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Bandung Conference: The Fundamental Books

Darwis Khudori

Abstract

The 1955 Bandung Asian-African Conference took place around sixty years ago. Yet, people, states, civil society movements and academic world still speak about it and commemorate regularly its anniversary. Articles on or around the Bandung Conference are still written, sometimes marked by false information derived from quotations of quotations without verification of their original sources. The current mistakes such as the presence of Ho Chi Minh and Nkrumah in the conference continues to take place. This article is aimed at remedying this kind of ignorance by presenting the “fundamental” books on the Bandung Conference, “fundamental” in the sense that they present the “fundamental” knowledge on the conference based on primary sources of knowledge on the conference (official documents published by the organising committee during or following the conference, archives, interviews with people concerned directly by the conference, observations during the conference) and deserve therefore to be considered as a “must” to read for those interested in the Bandung Conference. They are nine books in this category, written between 1955 and 2007. This paper presents the nine books in three parts: 1) Annotated bibliography of the fundamental books, 2) Presentation of selected books and 3) Concluding remark.

Keywords: Bandung, Indonesia, Third World, Non-Alignment, Cold War.

LIKE a big bang, the Bandung Conference generated stars, planets, comets, meteors... forming a constellation of conferences, cultural festivals, social and solidarity movements, associations/organisations/institutions, business fora, research institutes, study centres, academic periodicals, news magazines... based on, inspired or provoked by the Bandung Conference. The contours and the content of the Bandung

Constellation have not yet been known completely. They consist of at least four manifestations: Conferences, Organisations, Studies and Publications. The core of the Bandung Constellation is the Bandung Conference. Its history, its preparation, its organisation, its proceedings, its list of participants and their speeches, its final communiqué, its impacts, its follow-ups, its constellation,... have been recorded in three categories of documents: 1) Published documents on the Bandung Conference itself (the Bandung Conference as an autonomous subject); 2) Published documents that treat the Bandung Conference as a part of another subject (the Bandung Conference as an element of a subject); 3) Unpublished documents on the Bandung Conference and its constellation (the Bandung Conference in diverse national archives). This article concerns mainly the first category of documents, essentially the printed books published in diverse languages and countries following the conference until the present day.

Annotated bibliography of the fundamental books

1955: JACK Homer Alexander, *Bandung: On the Spot Description of the Asian-African Conference*, Bandung, Indonesia, April 1955. Chicago, Toward Freedom, May 1955.

This is the first publication on the Bandung Conference, printed for the first time in May 1955, earlier than the official publication on the conference by the Conference Organising Committee (the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) in July 1955. According to my reading of the books on the Bandung Conference, this is the most complete, accurate, analytical and critical report on the conference, before the publication of Abdulgani's book in 1980. I will come back to this book in next chapter.

1955: APPADORAI A., *The Bandung Conference*, New Delhi, The Indian Council of World Affairs, June/October 1955.

This is the first publication of a synthetic and concise presentation of the Bandung Conference. The author was also a member of the joint secretariat of the conference. Different from the work of Jack presented previously, the work of Appadorai is focused on the decision of the Conference and his personal remarks. His work is limited to what was made public during the Conference because his position as a member of

the Joint Secretariat of the Conference did not allow him to present all the contents of the Conference in an exhaustive way. Consequently, in term of quality and quantity of the information, the work of Appadorai is less important than that of Jack. Nevertheless, his work has reached its target, which was the dissemination of the result of the Conference to a larger public, with Oxford University Press as distributor in the epoch where internet did not exist. Therefore, I will not come back to this book in the next chapter.

1955: MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, *Asia-Africa speaks from Bandung*, July 1955.

This is the first official publication on the conference by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Jakarta in July 1955. It is the conference proceedings comprising the documents and the transcriptions of the complete recording of the open sessions of the conference. In term of content, it completes the work of Jack. It can be seen as a kind of appendices of the Jack's work. In term of analysis, there is nothing significant. It presents the objective, the process and the spirit of the Conference. I will not come back to this book in the next chapter.

1955: WRIGHT Richard, *Bandoeng 1.500.000.000 d'hommes*, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, octobre 1955. The English version was published in 1956, *The Colour Curtain: A Report on The Bandung Conference*. Univ. Press of Mississippi.

It is a travel account on the Bandung Conference as the main event that provoked personal questionings and reflections to the African-American author. In term of facts and data of the Conference, Wright's work does not bring new elements compared to the previous books on the Conference. His strong points are to be found in his descriptions on the social conditions of the localities he visited at that time (Jakarta and Bandung) and his personal reflections on his experiences and on the phenomena he observed on site (colonial heritage, poverty, bureaucracy, racism, religion, communism, education, health, corruption, etc.). His main merit, in my view, is that he made known to the public the atmosphere of the Conference as well as its physical and societal environment through a fascinating and pleasing to read travel account. I will come back to his book in the next chapter.

1956: KAHIN George Mac Turnan, *The Asian-African Conference, Bandung, Indonesia, April 1955*. New York, Ithaca, Cornell UP.

This is the first document published by an academic institution. It contains a presentation of the Bandung Conference based on the official documents published during and after the Conference. The author added as appendices the supplementary speech of the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-Lai in the Bandung Conference on April 19, his other speech in the political commission of the Conference on April 23, the report of the Bandung Conference presented by Chou En-Lai in front of the People's National Congress in Beijing on May 13, 1955, the speech of the Indian Prime Minister Nehru in the political commission of the Conference on April 22. At the end, Kahin added his own remarks. The merit of Kahin is to be the first person who made known the Bandung Conference to the Western public, especially the English speaking academics. In term of contents, the work of Kahin is more descriptive than analytic. His remarks are very concise, very simple, and highly marked by the American preoccupation regarding the communist China. I will not come back to this book in next chapter.

1956: ROMULO General Carlos P., *The Meaning of Bandung*. Univ. of N. Carolina Press.

This is the first publication on the Bandung Conference written by an actor of the conference, who was the head of delegation of the Philippines and one of the eminent fighters of the conference representing the Pro-American position (with Thailand, Pakistan, Iraq, Turkey,...) against the neutralists (India, Indonesia, Egypt,...) and the communists (China, North Vietnam). The original elements of the book are to be found in the unpublished points of view and an attempt to appreciate the role of the Conference in the world context of 1955. I will come back to this book in the next chapter.

1965: CONTE Arthur (1965), *Bandoung, tournant de l'Histoire*, Paris, Robert Laffont.

This is the first most important book in French on the Bandung Conference as an autonomous subject, published ten years after the

conference. Prior to this publication, there was already a book in French related to the Bandung Conference, written by Odette Guitard and published for the first time in 1961 under the title of *BANDOUNG et le réveil des peuples colonisés*. However, the Bandung Conference is just a part of the book dedicated more to the history of struggle for independence of the colonised countries of Africa and Asia.

