Sardar Mohammad Naim, Afghanistan

The contribution we have in mind to make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation will remain an unrealized dream if we continue to neglect the essentiality of finding effective ways and peaceful means to enable us to settle our differences. In fact it is the solution of these problems amongst us that we can consider as the first step in the direction of peace in its worldwide sense.

To consider social, economic and cultural problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples ; to view the position of Asia and Africa and to think of making contribution to the promotion of the World Peace and cooperation, are questions that can never be answered, and problems that can never be solved, except by being quite frank with one another, a frankness which should express the sincerity of our genuine willingness and desire to assist in the peaceful settlement of World Problems. I say "World Problems" because we cannot ignore the fact that whatever happens anywhere in the world is bound to affect us wherever we may be.

There has been much talk recently that the days of colonialism are over; that since certain countries have become independent the position has changed. There is no doubt that many changes have taken place in certain parts of the world, but there are still many millions of people who suffer under the yoke of alien domination in one way or another.

Most of the countries represented here have suffered from alien domination and are well ecquainted with the circumstances which either directly or indirectly have affected all of them.

Devoted as we are to the great cause of "Liberty and Equality for All", we should bear in mind that it would be tragic and ridiculous for countries which have attained their own hard-won freedom and have suffered privations and hardships, to think of dominating others or, in their own turn, to deprive others of their liberty.

There has been much talk about co-existence lately.

Our consideration of this idea which has become a

prominent topic in international affairs should be as realistic as possible.

As long as the powers do not believe that the policy of imposing Or defending a certain ideology, political, social or economic, by means of force and coercion should change in favour of a peaceful and trusting way of life between peoples and nations of the world, any attempt for a practical solution of the existing problems will remain a wishful thought.

A practical and peaceful settlement of existing differences depends upon the abolition of all barriers, between peoples and nations, that would hinder their desire for closer relationship and better understanding.

We cannot help reminding ourselves of the fact that in the prevailing atmosphere of colonialism, even countries which in their fight for their political independence succeeded to preserve Or to win back their freedom from alien domination have suffered from lasting economic difficulties. Afghanistan as a land-locked country is an example of such an almost permanent economic privation.

And thus a condition has been imposed that countries which are more or less producers of raw materials are confronted with obstacles in the way of promoting commercial relations and trade between themselves.

It might rightly seem that such studies would require more time than the Conference can spare here and now. but it is clear that if a Commission of Experts is set up to carry on this task, although their findings will not be available during this Conference, their studies would provide a tangible basis for the development of the idea of economic cooperation among the Asian-African countries.

In consideration of the economic problems of the underdeveloped countries, among steps to be taken in this direction, particular attention should be paid to the necessity of closer cooperation among the Asian-African States, members of the United Nations, in the economic field as planned and undertaken by the United Nations Organisation.

Sayed Ismail El Azhari, Sudan

It is indeed a happy occasion that the first emergence into the outside world of the newly-born Sudan, which mature nationhood, should be its participation is already on the threshold of complete freedom and in this great historical conference.

Whilst we today enjoy the fullest liberty in running our own internal affairs, this conference breaks new ground and marks the first instance of our exercising external sovereignty and independence.

The heads of the sponsoring states had done well clear when they had made their viewpoint abundantly that the 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. To them it implied only that the country invited was in general agreement with the purposes of the Conference.

We are of the opinion that the provisional agenda which had been circulated in advance provided coverage of all the points which can possibly be raised. Henceforth we have not attempted to augment it by suggesting further points; our attempt was merely confined to narrowing down its wide generic terms with a view to facilitate the attainment of fruitful discussion and reaching concrete result. The problems of imperialism and foreign domination which cause deep concern to a number of nations in Asia and Africa is for instance one which calls for collective action and sincere co-operation, not because ol ill-feeling towards any particular country, but because

rights of man, the inspiration of our people and acting on of our faith in natural justice, our respect to the inherent freedom. our traditions which endear One cannot overstress the fact that economical difof conditional foreign ficulties may well lead to acceptance assistance which could be a real menace to national freedom and sovereignty. Being content with our lots and being possessed by the sole ardent desire to preserve our rights and raise the standard of living among our countrymen, We could teach a panic-stricken world that healthy intentions and honest co-operation could still flourish. By so doing we will set a living example of the possibility of creating a true fraternal spirit among the international community.

