

## **Section 3**

### **Bandung**

- 3.1 **Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference** : Asian-African Conference, April 24 1955
- 3.2 **Outcomes of the Asian-African Summit** : Asian-African Summit, April 1955
- 3.3 **Speech to Bandung Conference Political Committee, 1955** : Jawaharlal Nehru, nd [1955]

## 3.1

### FINAL COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

*Bandung, 24 April 1955*

@ [http://www.issafrica.org/AF/RegOrg/unity\\_to\\_union/pdfs/asiaafrica/bandung55.pdf](http://www.issafrica.org/AF/RegOrg/unity_to_union/pdfs/asiaafrica/bandung55.pdf)

The Asian-African Conference, convened upon the invitation of the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan, met in Bandung from the 18th to the 24th April, 1955. In addition to the sponsoring countries the following 24 countries participated in the Conference:

1. Afghanistan
2. Cambodia
3. People's Republic of China
4. Egypt
5. Ethiopia
6. Gold Coast
7. Iran
8. Iraq
9. Japan
10. Jordan
11. Laos
12. Lebanon
13. Liberia
14. Libya
15. Nepal
16. Philippines
17. Saudi Arabia
18. Sudan
19. Syria
20. Thailand
21. Turkey
22. Democratic Republic of Vietnam
23. State of Vietnam
24. Yemen

The Asian-African Conference considered problems of common interest and concern to countries of Asia and Africa and discussed ways and means by which their people could achieve fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation.

#### **A. ECONOMIC COOPERATION**

1. The Asian African Conference recognized the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian-African region. There was general desire for economic cooperation among the participating countries on the basis of mutual interest and respect for national sovereignty. The proposals with regard to economic cooperation within the participating countries do not preclude either the desirability or the need for cooperation with countries outside the region, including the investment of foreign capital. It was further recognized that the assistance being received by certain participating countries from outside the region, through international or under bilateral arrangements, had made a valuable contribution to the implementation of their development programmes.

2. The participating countries agreed to provide technical assistance to one another, to the maximum extent practicable, in the form of: experts, trainees, pilot projects and equipment for demonstration purposes; exchange of know-how and establishment of national, and where possible, regional training and research institutes for imparting technical knowledge and skills in cooperation with the existing international agencies.

3. The Asian-African Conference recommended: the early establishment of the Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development; the allocation by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development of a greater part of its resources to Asian-African countries; the early establishment of the International Finance Cooperation which should include in its activities the undertaking of equity investment; and encouragement to the promotion of joint ventures among Asian-African countries in so far as this will promote their common interest.

4. The Asian-African Conference recognized the vital need for stabilizing commodity trade in the region. The principle of enlarging the scope of multilateral trade and payments was accepted. However, it was recognized that some countries would have to take recourse to bilateral trade arrangements in view of their prevailing economic conditions.

5. The Asian-African Conference recommended that collective action be taken by participating countries for stabilizing the international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements and that as far as practicable and desirable they should adopt a unified approach on the subject in the United Nations Permanent Advisory Commission on International Commodity Trade and other international forums.

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.

7. The Asian-African Conference attached considerable importance to Shipping and expressed concern that shipping lines reviewed from time to time their freight rates, often to the detriment of participating countries. It recommended a study of this problem, and collective action thereafter, to induce the shipping lines to adopt a more reasonable attitude. It was suggested that a study of railway freight of transit trade might be made.

8. The Asian-African Conference agreed that encouragement should be given to the establishment of national and regional banks and insurance companies.

9. The Asian-African Conference felt that exchange of information on matters relating to oil, such as remittance of profits and taxation, might eventually lead to the formulation of common policies.

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.

11. The Asian-African Conference agreed to the appointment of Liaison Officers in participating countries, to be nominated by their respective national Governments, for the exchange of information and ideas on matters of mutual interest. It recommended that fuller use should be made of the existing international organizations, and participating countries that were not members of such international organizations, but were eligible, should secure membership.

12. The Asian-African Conference recommended that there should be prior consultation of participating countries in international forums with a view, as far as possible, to furthering their mutual economic interest. It is, however, not intended to form a regional bloc.

