Speeches at Signing of Treaty on Dual Nationality

FOREIGN MINISTER SUNARIO

Your Excellency, the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China.

May I first, in the name of my Government of the Republic of Indonesia, express happiness at the fact that agreement has been reached between our Government and Your Excellency's Government as regards a settlement of the question of dual nationality between our two States The reaching of agreement 1S clear from the signing of the text of the Treaty just now.

The signing of this Treaty is an event of the greatest importance not only for our State and People but also for the State and People of Your Excellency.

For is it not true that this Treaty opens up the possibility of putting an end to a situation which has gone on for years and years, but which we now regard as no longer fitting ?

Our Government iS happy too because this signing has come at the very time of the holding of the AsianAfrican Conference, which is also an event of historic importance in the relations between the States of Asia and Africa.

Everything can go smoothly when an atmosphere of neighbourliness prevails, which it is to be hoped will always prevail between the State of the Republic of Indonesia and the State of the People's Republic of China.

Thank you.

CHOU EN-LAI, FOREIGN MINISTER, PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

Your Excellency our respected Minister for Foreign

Affairs Dr. Sunario, Gentlemen:

It is a great privilege for me to sign today on behalf of the People's Republic of China "The Treaty between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia concerning the Question of Dual Nationality". Allow me to extend on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China our sincere congratulations to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and to Your Excellency Foreign Minister Sunario.

The Republic of Indonesia and our country have always maintained good neighbourly relations. Our two countries have always respected and have been friendly 10 each other. The question of dual nationality is a question left to us by the past. Now it is reasonably settled through friendly negotiations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect.

We know that some other countries are likewise concerned about this question. It is of great significance that this question is solved during the time of the AsianAfrican Conference. This is another good example of solving difficult questions between us Asian and African countries in a spirit of friendly negotiation.

I guarantee that the Government of the People's Republic of China will firmly carry out the Treaty signed today. I hope that persons of Chinese origin with dual nationality as a result of past history will, after making their choice of nationality in accordance with their own will, strictly abide by the letter and spirit of this Treaty and increase their sense of responsibility towards the country the nationality of which they have chosen. I hope that persons who choose either the nationality of the People's Republic of China or the nationality of the Republic of Indonesia will join their efforts in promoting friendly and neighbourly relations between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Indonesia. congratulate the ever strengthening of the friendly relations between the People's Republic of China and the

Republic of Indonesia

WORLD OPINION

STATEMENTS BY VISITORS TO THE CONFERENCE

BY

EXTRACTS FROM STATEMENTS MADE ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS ON THE CYPRUS

QUESTION

The Bandung Conference is a historic step towards the final burying of colonialism in the present world. All dependent peoples are following with relief and satisfaction the proceedings of this Conference. In no less degree the Cypriot people participate in these feelings Although the question of Cyprus was not directly considered in the Conference yet the condemnation by it of colonialism in general necessarily includes Cyprus.

Colonialism in its flight from Asia and Africa should not find refuge in Cyprus.

Cyprus, an island in the easternmost part of the Mediterranean, has a population of 520,000, of which 80.2 percent are Greek, 17.9 are Turks and 1.9 various other smaller minorities.

Since 1878 the island is under British administration The Greek people of Cyprus always aspired to their national liberty and for decades now have been repeatedly putting forward with insistence before the British Government their claim to self-determination, but with a negative result.

Cyprus, therefore, is still a British colony. At a time when colonialism has by the progress of humanity been completely condemned and is rapidly dying out everywhere, that it should continue to flourish in an island with a history of civilization extending over 3000 years, is wholly unjustified; its termination calls for the support of all freedom-loving peoples.

The matter was brought up before the United Nations at its last session by Greece as the sponsoring member state at the request of the people of Cyprus.

The claim was inserted in the agenda. under the heading "The application of the principle of equal rights and self-determination to the population of Cyprus" No resolution, however, was taken by the General Assembly owing to the reactionary influence of the powers of the colonial block, and the matter was postponed for the "time being",

The negative attitude, however, of the Administering State towards the self-determination of Cyprus continues

unaltered, the British Government still treating the matter as one of its own domestic concern, although the discussion in the United Nations proved it to be otherwise.