The author did not bring new element in term of facts and data of the Conference (locality, country, organising countries, participating countries, delegates, speeches, sessions, result,...), which had been presented in previous books. The strong points of the book are to be found in the details of the Conference. Like in a novel, the details of gesture, cloth, physiognomy, expression,... are described as integral part of a character. The book forms a kind of “true novel” based on very accurate facts and data of the Conference, making the book easy, pleasing and instructive to read. I will come back to this book in next chapter.

1980: ABDULGANI Dr. H. Roeslan, *The Bandung Connection: Konferensi Asia-Afrika di Bandung tahun 1955*. Jakarta, Penerbit Gunung Agung. Republished by the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2011 and 2013. Its English version is *The Bandung connection: the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung in 1955*. Singapore, Gunung Agung, 1981.

This is an essential book of the Bandung Conference for two reasons. On one hand, it was written by the Secretary General of the conference who was at the same time in charge of carrying-out the conference on the ground. On the other hand, he described the process of preparation and organisation of the conference, including details and anecdotes unknown by public before the publication. The added value of the book, compared to the previous ones, is in the personal account of the author as the main actor of the Conference on the ground, based on his personal notes and memories that cannot be found in any archive. I will come back to this book in the next chapter.

2007: AMPIAH Kweku, *The political and moral imperatives of the Bandung Conference of 1955: the reactions of the US, UK and Japan*. Folkestone (GB), Global Oriental Publishers.

This is the first true academic work on the Bandung Conference for two

reasons. On one hand, the raw materials of the book were unpublished, taken from the American, British and Japanese archives. On the other hand, it brings new knowledge on the subject. I will come to this book in the next chapter.

Now, I will present the details of the books I consider fundamental.

Presentation of selected books

1955: JACK Homer Alexander

The foreword of the book was signed by 23 well-known personalities at that time (including Roger N. Baldwin, Amiya Chakravarty, Norman Thomas, Quincy Wright,... please, check on Google how important these persons are). It says

Here is a comprehensive account of the Asian-African Conference in Bandung, Indonesia.

It has been one of the most important international meetings in recent years. Dr. Homer A. Jack is a competent reporter and his description of the Conference and its results should receive widespread circulation in the United States.

We hope you will read his report—and pass it on to your friends.

“Homer Alexander Jack (May 19, 1916-August 5, 1993) was a Unitarian Universalist minister and early activist for peace, disarmament, racial equality and social justice. An accomplished writer and speaker, he organized and led a number of civil rights, disarmament, and peace organizations”¹. The name JACK is a shortened version of JACOBOWITZ, a Jewish family who had immigrated from Central and Eastern Europe to avoid poverty and oppression. His visit to Europe at the period approaching the war determined his future life, as written in the CORE website: “As the clouds of war gathered over Europe in 1937, Homer A. Jack, a young Cornell graduate student, found himself teaching at a small college in Athens. He was completing his Ph.D. in biology and visited Europe to finish his thesis on the biological field stations of the world. On a tour of the continent at the end of the following school year, he visited Stalin’s Russia, Hitler’s Germany, and

1. Dictionary of Unitarian & Universalist Biography. See <http://uudb.org/articles/home-ralexanderjack.html> (consulted on July 7, 2015).

Mussolini's Italy. In Moscow, the authorities confiscated his camera, in Germany and Austria he witnessed overt anti-Semitism, and in Italy he observed ominous signs of spreading fascism. The lessons he learned about totalitarianism far outweighed the knowledge he acquired of the local flora and fauna. Returning home to upstate New York, Homer threw himself into peace activities to prevent America from being drawn into a second world war. He edited the Rochester No-War News and helped organize a rally that attracted 3000 people."

His engagement outside the USA started in the 1950s. "In 1952 Homer made the first of three trips to Africa, visiting South Africa and tracing the roots of Gandhian nonviolence and meeting African freedom fighters. His subsequent books, *The Wit and Wisdom of Gandhi* and *The Gandhi Reader*, helped introduce a generation of Americans to the father of nonviolence, including a young Alabama preacher, Martin Luther King. In then French Equatorial Africa, Homer visited Dr. Albert Schweitzer and was instrumental in helping to convince him to speak out against nuclear testing. Schweitzer's condemnation of atomic and hydrogen testing in his acceptance speech for the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo electrified the world. In New Delhi, India, and Bandung, Indonesia, site of the nonaligned conference of 1955, Homer met Prime Minister Nehru who was also to become an ally in the campaign to end nuclear testing, along with Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, and other great humanitarians"².

Jack's Report

His report on the Bandung Conference is less known and less quoted than the work of KAHIN published a year later. Nonetheless, his report is more analytical and more critical than that of KAHIN. There may be two reasons for that. On one hand, it was not an academic work nor published by an academic institution. It was a work of an activist for peace and humanity. It was published as a pamphlet of his movement. On the other hand, and that is probably the main reason, it was not in line with the US political orientation, in contrast to KAHIN's work.

2. CORE Congress of Racial Equality. See <http://www.congressofracialequality.org/homer-jack.html> (consulted on July 7, 2015).

Description of Bandung

As a scientist-turned-journalist, Jack described in details the city of Bandung and the preparation made by the Indonesian government for the Conference. "In less than four months Bandung was transformed from a sleepy city, which was formerly a resort for the wives and children of Dutch colonials, into a efficient conference headquarters. Seventeen hotels and numerous small residences were requisitioned by the government and reconditioned. From Singapore were purchased 3,500 half woollen blankets (it can get chilly in Bandung despite its being only a few degrees south of the equator), 10,000 yards of lace curtain, 15,000 dinner sets, 600 plastic coat-hangers, 100,000 American and English cigarettes, and quantities of fruit juice, milk, and other foodstuffs normally in short supply. Special foods were imported, such as curries from Madras and nuts from Arabia. Hotels were given special instructions in preparing their menus and offered both European and Indonesian dishes, the latter including the famous *Rijstafel*." The major highways were also equipped with new mercury-arc lamps. More than 200 vehicles, some pastel-green Chevrolets and Plymouths, were taken over by the government. Each delegation was furnished a number of autos, with military and motorcycle escort. The supply of electricity was increased. The old Dutch Club, Concordia—renamed Gedung Merdeka—was entirely rebuilt to house the plenary sessions and press facilities. Generally the city was scrubbed and painted³.

