PREMIER NEHRU

'Asian-African Conference essentially an experiment in co-existence"

This address to the Indian Parliament on February

25, 1955, Premier Nehru stated the following with regard to the Asian-African Conference

"I was mentioning just now the change in Asia which is taking many forms, Presently, in the course of about seven weeks there is going to be a conference at Bandung in Indonesia, an Asian-African Conference it is called, to which number of countries, independent countries of Asia and Africa, have been invited. So far as I know, every country that has been invited is likely to attend. am not quite sure, all the answers have not come, but think they will all attend.

Now, what this Conference say. I cannot, it is not is going to do exactly I cannot countries to draw up to me or even to the sponsoring up their will decide. agenda. It is the Conference that But, I was a little surprised to learn that hon. Member, Mr. Asoka Metha, said something about this of Conference drawing up a vast programme for the liberation suppressed countries. tion of Now, we are all for the liberasuppressed countries. There is no doubt about that.

But the idea of associating this Conference with a programme of this type seems to me to misunderstand completely the purpose of this Conference.

Are we going to set up an agitation there? The House will are represented. In fact, Prime Ministers are remember this is an official-level Conference. Governments are represented. In fact, Prime Ministers are represented. And in the Conference there are completely different ideologies and political and economic structures so to say, the Conference there are completely different.

There are countries in this Conference, which are aligned to this great Power Bloc or the other Power Bloc, and there are countries like India and Burma and Indonesia and others, which are not aligned with any. So, here we meet this curious assortment of countries of Asia and Africa, with certainly much in common, and also much not in common. It is going to be an extraordinary meeting. And yet, the mere fact of our meeting is of the highest significance. It is the first time place. that such a meeting is taking It does represent rather unconsciously, subconsciously, Asia and Africa coming to the forefront. I do not know whether this idea was present in the mind of the original sponsor of this Conference wholly, but because the

of the times, and proposal was made at the right time, it fitted into the spirit this Conference has thus got an importance of very high significance.

Obviously, a Conference of this to discuss type is hardly likely tries highly controversial issues as between the counrepresented there. Also, if I opinion, I hope it does not function may express my OWn a rival as if it was setting up

I may use group to others. It is essentially an experiment, if ment in countries of Asia and the word, in co-existence, essentially an experiare inclined this Africa, some of which way, and some the other way in regard way,

10 the Power Blocs, meeting together, meeting in a friendly co-operate in the economic field, the cultural field or even and trying to find what common ground there is to is, from the point of view not only of Asia but of the world, the political field. Therefore, this is a development, which of great importance".

World Press Opinion

ASIA AND AFRICA

AFRO-ASIAN CONFAB

The proposed conference has been the talk of the world for the principal reason that it is the first of its kind in displaying political solidarity between the Asian and African countries, great land masses which are the home of half of the world population. What would greatly enthuse and hearten the promoters of this conference, especially the host country of Indonesia, is the fact that it has generally received a most favourable reaction in the world press.

From the Soviet bloc journals, praise for the projected Afro-Asian conference sounds unqualified and unequivocal. Said the Polish newspaper "Trybuna Lubu": "During the past few years no other continent has seen so much stormy development and experienced so many major political changes in Asia. Among these changes are the victorious revolution in China, the independence achieved by the Vietnamese people in their struggle for national liberation, the birth of friendly relations among new Asian states irrespective of their social system, the determined stand taken by Asian countries against colonialism and isolation of the imperialist puppets. The resolutions of the Bogor conference reflect the great changes that are taking place in the world, particularly Asia". The "Szabab Nep", organ of the Hungarian Working People's Party, comments that the conference will be an important factor in easing international tension. Similar sentiments were also the keynote of the "Nhandan", organ of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party. So much for the opinions of one side.

The attitude of the Western Powers to the conference is one of caution and curiosity. Western Governments have not publicized their view on the topic; but Western observers are busy judging the possiblities that may arise out of the Afro-Asian conference generally by examining the character of its would-be participants. Some of them, indeed, belittle the importance and value of the conference. Still the popular American political writer Walter Lippman frankly upheld that the communique issued at the Bogor meeting was a warning signal to the West to be more realistic and less vacillating in their policies concerning Africa

and Asia. The opening date of the Afro-Asian conference, in his opinion, "sets the deadline for a great many issues, such as Formosa and perhaps North Africa as well." He considers that the Afro-Asian conference will be the judgment day by the East of the Western Powers who "are going to find themselves at odds with massive sentiments of Asia." He calls for a revision of policies on the East by the Western Powers in time.

The Afro-Asian conference is decidedly of vital necessity from the standpoint of many countries who have agreed to lend their participation. The least value it canhave is to be the true forum of Afro-Asian opinion which does not always find its proper outlet in the United Nations and other world councils where Western political sway is indisputably in evidence. Yet the swift changes of world politics have affected these Afro-Asian nations in the last decade more than they have experienced before. They do want to help relax international tension, further the principles of co-existence, halt imperialism and promote prospects of world peace. And they want to do it in a manner most natural and suitable for them. The decisions and programme adopted at the Afro-Asian conference will also form the guiding principle of the foreign policies of the majority of the governments in two continents.