In the sphere of culture we can also create a breathing space for our cultural energy and thereby enrich the human treasures of thought. Our contribution would certainly be the manifestation of our factual life and originating from our history in the days when our two continents illuminated the world with their theories in religion, science, art and philosophy. Our goal would be easier to attain if we marry into each other our respective information, research and experience, and we would greatly benefit by exchanging students and scholastic staff. Apart from our humble contribution, we in the Sudan, by virtue of our geographical situation in between Asia on one side, Mediterranean countries on the second and Africa on the third side, could serve as an excellent medium for intellectual traffic.

Prince Wan, Thailand

The promotion of goodwill and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa is indeed the first purpose of this Conference. My Delegation has come with genuine desire to get together with the representatives of other nations of Asia and Africa in order to become better asquainted with them, to exchange views with them freely and frankly on questions of common concern, and to help bring about the greatest possible measure of agreement in the interest of world pence and of the security, freedom and economic and social well-being of the peoples of

Asia and Africa.

Cultural cooperation should certainly be promoted, not only because there have been age-long strong ties of traditional culture among Asian nations as among nations of South, Southeast and East Asia, but there have also been close cultural ties with countries of Islam.

The sense of moral and spiritual values in life is ingrained into our nature: it is part of ourselves, it is our

essential way of life. The sublime importance of Faith or the Spirit in the life of man should be cherished and upheld by Asia and Africa. Righteousness or the moral law shall prevail, because Buddhism, Islam and Christianty all teach the same lesson the dignity and worth of man, faith in fundamental human rights, and respect for fundamental freedom for all without distinction aS to creed, colour or race. Racial discrimination is inadmissible and should be eradicated.

Economic well-being is the most pressing need of Asia and Africa, and there is an imperative necessity (O raise the standards of life of the Asian and African peoples, if only to protect them from the and disease. threat of hunger, poverty Economic cooperation, therefore, is wholeheartedly to be welcomed and closer economic ties among the nations of Asia and Africa should certainly be developed. My Delegation considers that it is necessary and appropriate that there should, at the same time,

continue to be economic cooperation with the rest of the world.

On the question of national sovereignty and of colonialism, the Thai Delegation upholds the principle of selfdetermination and of self-government and independence for all peoples of Asia and Africa. My Government is happy that the States in Indo-China have regained their independence and our best wishes go to Laos, Cambodia and the State of Vietnam. We are glad, too, that with the approaching elections, Malaya is well on the way to selfgovernment, which IS to be welcomed as a prelude to independence.

Thailand's love of peace and freedom is well known in the history of international relations and my country has always attached fundamental value to international cooperation.

The five principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in

each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence, can be understood, except as regards the last principle of peaceful coexistence. What exactly does this mean ? Does it mean "live and also let live", which is the right principle? Does it imply the practice of tolerance as is explicitly stated in Charter of the United Nations? For the Charter says "to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

These doubts in my mind must first be cleared up.

In view of this situation as well as of the invasion of Laos by Vietminh forces in 1953 and also in 1954, Thailand has had clearly to face a threat of infiltration and subversion, if not of aggression itself.

Thailand only seeks to protect itself against aggression and subversion and no one without aggressive design need have any fear of my country. The Thai Delegation, I repeat, has come to this Conference with goodwill towards all.

Fatin Rustu Zorlu, Turkey

I am deeply moved by the significance of the fact that such a large number of nations of Asia and Africa are here assembled under one roof. Could it have been possible to effect such a gathering ten years ago ? And had it been possible, how many independent countries would have been among us ?

This in itself is the most vivid proof that the constant struggle of mankind for their rights and liberties is for ever on the move.

Tension and insecurity have clouded the political horizon ever since the end of the Second World War. Ambitions of domination, threats of territorial integrity, interference in the internal affairs of others whether by force or infiltration and in some cases armed aggression itself, have constantly kept us on the alert and forced upon us the necessity of extreme vigilance for the safeguarding of world peace and of our national independence.

