The four purposes of the Asian-African Conference

1. 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 neighbourly 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 of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

Asian-African Conference Bulletin

EDITORIAL NOTE.

This bulletin and a similar one in the Indonesian language are published at the suggestion of the Indonesian premier and with the agreement of the Join Secretaria of the Asian-African Conference. They are designed to advance public understanding of the aims, activities and the achievements of the Asian-African Conference which is in the cause-of world peace and universal well-being.

We hope that they will be a useful source of information to both the Indonesian as well as foreign readers who are interested in the Conference.

Asian-African Conference

**TOWARDS ITS REALISATION**

It is fitting that bulletin devoted to the Asian-African Conference should begin with a resume of events leading up to the holding of that conference,

For centuries countries in South East Asia have been subjected to the colonial policies of the Western Nations. Colonialism separated these once-colonised countries from each other and prevented their closer cooperation. As colonies they were always pushed in the background and they never participated in the solution of world problems, not even problems affecting their own fates.

Their positions of subjugation to Western nations never allowed them to develop natural resources to the benefit ol their own national economy and remained therefore economically underdeveloped. Colonialism left them with a multitude of problems, to which solutions had to be sought soon they gained their national Independence after World War II. These problems are commion to the newlyborn countries in South and South East Asia. To solve these common problems, the Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, invited the Prime Ministers of Burma, India, Indonesia and Pakistan to meet him in Ceylon for friendly discussions. The need for these friendly discussions Was then felt all the more, when the situation in Indo China grew worse and could therefore easily affect their countries. All these five countries depend for their future and the wellbeing of their peoples upon peace as a prerequisite to their plans of development and reconstruction.

All five countries have economic problems which can only be solved through a degree 8 of industrial development, and, in general, are still strangers to the industrial revolution. Indeed they had many common problems to discuss.

Therefore, the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met in Ceylon between 28th April and 2nd May, 1954. This meeting was referred to variously as the Conference of Asian Prime Ministers, or as the Colombo Conference from the name of the city where the five Prime Ministers met.

The meeting took place concurrently with the Geneva Conference which aimed at solution of the Indo-China question. The five that France should Asian Premiers proposed at Colombo declare at the Geneva Conference that she is irrevocably committed to the complete independence of Indo-China. They suggested direct negotiations utilisation of the between the parties principally concerned; they looked for good offices and machinery of the United Nations, and they hoped that the Geneva Conference would bring about speedy termination of the conflict.

It was evident that so clear a stand on this issue, taken by five countries who are close neighbours of Indo-China, could not but influence other international discussions, such as the Geneva Conference. It was also plain that this degree of agreement on the Indo-China question would extend to other fields. It did.

Besides detailing the views about the Indo-China question, the final communique of the Conference of SouthEast Asian Prime Ministers (issued at Kandy on 2nd May, 1954) referred also to many other matters, Colonialism was regretted as a violation of fundamental human rights: the claims to independence of Tunisia and Morocco were considered due for recognition: grave concern was expressed for the fate of the Arab refugees in Palestine, and a desire for a just and early settlement of the Palestine problem was expressed. The Prime Ministers affirmed their faith in democracy, exchanged views on the national and international aspects of communism, and determined that, whilst they would respect each other's sovereignty and would not interfere in each other's internal problems, they would resist interference in their internal affairs by Communist or other agencies. They deplored the production of the hydrogen bomb and other implements of mass destruction. They considered representation of the People's. Republic of China in the United Nations Organisation. They considered proposals for economic co-operation and mutual aid and referred these to their respective governments. Apart from expressing satisfaction with the Colombo Conference as paving the way for similar meetings in the future, they finally discussed the desirability of holding a Conference of Asian-African nations and favoured the proposal that the Prime Minister of Indonesia. who had brought forward this suggestion, should explore the possibility of such conference.

Addressing the Indian Council of World Affairs, during his visit to India, on 24th September, 1954, Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia, stated the following:

\*At the Colombo Conference it was decided that the possibilities had to be explored of convening a larger Conference of more Asian countries than the original set of five, together with African Nations. This conference will enable us to strengthen our co-operation, to expand our efforts for peace whilst it will also convince the world that this enormous area does not want in its affairs any interference from outside in the realisation of its peaceful policies.

In a radio-broadeast in New Delhi on 25th September 1954, the Indonesian Premier again explained his idea of the Asian-African Conference as follows:

“... Asians will have to make decisions on their own future, without interference by the Western World.

There has been a slogan which ran 'Let Asians fight Asians', That is precisely what we do nol want. What we want is to cooperate with our Asian and African neighbours, to live together in friendship and in peaceful co-existence, to strive hard, united in aim, for the common benefit of us all.'

On the same day, 25th September 1954, Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo and Prime Minister Nehru issued a Joint Statement, declaring that:

"\*They discussed also the proposal to have a Conference of representatives of Asian and African countries and were agreed that a Conference of this kind was desirable and would be helpful in promoting the cause of peace and common approach to these problems It was-also considered by them that, prior to the meeting of such Conference, it would be advisable for the Prime Ministers of the Colombo Conference countries to mect together, preferably at Djakarta.'

Before returning from his visit to India, and at the invitation of Prime Minister U Nu of the Union of Burma, the Indonesian Premier spent three days in Rangoon for informal talks upon matters of common concern. At the conclusion of this visit a further Joint Statement was issued, which reiterated that the Burmese Premier considered that an Asian-African Conference was desirable and that it would further the cause of world peace.

After these visits, therefore, invitations were again sent to the four other Prime Ministers of the Colombo Conference, this time to a meeting in Indonesia which was to consider and to prepare for the proposed Asian-African

Conference.