(Burma Star, Burma, 29-1-'54).

KOREAN PAPER HAILS ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Convening of the Asian-African Conference will be of historical significance in the life of the peoples in these two continents and in international affairs, says an article in the newspaper "Mindu Chosen".

The Korean people warmly hail the conference because to preserve and consolidate peace in Asia is in accord with their national interest. They wish that the conference will achieve positive results in preserving and consolidating peace in these two continents and in promoting cooperation and friendship among the countries there, the article adds.

The Korean people hold that the conference should open its door to other countries in these areas which have not been invited because this will enable it to realize its goal more satisfactorily. Undoubtedly, the larger the number of countries in these areas which participate in it the greater would be its success.

("Mindu Chosen," Pyongyang, 9-1-'55).

EGYPT AND THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Under the above headline, in today's issue, "Al-Akhbar" says that preparations are being speedily made for the departure of delegations to the forthcoming Asian-African Congress to be held in Bandung. As a tance the proof of imporis that

Egyptian government attaches to the Congress Premier Lt. Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser will personally be at the head of the Egyptian delegation.

It adds that besides the Congress is the first organised effort the universally recognized fact that and African by the Asian peoples in the international field, it should also be pointed out that the various that the various delegations meet without having in mind any intention of supporting a world against particular the other.

This, it continues, should render the Congress extremely useful because it will free the members from any spirit of partiality which may aggravate the present international tension. It is merely a congress representing a vast area of the globe the peoples of which are desirous of defending themselves against any attempt to encroach upon their right to independence and liberty without having any territorial ambitions of any kind.

It goes on to say that they will not form a bloc but will achieve rapprochement for the purpose of unifying plans and objectives.

There is also no doubt, it says, that the Congress will deal with such serious problems as the racial distinction policy in South Africa Africa which remains as a curse to the resources of Asian-African countries. peoples and the development of the economic

Greatest Country in Africa Continuing, it says dent country in Africa and the says that Egypt, as the greatest indepenleader of Arab nations, will play an important role in the Congress, her chief

objective being that Asia and Africa should be entirely freed from imperialist domination.

Concluding, the paper stresses that an important fact will emerge from the congress: The Great Powers will no longer have the right to dispose as they please of small or under-developed nations.

Such a trend, it declares, will certainly contribute to the preservation of world peace, particularly as it will not longer be possible to force Asian-African peoples blindfolded to the massacres of major wars in which they have not the least interest.

(Mena, 7-3-'55).

AMERICA ENCOURAGES HER ALLIES IN THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Some of the Diplomatic Representatives of the States Allied to America which have been invited to attend the Bandung Conference stated today that America is encouraging her allies among the Asian and Middle Eastern States to participate in the Asian-African Conference to be held in Indonesia in April next for fear lest the Chinese Communists and "Neutrals" spread their influences on the two Conferences.

These diplomatists assert that the Philippines, Siam and Japan have accepted the invitation to the Conference after it had discussed the matter from all viewpoints with the American responsible authorities, and they are inclined to the beliefs that Turkey which had no intention first to attend the Conference has subsequently accepted the invitation as a result of the encouragement it received from the American authorities.

American Government attitude Responsible authorities in Washington declare that Pakistan, one of the five Colombo States which have sponsored the Bandung Conference is considered among the States friendly to America and can be relied upon to resist Communist and neutral pressure. The United States attitude towards the conference can be summed up in refrainment from all comment on the arrangements which are the being made for its convocation or from pressure on States to take part therein so long as it has not been invited to attend. Yet Diplomatic Circles in Washington assert non official that responsible Americans in the course of conversations with the representatives of the Middle Eastern and Asian States friendly to America that WasConference hington looks forward to their attending the and expressing their views on the questions under discussion.

American Proposals The American authorities stressed the following points of to the Course of their talks with the representatives the Philippines, Siam, Japan and other States opposed to

Communism who are among these invited to Bandung

Conference:

1. A delegation should be selected from among the representatives of these powers efficient and intelligent enough to know what is going on and to express with clarity and force its view points.

2. The delegation of States opposed to communism should be prepared to refute communist arguments aiming at winning the sympathy of neutrals among the representatives of the Asia-African States.

3. Preparations to submit practical proposals for cultural and economical cooperation among the States represented at Bandung. Such cooperation would render an invaluable service to the Asia-African cause.

Japan and her neighbour The American officials, consider that the Asian African Conference will give a good opportunity for Japan to reconnect her friendly relations with her Asian neighbours who cut relations with her ever since last war.

The American's point of view which was declared to Asian diplomats are that America fears that Communists China will use the Bandung Conference for propaganda purposes. The Americans say that the conference will be a great benefit if the member States avoid criticising the western camp and try only to design a practical policy for the development of their own countries.

(Al-Ahram, Cairo, 2-2-'55).

