice remained important, delegates to the congress gave priority to the need to end cglo- nialism. In the following document, notice the way they explain the roots of their current concerns, the extent and limits of their demands, and the different means they Propose to achieve them.

From George Padmore, *Pan-Af,icanism or Comm1mism: 11tt Coming Strugglt fer Africa* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1956), 170.

The delegates lo the Fifth Pan-African Congress believe in peace. How could it be otherwise when for centuries the African peoples have been victims of violence and slavery. Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve Freedom, even if force destroys them and the world.

We are determined to be free. We want education. We want the right to earn a decent living; the right to express our thoughts and emotions, to adopt and create forms of beauty. We demand for Black Africa autonomy and independence, so far and no further than it is possible in this "One World" for groups and peoples to rule themselves subject to inevitable world unity and federation.

We are not ashamed to have been an age-long patient people. We continue willingly to sacrifice and strive. But we are unwilling to starve any longer while doing the world's drudgery, in order to support by our poverty and ignorance a false aristocracy and a discarded imperialism.

We condemn the monopoly of capital and the rule of private wealth and industry for private profit alone. We welcome economic democracy as the only real democracy. Therefore, we shall complain, appeal and arraign. We will make the world listen to the facls of our condition. We will fight in every way we can for freedom, democracy and social betlermenL

6

UNESCO

The Statement on Race

July 1950

In addition to questions of political sovereignty, debates around racism and its role in colonialism influenced all episodes of decolonization in the years after World War II. In 1949, some one hundred scientists and social scientists were called together under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO),

unimpeded. Yet when one thinks about how, in every em, conservatives have failed to correctly measure the limits of human patience, it saps any confidence one might have in the Americans' ability to master the heat boiling up among the world's peoples. Neophytes of domination, so enchanted with free enterprise that they understand it as an end in itself, they have clearly not taken note that underdeveloped countries of the feudal type can slide much more easily into a Communist regime than into democratic capitalism. It might console us, if we want, to see this as clear proof that capitalism hasgone much farther down the road, but the fact remains the same. And should it cast its bright glow over the first world, perhaps the latter, even if any reaction of human solidarity were absent, might begin to recognize a slow and irresistible thrust, humble and fierce, toward life. Because that third world, ignored, exploited, and despised, like the Third Estate, wants to be something, too.

79

were necessary in 1952. Most historians contest the premises of these arguments, which suggest that all (or even mally) LFA members acted in such a fashion. It is true, however, that shocking forms of violence were embraced by some associated with the LFA, wl,o sought lo maximize the impact of their limited capacity for violence. Here, as in the previous documellt, women's militancy is particularly vilified. Accusations that 1,on-Europeans were sexually perverted and prone to sexual vio-lencealongside other unspeakable horrors-were typical of colonialist propaganda.

FIWM I'OS.'illill.fl'IES OF INLIEI'ENUENCE TO EXI'ECI'ATIONS OF UHEKA"IION

With the onset of active terrorism, two new versions of the oath were devised to meet the needs of the campaign, although there were of course many variations. The first called the githaka or forest oath, was administered by forest gang leaders to their followers. The second, which was introduced towards the end of 1953, the batuni or platoon oath, was administered to all Mau Mau soldiers and soldier recruits. By taking the batuni oath, the man became a full-blooded terrorist The following are some of the common features of the batuni oath:-

- a. to burn European crops, and to kill European-owned cattle.
- b. To steal firearms.
- c. If ordered to kill, to kill, no matter who is to be the victim, even one's father or brother.
- d. When killing, to cut off heads, extract the eyeballs and drink the liquid from them.
- e. Particularly to kill Europeans.

As the terms of the Mau Mau oath became increasingly more violent and bloodthirsty, it was not surprising therefore that there was a corresponding increase in bestiality in the ritual of the oath, thus forcing the initiate Lo reach the necessary pitch of blood lust and degradation to make it possible for him to pronounce the ghastly words of the oath itself. These ceremonies were repeated at intervals Lo spur the recipients onto greater excesses. IL is not possible to give any detailed description of these terrible cere monies. Suffice to record that the use of menstrual blood and public intercourse with sheep and adolescent girls were a common feature of most of these ceremonies. The necessary number of young women were kept with the gangs for this specific purpose. Concoctions of the foulest and almost unimaginable ingredients were

eaten and drunk. 1 The effect of these orgiastic ceremonies, which took place in deep forest clearings by the flickering light of bonfires, on those present must have been overwhelming.

