



ASIA AND AFRICA IN SESSION

Random Notes on the Asian-African Conference

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The Asian-African Conference, held in **Bandung**, Indonesia, from April 18 through **24**, was a historic and fascinating diplomatic performance,

The cast of major characters was spectacular. Thirteen of the 29 delegations were headed by Prime Ministers or the equivalent. The other delegation chiefs included three Deputy Prime Ministers and four Foreign Ministers. For many of these men, the **Bandung** Conference was the first opportunity to display their diplomatic skill and statesmanship without having **any** of the leaders of Great Powers from the West present to overshadow them.

The minor bit players were of only slightly less interest. Arabs from North Africa, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, the Archbishop of Cyprus, representatives from South Africa, and other colorful figures came as lobbyists,

The setting was beautiful. **Bandung** is a sparkling, clean, modern city, set in a valley surrounded by cool green hills. It is justly famous as West **Java's** leading vacation spot.

The show began several days before the formal opening as the delegates, many in **colorful** national dress, began to fly in from their far-flung homelands. Most of them moved into two sleek luxury hotels, the Preanger and the Homann. Many leading delegation chiefs, however, took over villas in the suburbs, where they could enjoy vistas of the surrounding hills,

Bandung was repainted, dressed up, and decked with flags for the show. Strict security was maintained, by **Indonesian** soldiers and security police, because not far away rebel Darul Islam bands controlled the countryside. But despite the security measures, large and enthusiastic **crowds** came out to stare and cheer. They had plenty to occupy their attention. When **H.R.H. Prince Faisal** and his Saudi Arabian entourage in

flowing Arab robes, or H.E. Kojo Botsio and his assistants in multihued Gold Coast costumes, emerged from one of the hotels, the sight was worth waiting for. The delegates moved around the city in new aquamarine and orange-sherbet colored cars, preceded by policemen on motorcycles with sirens blaring. The atmosphere was properly exciting for a historic assemblage.

Most of us who were "covering" the conference arrived several days early and **stayed** to the end. At first we spent most of our time searching out delegates in their hotel lobbies or at their villas. Then we listened to all the speeches. When the sessions moved into closed committee rooms, we reverted to the quest for **information from** leading delegates and other "informed sources" (i.e., minor delegation members, other pressmen, hotel clerks, or anyone else we could talk to) to find out what was going on. There were several hundred newsmen and writers covering the conference, so the quest was sometimes hectic.

During the course of the conference I fortunately had an opportunity to meet and talk with a fairly large number of the leading delegation chiefs including Jawaharlal Nehru, Mohammed Ali, U Nu, Sir John Kotelawala, Carlos Romulo, Prince Wan, ex-King Norodom, Takasaki, and Jamali, as well as many other less prominent members of delegations. Much of the information which I was able to gather came directly from these men,

The one man I tried hardest to have an interview with proved to be entirely uncooperative. Chou En-lai gave only a single brief interview to one foreign correspondent--not to me--as the conference closed, and every strategem I tried failed. I did see him perform at all public functions, however, and one afternoon at Nehru's home several of us who were talking with Nehru were introduced to Chou. But that was all the direct contact I managed to have with the man who proved to be the main performer at the conference. Chou's entourage was equally inaccessible; members of the Chinese delegation would smile and chat at receptions, but they would not say anything of substance.

My main objective for AUFS at the conference was to observe Chinese Communist diplomacy in action. What I saw I have already reported in my last letter (ADB-4-'55). But in the process of gathering material for that letter, I accumulated a good deal of other material which may be of interest to some AUFS readers. I am presenting some of it in the random notes which follow. This material is only partially organized or digested, but those who are interested in the details of how the Bandung Conference unfolded may find in the notes some information which is not available elsewhere.

I personally either heard or observed a great many of the developments described in these notes. This obviously is not the case with what took place in closed committee sessions or private meetings, however, so there is a margin of possible error (which can be corrected later if the minutes of the private

-3-

sessions are ever published) in my information about developments at the conference which did not take place publicly. But since much of this information is based upon accounts given to me by participants in the developments, I believe that what I report is as nearly accurate as is possible at present,

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GENESIS OF THE CONFERENCE

The idea of holding an **Asian-African** Conference (which delegates and newsmen soon abbreviated to AA Conference) took shape last year in the minds of the leaders of the so-called Colombo Powers. These five countries--India, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan, and Ceylon--all achieved their independence after the end of World War II, and during the past few years they have found it to their advantage to cooperate on many problems and take a joint stand on some key international issues. In the spring of 1954 their leaders met at Colombo, at Ceylon's invitation, and during their discussions the idea of a broader meeting of the nations of Asia and Africa was raised by Indonesia's Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo. Already, the cooperation of countries forming an Arab-Asian bloc in the United Nations indicated some basis for broader agreement, and the convocation several years previously of an Asian Conference in New Delhi--which mobilized support for Indonesia's demand for independence--provided a precedent of a sort. Sastroamidjojo's suggestion was accepted in principle, therefore, and the AA Conference was publicly proposed in the Colombo Powers joint communiqué of May 2, 1954. The purpose of the meeting was left undefined, but Indonesia's Prime Minister in discussing it said: "Asians will have to make decisions on their own future, without interference by the Western World."

Nothing more was done about the conference until the fall of last year. Then, Nehru and Sastroamidjojo issued another joint statement in New Delhi reaffirming the desirability of such a conference to further "peace" and a "common approach to problems." This was followed by a similar joint statement issued by Nehru and Burma's Prime Minister U Nu in Rangoon. Finally, in December 1954, the Prime Ministers of all five Colombo Powers met in Bogor, near Indonesia's capital city of Djakarta, and made a definite decision to hold the conference in Bandung, sometime in April of this year. At the close of their December 28-31 Bogor meeting, they set forth the four general purposes of the conference as follows:

"1. To promote good will 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;

"2. To consider social, economic and cultural problems

and relations of the countries represented;

"3. To consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g., problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism;

"4. To view the position 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."

No specific agenda items for the AA Conference were proposed at that time, but some clues about the problems in the minds of the five conveners were provided by the subjects raised in their **communiqué summarizing** the discussion at **Bogor**. These included: implementation of the Geneva Conference decisions on Indo-China, Indonesia's claim to West Irian, the independence movement in Tunisia and Morocco, nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and problems of economic development and cooperation.

It was decided at **Bogor** that invitations would be sent to all sovereign and independent states in Asia and Africa, and that since many of those invited did not have mutual diplomatic relations it should be specifically stated that attendance at the conference would not imply any changes in the status of existing relations between the nations participating. It was also decided that participants would not be bound by any decisions made at the conference, unless they voluntarily accepted them. A secretariat was set up, and invitations were sent out,

The problems of even convening such a broad conference were apparent from the start, and the criteria established for attendance were soon violated. To induce the Arab states to come, Israel had to be excluded. South Africa was not invited, because of its racist policies, yet "nations" such as the Gold Coast and Sudan were included even though they are not yet fully sovereign. Although no racial qualifications were mentioned, the three non-colored "Western" countries in Asia--Australia, New Zealand, and the U.S.S.R.--were left out.

The invitations revealed many anomalies. North and South Vietnam were invited, but North and South Korea were not. Communist China, which is formally recognized by only the five conveners and three other nations among all those invited, was asked to come, but Nationalist China, which still maintains diplomatic relations with many of the participants, was excluded. Japan was invited even though Indonesia, the host nation, has not yet established diplomatic relations with it.

Altogether, invitations were sent to 25 Asian and African countries, only one of which--the Central African Federation--declined to come. There was some hesitation at first on the part of a few Asian countries closely aligned with the U.S., but the outspoken views of the Philippines' Romulo and others convinced the State Department that it should encourage rather than discourage participation.

-5-

The final conference list included: the African states of Liberia, Ethiopia, Gold Coast, and Sudan; the North African and Middle Eastern states of Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey; **India** and Pakistan and the neighboring states of Ceylon, Nepal, and Afghanistan; the Southeast Asian states of Burma, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Cambodia, Laos, North Vietnam, and South Vietnam; and the only two nations in the Far East which have ever been world powers in a military sense, Japan and Communist China.

Few major international conferences **have** ever been held with so little clarification of aims as the **Bandung** Conference. Apart from the general statement of purposes drawn up at **Bogor**, no specific subjects for discussion were listed. It was decided, in fact, not to try to formulate an agenda **until** all the invitees gathered at **Bandung**.

