

## From Bandung to Algiers

The Second African-Asian Conference is scheduled to open on June 29 in the imposing new building at the Club of Pines in Algiers, Algeria. The more than 2,000 million people of Asia and Africa who make up more than half of the world population have been looking forward to this day. It is their cherished hope, and that of the people throughout the world, that this conference will hold high the banner of unity against imperialism-colonialism and carry forward the tradition of the 1955 Bandung Conference. What were the achievements of the Bandung Conference? How has the Algiers Conference been called? Here are some pertinent facts.

### The Bandung Conference

**Asia and Africa Standing Up.** The peoples of Asia and Africa created outstanding civilizations that date back to antiquity and made great contributions to mankind. But, throughout modern times, most of the Asian-African countries to a greater or lesser extent have been subjected to colonial plunder and oppression, and have thus been forced to remain in a stagnant state of poverty and backwardness. For a long time, their voices had been suppressed, their aspirations shattered and their fate placed in the hands of others. They have no choice but to rise against colonialism.

Profound changes took place after World War II with many countries in the region taking their destiny into their own hands after long years of endeavour, casting off the shackles of colonialism. Awakened and militant people throughout Asia and Africa strongly desired unity in their common fight against colonialism and imperialism, and in their efforts to develop and build their own lands.

**29 Participants.** It was in these historical circumstances that the Asian-African Conference was proposed. It was to be the first of its kind, where the Asian-African countries gathered together, without the interference of the colonial powers.

Bandung, a beautiful city in West Java surrounded by mountains, was chosen as the venue of the conference. Meeting between April 18 and 24, 1955, at Bandung's Merdeka (Independence) Hall and the Dwiwarna (Bi-Colour) Hall, the conference was attended by the following 29 participants:

Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, China, Egypt (now U.A.R.), Ethiopia, Gold Coast (now Ghana), India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Thailand, Turkey, the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, south Viet Nam and the Yemen.

The Soviet Union, which is neither an Asian nor an African country, did not ask to participate. Nor was it (or its union republics in Asia) invited by the conference sponsors.

**"Let a New Asia and Africa Be Born."** The opening session of the conference heard a heartening speech by the Indonesian President. In his speech entitled "Let a New Asia and Africa Be Born," President Sukarno declared:

Nations, states have awakened from a sleep of centuries. Passive peoples have gone outward, tranquillity has made place for struggle and activity. Irresistible forces have swept the two continents. . . . Hurricanes of national awakening and re-awakening have swept over the land, shaking it, changing it for the better.

**Seeking Common Ground.** It is true that the Asian-African countries have different social systems and hold different political views — there are even disputes between some of them. But, thanks to the joint efforts of many delegations, the conference in a matter of days reached unanimous agreement on various questions such as opposing colonialism and striving for and safeguarding national independence. The call from Bandung shook the already tottering framework of colonialism.

Seeking common ground while setting aside differences was a key to the Bandung success. As China's Premier Chou En-lai said at the conference:

Is there any basis for seeking common ground among us? Yes, there is. The overwhelming majority of the Asian and African countries and peoples have suffered and are still suffering from the calamities of colonialism. This is acknowledged by all of us. If we seek common ground in doing away with the sufferings and calamities under colonialism, it will be very easy for us to have mutual understanding and respect, mutual sympathy and support, instead of mutual suspicion and fear, mutual exclusion and antagonism.

**Colonialism Condemned.** The seven-day conference adopted a final communique embodying the conclusions of the discussions that took place. The communique consists of seven items. They are: economic co-operation; cultural co-operation; human rights and self-determination; problems of dependent peoples; other problems; promotion of world peace and co-operation; and declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation.

In the resolution on the problems of dependent peoples, the conference emphatically declared that colonialism in all its manifestations [political, military, economic, cultural and social] was an evil which should be speedily brought to an end. The conference also paved the way

for closer co-operation among the Asian-African countries. It was agreed that the participating countries should work for economic co-operation, based on mutual benefit and respect for national sovereignty. In the cultural field, the participating countries stressed the need for greater contact and exchange, while denouncing the suppression of national cultures by the colonial powers.

**The Ten Principles.** In the declaration on promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted by the conference, the following ten principles were enumerated to guide relations between nations:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.

3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.

4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.

5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

6. (A) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.

(B) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.

7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.

