bring the various views closer to each other to the best interest of all. On all issues unanimous agreement was reached. Such a unanimity, even if it was obtained on general principles, is a cause of rejoicing and pride; it is a clear manifestation of our common ideals of peace and freedom, our common will to resist and fight all forms of colonialism and subjugation.

During the Conference, the contact and the free exchange of opinions among us was of utmost importance for all of us. I do earnestly hope that it would be continued and thus help the promotion of closer political, economic and cultural collaboration in our two continents.

As the necessity of this gathering was in great part dictated by the needs of a closer economic cooperation, we should especially endeavour that such economic relations would be promoted and contribute to the development of better understanding and more fruitful collaboration in all other fields.

Perhaps the aims of this Conference would be better served by a wider publicity. However, I should add that if we thought it necessary to confine ourselves to closed sessions, none of us here had in mind to underestimate the importance of the public opinion, we were only eager to realize necessary conditions for the quickest possible way of exchanging views and coming to agreement without being hindered by undue publicity.

Also, I should like to express our deepest gratitude to the generous and inexhaustible hospitality of our host and promoters of the Conference who succeeded to realize all the means of material and spiritual comfort for all the delegates to the Conference. Our sincere thanks go to H.E. the President of the Republic of Indonesia and H.E. the Indonesian Prime Minister under whose able leadership the Conference successfully achieved its program. The enthusiasm and the sympathy of all the population of Bandung and the organizers of the Conference will always be remembered with deep affection.

Before concluding I would like to add a few more words. On this bright Sunday of the 24th of April, in the green city of Bandung, the A.A. Conference is proud, after a week of hard labour, to have given birth to a most cherished child: a child of future with no special name, no special colour, no special race, but with certain specific features in which we all, more or less, recognize ourselves. It is a child whose frail body symbolizes the sufferings and the privations of a cruel, though magnificent, past and whose insistent cries call upon the brightest morrows of mankind. It is a child whose hands seem already capable of giving shape to the most fantastic dreams of our forefathers. It is a child which it is our sacred duty to bring up with utmost care, love and wisdom.

History will recall the Bandung Conference as the first diplomatic manifestation of the Afro-Asian solidarity and our consciousness and determined will to begin a new era, the era of gradual emancipation from the enslaving old chains of fear and tyranny of ignorance and want. Today we are proclaiming to the whole world the awakening of our two continents: a historical phenomenon of our time, our conviction that completely independent and free Afro-Asia is possible and can, by itself, achieve such a political, economic and social emancipation.

Long live the Afro-Asian solidarity! Long live the fifteen hundred millions of brothers and sisters of our two continents!

Mohammad Fadhil Jamali — Iraq

Mr. President and Honourable Delegates!

At least two outstanding qualities characterised the spirit of the Bandung Conference. One is the cordiality and the friendly atmosphere with which we met each other and the second is the frankness, sincerity and clarity with which we expressed our respective points of view.

This Conference certainly broadened our international horizon and gave birth to new friendship and sympathies and fortified old ones.

It is natural that we should hold different point of view because we have different backgrounds, different problems; we have different philosophies and different ideologies. It is futile to ignore differences and disagreements. The important thing is to come together, to discuss and to know our points of agreement and act on them and to discover highly controversial issues like the

Taiwan and other such issues and avoid discussing them. We did our best, Mr. Chairman, under your able leadership to find many points of agreement. We unanimously agreed, for example, on subjects like Indonesia’s right on West Irian, subjects like recognition of the rights of the Arabs of Palestine to their own homes, subjects like liberation of the peoples of Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, and other subjugated peoples, wherever they may be. We agreed on the principle of self-determination of peoples. We agreed on disarmament and prohibition of nuclear weapons and on many other economic and cultural issues.

This Conference will go in history as a great world event. It has been a successful one. For the success of a Conference depends on its atmosphere of friendship and goodwill on the one hand and on its handling of the agenda with thoroughness, objectivity and realism on the other. These conditions were greatly fulfilled.
We are happy that our deliberations were guided by the United Nations Charter and this Conference supports and fortifies the United Nations.

