**List of Invitees**

The five sponsoring Premiers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan have invited to attend the Conference the following 25 countries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Afghanistan</th>
<th>Iran</th>
<th>Philippines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambodia</td>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central African Federation</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Sudan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China (The People’s Republic)</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
<td>Syria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>Laos</td>
<td>Thailand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Lebanon</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gold Coast</td>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>Viet-Nam (North)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Libya</td>
<td>Viet-Nam (South)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nepal</td>
<td>Yemen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*) Have accepted the invitation as recorded until 12th March 1955.
— Not in a position to participate.
THE JOINT SECRETARIAT

IMMEDIATELY after the Conference of the five Colombo Premiers at Bogor, a Joint Secretariat was set up with the Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Mr. Roeslan Abdulgani, as its Secretary-General. The other members of the Joint Secretariat are the Heads of the Diplomatic Missions of the other four sponsoring countries. They are Mr. B.F.H.B. Tyabji, the Ambassador of the Republic of India, Mr. Choudri Khaliquzzaman, the Ambassador of Pakistan, Mr. M. Saravanamutto, the Minister of Ceylon and Mr. Mya Sein, the Charge d’Affaires of the Union of Burma.

The Joint Secretariat is divided into the following committees:

1. Political Committee
2. Economic Committee
3. Social & Cultural Committee
4. Financial Committee
5. Press Committee
6. Technical Committee

The Technical Committee is subdivided into four sections which deal respectively with Accomodation, Communication, Supply and Transport.

To serve the day-to-day running of the Joint Secretariat, a Daily Secretariat has also been set up. The Joint Secretariat is assisted by two Indonesian Committees:

1. The Interdepartmental Committee in Djakarta; this Committee consists of representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Communication, the Ministry of Information, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of Economic Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Defence and the State Police. Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee is Mr. Roeslan Abdulgani, Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry.

2. The Local Committee in Bandung; Chairman of this Committee is the Governor of West-Java, Mr. Sanusi Hardjadinata.

Liaison Officers of the five sponsoring countries maintain close relations with both the Interdepartmental and the Local Committee.

Weekly Conference of the Joint Secretariat
Facilities for the Press

Accommodation.

Approximately 400 pressmen from overseas are expected to attend the Conference at Bandung. Preparations have been made for their accommodation. The Associated Press, United Press, Hsin Hua and Time & Life will rent houses for their headquarters and this is being attended to by the Bandung Committee.

Transport.

Buses and taxis will maintain a shuttle service between the Conference building, the hotels and the Press rooms in the centre of the city. Transportation by bus will be free of charge. There will be a road which will only be open to cars of delegates, journalists and officials of the Conference. A few days before the Conference takes place, the Garuda Indonesian Airways will increase its service between Djakarta & Bandung by one additional flight, the last one from Bandung being at 18.30. Extra carriages will be added to the trains, which run between Djakarta and Bandung.

Pressroom.

Two pressrooms will be available. The one at the Pension Building will comprise two halls, each with six booths for the newsagencies. The pressroom at the Concordia will have some recreation facilities including a bar.
Communication.

The Post, Telegraph and Telephone authorities are arranging to have 21 morsecast frequencies for the newsagencies. It is planned that newsagencies will be given separate frequencies and for this an impartial allocation will have to be made after consulting newsagencies likely to utilise the service. Post and telegraphic offices will be set up at four places, at the Pension Building, Homann Hotel, Preanger Hotel and at the Concordia. Special postal and telegraphic booths for delegates and for the press will be provided at the Bandung Post Office. Round-the-clock telegraphic service will be maintained.

Five special telephone lines will be provided for the press between Bandung and Djakarta. Cable and Wireless will have two lines for the requirements of the press between Bandung and Djakarta.

Radio-telephone links will be established with almost all of the 30 countries attending the Conference.

Courier service will be maintained by the Djakarta press between Bandung and Djakarta.

Press collect.

To simplify the despatch of newscables from Bandung, journalists are recommended to make arrangements for
their telegrams to be sent press collect. This will prevent loss of time at the telegraphic counters and simplify the procedure throughout.

Immigration and Customs.

Both these authorities have promised simplified procedure at Tandjong Priok and Kemajoran Airport. Customs clearance will also function at Bandung Airport.

Indonesian Consular officials abroad have been instructed to simplify procedures for the issuance of visa to bonafide journalists. Five passport photos have to be sent to Djakarta for the presscard of the visitor and for other purposes.

Information centres.

Information centres with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Information will be located at Bandung in the Pension Building, Concordia, Homann hotel, Preanger hotel, the Railway Station & Airport and in Djakarta at Tandjong Priok, Kemajoran Airport, Kota Railway Station and at the hotels Des Indes and Dharma Nirmala.