The mass demonstrations by the people for the self-determination of Cyprus in December last were met by recourse to force and the firing by military units at unarmed demonstrators, while arrests and imprisonments followed; the position is unfortunately becoming very anomalous and fraught with danger.

The people of Cyprus wholeheartedly support all the declared objectives of the Bandung Conference, one of the most important of which is the self-determination of peoples.

We expect that our voice will not go unheeded in the hall of the Bandung Conference. The cause of the people of Cyprus is particularly a moral and just one ; we consequently trust that it will receive the full and sincere support of this significant Conference, which, as stated by its President, sets morality high in its policy, and which may well prove to be a landmark in the progress of mankind.

MEMORANDUM OF THE SINGAPORE LABOUR FRONT TO THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE AT BANDUNG, 1955

(Extract)

Many of the delegates to this Conference have passed through Singapore on their way to Bandung. You have seen the City and you may have met many of the real people born and bred in Singapore of many races and creeds, a good number educated In the most famous universities of the world, just as many of you were. In your countries you have shown in no uncertain way your capacity to manage your own affairs. We, however, are told that we are not. ready yet for complete self-government! On your way home, friends, brothers, and sisters, have a closer look at us and see for yourselves whether there is any logic in that charge of immaturity.

In your busy moments at Bandung we appeal to you to give a few thoughts to Singapore. Some of you have passed through your days of colonial tribulation. Give us

your hands on our road to independence. We are here now to learn from our neighbours some of the answers to our problems.

The delegates of the Singapore Labour Front will take back with them that wonderful spirit of independence which we see all around us at the Bandung Conference.

We have not been invited to this Conference nevertheless permit us to join you in this historic march of the Asian and African peoples. May we hope that in the near future Singapore may be the venue of one of your meetings ?

C. H. KOH.

For the LABOUR FRONT VISITORS.

PRESS EXTRACTS

INDONESIA

The "Patriot" of Medan in North Sumatra, writing as the Conference was beginning to get under way, argued that the Bandung Conference is living proof that peaceful co-existence of peoples of different political systems and ideologies is indeed possible. The holding of the Conference, it added, iS also proof of the fact that the principle of equal rights is being applied.

The paper expressed hope that the problem of normalising economic relations will be solved satisfactorily by the Conference, because there is no reason whatsoever to reject trade extension if it benefits all parties involved. The "Pewarta Surabaja" of East Java commented that "the eyes of the world have now been opened to the fact that in Indonesia, too, there are leaders of big calibre, whose role in world affairs cannot be ignored".

The paper felt that although Asian and African countries do not possess atomic bombs and other nuclear weapons, they can, for one thing, stop the flow of raw materials for war purposes. It concluded by asking that in their fight for world supremacy the Soviet Union and America should leave Asia and Africa alone.

The "Sin Po", a Chinese language paper published in Djakarta, had this to say :

"As is universally known, the Asian-African Conference is attended by twenty-nine countries representing more than half of the world's population. If the Conference succeeds the peoples in these parts of the world will henceforward unite and cooperate and live together in peace. In that case, the age of imperialist domination and enslavement of coloured races in Asia and Africa will forever become a thing of the past and these peoples will be able to decide their own destinies.

"The convening of the Conference is therefore unprecedented in the history of Asia and Africa as well as that of the world. The success of the Conference will open a new road in the development of the Asian and African nations and offer a valuable contribution to the promotion of peace in Asia and Africa and the world as well. The importance of the Conference is clearly undeniable."

The "Harian Rakjat" of Bandung said that the speeches made by President Sukarno and Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo "have blown a refreshing wind into a world sick of the ruins caused by bombardments during the last war and sick of piles of gunpowder ready to be exploded by people devoid of all human feelings".

The desires of the Indonesian people are also the desires of all Asian and African nations, the paper continued, and in order to realize these desires cooperation must not cease after the conclusion of the Conference.

The paper suggested that cooperation be continued in the form of permanent or semi-permanent political, economic and cultural commissions with secretariat of a permanent or semi-permanent character, etc. In short, it concluded, the cooperation needs a definite form.