Mr. Chairman, Indonesia will always be in the hearts and minds of all of us here. The people of Indonesia inspired us with love, kindness and good nature. We are grateful to His Excellency the President of the Republic of Indonesia, to you personally, Sir, to your Government and to the people of Indonesia in general and the inhabitants of the city of Bandung in particular. We are indebted to the Colombo Powers for initiating this Conference and for effectively carrying out its plan. We thank them most heartily.

May Allah lead us all in the path of brotherhood, happiness and peace for all mankind. May we all be inspired by a verse from the holy Koran which I will read to you:

Ya auyannya Innaa khalaknakum min thakarina wa unthwa wa ja'alaakum shu'uban wa qabaila lita'aarafu, inna akramakum 'indallahi atta'akum, innallaha aleemun khabeerun.

This means that "You people, we created you from male and female and made you into nations and tribes so that you may know and befriend each other. The most esteemed by Allah are those who do more good."

**Tatsunosuke Takasaki — Japan**

Mr. President and Fellow Delegates!

Allow me to express the heartfelt thanks of the Japanese delegation to the Government of the five sponsoring Powers — especially the Government of the host country, the Republic of Indonesia — for organising and steering the Asian-African Conference to a successful conclusion.

I wish to tender my sincere congratulations to this eminent Conference on its superb and splendid achievements and its powerful contributions towards the enhancement of friendship and understanding among the peoples of Asia and Africa.

The deliberations of the past few weeks have sometimes revealed the existence of certain differences of opinion, it is true. But these have all been amicably settled and we feel greatly encouraged by the large areas of agreement that have been secured on our common problems, by the spirit of good fellowship and tolerance that throughout characterised the atmosphere of the Conference, and by the common determination, fully demonstrated by all the participating delegations, to work together with the rest of the world, for the promotion of the peace and welfare of mankind. This Conference opens a new phase in the history of the world. In fact, it ushers in the much awaited dawn of Asian-African renaissance.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Japanese delegation in going home feels happy to have taken part in this historic Conference with the distinguished delegations from the two continents and feels grateful for the kindness and hospitality of the warm-hearted people of Indonesia, and for the generous cooperation of you all. They are deeply gratified with the impressive results of this unique Conference.

Finally, it is our earnest hope that true to the remarks of the distinguished leader of the Indian delegation, this beautiful city of Bandung will ever remain the capital of peace of the Asian-African region.

Thank you.

**Katay D. Sasorith — Laos**

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen!

At this closing moment of the Asian-African Conference, I raise my modest voice to convey to you the feeling of the delegation of Laos regarding the resolution we arrived at after all these days of continuous hard work. The delegation of Laos was following, with the greatest care and keener interest, the long and protracted discussions raised by these important problems of liberty, freedom, peace and welfare of the people, and my delegation fully supports the important resolutions arrived at in this Conference. All those resolutions, dictated by a spirit of deep wisdom and the unanimous desire of the people of Asia and Africa to witness the opening of a new era of justice, mutual understanding and universal brotherhood, will be a landmark in the history of humanity. Perhaps pessimistic minds would regret that these timely and wise resolutions are not followed by appropriate steps so as to make them respected by all countries, big and small. However, we may feel proud of the results secured which, undoubtedly, constitute a great step in the history of humanity. The spirit, the confidence, the solidarity is there and we hope that all people who are sincerely inter-
ested in peace will make it a moral obligation to fall in line with these principles and regulations, to the attainment of which they all contributed. We wish our best for the gathering of similar Conferences as often as possible. In this atmosphere once created and properly established, it is possible to develop mutual understanding and contribute to peaceful co-existence and collective security.

To conclude, may you allow me, Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, and Fellow Delegates, to convey to the sponsoring countries our deep sense of thankfulness for the opportunity given us to take part in this historic Inter-Continental Conference and also to convey to the Government and people of Indonesia our warm thanks for the lovely welcome given us in this beautiful and picturesque part of their country. Long live Indonesia! Long live the Asian-African Conference!

Sami Solh — Lebanon

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates!

