PRESS STATEMENT BY VISITORS FROM
ALGERIA, TUNISIA AND MOROCCO

The North African Delegation to the Asian-African Conference, representing Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco welcomes this opportunity to meet you. We should like to express through you the salutations and greetings of our people to this historic and long-desired gathering together of the representatives of the Asian-African community of free nations. On their behalf also we wish to express our thanks and admiration to the Government and people of Indonesia who have extended to us their hospitality on this occasion, and whose efforts in concert with the other members of the Bogor Conference have made this Conference possible.

As you are aware, the independence struggle of Morocco and Tunisia are already sponsored by most of the nations assembled here, who for the last five years have championed our cause before the United Nations and at the international level in general. For this reason both Tunisia and Morocco have been the subject of special resolutions incorporated in the Joint Communiques of the Colombo and Bogor Conferences. Section 13 of the Bogor Communique states:

"The Prime Ministers expressed their continued support to the demand of the peoples of Tunisia and Morocco for their national independence and their legitimate right to selfdetermination."

The people of North Africa, striving for independence in what may be termed a straight fight against French colonial domination, welcomed this further manifestation of solidarity and support. However today, and particularly since the outbreak of armed resistance in Algeria which commenced on November 1st last, no consideration of the colonial problem in general and of French-dominated North Africa in particular can ignore the extremely critical situation existing in Algeria also. The Algerian question differs in some technical aspects from those of Tunisia and Morocco but fundamentally the problem is one; we in North Africa are calling upon the nations assembled here in Bandung to proclaim their support to the Algerian independence movement, and to extend to the Algerian people, at present engaged in a desperate struggle against ruthless French military and police repression, that solidarity and sympathy which has already been so forcibly manifested towards Tunisia and Morocco. In the name of the 27 million people of North Africa we appeal to the Asian-African Conference to proclaim its adherence to this cause in accordance with the declared aims of this conference as defined in Section Four of the Bogor Communique — namely:

"To consider problems of special interest to Asian and African people e.g. problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism."

We wish also to state that the situation in Morocco — the outcome of the crisis engendered by the deposition of H.M. the Sultan Muhammad Ben Youssef, the legitimate sovereign of that country — is extremely grave and dangerous and that no proposal for a settlement of any kind has been proposed by France.

We recognise the absolute determination of the Conference to root out colonialism wherever it may be. Yet we who still live under colonial domination, whether in Africa or Asia, cannot ignore the fact that the development of the present world situation has resulted in a dangerous consolidation of the colonial Powers and their allies and in a very definite stiffening of their resistance to the demand for the restoration or establishment of national independence. This has been demonstrated time and again whenever our cause has been debated before the United Nations. Nor can we ignore the fact that the colonial Powers have by no means abandoned the use of brute force in favour of peaceful settlement; in fact it is our experience in North Africa that even when negotiations are in progress the means of forceful repression are held in reserve. Moreover, the ending of the fighting in Indo-China — an event we welcomed for our long-suffering brothers in that country — has released the very considerable military forces now being utilised by France against the national liberation movements in North Africa — particularly in Algeria and Morocco.

All this indicates in our opinion the necessity of this conference assembled here representing the greatest combination of anti-colonial forces in the world — to consider now the ways and means of bringing a more effective and immediate support to our problem in North Africa and to the question of colonial freedom in general — particularly in view of the proved inadequacy of the United Nations in this respect.

It is the considered opinion of this Delegation that the Asian-African Conference is the proper body to propose and decide the necessary measures to be taken to this end.
PRESS STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE
SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN CONGRESS

In less than seven years of Malan-Strijdom rule South Africa is today virtually a police-slave-state. The traditional policy of the country of denial of political rights to non-Whites, economic handicap, restriction on the freedom of movement, and social segregation and discrimination against the non-Whites, has been ruthlessly and shamelessly intensified under the name of apartheid. Today we have political regimentation and control of the non-White population, economic strangulation and expropriation of the property of the non-Whites. This is done in defiance of the resolutions and declarations of the United Nations Organisation.

This policy is straining race relations in South Africa to a very dangerous point. It is creating an anti-White feeling among the non-Whites, and while things may seem quiet and peaceful at present, the masses of our people are deeply wounded in the soul. They are bitter and sullen. One of these days there will be some terrible and shocking anti-White riots and explosions, the like of which has never been seen before in South Africa. Perhaps what we saw at Port Elizabeth and East London at the end of 1952 when innocent whites were killed by Africans in the “locations” was a foretaste, in miniature, of the shape of things to come.