THE SOLUTION

In consideration of the fact that the Indonesian government, through an authorized spokesman, has virtually vetoed the appointment of Ambassador Romulo as chief of the Philippine delegation to the Afrasian conference at Bandung in April, the government is faced with a delicate problem in protocol.

The Indonesians and their co-sponsors insist that the chief delegates be either prime ministers or foreign ministers of the governments concerned. Now it is clearly out of the question for the President of the Philippines to head such a delegation. In the first place he has too much to do at home, and in the second place the conference, however important it may seem to its sponsors, is hardly of sufficient importance to require the presence of a chief of state. And in our system, fortunately, we are not burdened with a prime minister who holds office at the pleasure of a constantly shifting "majority" in the legislature.

The position held by the foreign secretary, who is also the vice-president, is also such as to preclude his being drafted for the mission.

There remains, then, a choice among the among the diplomaticallyqualified men in and out of the government, and of these Ambassador Romulo clearly is the best choice

If protocol at Bandung operates against his appointment in his present official position, the President need only to appoint him minister without portfolio to give him the rank required by the protocol-minded-sponsors of the

Conference. will have Considering that the Chinese communist regime a good deal to say, the Philippines clearly needs to be represented by the one Asian diplomat who has been able to stand up to the communists in a much wider arena than the Conference hall at Bandung and to make the communists back down.

(Manila, The Manila Times, 17-2-'55).

JAPAN SHOULD ATTEND A-A CONFERENCE

The holding of the A-A Conference was decided at the Southeast Asian 5-Premier Conference held at Bogor ID Indonesia at the end of last year. The common objective is said to investigate the joint interest to the AfroAsian countries and to reciprocally increase the goodneighbor and friendship relations of each other. The invitation letters were dispatched to 25 Afro-Asian countries including Japan and Red China. The session is for around a week beginning from April 18. The place for the Conference is decided to-be Bandung. A formal invitation of Premier Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia representing the inviting countries was received by Premier Hatoyama recently. Japan nOW faces the fortheoming general election. As was stated by Foreign Minister Shigemitsu, whether er not Japan presents herself to this Conference should be ultimately decided upon by the new Administration which will come out after the general elections; however, whatever Cabinet is to appear, Japan should attend the Conference. Japan, which has been called the orphan of Asia for 10 years after the war, should not denounce the best

break to utterance attending the Asian country-held Conference. Japan should neither be reserved nor be hesitant to accept the chance, but should dispatch her representative willingly to the prospective Conference.

Undoubtedly, in order to attend the Afro-Asian Conference, Japan has to make various preparations. Foreign Minister Shigemitsu may have included the above when he had talked of Japan's preparation to attend the

Conference.

Firstly, West European Powers including the U.S., the U.K: and France, has some doubts to the character of the Afro-Asian Conference from the right beginning. It may be-that the Conference is said to introduce on the agenda of the Conference the issues of national sovereignty, racialism, colonialism, etc., as ones common to the attending Afro-Asian Countries.

Secondly, included among the invited countries are Japan and Red China; however, the neighboring countries R.O.K. and Nationalist China (Taiwan) are excluded out of the make-up, and the so-called Colombo countries are made nucleus of the Conference. Whether or not the countries like the Thailand and the Philippines which are membered among the Free Nation camp will absent themselves from the Conference is not clear yet. However, as long as the Leftist Socialist Party does not organize the new Cabinet, Japan will naturally attend to the Conference on the standpoint of the Free Nations. Japan's insistence must be definitely clear toward the Communist countries and peace area countries. In order to understand the reciprocal viewpoints of the countries concerned as has been made the fundamental objectives of the Conference, the above mentioned is after all inevitable.

(Mainichi Shimbun, Japan, 27-1-'55).

EUROPE

FOR A LASTING PEACE FOR PEOPLE'S

DEMOCRACY by: T. Sambor

The second tries of South-East Asia meeting of five Prime Ministers of the counand Pakistan took India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon to convene a Conference of 30 countries of Asia and at the end of December. A decision was taken at the meeting place in the Indonesian town of Bogor year.

Africa in Bandung (Indonesia) at the end of April this

Quite understandably the question as to which countries should take part in this Conference interested broad sections of the public in different countries even before the meeting with the object of dividing the countries of Asia and Africa in Bogor was held. The point is that aggressive US circles, pressure on and counterposing them one to the other, have intensified particularly, to object to the to refuse to participate in the proposed individual governments, seeking to compel them

Conference and.

Republic of China. The US-manufactured bogey of the SOparticipation of the People's called "Communist menace" has once again loomed up on

the horizon. The intrigues of American diplomacy have, however, fallen through. Broad sections of the public in Asian and African countries have resolutely stood up for the participation of the People's Republic of China in the

Conference, seeing in this the guarantee for the success of the Conference.

“The basic purpose of the Conference", reads the statement, "IS that the countries concerned should become better acquainted with one another's point of view"

The Prime Ministers expressed the hope that the Geneva agreements on Indo-China would be fully respected and implemented by all the countries concerned. At the same time they again expressed their great concern over the A and H-bomb experiments.