¹ The full physical details of the ceremonies performed lo produce these concoctions can hnrdly be printed in a public document II is sufficient to record thal for one of the more notorious concoctions, known as the "Kaberichia cocktail. semen produced in public was mixed in a bowl with menstrual and sheep's blood and drunk while repeating the oath. Later on in the Emergency, the medical authorities had the greatest difficulty in combating a serious outbreak of typhoid in the big detention camp al Manyani, where oathing continued lo take place, as the administrators made use or urine and faeces for their abominable night-time ceremonies. INote in original- Ed.I

14

GAMAL ABDEL NASSER

Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution 1955

Gamal Abdel Nasser was the leading figi4re amol1g a group of you,,g officers who in 1952 overthrew the Egyptian monarchy, a regime headed by King Farouk and supported by British arms and advisers. The name given to this coup d'etat was the July 23 Revolution, and over the next several years, as Nasser took colltrol of the llew Egyptian republic, he sought to define a revolutionary agenda to explain what was /rappening. The following excerpt.s appeared in a collection of autobiographical reflections by Nasser on the "philosophy of the revolution," which was immediately translated into English. It became tl,efocus of much attention when, in 1956, Nasser ordered his troops to nationalize the Suez Canal. This attempt to nationalize the canal led to the Suez Crisis when Frallce and *Great Britain supported all Israeli invasion of Egypt to take control of the* canal. The crisis was a crucial turning point in the era of decolonization,

1-rom Gama! Abdel Nasser, Egypt's Uberatio,i: 11,e Pllilowplly of the Revolulio11 (Washing. ton, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955), 32-35, 39-43, 83, 84-87.

as the United States rejected calls from its allies to support their actions, which resulted in the humiliating withdrawal of British, French, and Israeli forces and Nasser's nationalist triumph.

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Before July 23rd, I had imagined that the whole nation was ready and prepared, waiting for nothing bul a vanguard to lead the charge against U1e battlements, whereupon it would fall in behind in serried [closed] ranks, ready for the sacred advance towards the great objective. And I had imagined that our role was lo be this commando vanguard. I thought U1at this role would never take more than a few hours. 111en immediately would come the sacred advance behind us of the serried ranks and the thunder of marching feet as the ordered advance proceeded towards the great objective. I heard all of this in my imagination, but by sheer faith it seemed real and not the figment of my imagination.

Then suddenly came reality after July 23rd. The vanguard performed its task and charged the battlements of tyranny. It threw out Farouk and Ulen paused, waiting for the serried rJnks to come up in their sacred advance toward the great objective.

Symbol of the Revolution

For a long time it wailed. Crowds did eventually come, and they came in endless droves- but how different is the reality from the dream! The masses that came were disunited, divided groups of stragglers. The sacred advance toward the great objective was stalled, and Uie picture that emerged on that day looked dark and ominous; it boded danger. At U1is moment I fell, with sorrow and bitterness, that the task of the vanguard, far from being completed, had only begun.

We needed order, but we found nothing behind us but chaos. We needed unity, bul we found nothing behind us but dissension. We needed work, but we found behind us only indolence and sloth....

Weapon in the Hand of Hate

We were not yet ready. So we set about seeking the views of leaders of opinion and the experience of those who were experienced. Unfortue nately we were not able to obtain very much.

Every man we questioned had nothing lo recommend except to kill someone else. Every idea we listened lo was nothing but an attack on

some other idea. If we had gone along with everything we heard, we would have killed off all the people and torn down every idea, and there would have been nothing left for us to do but sit down among the corpses and ruins, bewailing our evil fortune and cursing our wretched fate....

81

The Complete Picture

I confess that this whole situation produced in me a psychological crisis; but the events that followed, and my reflections thereon, together with the real meaning I could adduce from them, tended to ease my distress and set me to seek a justification for this situation, which I found when the whole picture of the motherland's plight rose somewhat clearly before my eyes. This clarification, moreover, brought me the answer to the question which had long bothered me, namely: Was it necessary for us, the Army, to do what we did on July 23rd?