This meeting was eventually held in the mountain town of Bogor, and there the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan met for three days from 28th to 31 st December, 1954, During this Bogor Conference, it was decided that an Asian-African Conference should be held in the month of April, 1955, at Bandung in Indonesia. Four purposes were outlined for this Conference:

1. 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 neighbourly 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 of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

It was decided that twenty-five Asian and African five Premiers to countries should be jointly asked by the attend. The twenty-five countries are:

1. Afghanistan 2. Cambodia 3. Central African Federation 4. China 5. Egypt 6. Ethiopia

7. Gold Coast 8. Iran Iraq 10. Japan 11. Jordan 12. Laos

13. Lebanon 14. Liberia 15. Libya 16. Nepal 17. Philippines 18. Saudi Arabia-19. Sudan 20. Syria 21. Thailand 22. Turkey 23. Viet-Nam (North) 24. Viet-Nam (South) 25. Yemen

What do the Asian-African nations hope to achieve through this meeting? In this connection Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo, before Indian Parliament, when he visited India last September, said: of thinking, and keeping Principles of Pantja Sila, peace in our part of the world cannot be assured by military pacts such as was recently concluded in Manila.

There is a better way to the preservation of peace, I mean cooperation and co-existence. In this respect the Colombo Conference has opened a new alley. This Conference had the Geneva Conference. The nations of Asia intervened, and intervened successfully. This showed the world that Asian Problems cannot be solved without Asian Nations.

Much has already been achieved; much remains to be done. The views of Asian nations have already become an important factor not only in Asian fairs but in world affairs well. The advantage we have gained must be followed up. The principles of Colombo must be followed up and they must be expanded. We, the nations of

Asia, have friends amongst the nations of the African Continent. ours; to a large extent they face the same problems. To a large extent their position is the same as close Afro-Asian co-operation can be realised, and, submit, will lead to an immense strengthening of the forces strength, the moral and the spiritual strength of the whole marching to peace. We must bear in mind that the will be greater than the strength of the individual parts. To this aim a conference of Afro-Asian countries could lay down the pattern.

We are not seeking peace for ourselves alone. Humanity the world over is crying out for peace.

Humanity is standing at the cross-roads of history, and much of the responsibility for the future of humanity rests upon us, the peoples of Asia and Africa. We must not shirk that responsibility; we must not mortgage the future we must not endanger that independence, that freedom from foreign domination against which both our nations fought so long and which cost us so many of our dearest and best sons and daughters.'

Now, Indonesia, in close cooperation with Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan, as co-sponsoring countries, is working hard for the preparation of the Asian-African Conference. The opening of the Conference fixed for 18th April and it will last for about a week.

This is the first time in Indonesia's history that she is called upon to be the host to eminent statesmen and politicians representing more than one half of the world's population. Indonesia is looking forward to welcoming them and is using all means at her disposal towards the holding of a pleasant, cordial and successful Asian-African Conference.

**Joint Communique of the Bogor Conference**

**December 29, 1954**

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 opportunity of their present meeting to review briefly, and in general terms, problems and issues of common interest and concern to them all.

3. The Prime Ministers agreed that an Asian-African Conference be held under their joint sponsorship. They also reached agreement on all consequential matters.

The purposes of the Asian-African Conference would be :

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

b. to consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented; to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g. problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism ;

d. 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 peace and cooperation.

5. The Conference will meet in Indonesia in the last week of April 1955. The Government of Indonesia 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 invite the following countries :

1. Afghanistan 2. Cambodia 3. Central African Federation 4. China 5. Egypt 6. Ethiopia 7. Gold Coast 8. Iran 9. Iraq 10. Japan 11. Jordan 12. Laos

13. Lebanon 14. Liberia 15. Libya 16. Nepal 17. Philippines 18. Saudi Arabia 19. Sudan 20. Syria 21. Thailand 22. Turkey 23. Viet-Nam-(North) 24. Viet-Nam (South) 25. Yemen

The above twenty five countries, together with the five sponsoring countries, namely, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, will, it is hoped, participate in the Conference.

7. 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 Foreign Minister together with such other representatives as cach government might wish to include in its delegation.

The Conference will determine its procedure and agenda, the general scope of which is set out in the purposes of the Conference.

The Prime Ministers wished to point out that acceptance of the invitation by any one country would in nO way involve or even imply any change in its view of the status of any 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 clarification would enable all the invited countries to accept their invitation.

10. The Prime Ministers wished 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 cessation 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 outside interference which would hinder their successful implementation.

12. The Prime Ministers in the context of their well known attitude towards colonialism, took note of the case of West Irian. The Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India and Pakistan supported the position of Indonesia in thismatter. They expressed the earnest hope that the Netherlands Government would reopen negotiations to implement their obligations under the solemn agreements concluded by them with Indonesia.

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

14. The Prime Ministers reiterated their grave concern in respect of the destructive potential of nuclear and thermonuclear explosions for experimental purposes which threaten not only their countries, but the world, and their far-reaching and yet unascertained effects which may do permanent damage to human life and civilization. They earnestly requested all concerned to bring about a cessation of such experiments. They also requested the Disarmament Commission to take this matter into immediate consideration.

15. The economic development of Asian countries, which is so urgently necessary for the happiness and wellbeing of their peoples, requires a planned approach with a view to the utilization, in the most effective manner, of the available resources: An essential pre-requisite of such an approach is full knowledge of these resources. Surveys of physical resources, particularly of the mineral and sub-soil wealth of each country, should therefore be conducted, and cooperation in the supply of technical personnel and in other ways should be made available.

16. The Prime Ministers considered that cooperation in the economic sphere for the supply of technical personnel and in all other ways should engage the attention of their Governments. They considered that a committee of experts should be set up to consider economic questions of common interest to their countries.

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 Ali Sastroamidjojo and the International News Service**

The following are highlights of Premier All Sastroamb djojo's answers to the series of questions from H. Gordon, Far Eastern Editor of the I.N.S.:

What, in your opinion is the major objective of the Afro-Asian Conference?

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 peace and cooperation\*

However, the three other points of that paragraph should not be considered as unimportant, as they contain issues which are of vital interest for the peoples of Asia and Africa in their relations between each other and the world at large.

Do you expect the Conference to take action on the issue of co-existence ? If so, what?

The problem of peaceful co-existence might come up as an item for discussion in the Conference since it not only concerns the peoples of Asia and Africa but also other nations in the world. Whether the Conference will take actions on that issue, I do not yet know.

Is there any fear the Peoples Republic of China will use the Conference simply to strengthen the role of Communism in Asia?

There is no such fear from the side of the five sponsoring Colombo countries.