About this period, my country, Turkey, also had to face ambitions directed against its independence and integrity. Pressure was exercised on us to make us cede part of our territory and to force upon us conditions which were incompatible with our national sovereignty and independence. This pressure came to us from a neighbouring country with which we had previously concluded a treaty of friendship and non-aggression, a country with which we had entertained friendly relations and to which we had extended precious help by our benevolent attitude during the war.

These are the reasons and conditions which gave birth to the defensive alliance of peace-loving countries named the "North Atlantic Treaty Organization".

The same reasons, the same determination to resist aggression and defend Peace, brought about the Balkan Pact, the Turkish-Pakistani Treaty of Friendly Collaboration, the Turkish-Iraqi Pact, the South East Asia Treaty Organization, and other similar agreements.

It was only after it became clear that the peace-loving countries were prepared to defend themselves and to stop aggression that hesitation was seen in the aggressive camp in the prospects of unleasing a "shooting war"' and the word "coexistence" began to be used in their ranks.

Thus freedom, independence and Peace are not blessings that are bestowed on us without effort, but rather they are ideals whose attainment Or safeguarding place a heavy burden of responsibility upon the shoulders of every one of us.

To fail to realise these truths, to take the line of least resistance, and to hope that by shutting one's eyes to danger one may find security, is a course which is perilous not only to the one who follows it but also to the entire community. Such illusions have existed in very recent times. They have all come to disastrous ends.

The instance of the well-meaning but misguided state of Czechoslovakia has already been appropriately cited from this rostrum.

If we are to exert an influence upon the others for the establishment of lasting peace and hope that we may do SO our first duty to ourselves should be to keep our own continent free of violence and aggression.

Chou En-lai, China

DISTRIBUTED SPEECH The Asia and Africa of today are nO longer the countries of this Asia and Africa of yesterday. Many region have taken their destiny into their own hands after long years of endeavours. Our Conference itself reflects this profound historical change. has

However, the rule of colonialism in this region not yet come to an end, and new colonialists are attempting to take the place of the old ones. Not a few of the Asian and African peoples are still leading a life of colonial slavery. Not a few of the Asian and African peoples are still subjected to racial discrimination and deprived of human rights.

The courses which we peoples of the Asian and African countries have taken in striving for freedom and independence may vary, but our will to win and preserve our freedom and independence is the same.

However different the specific conditions in each of our most of countries may be, it is equally nesessary for us to eliminate the state of backwardness caused by the rule of colonialism. We need to develop our countries independently with no outside interference and in accordance with the will of the people.

In China, ever since the people became masters of their own country, all their efforts have been aimed at the elimination of backwardness left behind by the prolonged semi-colonial society and the building of their country into an idustrialized one. In the last five years, we have rehabilitated the national economy ruined by long years of war, and have since 1953 started the first five-year plan of economic construction. As a result of these efforts, production in all the main fields, such as iron and steel, cotton cloth, grains, have exceeded the level of any period in the history of China. But these achievements are still very small as compared with our actual needs. Our country IS still very backward as compared with the highly industrialized ones. Like other countries in Asia and Africa, we are in urgent need of a peaceful international environment for the development of our independent and sovereign economy.

People irrespective of race or color should all enjoy the fundamental human rights and not be subjected to any maltreatment and discrimination. However, we cannot help being aware that the peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria and other dependent peoples who have been fighting for independence, have never ceased to be suppressed with violence. Racial discrimination and persecution under racialism in the Union of South Africa and other places have not yet been curbed. The problem of Arab refugees of Palestine still remains to be solved.

The struggle of the Egyptian people for the restoration the Suez Canal Zone, the struggle of their sovereignty over of the Iranian people for the restoration of sovereignty and the demand for the over their petroleum resources, restoration of territorial rights of India over Goa and of

Indonesia over West Irian, have all won sympathy from to liberate many countries in Asia and Africa. China's will her own territory Taiwan has likewise won the support of all righteous people in the Asian-African region. This proves that the peoples of our Asian and African countries understand each other and have sympathy and concern for one another.