8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

9. Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.

10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

These have become known as the Ten Principles of the Bandung Conference. The historic conference gave birth to the Bandung spirit of Afro-Asian solidarity against colonialism and imperialism.

## Torch of Independence

Epoch-making changes have taken place since the 1955 Asian-African Conference. Asia and Africa have become the world's storm-centres of revolution where the contradictions between the imperialist powers and oppressed nations converge. Inspired by the spirit of Bandung, many oppressed nations have come into their own again by overthrowing their oppressors.

In the space of ten years 35 more countries, mostly in Africa, have won independence. This means that nearly 210 million people inhabiting an area of over 20 million square kilometres have freed themselves from colonial shackles.

### ASIAN AND AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE WON INDEPENDENCE SINCE 1955

Name	Date of Independence	Capital	Area (in sq. km.)	Population
<b>Africa</b>				
Sudan	Jan. 1, 1956	Khartoum	2,500,000	13,180,000
Morocco	Mar. 2, 1956	Rabat	455,577	12,500,000
Tunisia	Mar. 20, 1956	Tunis	125,130	4,290,000
Ghana	Mar. 6, 1957	Accra	238,188	7,500,000
Guinea	Oct. 2, 1958	Conakry	245,857	3,357,000
Cameroon	Jan. 1, 1960	Yaounde	475,000	4,560,000
Togo	Apr. 27, 1960	Lome	56,600	1,603,000
Mali	Sept. 22, 1960*	Bamako	1,204,021	4,394,000
Senegal	Aug. 20, 1960	Dakar	197,161	3,360,000
Malagasy	June 26, 1960	Tananarive	592,000	5,650,000
Congo (Leopoldville)	June 30, 1960	Leopoldville	2,345,809	15,170,000
Congo (Brazzaville)	Aug. 15, 1960	Brazzaville	342,000	840,000
Somalia	July 1, 1960	Mogadishu	660,000	2,300,000
Dahomey	Aug. 1, 1960	Porto Novo	112,622	2,250,000
Niger	Aug. 3, 1960	Niamey	1,276,627	3,127,000
Upper Volta	Aug. 5, 1960	Ouagadougou	274,122	4,650,000
Ivory Coast	Aug. 7, 1960	Abidjan	322,000	3,660,000
Chad	Aug. 11, 1960	Fort Lamy	1,284,000	2,803,000
<b>Central African Republic</b>				
Gabon	Aug. 17, 1960	Libreville	267,000	453,000
Nigeria	Oct. 1, 1960	Lagos	923,772	55,650,000
Mauritania	Nov. 28, 1960	Nouakchott	1,169,000	1,000,000
<b>Sierra Leone</b>				
Rwanda	July 1, 1962	Kigali	26,338	2,873,000
Burundi	July 1, 1962	Bujumbura	27,834	2,600,000
Algeria	July 3, 1962	Algiers	2,200,000	12,000,000
Uganda	Oct. 9, 1962	Kampala	236,037	7,100,000
Kenya	Dec. 12, 1963	Nairobi	582,646	8,847,000
Tanzania	Apr. 26, 1964**	Dar-es-Salaam	939,719	10,110,000
Malawi	July 6, 1964	Zomba	127,900	3,922,000
Zambia	Oct. 24, 1964	Lusaka	752,620	3,610,000
Gambia	Feb. 18, 1965	Bathurst	10,367	310,000
<b>Asia</b>				
Malaya	Aug. 31, 1957	Kuala Lumpur	131,794	7,607,000
Cyprus	Aug. 16, 1960	Nicosia	9,251	589,000
Kuwait	June 19, 1961	Kuwait	16,000	400,000

\*Date Mali left the French Community.

\*\*Tanganyika achieved independence on December 9, 1961, and Zanzibar on December 10, 1963. The two countries decided for union on April 26, 1964, and on October 29, 1964, became known as the United Republic of Tanzania.

## Road to Algiers

The changes in Asia and Africa have been most inspiring. But the tasks facing the Asian-African peoples remain arduous.

A number of Asian-African countries are suffering under direct colonialist rule. Those which have attained independence are still subjected to or menaced by imperialist exploitation, intervention, subversion or outright aggression. Old colonialism has not died while neo-colonialism has become a rising and real danger to many newly independent countries.

