What we do want is genuine peace. On a previous occasion, I said that genuine peace is an absolute value and therefore a necessity. We know too well from the lessons of history that power politics, with an uneasy balance of power in its wake, cannot guarantee peace but will lead sooner or later to war.

Having this firmly in mind, to us there can only be one answer, one way to avoid war and to establish genuine peace. We have to promote with all our strength that the world be free from fear and suspicion. The building of a position of armed strength which causes so much tension in the world, is basically the endeavour of man to rid himself of fear, fear of being destroyed by the other side. But unfortunately the other side is thinking the same way. This is the reason why fear and suspicion are still so prevalent in the world of tension we know to-day. We have to give the world faith in which alone humanity can prosper without fear or suspicion.

The prerequisite of this is the willingness and determination of living neighbourly together, irrespective of each other's political, social or religious ideologies, on the principles of mutual respect for each other's national sovereignty and each other's territorial integrity; abhorrence of aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit.

In very recent times these principles have strongly been voiced and stressed by outstanding leaders and statesmen of Asia and Africa as the "conditio sine qua non" for achieving peace in the world.

Although I know that we, gathered here in this hall, have different opinions about them, these principles are nevertheless of the greatest concern to us all.

Unfortunately enough, there have been many suspicions, misgivings and misinterpretations about these principles. Is it because these principles were voiced and stressed by leaders and statesmen of Asia and Africa who were spoken of as being unrealistic day-dreamers?

I may put one more question: who are the unrealistic day-dreamers, is it the believers in the principles just mentioned, or is it those who foster the illusion that stockpiling of atom and hydrogen bombs can bring about peace?

It was by analysing history and the present-day race for atomic superiority that leaders and statesmen of Asia and Africa reached the inevitable conclusion that all this stockpiling and armament must lead to a war of total destruction.

Consequently, it is the Asian and African conception which has to be considered as the logical and realistic answer to the question how to attain genuine peace.

Undoubtedly we shall be asked how we, the peoples of Asia and Africa, intend to put these principles into practice.

It is obvious that we neither wish nor can evade the answer to this question, and it is precisely this Conference which can contribute so much to the right answer by its discussions and resolutions.

I mentioned already the purposes formulated in the Bogor communiqué. To materialize these purposes we have to start with ourselves by promoting goodwill and co-operation amongst the peoples of Asia and Africa; establish and further good and neighbourly relations.

This, in my opinion, implies that we must try and find, in a common effort, ways and means to eliminate the sources of conflict which cause international tensions.

Furthermore, we are faced with the task to try and find a solution to the problem of United Nations membership for Asian and African countries which for one reason or another are debarred from it.

Above all, we have to induce people all over the world by our own example to think in terms of peace and not in terms of balance of power, nor of power politics, suspicions and fear.

Among the main causes of the present-day tensions there is colonialism, the old scourge under which Asia and Africa have suffered for ages, which will be a subject of our special interest. It may be true that the larger part of mankind accepts the obvious truth that colonialism has to be considered as a thing of the past, but the fact is there that colonialism is still very much alive. When we look at the map of Asia and Africa we find many spots, and even whole countries which are still fettered by the chains of colonialism. Moreover, in the flesh of several of us are still sticking the thorns, small or large, of colonial rule.

We see also that former colonial powers still endeavour to continue their control, in one disguise or another, over ex-colonial or semi-colonial countries.

What is even worse, we have to witness that the principle of self-determination is misused as a cover for colonial purposes.

Our brothers in colonial territories, all those who are still fighting against colonial domination as we ourselves did in the recent past, might reproach us for discussing their interests in their absence. They may ask us why we do this, and why we did not invite them to attend this Conference?