Peace can only be safeguarded by mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. The encroachment on the sovereignty and territory of any country and the interference in the internal affairs of any country will inevitably endanger peace.

The Geneva Conference was able to create favourable conditions for the establishment of an area of peace. But after the Geneva Conference we witnessed a development in the opposite direction. This is not in the interest of the Indo-Chinese states, nor is it in the interest of peace. We hold that the Geneva agreements on the restoration of peace in Indo-China should be strictly and faithfully carried out. No interference or obstruction from any quarter should be allowed. The question of peaceful unification of Korea should also be solved in accordance with the same principles.

We Asian and African countries need to cooperate in the economic and cultural fields in order to facilitate the elimination of the economic and cultural backwardness caused by the long period of colonial exploitation and oppression. This cooperation should be based on equality and mutual benefit, with no conditions for privilege attached. The trade relations and economic cooperation between us should have for its purpose the promotion of the independent economic development in each country, and not to convert any country into a sole producer of raw materials and a market for consumer needs. Our cultural exchange should have respect for the development of the national culture of each country, and not to ignore the characteristics and special merits of the culture of any country SO that we may learn and benefit from each other.

India, Burma and China have affirmed the five principles of peaceful coexistence as the guiding principles in their mutual relations. These principles have received support from more and more countries. Following these principles China and Indonesia have already achieved good results in their preliminary talks on the question of the nationality of the citizens of one country residing in the other. During the Geneva conference, China also

expressed its readiness to develop friendly relations with the

Indo-Chinese states on the basis of these five principles. There is no reason why the relations between China and Thailand, the Philippines and other neighbouring countries cannot be improved on the basis of these five principles. China is ready to establish normal relations with other Asian and African countries on the basis of the strict adherence to these principles and is willing to promote the normalization of relations between China and Japan. In order to promote mutual understanding and cooperation among us, we propose that the governments, parliaments and peoples' organizations of the Asian and African countries make friendly visits to each other's countries.

SUPPLEMENTARY SPEECH

The Chinese Delegation has come here to seek unity and not to quarrel. We Communists do not hide the fact that we believe In communism and that we consider the socialist system a good system. There IS no need at this Conference to publicize one's ideology and the political system of one's country, although differences do exist among us.

The Chinese Delegation has come here to seek common ground, not to create divergence.

As for the tension created, solely by the United States, in the area of Taiwan, we could have submitted for deliberation by the Conference an item such as the proposal made by the Soviet Union for seeking a settlement through an international conference.

Again, we could have submitted for deliberation by the Conference the question of recognizing and restoring the legitimate status of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

Besides, we could have also made criticisms here as regards the unfair treatment of China by the United Nations. But we did not do all this, because otherwise our Conference would be dragged into disputes about all these problems without any solution.

Now first of all I would like to talk about the question of different ideologies and social systems. We have to admit that among our Asian and African countries we do have different ideologies and different social systems. But this does not prevent us from seeking common ground and being united. Many independent countries have appeared since the Second World War. One group of them are countries led by the Communist Parties ; another group of them are countries led by nationalists.

Secondly, I would like to talk about the question as to whether there is freedom of religious belief. Freedom of religious belief is a principle recognized by all modern

nations. We Communists are atheists, but we respect all those who have religious belief. We hope that those with religious belief will also respect those without. China is d country where there is freedom of religious belief. There are in China not only seven million Communists, but also tens of millions of Moslems and Buddhists and millions of Protestants and Catholics. Here in the Chinese Delegation, there is a pious Eamam of the Islamic faith. Such a situation is no obstacle to the internal unity of China. Why should it be impossible in the community of Asian and African countries to unite those with religious belief and those without ?

Thirdly, about the question of the so-called subversive activities.