The answer is yes, beyond any subterfuge or equivocation. I can say now that we did not ourselves define the role given us to play; it was the history of our country which cast us in that role.

I can now say that we are going through two revolutions, not one revolution. Every people on earth goes through two revolutions: a political revolution by which it wrests the right to govern itself from the hand of tyranny, or from the army stationed upon its soil against its will; and a social revolution, involving the conflict of classes, which seltles down when justice is se<.."Ured for the citizens of the united nation.

Peoples preceding us on the path of human progress have passed through Lwo revolutions, but they have not had lo face both simulta. neously; their revolutions, in fact, were centuries apart in time. For us, "the terrible experience through which our people are going is that we are having both revolutions al the same time.

Between the Millstones

This terrible experience stems from the facl that boU1 revolutions have attendant factors which clash and contradict violenUy. To be successful, the political revolution must unite all elements of U1e nation. Build them solidly together and instill in them the spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of the whole country. But one of the primary features of social revolution is that it shakes values and loosens principles, and sets the citizenry, as individuals and classes, to fighting each other. IL gives free rein lo corruption, doubt, hatred and egoism.

We are caught between the millstones of the two revolutions we are fated now to be going through. One revolution makes it obligatory that we unite and love one another, fighting side by side to achieve our ends; the other brings dissension upon us against our desires, causing us to hate each other and think only of ourselves....

Only the Army

. . . In this way, as I have already remarked, it was not the Army which defined its role in the events that took place; the opposite is closer to the truth. The events and their ramifications defined the role of the Army in the great struggle to free the nation.

I have been aware since the bel.rinning that our unity is dependent upon our full realization of the nature of circumstances in which we found ourselves, the historical circumstances of our country. For we could not alter the circumstances by the mere stroke of a pen, nor could we turn back the hands of the clock, or advance them-we could not control time. It was not within our power to stand on the road of history like a traffic policeman and hold up the passage of one revolution until the other had passed by in order to prevent a collision. The only thing possible lo do was to act as best we could and try to avoid being ground between the millstones....

Geographic Limits

... If the whole matter were limited to our capiLal, or our political boundaries, it would be much simpler. We would shut ourselves in, and live in an ivory tower, and we would try to our utmost to get away from the world, its problems, wars and crises, which all burst in on us through 111e doors of our country and influence us, though we have nothing lo do with them.

'The age of isolation is gone.

And gone are the days in which barbed wire served as demarcation lines, separating and isolating countries one from one another. No country can escape looking beyond its boundaries to find the source of the l.-Urrents which influence iL How it can live wilh others, how and how....

And no slate can escape trying to determine its status will lin its living space and trying to see what it can do in that space, and what is its field of activities and its positive role in this troubled world....

Fate does not jest and events are not a matter of chance-there is no existence out of nothing. We cannot look at the map of the world without seeing our own place upon it, and that our role is dictated by that place.

Can we fail to see that there is an Arab circle surrounding us-that this circle is a part of us, and we are a part of it, our history being inextricably part of its history.

These are facts and no mere idle talk. Can we possibly ignore the fact that there is an African continent which Fate decreed us to be part of, and that it is also decreed that a terrible struggle exists for its future-a struggle whose results will be either for us or against us, with or without our will? Can we further ignore the existence of an Islamic world, with which we are united by bonds created not only by religious belief, but also reinforced by historic realities? As I have said once, Fate is no jester.

It is not without significance that our country is situated west of Asia, in contiguity with the Arab states with whose existence our own is interwoven. It is not without significance, too, that our country lies in northeast Africa, overlooking the Dark Continent, wherein rages a most tumultuous struggle between white colonizers and black inhabi• tants for control of its unlimited resources. Nor is it without significance that, when [in the thirteenth century CEJ the Mongols swept away the ancient capitals ofIslam, Islamic civilization and ilie Islamic heritage fell back on Egypt and took shelter there. Egypt protected them and saved them, while checking the onslaught of the Mongols at 'Ain Jalut1 All these are fundamental realities with deep roots in our Jives which we cannot-even ifwe try-escape orforget

¹ In 1260 CE, near the Sea of Galilee, the Mamluk rulers of Egypt imposed the first durable defeat suffered by Mongol forces in over forty years, which checked the Mongols' southward advance.