As a result, in the 2 1/2 months preceding the conference, the field was left wide open for speculation about what the conference would consider. Much of the speculation was based upon guesses about the motives and purposes of India's Prime Minister Nehru and Communist China's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai. Nehru, as leader of the "**neutralist** bloc" in Asia, and Chou En-lai as spokesman for the most powerful nation in Asia, clearly would play leading roles in the conference. What did they want to accomplish at **Bandung**? There were some indications that their aims might coincide to a considerable degree. Nehru, although firmly anti-Communist **within** India, had taken a clear stand against alignment with either the **Western** or Soviet bloc in international affairs. He had severely criticized **military** alliances such as the Manila Pact (**SEATO**) sponsored by the U.S. He had advocated peaceful coexistence with the **Communist** states, and had done everything possible to establish friendly relations with Peking. Chou En-lai, **on** his part, had also, for his own reasons, attacked Western-oriented military alliances and followed a line supporting the idea of peaceful coexistence. Since the Geneva Conference, in fact, Communist **China's** foreign policy toward Southeast Asian countries had clearly been one of not only tolerating but also actually encouraging neutralism in that area. In 1954 Chou En-lai had signed agreements with both India and Burma supporting the so-called "**five** principles of coexistence": **mutual** respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in each **other's** internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

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TWO DAYS OF SPEECHES

Most of the delegates to the AA Conference converged on **Bandung** during the week end preceding Monday, April 18. The

bustle and excitement increased steadily until finally, on Monday morning, they all gathered for the first session. It was held in "**Freedom Building**," the main conference hall, which once was an exclusive Dutch club barred to all Indonesians. The hall was modeled on that of the UN General Assembly, and there were simultaneous-translation earphones at each desk. (**English** and **French** were the official languages.) Ranged against a maroon velvet backdrop were the flags of all 29 nations, (One flag had to be improvised for the occasion.) Indonesia's Prime Minister **Ali Sastroamidjojo** had the honor of opening the conference; it was a well-deserved honor, because the difficult arrangements and preparations for the conference had been carried out with remarkable success. With a bang of his gavel, Sastroamidjojo opened the meeting, and two days of speechmaking began.

President Sukarno of Indonesia made the first address, which was later distributed bearing the title "**Let a New Asia and a New Africa be Born!**" Sukarno started by calling the conference "**the first intercontinental conference of colored peoples in the history of mankind.....It is a new departure in the history of the world,**" he said, "that leaders of Asian and African peoples can meet together in their own countries to discuss and deliberate upon matters, of common concern." He touched briefly on the history of the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and the "**duties of independence.....We have heavy responsibilities to ourselves, and to the world, and to the yet unborn generations.**" Describing the 20th century as a period of "**terrific dynamism,**" he said: "**Irresistible forces have swept the two continents**" of Asia and Africa. "**Hurricanes of national awakening and reawakening have swept over the land, shaking it, changing it, changing it for the better,**"

But, Sukarno asserted, "**the political skill of man has been far outstripped by his technical skill,**" and "**we are living in a world of fear.....fear of the future, fear of the hydrogen bomb, fear of ideologies.**" But fear should not be our guide; "**be guided by hopes and determination, be guided by ideals, and, yes, be guided by dreams!**"

Admitting that the countries attending the conference differed greatly, he claimed that all are "**united by more important things**" such as "**a common detestation of colonialism,**" "**a common detestation of racialism,**" and "**a common determination to preserve and stabilize peace in the world.**"

Discussing colonialism, he said "**colonialism is not yet dead. How can we say it is dead, so long as vast areas of Asia and Africa are unfree? And I beg of you, do not think of colonialism only in the classic form which we of Indonesia, and our brothers in different parts of Asia and Africa, knew. Colonialism has also its modern dress, in the form of economic control, intellectual control, actual physical control by a small but alien community within a nation. It is a skillful and determined enemy, and it appears in many guises. Wherever, whenever, and however it**

-7-

appears, colonialism is an evil thing, and one which must be eradicated from the **earth.**" April 18, he said, is the anniversary of Paul Revere's midnight ride in 1775; "the battle against colonialism had been a long **one**" and will continue until "**colonialism is dead.**"

Turning to the question of **peace**, Sukarno asserted that with new weapons war "**may** mean the end of civilization and even of human **life.....**No task is more urgent than that of preserving peace, **Without** peace our independence means little,, **.,.,.What** can we **do?**" he asked, "**We** can mobilize all the spiritual, all the moral, all the political strength of Asia and Africa on the side of **peace.**"

He then said: "Religion is of dominating importance particularly in this part of the world. There are perhaps more religions here than in other regions of the **globe.**" But, he asserted, we should follow the principles of live and let live and preserve "**unity** in diversity," ensuring that "**the** same rights are **given** to the **followers** of all **faiths.**" This conference should give evidence "that a New Asia and a New Africa have been **born.**" In conclusion, he invoked "the Blessing of God" upon the conference,

Sukarno's keynote speech set a moderate tone at the beginning of the conference, and defined many of the themes which were to recur frequently during the first two days of open session,

Immediately thereafter, **Indonesia's** Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo was elected Chairman of the Conference and gave a welcoming speech., After reiterating the purposes defined in the **Bogor** communique, he clearly supported the neutralist position on the problem of peace. **We** want "genuine peace," he said; "**we** do not want any domination either by force or by ideology no matter from whatever source **it** may **come.**" Stating that "**power** politics,, **.,.,.will** lead sooner or later to **war**" and that "building a position of armed strength" only causes tension, he cited the five "**principles** of **coexistence**" as a basis for real peace, After discussing colonialism, racialism, economic development, and cultural cooperation, Sastroamidjojo called for "**a** new spirit, new ideologies, and new universal **morality**" with which "**to** face the birth of the atomic **age.**" Then he, like Sukarno, ended on a religious note, saying, "**May** the Almighty grant us wisdom and **tolerance.**"

Thereafter, the delegation leaders began to speak--in alphabetical order, Several important countries, including Burma, Communist China, and India, declined when their turn came up, and the first few speeches were moderate, platitudinous, and vague. For the most part, the speakers avoided specific, controversial issues and spoke in generalities about peace, nuclear weapons, colonialism, racialism, the equality of small and **large** powers, moral and spiritual forces, economic development and cultural cooperation.

The speech of Afghanistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sardar Mohammed Naim, distributed in mimeographed form, was **re-**strained. Afghanistan's dispute with Pushtoonistan is the country's major national preoccupation, at present, but **it** was not mentioned directly. However, Naim did say, "It is high time for us, who need peace and want peace more than anything **else**, to set an example." He stressed "**self-determination**" and said the "**struggle** against colonialism" should be called the "fight for independence and **freedom**." Regarding "coexistence," he said there has been "**much talk**" about **it**, but "**as long as** the powers do not believe that the policy of imposing or defending a certain ideology, political, social, or economic, by means of force and coercion should change in favor of a peaceful and trusting way of life between peoples and nations of the world, any attempt for a practical solution of **the** existing problems will remain a wishful thought."

The **first** speech read by a delegate was that of Cambodia, Plump young ex-King Norodom, who had paid an official visit to New Delhi not long before the AA Conference, clearly stated his acceptance of Nehru's neutralism. He said that he has "**determinedly** steered our national policy toward the Pancha Shila (five principles), toward the community of neutral nations--among them: **India** and Burma, ,,,Independent and neutral Cambodia," he stated, "**now** finds herself on the separating line of two civilizations, of two races, of two political **worlds.....and** as such she has the dangerous privilege of standing the test and the application of the principles of Pancha Shila."

Bluff Sir John Kotelawala, Prime Minister of Ceylon, emphasized the "bankruptcy of **force**" and the failure of the big powers to achieve peace. The small nations of Asia and Africa, however, can offer something, he said. "**That** something is the strength of our weakness--the ability which our very defenselessness confers to offer ourselves as mediators in the dispute between the giants of Communism and **anti-Communism.....We** here and now offer formally our services as mediators," After stating that "**the** heritage of Buddhism is one of the most precious possessions of my country," he quoted Buddha as saying: "Not at any time are enmities appeased here through enmity, but they are appeased through **nonenmity**."

The moderate, conciliatory tone continued at the start of the speech by Egypt's Prime Minister, Lt. Col, Gamal Abdul Nasser. After outlining the internal aims of **Egypt's** revolution, Nasser defined the basic principles of his foreign policy as: defense of self-determination, faith in the United Nations, and cooperation among the Asiatic and African group. The conditions required for peace, he said, **are** reduction of all armed forces and armaments and elimination of weapons of mass destruction, adherence to the UN Charter, respect for international obligations, an end to "**the** game of power politics in which the small nations can be used as tools," and "liquidation of **colonialism**." Then, however, he decried the "flagrant **injustice**" inflicted on the Arabs of

-9-

Palestine and declared, "Never before in history has there been such a brutal and immoral violation of human principles." International cooperation, Nasser finally said, must be based on mutual respect for political independence and territorial integrity and the right of every country to choose its political and economic system.

Kojo Botsio's speech for the Gold Coast was one of the briefest during the conference. He had little to say on foreign policy, because "in our present transitional stage toward nationhood we are not yet responsible for our external affairs." But he praised the "fellowship" of the countries at the conference and declared "a new spirit stirs Africa to activity and the continent is shaking itself like a giant from sleep."

The speech given by the Iranian chief delegate, Dr. Ali Amini, followed. It introduced, really for the first time, a hint of the tension between Communism and non-Communism. Nehru's aim was to keep the ideological and political struggle between the Communist and anti-Communist blocs out of the conference, and up to this point the issue had been avoided. An omen of things to come, however, crept in when Ali Amini spoke of "colonialism in a new form," without specifically mentioning Communism.