We regret indeed that we had to restrict ourselves. Once the principle of holding this Conference amongst independent Governments of Asia and Africa was accepted, we saw no way to grant their wishes to be represented. I may assure them, however — and I know I am speaking on behalf of you all when I say our thoughts are very much with our brothers who are still living in bondage.
I hope that one day, and may it be soon, the opportunity will arise, or be created, to convene the representatives of independence movements in all colonial territories who are still struggling for the liquidation of colonial rule and for their national independence and sovereignty. We, the independent countries of Asia and Africa, have to do our utmost in supporting them in every peaceful effort which may achieve their freedom.

Recently there have been many statements made by colonial powers expressing their good intentions to end colonialism. I regret, however, to say that good intentions alone are not sufficient to abolish colonialism altogether from the world. More important for us are their deeds and policies which may give proof to the world of the sincerity of their good intentions.

Next to colonialism we meet racialism as an important source of tension. Racialism in fact is often, if not always, an aspect of colonialism based on feelings of superiority of the dominating group. Discrimination, however, based on differences of colour is contrary to the fundamental human rights, to the essential equality of mankind as rightly expressed in the Charter of the United Nations.

In today's world we are still a long way off from this equality and respect for human rights. How often are the timid attempts to have done with colour-bars outweighed by measures of ruthless discrimination? Is apartheid-policy a form of absolute intolerance more befitting the Dark Ages than this modern world?

I am certain that this Conference will find it its duty to consider the problem of racialism in its various aspects.

Another and very serious source of tension is the low standard of living in practically all Asian and African countries. For centuries our countries have poured a never-ending stream of profits into the dominating countries, but we ourselves stayed poor and under-developed. During the aftermath of World War II we won our independence, but our political freedom could not yet bring us economic independence, could not yet erase the backwardness and under-development which our peoples had suffered from for so long.

In fact, most of the countries of Asia and Africa are still in a period of transition from colonial to national economy.

Meanwhile our populations are increasing at high rates and although we have managed so far to feed and clothe them, often with a bare minimum, we are still far off from welfare-states. We are planning to the best our abilities for the development of our countries, but our limited means are often an insurmountable obstacle to the implementation of well-devised plans.

We cannot change this all overnight, but what we certainly can do is to co-operate closely amongst ourselves in the economic field, to learn from each other, to assist each other, to devise ways and means to increase inter-regional trade, and gradually stay independent in the economic sense.

There is another field in which we can benefit largely by cooperation, i.e. the cultural field. The civilisations of Asia and Africa penetrated deeply into all corners of the earth, but gradually their impact on international affairs was lost because we concentrated too much on the spiritual aspect while neglecting the material side indispensable to progress as we have witnessed in the phenomenal advance of technology in the world of today.

We have learned this lesson. We have found our self-expression in our independence. We know that the advancement for which our peoples are eagerly longing, needs the impetus and the help of modern technology. There is no going back to the ages of mere contemplation. But equally we do not want to lose our soul in technology. We want to keep our valuable cultural heritage, and it is here that we have so much in common however different our religions may be.

Let us therefore co-operate to foster this heritage, giving it new life and expression in conformity with the requirements of the modern world.

This may be the substance which we should give to the resurgence of Asia and Africa.

The task we are entrusted with to make our contribution to world peace and co-operation has befallen us at a very important turn of world history, the beginning of the atomic age.

When the age of technology made its entry a hundred years ago, changing by its profound impact the lives of people all over the world, first in the west, but gradually in Asia and Africa too, it brought us steam, electricity, mechanisation, factories and many other things beneficial to the progress of all. It brought mankind also new ways of thinking and consciousness of social justice, but in its wake followed conquest, imperialism, war and destruction.

At present we are standing at the threshold of another new era, facing the tremendous consequences of the progress of nuclear science. New and formidable sources of energy are discovered in the world of atoms, the technical intricacy of which is far beyond the knowledge of the ordinary layman. But what we all understand is that these new forces can be used either to benefit mankind or to destroy him utterly. What we notice at present is that these new inventions, instead of being used for peaceful purposes and world progress, are being held in utmost secrecy, with the primary aim of building-up positions of strength.