In term of communication, ample press facilities were arranged, with special cable and radio-telephone links to almost forty countries. The office of the Ministry of Information published a daily Conference Bulletin in English. The two Indonesian news agencies, ANTARA and PIA, published large mimeographed bulletins daily, also in English. More than 2,000 delegates, journalists, and observers descended on Indonesia beginning the middle of April. They were greeted by protocol officers and given almost immediate transportation to Bandung. No difficulties were experienced in Bandung and ample, often luxurious, facilities were provided for all. It was the consensus of delegates and journalists, many of whom were veterans at attending international conferences, that the

3. JACK Homer Alexander, *Bandung: On the Spot Description of the Asian-African Conference, Bandung, Indonesia, April 1955*. Chicago, Toward Freedom, May 1955, pp. 4-5.

facilities and hospitality at Bandung were superb⁴. Between six and seven hundred journalists came from perhaps fifty countries, representing a great variety of media: daily newspapers, weekly magazines, radio, television, and scholarly journals. There were large press delegations from China, Russia, India, and especially the USA, including several reporters from the American Negro press⁵.

Delegates

The book gives an overview of the conference participants and interesting details of the most important personalities of the conference: U Nu (Burma), Chou En-Lai (China), Sir John Kotelawala (Ceylon), Col. Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt), Kojo Botsio (Gold Coast), Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Ali Sastroamidjojo (Indonesia), Dr. Fadhil Jamali (Iraq), Tatsunosuke Takasaki (Japan), Mohammed Ali (Pakistan), Gen. Carlos Romulo (Philippines), Crown Prince Amer Faisal Al-Saud (Saudi Arabia), Prince Wan Haithayakon Krommun Naradhip Bongsprabandh (Thailand). The details include their age, their function, their personal character and their dress. On U Nu, for example, the book tells: *"48, Prime Minister since 1947. He is a poet and a student of Buddhism. He and the other Burmese delegates wore their mauve and yellow silken longyi with headdress of a matching color."* Kojo Botsio is described as following: *"39, Minister of State. A striking figure in his yellow woven toga, he studied at Oxford, edited a newspaper in Accra, and was imprisoned by the British in 1950."* On Mohammed Ali, the book says: *"45, Prime Minister. He was formerly ambassador to Washington. He came to Bandung with his new 28-year-old wife, the begum"*⁶.

He also paid attention to observers representing different movements persecuted, ill-treated, stigmatised or opposing the political mainstream in their own countries: fighters for independence from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia (against France), Malaya (against the UK), Jerusalem (against Israel), Cyprus (against the UK); fighters for equality from South Africa (against the Apartheid), for civil rights from Australia and the US. There were also fighters from West Irian for the integration of West Irian to Indonesia⁷.

4. Ibid., pp. 5-6.

5. Ibid., p. 9.

6. Ibid., pp. 7-9.

7. Ibid., p. 9.

Conference

The running of the conference was also described vividly, with the quotations of relevant and striking words of the speakers. Jack wrote about the “remarkable opening address”, a “splendid speech”, of the President Sukarno. He quoted also some key statements of Ali Sastroamidjojo, the Prime Minister of Indonesia who was elected as the permanent chairman of the conference. He mentioned a number of greetings sent from all over the world to the conference including those from Russia and the US. The chairman read some of the messages. K. Voroshilov, president of the Supreme Soviet of Russia wrote: *“I greet the participants of the Asian-African Conference which opens today; I express a sincere wish of fruitful work and success in accomplishing the lofty tasks facing the conference”*. From the US, the Prime Minister read a message from a group of fourteen Americans, including several Nobel Prize winners, who said that the *“way of Caesar is failing in Moscow and Washington as it has in Rome”* and hoped the Conference would *“develop independent solutions (and) enunciate the principle of a new society”*⁸.

In Jack’s account, the plenary sessions of the opening addresses were characterised by 1) a strong call for peace by Kotelawala of Ceylon, 2) a strong defence of military pacts by the Philippines, Turkey, Pakistan and Thailand, and 3) a basically conciliatory speech by China. Meanwhile, anti-communist speeches were pronounced by the chief delegates of the so called “committed” nations: Romulo from the Philippines, Mohammed Ali from Pakistan, Prince Wan from Thailand, Dr. Jamali from Iraq, and Zorlu from Turkey.

Chou En-lai

The answer from Chou En-lai to the anti-communist discourses, especially in his mimeographed speech circulated to the public was, in Jack’s words, a “clever document”. He traced the history of colonialism in the two continents and said that “the rule of colonialism in this region has not yet come to an end, and new colonialists are attempting to take the place of the old ones”. He specifically mentioned the USA. He denounced that countries outside of Asia and Africa were establishing more and more military bases in the Asian and African countries. In his oral speech, Chou suggested that the Chinese delegation came to

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

Bandung “to seek unity and not to quarrel... to seek common ground, not to create divergence.” To the basically Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist audience, he admitted that “we communists are atheists, but we respect all those who have religious belief.” Indeed, one member of the Chinese delegation was an Islamic leader. Then he talked about subversive activities and claimed that “it is China that is suffering from the subversive activities which are openly carried on without any disguise by the United States of America.” He urged all delegates to come to China and see for themselves, since “we have no bamboo curtain, but some people are spreading a smokescreen between us”⁹.

Closed Plenary Session

It is in the closed plenary session that the delegates agreed upon

- 1) The Conference agenda of five separate headings: Economic cooperation, Cultural cooperation, Human rights and self-determination, Problems of dependent peoples, and World peace and cooperation;
- 2) The Conference way of decision making, which was based on unanimous agreement, rather than on a majority coming out from a voting. However, the Conference was free to discuss any matter even if unanimity could not later be reached.
- 3) The formation of subcommittees on economic and cultural affairs, but no political committee. Instead there would be a series of informal meetings of the heads of delegations.

All the closed sessions took place in the *Gedung Dwi Warna* building toward the outskirts of Bandung. Only the brief communiqués were issued from these closed meetings, but some information was collected by “enterprising journalists who buttonholed delegates as they left committee meetings”¹⁰.

Under the chapter “Behind Closed Doors”, Jack wrote about four subjects: Formosa, colonialism, blocs and military pacts, Chinese openness.

On Formosa, although it was not in the conference agenda, it took a considerable place in the discussions. All the main actors of the conference were involved in the debates: Nehru, Krishna Menon, Chou En-Lai, Romulo, Prince Wan, Dr. Jamali, Prince Faisal, and

9. Ibid., pp. 13-14.

10. Ibid., p. 15.

other Colombo prime ministers. Independently, Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon issued a statement to the press saying that *"Formosa should be neutralized for five years under the U.N. or Colombo powers trusteeship, that Quemoy and Matsu islands should be evacuated, and the U.S. should withdraw her fleet from the coastal waters"*¹¹.

On colonialism, it was Sir John Kotelawala who triggered the debate. *"If we are united in our opposition to colonialism, should it not be our duty to declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism?"* This brought forth a resolution endorsed by Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Libya, Liberia, Sudan and the Philippines. Mohammed Ali from Pakistan expressed fears of Soviet imperialism, but emphasized that China was not an imperialistic power. India and Burma stressed the need for finding common ground beyond the various political systems of different countries. China reiterated her intention of refraining from doctrinaire discussions in the interests of harmonious work in committee. In the end, all the parties agree to adopt a clause *"colonialism in all its manifestations"*¹².