At the opening of the Asian-African Conference we expressed our wish that the work undertaken would lead to a happy conclusion and that the problems for specific collaboration between our peoples should be regularised according to justice and in the common interest. This wish seems to have been realized today.

At this moment, just before the Conference closes its doors, it is particularly agreeable to me to congratulate all those participating in having put all their efforts in the common cause. There remains nothing for me but to thank the President of the Assembly for his clear thinking and the indulgence he has shown us and to express to him, as well as to the Government and people of Indonesia, in the name of The Lebanon our best wishes for happiness and prosperity.

Momolu Dukuly — Liberia

Mr. Chairman, Heads of Delegations and Members of the Conference!

We first of all thank the five sponsoring Governments of this great continent of Asia for having given Liberia the opportunity of participating in this Conference. Undoubtedly it is a great event, this gathering together of nations of two continents, not for the purpose of planning war or exploitation, and so on, but for the purpose of getting together for a common understanding for peace and world security. It is a great occasion, of which I think not only the peoples of Asia but also the peoples of Africa should be proud.

We thank that great statesman of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, for his very sympathetic references to the continent of Africa and the African peoples. We appreciate and we realize that there is a deep feeling of humanity in that continent towards the peoples of Africa. We harbour no ill-feelings. We have wronged no one. Africa has the feeling that she has wronged no continent or no people. Whether she has been wronged is the question to be answered. A little searching of conscience will show that Africa has been wronged.

We realize that each people and each continent must make its own peculiar contribution to the great world economy, and although Europe and America have been concentrating on the achievement of material prosperity, we, the people of Africa, including my humble country Liberia, have directed our attention to the intangible things of life. That is Africa’s peculiar contribution.

The tangible things are material and the material things are tangible. Today there are fleets, arms, great institutions, arising everywhere. They are tangible. But the intangible things that cannot be touched are everlasting. They are moral and spiritual values. It is with these things that our two continents must make our contribution to the world community. We do not say that material things do not count. No. What we do say is that undue emphasis should not be placed upon these material forces leaving the moral and immaterial things behind, because these are the things that matter in the final count. Nations are putting their faith on things material. Kings and empires have arisen, based on material foundations, but where are they today!

We must thank God for having had in our deliberations thoughts of this kind emanating from the great and leading statesmen of the East. In our deliberations we have had various feelings, sentiments of loyalty and so forth, but we met here with a declaration of goodwill to all men. And, Mr. President, on behalf of our country, we extend to you our thanks and appreciation for the courtesy you have extended to us, for the invitation to us to participate in such a great and epochal event in the history of the world.

We also express to you our thanks for and appreciation of the very kind and hospitable treatment extended not only to our delegation but to all the delegations here assembled. We wish all the five Powers that convened this Conference continued wise leadership. We wish for
the Indonesian Government, our immediate host, continued prosperity, and above all we wish for the peoples of the continents of Asia and Africa peace and happiness.

Let us hope that with goodwill to all men we may direct the world, in our own way, to those intangible but everlasting truths of justice and rightousness.

We thank you.

Mohammed Ali — Pakistan

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen!

This unique Conference of the nations of Asia and Africa is about to close. For seven days we, the representatives of the greater half of the people of the world, belonging to diverse faiths, races, cultures and civilizations, have united our efforts to promote the aims of justice, equality freedom and peace for all the peoples of the world. To you, Mr. President, and your associates on whom fell the main burden of arranging this Conference, the peoples of Asia and Africa owe a debt of gratitude for this remarkable assembly of twenty-nine nations in the beautiful city of Bandung. In convening this Conference in Indonesia you undertook a major task. The manner in which you people have discharged this heavy burden, and the hospitality and courtesy we have received everywhere have evoked the praise and admiration of all of us. To me, as it must have been to my fellow delegates, this Conference has been a memorable one. To have personally met so many top-ranking statesmen of two continents and exchanged views with them on the burning issues which trouble the peace and tranquility of the world has been an enriching experience.

I shall not in my valedictory remarks dwell on the accords reached by us or the questions we have discussed in our meetings. I shall, however, say that it is most remarkable that in spite of the diversity of interests and our respective approaches to world problems and divergent policies, we have been able to reach unanimous agreement on a statement defining our attitude to the questions which pose a challenge to the world today.