Chiang Kai-shek is still using some very few overseas Chinese to carry out subversive activities against the countries where they are residing. The people's government of new China, however, is ready to solve the problem of dual nationality of overseas Chinese with the governments of the countries concerned. Some other people say that the autonomous region of Thai people in China is a threat to others. There are in China more than forty million national minorities of scores of natonalities. The Thai people, and the Chuang people who are of the same stock as the Thai people, number almost ten milion. Since they do exist, we must grant them the right of autonomy. Just as there is an autonomous state for Shan people in Burma, every national minority in China has its autonomous region. The national minorities in China exercise their right of autonomy within China, how could that be said as being a threat to our neighbour?

The problem at present is not that we are carrying out subversive activities against the governments of other countries, but that there are people who are establishing bases around China in order to carry out subversive activities against the Chinese Government. For instance, on the border between China and Burma, there are in fact remnant armed elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique who are carrying out destructive activities against both China and Burma.

China has no intention whatsoever to subvert the governments of its neighboring countries. On the contrary, it is China that is suffering from the subversive activities which are openly carried out without any disguise by the United States of America. Those who do not believe in this may come to China or send someone there to see for themselves.

We welcome the delegates of all the participating countries in this Conference to visit China at any time they like. We have no bamboo curtain, but some people are spreading a smokescreen between us.

Nguyen Van Thai, State Of Vietnam

It is because we are fully aware of the special importance of this conference, it is because we sincerely want to serve the cause of peace and freedom, that our Govhere ernment has accepted to come and meet with you in Bandung.

Another reason has also motivated our earnest acceptance i.e., Vietnam is one of the nations in

Southeast Asia, which, unfortunately, had been placed for almost a century under the oppression of foreigners, and only recently, thanks to the numberless efforts and sacrifices of our people, did it regain its independence. Deeply aware of all the sufferings of an oppressed people such as in our case, we are naturally the most ardent supporters of all undertakings which may help small them nations gain quickly their independence, and provide with adequate means to strengthen that independence, in order to live under a regime of true freedom, respecting human personalities and the basic rights of mankind. However, in order to further clarify the position of our Government at this Assembly, we deem it necessary to add that, despite our devotion to the cause of peace and our desire to fasten the ties of friendship with all nations in the world, we strongly protest against all antiinternational undertakings which, under the pretext of serving the cause of Peace, violate the inalienable right of self-determination of a people, a right which has been solemnly recognized in the Charter of the United Nations and in the Declaration of May 2nd, 1954 by the Colombo Powers here present to-day.

We don't need to go far to look for evidences ; for

our country itself has suffered from such an anti-international solution. In the final declaration issued at the close of the Colombo Conference, the Prime Ministers of the participating Powers, here present today, have in fact agreed that the solution to the Indo-China problem required direct negotiations among the parties concerned, viz., France, the three Associated States and the Vietminh, as well as other parties invited by general consent. Yet the Geneva agreements were signed without taking any consideration of the recommendations and protestations strongly made by our Government.

After partition of our country, our people North of the 17th parallel, refusing to stay under a dictatorial regime and wanting to live in a truly free country, have spontaneously emigrated southward to live in peace under the protection of the National Government. Despite obstacles of all kinds created by our opponents (of which we are ready to exhibit evidence any time if necessary), despite the strong attachment of our people to their native villages, until now nearly a million of our countrymen from the North have resolutely left their homes, their properties, the tombs of their ancestors, all they cherish the most in life, to choose and enjoy freedom south of the 17th parallel.

Devoted to the cause of liberty, our government has done everything in its power to assist the refugees from the North to preserve the freedom they have dearly obtained, often at the cost of their very lives. It makes every effort to translate it into a truly happy life under a democratic government.

The American Press

On the eve of the Conference, various leading American papers speculated that both Nehru and Chou En-lai might use the Conference as a sounding-board as regards Matsu, Quemoy and Taiwan. With variations here and there the editorials presented almost similar views that the United States' Far Eastern policy might be viewed with criticism by the Conference.

The Sunday edition of the "Washington Post" stated in its editorial that passionate eloquence against specific evils would undoubtedly be produced. Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo, the paper said, could not pass up the opportunity to get a few anti-Dutch sentiments off his chest. He was after all the father of the Bandung Conference and hoped

10 earn considerable domestic kudos out of the proceedings. So, the paper continued, the claims to. Irian were due to be pushed into the international limelight again. It would not be surprising if America were included amongst the imperialists and found herself branded as a residuary of imperialism.