On blocs and military pacts, Nehru opposed the existence of blocs and military pacts since this leads to armament race. This raised a debate with the bloc of Iraq, Turkey, Pakistan and Philippines. Chou En-Lai gave a conciliatory speech and expressed pleasure that China's name was not associated with expressions such as colonialism, imperialism, subversive action and infiltration. He gave assurances that he would take peaceful action regarding questions related to boundary differences and he extended the promise to Thailand, the Philippines, Cambodia, and Laos.

On Chinese openness, Chou En-Lai invited Prince Wan to go along with him and see for himself how things were along the Thai-Chinese border. Chou En-Lai repeated his invitation to Romulo to go along the Chinese coast to see if any warlike preparations were going on. He concluded by exhorting those present to make a start by bringing peace into the Conference hall.

Final Communiqué

Jack's report includes the Final Communiqué of the Conference.

11. Ibid., pp. 15-16.

12. Ibid., p. 16.

Jack presented the entire text of the Final Communiqué, but also introduced his own view by adding subtitles such as TRADE FAIRS between paragraphs 5 and 6 of chapter A. ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

TRADE FAIRS

6. The Asian-African Conference further recommended that: Asian-African countries should diversify their export trade by processing their raw material, wherever economically feasible, before export; intra-regional trade fairs should be promoted and encouragement given to the exchange of trade delegations and groups of businessmen; exchange of information and of samples should be encouraged with a view to promoting intra-regional trade; and normal facilities should be provided for transit trade of land-locked countries.

And NUCLEAR ENERGY between paragraphs 9 and 10 of the same chapter.

NUCLEAR ENERGY

10. The Asian-African Conference emphasized the particular significance of the development of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, for the Asian-African countries. The Conference welcomed the initiative of the Powers principally concerned in offering to make available information regarding the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes; urged the speedy establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency which should provide for adequate representation of the Asian-African countries on the executive authority of the Agency; and recommended to the Asian and African Governments to take full advantage of the training and other facilities in the peaceful uses of atomic energy offered by the countries sponsoring such programmes.

On chapter B. CULTURAL COOPERATION, he added NO SENSE OF RIVALRY between paragraphs 2 and 3.

NO SENSE OF RIVALRY

3. It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilisations and cultures that the Conference viewed the development of cultural co-operation among Asian and African coun-

tries. True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality, the Conference believed that Asian and African cultural co-operation should be developed in the larger context of world co-operation.

And EFFECTIVE CONTROL inside the paragraph 2 dealing with armament of the chapter F. PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION.

EFFECTIVE CONTROL

The Conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war are imperative to save mankind and civilisation from the fear and prospect of wholesale destruction. It considered that the nations of Asia and Africa assembled here have a duty towards humanity and civilisation to proclaim their support for disarmament and for the prohibition of these weapons and to appeal to nations principally concerned and to world opinion, to bring about such disarmament and prohibition.

Analysis and Remarks

At the end, the disguised journalist added his own analysis and remarks on the conference in three points: CONFERENCE BY PRODUCT, THE MEANING OF BANDUNG and WHAT WERE THE REAL GAINS OF BANDUNG?

In CONFERENCE BY PRODUCT, Jack put forward four items: 1) Formosa, 2) Dual Nationality, 3) Friendship, and 4) Indonesian Gains.

- 1) Formosa. After a number of informal meetings, on the last Saturday of the Conference, at the residence of Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, "after lunch of chicken *sate* and *soto*", with the presence of Colombo prime ministers, Mr. Romulo and Prince Wan, Chou En-Lai issued the most significant statement of the entire Bandung Conference: "*The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Taiwan area*". This statement immediately caused repercussions in the capitals of the world, with the United States at first rejecting and later accepting the overture as a basis for further negotiations.
- 2) Dual Nationality. One of the controversial issues in Southeast

Asia is the dual nationality of the millions of Chinese living in the Philippines, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia and elsewhere. This issue was settled during the Bandung Conference, especially for the Chinese living in Indonesia. A treaty was signed by Chou En-Lai and Sunario (Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs), calling for persons with dual citizenship to choose one of the two on the basis of free will any time before two years after the agreement comes into effect.

- 3) **Friendship.** Many of the delegates of the conference have never met each other. The Conference gave delegates an opportunity to live together, to work together, and to eat together. Many invitations were extended to delegates to visit other countries. Chou En-Lai issued a blanket invitation for all delegates to visit China. Several delegates, including Nasser and Chou En-Lai, spent additional days in Djakarta. Egyptian, Jordanian, and Lebanese delegates visited Japan after the Conference. President Sukarno promised to visit Egypt and Sir John Kotelawala publicly promised to visit China. During the Conference, a friendship treaty was signed between the kingdom of Afghanistan and the republic of Indonesia.
- 4) **Indonesian Gains.** The Conference did at least two things for Indonesia: firstly, it gave the people and the whole country an important psychological lift. Three centuries of Dutch colonialism had inculcated into the Indonesians the feeling of inferiority, of incompetence. The success of the Conference helped the Indonesians gain their self-confidence. Secondly, it strengthened the Nationalist party of Prime Minister Sastroamidjojo which was necessary to stabilise the political situation of the country.

In *THE MEANING OF BANDUNG*, Jack put forward his critical reflections on the Bandung Conference in five points

- 1) There was no organisation or permanent secretariat established following the Conference in order to implement the numerous decisions and proposals of the Conference.
- 2) The expectation on the development of the unity of Asia and the Middle East proved to be premature.
- 3) The delegates from Africa were far less experienced than those from Asia. There was no emerging leadership among the Africans in Bandung excepting Nasser who was more associated to the

Middle East rather than to Africa.

- 4) Israel was unfairly treated by the Conference. Despite the hatred of the Arab League, Israel should have been invited to the Conference for its geographical situation in Asia.
- 5) There was a good agreement for peace at the level of discussion and concern, but there was no orientation for actions.