What do you envisage the Conference can do to ease world tensions, particularly those between Moscow and Washington?

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 today,

What "common denominators" can be expected to unify the invited nations

Some of the "common denominators" might be the social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented in the conference since most of the invitees are today facing more or less the same economic situation in their respective countries. Another issue of common interest might be the question of colonialism.

Is the Conference fundamentally a search for political and international solidarity by the non white races of the world?

Since most of the invitees are members of the United Nations, it can be said that I will not deviate from the fundamental objective of the United Nations Charter, of which the most important one is international solidarity. I can therefore state here that it is positively not an international solidarity of the "nonwhite races'' against the "white races'

Why were the Arab nations invited, but not Israel?

Whether a country is to be invited, was decided by the five Prime Ministers unanimously, The invitation to the Arab nations was agreed upon unanimously, whereas there was no unanimity concerning Israel.

Why was Communist China invited, but not Nationalist China?

The five sponsoring countries recognize only China, that is the People's Republic of China.

Why were Vietnam and Vietminh invited, but not the Republic Korea?

As you know the five Prime Ministers of the sponsoring countries are more or less committed with regard to the issue of IndoChina, since in April 1954 when meeting for the first time in Colombo, they have taken a common stand on the Indo-China problem. The world also knows that the Colombo decision had a considerable influence on the Geneva Conference resulting in the state of affairs prevailing now in Indo-China. Now that our suggestions accepted by the Geneva Conference, we felt a special responsibility by inviting all the Into China a including South Vietnam and Vietminh (North Vietnam).

That same reasoning did not apply to Korea

What will prevent the conference from developing into an alignment against the rest of the free world under pro-Communist slogans of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism?

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 ignored or minimized by the Western world. The presumption that anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism are merely Communist slogans, indicates an ignorance of the psychological impact on the feelings prevailing today among the Asian and African nations which only recently emerged from colonial status into independence. It is therefore wrong to anticipate that the conference will develop into any alignment against or for any bloc in the world.

Will the conference leaders encourage the formation of a "third force" in world politics

No. In their joint Communique after the Bogor Conference the five Prime Ministers stated very clearly that: "They did not desire either that the participating countries should build themselves into a regional bloc",

What is your reply to the recent criticism of Secretary John Foster Dulles that the recent five-power communique was a "somewhat ambiguous document ?"

I have no official communication from the Secretary of State Mr. John Föster Dulles concerning his criticism. In my opinion the recent Five Power Communique was a clear document with a clear purpose.

World Press Opinion

ASIA AND AFRICA

Afro-Asian meeting

Con

Of the significance of the forthcoming Afro-Asia ference, for which the foundations are being laid by the Colombo Powers at Bogor, there can be no doubt. It is in response to an increasing awareness of common interests and closer bonds among those Afro-Asian Powers which have remained uncommitted to either the Communist before the

States or to the Western bloc. On many issues U.N, in deciding which, it was felt, there was a preponderance of Big Power influence, the smaller States of the Afro-Asian continents have invariably combined to exercise a moderating and restraining influence. To what extent the proposed conference will establish some form of machinerary for mutual consultations en a regular basis if, indeed, specific and formal procedure is considered necessary is a question for the main body of the AfroAsian Conference to decide for itself. The enthusiasm with which the prospects of closer co-operation among the Afro-Asian Power have been received should not blind us to the very real difficulties of forming an organisation which is not a bloc but is at the same time sufficiently cohesive to represent the interests of countries covering

so vast an area as that of the Afro-Asian continents. Clearly, anticolonialism is too negative a platform to provide the sense of contsructive purpose which alone can make the organisation truly effective and acceptable as the spokesman of the Afro-Asian peoples. .....

Much will depend on whether Peking considers itself more Asian than Communist or vice versa. If the AfroAsian Conference accomplishes nothing more than reveal to what extent Communist is willing to co-operate with its Asian neighbours and Arab States, it will be a worthy attempt on behalf of Asian solidarity. Peking will then be given an opportunity to establish its bona fides and if possible confound those sceptisc who feel that, by the fact of being Communist, China is rearer to its fellow Communist States in Europe than to its Asian neighbours with which it has racial and cultural ties.

(The Times of India, Delhi 28-12-'54).

Jakarta Conference

In a stirring speech made at a mass meeting at. Jakarta, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali has reiterated the principles of Pakistan's foreign policy in very clear terms. His bold reference to Islam as a living force drew such an applause from the audience that he had to pause several times to let the ovation die down. The fact that Mr. Mohammed Ali is the Prime Minister of an Islamic State has placed him in an enviable position to talk to the people of Indonesia as freely as he would talk to his own people. The spontaneous and overwhelming response that his speech has evoked, brings to the fore the vigour and appeal that Islam commands as a force which can transcend the barriers imposed by geography, language and customs. His performance has indeed earned Pakistan a permanent place in the hearts of the people of Indonesia.

When the Prime Minister told the people of Indonesia "When you fought for your independence, the hearts ef our people and their prayers were with you When you suffered, we suffered too in our hearts", he was not making

a diplomatic statement, but was expressing the feeling of the people of this country. We have consistently upheld the right of those peoples who are struggling to free themselves form the bondage of colonialism. Our feeling of anxiety is all the more great if the oppressed people happen to be Muslims. In the international conferences Pakistan has not missed a single opportunity to uphold the cause of these peoples. In the independence of Libya, Pakistan played no mean a part. In the last Colombo Conference, it was Pakistan which sponsored the resolution declaring the full fledged support to the liberation movement in French North Africa. Likewise in the Jakarta Conference Pakistan has again succeeded in securing a pledge from the Asian Premiers to continue supporting the North African liberation struggle.

Pakistan's stand in the Jakarta Conference regarding the solution of outstanding disputes among the participating countries, has once again placed India in a difficult position, The logic of Pakistan's plea has thwarted the endorsement

Nehru-Chou En-Lai five-point programme which would establish India's leadership over Asia. Though at the instance of Pakistan, the conference has agreed that the proposed Afro-Asian Conference was not aimed at creating regional bloc, India has not completely abandoned the ides and is reported to be busy enlisting support for her plan. The best protection against India's attempts to reduce the conference into an instrument for the enhance-sphere of its participation.