Then came the first monkey wrench which upset Nehru's plans. Iraq's outspoken delegate, Fadhil Jamali, refused to deal in generalities about peace and cooperation. He decided to deliver a hard-hitting speech making clear that the threat of Communism is a real and present factor in the world situation. After a few introductory remarks emphasizing "our higher spiritual values and cultural heritage," Jamali launched into a frank analysis of the "three international forces in the world that disturb peace and harmony." The first, he said, is "old-time colonialism." Some Western countries, he asserted, "have been more or less realistic in meeting the spirit of modern times," but old-time colonialism is still a real problem in areas such as North Africa where Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco demand their independence, and such as South Africa where "color prejudice and superiority of the white man" result in repression. The second "disturbing force," Jamali went on, is Zionism, "the last chapter in the book of old colonialism." "It is one of the blackest and darkest chapters in human history." Finally, he said, "the third force that is causing unrest in the world at large today is Communism. Communism is a one-sided materialistic religion." It is a "subversive religion" which "breeds hatred amongst classes and peoples." Referring to the Cominform as "the great center of command for the agents of this new anti-God religion," he said "no nation on the globe is left untouched by their activities and subversion," and "it is for the leaders of every state in the non-Communist world to face the gravity of Communist danger." The Communists have created a "new form of colonialism," he asserted, citing the cases of Turkestan, the Baltic countries, and East Europe, where now "the cries of pain" cannot even be heard. Against this danger "defensive protection" is necessary. Jamali's speech knocked into

a cocked hat **Nehru's** hope that the AA Conference would avoid frank discussion of the struggle between two camps in this world. With this speech, the conference took quite a different direction from that which it had followed throughout the first day.

Ethiopia's Ato Yaudie started the conference off on the morning of Tuesday, April 19. "For many centuries," he said, "Ethiopia was one of the few independent countries on the entire African continent. That did not prevent our having been, constantly, faced with the necessity of a fierce struggle to preserve our independence against imperialist designs." Ethiopia, therefore, supports "every proposition for fixing the earliest date possible for the freedom of every territory from a colonial or trusteeship regime." Ato Yaudie then stated that "economic independence" is as important as "political independence," that "tolerance toward people of all races, religions, and languages" should be a uniting ideal, and that racialism should end. "Tolerance," he said, "must be everything or nothing." He ended by stressing Ethiopia's support of "the system of collective security."

Japan's Tatsunosuke Takasaki followed. Japan had decided, before coming to the conference, to play a modest, retiring role, and Takasaki's speech was completely noncontroversial. He apologized for the fact that "in World War II Japan, I regret to say, inflicted damages upon her neighbor nations." However, Japan today, he asserted, is "chastened and free" and "completely dedicated to peace." After speaking of an "Asian-African renaissance," and advocating banning the use of force, Takasaki emphasized the problems of economic development, in which Japan is particularly interested. Finally, like so many other speakers, he stressed "moral and spiritual values" as the basis for "the edifice of permanent peace."

The speeches of Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, and Nepal came next. None of them dealt directly with the controversial issues raised by **Jamali**. Jordan's Prime Minister Wali el Salah dealt first with the rights of small nations, the need to replace power politics by morality, and the importance of religion. Then he spent most of his time on the Palestine issue, declaring that Israel represents "a new form of aggression on Asian soil."

After Laos' few brief remarks, Lebanon's chief delegate Sami Solh warned that the three main obstacles to unity are "fanaticism in all its forms," "chauvinism or overpushed nationalism," and "hatred of foreigners." He also discussed "martyred Palestine." Liberia's Momolu Dukuly, in a short speech, spoke mainly of "mutual love and mutual respect."

The chief delegate of Libya outlined three main "evils" obstructing peace: colonialism, racial discrimination, and "external ideological interference." In regard to the third, he said "such interference, whatever its source might be, is but another kind of colonialism." He did not, however, mention Communism by name. Finally, he discussed the "tragedy of

-11-

Palestine" which he called "the greatest disaster that mankind has ever suffered."

Nepal's Foreign Minister Sovag Jung Thapa spoke next. Since Nepal has not yet been admitted to the UN, he called for the admission of all eligible nations. Stressing the "growing unity and solidarity" of Asian and African nations, he stated that this did not represent an attempt to form another world bloc but rather an effort to "defend and consolidate our newly-won freedom." Finally, he expressed support for the so-called "five principles of coexistence."

The last three speakers on Tuesday morning were those of Pakistan, Philippines, and Sudan. Two of these, Pakistan and Philippines, caught the ball which had been tossed into the arena. by Iraq's Jamali and brought up once again the problems and issues presented by Communism. Both of these speeches constituted a challenge not only to Communism but also to the neutralist views which Nehru claims.

Mohammed Ali, Prime Minister of Pakistan, began by stating that the countries represented at the conference are not a group apart but are bound to the fate of the rest of the world. Turning to the main theme of colonialism, he asserted that the form known in the past is an anachronism and is on the way out. But, he said, we must be careful not to be misled into opening our doors to a new and more insidious form of imperialism in the name of liberation. It is necessary, he declared, to guard against acts of subversion no matter where they originate. Then he outlined "seven pillars of peace": respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations, recognition of equality of all nations, abstention from interference in the internal affairs of other countries, nonaggression, right of self-defense both individual and collective, self-determination, and peaceful settlement of all international disputes. These principles were obviously intended to substitute for the "five principles" sponsored by Nehru, U Nu, and Chou En-lai; the most significant addition was number five on the right of self-defense. Before closing his speech, Mohammed Ali also called for reduction and control of armaments on the basis of the above principles, mentioned Palestine and North Africa briefly, supported universal UN membership and increased Asian representation in the Security Council, and discussed economic development and cultural cooperation. His speech avoided any direct attack on Communism, but it indicated Pakistan's realization of a threat of subversion, and implicitly defended the right to form military alliances for self-defense.

Carlos Romulo of the Philippines made one of the longest and most eloquent speeches of the conference. He started by saying that all countries at the conference are concerned with colonialism and political freedom, racial equality and peaceful economic growth. The fact that this conference has convened indicates, he said, that the UN has not met all our needs for peaceful

change. After praising the U.S. for its "basic good faith," Romulo declared that "the age of empire is being helped into oblivion." Then he turned to "a new and different kind of **subjection**" of "countries which.....we consider subservient to other powers." It was clear that he was speaking of the Communist nations. "Where only one political party may rule," he stated, freedom is illusory and the "worst features of some colonialist systems" remain. Then he said that the independence of small nations is "a precarious and fragile thing" and depends on "a uniting of regional interests." Romulo proceeded to attack racism, specifically mentioning South Africa, but warned against any new antiwhite racism. He also discussed the problems of economic growth. Finally, he reiterated the risk of "replacing foreign tyranny by domestic tyranny" and said, "I don't think we have come to where we are, only to surrender blindly to a new super-barbarism, a new super-imperialism, a new super-power." While avoiding specific name-calling for the most part, Romulo stated in the clearest possible terms his opposition to Communism and neutralism.

Before the last open session for speeches convened on the afternoon of Tuesday, April 19, it had already been announced that Chou En-lai, who had declined to speak on Monday, was planning to take the rostrum. At 3:00 p.m. therefore, delegates and newsmen alike gathered with great anticipation, for it was now clear that the future course of the conference would be determined by the tone of Chou's speech. If Chou chose to counterattack in a vigorous way the direct and implied charges against Communism made in the speeches of Iraq, Pakistan, and the Philippines, the whole conference could easily turn into a political and ideological dogfight.

Tension in the conference hall mounted as the delegates of Syria, Thailand, and Turkey made their speeches. The Syrian speech avoided controversy over the issue of Communism, but the delegates of Thailand and Turkey took up where Jamali, Mohammed Ali, and Romulo had left off.

Syria's Foreign Minister Khaled el Am said "this is a historic moment"; the AA Conference is "unique" because it bears no relation to the "balance of power" but is rather purely an effort "to maintain peace and security" by underdeveloped countries, not one of which possesses nuclear weapons or other weapons of mass destruction. The present dangers of war require that "peaceful coexistence must be the basic foundation of our international life," he said. "Peaceful coexistence of diversities.....is feasible," and should include the small states, which "are entitled to equal sovereignty." After this introduction he went on to say that "with vestiges of colonialism and relics of imperialism there cannot be peace." Then he dealt specifically with Israel, describing it as "an advanced outpost of imperialism"; North Africa, where conditions are "distressing and disturbing"; Africa, where racial discrimination is "disgraceful"; and West Irian, "a legacy of imperialism." He called for "unified action" on all of these questions.

-13-

Prince Wan Waithayakon next rose to speak. His remarks were the first to level charges directly against Communist China. The delegates who had previously raised the issue of Communism had spoken for the most part in terms of generalities and abstractions. But Prince Wan had three specific questions on his mind. There were three situations which cause concern to Thailand, he said: the organization of people of the Thai race in Communist China's Yunnan Province, near Thailand; the problem of dual nationality of Thailand's three million Chinese inhabitants; and the presence of 50,000 Vietnamese in Thailand's northeast region. He also pointed out that twice, in 1953 and 1954, Vietminh forces had invaded Laos and come close to Thailand's border. He declared that Thailand had to join the Manila Pact for its own self-defense, stating that even Buddha did not teach surrender to what is evil. But Thailand's intention is good will to all; it seeks only to protect itself against aggression and subversion*

Turkey's Deputy Prime Minister, Fatin Rustu Zorlu, who spoke next, gave the most clear-cut statement of the case for military defense pacts against Communism. After identifying the Turks as people "whose ancestors left the steppes of Central Asia," he proceeded almost immediately to the problem of tension and insecurity since World War II. "The world is divided today into two camps," he said. The hope for peace was destroyed soon after the war when the countries of Eastern Europe "lost their independence--this time to a country which had entered their territories as liberators,, ,,, Turkey also had to face ambitions directed against its independence and integrity." The Turkish Prime Minister went on to say that Turkey was put under pressure to "cede part of our territory" but "we refused to cede." However, it was these events which made Turkey recognize, he continued, "the necessity of a united front for the legitimate defense of independence and liberties." It was "the determination to resist aggression and defend peace" which resulted in NATO, Balkan Pact, Turkish-Pakistan Treaty, Turkish-Iraqi Pact, and SEATO. "The fact is," he said, "that the freedom-loving countries of the world have decided to cooperate and unite their efforts for the sole purpose of defending their independence and security in the face of threats of aggression." Finally, he said, "that country [Czechoslovakia] which tried to follow a middle-of-the-road policy under the leadership of the great philosopher and jurist, M. Beneš, the champion of neutralism of his period, lost its freedom and independence.. ,,,

This was the final challenge to Communism and neutralism before Chbu En-lai, Premier and Foreign Minister of Communist China, rose to make his speech. Chou's speech clearly defined Communist China's conciliatory approach toward the Bandung Conference.