Mr. President, in your statement to the first meeting of the Colombo Powers last year, you asked, "Where do we stand now, we the peoples of Asia and Africa?" This Conference has enabled us, the peoples of Asia and Africa, to define our position on this question. We pledge ourselves to promote mutual economic and cultural cooperation and wellbeing of our peoples, and knowledge and understanding of our ways of life. We stand for the fundamental principles of Human Rights and self-determination of peoples as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations.

We pledge support for the restitution of the human rights of the Palestine Arab refugees, for a just settlement of the Palestine question and for the right of the people of North Africa to self-determination.

We stand for the equality of all races and all nations of mankind; we abhor the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination which form the basis of Government and human relations in large regions of Africa and other parts of the world. We proclaim that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should be speedily brought to an end. We pledge our support to the cause of freedom and independence for all subject peoples. We call upon all the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples. We demand a greater voice in the councils of nations and greater opportunities to influence the events which are shaping the destiny of mankind. We declare that universal disarmament, inclusive of all weapons, of effective international control is imperative for the preservation of world peace. We solemnly warn all nations of the disaster that is bound to overtake the human race should war break out involving the use of thermonuclear weapons.

Finally, in our declaration on world peace and cooperation, we have ventured to set out principles, the observation of which is essential if peace is to be maintained and international cooperation and will-being promoted.

Mr. President, this, in short, is our answer to your question. We commend it in all humility to the consideration and support of all peoples and all nations of the world.

Carlos P. Romulo — Philippines

We survey our work in Bandung with pride and humility. But let us not be like the writer who told his friend: "Have you heard? I am writing a book on humility. And let me tell you something; it is the last word on humility.”

It is not for us to assess our achievements at Bandung. Only history can make that pronouncement. We should all like history to say that men from 29 nations came together at a time when the pulse-beat of the world was erratic and dangerously fast, and that as a result of what
we did, the health and vitality of the human community showed marked improvement.

We should all like history to say that though we did not provide the design for a perfect world, we did define the basis for hope.

We should all like history to say that we not only observed the newly won freedom of half the world’s peoples but that we pooled our moral strength to help those who were not yet free to join this noble station.

We should like history to say that our freedom were more than merely celebrated at Bandung; they were made solid and given the substance of growth.

But we cannot in truth expect history to say all this because the work at Bandung has only begun. The real work and the real achievements of the Conference are ahead of us. What happens in the months and year ahead will determine whether the mood created at Bandung was momentary and misleading or whether it was strong and clean and vibrant.

What we have done here, in effect, was to define our own commitments. We share, generally speaking, a common historical experience. We belong to the community of hurt, heartbreak, and deferred hopes. But even in the act of observing our release, it becomes important to say what we ourselves propose to do by way of maintaining those freedoms and fulfilling those hopes.

What are the commitments made at Bandung? I believe that we have committed ourselves, first of all, to a higher allegiance. We have recognized that our allegiance is not merely to our own nations or to each other as Asians and Africans; our first allegiance is to the human community. We have committed ourselves to something more important than to the accident of geography. We have committed ourselves to the cause of a world seeking both peace and freedom, for one is meaningless without the other.

And here, let me say that if the peace of the world is going to depend on concessions or more abstentions, it will not be real. It is not what we refrain from doing that will create a vital peace. It is what we freely give, how much each of us is willing to sacrifice, and positive values we contribute that will determine whether the vision we see here at Bandung can be brought to life. And let me refer once again to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, who belongs not to India alone but to the world: “How much we put of ourselves into a common purpose will determine whether that purpose will be fulfilled”.

We have also committed ourselves to patience. Here at this Conference we have seen how, time and again, understanding could be reached if full allowance were made for the vagaries of human personality. We have not been defeated by petty behaviour nor have we allowed ourselves to become paralyzed by fatigue.

And patience is related to the art of persuasion. No one can say that such an art by itself can demolish fundamental differences, but certainly no issue can be settled without it.

