

Summary of the introductory speeches at the Bandung Conference (18–19 April 1955)

Caption: In a telegram dated 26 April 1955, the British Embassy in Djakarta provides a summary of all the introductory speeches that were given on 18 and 19 April at the Bandung Conference.

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UNCLASSIFIED

No.39 (1071/230/55)

BRITISH EMBASSY,
DJAKARTA.

April 26, 1955.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch No.37 of April 21 reporting the opening on 18 April of the Asian-African ... Conference at Bandung I have the honour to enclose herewith for reference a summary of the introductory speeches made by the leaders of delegations at the opening session of the conference on 18 and 19 April. 2. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Commissioner General at Singapore; to the Governor General of the Sudan; to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Kabul, Rangoon, Pnom Penh, Peking, Cairo, Addis Ababa, Baghdad, Tokyo, Amman, Beirut, Monrovia, Katmandu, Manila, Bangkok, Damascus, Ankara, and Saigon; to Her Majesty's Ministers at Ventiane and Tripoli; and to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at Colombo, Karachi and New Delhi.

I have the honour to be,
with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

(O. C. Morland)

Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State
for Foreign Affairs,
Foreign Office,
S.W.1.

(Enclosure in Djakarta Despatch to Foreign Office
No.39 of 26 April 1955)

ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE AT BANDUNG
APRIL 1955

Summary of Introductory Speeches made
on 18 and 19 April by Leaders of
Delegations.

Note. No introductory speeches were made by
the leaders of the delegations of Burma,
India, Persia, Saudi Arabia, North Vietnam,
and Yemen. The text of the introductory
speech of the Prime Minister of Indonesia,
who was elected President of the Conference,
was enclosed with Djakarta despatch to the
Foreign Office No.37 of 21 April 1955./

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1. AFGHANISTAN (H.R.H. Sardar Mohammed Naim, Deputy
Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs).

Apart from conventional greetings dealt mainly with
economic collaboration and Afghan need of economic assistance
and development.

2. CAMBODIA (H.R.H. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, former
King).

Conference an opportunity to break down division between
communist and anti-communist worlds. Regrets non-membership
in United Nations of many participants. Cambodia has
adopted principles of Pancha Shila and will support stronger
nations in attempts to secure cooperation for peace through
respect for territorial integrity and independence of nations
and mutual observance of national rights.

3. CEYLON (The Rt. Hon. Sir John Kotelawala, Prime
Minister).

Conference meets on brink of world abyss. Arguments of
force must give place to those of spiritual power. Asian
and African nations may succeed where West has failed, and
are appropriate mediators between communism and anti-communism.
Need for admittance of further members to United Nations,
associate membership of dependent territories, and changes to
permit greater Asian and African membership of Security
Council. If we are to be effective mediators we must resolve
differences between ourselves. Urgent need of economic
development and attack on poverty in underdeveloped countries.

4. CHINA (Chou En-lai, Prime Minister).

Note. Chou En-lai circulated his prepared speech, and
spoke in different terms in reply to attacks on
communism by the Ceylon delegate and other earlier
speakers./

/(a) Prepared

(a) Prepared speech. Peoples of Asia and Africa have hitherto suffered silently under colonial oppression. Conference now reflects a profound historical change as shackles are cast off. Importance of joint effort for peace and quick complete liberation. Settlement in Indo-China due to work of Colombo Powers. Need for prohibition of atomic weapons, economic development and independence, respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and fuller cultural exchanges. Support for five principles of peaceful co-existence. China ready to normalise relations with Japan, the Philippines, and Siam. Asians and Africans must stand united.

(b) Supplementary speech. Chinese delegation has come here to seek common ground of agreement and not to quarrel. There is enough common ground. We believe in communism but ideological differences need not come before the conference. We have deliberately refrained from bringing up Formosa and Chinese representation in the United Nations. Mutual respect and cooperation can be strengthened on basis of five principles of coexistence. Religious belief is free in China and countries with and without religious beliefs can work together effectively. We do not believe in subversive activities in the territory of others: we protest against subversive activities of the K.M.T. and the United States in China. We should welcome visits to China by all delegates, so that they can see the true state of affairs for themselves.

5. EGYPT (Lt.Col. Nasser, Prime Minister).

Asian and African countries emerging from colonial shackles are faced with common problems and need for close cooperation. Democratic aims of Egyptian revolutionary government. Respect for United Nations Charter and observance by members of commitments regarding non-selfgoverning territories. Importance of disarmament, economic development, and use of modern science for peaceful purposes. Flagrant injustice of Palestine situation. Abolition of racialism in South Africa. Constructive role of small countries and respect for their sovereignty. Urgent need of independence for North African territories. Each country's right to choose its own political and economic system.

6. ETHIOPIA (Ethiopian Ambassador, Washington).

Importance of ending colonialism in every form, racialism, and religious discrimination. Support of United Nations Charter.