"The Chinese Delegation has come here to seek unity and not to quarrel," said Chou. "We Communists do not hide the fact that we believe in Communism," but "there is no need at this conference to publicize one's ideology and the political system of

one's country." The Chinese Communists' aim, he declared, is "to seek common ground, not to create **divergence**," and common ground can be found in "doing away with the sufferings and calamities under **colonialism**." He stated that China agreed to the four purposes of the Bogor communiqué and does "not make any other **proposal**." Then, in an extremely clever way, he raised several issues which, he said, China "could have submitted" to the conference but would **not**. By raising these issues in this fashion, he stated his case on them and yet at the same time created an impression of reasonableness for refraining from formally introducing them into the discussions. First came the question of Taiwan (Formosa). After saying that the tension there is "created solely by the United States," he once again reiterated China's willingness to accept the Soviet proposal for settlement by an international conference (excluding Nationalist China) but repeated Communist China's assertion that "it is entirely a matter of our internal affairs." Next, he said, the question of a seat in the UN and the "unfair treatment of China" by that body could be raised, but he would not raise it,

Chou En-lai then discussed three specific issues: ideologies, religion, and subversion.

On "the question of different ideologies and social systems," he maintained the existence of differences "does not prevent us from seeking common ground and being united." And, he added, "there is every reason to make the five principles the basis for establishing friendly cooperation and good neighborly relations among use"

Then Chou turned to religion. Obviously impressed by the frequent references to religion made in the speeches preceding his, he claimed that "China is a country where there is freedom of religious belief" and asserted, with a frankness that was meant to be disarming, that "we Communists are atheists, but we respect all those who have religious belief. We hope that those with religious belief will also respect those without."

Finally, he took up "the question of so-called subversive activities" and replied specifically to the issues raised by Thailand's Prince Wan. Regarding Overseas Chinese, Chou stated that "the problem of dual nationality is something left behind by old China" but "new China.....is ready to solve the problem of dual nationality of Overseas Chinese with the governments of the countries concerned." As for the Thai in South China, he claimed that they had merely been granted autonomy, like other minorities in China, and he asked, "How could that be said to be a threat to our neighbors?"

Then Chou proclaimed that Communist China is "prepared now to establish normal relations with all the Asian and African countries, with all the countries in the world, and first of all, with our neighboring countries." The subversion being carried out, he said, was directed against China, not by China. He pointed to

-15-

"bases around China" and specifically the Kuomintang troops in Burma, pointing out that "we have always respected the sovereignty of Burma for the 'solution of this problem." Anyone who does not believe that the U.S. is carrying out subversion against China, he said, "may come to China or send someone there to see for themselves," "Let us," he said in closing, "be united."

Chou En-lai's speech was the climax of the first two days of open sessions. Speeches by North and South Vietnam and Yemen followed, but they had no significant impact on the direction or mood of the conference.

After adjournment on Tuesday, the conference shifted from "Freedom Building" to the "Pension Fund Building" and proceeded behind closed doors. There, for 4 1/2 days, the delegates debated in semiprivacy the questions and issues which had been raised during the first two days of the conference.

BEHIND CLOSED DOORS

The Joint Secretariat of the Asian-African Conference, established soon after the Bogor meeting, represented the five convening nations. On Thursday, April 14, four days before the conference opening date, it met and decided tentatively on procedures to start the conference off. The plan adopted was to hold an opening ceremony on the morning of Monday, April 18, to be followed by a closed session of the Heads of Delegations at which a conference chairman would be chosen. Then, the rest of April 14 and 15 would, according to the plan, be devoted to open sessions giving an opportunity for all delegation chiefs to make speeches, which were to be limited to 20 minutes each,

By Sunday, April 17, most of the delegation chiefs had arrived in Bandung, and they met in the afternoon, at the home of Indonesia's Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, to discuss the conference's agenda and procedure. Nehru immediately assumed a dominant role and attempted, with a success which was to prove short-lived, to exercise leadership over the conference. A tentative agenda was proposed and agreed upon. Then Nehru suggested that instead of devoting two days to the reading of the delegates' prepared speeches in open session, the speeches should be mimeographed and distributed, and the conference should go into closed committee sessions immediately after the keynote speeches by Indonesia's President Sukarno and Sastroamidjojo. Nehru also proposed that the communiqués issued by the conference should be drawn up by the secretariat, composed of representatives of the five sponsoring powers. His proposals were accepted.

If the conference had been conducted on this basis, with almost all proceedings behind closed doors, and with public pronouncements drawn up by the five sponsoring powers, among whom Nehru is the dominant personality, it would automatically have given Nehru a considerable influence over the kind of impact the conference would have on the world.

Pakistan's Prime Minister Mohammed **Ali** arrived late on Sunday and missed the afternoon discussions. When the five Colombo powers met Sunday night and he was told of what had been done, **Ali** was extremely irritated that important decisions on procedure had been made in his absence. Personal friction between him and **Wehru**, as well as national conflict between Pakistan and India over Kashmir, undoubtedly had something to do with his reaction.

Other delegation chiefs also resented **Nehru's** tactics and the way in which he was obviously trying to assume a role of personal leadership, even though they had accepted his proposals on Sunday afternoon. In the minds of at least a few of them, **Nehru's** idea of eliminating public addresses deprived them of the opportunity of making high-sounding statements which would be reported and would sound well back home,

Opposition to **Nehru** on conference procedure was growing under the surface, therefore, when the conference finally convened on the morning of Monday, April 18. President Sukarno made the opening address, Sastroamidjojo was elected conference chairman and made his speech, and then the opposition broke out into the open. **Nehru** wanted the conference immediately to give formal approval, in open session, to the decisions of the previous afternoon. This would have precluded any serious debate on or reconsideration of them. His idea was rejected, however. Instead, it was decided to meet in closed session to discuss **once more** the agenda and procedure. In this session, Turkey, Pakistan, Thailand, the Philippines and others argued against **Nehru's** proposals, and as a result it was finally decided that the delegates, as originally planned, would read their speeches during the first two days of the conference. The provisional agenda was **modified**, and it was also decided that the **conference's** communiqués would be drawn up by all 29 participating powers. These decisions seriously affected **Nehru's** bid for leadership and probably had a significant effect on the whole character of the conference.

The agenda finally decided upon consisted of five items: cultural cooperation, economic cooperation, human rights and self-determination, problems of dependent peoples, **and** promotion of world peace and cooperation. It was also agreed that the questions of Palestine, Tunisia, and Morocco would be discussed. **Two** committees, each with representatives of all participating nations, were set up to deal with items one and two on the agenda: a Cultural Committee and an Economic Committee. **All** other items were to be dealt with by meetings of the Heads of Delegations, a group which was immediately dubbed the "**Political Committee**" by almost everyone at the Conference.

The cultural and economic committees started work almost **immediately**, on the morning of Tuesday, April 13, while the delegation chiefs were still sitting in plenary session listening to the opening speeches. Because these committees were composed of second-string delegation members, who met behind closed doors and dealt **with** relatively noncontroversial matters, they did not

-17-

attract very much attention. They' did **their** work quietly, rapidly, and without fanfare. The Cultural Committee, starting with working papers presented by India, Indonesia, Japan, and Pakistan, met on the morning of Tuesday, April 19, and almost immediately turned over its task to a subcommittee composed of 12 **members**: the **four** who had submitted papers plus Iraq, **Egypt**, China, **Philippines**, Sudan, South Vietnam, North Vietnam, and **Liberia**. The subcommittee met that afternoon, and drew up **recommendations**. These were discussed in two more full committee **sessions**, and the final report to **the** conference was accepted on the morning of Friday, April 22. The Economic Committee, also met on Tuesday morning and adopted a five-point agenda: cooperation in economic development, cooperation in development of trade, cooperation in other fields, development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, and organizational aspects. These subjects **were** discussed item by item, in two committee sessions on Wednesday, one on **Thursday**, and a final session on Friday afternoon, when a report to **the** conference was adopted.