No people on earth, no matter how loyal and law-abiding it may be, or no matter how overawed and cowed it may be, can endure for long such a policy of utter ruthlessness and shameless and flagrant injustices.

While the Whites in South Africa possess full citizenship rights and enjoy the fat, riches and comports which that country can provide, the non-Whites are without any rights.

They are denied the right to take part in the choosing of the government which rules them and they have no say in the affairs and administration of their country. They are taxed without representation, denied freedom of movement, freedom of assembly, freedom of speech and freedom of organisation. They are economically oppressed and exploited, they may not trade, live, buy or own land where they like. Under the Group Areas Act they are to lose their properties, businesses, institutions and places of worship. The civil service and skilled occupations in industry, trades and commerce are debarred to them. They are treated in a stepmotherly fashion in the provision of education and social services, and they are socially discriminated against and daily insulted and humiliated.

In addition to all this the Africans who form 67.5% of the total population have been allotted 13% of the land and the Whites who comprise only 20.9% of the population have allotted to themselves 87% of the country's best land: rich in minerals, fertile and well-watered. They are paid miserable wages, starved of education, prohibited from entering urban areas, and subjected to humiliating pass, permit and liquor laws which were responsible for the conviction and sentence of 739,400 Africans in 1952.

Should there be any anti-White explosions in South Africa the Government will be responsible. But though the Government of the Union of South Africa will be responsible for any racial disaster that might occur there in the future, it would be criminal on our part — on the part of all democratic-minded people of South Africa and, to some extent, also on the part of the civilised and freedom-loving peoples of the world — were we to allow the situation in South Africa to get from bad to worse. It is absolutely imperative, therefore, that all men of goodwill should do everything in their power to try to ease the race tension in South Africa. We cannot allow the impression to get fixed in the minds of the non-Whites that all White peoples are against them.

What is happening in South Africa is not the concern of the people of South Africa alone but also the concern of the peoples of the rest of the world. The sufferings of the non-White people there are a challenge to all civilised peoples of the world. All who are free and who love freedom cannot look on silently and passively while a gross injustice in being done to a people just because of its race and colour.

Something must be done about the unhealthy human relationship and illtreatment of non-White peoples in South Africa before it is too late.

We have, therefore, come to this historic and world-inspiring conference of the free and non-racial nations of Asia and Africa with this main object: we have come to request them to use their good offices internationally to persuade the other civilised and freedom-loving nations of the world to prevail upon the Government of the Union of South Africa to abandon its unjust and disastrous policy of apartheid and racial discrimination.

We are convinced and confident that the Government of South Africa could be forced to reconsider its reactionary and inhuman policy if all the nations which do not approve of policies and practices of racial oppression and discrimination, particularly the Governments of the United States of America and Great Britain, would boldly take a firm stand against such practices. The United States of America and Great Britain owe it to humanity to see to it that justice and fairness are accorded all men in all countries under the sphere of their influence.

I. A. Cachalia
Moses Kotane

Bandung.
16th April 1955.
STATEMENT DISTRIBUTED BY AUSTRALIAN VISITORS

Australia was not formally invited by the Five sponsoring Powers to the Asian-African Conference. The reason given is that Australia was not considered to be in the region covered by the Conference.

It is our view that Australia does in fact lie in the Asian area; for if not in that area, to what region does she in fact belong?

Australia’s place in the Asian area was recognised for the purpose of the two conferences which took place in Delhi in 1949 and in Baguio in 1950.

It is our view that Australia should have been invited to this Conference and should have accepted; and should on all future occasions be invited and attend.

Australian interest in and sense community with Asia is growing; it is unfortunate that exclusion from the Conference may check this sentiment and reinforce outworn attitudes to Asian problems.

Public sentiment for closer relations with Asia has been expressed both in the platforms of political parties such as the Australian Labour Party and by non-party organizations such as the Australian Section of the World Council of Churches.

The Government of Australia has frequently stated its intention of increasing its representation in Asia and multiplying its contacts with the governments of independent Asia.

If a future conference or a continuing organisation is planned, we trust that Australia’s position in Asia will be given due consideration.

Bandung, April 20th 1955.

John Burton.

C. P. Fitzgerald.

(Note: Dr. Burton, formerly Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, represented Australia at the Delhi Conference of 1949 and the Baguio Conference of 1950.