In WHAT WERE THE REAL GAINS OF BANDUNG?, Jack enumerated the impacts of the Bandung Conference in ten points

- 1) Bandung has created a new bloc, the third one, which embraces two continents and almost two thirds of humanity. Despite its enormous diversity in all fields, a unity has been patiently built. This allowed the adoption of unanimous decisions on a number of controversial questions. This unity softened the extreme positions of the left and the right, of China facing the USA, of the Arab countries against Israel. The Conference was a successful "experiment of co-existence".
- 2) This unity produced the equivalent of a pact of non-aggression between China and all its neighbours.
- 3) Bandung forced the USA to re-examine their attitude and policy regarding Asia and Africa. The State secretary Dulles was obliged to revise several times his own attitude towards Bandung and President Eisenhower was called to reveal his new programme of aid for Asia during the Conference, including 200 millions USD for the Asian economic development.
- 4) Bandung will lead many of its members to economic improvement. It would take time and new capital resources. Japan will reinforce its trade relations with Asia and Africa.
- 5) Bandung will bring closer cultural relations between its nation members.
- 6) Bandung will help the dependent peoples in the world in general by the weakening of colonialism. The strong declarations made in Bandung against France on behalf of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia; against the Netherlands on behalf of West Irian; against South Africa on behalf of the Africans, Pakistani and Indian descent; against the powers who hold Aden and the protectorates,... all this will give fruits.
- 7) Bandung witnessed the rise of China as an Asian great power and not only an isolated partner of Russia.

- 8) Bandung will mean the possible neutralisation of the “committed” countries like Thailand and the Philippines.
- 9) Bandung showed that the coloured people in the world do not need to be racist as their white fellows.
- 10) Bandung showed that communism in Asia and Africa is in any case unavoidable.

And Jack ended his report by the following words

Bandung was at least five hundred years in the making. Not by arms, but by moral persuasion nourished by the world's great religions, will this third force help keep the peace the world so desperately desires. Bandung somehow caught the world's imagination and early its leaders were conscious that history was looking over their shoulder, but only time will tell if history will remember them. Bandung may just be the hinge of history.

1955: WRIGHT Richard

African-American writer and journalist born in 1908, Richard Wright went in exile to France in 1946 in order to escape from the pursuit of American Federal Government against the communists. He lived in France until the end of his life in 1960.

Intrigued by an announcement of the Bandung Asian-African Conference in a journal, as he wrote in his book, he decided to go to Indonesia to participate in the Conference as journalist, with a minimum knowledge on Indonesia but with a personal sensitivity of a political exile and a descendant of slaves who suffered from racism in the USA.

There is nothing new in the book of Wright in term of content of the conference, compared to the book of Jack published in May 1955 and the official proceedings of the conference published in July 1955. The new elements for the readers at that time were his testimony, his view, his impression, his opinion, his thought around the conference. Let us quote some passages.

On the atmosphere around the Conference:

We drove past the conference building and saw the flags of the twenty-nine participating nations of Asia and Africa billowing lazily in a weak wind; already the streets were packed with crowds and their black and yellow and brown faces looked eagerly at each passing car, their sleek black hair gleaming in the bright sun, their slanted eyes peering intently, hopefully,

*to catch sight of some Prime Minister, a U Nu, a Chou En-lai, a Nehru... Then the air was periced by a screaming siren, heralding the approach of some august representative of some coloured Asian or African country. Day in and day out these crowds would stand in this tropic sun, staring, listening, applauding; it was the first time in their downtrodden lives that they'd seen so many men of their colour, race, and nationality arrayed in such aspects of power, their men keeping order, their Asia and their Africa in control of their destinies... They were getting a new sense of themselves, getting used to new roles and new identities. Imperialism was dead here; and, as long as they could maintain their unity, organize and conduct international conferences, there would be no return of imperialism...*¹³

On the physical living conditions of the poor people in Jakarta:

*I passed those famous canals which the Dutch, for some inexplicable reason, has insisted upon digging here in this hot mudhole of a city. (...) I saw a young man squatting upon the bank of a canal, defecating in broad daylight into the canal's muddy, swirling water; I saw another, then another... Children used the canal for their water closet; then I saw a young woman washing clothes only a few yards from them... A young girl was bathing; she had a cloth around her middle and she was dipping water out of the canal and, holding the cloth out from her body, she poured the water over her covered breasts... A tiny boy was washing his teeth, dipping his toothbrush into the canal...*¹⁴

For those who know well Jakarta, this kind of scenery is not a part of the past. It can still be found in Jakarta sixty years after the Bandung Conference.

1956: ROMULO General Carlos P.

Writer, journalist and diplomat, Romulo (1899-1985) joined the Allies during the WW II. Becoming American General, he was elected to be the president of General Assembly of the UN in 1949-1950. Invited to give lectures at the University of North Carolina, the USA, in 1956, he spoke about the Bandung Conference. His lectures were published afterward in a book form consisting of a foreword, two chapters and appendices.

13. WRIGHT Richard, *The Colour Curtain: A Report on The Bandung Conference*. Univ. Press of Mississippi, 1956, pp. 114-115.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 82.

The originality of his book consists of the unpublished points of view and an attempt to appreciate the role of the Conference in the events that took place in the world in 1955. The unpublished points of view were essentially the arguments that he and certain pro-Western, neutralist and communist delegates pronounced in the closed sessions of the Conference, in addition to his personal thoughts that were not pronounced during the Conference.

Representative of the US Allies, the author took a position as defender of the “free world” against the “neutralists” and the “communists”. In his view, the neutralists were the “non-belligerent onlookers” in the struggle for mastery of the world between democracy and communism. That neutralism was often transformed to be “belligerent neutralism”. The patent position of neutralism on the question of outlawing nuclear and thermo-nuclear arms, for example, was inconsistent. On one side, it was opposed to the West atomic experiments in the Pacific. On the other side, it stayed silent on the URSS atomic experiments. In this way, the neutralism gave advantages to communism¹⁵.

His personal observations and opinions concerned especially the leaders of the three tendencies (pro-Western, neutralist and communist). The author appreciated the performances of the pro-Western leaders: John Kotelawala from Ceylon who attacked the communism as a new imperialism by citing the Soviet domination in East Europe; Nguyen Van Thoai from South Vietnam who blamed the dictatorial regime of North Vietnam who provoked the fleeing of one million Vietnamese to South Vietnam; Fadhel Jamali from Iraq who denounced the communism as a new form of colonialism worse than the old one and who defended its military alliances with the UK and Turkey in order to protect the “free world”; Prince Wan from Thailand who asked the communist nations to take out the spirit and the letter of what was called the “peaceful co-existence”¹⁶.

On the other hand, the author criticised the neutralist and communist leaders, mainly Nehru and Chou En-lai. On Nehru, for example, he found that Nehru was anti-American but not anti-British despite his many years of imprisonment under the British rule in India. In fact, according to the author, due to his British education, Nehru had

15. ROMULO General Carlos P., *The Meaning of Bandung*. Univ. of N. Carolina Press, 1956, pp. 8-9.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-27.

a secret admiration for everything British. He was not communist, he even fought the communism in India. However, he was predisposed, due to his anti-Americanism, to be pro-Russia. Moreover, the fact that he was Fabian socialist and confirmed agnostic kept him away from the US¹⁷.