The many comments in the press of various countries are evidence of the fact that broad public circles in the countries of Asia and Africa warmly support the decision of the Bogor meeting. In a leading article commenting on the outcome of the meeting the newspaper Kuangmingjihpao writes that Chinese people sincerely welcome the decision to call a Conference of Asian and African countries. It notes that fundamental changes have taken place in the Asia and Africa of to day and that the time has passed when foreigners could arbitrarily dispose of the destinies of the peoples of the East. Now, the paper writes, the peoples of Asia and Africa have enough strength to decide their fate themselves. The countries of Asia and Africa are uniting in the name of peace and close co-operation.

Touching on the hostile attitude towards the Bandung Conference on the part of the ruling circles of the Western imperialist countries, particularly by US ruling circles, the newspaper points out that the aggressive bloc headed by USA intends to frustrate this Conference. That is why the peoples of Asia and Africa must enhance their vigilance. The results of the Bogor meeting are being widely discussed in the Indian press. The influential Indian newspaper Hindustan Times stated recently that the forthcoming Conference will open up the opportunity for the combined efforts by the countries of Asia and Africa for maintaining peace throughout the world.

The Indonesian newspaper Harian Rakjat, also points out that the question of strengthening peace can be satisfactorily solved if the co-operation of the countries of Asia and Africa is based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

The news of the convocation of a Conference in Bandung met with quite a different reception in Washington and London. The advocates of colonial oppression and the enemies of peace were embarrassed by the news that the countries of Asia and Africa have decided, independently, without the "help" of the USA and the West European countries, to meet in a Conference. The imperialist politicians are particularly put out by the fact that the People's Republic of China and the People's Republic of Viet Nam have been invited to the Conference. China, who has been refused admission to UNO, indignantly declares a United

Press correspondent, now receives an invitation to a Conference of first-rate international importance And the forthcoming Conference would stimulate the national liberationmovement in Africa.

Most candid on Washington's and London's fears was

Lippman, New York Herald Tribune commentator, who wrote on January 4: "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."

Endeavouring to weaken the general upsurge of the national liberation movement in the Asian and African countries and to scare off individual states from participating in the Conference at Bandung, the USA have already taken a series of "counter measures." One of these is the US decision to hold a Conference of SEATO members in Bangkok, capital of Thailand, in February. With the same object in view, Admiral Radford made a tour of American war bases on the territories of certain Asian countries. He has already visited Pakistan, Thailand, South Viet Nam, Japan and the Philippines. The measures adopted by the U.S.A. have, however, the peoples of Asia and Africa are retaliating to the provocative activities of the American brass hats and diplomats by stepping up the fight against colonial independence.

The vital interests of the Asian and African countries urgently demand a policy of co-operation and peaceful co-existence of states and peoples ofthese continents, irrespective of their socio-economic systems.

(Bucharest, 14-1-'55).

"PEKING IN THE LIMELIGHT"

Nehru, as leader of a nation of about 400 millions, has a very great authority among Oriental politicians who stand more or less outside the Great Power bloc, and his responsibility is therefore greater. Although the initiative of the rather curious African-Asian Conference came from Indonesia, it would not have been possible at all without the support of New Delhi. Besides the five inviting, so-called Colombo states, twenty-five others are to take part, from the Philippines and Japan in the East, to the Gold Coast in the West. The names of the uninvited states are almost more interesting than those invited. Although this is not supposed to be a "coloured" Conference, the Union of South Africa and Israel are both excluded, as are the Formosa Government and both South and North Korea, while Communist China, South and North Vietnam as well as Laos and Cambodia are all included in the invitation. Formosa has been omitted be-

cause, it is said, all the invited states recognize Communist China, and Chiang Kai-shek does not represent any country a statement that has aroused some query, at least in the case of Ceylon. Even more remarkable is the curious differentiation between Korea and Vietnam.

The programme of the Conference, which is to begin in

April in Indonesia, at Bandung, is extremely vague. The main thing is apparently that the 30 states should get to know one another's opinions; such problems of common interest as the racial question and "colonialism' are also to be discussed. The spirit in which the conference is to meet states with is illustrated by the fact that the invited the exception of Pakistan and Ceylon who are noticeably reserved gave their support to Indonesia's claim to Dutch Western New Guinea, and to the North African nationalists.

A vote of disapproval of hydrogen bomb experiments

Was also taken, and hopes were expressed that the Geneva agreement on Vietnam will be fulfilled without interference from outside hopes that are likely to be realised, since communist infiltration from within is already SO effective as to influence well in advance the public elections which are to take place in 1956.

Inevitably in these circumstances China is bound to play a leading part, and it is also clear that she will make the most of every chance of increasing dissension between the Western Powers themselves, and between them and other lesser Asian and African states.