The "Merdeka" of Djakarta said that the speeches of President Sukarno and Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo are complementary. If the President's speech contained-an analysis of colonialism, the speech-of the Prime Minister contained a formulation of peace in its modern sense.

The Prime Minister's speech has given clear lines as to the task of the Bandung Conference in formulating a basis for cooperation It is of profound significance and can serve as a guiding principle that only with unity among Asian and African nations can efforts be made towards rapid progress in the political, economic, social and cultural fields. It also serves as an indication for the Western nations that in Bandung, too, constructive efforts can be made towards lasting peace, which can guarantee the present and future generations.

BRITAIN

\*The Manchester Guardian" referred to the Conference as a novelty in international meetings. Indonesia the paper said, was to gain prestige to cover its internal situation; Japan to gain trade in South-East Asia: Ceylon to propose U.N. Charter reform and Peking to seek a golden opportunity. Over the last few weeks, according to the Manchester Guardian, Peking has relaxed its warlike propaganda about Formosa, because it was

likely that she wanted to arrive at the Conference appearing to offer the blessing of peace, Obviously the aim of Peking, the paper continued, would be to convince the Asian countries that the threat of war came from the

West.

The instrument with which it worked would be the famous five principles of co-existence, which China was using in the Conference as Russia used peace. One of those who had already subscribed to the principles was Mr. Nehru, who certainly did not accept the principles in a Communist or Peking sense. The interest at Bandung would be to see whether Mr. Nehru by taking the Chinese at their peaceful words could steer them willy nilly into peaceful courses. Could he and Asia accept Chinese gifts without bringing on themselves the same fate that befell Troy when it did not look a gift horse in the mouth. The drama at the Conference and the play of political forces would be more complex, according to this British daily, because the Chinese could already count on Mr. Nehru being half in agreement with their interpretation of the present political scene, even though his long term aims and theirs were wide apart.

Nehru, the paper went on, had always disliked intensely the idea of America establishing military and naval bases on Asian soil. He condemned Seato because it might bring, American military power into operation in SouthEast-Asia; earlier he condemned the San Francisco treaty because it enabled America to organize Japan as a base. In the opinion of the Manchester Guardian, Nehru might of course decide at Bandung that he could best employ himself as a mediator, but alternatively he might try to enlist the Conference in protest against America's alleged attempts to settle the affairs of free Asia over free Asia's head. The Manchester Guardian then said that for the Western countries the capital fact about the Conference was that Communist China was being brought into parley by Asian leaders who were men of goodwill, non-Communists and not easy dupes even if they inclined towards neutralism.

Commenting on the speech of President Sukarno, the Manchester Guardian published the following cable from its correspondent in Bandung :

"It was an impressive speech, addressed to an impressive audience in the theatre of a former Dutch club. On the opening of the Conference," the paper's correspondent said "there is an atmosphere of gaiety and enthusiasm which is strangely reminiscent of the earlier and most hopeful assemblies of the League of Nations. In a sense the Asian and possibly the Afro-Asian unity is certainly becoming an important political factor.

"'The prospects of the Conference were improved by the decision that there should be no resolutions. This diminishes the chances of precise decisions but also di-

minishes the danger of a split between the Communists and the anti-Communists

The Manchester Guardian referred to the speech of Chou En-lai as a straw in the wind. He could have beaten the-drum about colonialism and American misdeeds, it went on. Instead he sought to win friends and influence people. Although the speech contained references to colonial oppression, American subversion on Formosa and China's right to the United Nations' seat, the speech was notably moderate in tone.

China said that she was not imposing any ideology and that she accepted religious and political differences among the Asian nations. More practically she offered to discuss the question of the overseas Chinese upon whom Peking were previously ambiguous, Doubtless the speech is tactics, but one reason for the tactics must have been Chou's sensing of the feeling of the Bandung meeting, Many delegates are not ready to cheer anti-colonial denunciation and leave it at that. The question is whether China's tactical regard for Asian feeling can lead here to its moderating its behaviour on Formosa and the off-shore islands.