On Chou En-lai, the author was perplexed, astonished, surprised, of the fact that the behaviour of Chou En-lai did not correspond to the stereotypes known by the author on the communists impregnated by atheism, Marxism, materialism and, consequently, hostile to religions and spiritualities. Romulo wrote, for example, that Chou En-lai might be impressed by the fact that many speakers of the Conference invoked frequently the blessing of the Deity, so that in his policy statement during the open session he explained at length that communism was in general atheist but that his government allowed the freedom of worship. He pointed out that some of his delegates were followers of religions and he mentioned the numerous religious denominations, including Christianity, who were active in Red China. Then he asked the same tolerance for his "religious non belief" that his country observed towards believers. The author qualified Chou En-lai as "special pleader" when he repeated the prevailing Communist "tactical theme" where different political and economical systems could live together in peace and amity¹⁸.

At the end, in the author's opinion, the neutralist and communist attempt to impose their ideas failed and the Final Communiqué represented the diplomatic victory of pro-West camp. The term "peaceful co-existence" (which was a Soviet political doctrine since 1952 and used in the China-India treaty of 1954), for example, was not accepted by the assembly for the Final Communiqué. The same as universal disarmament, including the prohibition of thermo-nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and further experiments of such weapons — pronouncement which would be difficult to oppose and constitute an obvious condemnation of the free-world coalition against communism. No such policy pronouncements issued from the Conference. Instead, the Final Communiqué exhorted nations to abide by a defined set of principles if they are "to live together in peace with one another"¹⁹.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

A faithful friend of the USA, the author pronounced with ease a series of severe criticisms towards the USA²⁰ but also at the same time gave them advices to answer those criticisms²¹. The Philippine delegation was the only one, he wrote, who attacked the USA in the Bandung Conference for supporting colonial policy of France, of Britain, of Belgium and of other colonial powers of Western Europe in the UN²².

American continually talk of freedom and human rights. But they have supported the colonial policies of France, England, Belgium, and other colonial powers. They abstain in the UN whenever the questions of Cyprus, Tunisia, Algiers, and Morocco come up for decisions. In the UN Trusteeship Council they have adopted an amorphous attitude on fundamental questions affecting non-self-governing peoples. How can you believe in the sincerity of the Americans when their preachments and protestations do not jibe with their policy and actions?

Why do American constantly boast of the superiority of the American way of life? It has its advantages and its blessings no doubt, but what is good for the Americans does not necessarily have to be good for us. Our way of life—which we have had for 2,000 years—may not offer the prosperity of the 200-year old United States, but there is something in maturity that cannot be bought with dollars or achieved with chewing gum, hot dogs, and comic strips.

The latest expression of American materialism is not Hollywood; it is the nuclear weapon. Americans think that because they have superiority in this type of weapon of destruction they can stand alone and need not exert any effort to make friends or win allies. In fact, they are so ready for war they do not want to talk or enter into any negotiations. They are spoiling for a fight²³.

One of his key answers to those criticisms was that “The new Asia and Africa as shown in Bandung (...) is not taking the identical shape of a new Europe or a new America. Asia and Africa will go their own way, and the great hope of all mankind must be that they will share in a continuing partnership with what is best in America and Europe”²⁴. And

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-47.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-53.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

he asked a fundamental question “Whether the fabulous success of the American economy is something that can be imitated in... say Morocco, Egypt, India, and Indonesia or whether the American economy is something unique — the product of a unique geographical position and special history”²⁵.

As for the Bandung Conference itself, Romulo gave full of praise appreciations. “Bandung was, in a manner of speaking, a historical peageant, symbolizing the coming of age of Asia and Africa”²⁶. “Democracy has its day in court at Bandung and emerged with flying colors”²⁷. “Those who forecast that the Asian-African Conference would be a ‘lynch party in reverse’ look foolish indeed. Bandung was characterized by a rare degree of sanity and dignity”²⁸. “The conference, though critical of certain Western powers, and rightly so, was far from hostile to the West as such. The conference went out of its way, in fact, to show understanding and charity toward wrongs and injustices, which, had the picture been reversed, would probably have not been overlooked at all”²⁹. And for this friend of the US, “its meaning is even clearer now than before. And it is this: outside those lands where the Communists are now in control, there is an ever-growing devotion to the principles of democracy and freedom which are symbolized by England’s immortal Magna Charta, by the French encyclopedists and the statement of the Rights of Man, and above all, by the American Declaration of Independence. We are achieving, in the free world, West and East, a common platform. And on this platform, we are bound to differ, to disagree, to make decisions at variance with one another”³⁰. “In the over-all picture of man’s quest for freedom and progress, Williamsburg, Philadelphia and Bandung were related milestones”³¹. “Bandung did not provide the design for a perfect world; it did define, however, the basis for hope”³².

1965: CONTE Arthur

Arthur Conte (1920-2013) was presented on the book cover as a former minister, former President of the Assembly of Western European Union, several times extraordinary ambassador, French delegate for numerous

25. Ibid., p. 41.

26. Ibid., p. 35.

27. Ibid., p. 36.

28. Ibid., p. 48.

29. Ibid., p. 48.

30. Ibid., p. 56.

31. Ibid., p. 48.

32. Ibid., p. 36.

international conferences. His book *Yalta ou le Partage du Monde* won the « Historia » and the « Le Plaisir de Lire » awards in 1964.

The book *Bandoung tournant de l'Histoire* was a part of collection « Ce jour là » (On that day) that proposed to make alive the great dramatic and historical days of the world. For that respect, the author consulted newspapers from all over the world and archives of numerous chancelleries. He had a chance also to meet face to face with ministers, heads of state, ambassadors who participated in the Bandung Conference.

It is from this book that we learn the process of the conference in details, the biography of the heads of delegation, the atmosphere of the conference, the confrontation of points of view among heads of delegation, and more. The authors succeeded to reveal, for example, the way the first closed session of the conference took place, which was not revealed in the previous books. The session was dedicated to fix the agenda and the procedure of the conference. The meeting was marked by disagreements and heated discussions, especially between Nehru, Sir John, Mohamed Ali and others. When Sastroamidjojo (the president of the Conference) proposed that the discussions be divided into five chapters following the Panchsheel Treaty (the five principles of peaceful co-existence treaty signed by China and India in 1954), Zorlu (Turkish head of delegation) reacted cynically: “You are joking, your five principles are hollow like a bamboo”. It was Nehru who intervened quickly and settled the question. Without referring to the Panchsheel Treaty, his proposal of five chapters were accepted easily: Economic Cooperation, Cultural Cooperation, Human Rights and Self-determination, Problems of Dependent Countries and World Cooperation for Peace.