Pakistan has already proposed that Turkey should be invited in the proposed conference as she has vital interest in Asia and Africa. With the decision already taken to invite Japan to the conference, there will be a formidable combination against any attempts by any country to dominate the region. The first duty the proposed AfroAsian Conference will be towards itself. If the conference fails to solve those issues which are faced by the nations participating in this conference, it will have forfeited the claim to show the rest of the world the way to peace.

(Pakistan Standard, Karachi 1-1-'55).

This 'Afro-Asianism'

The meeting at Bogor, Indonesia, of five Asian Prime Ministers, representing the so-called Colombo Powers, has decided to issue invitations to 25 other countries besides the sponsors TO attend a larger conference planned for April this year. If every invitation is accepted, all the independent States of the two continents will gather together four months hence with two exceptions: Israel and the Union of South Africa. Thus, a new international body comprising exclusively the coloured" races and nations, seems to be taking shape. Whether this further sub-division of mankind is likely to be conducive of good for the world and the human race is problematical. The United Nations, as it exists and functions today, may be far from a perfect institution, but this attempt to create unsatisfactory what may well prove to be an even more united nations" of Asians and Africans alone is not the answer. Can it not be, that a sort of inferiority complex, magnified to international proportions, underlies the urge

to bring together the yellow, brown and black pigmented peoples in an exclusive organisation of their own ? It may be said that only loose periodical meetings, and no permanent organisation, is at present contemplated, but such moves inevitably lead to the emergence of organisation. According to the communique issued by the "Colombo Powers" which term is in itself a misnomer the which will purpose of the larger Afro-Asian meet probably result in the discovery of a new name, the

"\*Jakarta Powers", would be

"A. To promote goodwill and co-operation between the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their

mutual as well as their common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations.

"B. To consider the social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented

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

"D. 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-peace and cooperation".

With regard to "A", can such meetings alone achieve this object ? A negative answer is suggested by the failure of the first meeting In Colombo to promote "goodwill and co-operation between, for example, Bharat and Pakistan. In fact, the relationship between these two countries considerably deteriorated after that meeting. As for "B", every country in the world has its social and cultural problems, with which it deals in its own way, and in the solution of which there is not much scope fOr practical international co-operation, unless the aim is to exchange and transplant social and cultural characteristics, which would be an absurd proposition. Economic problems, no doubt, provide greater scope for co-operation and mutual help, but In this assistance of the economically advanced and flourishing nations of the rest of the world is needed even more. The cult of Afro Asian exclusiveness that is being fostered is not likely to encourage that assistance. And why under "C", does the communique mention only national sovereignty, racialism and colonialism as problems of special interest to Asia and Africa? Such vestiges of colonialism and racialism as still remain and as imply the superiority of or domination by one people over another, must no doubt be ended, but is there no racialism and colonialism inside the Afro-Asian world itself ? Do we not behold across our own frontiers a new racialism of the worst possible type rearing its ugly head, and do we not ourselves possess a neighbour who has many times in recent months attempted to be-little our own national sovereignty And most important of all, are not international goodwill and co-operation, as well 2S peace itself, threatened by the dispute over Kashmir, the people of which territory continue to groan under the yoke of an Asian country ? It is only a pretence for the "Colombo Powers" to think that while on the one hand they ignore these internal realities within the "Afro-Asian" world, they can, on the other hand, promote "world peace and co-operation" by mobilising Asia and Africa against the rest.

Our Prime Minister, Mr. Mohammed Ali, has done well to point out emphatically at Bogor, as he did on the and previous occasion at Colombo, that if such meetings conference are to serve any useful purpose the internal problems of the region, such as disputes between the conferring countries themselves, must be taken cognizance of and dealt with, instead of pretending as if they did not exist.

Last but not the least important is the question why the threat of Communism to the countries of Asia and Africa has found no mention at all in the Bogor communique ? In the communique issued after the first conference at Colombo the following important passage was included under the head "Communism and external interference" \*\*The subject of Communism in its national and international aspects was discussed. The Prime Ministers declared their unshakable determination to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external Communist, anti-Communist or other agencies. They were convinced that such interference threatened the sovereignty, security, and political independence of their respective

States

How did it come about at Bogor that in drawing up the aims and objects of the larger Asian-African conference the threat of Communism was wholly forgotten ? If the explanation is that Communist China being one of the new invitees, the mention of Communism was left out so as not to offend the susceptibilities of that country, then it would be a confession of a complete ideological surrender.

And finally the vital principle that in such conferences decisions would not be taken by a majority but only on ferring countries themselves, must be taken cognizance of and dealt with, instead of pretending as if they did not exist.

Last but not the least important is the question why the threat of Communism to the countries of Asia and Africa has found no mention at all in the Bogor communique ? In the communique issued after the first conference at Colombo the following important passage was included under the head "Communism and external interference" \*\*The subject of Communism in its national and international aspects was discussed. The Prime Ministers declared their unshakable determination to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external Communist, anti-Communist or other agencies. They were convinced that such interference threatened the sovereignty, security, and political independence of their respective

States

How did it come about at Bogor that in drawing up the aims and objects of the larger AsianAfrican conference the threat of Communism was wholly forgotten ? If the explanation is that Communist China being one of the new invitees, the mention of Communism

WaC

Communism was left out so as not to offend the susceptibilities of that country, then it would be a confession of a complete ideological surrender. decisions

And finally the vital principle that in such conferences would not be taken by a majority but only on the basis of absolute unanimity, seems to have been abandoned in practice. The Prime Minister of Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala made what one must regard as a damaging revelation when he said after the conference: "You have to abide by the majority's views and decisions at such conferences.\* Our own Prime Minister said the same thing in different words when he disclosed that the decision to invite Communist China "was not unanimous from the start." In view of this change in the procedure by which decisions are now taken at these conferences, Pakistan, we suggest, should continue to participate in them only if the original principle of no decision by majority is revived and stricly adhered to. And greater resistance should be displayed in future to "persuasion" intended to obtain unanimity at the sacrifice of the principles for which Pakistan stands.

(Dawn, Karachi2-1-'55).