"The Glasgow Herald" of 20th April wrote that the Conference could not be dismissed as a Communist plot, though the Communists might plan to harness Asian forces for their own ends. The invitation list for the Conference represented a compromise reached by the sponsoring nations, with various countries invited to counter-balance the presence of China. The diversity of the participants had made it impossible to construct an agenda, but the underlying thought of the meeting was that the participants had to have a greater voice in the world. Many delegates would probably agree with Nehru that the United Nations. is still too American-European. The desire for such a conference stemmed probably from the need to fill the vacuum left by the colonialist retreat. The fact that Indonesia was the initiator was significant, as she was bitterly conscious of her ex-colonial status.

Mohammed Ali and Kotelawala had few illusions about Communism, the paper went on to say. Although Nehru was a prophet of co-existence he was less patient to the Communists in India. U Nu was realistic about China's territorial ambitions in South-East Asia. Thus. while China would be able at Bandung to obstruct useful discussion, she would not be able to perform any diplomatic coup.

For hints as to whether Asia would advance to democracy one should keep one's eyes not on Bandung but on Washington, where a new economic aid programme would be published next week. The battle for the soul of Asia would be won or lost not at conference tables but in fields and factories.

The Birmingham Post detailed the purposes of the Conference, and commented that It wan unique and Inte portant From the point of view of genuine anti-coloniallam, said the paper, cooperation between the two COn tinents IN logical enough, and very proper thing if only it were not bedevilled by that new and more Insidious Imperialism of communism.

The tact that the Chinese delegation in led by Chou En lal. indicates a change of standpoint, the paper comments. Until recently, China would not rub shoul ders with "bourgeois" states like India, Jordan, Burma Or Indonesia. In the case ol Indonesia the paper belleven that the reason why the communists have changed their attitude lies in the fact that Indonesia is a free Asian power where the communists are strong.

After some conjecture, the paper says that the COnte munists will try to exploit Bandung AN they did the Geneva Conference, to which the Bandung Conference owes much of its inspiration.

The Daily Worker (London) on April 10 said that the former colonies, colonies and semi-colonies were seeking a common ground because the policies of their colonisers had been to divide and rule them; However, it was not one colonial nation nor the white man in general which was realised to be the enemy, but "imperialism bound with the present stage of monopoly capitalism",

The Conference would be unlikely to formulate an immediate programme ol action, said the Daily Worker. But if it lays down the principles and establishes that Asia and Africa must combine against the common enemy, then that is an excellent beginning, the paper concluded.

AMERICA

Is this only vanity? asks Max Lerner in the .New York Post". It would be a mistake to conclude that the whole Bandung Conference is only a preening before the mirror ol history by men who like the center of the stage. involved. there aretougher and more stubborn purposes To get at these purposes one must remember that odd

Bandung is neither simple nor monolithic. The thirty Asian and African delegations fall roughly into four groups. One may be called the Nehru-U Nu bloc second the Nasser-Sukarno bloe of Moslem countries : third the Philippines-Thailandor pro-Western bloc : fourth the Chou En-lai or Communist bloc. Each has its satellites. Lerner continues : The him of the Nasser-Sukarno Moslem bloc is not nearly as high-minded. Sukarno wanted the Bandung Conference so that he might gather a cordon of Moslem countries to bolster his Indonesian

regime, The Arab League in turn is coming to Bandung determined to fight out the power struggle between LEypt and Iraq. They will all talk about freedom and pence but the only thing that unites them is hatred of Israel. For that reason the anti Jewish theme is bound to crop Up) at Bandung, however much Nehru and U Nu-may neck (o keep it quiet.

In conclusion, and by way of criticism ol Dulles' policy, the "Post" reports : The themes of anti-colonial

Im, colour discrimination and antiwar are the themes that every Communist party in Asia and Africa has been able to appropriate largely because our American policy makers have been NO busy talking military positions and drawing a military line that they have left the juicy slogans for the Communists. All that Chou En lat will have to do will he to exert his charm. sound reasonable, utter bromides, sell the "Five Principles" and collect some Int propaganda dividends,

Two days later (19 April) the same paper contains another article from Max Lerner, He says

Historical eventa ARe sometimes like sleeper movies You don't know how historie they are until they hit the screen and paying customers troop in. It is probably as grent 41 surprise to the sponsors notably Nehru and U Nu 41 to everyone else that Bandung has caught the world's imagination.