The harsh realities of international life convince the Asian-African peoples that the struggle against imperialism, against colonialism old and new, remains their most pressing common task. As President Sukarno said (April 10, 1964 in Djakarta):

Make no mistake, sisters and brothers, that struggle must continue! Make no mistake, that struggle will continue to be hard! Make no mistake, that struggle is bound to demand our attention, to call for our time!

It was in this spirit that the Indonesian President initiated the Second African-Asian Conference. It was in the same spirit that many governments and the general public of the two continents have expressed themselves strongly in favour of the convening of such a conference.

**Djakarta Preparatory Meeting.** Thus, the Preparatory Meeting of the Second African-Asian Conference took place in Djakarta from April 10-15, 1964. The 22 participating nations were:

Afghanistan, Algeria, Cambodia, the Cameroon, Ceylon, the People's Republic of China, Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Liberia, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Syria, Tanganyika, Turkey, the United Arab Republic.

In spite of imperialist manoeuvres, the meeting proved a great success. The Final Communiqué (for full text see *Peking Review*, No. 17, 1964) recorded the unanimous view that "at this juncture in international developments the convening of a Second African-Asian Conference was of paramount importance." The meeting decided, in view of the fact that the 1955 Asian-African Conference was held in Asia, that the second be held in Africa on March 10, 1965, at a heads of state and heads of government level. Selection of the venue would be left to the Organization of African Unity (which chose, in July 1964, Algeria as the host country).

**The Objectives.** In its decisions on the objectives of the Second African-Asian Conference, the meeting laid stress on further inspiring the Asian-African peoples in their continued struggle against imperialism, all forms of colonialism, racial discrimination and foreign economic exploitation, and on supporting the complete emancipation of countries still under foreign domination. The meeting also emphasized that the Second African-Asian Conference would strive to promote mutual understanding and friendship among the nations and peoples of the two continents, strengthen their economic, social and cultural co-operation on the basis of political sovereignty, economic self-reliance and cultural self-assertion, and enhance the role of the Asian-African countries in international affairs and in the maintenance of world peace.

In the light of these objectives the meeting worked out a provisional agenda for the Second African-Asian Conference. It also made decisions on some other questions.

**Reaching Unanimity Through Consultations.** The Djakarta meeting gave full play to the Bandung spirit of stressing areas of agreement rather than points of difference and of reaching unanimity through consultations. As China's delegate, Vice-Premier Chen Yi, said (April 17, 1964 in Djakarta):

The relationship between us Asian and African nations differs from that between the imperialist powers and the weak and small nations and also differs from that among the imperialist powers themselves. Among us, the minority cannot impose their views on the majority; nor can the majority impose their views on the minority. Among us, things that are agreeable to all will be done and things that are not will not be done. Throughout our six days of meeting no decision was reached by voting; there was not a single occasion on which a vote was cast. Why? Because unanimous agreement was reached on all matters through consultation. This is the key to the success of the meeting.

In pursuance of the decision of the Djakarta meeting, an economic preparatory meeting for the Second African-Asian Conference was called in Geneva on June 16-17, 1964. Forty-one Asian-African countries were represented. A joint communiqué released on June 18 declared that the meeting "unanimously recognized the great significance of strengthening Afro-Asian solidarity and co-operation for the winning of economic independence." The communiqué also contained a "preliminary review of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development by its African and Asian participants."

The Djakarta meeting decided to set up a permanent committee at ambassadorial level to prepare for the Second African-Asian Conference. The 15 members of the committee were:

Algeria, the United Arab Republic, Morocco, Ghana, Guinea, Ethiopia, India, the People's Republic of China, Cambodia, Pakistan, Indonesia, Tanzania, Iran, Malawi and Zambia.

At its fourth meeting on February 8-9, 1965 the committee approved the Algerian Government's request for postponing the conference from March 10 to June 29, 1965 because of material difficulties.

On June 8, the committee concluded its seventh and final session in Algiers. A meeting of Foreign Ministers is scheduled to begin in the Algerian capital on June 24 prior to the opening of the conference on June 29.

The Asian-African people set great store by the Bandung tradition. Last April, 40 countries from both continents sent representatives to Indonesia for the celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the Bandung Conference.

The Asian-African people place high hopes in the Algiers Conference. They expect it to carry forward the cause of Afro-Asian solidarity against imperialism to a new high.

— SU MIN