I have been impressed, deeply, with the sincere attempt of all present to create not a lasting organization, but a lasting effect. And when I say all I mean all. I have never seen a group of men so finely animated by recognition of high purpose.

Now that we are leaving, let me express first of all the congratulations of the Philippine delegation to our host, the Government of Indonesia. The arrangements made for this Conference showed imagination, care, and efficiency of the highest order. I have also been asked by a considerable number of press correspondents to make a public expression of their own gratitude to the Government of Indonesia and to say that they have nothing but the highest admiration for the depth of planning that has gone to the amazingly complicated problem of arranging for full press facilities.

To the host countries, the Colombo Powers, the Philippine delegation desires to extend its thanks. Their conception of this project is one of the great achievements and contributions of our time.

Tomorrow, the Philippine delegation returns to the Philippines. We return with strong and important memories. These memories will grow in vitality with the years. In our own Filipino language may I say farewell — ‘Paalam sangiyon lahat’.

God be with you all.

Sayed Ismail El Azhari — Sudan

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Delegates!

This is really a memorable occasion, when for the first time in history the representatives of Asian and African countries have met together to consider matters of common interest and get to know each other in order to promote friendly relations among them and their peoples. Apart from any specific principles or particular problems which we could solve, the meeting in itself was significant because it has added to our prestige and moral value among other nations of the world. In addition we have
succeeded in finding solutions for our various problems and from that point of view our talks have been remarkable and singular. Many of us have come to know each other better, where previously few of us knew enough of each other's country and peoples. If we could maintain those friendly relations which have been brought into being here, we would have gone a long way in securing future success. Within the short time which we had at our disposal and the intricate problems which we had to solve, I am sure that we have achieved a great deal of success. This is only a start and I am sure that our next steps will be more sure and more fruitful. For this reason I fervently hope that we would be able to attend the future sessions of this Conference. We should not be disheartened if our discussions seemed protracted at times. The views of some of us seem irreconcilable because this is our first attempt.

We must have patience and try once more because every day that passes brings with it more understanding, more harmony and more cooperation. Ultimately it will dawn on the human community as a whole that we should work in collaboration with one another for a better world understanding. However, despite the difficulties which we have to face, our progress has been singular to the extent that it reflects credit on the delegates assembled here, for their good intentions, sober motives and high standard of diplomacy.

The Sudanese delegation is really honoured to take its place among this distinguished body of able and leading statesmen. As I mentioned in my maiden speech, the Sudanese delegation has attended the deliberations of this Conference and its Committees with an open mind and has supported any motion which it has considered to be right, genuine and in the general interests of all nations, from wherever it came. We are very happy that we have been able to establish friendly relations with many delegations.

Before concluding I would like to repeat my thanks to the sponsoring countries and in particular to the Republic of Indonesia, who took great pains in organizing the Conference and making our stay here a very pleasant and memorable one. The Prime Minister of Indonesia has won our appreciation and gratitude for his wise conduct of the meetings and for the spirit which prevailed throughout our deliberations and thereby greatly contributed to the results achieved.

The previous distinguished speaker, the delegate from the Philippines, conveyed to us all and especially to Indonesia the gratitude and the thanks of the press. I, in my turn, must also thank the international press, which focussed the attention of the world on this Conference and drew a polished picture of its objects and intentions.

Good-bye and thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Khaled El Azm — Syria

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen!

We are at the end, yet we are at the beginning. The Conference is at an end, but we are in the beginning of our rising of Asia and Africa to a modern power and to material strength, power and strength that shall not be in the service of imperialism and colonialism, the power and strength which we shall not throw on the side of aggression, war or invasion, the power and strength through which we shall build a free world — a world not free from freedom, but a world dominated with universal freedom — power and strength not only to build power and strength but to destroy imperialism to the last ditch and colonialism to the last vestige.

Mr. Chairman and distinguished Fellow Delegates!