Never before has mankind experienced such a frightening situation where powers of great might, commanding
the inexhaustible resources which science and technology have put at their disposal, are building-up daily positions of ever-increasing strength in world-politics.

It looks as if mankind is not morally prepared for the fruits of its own genius.

Let us, the peoples of Asia and Africa, not be overwhelmed by the revolutionary changes resulting from atomic technology which will enter into our daily life and thinking. Let us be prepared for these tremendous changes which I believe are not far away anymore. They have to be welcomed in our minds and hearts as a new step forward on the path of progress of mankind.

But we have also to be aware that we cannot enter into this atomic age with the same spirit, political or social beliefs, and moral attitudes only befitting the period which is about to draw to a close.

We have to face the birth of the atomic age with a new spirit, new ideologies and new universal morality which should form the basis of peaceful and brotherly intercourse between nations all over the world.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The world is following this Conference with great interest and high hopes. With great interest, because our gathering together on this large scale is a new and unique phenomenon in history. With high hopes, because many, all over the world, expect us to show them a way out of the impasse we find ourselves in to-day.

I received last month a letter signed by fourteen outstanding Americans, all leading figures in the fields of science, religion and literature, expressing the hope that this meeting will fulfil our highest expectations. They said: "We shall be watching you, because any solution you discover should help us all".

Besides, many more letters and messages from all corners of the earth were sent to me by people of every walk of life voicing similar hopes.

The whole world is indeed watching us with hopes and expectations.

Let us therefore all speak the same language, however much our tongues and our ideologies may differ, the language which not only the peoples of Asia and Africa will understand, but which will be understood by the whole world.

Let us realize fully that it is our duty to make a solid contribution to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

On the other hand, let the rest of the world take due notice that it is the voice of nearly two-thirds of the world's population which will be heard from this Conference-hall.

If we are able to express our desire and determination for peace in unmistakable terms, if our labours will have some salutary influence on the way of thinking of mankind, if we can contribute to the eliminating of fear and want so eagerly hoped for by all, then this Conference will have fulfilled its historical task.

May the Almighty grant us wisdom and tolerance in our discussions.

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**CLOSING OF PUBLIC SESSION**

At the conclusion of this address, the meeting was closed to all but members of Delegations.

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**NEW NAMES IN HONOUR OF CONFERENCE**

After inspecting preparations in Bandung on April 17th, President Sukarno announced the following changes in place names:

Concordia Building: renamed "Merdeka" Building (Independence Building)

Dana Pensiun Building: renamed "Dwi Warna" Building (Bi-Colour Building)

Djalan Raja Timur (Great Eastern Road): renamed "Djalan Asia-Afrika" (Asian-African Road)

These alterations in names were made with the approval of the Mayor of Bandung during a gathering in that city, which was attended by local authorities, members of the Joint Secretariat of the Conference, and the press.

Merdeka Building
Watching the Opening Ceremony

The climax of all the excitement of preparations came yesterday, April 18th with the opening ceremony. The atmosphere had been tense enough the day before — for the thousands who heard President Sukarno speak at the students' rally in the morning, and the excited crowd which insisted on seeing the delegation heads as they returned to their hotels in the evening. But the climax came properly yesterday.

By 7.30 in the morning the route between the two delegation hotels and on to the main conference hall, Gedung Merdeka, was lined with soldiers and police. The crowd was already a large one, but quiet and rather overawed by the proceedings, in contrast to twelve hours earlier. By 8.15 when the delegations were about to start entering the Gedung Merdeka for the opening, the people in the streets were packed tremendously tightly behind the guards. A military band came to the front of the large white building, and then the delegates arrived, group by group. Many people's eyes ran quickly to the Burmese with their mauve and yellow longyi and headdress of matching colour. The Saudi Arabian delegates were another striking group, with their flowing robes of black and white, trimmed with gold. Individual Gold Coast and Vietnamese delegates stood out, as did the beautifully dressed ladies of the delegations, from among the suits of white, brown, grey and fawn.