Brown man's burden.

The peoples of Africa, on their tortuous path to freedom, look to the peoples living in Asia for spiritual and moral support. They believe that Asia which has but recently been living in subjection will look on their problems sympathetically.

Africa is the most glaring example of imperialist exploitation and the continent in which the enslavement of men has reached its most degrading depths. The vestiges of coloniallism survive in other lands, too, and the peoples of Goa, Irian, Malaya, Guiana, and Cyprus are in the melancholy list of those denied the right of self-determination.

The conference of the Colombo Powers will lay its plans for a meeting of the Afro-Asian powers to discuss colonialism. It is an encouraging thought that whatever unity exists already among the peoples in this region is built around

a sympathetic concern for the oppressed colonial peoples. Vague though the cohesion of this block is it shows itself, in the United Nations especially, through the Arab Asian group which springs into action as soon as it hears a report of ruthless colonial exploitation or the suppression through force of arms of a people's urge to freedom. So far the anxiety of the Free Asian nations and that of the Arab powers who, too, will take part in the AfroAsian conference, has been excited mostly when the simmering unrest of the colonial peoples has erupted in violence. They need now to be vigilant on the normal conduct of colonial affairs to see how the transfer of power to indigenous peoples may be accelerated.

The colonial powers, it is true, have defined their aims as the progressive realisation of self-government. Sometimes the formula is varied to one of "partnership", All these are invariably unctuous terms intended to soften the harsh fact of ruling land and exploiting its resources primarily for the benefit of its White overlords.

To the microscopic minority of White settlers "progressive realisation of self-government" means a convenient process by which they will continue to dominate large colored majorities, and they, their sons and their sons' sons will enjoy the exclusive privileges they have arbitrarily created for themselves.

And "partnership", as a survey made in this issue of Jana indicates is understood by the dominant White group to be an arrangement in which they take the profits and the coloured races all the risks.

Unless the Colombo powers, and later the Afro-Asian group, mean merely to pass a platitudinous resolution saying they abhor colonialism they must exert themselves to see how their solicitude for the freedom of the colonial peoples can be translated into fruitful action.

There is much they can do immediately to achieve peacefully a transfer of power.

Those Colombo Powers for instance, who are members of the British Commonwealth could exert their friendly persuasion on Britain as the single largest colonial power to speed up the pace at which power is being transferred to the nationals of a country. A similar attitude may be induced in the other colonial powers through the agencies of the United Nations.

In the concept of "trusteeship" the nations of the world have acknowledged that others besides the colonial powers may take an interest in the welfare of the colonial peoples. It is irrelevant to dismiss such concern as interference in the domestic affairs of a nation. But \*trusteeship" as it is now operated by the UN is generally ineffective.

The Colombo Powers should note, too, that the patterns of political suppression have increased. While the imperial domains of the European Powers are shrinking, a new slavery has arisen in the rule of Soviet Communism arbitrarily imposed through the force of the Red Army on the countries of Eastern Europe. The Free Asian Nations of civil liberties cannot be indifferent to the suppression and human rights in the satellite states of Sovietised Europe.

Action which will bring freedom to all the oppressed peoples, however, is not full measure of the obligations which the Free Asian nations must assume towards the colonial peoples.

The transfer of power, for instance, will create now problems of administration. In the African regions and in her onionial was either through a deliberate policy of the rulers or as result of the cultural backwardness of some of its peoples skilled indigenous administrators are scarce. The Asian nations which have developed their own häministrative skills can assist the peoples of the colonies to develop these talents.

Whether they are the inhabitants of the older colonies or of the new Soviet imperialisms they have a similar problem of under-developed economies. The Free Asian nations which are themselves struggling to overcome the difficulties inherent economies can pass the experience they aou colonial peoples as they emerge into freedom.

The brown man, 100, has a burden to carry in a world where insecurity and unrest in one regi threatens the peace and stability of all.

(Jana, Colomba January, 1955)

"Neutral strip"

The mere fact that the proposal for a neutral peace, from Egypt to the Philippines, which is to be the purpose of the Afrasian Conference contemplated by the C-Power promiers, has the endorsement of Red China should make it suspect to all men of decent minds. Peace is indivisible. It must be global in concept and implementation, or it is not peace. If the moving spirits behind the Afrasian Conference, as projected, think that they can enclose the region between Egypt and the Philippines in a sort of verbal barbed-wire stockade through which war with its terrors, however it may rage outside, will never penetrate, then they are deluding themselves and all who follow them most sadly and most stupidly.

The arbitrary delineation of the "peace strip" itself anomalous, It comprises some of the most backwand nations on the globe: The combined influence of their peoples can be no more than sentimental, with an appeal to the sympathies of the great powers r to their epidity, as the case may be. Recent history is the best source to which one may turn to determine which of the powers are more distinguished cupidity than sympathy.

As to the practical value of such \*neutral" strip, one wonders what possible defence it could offer if Red China were to strike, for instance, through Malaya and IndoChina to the southeast of Asia: if the USSR were to drive-through Iran and Eastern Turkey to the southwest, and if both should essay the latest in the endless story of conquests of India through Afghanistan and Tibet.

Perhaps it is careful calculation which delimits the western and eastern boundaries of the neutral peace strip" by position where Britain and the United States sizeable defense "anchors." Denial to these two powers of the use of the area between, where the blow south is sure to come, is certain to earn the approval of Piping as it already has done.

(The Manila Times, 1-1-55),

By Fareydun Sadri

The Conference is dawn which may be said to ensure peace in Asia, and be instrumental to bring about unity among its member countries. It is hoped that in the future through economic co-existence and cordial reciprocity war and bloodshed will not be allowed to penetrate in Asia.

(Elmi, Iran 9-1-55),

AUSTRALIA

Very close to home Australia's sincere good wishes will go out to Afro-Asian Powers who will confer in Djakarta in April

A vast number of them live in the territory that umbrellas our northern seaboard.

And Conference decisions could affect us as much any participating Power.

It is disappointing therefore, that the not invited this country to Djakarta. that the organisers have

Mr. Nehru's view that we do not is difficult to accept. not qualify geographically

And, despite our difference of opinion with Indonesia over West New Guinea, we have proved our good neighborliness, Australia was Indonesia's most active ally in that nation's

UN fight for nationhood.