On the other hand columnist Chalmers Roberts advocated seriously U.S. understanding of what is happening at Bandung. The Conference would certainly, in Roberts' opinion, result in more pressure from the have-nots of the world for a better share of the world's goods. Hence the long-term effect of Bandung would not be able to be measured as much by what was said or done or thought this week, as by the way in which the Western "have" which the nations responded, and above all by the way in U.S. responded. If the U.S. let itself be irritated by what it heard this week from Bandung, and there would be plenty of irritants, Americans would probably be losers in the end. But, the Washington Post columnist continued, if the challenges which Bandung offered to the West were backed up, and efforts were made to meet them, then the Asian-African Conference could turn out to have been a useful affair from the U.S. viewpoint.

The Bandung Conference was an historical landmark for that half of the world which has been asleep for 500 years or more. The Asian nations were on their feet at long last.

Roberts was certain that it was not entirely these peoples' own conduct or will which would shape their future. The Soviet Union was watching to lend a hand, and Red China, barely awake itself, was promising aid. Somebody's proffer of a hand was going to be accepted, the columnist concluded.

Peggy Durdin, writing for the Sunday magazine of the "New York Times" from Singapore called for betterU.S. understanding of Asia. She pointed out that viewing Communist emergence in Asia, the U.S. could not, by bombs and military pacts, save Asia from Communism, which was expanding most effectively not through military invasion but through indigenous upheavals and revolution. Not even American economic and technical assistance could do it. No one knew better than the Chinese Communists that man does not live by bread alone. If all or part of Asia was to be saved, Asians themselves would do it. In many Asians' view the function of the West of the U.S.A. was important but secondary. It was to be a good friend and neighbour in every sense of the word.

The "New York Herald Tribune" pointed out that resentment of the past might be the common factor for many of these 29 diverse nations that have been subjected to control by Europe or U.S.A. Because of the strong diversity amongst participating nations, the Herald Tribune suggested that the need at Bandung wás to realize that the greatest peril to growing freedom of Asia and Africa was not to be found in nations excluded from the Conference because of race or geography, but in the Conference's own ranks in Red China and its apologists, in those who would use old hatreds to build new slavery, who were SO blinded by the past that they couldn't see the threat of the future.

The "New York Daily Worker" pointed out that the Asian-African Conference constituted a declaration of independence from Western imperialism but offered a friendly hand to the American people and mutually beneficial relations, including peaceful co-existence and the recognition of sovereignty and equality of all peoples.

In-an article entiled "Asian-African Nations enter upon a New Road", the New York Times Far Eastern correspondent Tillman Durdin wrote on the eve of the Conference that this gathering was regarded by its participants as representing an emphatic assertion of their right of existence and independence, and a gesture to underline these factors to the West. Many delegates were viewing this feeling as the most important aspect of the Conference. It might be possible, they were inclined to believe, to arrive at agreement on certain broad propositions, but disagreement was inevitable on many specific issues. It was recognized here, in Durdin's view, that there was

more diversity than uniformity of interest and viewpoint at

Bandung, despite the fact that the participants had certain characteristics in common.

The anti-Communist powers such as Turkey, Thailand,

Iraq, South Vietnam and the Philippines, were not likely to agree with Communist China and North Vietnam on many issues, Mr. Durdin continued. The five principles of co-existence would certainly be supported by both India and

Communist China. But, because these have been made the theme of Communist propaganda, the antiCommunist powers would certainly find these principles difficult to accept. It was generally considered that Chou

En-lai would be attempting to be as moderate as possible in an effort to get resolutions of a general nature adopted by the Conference. It was believed that Chou had striven to avoid public evidence of differences with Nehru, and by this tactic was trying to swing a maximum amount of Asian-African opinion into association with Peking Bandung last weekend promised very little little achievement, the New York Times correspondent concluded.

The long-term effect of what the Conference did might depend more on propaganda use made of the Bandung decisions, and on informal contacts made, than upon any agreements or disagreements produced.