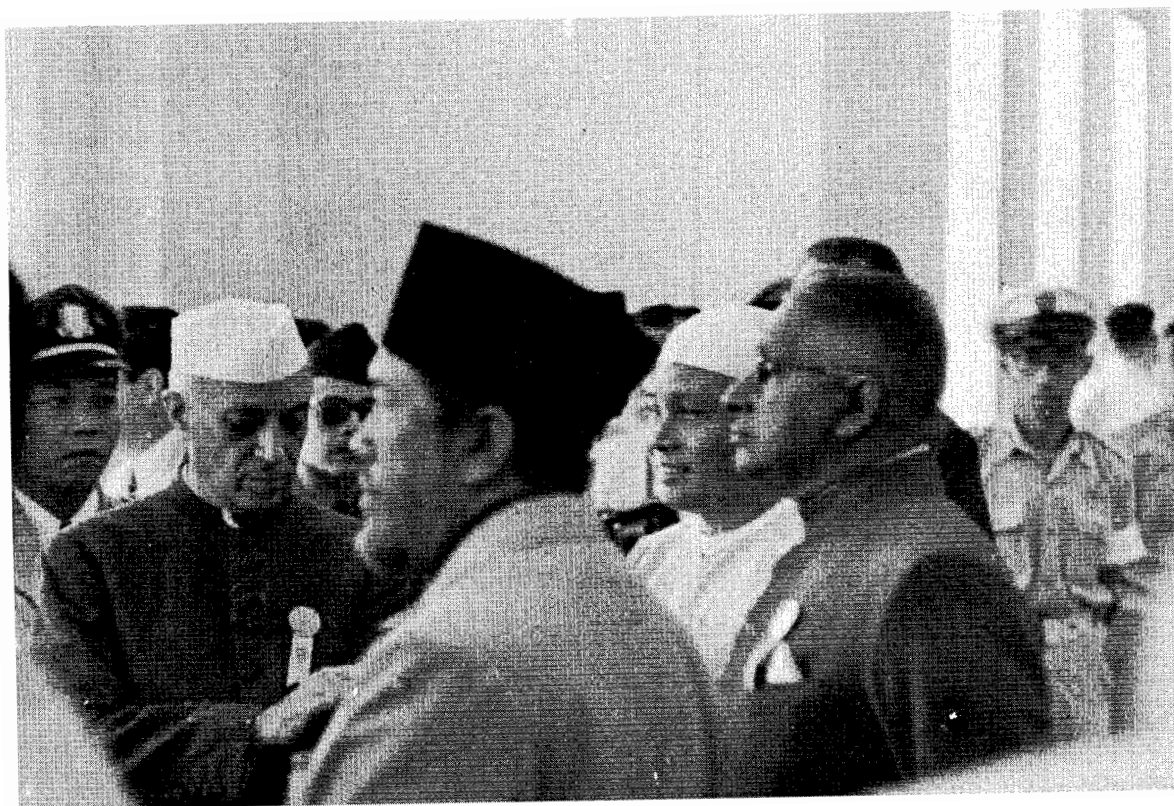
However, the real focus of controversy, and therefore the center of interest, was the "**Political Committee**" or Heads of Delegations. In their sessions the star performers of the conference debated the key issues. Although the Heads of **Delegations** met in secret sessions, fairly systematic "**leaks**" of information about their proceedings developed almost from the **start**, and before the week was over some delegations were actually giving formal briefings on what was taking place behind the closed doors of the committee room.

The Heads of Delegations met for their first two sessions on Wednesday, April 20. From the tenor of some of the speeches delivered in the open meetings of the previous two **days**, it was already clear that **Nehru's** aim of avoiding East-West **controversy** was likely to be ignored and that real controversy on some issues could be expected. The first day, however, provided no major fireworks,

The problem of choosing a rapporteur came **up** first. Chou En-lai proposed Nehru, but Nehru declined. Prince Wan **was** then nominated. Chou En-lai was doubtful about this and asked for a short recess, but in the end he decided not to **make** an issue of it, and Wan was approved.

The first question to be discussed **was** that of human rights and self-determination. A slight snag on procedures arose very soon. Several countries, including UN members Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, and Thailand, **as** well as Japan and Ceylon who are not UN members, proposed that the UN Universal **Declaration** of Human Rights be **taken as** the basis of discussion. China, however, was reluctant, on the grounds that it does not belong to the UN, and suggested a different formulation acceptable to all.

Palestine also came up for discussion under this heading. This question was a top priority one for all the Arab delegations,



Four of the Conveners

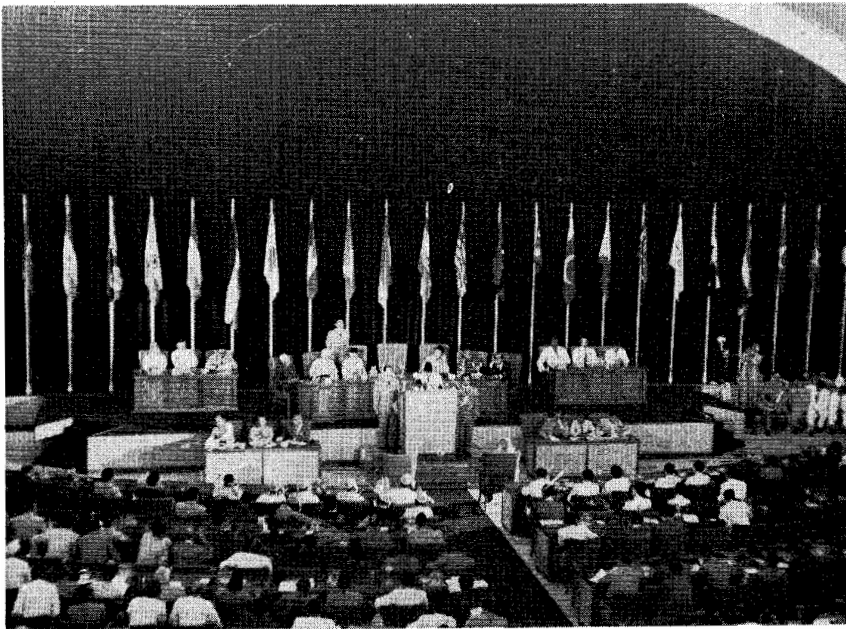
Nehru (India), Sastroanidjojo (Indonesia),
U Nu (Burma), Kotelawala (Ceylon)

(ADB Photo)

-19-



Outside the Conference Hall



Inside the Conference Hall

(ADB Photos)

who wanted a statement of support for the unimplemented UN **de-**
cisions on Palestine; but it was complicated by the reluctance of some countries, including India, who maintain friendly diplomatic relations with Israel, to be too strongly condemnatory.

A subcommittee consisting of India, China, Burma, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Thailand, and Indonesia was appointed and succeeded in drawing up **an** acceptable statement on human rights, which approved the UN declaration. A subcommittee was also appointed, with Burma, Syria, Philippines, Pakistan, and Afghanistan as members, to draw up a separate statement on the Palestine question. Altogether, Wednesday's sessions went smoothly.

On Thursday, April 21, the Heads of Delegations held their third and fourth meetings. After completing discussions on Palestine, they took up, and completed, discussions of self-determination, the question of racial discrimination, and problems of dependent peoples in West Irian, Morocco, and Tunisia. All of this went along fairly smoothly, until Sir John Kotelawala threw a bombshell into the meeting at the close of the day.

Sir John got up and began **reading** a speech on "**colonial-**
ism." "**You may say,**" he declared, "**that colonialism is a term** generally understood and capable of only one meaning. **I cannot agree. Colonialism takes many forms,**" **First discussing** "**western colonialism,**" he said, "**We all know this form of colonial-**
ism. **We are all against it.....it is an anachronism.**" He continued, "**There** is another form of colonialism, however, about which many of us represented here are perhaps less clear in our minds and to which some of us would perhaps not agree to apply the term colonialism at all. Think, for example, of those satellite states under Communist domination in Central and Eastern Europe: of Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, and Poland. Are these not colonies as much as any of the colonial territories in Africa and Asia? **And** if we are united in our opposition to colonialism, should **it** not be our duty openly to declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism?"

Nehru was taken aback and Chou En-lai bristled for a moment. This was **introducing** the kind of East-West controversy which Nehru specifically **had** wanted to avoid, and **it** was an attack which Chou obviously could not **passively** accept. Chou En-lai got **up** and asked that the speech be printed and circulated so he could answer **it** on the next day. Nehru tried a diversionary move, saying that Kotelawala was adding a new item to the agenda, which therefore should be postponed until all other items were finished. Kotelawala objected, asserting they had not finished talking about colonialism, Chou himself then supported **Nehru's** contention that this introduced a new agenda item and should be postponed. But Turkey's **Fatin Rustu Zorlu** stepped in and suggested the speech be circulated and taken up again as **the first item** on Friday. This was agreed and the meeting adjourned. A lot of delegates went home and worked diligently at writing speeches Thursday night,

-21-

because Sir **John's** speech opened the door for real **political** debate on neutralism, anti-Communism, and Communism,

The lines of political cleavage within the conference, which were fairly **clear** from the start but had not really been forced into the open, now began to crystallize.

Nehru led one group, under the banner of neutralism. His stated objective is to ease tensions by attempting to maintain friendly relations with both the Soviet and Western blocs, avoid military alliances, and minimize controversy. Toward this end he wanted to encourage friendly relations between Communist China and the non-Communist countries of Asia and **Africa**. His key supporters in the conference were Burma and Indonesia, who like India have diplomatic relations with Peking, support the so-called "**five** principles of coexistence," and follow neutralist foreign policies. Nepal and Afghanistan, both of which recognize Peking, although neither has yet established diplomatic relations with Communist China, **also** supported **Nehru's** viewpoint. Nepal, where Indian influence is strong, is wedged between India and Communist-ruled Tibet, Afghanistan is precariously situated between the **U.S.S.R.** and Pakistan, with whom it has a long-standing dispute over **Pushtoonistan**. The latest addition to **Nehru's** neutralist group was Cambodia. Shortly before the conference, young ex-King **Norodom** had visited **New Delhi** and publicly identified himself with neutralism and **Nehru's** leadership. Laos seemed to be leaning in the same direction, although less definitely so than Cambodia. Both Cambodia and Laos are, like Nepal and Afghanistan, small, weak, landlocked and isolated countries situated in dangerous locations.