Australia originated the Colombo plan, and persuaded other Powers (including Britain) to support it.

And besides allocating millions of pounds to implement the Plan we also support UN Asian aid programmes. that Asian and African These things aside, however, it is perhaps a good thing peoples should work together on mutual problems.

These problems are tremendous, and will not be beaten by aid programmes or individual effort.

Some nations would have been happier if the Djakarta Conference had been called under UN auspices.

But this was out of the question, because some Powers (including Japan and Red China) essential to the parley's effectiveness are not UN members.

However, with genuine peace-lovers like Mr. Nehru and Mr. Mohammed Ali playing leading roles, the Djakarta Conference could prove of wide benefit.

(Daily Telegraph, Sydney 4-1-'55).

Turn to the wheel

Decisions by the "Colombo Premiers' are of deep significance to Australia and the Western world. Their invitation to 25 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 West New Guinea though not unexpected, should show Australians where the sympathies of most of their near neighbours lie.

The Colombo Premiers were insistent that their sole object in calling the conference of Asian and African countries was to promote understanding. But another note was sounded when the Premier of Ceylon said he saw no reason for inviting South Africa to join. The reason given for the omission was, "We are not allowed there, so why should we ask them here\*?

There is no suggestion that Communist influence has dictated the decisions, but they are in the Communist tradition and undoubtedly play into the hands of Communis propagandists.

Australia and the Western world desire and need the friendship of these nations. The West is showing its good faith ina practical way through the Colombo plan, which has already given all the "Colombo Premiers" help and will give more.

Quite clearly, however, more than economic or military aid is needed. These potentially great nations of the future are demanding the equality of friendship as well as its material benefits. The The Western world would do well to decide without delay what it proposed to do about it. (Examiner, Tasmania 30-12-54).

EUROPE

Afro-Asian Talks in Indonesia The Afro-Asian conference which is to meet almost certainly at Bandung at the end of April is to have the widest possible representation. and no less wide opportunities in drawing up its own agenda. A statement issued to-night at the close of the meeting at Bogor of the five Prime Ministers of the Colombo Powers invite: says that the joint sponsors of the conference are to Afghanistan, Cambodia, etc.

The long statement issued emphasizes in phrase after uncommittedphrase the general get togetherness"and ness of the proposed conference. Co-operation, mutual interest, cultural relations, economic relations, the promotion of peace these are the recurring phrases, and if colonialism, something more precise, like racialism and can be picked out, it is hardly surprising. The only conclusion can be that with such a heterogeneous collection of guests what comes out of it will depend on what is put into it, and as the task of drawing up the agenda has been left tO conference itself there is little to go on.

Getting Acquainted. will

Those to be invited are assured that their presence involve DO commitments or any change in their attitude to other participating States and that there is no intention

of changing forms of government or ways of life. The sponsors are motivated by no desire for exclusiveness, and have no intention of forming regional blocs. The basic purpose is to become better acquainted with one another and with one another's points of view.

What some of these points of view may be is revealed

The visiting in some other paragraphs of the statement.

Prime Ministers took note of the Indonesian position on Western New Guinea and gave it their support; they supported nationalist demands in Tunisia and Morocco unofficial representatives of which have been buzzing expressed around the fringes of the Bogor meeting grave concern at thermonuclear experiments, and hoped that the Geneva agreement would be fully respected, with that no outside interference. They concluded by hoping 1955 would be a year of friendly co-operation.

The statement admits, however, that much of the interest of the conference will revolve round the inclusion of

China. Clearly, if tension is to be eased or the blocs brought closer together, the Colombo Colombo Powers are are best equipped to it. There was, however, some opposition to the inclusion of China from Pakistan and Ceylon. But the recent visit of Mr. Nehru and U NU to that country and, it is reliably reported, the assurance given to U NUin Peking that China would welcome an invitation were sufficient to turn the scales.

As to the inclusion of Japan the opposition came from Indonesia, but was evidently not pressed. Obviously Japan is anxious to find her way back to the Asian scene politically as well as economically, and the new Government in Tokyo may find the invitation most timely. Support for Japan seems to have come particularly from the Burmese Prime Minister, if one may judge from remarks he made when addressing school children that morning of December 29, 1945, when they gave a concert as an entertainment to the Prime Ministers before the conference began. He quoted Japan as an instance of an Asian country which was not very rich materially, but whose strength lay in her sons and daughters,-whose loyalty had contributed to making Japan a first-class Power.

It was again U NU and Mr. Nehru who drew the attention of the conference to Viet Nam, Laos, and Cambodia. Both Prime Ministers have passed that way lately, and Mr. Nehru has ample information at his disposal from the Indian staff of the international commissions in all three countries. Obviously this is an area which the Colombo Powers are interested in watching.

The Indian and Burmese Prime Ministers also gave some account of their impressions of China, and seem to have given a favourable verdict on that country as co-operative and peace-loving.

There is a feeling that the proposed conference will be rather too vague and purposeless, not to say heterogeneous, if all those invited accept, Perhaps the whole thing has been left vague lest any feeling of failure should cloud the participants if precise goals were aimed at.

(The Times, London 30-12-'54).

In April the A-A Conference on the Island of Java

The conference of the five Prime Ministers of the "'Colombo group as INDIA, PAKISTAN, CEYLON, INDONESIA and BURMA have been called started in an atmosphere of great cordiality at Bogor, Indonesia's summer capital The five Premiers, Nehru, Sastroamidjojo, Mohammad Ali, U NU and Kotelawala had a thorough exchange of viewpoints regarding the arguments which have to be discussed by the conference and regarding the countries which will be invited to participate. There should not be any disagreements about the first point, because the conference will examine suitable means for a relaxation of tension in Asia as well as in the rest of the world, and all agree on this point, Disagreements might arise regarding the invitations to be sent to some countries, first of all to the People's Republic of China and secondly to Israel.

Regarding the latter, the opposition comes from the

Arab countries which lately assumed an increasingly rigid attitude towards the Tel-Aviv government and which miss no chance to isolate the Jewish State more and more.