## **B. CULTURAL COOPERATION**

1. The Asian-African Conference was convinced that among the most powerful means of promoting understanding among nations is the development of cultural cooperation. Asia and Africa have been the cradle of great religions and civilizations, which have enriched other cultures, and civilizations while themselves being enriched in the process. Thus the cultures of Asia and Africa are based on spiritual and universal foundations. Unfortunately contacts among Asian and African countries were interrupted during the past centuries. The peoples of Asia and Africa are now animated by a keen and sincere desire to renew their old cultural contacts and develop new ones in the context of the modern world. All participating Governments at the Conference reiterated their determination to work for closer cultural cooperation.

2. The Asian-African Conference took note of the fact that the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa, in whatever form it may be, not only prevents cultural cooperation but also suppresses the national cultures of the people. Some colonial powers have denied to their dependent people's basic rights in the sphere of education and culture, which hampers the development of their personality and also prevents cultural intercourse with other Asian and African peoples. This is particularly true in the case of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, where the basic right of the people to study their own language and culture has been suppressed. Similar discrimination has been practiced against African and coloured people in some parts of the Continent of Africa. The Conference felt that these policies amount to a denial of the fundamental rights of man, impede cultural advancement in this region and also hamper cultural cooperation on the wider international plane. The Conference condemned such a denial of fundamental rights in the sphere of education and culture in some parts of Asia and Africa by this and other forms of cultural suppression. In particular, the Conference condemned racialism as a means of cultural suppression.

3. It was not from any sense of exclusiveness or rivalry with other groups of nations and other civilizations and cultures that the Conference viewed the development of cultural cooperation among Asian and African countries. True to the age-old tradition of tolerance and universality, the Conference believed that Asian and African cultural cooperation should be developed in the larger context of world cooperation.

Side by side with the development of Asian-African cultural cooperation the countries of Asia and Africa desire to develop cultural contacts with others. This would enrich their own culture and would also help in the promotion of world peace and understanding.

4. There are many countries in Asia and Africa, which have not yet been able to develop their educational, scientific and technical institutions. The Conference recommended that countries in Asia and Africa, which are more fortunately placed in this respect, should give facilities for the admission of

students and trainees from such countries to their institutions. Such facilities should also be made available to the Asian and African people in Africa to whom opportunities for acquiring higher education are at present denied.

5. The Asian-African Conference felt that the promotion of cultural cooperation among countries of Asia and Africa should be directed towards:

- a. The acquisition of knowledge of each other's country;
- b. Mutual cultural exchange, and
- c. Exchange of information.

6. The Asian-African Conference was of the opinion that at this stage the best results in cultural cooperation would be achieved by pursuing bilateral arrangements to implement its recommendations and by each country taking action on its own, wherever possible and feasible.

### **C. HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION**

1. The Asian-African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of Human Rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations. The Conference declared its full support of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the United Nations resolutions on the rights of peoples and nations to self-determination, which is a pre-requisite of the full enjoyment of all fundamental Human Rights.

2. The Asian-African Conference deplored the policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, which form the basis of government and human relations in large regions of Africa and in other parts of the world. Such conduct is not only a gross violation of human rights, but also a denial of the dignity of man. The Conference extended its warm sympathy and support for the courageous stand taken by the victims of racial discrimination, especially by the peoples of African and Indian and Pakistani origin in South Africa; applauded all those who sustain their cause; reaffirmed the determination of Asian-African peoples to eradicate every trace of racialism that might exist in their own countries; and pledged to use its full moral influence to guard against the danger of failing victims the same evil in their struggle to eradicate it.

### **D. PROBLEMS OF DEPENDENT PEOPLES**

1. The Asian-African Conference discussed the problems of dependent peoples and colonialism and the evils arising from the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation and exploitation. The Conference is agreed:

- a. In declaring that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end
- b. In affirming that the subjection of peoples to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co operation;
- c. In declaring its support of the cause of freedom and independence for all such peoples, and
- d. In calling upon the powers concerned to grant freedom and independence to such peoples.

2. In view of the unsettled situation in North Africa and of the persisting denial to the peoples of North Africa of their right to self-determination, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the people of Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia to self-determination and independence and urged the French Government to bring about a peaceful settlement of the issue without delay.