Professor Fitzgerald holds the Chair of Far Eastern History of the Australian National University Canberra.)

PRESS EXTRACTS

INDONESIA

The speeches of the chief delegates to the Bandung Conference have shown one common ground: the question of colonialism and world peace.

Almost all of the nations attending the AA conference have had common experiences. It is therefore imperative that the Asian and African nations, whatever system of government and economy they have, must seek understanding of each other. Out of this understanding must be built a greater appreciation and must be concluded by a collective action to reach the common desire of all Asian and African nations in particular and of mankind in general.

President Sukarno mentioned the fact that colonialism is not yet dead. Many shapes of colonialism have to be wiped out to guarantee a free and independent action of every individual nation, small or big to work for the benefit of its own people. It is therefore a question of great importance that very nation-attendant of the AA Conference should analyse first of all his own position in the rank and file of nations of the world before going to attack the principles and the political creeds of any individual nations, whether in Asia, Africa or the West.

If we start attacking communism in all its forms, we could also launch attacks on colonialism and imperialism.

If a nation, naive and unexperienced steps forwards with the question: does lenin-marxism concord with the coexistence principles, or is it not aggression what the communists have done in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other countries in Eastern Europe or in China in order to secure their power — then the question could be raised what the Americans are doing in European countries with their mighty air, sea and landforces, or why Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria are still suffering under the yoke of French imperialism. We do not yet mention West Irian, which is a threat to Indonesian independence as much as Taiwan is a threat to China’s independence or Cyprus and Suez Canal to Greece and Egypt.

To possess part of a nation’s territory or the territory as a whole is aggression, but a frozen one. So to say if the West attacks the East or vice versa, then it must be remembered that both of them are sitting in the same boat.

The A.A Conference is not meant to be another battlefield of these two conflicting ideologies and Weltanschauung. It is our common desire to contribute to world peace.

It is for us Asian and African countries that we must cooperate in all fields, particularly in the economic field, as all of us are needy nations. All this can be done.
when there is no world tension which upsets all efforts of reconstruction for the benefit of the countries and peoples concerned.

Indonesia, which has had a turbulent past can be a sample to the world that she is fighting now to forget the past and to head for the future.

Tolerance is the biggest asset of Indonesia. Indonesians fought colonialism and imperialism without mercy, but she is now trying to forget this unhappy memories. And the same Indonesia fought communism at the same time, so that our country has had the experience of fighting colonialism and communism. However, tolerance should replace hatred, because only through tolerance and understanding a nation can be built and peace restored.

All we want is peace. Let it be the only aim of this conference. Because peace in the real sense implies the possibilities of all the nations to work for their future. The voices of the representatives of three-fifths of the world population cannot be ignored, if all of them are genuine fighters for the preservation of peace.

(Indonesian Observer, 23 April 1955).

Asians, who have been under the domination of Western countries, are naturally in full agreement with the aims of the Asian-African Conference which is now in progress in Bandung.

For centuries the peoples of Asia and Africa were not able to determine their own destinies and had to take orders from foreign peoples who dominated them. Meeting in Bandung in a united front, their representatives are now able to tell the world that we, as God’s creatures, are of the same value and importance as Western peoples and have to be accorded equal treatment as human beings.

The Western nations are superior as regard the making of atomic and hydrogen bombs, and other weapons of destruction, but on the other hand the Eastern nations may boast of their religions. Clearly then they are superior in spiritual development.

While arms superiority has always been boasted of at SEATO, NATO and other similar conferences, cooperation and peace are the primary purpose of the Asian-African Conference.

We are now witnessing the clash between armed might and the spirit of peace. History has shown that authority that is backed up by force is not lasting. We are therefore convinced that in the end the spirit of peace will triumph.

(Sin Min, Semarang, 18-4-55).

BRITAIN

In sheer geographical scope the gathering in Bandung makes all the congresses Europe has held over the centuries look like a neighbourly chat over garden fences.

Mental distances between peoples have not yet been reduced as drastically; and here the doubts about the Bandung conference begin. Some common denominators exist. Most states are relatively new creations and even most of the ancient sovereign oriental nations share their yearning for more clearly asserted status in world affairs. Equality in such institutions as United Nations is insufficient. Europe has its own institutions such as the Strasbourg Assembly; Asia has the right to follow suit. The mere fact of the holding of the Bandung Conference thus gives great satisfaction to countless people in the East. And nobody in the West would grudge that.