- -Titis iswhy the malicious must be eliminated.
- -So, is that all?
- That's all, little man.

19

NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

Proclamation

November 1, 1954

171e small group of men who lazmched a series of violent attacks across Algeria's territory on November 1, 1954, sought to alter existing relatiomhips: the relationship between France and Algeria and also the relationships among Algerians. 17teir decision to use violence to target agents and symbols of colonialism sigllaled their rejection of previous strategies, which had remained within the legal channels that the French state had established and that had been pursued by other nationalists. 17tefollowbtg statement was distributed secretly ill Algiers oil November 1. 1954. It was accompallied by a second tract from the NatiOllal Liberation Army (ALN), the armed wing of the National Liberati011 Front (FLNJ, which had carried out the attacks. At this point, the same men ran the two groups, but note the importance they attached to distinguishing between the political and military organizations. The proclamation lays out their goals while affirming as self-evident the basis of those goals. Its fimdamental purpose was to establish the political grounds for am.ed struggle against those who impeded Algerian independence: Frettclt authorities, on the one hand, but certain Algerians, 011 the other, notably those who claimed to be struggling for Algerial 1 indepelldence as well.

Ilte "two clans" the proclamation targets were opposing groups within the Movemel It for the Tn·umph of Democratic Liberties (MTW, the initials of its Frellch Ilame), a nationalist allticolollial party founded in 1946. One group, the Messalistes, supported the "father of Algerian Ilatiollalism," Messali Hadj, the charismatic founder of the MTW, who

was under house arrest in France. 17,e second group, the Celltralistes, supported members of the party's Central Committee, who challettged Messa/i's domination of the party. 17ie mell who founded the FLN were closer to the Centralistes, but the key experience they shared was membership in the MTW's Special Orgmlizatioll, a paramilitary group that had been banned and crushed by Frellch authorities in 1949. With their actiolls and proclamations of November 1, 1954, the FLN (and its twin, the ALN) affirmed that it alone incan, ated the national struggle: Others could join it-ill fact, they were ordered to do so-but 01lly under FLN leadership. While the Centralistes, for the most part, quickly did so, the Messa/isles, notably Messali Hadj, completely rejected this claim. His supporters would form the Algen-an National Movement (MNAJ, which contfoued to contest the FLN's authority and engaged in often violent conflicts with the FLN-until the war's end.

To the Algerian people

To the Militants of the National Cause

To you who are called upon lo judge us, the Algerian people in general, the militants in particular, our purpose in distributing this proclamation is to enlighten you concerning the underlying reasons that impelled us to act by revealing to you our program, the meaning of our action, and the cogency of our views, all of which remain focused on the goal of National Independence within the North African framework. We also wish lo help you avoid succumbing lo the confusion that imperialism, through its corrupt political and administrative agents, will surely seek to spread.

It is our understanding, first. that after decades of struggle the National Movement has reached its final stage, that of realizal.ion. In effect, as the goal of the revolul.ionary movement was to create all of the conditions necessary to launch the liberation fight, it is our estimat.ion that: internally, the people have united around tlle call for independence and struggle; externally, the climate of detente [between pro-American and pro-Soviet blocs] offers a favorable context to settle minor problems (among them ours), particularly since we can count on the diplomatic support of our Arab and Muslim brothers. The events in Morocco and Tunisia are significant in this regard¹ and have profoundly altered how the liberation struggle is unfolding in North Africa. It is worth noting

From Henri Allcg, ell., *la guerre d'Afgerie* (Paris: Editions Temps Aclucls, 1981), 3: 507-11. Translation by authur.

99

that we have been, and for quite some time, at the fore of efforts lo unite our struggles. Unfortunately, such unity among the three countries has yet to be realized.