A story get is that after the Djakarta conference A1 the end of December, neither. Nehru nor U Nu took plans for Bandung very seriously, But All Sastroamidjojo, Indonesian Prime Minister, who hankered for his fellow Moslems of the Arab League to keep him company, scht out invitations. The response WAIN Immediate and all sponsors found to their surprise that they were marking the end and beginning of an era. "We are marching in step with history" said Nehru as he left New Delhi for

Bandung, As for the U.S.A., the article continues, the State Department was at first inclined to ask our working allies to boycott Bandung, but in the end sanity prevailed. We arenow playing it straight-faced on the theory that Bandung will have more than one voice, and that the voice for the Western world will also get a hearing, AN a formal policy this is # correct one for US to take. Bandung has also given proof of its impact by forcing President Eisenhower to speed up the announcement of a proposed billion dollar aid program for Asia. The message in in time for the Bandung meeting in order to strengthen the hand of Carlos Romulo and other delegates who are lighting to help it from becoming il Communist weapon,

The Chinese have taken along a large trade and economic delegation which will spend its time in court

ship, says Max Lerner, but it would have been better if we had doubled our Asian aid before Bandung ever met. It would also be more reassuring to Asians if they did not suspect that the President's figures may be seriously whittled down before they pass the scrutiny of Congress and of Secretary Humphrey.

Let no one try to laugh Bandung off. warns Lerner, who then says: We have allowed ourselves to drift into a position where Asians feel we are resisting not encouraging, their claims to a position in world councils. Bandung recognises these claims which is why it has become an outlet for resentment and pride. wish we had the imagination to forget our. fears about Bandung and go all-out in welcoming it. If Dulles' dead hand did not lie on American foreign policy, and if we had a bold president in White House, would it be too much to hope that he might send a straightforward greeting to Bandung ? The President has sent the same old platitudes about "peaceful aspirations" and "renunciations", but he could have sent another kind of message : a message saying : "We differ on some things and I may not like the resolutions with which you will end up. implore you not to be misled by the bland promises of several of your delegations which would act like wolves ifthey had you in their power. Nevertheless it is a great day for the world when a resurgent Asia and Africa rise from the lowly positions in which they have crouched for centuries, and assert themselves as part of the world, caught in its doom, heirs to its hopes. We wish you well. and as President of the American people, I hail you".

Is it just a dream of mine, asks Max Lerner this notion that America can afford the great and generous gesture in place of niggling resistance plus the language of the dollar? Perhaps it is, but I trust the time is not distant when the dream can become a reality.

"The New York Herald Tribune" comments: The communists did their utmost to create an atmosphere favourable to their cause in advance of the Bandung meeting. They set up a fraudulent Asian African Conference in New Delhi, composed of Reds and fellowtravellers, whose party line resolutions might be used to sow confusion concerning the decisions of the Bandung group. The destruction of a plane carrying Chinese was ascribed by Chou En-lai to "secret agent organisations of the US and Chiang Kai Shek".

It is to be expected, the "'Herald Tribune" continues, that Red China and the apologists will attempt to bring the Conference around to the kind of denunciations of the West which are the stock in trade of Red propaganda. But the nations at Bandung which recognise the communist peril have seized the initiative. They have demonstrated

chorus to Chou En-lai's solo. They are willing and eager that they have not come to Indonesia merely to sing but they decline to acknowledge to work for peace as a which is now building up a military threat in Formosa peace-loving regime the Communist government strait.

In an editorial the Christian Science Monitor said an Asian conference that Indian Premier Nehru's calling of of eleven nations at New Delhi to work out plans for using

Western economic aid highlighted recent hopeful developments in this field.

The Nehru move comes in time to help keep Asian perspectives realistic. It will remind Asians that they can get help from the West on terms consistent with their own self-respect and freedom. This should help to offset impressions which Communists may wish to create, the paper claimed, at another Asian Conference now getting under way at Bandung that Asian peoples can best achieve their hopes by keeping clear of Western ties, even at the risk of being dominated by the Asian branch of international communism.