It was 9.20 when the final party entered. It was led by President Sukarno and Vice-President Hatta of Indonesia, and their wives, and in it too were the Prime Ministers of the five sponsoring countries, together with the heads of many of the delegations, including those of Egypt, the Philippines, Lebanon, the Gold Coast and China. The atmosphere was solemn as they walked in slowly. The doors were closed, separating the thousands outside from the hundreds who were privileged to see the opening.

The conference hall played its part in creating the atmosphere of the ceremony. Its two striking colours were red and white — the deep rich red of the large high curtain which hung from the ceiling in the arched back wall of the building, and the white of almost everything else. White neon light came from behind wide inset bands in the large rounded ceiling, as well as from electric candles in many parts of the building.

Against the deep red curtain were the twenty-nine flags. Immediately in front of them were the places of the seven leaders of the opening. Prime Minister Nehru was on the left and next to him Prime Minister U Nu. The central position was occupied by the three Indonesian leaders, Vice-President Hatta, President Sukarno and Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo. The next two were Prime Ministers Sir John Kotelawala and Mohammed Ali.

In separate places at Prime Minister Nehru's right and Prime Minister Mohammed Ali's left, but slightly further back, were the six members of the Joint Secretariat of the Conference. A number of leading members of the Secretariat staff sat further forward and off the platform, also at two separate tables, and the rostrum had been placed centrally between them and the table of the seven leaders. Immediately in front of the rostrum and facing it sat Madame Sukarno and Madame Hatta.

The twenty-nine delegations occupied the main body of the building. On the long tables at which they sat were earphones for the translations — into French, and also from other languages as arranged by particular delegations. Sitting on the delegates' left were Indonesian cabinet ministers and their wives, and a little further back high officials of the Indonesian government. On the delegates' right were members of the diplomatic corps from Djakarta, and further back a party of leading Indonesian parliamentarians. Observers, visitors and certain members of the conference staff sat directly behind the delegates.

The balcony, with its two flanks going half-way up the length of the hall, was the place where the 200 privileged pressmen sat — and, when there was something special to be seen, stood! A small number of pressmen however, those who had the necessary permission, were able to move about in the hall below with their cameras. Film lamps and cameras were in almost every part of the building, but most of all up on the balcony. It is from
here that the running commentary on the proceedings — in English and Indonesian — was broadcast to the world outside.

Only a few seconds from the time when the guests of honour had taken their places, the ceremony began. Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo took only a few words to call the President of Indonesia to the rostrum. He came immediately and for 53 minutes there was complete silence — broken only for clapping at three or four points.

At just twenty past ten Dr. Ali announced an interval, and the party from the platform filed down to go out. Half-way down the central aisle they stopped, and there was a hush. As the front door was opened, the assembled company could hear "Indonesia Raja", the Indonesian national anthem, played softly by the band outside the building. All were still for a minute and then the platform party filed out. The conference opening was over.

At 10.45 Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo called the reassembled conference to the task of electing a President. The first to nominate a candidate was uniformed Lieutenant-Colonel Nasser of Egypt. His candidate, Dr. Ali himself, was quickly seconded by none other than Prime Minister Chou En Lai, speaking in Chinese and then interpreted. The Jordanese Foreign Minister Wahid Salah was the next to support the nomination of the Indonesian Prime Minister, and the last was the smiling Carlos P. Romulo, head of the Philippines delegation. When other nominations were called for there was silence, then the beginnings of clapping, then suddenly very loud clapping. Dr. Ali Sastroamidjojo had been elected Conference President.

Prime Minister Nehru rose at this point to move a vote of appreciation to President Sukarno for his speech of welcome. Immediately Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon supported the move, and the other two sponsoring countries, Prime Ministers U Nu and Mohammed Ali were quick to endorse the Indian Prime Minister's gesture.