It is understandable that the West should not welcome this mammoth conference with great enthusiasm. The Western Powers are well aware of their unfavourable position when it comes to psychological warfare in many of the Asian and African countries, and that much can happen before their plans of economic aid to these countries can be fully realised and have effect. The signatories of the Southeast Asian Security pact, which was a result of the setback in Indo-China, are however, expected to meet in Bangkok on February 23, in order to "put teeth into" the pact as it was expressed. But mere military measures at this stage cannot have much effect upon the Chinese and Asian "neutral" offensive. It is border-line cases such as these, where political undermining from within is hard to differentiate from armed external action-that are the greatest and most immediate problems facing the Western Powers

(Svenska Dagbladet Sweden, 9-1-'55).

BANGKOK AND BANDUNG SEATO is standing for the South East Asian defence organization. The agreement was made in Manila in the Philippines in September last year, and in these days the first ordinary meeting has taken place in Bangkok in Thailand. The member countries are The United States, Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand. a

In April there will in South East Asia take place competing conference. The place is Bandung in Indonesia, and here will countries like Japan, China, India and Indonesia be represented, and also the independent states in Africa except South Africa.

conferences is quite different.

The purpose of the two The SEATO-conference one might perhaps say contrary. shall organize the resistance against the Communism, the

Asian-African conference is to mark the self assertion of the coloured world towards the white, which spotted by its imperialistic past. The message of the conference will be neutrality, but many of the representatives evidently mean that the Russians are not quite as white as Britains and

Americans.

A comparison between these conferences clearly shows the weakness of SEATO. The purpose is the defense of South East Asia, but the support from the peoples which are going to be defended is very fragile. Thailand and the Philippines are no replacement for India and Indonesia. From the Asian SEATO-members, only Pakistan means something. Even if Head Ouarters is decided to be established in Bangkok, the decision will be made as far away as in Washington, London, Paris and Canberra.

SEATO therefore cannot become an Asian NATO. There would be a small sense in establishing a common Head Command, because there are no forces of any importance to command. The obligations to grant each other help, are also looser formed than in the Atlantic Pact.

The need for establishing a defense against a Communist expansion South from China is a quite real one, but many are after all placing an interrogation at the value of SEATO. It is undoubtedly meaning a nerver to exposed countries like Siam and the non-Communist Indo-China, but this has to be counterbalanced to the hostile reaction among other Asian peoples, which look upon it as a new form of white imperialism. These are two opposing regards which both are heavy, and which in the present situation cannot be united.

(Arbeiderbladet, Oslo, 26-2-'55).

AMERICA

ASIA: CAN THE WEST HOLD BACK THE TIDE ?

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

Western statesmen last week unhappily recalled these words of Kaiser Wilhelm 1I, popularizer of the phrase "Yellow Peril". They could reflect that the onetime German emperor was right as rain and wrong as sin, He was right in foreseeing a crisis that now threatens in an even more virulent form than he envisaged an AfroAsian combination turned by Communism against the West. He was wrong in thinking that the problem was to fight this combination. The problem, according to those who have to deal with it today and tomorrow, is to prevent

its formation. That would be the burden of two conferences during the coming months that can shape the destiny of the world:

Bangkok: The Manila-pact powers (U.S., Britain, France, Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Australia and New Zealand) have agreed to meet on February 23 in Thailand's canal-coursed metropolis. Whatever their race, these nations of the East and West were resolved to implement their "Monroe Doctrine Against Communism." Moscow fumed that the U.S. was seeking "the more speedy unleashing of military adventures.' Bandung: The Colombo powers (India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma and Indonesia) convoked an unprecedented conference of officials from 30 Asian and African nations, representing more than half of the world's people, for late April in this volcano-ringed Javanese city. The sponsoring powers seemed to be aiming at a sort of Monroe Doctrine Against Colonialism. Their basic philosophy was that the Asian and African nations have some common destiny, freeing them from the Atlantic and the Soviet blocs.

As if to counter this notion, Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden revealed in London that, after attending the Bangkok meeting, he would make his first tour of

southern Asian capitals. By visiting New Delhi, Karachi, and other cities, as John Foster Dulles did soon after taking over as Secretary of State, Eden would dissipate some of the Commonwealth grumbling against London's supposed preoccupation with European matters.

Significance: Western diplomats recognize a serious challenge in the coming Afro-Asian conference. Should Washington and London advise their Asian and African allies to boycot the conference? Or should they urge their allies to participate in the hope of counterbalancing the powerful Communist and neutralist influences which will be at work?

Washington Discussion: In Washington, the question is now being discussed on the highest levels and may reach the National Security Council for decision. Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, leads those who favor a boycott. They contend its influence. They believe that any encouragement given participation will embroil the State Department with Nationalist China (not invited to Bandung) and Chiang Kaishek's champions in Congress.