However, Nehru was confronted with strong opposition when he proposed that there would be no public speech of the delegates for the reason that the twenty nine successive speeches would be wasting time. He proposed even not to hold public sessions as planned except for announcing the final communiqué. The delegates were to work discretely for preparing the final communiqué. The collective protestation against this proposal was immediate. “We have travelled a long way and we want to be heard,” said the Ethiopian delegate.

Nehru: “Your twenty nine speeches would turn around the

generality of condemning colonialism and you would risk also to make appear the profound gaps within the Asian-African block. I beg you to listen to my advice. I have experience”.

Mohamed Ali: “I am Prime Minister of a sovereign and independent nation, and I am not accountable to the Indian Prime Minister”.

Nehru insisted, stormed, grew irritated.

It was Chou En-lai who settled the problem. He intervened in the sense of the majority, persuading Nehru to renounce his proposal.

Thus, the discussion will be started by the public speeches of the heads of delegation³³.

1980: ABDULGANI Dr. H. Roeslan

ABDULGANI (1914-2005) was a fighter for Indonesian independence since his youth in the 1920s, which caused him expulsion from Dutch colonial school in the 1930s, close ally of Soekarno, then civil servant of the republic, minister of foreign affairs, minister of information, ambassador to the UN along the 1950s and 1960s. He was the secretary general of the Minister of Foreign Affairs when he was designated to be the Secretary General of the 1955 Bandung Conference.

The title of the book, “Bandung Connection” was inspired by a 1971 American film “French Connection” on a network of criminal organisation who imported from France the major part of the heroine consumed in the USA. The intrigues, tensions, surprises and climax revealing the relations between the criminal group and the French diplomatic world enlivened his memories of Secretary General of the 1955 Bandung Conference. For him, Bandung in 1955 played a role of “centre of connections” between countries and peoples of Africa and Asia in their struggle for independence from colonialism, imperialism and hegemony of super powers. Bandung was not only a centre of connections between governments, but also between activists of liberation movements of Africa and Asia: anti-apartheid activists from South Africa and Central Africa, liberation activists from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Palestine,... civil rights activists from USA... all got together in Bandung.

There are interesting anecdotes revealed in the book. The most interesting one concerns the opening date of the Conference, which is April 18. The initial idea was to hold the conference on the last week

33. CONTE Arthur, *Bandoung, tournant de l'Histoire*, Paris, Robert Laffont, 1965, pp. 252-253

of April 1955. Then it was realised that the last week of April 1955 was the beginning of Ramadhan, which is a sacred month for the Muslims where they observe their religious duty of fasting during the whole month starting from April 24 or 25. There was therefore an imperative to start the Conference around ten days in advance in order to allow the Conference to finish before Ramadhan. Otherwise all the Muslim participants from Pakistan, Iran and Arab countries would not come or would leave the Conference before its end. Meanwhile, April 15, 1955, was a sacred day for the Buddhists. The delegations from Burma, Thailand and Indochina would not be able to come to the Conference before April 17, 1955. Therefore, there was no choice: April 18 was the only possible date for the beginning of the Conference.

Toward the end of March, the author had to take care of two things: on one hand, to give ideas to president Soekarno for his opening speech and, on the other hand, to prepare strategic measures in order to anticipate the reactions of the USA which were hostile to the Bandung Conference project. Under this heavy pressure, he remembered vaguely that there was something happened on April 18 in the History of American Revolution. He then made a phone call to the US Ambassador Hugh Cumming with whom he had a good professional and personal relationship, asking him about the chronology of American Revolution. In the following day, he received some books of reference and found out that the 18th of April 1775 was a memorable day in the war of American independence. On the night of April 18, 1775, a young American patriot, Paul Revere, rode a horse in a gallop between Boston and Concord in order to wake up and inform people of the arrival of the British colonial army and called them for resistance. This event was immortalised by the American poet Henry Longfellow in his poem "Tales of Wayside Inn: Paul Revere's Ride". Hence, April 18 was a historical date in the struggle for American independence. Why not integrate this element in the opening speech of the Conference? Soekarno agreed. That is why Soekarno recited the poem of Longfellow in his opening speech:

The battle against colonialism has been a long one, and do you know that today is a famous anniversary in that battle? On the eighteenth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and seventy five, just one hundred and eighty years ago, Paul Revere rode at midnight through the New England countryside, warning of the approach of British troops and of

the opening of the American War of Independence, the first successful anti-colonial war in history. About this midnight ride the poet Longfellow wrote:

*A cry of defiance and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo for evermore...*

Yes, it shall echo for evermore, just as the other anti-colonial words which gave us comfort and reassurance during the darkest days of our struggle shall echo for evermore. But remember, that battle which began 180 years ago is not yet completely won, and it will not have been completely won until we can survey this our own world, and can say that colonialism is dead.

The impact was extraordinary, especially on the American journalists and activists of civil rights. Their sympathy to the Conference was immediate. Ambassador Hugh Cumming himself came to the author after the opening speech to give him his hand. They shook their hands without words but with wide smile and brilliant eyes full of mutual appreciation³⁴.

2007: AMPIAH Kweku

Lecturer-researcher specialised on Japanese studies at the University of Leeds, the UK, the author started to be interested in the subject in 1991 when he did his first research on the Japanese participation in the Bandung Conference. He discovered with astonishment that most of the Japanese academics ignored the subject despite the Japanese participation in the event and its extensive implication in the post-colonial economic development in Southeast Asia. His initial intention then was focusing his research on the participation of Japan in the Bandung Conference. After some reflection, he found that a comparative study on the responses of the US, the UK and Japan to the Conference might give justice to the event. Moreover, studies on the American and British responses to the event were far from being exhaustive.

What were the reasons of worries and the major preoccupations of the US regarding the Conference? How did the US try to settle

34. ABDULGANI Dr. H. Roeslan, *The Bandung Connection: Konperensi Asia-Afrika di Bandung tahun 1955*. Jakarta, the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2013, p. 56.

the problems? To what extent did the British share its worrying preoccupations with the US, and how did it respond? What did the US expect from Japan in their efforts to minimise the threat from the expected union of the Neutralists and the Communist China, and how far did Japan cooperate in this exercise? Those are among the questions on which the author tried to work.

His accurate, analytic and synthetic presentation of the American, British and Japanese reactions to the Conference constitute his major contribution to the knowledge of the subject and its global repercussion at that time.