Then for thirty minutes the newly-elected Conference President delivered his address.

At 11.30 the members of the press and all others who were not members of a delegation were asked to leave. There was a tremendous rush on the press room and the teleprinters began to send the story to the world.
World Press Opinion

ASIA

NEW ASIA AFRICA

Next Monday the sun will rise on an event such as has never taken place since God created the Universe. The mountain breezes will whisper the event to the beaches and the waves will breathe it to the beaches of the entire world.

The Asian African Conference is taking place ten years after the combined strength of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Britain compelled the fascism of Hitler-Mussolini-Tojo to crumble in the battlefield, ten years after the United States of America dropped the atom bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima as an experiment wrought upon the peoples of Asia, and ten years after the spiritual basis of the United Nations Organisation was established.

In those ten years the atom bomb has been perfected as an instrument of death and destruction. It has even produced its sister, the hydrogen bomb, which in destructive force surpasses the atom bomb.

But the tree of peace, whose roots were sprinkled with tears of hope after the end of the War, now seems to be far from fresh. The United Nations Organisation, which was expected to become the meeting place of statesmen in search of ways to make concrete the principles of humanity in terms of prosperity and happiness, has now become the scene of suspicions and of efforts of nations to strangle one another. The close friendship between the Soviet Union, America and Britain has ceased to exist. It is not peace, but the will to war, not justice but injustice, not independence but imperialism which is now dominant in the United Nations Organisation. The United Nations Organisation has become the instrument of those in power in America.

This dissatisfaction with U.N.O. is one of the things which has caused these Asian nations who are really against imperialism and do not want to side with this bloc or that bloc, to take the initiative to set up a new Asian-African platform on which the nations of Asia and Africa through their representatives can have discussions uninfluenced by the countries who want to light the flames of discord.

A new Asia Africa! Let Asia Africa unite! The new Asia Africa does not want to be under the "leadership" or "protection" of the Western countries which means nothing but colonialism wrapped in silk! Asia and Africa are united, because their countries need unity and friendship badly for their individual as well as collective progress.

There are those who state that several delegations will bring forward the voice of their masters in the Conference, namely the voice of America and Britain. However AS YET we do not believe such gossip not until we hear and see its truth.

There is news for instance that the Philippine delegation is bringing instructions of portent which will be a time-bomb in the Conference and that Romulo whom we honour as our guest will do his utmost to prevent the admission of the People's Republic of China into the United Nations. We won't believe this until we hear the time-bomb explode, not until we hear the voice of Romulo himself.

Our honoured guest General Romulo certainly realizes that to refuse to a state like the People's Republic of China with a population of 500,000,000 membership of a body established for the very purpose of bringing all states together, is diametrically opposed to justice. The Philippines is an Asian country. Fancy an Asian country feeling itself closer to the West which still has the will to colonialism than to an Asian which has the will to freedom and self-development.

The Philippines has given birth to a great man, a man who has struggled heroically for freedom and justice. Jose Rizal was a Philippine hero, a hero of the Malay race, a hero of Asia, a hero of the East! We are confident that the Philippine delegation will not betray the spirit of Rizal, and therefore we do not believe that there will be voices raised in the interests of the West.

(Pikiran Rakyat, Bandung April 16).

AMERICA

INDONESIA — INDIA CO STAR

By Gordon Graham

...... The growing friendship between India and Indonesia is seen by observers in Asia as both a cause and an effect of the Asian African project. Already the pillar and unifying forces of the Colombo Powers, these two great Nations are now about to lend their combined strength to the proposition that the past colonial Nations of Asia and Africa can hold the balance and keep the peace between the East and West.
Last December on the Bogor occasion, which was a meeting of the Colombo Powers, observers remarked on the respect and affection with which President Sukarno of Indonesia treated the Indian Leader. Western and Asian observers say that Indonesian understanding is not only the cohesive of the Colombo Group but the counterbalance which makes the Manila Pact (Seato) group essentially not representative of non-Communist Asia. Stretching from the borders of China to those of Australia, and comprising a 16th of the world's peoples, India and Indonesia together dominate the future of Southern Asia even as China and Japan dominate the North. Any plan to preserve the integrity of the area is considered meaningless without their cooperation.