Those who oppose this view, including Secretary Dulles, claim that the pro-Western nations among the Afro-Asians,

including the Turks, Thais, Filipinos, and Japanese, have sufficient strength and talent to neutralize or at least dim influence at

Chou En-lai's and even Jawaharlal Nehru's Bandung. They fear that a pro-Western boycott will give the Communists a walkover victory and will arouse charges them of colonialism and sabotage against the U.S. Some of look hopefully to Egypt's ambitious undertaking to line up at least a dozen countries in favor of weaning India and Indonesia away from Red influences and of barring new recognition of the Peking regime.

British Caution: The British are going out of their way not 10 sneer at or belittle the Afro-Asian gathering, lest they reinforce the anticolonial attitude which 15 the only unifying factor among most of the 30 nations. Privately they believe that the interests of these nations diverge so widely that they will be able to agree on little beyond meaningless generalities. The British hope Washington will not discourage "dependable" pro-Western nations from accepting their invitations and sending strong delegations. The latest test of Communist Chinese intentions was under way in Peking, There the United Nations Secretary

General, Dag Hammarskjold, and Chou were deep in talks on the disposition of some 2,840 U.N. troops including eleven U.S. airmen jailed as spies whom the Chinese Reds still held in violation of the Korean truce. A hint of the possible outcome: Nehru's statement that U.N, handling of the affair was "unfortunate."

The Soviets made onc gesture toward the West by releasing in Berlin two Americans who had been held prisone in the notorious Vorkuta slave-labour camp near the Arctic Circle, They were John H. Noble, 31, of Detroit, a civilian arrested in-Dresden in 1945, and Pvt. William Marchuk 38, of Nooristown, Pa., who disappeared in Berlin in 1949. The Army took Marchuk into custody on suspicion of desertion. Still in Vorkuta: Erika Wallach, adopted daughter of the mysterious Noel Field, and Pvt. William A. Verdine, of Starks, La., seized in Berlin in 1949.

(Newsweek, New York, 17-1-'55).

ARABS COOL TO INDONESIA TALKS by :

(0.M. Marashian, Special Correspondent of The C.S.M.) The first political conference of Asian and African countries, to be in held in the Indonesian town of Bandung April, is getting a cool reception in Arab capitals.

The initial enthusiasm with which the Arab countries, particularly Egypt, welcomed the idea of the conference, grouping the liberated colonial nations of the non-white world, has given way to doubts and misgivings.

Since the preliminary conference of the five Colombo powers sponsoring

Indonesia Arab India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Burma and leaders have come to realize that the

Bandung conference might be heading toward a direction alien to the countries of the Middle East.

Judging by the declarations of the Colombo powers, that the Middle the proposed agenda of the conference and the list of nations 10 be invited, the impression here is

East countries will have to play second, and even third, fiddle to the Communist and neutralist nations of the Far

East,

To WOO the Arab and African nations, the five sponsors decided not to invite Israel, thanks largely to Pakistan's stubborn efforts, and have announced before hand that they endorsed Tunisian and Moroccan but not Algerian aspirations for independence. These gestures have not helped to stir, or rather revive, Arab enthusiasm for the conference.

This lack of enthusiasm is all the more significant since generally Arabs have a knack for holding high-sounding conferences of emotional value, if only for the propaganda and public-relations purposes, mostly for internal consumption.

Abdel Khaleq Hassouna, Secretary General of the Arab League, recently summoned the Indian and Indonesian Ambassadors in Cairo to demand a greater attention to North Africa in the conference. He asked them to convey to the conference sponsors the wish that nationalist delegates from Tunisian and Moroccan independence groups should not attend the conference as observers, but be permitted to address the gathering.

Mr. Hassouna also voiced dissatisfaction at the sponsoring nations' decision not to invite a delegate from the Arab League secretariat as an observer.

Egypt might have completely ignored the conference had it not been for position and prestige. After all, six out of eight members of the Arab League are Asian countries, even though a world apart from the countries of south and east Asia. Egypt as the leader of the Arab states would like to be present at the conference.

Similarly, by attending the conference as the major African nation, along with Ethiopia, the Gold Coast, Liberia, Libya, and the Sudan, Egypt wants to see to it that African affairs are settled by the Africans themselves,

and not by eager trustees from Asia.

Had this conference taken place a year earlier, when. Egypt had not yet settled its differences with Britain and the

Arab countries were not then in any mood for political and military alignment with the the

West, it might have suited purposes of the Arab leaders to appeal to local public opinion and threaten the Western of neutralism, nations with the bogey

However, the political evolved a thinking of the Arab leaders has progreat deal in the past few months and their Western orientation is no longer a secret.

By attending the tries would

Bandung conference, the Arab counrecognize Communist be facing another dilemma. None of them China and none have the intention

of doing so in the near future despite occasional persuasive talk from the neutralists. Yet, it already appears certain that Communist China's Premier Chou En-Lai will not only be at the conference, but may be in a dominant position.

Already there is the feeling in some neutral quarters that the nations of the Middle East and Africa, for the great part Moslem, will form a bloc within the conference and might stand aloof from the ideological tendencies of the Far East. Incidentally, the Bandung conference will mark the greatest reunion of independent Moslem countries in history. Of the 30 nations to be invited, 14 are Moslem, including the host country, Indonesia.