The question of the invitation of China is more complicated. India, Burma and Indonesia are favourably inclined towards including the Peking government among those due to be permitted to participate in the conference, while Pakistan and Ceylon though they have not assumed 3 contrary attitude are rather reserved and diffident on this issue. It is feared that the presence of the Chinese delegates might induce some of the Asian countries, such as the Philippines and Siam, which have not recognized the Peking government, to desert the conference. In fact, there are-already rumours according to which America is bearing pressure to induce these two countries to assume a similar attitude.

In this connection we must recall that Siam and the Philippines belong to SEATO, whose function is decidedly anti-Chinese, and therefore it is, apparently; being consi dered that their presence at the same conference table with the People's Republic of China would be rather anachronistic.

These arguments are, howèver, being rejected by Nehru and U NU, who pointed out that, above all, the people's Republic of China is fully authorized to participate in said conference in so far as she has fully recognized and approved the famous "five points" of the Colombo plan, which represent the foundation of solidarity and friendship among the Asian nations. After all, the Bandung conference is not supposed to produce the formation of a political and military Afro-Asian bloc, but should only serve the purpose of discussing and approving some fundamental principles which might be the same "five points" of Colombo insofar as they could serve as a presupposition and guiding principle for the relations between the two continents.

The importance of next April's conference, the foundations of which were laid last May during the meeting of the five Premiers at Colombo, can easily be evaluated if we consider the fundamental part played by the Asian countries and particulary by India during the last year. It is sufficient to recall the happy results achieved by the Geneva conference for peace in Indochina, the success of which was greatly due to India's acting as intermediary. The task of the next Bandung conference in which some countries will participate will be the unification of the forces of the Afro-Asian countries; for the realization of peace policies and the creation of an area of security and stability in that vast part of the world. It would be absurd to exclude China from the number of the invited powers. (Avanti, Italy 29-12-'54).

What Bogor Conference Showed American ruling circles are now devoting all efforts in order to hamper Bandung conference or at least to get the conference to limit itself to discussion on cultural and economic relations and not touch political problems. USA would like to turn the conference into teaparty wich

would not impose any obligation. Dulles Department already taken counter measures in connection with forthcoming Bandung conference. It decided 10 send its emissaries to Asian countries. General Paoshrianon director general Thailand police who recently visited USA being sent to Indonesia and Burma. Fieldmarshal Pinchunhavan deputy Prime Minister Thailand being sent to Laos and another deputy Prime Minister of Thailand being sent

to Cambodia. The Thailand is given important role in American attempt to hamper the success of the conference. Manocuvres of State Department prove blindness of imperialists who don't want to see awakened peoples ofEast and haveenough power and resolutions to decide their fate of themselves. The convening of Bandung conference will mean practical carrying out of peaceful co-existence. (Literary Gazette, Moscow 6-1-'55).

AMERICA

Today and Tomorrow (By Walter Lippmann)

As the old year was coming to an end, there became visible something of the shape of things to come. I know that in a venture of this sort we are all of us like the blind men in the fable who were trying to describe the-shape of the elephant from what they could learn by touching it But there have been three stories in the past three weeks which, that we put together, foretell something big and important shall be running into.

One is the crisis of indecision in the French Parliament in the world. The on the role of France in Europe and heart of this crisis has been that the democratic Assembly is so divided in its aims and so contradictory in its views that it cannot render a firm judgment about the vital interests of France. This malady of the French democracy iS not confined to France. Our own Congress, for and confusion example, is in a similar state of deadlock over our policy in the Far East. The members of Congress are so divided within their own mind, they are so committed by the many statements and speeches they have made, that they cannot go beyond saying no to those who want to make war and no to those who do not.

and Peking have for The second story is that Moscow rather the time being returned to the tactic of increasing This is understandable than of relaxing the tension. face of the Western enough in regard to Europe in the push to rearm Germany. But the German problem is chosen the connot a sufficient explanation of why Peking has also this time to increase the tension by such acts as

For when Peking made viction of the American airmen. this decision the American policy in the Far East was modification of limiting the Nationalist's practical aims to the defense of Formosa and undergoing the important in withdrawing the Pescadores. This was a decisive step

American support from counter-revolution in China. Yet Peking chose that moment to exacerbate the relations not only with the United States but with the European nations who fought with the United States in Korea.

The third big story at the year's end is probably the biggest of all. It is the decision at Jakarta by the Prime of Pakistan

Ministers of the Colombo powers, that is to say India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia, to call a conference in April of the thirty "independent governments" of Asia and Africa. The more closely onc reads the text of this historic communique, the plainer it is that we and our afford leading European allies are not going to be able to the luxury of parliamentary confusion and delay which and firm prevents our governments from making clear decisions in Asia and in Africa. The fixing of April as a date for the meeting of the Asian-African conference is in effect the setting of a kind of deadline for a great many issues, such as Formosa, and perhaps North Africa as well which will have to be much more clearly dealt with than they are now.

Let us have no illusions about the fact that the United

States and its leading allies in Western Europe are going to be the judged and not the judges at this April conference. The official communique all but says inso many words that the conference will consider our intentions. in Formosa Africa and and Korea, the French intentions in North in New Guinea, South Viet Nam, the Netherlands position the British in such places as Cyprus.

The list of the non-invited countries is interesting. Among the countries which are in Asia as a matter of geography, the non-invited are the Soviet Union, Australia and New Zealand, North and South Korea, Nationalist China and of

Israel. There appear to have been two main criteria non-admission. One is to be now a satellite or colony of criterion is not to the West. Formosa and Korea are not to be treated as "independent governments". The second be of Asian stock, as the Soviet Union, Australia and New

Zealand are not. evident that this is no mere attempt to make a neutral The list of the states they did not invite makes it very 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 members of this conference are to include all the great Asian powers foremost among them India, Pakistan, Japan and China. The conference intends to promote economic, social and cultural cooperation. But the least common denominator among the members the sentiment which unites them most easily, is their alignment on what the communique describes as "problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and of colonialism. The United States and its allies are going to be put on the defensive, and they had better not lose much time seeing to it that the positions they are going to defend are in fact defensible.