Nevertheless the conference must not be like a flower show; is ought to create and not merely demonstrate. Certainly the sponsors have called for a political discussion but they have never seemed agreed or clear about the aims of this discussion. Never perhaps have the representatives of so many governments assembled with so little idea of what they are going to do. Unlike Strasbourg, the delegates are not gathered to experiment in political and economic unity nor under the shadow of fear and common peril. The European nations are bonded by communist pressure while Asians have billed the Chinese People’s Republic the star performer at Bandung. What concrete result can be expected by the participating powers? The sad fact is plain that most of the delegations are coming with expectations so different from each other as to be virtually contradictory.

The Indonesians, who initiated the whole project are perhaps the most likely to achieve their purpose, which was primarily to gain prestige and divert attention from their domestic rift and failures by playing host to a glittering assembly. However even this is endangered if internal disorders occur as at the Bogota Pan-American Conference. For the rest so many different harps are being brought. But few can expect general applause. There is likely to be little support for Arabs inveighing against Israel or Thailand fearing Vietminh infiltration.

The Conference, lacking positive purpose, is likely to fall back on negative ones, to descend to the lowest common denominator and stay there, and where Asians are gathered the denominator is anti-Westernism, still usually labelled anti-colonialism in spite of the colonial retreat in the last decade. It is ironic that the only colonial Empire in Asia is that of Russia’s, while anti-colonialism is used as a stick to beat America’s traditionally anti-colonial policy. Though anti-colonialism is absurdly outmoded, may use it as a slogan to propitiate the people and incidentally to loosen the western purse strings if possible. It may
be assumed that strictures will be voiced on the Dutch in Irian, the French in North Africa, the Portugese in Goa, and the British in Malaya.

All this is convenient for the Communists who staged a warm-up in Delhi in the previous week where Peking mouthpiece Kuo, oblivious of African problems, chiefly aimed at branding American Formosa policy as colonial by associating it with remnants of colonialism in Asia. The Communists at Bandung will probably show their usual skill in concealing their real aims. To carry other countries they will probably induce only oblique denunciations of America in the final communiqué. If they cannot convert they can at least divide, exploiting differences between states with and without defensive links with the West and painting a picture of pro-Western governments against the rest, and pose as friends and sympathizers of the unattached.

Yet the more clear-sighted non-Communists will see the real division between China and vassal states on the one hand, and the rest of Asia on the other. Since 1950 the rest of Asia has had no real contact with the Chinese People’s Republic, as news is censored and foreign envoys segregated. The Chinese delegation must work hard to disguise this cruel fact, which is backed up with an unrivalled propaganda machine and with unrivalled military power in the background.

Will the non-communists let themselves become red puppets, or look behind the smiles of Chou and Dong, noting the Chinese People’s Republic’s admission of a bottleneck in industrialization and resistance to collectivization, and the fact that the Chinese People’s Republic’s revolution, like Russia’s, has begun to devour its own children such as Kao Kang.

If the Communists put on too much pressure at Bandung they may come away as disappointed as many other delegations will; and some useful lessons in realism will then be taken to heart. But one would be rash to count on any definable gain from the conference that would offset the danger of a welter of inchoate, an in part harmful, rhetoric. This first council of Asia has an inauspicious setting.

*(Economist, London, 18-4-55).*
ENTERTAINMENT FOR THE LADIES

The Governor’s Residence was the scene of another enjoyable gathering on Thursday afternoon when the Women’s Committee entertained the lady guests of the Conference.

A fashion show of many Indonesian national costumes aroused much interest. Dresses from East Sumatra, with the rich cloth interwoven with gold and silver thread, the Balinese temple dress with its elaborate headdress of real flowers, the different costumes of Jogjakarta including the dress of a Princess with its richly embroidered jacket and the bare-shouldered style worn in the Sultan’s court, and the colourful costumes of Makassar, Minahassa and the Moluccas, were all widely admired.

An unusual feature was the women’s gamelan orchestra which accompanied a fine performance of the Tari Topeng or Mask Dance. Later a choir of girls from the training school for kindergarten teachers in Bandung sang the song of Kartini, leader of women’s emancipation, and played the angklung. This is an orchestra of bamboo instruments, each of which plays only certain notes. Since 1943 angklungs have also been made with western tone scales.

One of the dancers.

Watching the dance performance.
TWO SOCIAL GATHERINGS
PRINTED AS A SOUVENIR OF THESE OCCASIONS

Tea party given by the wife of the Governor of West Java

Opening Day Reception