Our Conference is the world in miniature. We mix in diversity, diversity of language, diversity of political forms, diversity of ideologies, diversity of social and economic order. In the meetings we have conflicting views; we do find dissenting opinions and sometimes there is danger of losing unanimity, the danger of disagreement. As a humble servant in the United Nations, ever since the establishment of the United Nations, I have never seen any resolutions having been passed with unanimity. We disagreed and dissented, but finally we fell back on our hearts; we fell back upon our distress in the past; we fell back on our past in jails and concentration camps. At least I am happy to say that we adopted our resolutions unanimously in this framework of diversity. It was really, gentlemen, a miracle to achieve unanimity in this diversity, but we were determined and we did achieve that unanimity. But this is not an end of it, gentlemen. We do not end at this stage. We are unanimous today and we shall be unanimous tomorrow. Tomorrow is also a miracle to be unanimous, but we are determined to achieve that unanimity. Mr. Chairman, this is a great achievement indeed and we are proud of it. We are all united on the question of general peace, security and prosperity of all of us, after all one's claim of peace and security is a claim of pride. You all know, gentlemen, that Asia has produced messengers of peace and has sent messages of peace in all generations in the forms of prophets, masters and teachers. We have given the world the mission of peace and given the world the messages of peace. We as accredited successors of those great leaders, masters and teachers shall continue to give the world the mission of peace. We shall continue to carry the banners of peace to our fellow-beings throughout the length and breadth of the globe.

Mr. Chairman, on this specific problem we have spoken
our minds clearly, with boldness and unequivocation, namely on the question of Palestine, Algeria, Tunisia and Yemen, and also West Irian. We have supported the cause of these people through no egoism, through no discrimination, because we believe in universal righteousness and justice. And it is our duty, Mr. Chairman, and Ladies and Gentlemen, to be relentless and unceasing in our efforts so that these people achieve their national aspirations, so that in future Conferences we see them seated amongst us here as legitimate representatives of Palestine, of the people of Algeria, of the people of Morocco, of the people of Tunisia, with honour and distinction.

With regard to Indonesia, their cause is near our hearts. In addition, the hospitality that we have received from the host Government, not out of generosity and courtesy of the Indonesian Government, but because gentlemen, it is a historical coincidence that Indonesia is the cradle of our Conference. It is saddening, dispiriting and disappointing that we assemble here at a time when West Irian is not included in the territorial sovereignty of the Indonesian Republic and in fairness to our principles and in fairness to the cradle of this Conference, our combined efforts in the United Nations and elsewhere must always be asserted so that in the next Conference we see West Irian included in the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, at the end of the recommendations passed by this Conference, there is a significant recommendation adopted by the Conference without any hesitation and it recommends that the Asian-African Conference should meet at the proper time and place after consultation with the participating countries. This recommendation is of paramount importance, of great significance. Simply this declaration to the world indicates that we are not at an end of our work. In fact, we declare to the world that we are only at the beginning and we declare that we shall continue to meet, cooperate with each other, discuss our problems with each other and pool our efforts and resources together till we see that all signs of imperialism and colonialism are destroyed in the world completely.

Amen!

Fatin Rustu Zorlu — Turkey

Mr. President, Honourable Delegates!

I wish to begin my statement by expressing again our gratitude to the people and Government of the brother nation of Indonesia for the hospitality which they have so graciously extended to us in this city of Bandung which has become for ever historic, and I want to thank the five sponsoring countries for having taken the initiative to bring us together in this Conference which has ended so successfully.

I consider it a pleasant duty to say that a large measure of great success is due to the ability and patience of our Chairman, His Excellency Ali Sastroamidjojo, the Prime Minister of Indonesia, and to the great talents and qualities of our Rapporteur, His Royal Highness Prince Wan of Thailand.

The Asian African Conference has now terminated its work. 29 delegations coming from countries thousands of miles apart have been assembled here to exchange their views on most of the outstanding problems of the world.

We have met here with friendly and brotherly countries, with which we have continual contacts, with other countries with which we have no diplomatic representation and also with still other countries whose governments we do not recognise, but with all these countries we have established something stronger and more lasting: relations of the heart.

If we think of the vastness of the question set before us, if we think of the divergence of outlook and of use on many essential problems, I believe we must consider the Conference as having very successfully accomplished its purpose and rendered a great service to humanity at large.