At these centres journalists can receive their presscards, the names of the hotels and room-numbers. They will be helped with tickets to proceed to Bandung and the Intrabu Tourist Bureau will change their foreign currencies.

The Airport Information centres will be opened on 1st April, the others on April 8 and will be closed at the end of April.

The centres will consist of 39 officials in Djakarta and 100 in Bandung, including those attending the more elaborate pressrooms at the Concordia building.

Reading Material.

Antara and PIA — news services, the Indonesian Observer and the Times of Indonesia will be provided to assist journalists to follow world events.

Radio-Broadcast.

Radio Republik Indonesia will allocate broadcasting time of 10-minutes each day for foreign stations desiring to broadcast from Bandung.

### AVAILABLE FREQUENCIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency (kilocycles)</th>
<th>Call sign</th>
<th>Capacity (K.W.)</th>
<th>Time (Java)</th>
<th>Direction</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>40</td>
<td>0300 — 1400</td>
<td>Europe, U.S.A.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>all directions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10680</td>
<td>PLB7</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1100 — 2200</td>
<td>Europe, Oakland, Manila</td>
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<td>Europe, Oakland, Sydney</td>
</tr>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>1900 — 0600</td>
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</tr>
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<td>8045</td>
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<td>PMA4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1600 — 0600</td>
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<tr>
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<td>PMD3</td>
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<td>Amsterdam, Osaka</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2100 — 0830</td>
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</table>
Afro-Asian meeting

Of the significance of the forthcoming Afro-Asia Conference, for which the foundations are being laid by the Colombo Powers at Bogor, there can be no doubt. It is in response to an increasing awareness of common interests and closer bonds among those Afro-Asian Powers which have remained uncommitted to either the Communist States or to the Western bloc. On many issues before the U.N. in deciding which, it was felt, there was a preponderance of Big Power influence, the smaller States of the Afro-Asian continents have invariably combined to exercise a moderating and restraining influence. To what extent the proposed conference will establish some form of machinery for mutual consultations on a regular basis — if, indeed, specific and formal procedure is considered necessary — is a question for the main body of the Afro-Asian Conference to decide for itself. The enthusiasm with which the prospects of closer co-operation among the Afro-Asian Power have been received should not blind us to the very real difficulties of forming an organisation which is not a bloc but is at the same time sufficiently cohesive to represent the interests of countries covering so vast an area as that of the Afro-Asian continents. Clearly, anticolonialism is too negative a platform to provide the sense of constructive purpose which alone can make the organisation truly effective and acceptable as the spokesman of the Afro-Asian peoples.

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

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

Jakarta Conference

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

When the Prime Minister told the people of Indonesia "When you fought for your independence, the hearts of our people and their prayers were with you... When you suffered, we suffered too in our hearts", he was not making a diplomatic statement, but was expressing the feeling of the people of this country. We have consistently upheld the right of those peoples who are struggling to free themselves from the bondage of colonialism. Our feeling of anxiety is all the more great if the oppressed people happen to be Muslims. In the international conferences Pakistan has not missed a single opportunity to uphold the cause of these peoples. In the independence of Libya, Pakistan played no mean a part. In the last Colombo Conference, it was Pakistan which sponsored the resolution declaring the full fledged support to the liberation movement in French North Africa. Likewise in the Jakarta Conference Pakistan has again succeeded in securing a pledge from the Asian Premiers to continue supporting the North African liberation struggle.

Pakistan's stand in the Jakarta Conference regarding the solution of outstanding disputes among the participating countries, has once again placed India in a difficult position. The logic of Pakistan's plea has thwarted the endorsement
of Nehru-Chou En-Lai five-point programme which would establish India’s leadership over Asia. Though at the instance of Pakistan, the conference has agreed that the proposed Afro-Asian Conference was not aimed at creating a regional bloc, India has not completely abandoned the idea and is reported to be busy enlisting support for her plan. The best protection against India’s attempts to reduce the conference into an instrument for the enhancement of its participation.

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

(Pakistan Standard, Karachi 1-1-‘55).