Two other groups seemed to be working along with Nehru in the AA Conference, at least in a general way: the Communist states and an Arab group led by Egypt. Communist China, which last year signed agreements based on the five principles with both **India** and Burma, seemed to feel that India would--in the interests of harmony and peace--argue China's case on many issues, and that anyway from a tactical point of view support of neutralism works to China's advantage. North Vietnam, the only other Communist state attending the conference, followed **along**. The cooperation of Egypt with India seemed to be based mainly on internal divisions within the Arab bloc. Early this year the signing of the Turkey-Iraq Pact split the Arab League wide open, and **Egypt's** Nasser searched for ways to bolster his prestige. From the point of view of India, which disliked the recently concluded Turkey-Pakistan Pact, a link in the Middle East was also felt to be useful. And because of complicated internal rivalries within the Arab world, Saudi Arabia, and to a lesser extent Syria, followed **Egypt's** lead. Before the AA Conference began, these three diverse groups got together and had **preliminary** discussions, in New Delhi and Rangoon,

The other major group at the conference was composed of nations which openly oppose the Soviet bloc; the majority, but

not all, were nations which have joined Western-oriented military defense alliances. Romulo of the Philippines arrived two days before the conference started and immediately began talking to as many delegation chiefs as possible, to line up support. When Mohammed Ali of Pakistan arrived Sunday night, and after he had attended the dinner meeting of the five sponsoring powers, he talked with Romulo and they agreed to cooperate the next day when questions of procedure came up.

After numerous contacts during the first three days of the conference, a group of five men, consisting of Philippines' Romulo, Turkey's Fatim Rustu Zorlu, Thailand's Prince Wan, Pakistan's Mohammed Ali, and Lebanon's Malik, coalesced as behind-the-scenes leaders of conference strategy among the Western-oriented group. On the night of Wednesday, April 20, they met at Mohammed Ali's home and discussed their approach to the conference.

However, the two delegates who took the initiative in making anti-Communist statements and injecting controversial issues into the conference were Iraq's Jamali and Ceylon's Kotelawala, both of them blunt, outspoken men who did what they did on their own initiative and for their own reasons. Jamali's speech on the first day of the conference and Kotelawala's speech on Thursday to the Heads of Delegations turned out to be, in effect, keynote speeches for the anti-Communist and antineutralist nations at the conference,

This line-up was fairly clear before the Heads of Delegations met on Friday, April 22, to debate Sir John Kotelawala's speech. It was not surprising, therefore, that heated argument developed. The basic differences in policies and international outlook, which until this point had been at least partially suppressed, came clearly out into the open. Chou En-lai, however, was not the one who took the strongest line; he continued to play his chosen role of moderation, patience, and conciliation. The most heated exchanges took place between Nehru and the leaders of the Western-oriented group.

U Nu started with an appeal for harmony and asked Kotelawala not to press disrupting questions. Sir John defended himself by saying that he was not trying to disrupt the conference, but that he genuinely felt that the Eastern European countries lack independence and therefore that they should be dealt with in an anticolonial statement. At this point Chou En-lai spoke and made a fairly mild statement to the effect that he supported the idea of maintaining harmony. He said that he had talked privately with Kotelawala about this after his speech the previous day. Referring to his Tuesday speech, Chou said there was no need to discuss ideologies in the conference, although he was certainly willing to discuss them outside the conference with anyone who wished to do so. He went on, then, to assert that the Eastern European countries are independent and choose their own governments, and he recommended once more that the conference adopt a general anticolonial statement. But Pakistan was not willing to

-23-

see the Communist question sidetracked, and Mohammed Ali said that he wanted Communism discussed. If China has no satellites itself, it should have no objection, he stated. Syria entered the discussion to say they should not discuss Communism; if they did, the Syrian delegate asserted, then they would have to take up the question of British imperialism. Iraq then supported Mohammed Ali's views. At this point Nehru stepped into the situation. It is not a bad thing, he said, for differences to be frankly aired, but the Eastern European countries should not be discussed because some of them are in the UN and have treaties with countries represented in the conference. What the conference should do is agree on a general statement on the problems of dependent peoples. We should not take sides in the cold war, Nehru said, but rather should throw our weight in favor of peace.

During the course of discussion, four draft statements on colonialism had been introduced, by China, Indonesia, a group supporting Turkey, and India-Egypt. Finally, it was decided to set up a subcommittee consisting of Ceylon, India, China, Pakistan, Lebanon, Syria, Burma, Turkey, and the Philippines, to meet separately and on the basis of these drafts to write a statement acceptable to all. The meeting adjourned at 11:45 so that the Muslim delegates could offer their Friday prayers.

Promotion of world peace and cooperation came up in the afternoon session. It started on a relatively calm note. U Nu called on all to respect human rights and the UN Charter, and said that their relations should be governed by complete respect for the sovereignty and dignity of other nations and avoidance of any intervention into others' internal affairs. Takasaki of Japan called for a rejection of the use of force and for increased cooperation in all fields of human endeavor. Mohammed Ali reiterated the "seven pillars of peace" he had outlined earlier. Iraq called for a reaffirmation of faith in the UN.

Then the Turkish delegate spoke and once more defended his country's participation in a military defense pact with the U.S. Without this pact, he said, Turkey would not have survived and would not be at this conference. He called NATO a bulwark of peace.

This set Nehru off on the longest and most emotional defense of neutralism which he made during the entire conference. There is another side of the picture, he said, which could be presented as ably as Turkey had presented its side. People who think like the Turkish delegate have brought us to the "abyss of destruction." The substance of Nehru's remarks was:

We Indians don't side with either the Communist or the non-Communist nations; both of them are wrong. Both are leading toward war. We will fight against anyone who tries to enter our territory, but we have faith in the people of India, not in atomic bombs; I speak for Gandhi's philosophy. In a war, two mighty colossi cannot

defeat each other; they can only ruin each other, War must be abolished, India would never enter a war. We believe there should be a "nonalignment" area. Why has the word coexistence caused so much turmoil?

Then Nehru let his emotions run away with him. It is an intolerable "humiliation," he said, for Asian and African countries to "degrade" themselves by becoming followers of one side or the other. He said that he does not accept the idea of "collective defense"; it is merely a cover of words to make military pacts acceptable, and every pact adds to the insecurity of the world. NATO is one of the most powerful protectors of colonialism in the world. The world is in a dangerous situation. The atomic position has reached the saturation point, so that it does not really matter how many bombs the two sides have,

Nehru's intemperate and arrogant tone, his lecturing on what others should do, and his veiled insults aroused many of the delegates. Mohammed Ali, for example, declared indignantly that he did not have to try to justify Pakistan's participation in SEATO to anyone. Pakistan, he said, is a sovereign state accountable to no one. At this stage, when tempers were ruffled and agreement seemed remote, Iraq's Jamali moved that Nehru's remarks be circulated. Very soon thereafter the meeting adjourned,

At the close of the day on Friday, April 22, the situation was described by some of the delegates as "deadlocked." Some thought that they would never be able to get agreement. The basic disagreement centered on whether "Soviet colonialism" should or should not be included in the statement on colonialism, and on the whole question of coexistence. It was really a debate between those supporting Nehru's neutralism and coexistence with Communism, and those supporting collective defense, in alignment with the West, against Communism.

Throughout this debate Communist China's Chou En-lai did not really play a leading role. Although he did speak his piece, he stayed in the background for the most part, and in a sense he was on the defensive. Then, on Saturday, April 23, Chou En-lai seized the initiative,

In the Saturday morning session of the Heads of Delegations discussion began where it had been left off the day before. Jamali spoke first, in refutation of points Nehru had made. How are the nations going to defend themselves, he inquired. Directing his remarks to Nehru, he asked: if you do not concede us the right of self-defense, are you willing to bring us together to form another bloc so that we can have some protection? Malik of Lebanon spoke along the same line. A nation which joins a defense pact has good reasons for doing so, he said, and knows these reasons better than anyone else. As for "coexistence," Malik said, it is a Communist phrase with different meanings for different people; one should be careful in using it. Then Romulo gave an eloquent, oratorical kind of speech, also refuting Nehru. Small

-25-

countries like the Philippines, he said, must combine with other countries for their self-protection. Maybe a country like India can stand on its own feet, but small countries must join larger groups. Then he referred briefly to Kashmir as an example of a situation where **there** was good will on both sides but continuing tension and disagreement. Even Gandhi, he declared, supported **Nehru's** decision to send troops there for self-defense. Finally, he talked at length about the Manila Pact, or **SEATO**, maintaining stoutly that **it** is a purely defensive alliance,

Chou En-lai chose this point to make his major speech of the entire conference. His diplomatic timing was almost perfect. After staying in the background for most of the **conference**, he emerged at the climax, when debate had almost reached a deadlock, to become the star performer, the conciliator, the man of peace. From this time on, there was no doubt as to whose personality dominated the conference; **it** was Chou **En-lai's**. Chou did not change the basic attitude of any of the leaders **present** who took a firm anti-Communist stand, but he did alter the course of the conference, and he did impress the delegates of even some anti-Communist countries with his ability and personal **"reasonableness."** ||

Chou started by saying that everyone at the conference wants peace, Chou argued:

The attitude we should adopt, he said, is that although we have different ideologies and international obligations, our purpose should be to discover some common basis for world peace and cooperation. Some do not like the word **"coexistence"**; all right, then use the words of the UN Charter--live together in peace. Communist China is against all forms of military alliances, he said (not mentioning the existence of a Sino-Soviet **Alliance**), and China will be forced to sign treaties with other countries if the tendency to form alliances is continued.>

Facing toward Mohammed **Ali**, he said that **Ali** in personal conversation had told him that he had no **fear** that China would commit aggression. Then he talked about the **"five principles."** He was perfectly willing, he said, either to add to or subtract **from** them.