Whatever decisions the Asian African Conference reaches will require the full support of both these powers. It will rest chiefly on them to restrain or encourage Communist China's influence on the assemblage. Association with India may well help Indonesia to attain more balance in its international outlook, which still is preoccupied more with the dangers of colonialism than anything else.

(Christian Science Monitor, N. Y., 2-4-55).

**EUROPE**

**THE BANDUNG ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE**

By Jules Sauerwein

They are not inviting any European nation — considering the white race as stained by "colonialism" — and they are going to listen to the complaints of one or the other, as well as copious exposions of doctrine, to arrive perhaps, finally, at no practical result. This is not to say that this gathering — which comprises the colours that go from yellow to black — is of no importance. It would be shallowness on our part to overlook the fact that the inviting powers possess, by themselves alone, six hundred million persons, and that the twenty-five invited speak in the name of one billion. They therefore represent a considerable portion of the human species.

To take a stand against one or the other of the two armed blocs of the world, would be an imprudence, and, for the moment at least, they do not think of that. None of them possesses an atomic or thermo-nuclear bomb. But we shall see in Bandung Communist China who with the might which her half a billion population gives her, her success in Geneva, and the beginning of her arms drive under Russian tutelage, will try to secure a preponderating position. In spite of the remonstrances of the Philippines, Siam, Turkey, and other allies of the West, if the enormous wavering mass inclines towards any side, it will probably be towards the Soviet block. China will arrive at the Conference carrying subtle and tempting suggestions, stemming indirectly from Moscow, and she will proclaim herself a fervent friend of the coloured peoples who desire to win their freedom.

There is no doubt that in the assembly there will be anti-communists. Unfortunately, the most powerful of them all, Japan, has left sad recollections in Indonesia. Islam, which is the religion of 90% of the Indonesians, and of many of the participating countries, is opposed to Communism in all its principles. But China will carry great weight and in Indonesia herself she has an active colony of three million nationals, perhaps divided but communistic in the greater part.

The most disturbing factor is that the conference's objectives are vague. For example, for economic development, which clearly is the prime need of that one billion and a half of human beings, it is certain that American, British, French or Dutch help, is worth more to Asia than the mutual goodwill amongst peoples so opposite and unarmed. Hate for the white master of former times, or of to-day, incites that multitude. But in the resolutions of Bogor, which form the programme of the coming Conference, there is an article, number 14, which seems to me to be highly elucidating for one who seeks the origins of human undertakings not in lucid plans, which hardly ever exist, but in the primordial feelings that dwell in all human hearts. For those peoples — born yet recently for an independent life — the strongest of sentiments, stronger even than hate, is fear, the fear of destruction. Article 14 expresses "the grave concern caused by the nuclear explosions and the fear of those devices" that threaten the world and human organisms with lasting destruction. The Asians know that in the face of that peril the number of combatants counts for little. As their anguished appeal will certainly not be listened to, and as bomb U follows bomb H while the cobalt bomb is awaited, we have to fear that the legitimate terror of those peoples may be exploited by the simple method of offering to them the armament which will probably serve to attract the thunderbolt that will fall over them, but which to their oriental imagination should appear like a charm and the guarantee of their beloved freedom.

In short, this spectacular conference is actually a kind of a vast whirl of panic, as happens in anthills on the approach of some collective danger. Let us forget appearances and even the perturbing possibilities for our particular interests and let us face the problem of the West. It consists in calming that immense flock before it delivers itself up to bad shepherds and before it is too late to influence it. This would indeed be the mission of the white bearers of power, were they not so deeply divided.

Diario Popular, Lisbon, 9-3-55.