One common aspiration has dominated every phase of our deliberations — our desire for peace and security and our conviction of the necessity of cooperation to maintain peace through security and confidence.

This is a source of rejoicing for us all, and we hope in all sincerity that these ideals shall find their implementation in all our practices and actions.

As we go back to our countries, it is our earnest desire to take from this Conference the hope that no member of this Conference shall resort to the use of force unless it is attacked, no matter what its particular problem may be and no matter whether it considers this problem of a national or international character.

This will be the test of our determination to implement the decisions which we have adopted.

The Conference has stressed the fact that security is the basis of peace and that to have security we should aim at disarmament brought about by common agreement and through appropriate international systems of control. We hope that everyone of us will play his part in trying to bring about this vital end.

The Conference has stressed our love of freedom and independence, and the right of every nation to defend its sovereignty and integrity singly or collectively within the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations. The prin-
Principles of the United Nations have been upheld by all the members of this Conference.

Our discussions in the Conference have confirmed our aversion to racialism and to colonialism in all its manifestations.

Through the voice of many of its members, a momentous appeal has arisen from within this Conference for the respect and safeguard of the political, social, economical, spiritual and intellectual way of life of all countries, big or small, and for the condemnation not only of classical colonialism but also of the new types of colonialism practised by certain international doctrines through infiltration, subversion or the use of force.

The Turkish delegation is particularly pleased that the Conference has dwelt upon effective and realistic measures for maintaining security. The fact that the Conference has reaffirmed the principles of the United Nations Charter on the formation of regional defensive organisation and that the final communique includes this affirmation is also a matter which has given us great satisfaction as it proves again that the nations of the world are conscious of the realities.

The linking together of disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons is also important.

In summing up, the contribution of the Conference to the cause of peace and security has been of considerable importance. Our common affirmation of our love of peace, freedom and independence will resound with vigour over the entire world.

May our actions and practices bring additional strength to this momentous message which we are conveying to the world.

Thank you!

Pham Van Dong — Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam

Mr. Chairman, Fellow Delegates!

Our Conference has been a success.

We have manifested our common aspiration for peaceful co-existence between the Asian and African countries and between the countries of the world, our strong opposition to colonial oppression, war, nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction; we have shown a common desire, and laid down principles, for economic cooperation and cultural exchanges. By exchanges of views, contacts, conciliatory attitude and good will, the mutual understanding and friendship between our countries have increased.

The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam feels gratified at such a successful outcome.

In the course of this Conference, I felt deeply grieved at the sight of a Viet-Nam not yet unified. This is but a temporary situation. As provided for by the Geneva agreements, the demarcation line which lies between North and South Viet-Nam is only a provisional one. The present situation is just a stage which must lead to the reunification of Viet-Nam by free and democratic election. Therefore, the entire Vietnamese people, from the North to the South, without any discrimination, are resolved to struggle with all their hearts and souls for this unity, at the same time for the consolidation of peace. These two tasks are intimately connected to each other. In this holy struggle, we all are confident in the warm support of the Asian and African peoples. That support we have had the opportunity to sense it in this Conference; we have sensed it at the contact with the warm-hearted people who are our host. On behalf of my people, I express with deep emotion our thankfulness and solidarity to all the supporters of our cause, which, since it is a just cause, will certainly triumph.

In connection with the question of the promotion of world peace, one of the main purposes of this Assembly, I should like to stress here the importance of the Geneva agreements which have made a great contribution to the lessening of tension in South East Asia and in the world. The full and correct implementation of these accords will undoubtedly serve the cause of peace in Asia, Africa and the world.

This Delegation again states in unequivocal terms the resolve of the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam to carry out fully and loyally the Geneva agreements, in order to consolidate peace, to achieve the unity and to complete the independence of Viet-Nam.

In this struggle, we do rely on the support of the Asian and African peoples, as we firmly believe in their ideal of justice and peace.