7. GOLD COAST (The Hon. Kojo Botsio, Minister of State).

Regret of Prime Minister at inability to attend. Grateful for association, while we are in process of achieving independence, with other countries who have faced same difficulties. Gold Coast not yet responsible for external affairs, but glad to accept invitation though we attend mainly as observers. Present Government pledged to attain independence while in

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office. Discussions with the United Kingdom Government are proceeding in cordial atmosphere. Announcement soon of actual date of full independence. New spirit in Africa: a giant awakening from sleep.

8. IRAQ (Dr. Mohammad Fadhil Jamali, former Prime Minister).

Conference is development from Asian-African group in United Nations which first met in 1947. Energetic support for United Nations as forum for political and economic progress. Three international forces now prevent peace and harmony, and must be fought with determination. The first is colonialism, and our presence here is good proof of its weakening. But in North Africa France is still ignoring the principles of self-determination, and racialism in South Africa is extreme. The second is Zionism, the worst offspring of imperialism: in Palestine millions of Arabs, Christian and Moslem, have been exiled in order to set up an unreal Zionist state based on racialism and religious discrimination. The third is communism, atheistic and materialist. It is a subversive religion, breeding hatred. The newly-freed peoples of Asia and Africa are in danger of falling out of the frying pan into the fire. The communist leaders seek territorial gain. Let us ponder the fate of Turkestan, the Baltic States, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. Under the old colonialism the cries of the subjugated people could sometimes be heard: under communist domination all is silence. We must therefore defend ourselves pending an ideological disarmament throughout the world. May this conference be a step towards that essential end.

9. JAPAN (Mr. Tatsunosuke Takasaki, Minister of State).

Apology of the Prime Minister of Japan for inability to attend. Declaration of human rights corresponds exactly with main objective of conference, promotion of mutual understanding, cooperation, and peace. Japan's destiny is closely linked with destiny of Asia. Asia has fallen behind in economic and scientific development and this conference should help to promote advance through mutual collaboration. International tensions impede peaceful progress. In the war Japan inflicted great material damage on neighbouring nations and brought disaster on herself. Now she is dedicated to democracy and peace, and eager to make a positive contribution to welfare of Asia by contributing her share to economic progress and cultural exchanges. I shall submit to the conference concrete proposals on these two points, and a proposal for maintaining peace.

10. JORDAN (Walid Salah, Minister of Foreign Affairs).

Need for fuller mutual understanding between participants. Israel aggression in Palestine and failure of Arab appeals to the United Nations. Injustice and oppression by the French in North Africa.

11. LAOS (Ratay D. Sasorith, Prime Minister).

Appreciation of opportunity of closer association /with

with African and Asian countries facing similar problems. Supreme importance of seeking peace in threatening world situation.

12. LEBANON (Sami Solh, Prime Minister).

Three main obstacles impede international peace and prosperity: fanaticism in every form, extreme nationalism, and hatred of foreigners. Martyred Palestine is most urgent of problems affecting us, and we should concentrate on repairing terrible injustice to Arabs. Importance of tolerance and respect for human rights and integrity of small nations.

13. LIBERIA (The Hon. Momolu Dukuly, Minister of State)

Conference the opening of a new era for the African and Asian peoples. We have come with no preconceived plans but with a profound belief in the future of Africa and a hope for equality among races and for world peace.

14. LIBYA (Mahmoud Bey Muntasser, Ambassador in London).

Greeting to nations still under colonial yoke and support in their struggle for independence. Present world tension is due to colonialism (especially in French North African territories), racialism, and external ideological interference. This last is a stronger and more dangerous form of colonialism, involving intellectual slavery, and threatening national sovereignty and world peace. Problem of Palestine is pressing, and suffering of Arabs demands our active support. Adherence to principles of democracy and to United Nations Charter.

15. NEPAL (Major General Sovag Jung Thapa, Foreign Secretary).

Support for democracy and the United Nations Charter, and for admission of all nations to the United Nations organisation. There should be no attempt to form another world bloc, though our newly-won freedom must be defended and consolidated. Support for Pandit Nehru's five principles as basis for cooperation and good will.

16. PAKISTAN (Mr. Mohammad Ali, Prime Minister).

Countries of Asia and Africa not a group apart, but their problems bound up with those of the rest of the world. Process of national liberation has gone far and is happily continuing. Newly-freed nations are making growing contribution to welfare of mankind and are eager to help remaining dependent countries to obtain freedom. But we must not be misled into opening our doors to a new and more insidious form of imperialism that masquerades in the guise of liberation. Seven principles are necessary to maintain peace: respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, recognition of equality of all nations, non-interference in a country's internal affairs, non-aggression, right of self-defence alone or collec-

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collectively, right of selfdetermination and abhorrence of colonialism, and peaceful settlement of disputes. We must consider question of Palestine refugees, and independence of Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria. Need of fuller membership in United Nations and proper representation on Security Council. Need for economic development and pooling of scientific resources: cooperation in this among ourselves as well as help from the west. Cultural cooperation to remove ignorance and misunderstanding.