Today, [Moroccans and Tunisians] have headed fearlessly down this path, and relegated to the rear, we suffer the fate of those whom events have left behind. This is how our National Movement-overwhelmed by years of stasis and the force of habit, poorly directed, cut off from the indispensable support of public opinion, and overtaken by events-has progressively disintegrated, to the great satisfaction of colonialism, which thinks it has won its most important victory in its struggle against the Algerian vanguard. The hour is dire.

Confronted with this potentially irreparable situation, a group of young leaders and astute activists, who were able to rally around them most of the healthy and dedsive elements of the National Movement, has decided that the moment has come Lo escape from the impasse into which personal struggles and fights over influence trapped us, in order lo launch, alongside our Moroccan and Tunisian brotllers, a veritable revolutionary struggle.

To this end, we want lo make clear that we are independent of the two clans that are fighting over power [within the National Movement]. Placing national interest above all petty and erroneous considerations of personality and prestige, in conformity with revolutionary principles, our action is directed solely against colonialism, our only enemy, blind and obstinate, which has always avoided any extension of even the most minor liberties [when confronted] through peaceful means.

These are, we think, sufficient reasons for our movement of renewal to present itself under the name of NATIONAL UBERA'IION FRONT. In this way, we distance ourselves from any possible compromise and offer the possibility to all Algerian patriots, from all social milieus, to all parties and movements that are wholly Algerian, to integrate themselves into the struggle for liberation, without any other consideration.

To make clear who we are, we spell out below the key axes of our political program:

GOAL: NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE BY:

111e restoration of the sovereign, democratic, and social Algerian state, within the framework of Islamic principles.

The respect of all fundamental liberties without distinction of race or religion.

IN'IERNAL ORJECTIVES:

A cleansing of politics, by putting the National Revolutionary Movement back on its true path and by wiping out every last remnant of corruption and reformism, the causes of our current backwardness.

The gathering together and organization of all the healthy energies of the Algerian people in order to liquidate the coloniaJ system.

EXTERNAL ORJECIIVES:

The internationalization of the Algerian problem.

The realization of North African unity within its natural Arab-Islamic framework.

Under the framework proposed by the UN Charter, the affirmation of our active sympathy with regard to all nations that would support our liberation struggle.

MEANS OF STIWGGLE:

In conformity with revolutionary principles, and taking into account Ute internal and external situations, the continuation of the fight by any means until our goal is realized.

In order to reach these objectives, the National Liberation Front will have two essential tasks lo carry out actively and simultaneously: an internal struggle, on the fronts of politics and of actual fighting; and an external struggle, with the support of all our natural allies, aimed at making the Algerian problem a real issue for the world.

This is a heavy task that necessitates the mobilization of all national energy and resources. It is true that the fight will be Jong, but the end "result is certain.

Finally, in order to avoid all false interpretations and subterfuges, in order to prove our real desire for peace, lo limit the number of human lives lost and the amount of blood spilled, we propose to French authorities an honorable basis for negotiations, if the latter act in good faith and recognize once and for all that the peoples they have conquered have the right of self-determination:

The opening of negotiations with the authorized spokesmen of the Algerian people on the basis of a recognition of Algerian sovereignty, whole and indivisible.

A climate of confidence must be created through the Jiberntion of all political prisoners, the lifting of all exceptional measures, and the end of all efforts to track [our] fighting forces.

1lte recognition of Algerian nationality by an official declaration repealing the edicts, decrees, and laws that present Algeria as a "French land," which is a denial of the history, the geography, the language, the religion, and the customs of the Algerian people.

IN RETIJRN:

Those French cultural and economic interests that were honestly acquired will be respected, as will persons and families.

All French people wishing to remain in Algeria will be able to choose between their nationality of origin, in which case the law will treat them as foreigners, and Algerian nationality, in which case they will be considered as such in their rights and obligations.

111e links between France and Algeria will be defined and will be the object of an ab-rreement between the two powers on the basis of equality and mutual respect

Algerian! We invite you to reflect on the charter we define above. It is your duty to make it your own in order to save our country and restore it to freedom. The National Ubemtion Front is your front. Its victory is yours.

As for us, resolved to pursue the struggle, confident of your antiimperialist sentiments, we give the best of ourselves to the Fatherland.

> 1) 11,: SECRETARIAT Proclamation of the F.LN. 1 November 1954