The Vietnamese people believe that at the next session of the Asian-African Conference there will be the delegation of unified Viet-Nam.
The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam expresses its sincere thanks to the sponsoring powers of this Conference, to the Chairman of this Conference, to the Indonesian people, to the Bandung authorities and population for their warm reception, to the Conference staff for their contribution to the success of the Conference. This delegation extends its best greetings to all the fellow delegations to this Conference.

Long live the great and mighty friendship of the Asian and African peoples!

Nguyen Van Thoai—State Of Viet-Nam

Mr. Chairman, Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen!

At the close of this memorable Conference, the delegation of the State of Viet-Nam wishes to express again its deep gratitude to the Government and people of Indonesia and the five sponsoring Powers.

Coming to this Conference, we knew that there are a number of problems which are common to the Asian and African nations and which we should consider together. But we knew also that each nation has to consider the same problems in its own ways, because each country has its own existence to maintain and its own destiny to prepare.

President Soekarno, in his opening speech, has expressed the noble wish that this Conference would help to build the future of mankind with dreams and not with the past. Alas! Each country has also its own history, paved with many memories, some happy, others painful and for that reason, the more lasting.

It is why we should not be surprised that unanimity could not be acquired on all problems. We should on the contrary be happy and comforted that some proposals have been adopted by this Conference.

These results are in line with the process which should lead us toward truth. For, in political matters, truth is not simple, especially because each one of us believes he holds his own truth. It seems fortunate, however, that this Conference has not given way to the terrible temptation to believe that only the greatest, the most numerous and the best organised ones, hold the monopoly of truth. It is because this Conference has assisted to the simplification of truth that it has shown the most understanding attitude toward the problems which have been submitted for its consideration.

That understanding is the very basis of tolerance and friendship. And I am proud to say today at the end of this Conference, that the Asian and African nations have succeeded during their first meeting in giving to the whole world that example of wisdom.

On behalf of the people and the delegation of the State of Viet-Nam I thank you all.
Joint Statement by the Prime Minister of the Republic of Indonesia and the Prime Minister of the People’s Republic of China

Djakarta, April 28, 1955.

After the conclusion of the Asian African Conference, His Excellency Premier Chou En-lai of the People’s Republic of China came to Djakarta, the capital of the Republic of Indonesia, at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia. He made a two-day visit as the official guest of His Excellency Sukarno, the President of the Republic of Indonesia. During this period Premier Chou En-lai had friendly and sincere exchanges of views with President Sukarno, Vice-President Mohammad Hatta, Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, Foreign Minister Sunario and other leaders of the Republic of Indonesia on matters of common concern and interest to the two countries. As a result of these exchanges of views, Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo and Premier Chou En-lai made the following joint statement:

1. The two Prime Ministers reaffirm that they will make joint efforts to work for the realization of the common desire affirmed by the Asian African Conference and the Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation adopted by the Asian African Conference.

2. The two Prime Ministers express satisfaction over the fact that Indonesia and China are living peacefully together as good neighbours on the basis of the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other’s internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit. They are firmly convinced that the friendly relations between the two countries will be further developed on the basis of these principles.

3. The Prime Ministers express satisfaction over the conclusion of "The Treaty between the Republic of Indonesia and the People’s Republic of China on the question of dual Nationality." They consider that this is a good example of settling complicated and difficult international problems by means of friendly negotiations. They declare that after the ratification of this Treaty, they will strictly observe the letter and spirit of the Treaty and facilitate the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty.

4. The two Prime Ministers declare that it is the inalienable right of the people of any country to safeguard their own sovereignty and territorial integrity. They express deep sympathy and support to the efforts of either of the two countries in safeguarding its own sovereignty and territorial integrity.

5. The two Prime Ministers hope to develop extensively mutual assistance and cooperation between the two countries in economic and cultural fields on the basis of mutual respect, equality and mutual benefit. They consider that such mutual assistance and cooperation between the two countries will be helpful to the peaceful development of their own countries as well as to the cause of world peace.

6. The two Prime Ministers agree that the Republic of Indonesia and the People’s Republic of China should maintain close cooperation in order to strengthen the mutual understanding and friendly relations between the two countries. The two Prime Ministers are very happy to have this opportunity of meeting together and exchanging views. They believe that this will further the cause of peace.