WORLD OPINION

STATEMENTS BY VISITORS TO THE CONFERENCE

EXTRACTS FROM STATEMENTS MADE BY
ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS ON THE CYPRUS
QUESTION

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

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

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

Since 1878 the island is under British administration.
The Greek people of Cyprus always aspired to their
national liberty and for decades now have been repeatedly
putting forward with insistence before the British Go-

Cernment their claim to self-determination, but with a
negative result.

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

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

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

The negative attitude, however, of the Administering
State towards the self-determination of Cyprus continues
unaltered, the British Government still treating the matter
as one of its own domestic concern, although the
discussion in the United Nations proved it to be otherwise.

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

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

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

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

(Extract)

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

In your busy moments at Bandung we appeal to you
to give a few thoughts to Singapore. Some of you have
passed through your days of colonial tribulation. Give us
your hands on our road to independence. We are here now to learn from our neighbours some of the answers to our problems.

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

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

C. H. KOH
For the LABOUR FRONT VISITORS

PRESS EXTRACTS

INDONESIA

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

The paper expressed hope that the problem of normalising economic relations will be solved satisfactorily by the Conference, because there is no reason whatsoever to reject trade extension if it benefits all parties involved.

The "Pewarta Surabaja" of East Java commented that "the eyes of the world have now been opened to the fact that in Indonesia, too, there are leaders of big calibre, whose role in world affairs cannot be ignored".

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

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

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

"The convening of the Conference is therefore unprecedented in the history of Asia and Africa as well as that of the world. The success of the Conference will open a new road in the development of the Asian and African nations and offer a valuable contribution to the promotion of peace in Asia and Africa and the world as well. The importance of the Conference is clearly undeniable."
likely that she wanted to arrive at the Conference appearing to offer the blessing of peace. Obviously the aim of Peking, the paper continued, would be to convince the Asian countries that the threat of war came from the West.

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

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

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

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

"The prospects of the Conference were improved by the decision that there should be no resolutions. This diminishes the chances of precise decisions but also diminishes the danger of a split between the Communists and the anti-Communists……"

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

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

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

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

For hints as to whether Asia would advance to democracy one should keep one's eyes not on Bandung but on Washington, where a new economic aid programme would be published next week. The battle for the soul of Asia would be won or lost not at conference tables but in fields and factories.
The *Birmingham Post* detailed the purposes of the Conference, and commented that it was unique and important. From the point of view of genuine anti-colonialism, said the paper, cooperation between the two continents is logical enough, and a very proper thing if only it were not bedevilled by that new and more insidious imperialism of communism.

The fact that the Chinese delegation is led by Chou En-lai, indicates a change of standpoint, the paper comments. Until recently, China would not rub shoulders with “bourgeois” states like India, Jordan, Burma or Indonesia. In the case of Indonesia the paper believes that the reason why the communists have changed their attitude lies in the fact that Indonesia is a free Asian power where the communists are strong.

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

The *Daily Worker* (London) on April 16 said that the former colonies, colonies and semi-colonies were seeking a common ground because the policies of their colonisers had been to divide and rule them. However, it was not one colonial nation nor the white man in general which was realised to be the enemy, but “imperialism bound with the present stage of monopoly capitalism”.

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

**AMERICA**

Is this only vanity? asks Max Lerner in the *New York Post*. It would be a mistake to conclude that the whole Bandung Conference is only a preening before the mirror of history by men who like the center of the stage. There are tougher and more stubborn purposes involved.

To get at these purposes one must remember that Bandung is neither simple nor monolithic. The thirty odd Asian and African delegations fall roughly into four groups. One may be called the Nehru-U Nu bloc; second the Nasser-Sukarno bloc of Moslem countries; third the Philippines-Thailand or pro-Western bloc; fourth the Chou En-lai or Communist bloc. Each has its satellites.

Lerner continues: The aim of the Nasser-Sukarno Moslem bloc is not nearly as high-minded. Sukarno wanted the Bandung Conference so that he might gather a cordon of Moslem countries to bolster his Indonesian regime. The Arab League in turn is coming to Bandung determined to fight out the power struggle between Egypt and Iraq. They will all talk about freedom and peace but the only thing that unites them is hatred of Israel. For that reason the anti-Jewish theme is bound to crop up at Bandung, however much Nehru and U Nu may seek to keep it quiet.

In conclusion, and by way of criticism of Dulles’ policy, the *Post* reports: The themes of anti-colonialism, colour discrimination and anti-war are the themes that every Communist party in Asia and Africa has been able to appropriate — largely because our American policy makers have been so busy talking military positions and drawing a military line that they have left the juicy slogans for the Communists. All that Chou En-lai will have to do will be to exert his charm, sound reasonable, utter bromides, sell the “Five Principles” and collect some fat propaganda dividends.

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

Historical events are sometimes like sleeper movies: You don’t know how historic they are until they hit the screen and paying customers troop in. It is probably as great a surprise to the sponsors — notably Nehru and U Nu — as to everyone else that Bandung has caught the world’s imagination.