So far as we are concerned. Formosa is the place of greatest vulnerability. It is vulnerable not perhaps because there is danger of war but because of the danger of our finding ourselves isolated from and at odds with the massive sentiment of rican position in all of Asia. In point of fact the Amerational and, therefore, Formosa is by way of becoming more more intelligible and defensible.

But this is being done surreptitiously, indeed it appears that it is being done by the dubious device of secret clauses attached to open treaties. The reason for this iS not wholly face but mainly because Congress iS supposed to be unwilling to up to a rational and workable decision.

In Washington, in Paris, and In some degree in all the

democratic capitals, the question is whether the elected assemblies will support those revisions of judgment and those decisions of policy which are called for by the swift march of world events.

(New York Herald Tribune, 4-1-'55).

A conference on a grand scale

There is an element of unreality about the "AfricanAsian" conference which the five Colombo power Premiers propose to hold next April. These five statesmen representing India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Burma and Indonesia have themselves a fair amount of subjects to discuss which they hold in common. The conference they now propose to hold will have no binding quality.

Offhand, indeed, it is possible to think of only two common qualities. One is that all the nations involved are non-white. The other is that all of them have emerged, or are emerging, from some form of subject or inferior states. As that status was imposed in all cases by the white peoples of the western world, they all hold strong views on the subject of colonialism which, it is expected, will bulk largely on the proposed conference's agenda. What makes for the conference's unreality is, however, the fact that the practical issues that now face this substantial group Some of them indeed of powers are now by no means the same. are barely on speaking terms, and distrust their neighbours deeply. An example of this is

ho be found in the fact that no invitation will be sent Israel. Israel were invited, so the argument runs, the Moslem powers would not attend. Israel of course belongs at such a conference as much as any of the others. Israck when Palestine was a British mandate, learned much about "colonialism" in broad sense. But the common bond which exists among all of them because of colonialism is overlooked in Israel's case because Israel's neighbours are virtually in a state of war with it Similar difficulties exist in the case of India and Pakistan which. in 1947, partitioned the Indian sub-continent between them and have since fallen out violently over the major boundary dispute involved in the future of Kashmir. There are also reports that, if Red China is invited some of the sponsoring powers won't even turn up There is fear in Asia over China's ambitions, and that fear grows stronger as the feeling of Asiatic identity loses its original driving force.

It seems likely then that the conference, if and when takes place, will spend its time drawing up resounding declarations of broad general principles. The text of each resolution will be carefully combed to make sure it does not interfere with complete freedom of action of each nation represented. They will be against the old colonial order of things They will be for nationalism and independence. They will also probably declare that the big world power struggle with its poles in Washington and Moscow is something to stay out of.

\*Peace, it's wonderful", will be the slogan, but whether it is necessary t0 hold a vast conference in order to recite the phrase in chorus is something that can be questioned. (The Montreal Star, 12-29-'54).

Asian powers at work for peace

Common problems and common danger have disposed the countries of Southeast Asia to draw closer together, even though serious political differences divide some of them, The Colombo powers, so-called because their leaders first met in Ceylon, are conferring now in jakarta, Indonesia, and their main purpose is to plan a broader Afro-Asian meeting there in April. Their aim is to preserve an arca ol peace in a troubled world, for war could ruin their hopes of a better life in their populous lands. India is prepared to give "peaceful co-existence" with Communist China chance, and no one could do more than Prime Minister Nebru has done to establish good relations with Peking. If in the future those relations change for the worse, it is not likely to be India's fault. To assume that peaceful co-existence is possible, and to act-on this assumption while at the same time giving due attention to defence, is a more hopeful policy than stubborn hostility

Premier U NU of Burma has carried a step further the Indian policy of good will and good offices. He rejects

the policy of anti-Communist alliance, considers passive co-existence inadequate, and favors active friendship toward all other powers.

This policy ought, as a matter of fact, to commend itself to those powers that regard themselves as predominantly Christian. Active friendship, again, does not preclude keeping the powder dry. it does, or would put into effect, give efforts to stabilize peace a maximum chance of success. Burma's advocacy of active friendship is an important contribution to thought about inter: national affairs.

(Ontawa Citizen, 12-30234).

Warning and challenge

momentous conference, the like of which has not been seen on earth before, is to take place next April in the Indonesian mountain city of Bandung. If all the invitatons are accepted, thirty Asian and African countries, inhabited by half of mankind, will be represented. The meeting will offer a warning and.a challenge to the other half of the human race, and especially to-the nations of the

Commonwealth.

The list of people bidden to Bandung is unique in two respects. brings together Asian and. African leaders unaccustomed to exchanging ideas except in the United Nations Assembly: and it brings together the spokesmen of states at different stages of political development, unaccustomedto meeting anywhere. There are sovereign nations on the list Turkey, Egypt and Japan among them. There are communities still under some form of tutelage or external control. shaky though it may be the Gold Coast, the Sudan, the Indo-China states and others.

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 more 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, they have a lower standard of living, measuring welfare by thedistribution of material of course, goods, than is enjoyed in other continents. This, to Bandung is obvious. What is significant about the call is that the common plight of Asians and Africans has been recognized and proclaimed in Asia.

It is true that the invitation to the Conference does not speak directly of grievances. The five inviting countries India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia refrained from suggesting an Afro-Asian bloc with revolutionary aims. Their objectives, however, are plain on the agenda they have proposed. Colonialism, racialism and economic problems are to be discussed. Bids to the Red regimes in China and Northern Vietnam are an acknowledgment of communism as a factor in Asia's upheaval.

South Africa, headquarters of discrimination against the Negro, has been pointedly excluded from the list of guests. Any working combination of African and Asian peoples to banish Western influence from their two continents may and be a genciation away. Seething discontent in Africa Asia is a current fact and Bandung may prove to be a rallying point. The fortunate nations of the carth have much to offer to the discontented in their search for liberty

and well-being. They can offer political education, economic help and, above all, friendship. The British Common wealth, to which three of the five Bandung hosts belong, is especially well quipped for the job. Unfortunately, its English-speaking members as a group are doing woefully little about it.

(.The Globe and Mail", Toronto 1-5-55).