Western leadership would do well to note that the Bandung Conference is being organised around political and philosohical concepts as Asians' share to the world. If economic aid to Asia is to make its maximum contribution to an understanding of the free world it must avoid emphasising material aims to the exclusion of other values.

This is one reason why some of America's allies with long experience in the Far East have hoped that new aid to Asia can be launched without too much fanfare. The same paper on April 19 said that it may be asked what one might reasonably expect by way of results from the Bandung Conference. The nature of the agenda adopted did not indicate that any very concrete conclusions were expected, the paper added. In general, Americans and Europeans could afford to applaud any move making for better communications in the world, and could trust that intelligence, moderation and liberality would find spokesmen in any world group which had freely assembled. The New York Times entitled an editorial "Turnabout at Bandung". saying that the Conference had begun with a dramatic turnabout which dispels any notion that Asia-and Africa speak with one voice, or that any one leader dare presume to speak for all Asian and African countries. Speakers from the anti-communist countries, the paper said, had drawn up a powerful indictment against the

Communist powers and had marshalled facts which the West had long since known, but which are still too little recognised in the two under-developed continents.

As the basis for their indictment. the editorial said further, the speakers in question pointed out that the

Western powers had been gradually abandoning imperialism, and since the last war had freed no less than

600 commillion people. During this same period the munists on nations, the population of which the other hand had enslaved no less than 6 approached 700 million.

This editorial concluded with the comment that, in view of the applause which greeted the anti-communist speakers, Chou's chances of success are indeed slim.

RUSSIA

Writing in Pravda on April 16, Pastukhov stated "The American imperialists, caught unawares by the decisions of the Bogor Conference, opened up an unbridJed campaign against the calling of the Conference. Junior partners of the U.S.A. in such aggressive military blocs as SEATO, submissively joined in. However, the U.S.A.'s attempts to frustrate the Bandung Conference suffered complete failure.

"The Soviet people, together with all progressive mankind look upon the Conference of the Asian and African countries as an important political event in the life of these countries: it facilitates an easing of tension in international relations and the strengthening of universal peace.

"Guided by the feelings of friendship and sympathy for the peoples of Asia and Africa who are courageously struggling for their freedom and independence, the Soviet people wish success to the Bandung Conference."

AUSTRALIA

The "Sydney Morning Herald" of 16th April argued that the Conference had its origin purely and simply in the Indonesian governing party's desire to win prestige in a general election. What was remarkable was that the remaining four Colombo powers were unwilling to oppose the suggestion, and that 19 other states had accepted the

invitation to attend. That is why the Western powers could not afford to treat the A.A confab lightly.

The Conference, the daily went on to say, was an opportunity seized by a very considerable number of nonwhite nations to assert their place in the world, Whatever forms of words might be used, this was a racial meeting, where the qualification for admission was colour. Fundamentally the delegates were coming to prove to the world that the voice of the white man was not the only one which should command attention. It was an answer to the attitude, that the West still adopts, that coloured races have a subordinate status in world affairs.

On the strictly practical level a conference of this kind was most unlikely to achieve anything at all, the Sydney Morning Herald concluded. It was a demonstation that racial solidarity was stronger than political and economic differences, and that the West had failed to convince the East of its good intentions.

Writing in The Sidney "Daily Telegraph", Emery Bares stated that as a sign of the times, and of the new stirrings throughout Asia and Africa, the conference could prove an historic landmark, a register as well as portent of changing values and relations. It might be symbolic of the closing phases of one era and the beginnings of another. The future of Australia would • be greatly influenced by what came out of Bandung, With so many opportunities for consultation, the federal government of Australia acted properly in directing its ambassador in Indonesia to attend. Apparently, Dr. Bars concluded, much would depend on Mr. Nehru's success or failure as a bridge builder between dissonant elements.

Douglas Wilkie, writing in the "Melbourne Sun" of 19th April described the Conference as one of the milestones in the march of mankind. In contemporary Australian eyes the conference was a "hotchpotch" assembly. In retrospect it would be memorable as the first conference of its kind. However vague or "unrealistic" its resolutions, they served notice to the world that non-white peoples refused any longer to accept Western solutions of world problems.