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

As for the U.S.A., the article continues, the State Department was at first inclined to ask our working allies to boycott Bandung, but in the end sanity prevailed. We are now playing it straight-faced on the theory that Bandung will have more than one voice, and that the voice for the Western world will also get a hearing.

As a formal policy this is a correct one for us to take. Bandung has also given proof of its impact by forcing President Eisenhower to speed up the announcement of a proposed billion dollar aid program for Asia. The message is in time for the Bandung meeting in order to strengthen the hand of Carlos Romulo and other delegates who are fighting to help it from becoming a Communist weapon.

The Chinese have taken along a large trade and economic delegation which will spend its time in court-
ship, says Max Lerner, but it would have been better if we had doubled our Asian aid before Bandung ever met. It would also be more reassuring to Asians if they did not suspect that the President's figures may be seriously whittled down before they pass the scrutiny of Congress and of Secretary Humphrey.

Let no one try to laugh Bandung off, warns Lerner, who then says: We have allowed ourselves to drift into a position where Asians feel we are resisting not encouraging, their claims to a position in world councils. Bandung recognises these claims — which is why it has become an outlet for resentment and pride.

I wish we had the imagination to forget our fears about Bandung and go all-out in welcoming it. If Dulles' dead hand did not lie on American foreign policy, and if we had a bold president in White House, would it be too much to hope that he might send a straightforward greeting to Bandung? The President has sent the same old platitudes about "peaceful aspirations" and "renunciations", but he could have sent another kind of message: a message saying: "We differ on some things and I may not like the resolutions with which you will end up. I implore you not to be misled by the bland promises of several of your delegations which would act like wolves if they had you in their power. Nevertheless it is a great day for the world when a resurgent Asia and Africa rise from the lowly positions in which they have crouched for centuries, and assert themselves as part of the world, caught in its doom, heirs to its hopes. We wish you well, and as President of the American people, I hail you".

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

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

It is to be expected, the "Herald Tribune" continues, that Red China and the apologists will attempt to bring the Conference around to the kind of denunciations of the West which are the stock in trade of Red propaganda. But the nations at Bandung which recognise the communist peril have seized the initiative. They have demonstrated that they have not come to Indonesia merely to sing chorus to Chou En-lai's solo. They are willing and eager to work for peace — but they decline to acknowledge as a peace-loving regime the Communist government which is now building up a military threat in Formosa Strait.

In an editorial the Christian Science Monitor said that Indian Premier Nehru's calling of an Asian conference of eleven nations at New Delhi to work out plans for using Western economic aid highlighted recent hopeful developments in this field.

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

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

This is one reason why some of America's allies with long experience in the Far East have hoped that new aid to Asia can be launched without too much fanfare.

The same paper on April 19 said that it may be asked what one might reasonably expect by way of results from the Bandung Conference. The nature of the agenda adopted did not indicate that any very concrete conclusions were expected, the paper added. In general, Americans and Europeans could afford to applaud any move making for better communications in the world, and could trust that intelligence, moderation and liberalism would find spokesmen in any world group which had freely assembled.

The New York Times entitled an editorial "Turnabout at Bandung", saying that the Conference had begun with a dramatic turnabout which dispels any notion that Asia and Africa speak with one voice, or that any one leader dare presume to speak for all Asian and African countries.

Speakers from the anti-communist countries, the paper said, had drawn up a powerful indictment against the Communist powers and had marshalled facts which the West had long since known, but which are still too little recognised in the two under-developed continents.

As the basis for their indictment, the editorial said further, the speakers in question pointed out that the
Western powers had been gradually abandoning imperialism, and since the last war had freed no less than 600 million people. During this same period the communists on the other hand had enslaved no less than 6 nations, the population of which approached 700 million.

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

RUSSIA

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

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

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

AUSTRALIA

The Sydney Morning Herald of 16th April argued that the Conference had its origin purely and simply in the Indonesian governing party’s desire to win prestige in a general election. What was remarkable was that the remaining four Colombo powers were unwilling to oppose the suggestion, and that 19 other states had accepted the invitation to attend. That is why the Western powers could not afford to treat the A.A. confab lightly.

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

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

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

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

ENGLISH LANGUAGE BROADCASTS

The Government of Indonesia has two short-wave English language broadcasts daily. The first is from 6.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. Java time on 20.9 meter band (9.710 cps) and 61.0 meter band (5.05 cps) directed to Australia and Southeast Asia. The second is the same program, directed to India, from 10.00 p.m. to 11.00 p.m. Java time, on the same frequencies.

The English language broadcast for local consumption is from 10.00 p.m. to 11.00 p.m. Java time on 41 meter band (7.7 cps) and 91 meter band (3.41 cps).
A Delegate from Sudan in one of the Cultural shops arranged for the Conference.

Every day Indonesian Scouts raise and lower the flags of participating countries at Conference centres.