The USA

For the USA, the Bandung Conference was a headache. It amplified the US' worries for the Cold War in Asia, especially for the possible loss of allies and friends in the region. The Department of State believed that the cohabitation of Pan-Asianism and Neutralism was a step towards Communism. This made the Secretary of State nervous. As Dulles confessed, he was stressed by the question of how the affair would turn out in the region. At the beginning, the USA did not wish its friends to attend the Conference. When it became clear that Washington would not be able to prevent its friends from participating in the Conference, and after considering the risk of not being represented at all in the Conference, Washington changed completely its strategy. It let its friends to participate in the Conference while suggesting that they were to be represented by the best possible delegation and with the approval of Washington. This implicated the Department of State to find a strong leader able to represent the pro-American countries in the Conference. The global objective of the strategy was to find someone who could contain Chou En Lai and Nehru. For Washington, Chou En-lai was the incarnation of communist threat to the Conference. That is why Washington was determined to find somebody who could held him and break his charisma. This created anxieties in the Department of State and produced many comments on the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and Ceylon considered not to have the required qualities. At the end, the performance of Chou in the Conference, his intelligence and moderation, became object of many comments in the Department of State. It was clear that Chou turned the diplomacy towards his advantage and that

his offer to settle the question of Formosa in amicable way provoked a trouble in the Department. The answer of the Department was cold. In spite of all, the US global assessment to the Conference was positive. The Department of State saw the moderate tone of the Final Communiqué as a victory for the West, victory attributed to friends defenders of the cause of the West (especially Turkey, Lebanon, Iraq, Pakistan, Thailand, Ceylon and the Philippines). Meanwhile, this did not waive the US impression on the lyrical and powerful performance of Chou in the Conference. His offer to facilitate a political settlement of the Formosa question troubled Dulles and the Department of State because it made China acceptable to the Asian countries, which remained a threat in the mind of the USA political decision makers.

Great Britain

Whitehall and the British Government were very concerned by the Bandung Conference, mainly for its impacts on the British colonies in Africa. The perception was strong, especially in the Colonial Office (CO), that the Asian countries were trying to lead the African countries against the Empire. The invitation addressed to the Gold Coast, the Federation of Central Africa and Sudan for the Bandung Conference was perceived as an encroachment on the British interests. Consequently, Whitehall did all the possible to soften the risks for the UK of their participation in the Conference. As a result, the Central African Federation declined the invitation, the Gold Coast went to Bandung as observer. On the other hand, Sudan participated as a full member.

The recommendations of the Conference on the economic development of African and Asian countries were considered by Whitehall to be more serious than the supposed threat of Communism. They were perceived as an attempt of African and Asian countries to form an economic bloc excluding other countries, especially of the West. The recommendation on the countries producing raw materials was perceived particularly threatening.

As the main US ally, the UK shared naturally the US concerns on the communist expansion. However, Whitehall was not obsessed by the threat of China as did the Department of State.

As for its national interest, the UK was more concerned by the colonial issue put forward by India and also coincidentally by the USA.

The latter considered the UK's colonial possession as a reason for Communist expansion and wished its disappearance.

In a memorandum following the Conference, the Colonial Office identified the problems posed by the Conference in three themes: Anti-colonialism; Asian commitment to African affairs; Emergence of African-Asian bloc in the UN. On Anti-colonialism, the sentence "colonialism as an evil in all its manifestations" in the Final Communiqué of the Conference, which was formulated thanks to countries friends of the West, was considered better than a declaration addressed directly to Western colonialism. However, this sentence was considered at the same time harming because it put in equation Colonialism and Communism.

On the second and third themes, they were a reality to anticipate.

At the end, like the US, the UK found the result of the Conference moderate and satisfying.

Japan

Ostracised by its Asian neighbours for its aggressions in Asia from the end of the 19th century to 1945, Japan found the Conference an opportunity to reintegrate itself into Asian community. That is why Japan had decided to participate in the Conference before the US did it for Japan. Yet, the Japan's position was very delicate, between maintaining its good relation with the US and developing its independent policy based on its own interests. This is in addition to the trauma suffered by Asian countries participating in the Conference due to the Japanese imperialist behaviour before its defeat. In a metaphor quoted by the author, Japan came to participate in the Conference like "a cat at a mice's convention with a bell around its neck" but had to behave carefully in such a way that it appeared like "a mouse at a cat's convention". The Japanese delegation was prepared to avoid questions related to Japanese national interests, which might raise controversies among the Asian countries participating in the Conference or criticisms on Japanese actions before and during the war.

After the war, Japan was determined to make a distance with military tensions. Consequently, in the framework of "peaceful co-existence", Japan decided to develop amicable relations with all countries, including the USSR and the PRC. In the Bandung Conference, Japan did not want to serve as messenger of the US grand strategy in

Asia, contrary to what the US expected. For example, Japan did not say about supporting SEATO. Despite its cooperation with the US before the Conference, Japan did not show sufficiently its pro-American qualification during the Conference, in the contrary to the Philippines, Turkey and Pakistan. In other words, Japan refused to defend directly the US interests in the Conference, leaving others to do the job. This was a test of the determination of the Hatoyama's administration in Japanese independent foreign policy vis-à-vis the USA. In this way, while remaining subordinated to the hegemonic power of the US, Japan was able to manage well its position in order to reach its objectives within the dominant discourse of the Conference.

Japan's main interest in the Conference was the economic imperative of the event. That is why Japan did not involve in the political meetings of the Conference but in the economic meetings. This was not without consequence, especially in the interior affairs of Japan. The critics accused the government of hiding behind a camouflage of "Diplomacy of Peace" in order to concretise better its primary intention to dominate the economies of Southeast Asia. The Socialist Party, which was in opposition, expressed its dissatisfaction regarding the Government that put in priority national economic interests on the top of international policy.

Concluding remark

It seems clear that the Bandung Conference, its actors, its process and its products have been revealed by the fundamental books presented previously . The work of Ampiah, however, gives a new perspective, which is the Bandung Conference seen from outside, mainly from the points of view of the states concerned by the conference, in this case the US, the UK and Japan. Meanwhile, there are other states that were also concerned in diverse degrees by the conference, such as France, the Netherlands, but also Russia, Portugal, Australia, South Africa, Israel,... Yet, we do not know how did those countries perceive, anticipate or react to the Conference. Thus, it seems that there is still something to be written on the Bandung Conference seen from outside. Research-

es on diverse national archives of the countries concerned by the Bandung Conference may bring probably new elements or new perceptions on this historical event.

Author's biography

Writer, architect and historian specialised in the Contemporary Arab and Muslim World, Darwis Khudori is Associate Professor of Oriental Studies at the University of Le Havre, France, member of GRIC (Group of Research on Identity and Culture) and director of Master's Degree in International Management specialised in Exchanges with Asia, at the same university. He is the initiator and coordinator of the Bandung Spirit Network, an academic and civil society movement based on the spirit of the 1955 Bandung Conference, and Bandung Spirit Book Series as a way to develop sciences in developing countries through book publication in cooperative way in order to make academic books affordable to readers in developing world. The last book published in this framework is *RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY IN A GLOBALISED SOCIETY: Challenges and Responses in Africa and Asia*, a co-publication of Indonesian, Philippine, French, Lebanese and Dutch academic institutions, 2013.