Already some Indian quarters have voiced concern that Pakistan and Egypt may use the Bandung conference to establish contacts and drum up support for a Moslem bloc and that the conference might indirectly strengthen the hand of Pakistan to successfully block the intentions of neutralist nations.

(Christian Science Monitor, Boston, 22-1-'55).

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Moreover, an all-inclusive Asian-African peace conterence as envisioned by the five Prime Ministers, serves to expose the mockery of the so-called Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO), which Secretary of State John Foster Dulles manufactured some time ago.

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What do you suppose the peoples of Asia (and Africa) will think when they compare Dulles' SEATO with the projected 30-nation peace conference, and see that the list of 30 somehow excluded such "Asian" states as Britain, France, the U.S., Australia or New Zealand?

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In brief, a bona fide conference of Asian and African peoples proposes to deal with their bona fide problems rather than the nightmare figments of Dulles' imagination. The very calling of the conference, it seems to us, emphasizes the bankruptcy of the Dulles-Eisenhower policy in Asia. It demonstrates that the only support the policy can enlist in Asia is from such miserable puppets as Chiang Kai-shek, who are so despised that they are not even invited to the councils of the Asian peoples.

As if to counter this notion, Foreign Secretary Sir Anthony Eden revealed in London that, after attending the Bangkok meeting, he would make his first tour of

southern Asian capitals. By visiting New Delhi, Karachi, and other cities, as John Foster Dulles did soon after taking over as Secretary of State, Eden would dissipate some of the Commonwealth grumbling against London's supposed preoccupation with European matters.

Significance: Western diplomats recognize a serious challenge in the coming Afro-Asian conference. Should Washington and London advise their Asian and African allies to boycot the conference? Or should they urge their allies to participate in the hope of counterbalancing the powerful Communist and neutralist influences which will be at work?

Washington Discussion: In Washington, the question is now being discussed on the highest levels and may reach the National Security Council for decision. Walter S. Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, leads those who favor a boycott. They contend its influence. They believe that any encouragement given participation will embroil the State Department with Nationalist China (not invited to Bandung) and Chiang Kaishek's champions in Congress.

Those who oppose this view, including Secretary Dulles, claim that the pro-Western nations among the Afro-Asians,

including the Turks, Thais, Filipinos, and Japanese, have sufficient strength and talent to neutralize or at least dim influence at

Chou En-lai's and even Jawaharlal Nehru's Bandung. They fear that a pro-Western boycott will give the Communists a walkover victory and will arouse charges them of colonialism and sabotage against the U.S. Some of look hopefully to Egypt's ambitious undertaking to line up at least a dozen countries in favor of weaning India and Indonesia away from Red influences and of barring new recognition of the Peking regime.

British Caution: The British are going out of their way not 10 sneer at or belittle the Afro-Asian gathering, lest they reinforce the anticolonial attitude which 15 the only unifying factor among most of the 30 nations. Privately they believe that the interests of these nations diverge so widely that they will be able to agree on little beyond meaningless generalities. The British hope Washington will not discourage "dependable" pro-Western nations from accepting their invitations and sending strong delegations. The latest test of Communist Chinese intentions was under way in Peking, There the United Nations Secretary

General, Dag Hammarskjold, and Chou were deep in talks on the disposition of some 2,840 U.N. troops including eleven U.S. airmen jailed as spies whom the Chinese Reds still held in violation of the Korean truce. A hint of the possible outcome: Nehru's statement that U.N, handling of the affair was "unfortunate."

The Soviets made onc gesture toward the West by releasing in Berlin two Americans who had been held prisone in the notorious Vorkuta slave-labour camp near the Arctic Circle, They were John H. Noble, 31, of Detroit, a civilian arrested in-Dresden in 1945, and Pvt. William Marchuk 38, of Nooristown, Pa., who disappeared in Berlin in 1949. The Army took Marchuk into custody on suspicion of desertion. Still in Vorkuta: Erika Wallach, adopted daughter of the mysterious Noel Field, and Pvt. William A. Verdine, of Starks, La., seized in Berlin in 1949.

(Newsweek, New York, 17-1-'55).

ARABS COOL TO INDONESIA TALKS by :

(0.M. Marashian, Special Correspondent of The C.S.M.) The first political conference of Asian and African countries, to be in held in the Indonesian town of Bandung April, is getting a cool reception in Arab capitals.

The initial enthusiasm with which the Arab countries, particularly Egypt, welcomed the idea of the conference, grouping the liberated colonial nations of the non-white world, has given way to doubts and misgivings.

Since the preliminary conference of the five Colombo powers sponsoring

Indonesia Arab India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Burma and leaders have come to realize that the

Bandung conference might be heading toward a direction alien to the countries of the Middle East.