The most important part of the speech followed, Chou proposed a seven-point peace declaration, and in the course of elaborating on **it** he made **reassuring** statements or promises to all of the countries neighboring on China. As one delegate described **it** later, "He distributed gifts all around, at least one to each **neighbor.**"

In this proposed declaration, Chou supported almost all the major ideas raised by others during the conference. And in relation to almost every point, **furthermore**, he made reference to some problem which he **knew** to be of concern to China's neighbors,

As to settlement of disputes by peaceful means, Chou stated that China was willing to settle all problems this way. Let China and the U.S. also settle their common problems by peaceful means, he said. He made no specific mention of Formosa, but his remarks were clearly intended to be interpreted as a feeler in that direction. Chou made no propaganda attacks against the U.S. in this speech.

Finally, Chou said that Nehru had told him that even Prime Minister Eden agreed with the "five principles"; he said that if Eden wanted to sign a joint declaration with China supporting these principles, China would be happy to do so.

Chou's entire speech was an expression of willingness to compromise and be adaptable on virtually everything, including the "five principles." Furthermore, he went beyond generalities and gave verbal assurances on a lot of real problems and issues affecting China's neighbors. It was an effective performance. Even those delegates who reacted warily, and said that actions are more important than words, were definitely impressed.

After Nehru made one more speech, reiterating his neutralist views, but also retracting somewhat from his previous extreme statements and even condemning the Cominform and all similar organizations on both sides of the cold war, the Heads of Delegations set up a subcommittee to draft a resolution on world peace and cooperation.

During the rest of Saturday and Sunday while subcommittees worked on their resolutions, the Heads of Delegations' sessions considered briefly other questions including Indo-China (on which no position was adopted), the "Aden Case," weapons of mass destruction, and representation in the UN and on the Security Council. Finally, they had to adopt their own resolutions and approve the reports submitted to them by the Economic and Cultural Committees. They were able, in the end, to make compromises on the wording of the most controversial issues and produced a communiqué which had unanimous approval.

Late in the afternoon of Sunday, April 24, an open plenary session to close the conference was held. The joint communiqué was first read, and then there were a number of brief final speeches, including the first public addresses made by Nehru and U Nu during the entire conference.

The conference closed with a public show of harmony and good will, but under the surface the basic differences in outlook and stand remained unreconciled. The final voting line-up on the controversial issues during the last two days of the conference followed a fairly consistent pattern. On one side were 15 countries: Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Philippines, Thailand, Japan, Ceylon, South Vietnam, Iran, Jordan, Libya, Liberia, Cold Coast, Sudan, and Lebanon. On the other side were 14 countries: India, Burma, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Laos, Cambodia,

Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Syria, and Ethiopia, as well as the two Communist states, China and North Vietnam.

* * * * *

EXTRACURRICULAR DIPLOMACY

Some of the most significant developments which took place during the Asian-African Conference occurred not in the conference hall or committee rooms but in private meetings among individual delegates. This is often true at large international meetings, but it was particularly true at Bandung for several reasons.

First of all, the composition and character of the conference ensured from the start that it could deal only in generalities for the most part. The base of the conference was so broad that it included nations with a great variety of interests and with varying political colors. The purposes of the conference were vague. And the time limits were rigid. Consequently, it was agreed, with a few exceptions, to keep detailed, specific national interests out of the formal discussions.

Second, it was a unique gathering of national leaders from a huge area of the globe containing, as was repeatedly pointed out during the conference, over half the population of the world. For some countries, this meeting was almost a debut on the international stage. Others, who are not yet members of the UN, discovered it to be a unique opportunity to meet with representatives of many countries. This applied not only to a number of small countries but also to Communist China and Japan, really the only two nations present, who have ever approached Great Power status. For Communist China, Bandung was the first general international conference to which it has been invited without the presence of representatives of the Soviet Union. For Japan, Bandung was the first opportunity to take part in a broad-based international conference since before World War II.

Bandung was also remarkable in another sense. It was no ordinary gathering of diplomats. It had a much larger representation of top national leaders--Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers--than ordinary conferences. Furthermore, the leaders of the 29 countries at Bandung met without the presence of any of the Great Powers from the West, who usually tend to dominate large international gatherings.

As a result of all of these facts, there was a significant development, at Bandung, of Asian and African diplomacy. In private meetings and informal dinners, leaders of many countries met each other for the first time and made contacts which will undoubtedly affect the future policies of their countries in many subtle ways.

By far the most important developments outside of the conference hall at Bandung centered on Communist China. Following the same conciliatory line which he did in the conference chamber itself, Chou En-lai, with some assistance from Nehru, took full advantage of the opportunities presented by such a unique gathering to make an all-out effort to win friends and influence people.

Chou started quietly, with patience and reserve. At the Sunday afternoon general meeting of delegation leaders, for example, he had little to say. He sat and listened. During the next two days he still stayed in the background, but he began meeting and talking with some of Nehru's protégés, such as ex-King Norodom. Then on the evening of Wednesday, April 20, Nehru held a dinner for Chou and the guest list included Romulo and Prince Wan, leaders of two of the most clearly anti-Communist nations attending the conference. That was just the beginning. From then on, Chou had a series of dinners, luncheons, and other informal meetings which during the course of the conference brought him into direct contact with all the key delegation leaders. Many of these were purely social, and at these Chou did not talk politics but turned on his famous charm. I know of no one, including Chou's strongest political adversaries at the conference, who was not impressed by his personality.

Not all the informal meetings were purely social by any means, however. At many of them Chou made promises which may prove, in the long run, to have considerable effect on Communist China's relations with numerous countries in Southeast Asia. All in all, the assurances, promises, and concessions made by Chou at Bandung add up to an impressive list.

Few of these assurances cost China much, and Chou En-lai bought a considerable amount of good will and trust for a fairly cheap price.

Another extremely important event which took place at Bandung, but outside the conference itself, was the signing by Communist China and Indonesia of a Treaty Concerning the Question of Dual Nationality. By this treaty Communist China agreed to relinquish its claim of dual nationality affecting those Overseas Chinese in Indonesia who choose to be Indonesian citizens. The timing of the treaty was carefully chosen for maximum political effect.

The conciliatory gesture which had the greatest impact upon the conference, however, was Chou's statement on Formosa. At an eight-nation lunch which was held on Saturday, April 23, at the home of Sastroamidjojo, Chou expressed a willingness to negotiate with the U.S. on Formosa. He was asked by Nehru if he would be willing to say so publicly, and Chou said yes. That was all there was to it. There was no discussion of the Formosa issue. Chou merely used the luncheon as a springboard from which to make one more dramatic diplomatic plunge. It is probable that he acted entirely on his own.

-29-

Chou's statement was released to the press late Saturday afternoon. It said simply: "The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States of America. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East, and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Taiwan [Formosa] area." The statement was a skillful diplomatic move, conciliatory but vague.

What the real meaning and significance of all these moves by Chou En-lai will prove to be is something only time can tell. But it was clear by the end of the Asian-African Conference that he had made important diplomatic gains there. Even leaders like Mohammed Ali were praising Chou's sincerity and good intentions when the conference ended.

However, Chou En-lai's gains did not, peculiarly enough, result in any immediately apparent losses to the West. It was not that kind of an "I win, you lose" proposition. Contrary to some expectations, the Bandung Conference failed to be a platform for intense anti-Western feeling, and the proponents of alignment with the West stated their case clearly and effectively. At the same time, however, Chou En-lai made a deep personal impression on many people and convinced more than a few of the genuineness of his, and Communist China's, peaceful intentions.

* * * * *

THE CONFERENCE COMMUNIQUE

The final communique of the Asian-African Conference proved to be, as everyone had expected from the beginning, a fairly vague document, dealing for the most part in high-sounding generalities. In relation to some predictions made before the conference, however, it turned out to be a sane document in most respects. In view of the debates which went on during the conference, also, it was an accomplishment to obtain general agreement and turn out any communiqué at all.

Sections C through F, dealing with Human Rights and Self-Determination, Problems of Dependent Peoples, Other Problems, and Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation, were the most important parts of the communiqué. They were the ones which caused so much debate among the Heads of Delegation. As finally written and accepted, these articles revealed the things on which the 29 countries attending the AA Conference could agree. A few of the articles, however, revealed the fact that the Western-oriented countries were able to insist upon wording which was significantly different from that which either the Communist or neutralist nations themselves would have chosen to use.

Section C was devoted to Human Rights and Self-Determination. It started by expressing the Ad Conference's full support for the principles of human rights defined in the UN Charter, and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard for achievement. This support for the UN, a theme which ran throughout the conference, was quite significant in view of the fact that a number of nations at the AA Conference are not yet UN members, while others feel somewhat dissatisfied with the way in which the Great Powers and Western nations overshadow them in the UN.