17. PHILIPPINES (Hon. Carlos P. Romulo, Member of the Cabinet).

Conference must avoid propaganda and seek profitable cooperation realistically. All participants are concerned with colonialism, political freedom, racial equality and economic development, which are all world problems. United Nations organisation has been inadequate only through imperfections of its members: we can strengthen it and help it to become world instrument for human betterment. Political freedoms are being won in various ways: the British were wise enough to surrender power in Asia because they realised they could no longer hold it; the Dutch and French were forced to the same conclusion; the United States have sometimes failed to match their actions to their principles, but they have faithfully carried out their undertakings to us. But national independence is no more than a fiction if there is not freedom to criticise and to form various political parties. A police state may be worse than colonial rule. The evil of racialism now survives fully only in Africa, and notably in the Union of South Africa: we must fight it with all our forces. We are economically backward, owing in part to our colonial heritage, and we must strive to develop quickly and be willing to accept western advice and help: no nation can remain economically independent of the rest of the world. The future of the world depends on how the peoples of Asia and Africa will go about the business of transforming their lives and their societies. One road leads to dictatorship, the rigid control of human activity, and the ruthless suppression of opposition. Shall we emerge from colonialism only to fall the prey of an enslaving ideology? We must seek the real freedom of the democratic way of life.

18. SIAM (Prince Wan, Minister of Foreign Affairs)

Siam is eager for greater cooperation with other participants, to exchange views, to secure fuller cultural exchanges, and to exalt spiritual rather than material values. Closer economic ties, on a footing of national equality, should be formed both among ourselves and with the rest of the world. European and American help is necessary for our economic development. We uphold the principles of racial equality, national self-determination, and the earliest possible granting of independence to the remaining colonial territories. We are happy that Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam have regained their independence, and that Malaya is well

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on the way to self-government as the prelude to full independence. Siam does not oppose the five principles of co-existence, but they require formulation in greater detail. Do they imply the principle of tolerance, stated explicitly in the United Nations Charter? Thai-speaking Chinese and others are being trained in Yunnan for infiltration and subversion in Siam. What is the attitude of the communist Chinese government to the three million Chinese, so-called dual nationals, in Siam? There are also 50,000 Vietnamese refugees in north-east Siam, most of whom are seeking repatriation to Northern Vietnam. Siam is facing a threat of infiltration and subversion, if not of aggression, and it is purely in self-defence that she has had to join, in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, in a collective defence treaty, the Manila Pact, from whose recent Council meeting a cordial message was sent to this conference.

19. SUDAN (Sayed Ismail El Azhari, Prime Minister).

Welcome opportunity for closer association with many nations, most of whom have faced same problems as Sudan now faces. She has profited from example of Egypt, India, and Indonesia. Anxious to cooperate profitably in political, economic, and cultural fields. Sudan's first exercise of external sovereignty.

20. SYRIA (Khalid el Azam).

Need to fight colonialism in North Africa, to support Indonesia on New Guinea, and to repair wrongs done to Arabs in Palestine.

21. TURKEY (Fatin Rustu Zorlu, Deputy Prime Minister).

Steady progress towards independence encouraging: sympathy with Indonesian independence and progress. Tensions and insecurity cloud the way to peace. World today divided into two camps: one demobilised its armies after the war and relied on the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations: the other has seized independent countries and has threatened Turkish independence and integrity. We were forced to exercise our legitimate rights of self-defence and to join in the NATO and in various bilateral defensive arrangements. The peace-loving countries are uniting their efforts for peace, and in this unity lies the only hope of peace and security. The illusion is disastrous that by passive inactivity a country can escape from external dangers to its security: Czechoslovakia has already been mentioned today. The conference must realise the grave danger involved in a "middle of the road" policy. We believe in the eradication of colonialism and racialism, and in the need to safeguard the independence of all nations.

22. VIETNAM, SOUTH (Nguyen Van Thoai, Minister of Planning and Reconstruction).

As a country just liberated after almost a century of foreign oppression Vietnam greets the conference with enthusiasm: she is anxious to support other

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nations in their struggle to attain independence, and to profit from the example of nations who have already attained it. She is also anxious to promote the principles of true freedom and human rights, as the only safeguard which can protect the free world from the menace of dictatorial communism. After the partition of our country, effected in spite of our protests, there has been a terrible exodus from the north, which has caused untold suffering. We have helped the refugees to the best of our power and have endeavoured in the face of great difficulties to give them the opportunity of life under a democratic government.

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