Judging by the declarations of the Colombo powers, that the Middle the proposed agenda of the conference and the list of nations 10 be invited, the impression here is

East countries will have to play second, and even third, fiddle to the Communist and neutralist nations of the Far

East,

To WOO the Arab and African nations, the five sponsors decided not to invite Israel, thanks largely to Pakistan's stubborn efforts, and have announced before hand that they endorsed Tunisian and Moroccan but not Algerian aspirations for independence. These gestures have not helped to stir, or rather revive, Arab enthusiasm for the conference.

This lack of enthusiasm is all the more significant since generally Arabs have a knack for holding high-sounding conferences of emotional value, if only for the propaganda and public-relations purposes, mostly for internal consumption.

Abdel Khaleq Hassouna, Secretary General of the Arab League, recently summoned the Indian and Indonesian Ambassadors in Cairo to demand a greater attention to North Africa in the conference. He asked them to convey to the conference sponsors the wish that nationalist delegates from Tunisian and Moroccan independence groups should not attend the conference as observers, but be permitted to address the gathering.

Mr. Hassouna also voiced dissatisfaction at the sponsoring nations' decision not to invite a delegate from the Arab League secretariat as an observer.

Egypt might have completely ignored the conference had it not been for position and prestige. After all, six out of eight members of the Arab League are Asian countries, even though a world apart from the countries of south and east Asia. Egypt as the leader of the Arab states would like to be present at the conference.

Similarly, by attending the conference as the major African nation, along with Ethiopia, the Gold Coast, Liberia, Libya, and the Sudan, Egypt wants to see to it that African affairs are settled by the Africans themselves,

and not by eager trustees from Asia.

Had this conference taken place a year earlier, when. Egypt had not yet settled its differences with Britain and the

Arab countries were not then in any mood for political and military alignment with the the

West, it might have suited purposes of the Arab leaders to appeal to local public opinion and threaten the Western of neutralism, nations with the bogey

However, the political evolved a thinking of the Arab leaders has progreat deal in the past few months and their Western orientation is no longer a secret.

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Bandung conference, the Arab counrecognize Communist be facing another dilemma. None of them China and none have the intention

of doing so in the near future despite occasional persuasive talk from the neutralists. Yet, it already appears certain that Communist China's Premier Chou En-Lai will not only be at the conference, but may be in a dominant position.

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If we really want a policy that will promote peace and win our friends in Asia, then we should dump Chiang Kaishek and begin dealing with China, the nation without which no real settlement can be attained in Asia.

(People's World, San Francisco, 30-12-'55).

BANGKOK AND BANDUNG

In the steaming heat of Bangkok with its glittering temples and turgid canals the Southeast Asian Treaty Organization powers meet to build a defense against an aggressive Communist imperialism.

All the familiar exotic surface of Asia is still there. But there is a new Asia too. It is the Asia of rising nationalism and a blazing desire to master its own destiny.

The Manila Pact Powers Australia, Britain, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, and the United States know this is the dominant force in Asia today. But they recognize the crucial need now for a second force to counteract the outward pressures from Communist China. The effort to draw a tough line down the Formosa Strait is part of the same recognition.

So Bangkok will try to create a military bulwark of some kind; to specify ways to combat and extinguish subversion; and to work out economic aid for underpinning the societies of Asia's Southeast.

This may throw up a barrier for a while. But can we assume It will guarantee against a Communist takeover for all time to come? The Manila Pact is primarily a western operation with only three Asian powers cooperating. The future of Asia will be determined by the thinking and acting of Asia.

We have only to consider the coming April Afro-Asian meeting at Bandung to realize that, The West is excluded. Emphasis is on the colored nations of the world. And for Asia it means that at long last the destiny of Asia is being determined in Asia, and not in Geneva, or Paris, or London, or Washington. Colonialism is out. Hands off is the

byword. Asia is free. This is perhaps the great historic occasion of our century.

So what is there beyond Bangkok? What can be done that will fit into the mood of Bandung?

Asia must be helped toward selfrealization free of domination by communism masquerading as democracy and freedom, and free its own mind of what it sees as western meddling. always suspect because of a colonial past. At Bangkok economic and technical aid will be discussed and this is all to the good. The Commonwealth Colombo Plan with the same goals goes forward. America's Point Four spends its millions and plans one billion more this year. And there is the slender but effective United Nations technical assistance programme.

But the crying need in Asia is for literacy programmes. To read in a democratic atmosphere is to be free. Villagelevel reading and Titing is foundational. Point Four

reinforced this by saying administrator Harold Stassen has agricultural aid must be complemented by education.

Beside education aid, and agricultural and industrial techniques, there is a need of widespread investment, enlarged grants for Asian exchange students in every field, and the export of governmental know-how.

There is a place too for sincere, utterly frank and truthful propaganda information about the United States and the Western way. But this, and the educational and technical programmes, must be rigorously purged of all selfish interest and bread-beating. This is not easy. A good deal can be said for placing more funds in the independent, disinterested hands of the United Nations. This is a programme which could move beyond Bangkok in the mood of Bandung. It requires further disengagement from the colonial past, sacrifice, and humility.

(Boston, Christian Science. Monitor, 23-1-'55).