The section also gave "full support of the principle of self-determination" and "deplored.....policies of racial segregation and discrimination." These two ideas received universal support from all attending the AA Conference, and there is little doubt that one of the significant results of the conference, from a long-range point of view, is the impetus given, through mobilization of world public opinion, to the struggle for independence and racial equality.

Finally, in this section, the conference specifically extended its support to the African, Indian, and Pakistani peoples subject to racial discrimination in South Africa.

In Section D, dealing with Human Rights and Self-Determination, the conference declared that "colonialism in all of its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end." The words "in all its manifestations" were the significant ones. Although Communism was not specifically mentioned, these words clearly included Communist colonialism as well as Western colonialism in the minds of a large number of the delegates. It was significant that Western colonialism was not mentioned specifically either, for some commentators predicted before the conference that strong anti-West feeling would be the lowest common denominator of the AA Conference.

The statement also labeled "subjection of people to alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation" as an obstacle to peace, declared support for all struggles for freedom and independence, and called upon the powers concerned to take action. Specifically, it declared its support for Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian independence.

The problems of Palestine, West Irian, and Aden were dealt with separately in section E. Many countries, including India, had hoped to keep specific questions of this sort out of the conference, and India never did bring up Goa, a comparable problem. But national feelings resulted in these three being mentioned. The conference supported the Palestinian Arabs' rights and called for implementation of the UN resolution on Palestine. It supported Indonesia's claims to Dutch-held West Irian, and recommended reopening of negotiations and UN assistance in finding a peaceful solution. And it supported Yemen in its conflict with the British over Aden and the Protectorates of Southern Yemen.

-31-

In all of these cases, the "villain" was absent. Israel, the Netherlands, and Great Britain had no representation at the conference. There were many comparable disputes among the countries attending the conference, such as the Pakistan-India dispute over Kashmir and the Afghanistan-Pakistan dispute over Pushtoonistan; but all quarrels of this kind were scrupulously avoided, because it was recognized that the conference could not solve them and that introducing them would undoubtedly have wrecked the conference.

It is significant that the Indo-China situation was not mentioned at all in the communiqué. It was brought up during discussions in the Heads of Delegations meetings, but apparently because conditions there are so complicated and confused, the conference decided not to try to do or say anything about Indo-China.

The final section on the Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation dealt with UN membership and disarmament. The conference supported "universal" UN membership for all those countries "qualified for membership in terms of the Charter." Specifically, it supported the admission of Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Libya, Nepal, and "a unified Vietnam." The question of Communist China's admission was avoided, and Chou En-lai did not bring it up. The justification for this given by countries supporting Peking's claim was that the problem is not one of membership (since "China" already is in the UN) but rather is one of determining the legitimate claimant for recognition as the government of China,

Regarding the UN, the conference also called for representation of the Asian-African countries on the Security Council--to give more equitable geographical distribution of seats.

Finally, the communiqué called for disarmament and the prohibition of production, experimentation, and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons. It declared that "effective international control" should be established to this end, pending which all powers should agree to suspend experiments with such weapons. This statement reflected the real concern about modern weapons of mass destruction which was expressed during the conference by almost all of the 29 participating nations (none of which possesses nuclear weapons). The insertion of the word "effective" in the statement on control, however, reflected the realistic approach to the problem of disarmament on the part of those countries aligned with the West who were not willing to accept a propagandistic statement on the issue.

All in all, the political sections of the communiqué were phrased in remarkably reasonable, sensible, and moderate terms, due on the one hand to the strong position taken by the pro-West countries at the conference and on the other to Communist China's willingness to be conciliatory and make concessions to achieve its own purposes.

As stated earlier, sections A and B on **Economic** Cooperation and Cultural Cooperation consisted largely of generalities. This does not mean that they were not significant, but few of the items proposed specific action or involved real commitments,

The statement on Economic Cooperation began by emphasizing the "urgency of promoting economic development" and the desirability of economic cooperation, among the AA countries— at the same time recognizing the "valuable contribution" of aid from, and the need to cooperate with, countries outside the region. Denying any aim of setting up a "regional bloc," the AA countries agreed to provide technical assistance to each other, and to appoint liaison officers in participating countries to exchange information and ideas. The statement recommended establishment of a Special UN Fund for Economic Development and an International Finance Corporation, and allocation of greater capital to the AA region by the World Bank. It also recommended collective action on stabilizing international prices of primary commodities, recognized the need for stabilizing commodity trade and diversification of export trade by processing of raw materials, proposed study and possibly collective action on discriminatory freight rates, and encouraged establishment of national and regional banks and shipping lines. The participating countries also went on record as encouraging countries with information on nuclear energy for peaceful purposes to make this information available, and urged establishment of an International Atomic Energy Agency.

The Cultural Cooperation section of the **communiqué** recommended cultural cooperation, on a bilateral basis, directed toward acquisition of knowledge about countries in the region, mutual cultural exchange, and exchange of information. The most specific measure it recommended was that countries relatively favorably endowed with educational, scientific, and technical institutions should facilitate the admission of students and trainees from less fortunate countries. The statement condemned both colonialism and racialism as instruments of cultural suppression. It also, however, recognized that cultural development and cooperation in the AA region should take place "in the larger context of world cooperation."

The **communiqué** ended with a ten-point Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation which proposed the following principles as the basis for developing friendly cooperation:

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

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

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

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

-33-

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

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

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

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

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

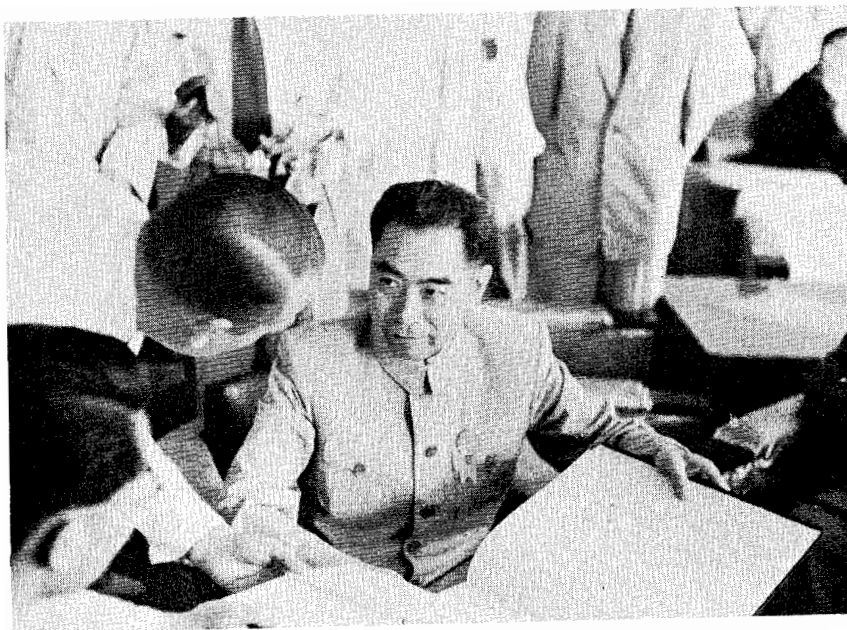
"9. Promotion of mutual interests and cooperation.

"10. Respect for justice and international obligations."

This statement was the result of compromise by all groups at the conference, and was not the result of any one nation's proposals. Its emphasis upon UN obligations was noteworthy. Also significant were the statements recognizing the right of collective self-defense and stressing the equality of large and small nations.

Finally, the communiqué side-stepped the question of whether the AA powers would meet again but "recommended that the five sponsoring countries consider the convening of the next meeting of the conference, in consultation with the participating countries."

A. Doak Barnett



The Star Performer:
Communist China's Chou En-lai

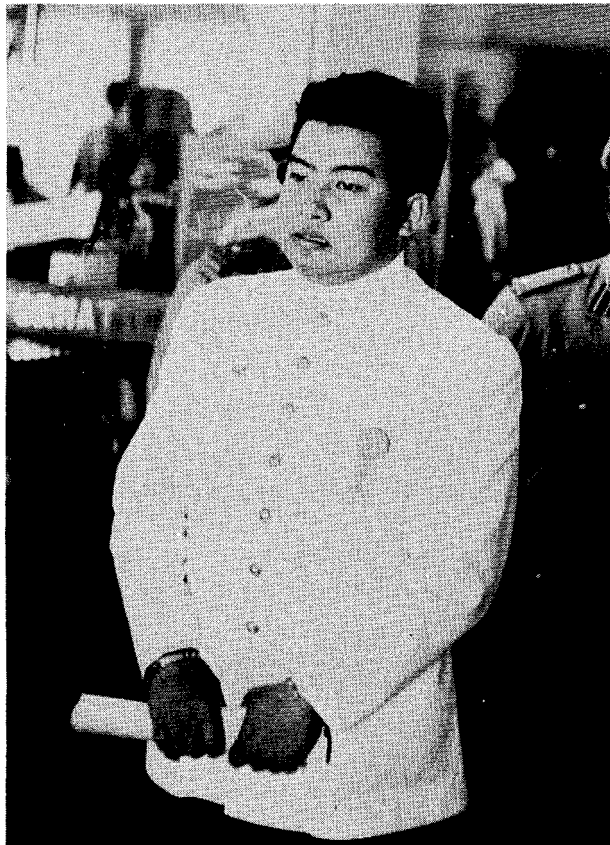


(ADB Photos)



Other Performers

Egypt's Nasser (above), Cambodia's Norodom (below)



(ADB Photos)