This "Afro-Asianism"

The meeting at Bogor, Indonesia, of five Asian Prime Ministers, representing the so-called Colombo Powers, has decided to issue invitations to 25 other countries besides the sponsors to attend a larger conference planned for April this year. If every invitation is accepted, all the independent States of the two continents will gather together four months hence — with two exceptions: Israel and the Union of South Africa. Thus, a new international body comprising exclusively the “coloured” races and nations, seems to be taking shape. Whether this further sub-division of mankind is likely to be conducive of good for the world and the human race is problematical. The United Nations, as it exists and functions today, may be far from a perfect institution, but this attempt to create what may well prove to be an even more unsatisfactory “united nations” of Asians and Africans alone is not the answer. Can it not be, that a sort of inferiority complex, magnified to international proportions, underlies the urge to bring together the yellow, brown and black pigmented peoples in an exclusive organisation of their own? It may be said that only loose periodical meetings, and no permanent organisation, is at present contemplated, but such moves inevitably lead to the emergence of organisation.

According to the communiqué issued by the “Colombo Powers” — which term is in itself a misnomer — the purpose of the larger Afro-Asian meet — which will probably result in the discovery of a new name, the "Jakarta Powers", would be:

"A. To promote goodwill and co-operation between the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as their common interests and to establish and further friendliness and neighbourly relations.

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

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

“D. To view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world of today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and co-operation”.

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

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

Last but not the least important is the question why the threat of Communism to the countries of Asia and Africa has found no mention at all in the Bogor communique? In the communique issued after the first conference at Colombo the following important passage was included under the head “Communism and external interference”—

“The subject of Communism in its national and international aspects was discussed. The Prime Ministers ... declared their unshakable determination to resist interference in the affairs of their countries by external Communist, anti-Communist or other agencies. They were convinced that such interference threatened the sovereignty, security, and political independence of their respective States ....” How did it come about at Bogor that in drawing up the aims and objects of the larger Asian-African conference the threat of Communism was wholly forgotten? If the explanation is that Communist China being one of the new invitees, the mention of Communism was left out so as not to offend the susceptibilities of that country, then it would be a confession of a complete ideological surrender.

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

(Dawn, Karachi 2-1-55).

Brown man’s burden.

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

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

The conference of the Colombo Powers will lay its plans for a meeting of the Afro-Asian powers to discuss colonialism. It is an encouraging thought that whatever unity exists already among the peoples in this region is built around a sympathetic concern for the oppressed colonial peoples. Vague though the cohesion of this block is it shows itself, in the United Nations especially, through the Arab Asian group which springs into action as soon as it hears a report of ruthless colonial exploitation or the suppression through force of arms of a people’s urge to freedom.

So far the anxiety of the Free Asian nations and that of the Arab powers who, too, will take part in the Afro-Asian conference, has been excited mostly when the simmering unrest of the colonial peoples has erupted in violence. They need now to be vigilant on the normal conduct of colonial affairs to see how the transfer of power to indigenous peoples may be accelerated.

The colonial powers, it is true, have defined their aims as the progressive realisation of self-government. Some times the formula is varied to one of “partnership”. All these are invariably uncouth terms intended to soften the harsh fact of ruling land and exploiting its resources primarily for the benefit of its White overlords.
To the microscopic minority of White settlers "progressive realisation of self-government" means a convenient process by which they will continue to dominate large coloured majorities, and they, their sons and their sons' sons will enjoy the exclusive privileges they have arbitrarily created for themselves.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Action which will bring freedom to all the oppressed peoples, however, is not full measure of the obligations which the Free Asian nations must assume towards the colonial peoples.
The transfer of power, for instance, will create new problems of administration. In the African regions and in other colonial areas either through a deliberate policy of the rulers or as a result of the cultural backwardness of some of its peoples skilled indigenous administrators are scarce. The Asian nations which have developed their own administrative skills can assist the peoples of the colonies to develop these talents.

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

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

(Jana, Colombo January 1955).

"Neutral strip"

The mere fact that the proposal for a "neutral peace-strip", from Egypt to the Philippines, which is to be the main purpose of the Afroasian Conference contemplated by the C-Power premiers, has the endorsement of Red China should make it suspect to all men of decent minds.

Peace is indivisible. It must be global in concept and implementation, or it is not peace. If the moving spirits behind the Afroasian Conference, as projected, think that they can enclose the region between Egypt and the Philippines in a sort of verbal barbed-wire stockade through which war with its terrors, however it may rage outside, will never penetrate, then they are deluding themselves and all who follow them most sadly — and most stupidly.

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

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

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

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

By Faroydun Sadri

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

(Elmi, Iran 9-1-55).

AUSTRALIA

Very close to home

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

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

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

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

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

And, despite our difference of opinion with Indonesia over West New Guinea, we have proved our good neighbourliness.

Australia was Indonesia's most active ally in that nation's UN fight for nationhood.

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

And besides allocating millions of pounds to implement the Plan we also support UN Asian aid programmes.

These things aside, however, it is perhaps a good thing that Asian and African peoples should work together on mutual problems.