## **E. OTHER PROBLEMS**

1. In view of the existing tension in the Middle East, caused by the situation in Palestine and of the danger of that tension to world peace, the Asian-African Conference declared its support of the rights of the Arab people of Palestine and called for the implementation of the United Nations Resolutions on Palestine and the achievement of the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question.
2. The Asian-African Conference, in the context of its expressed attitude on the abolition of colonialism, supported the position of Indonesia in the case of West Irian based on the relevant agreements between Indonesia and the Netherlands.
3. The Asian-African Conference urged the Netherlands Government to reopen negotiations as soon as possible, to implement their obligations under the above-mentioned agreements and expressed the earnest hope that the United Nations would assist the parties concerned in finding a peaceful solution to the dispute.
4. The Asian-African Conference supported the position of Yemen in the case of Aden and the Southern parts of Yemen known as the Protectorates and urged the parties concerned to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the dispute.

## **F. PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION**

1. The Asian-African Conference, taking note of the fact that several States have still not been admitted to the United Nations, considered that for effective cooperation for world peace, membership in the United Nations should be universal, called on the Security Council to support the admission of all those States, which are qualified for membership in terms of the Charter. In the opinion of the Asian-African Conference, the following among participating countries:

Cambodia, Ceylon, Japan, Jordan, Libya, Nepal, a unified Vietnam were so qualified.

The Conference considered that the representation of the countries of the Asian-African region on the Security Council, in relation to the principle of equitable geographical distribution, was inadequate. It expressed the view that as regards the distribution of the non-permanent seats, the Asian-African countries which, under the arrangement arrived at in London in 1946, are precluded from being elected, should be enabled to serve on the Security Council, so that they might make a more effective contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security.

2. The Asian-African Conference having considered the dangerous situation of international tension existing and the risks confronting the whole human race from the outbreak of global war in which the destructive power of all types of armaments, including nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, would be employed, invited the attention of all nations to the terrible consequences that would follow if such a war were to break out. The Conference considered that disarmament and the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war imperative to save mankind and civilization 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 civilization 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.

The Conference considered that effective international control should be established and maintained to implement such disarmament and prohibition and those speedy and determined efforts should be made to this end.

Pending the total prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons, this Conference appealed to all the powers concerned to reach agreement to suspend experiments with such weapons.

The Conference declared universal disarmament is an absolute necessity for the preservation of peace and requested the United Nations to continue its efforts and appealed to all concerned speedily to bring about the regulation, limitation, control and reduction of all armed forces and armaments, including the prohibition of the production, experimentation and use of all weapons of mass destruction, and to establish effective international control to this end.

## **G. DECLARATION ON THE PROMOTION OF WORLD PEACE AND COOPERATION**

The Asian-African Conference gave anxious thought to the question of world peace and cooperation. It viewed with deep concern the present state of international tension with its danger of an atomic world war. The problem of peace is correlative with the problem of international security. In this connection, all States should cooperate, especially through the United Nations, in bringing about the reduction, of armaments and the elimination of nuclear weapons under effective international control. In this way, international peace can be promoted and nuclear energy may be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. This would help answer the needs particularly of Asia and Africa, for what they urgently require are social progress and better standards of life in large freedom. Freedom and peace are interdependent.

The right of self-determination must be enjoyed by all peoples, and freedom and independence must be granted, with the least possible delay, to those who are still dependent peoples. Indeed, all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life, in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Free from mistrust and fear, and with confidence and goodwill towards each other, nations should practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors and develop friendly cooperation on the basis of the following principles:

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 ANY PARTICULAR INTERESTS 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 COOPERATION.
10. RESPECT FOR JUSTICE AND INTERNATIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

The Asian and African Conference declares its conviction that friendly cooperation in accordance with these principles would effectively contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security, while cooperation in the economic, social and cultural fields would help bring about the common prosperity and well-being of all. The Asian-African Conference recommended that the Five Sponsoring Countries consider the convening of the next meeting of the Conference, in consultation with the participating countries.

*Bandung, 24 April, 1955*

## 3.2

### **Outcomes of the Asian-African Summit, April 2005**

@ [http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001219/P1352-bandung\\_April2005.pdf](http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0001219/P1352-bandung_April2005.pdf)

#### **1. DECLARATION ON THE NEW ASIAN-AFRICAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP**

We, the Leaders of Asian and African countries, have gathered in Jakarta, Indonesia on 22-23 April 2005 for the Asian-African Summit to reinvigorate the Spirit of Bandung as enshrined in the Final Communiqué of the 1955 Asian-African Conference and to chart the future cooperation between our two continents towards a New Asian- African Strategic Partnership (NAASP).

We reiterate our conviction that the Spirit of Bandung, the core principles of which are solidarity, friendship and cooperation, continues to be a solid, relevant and effective foundation for fostering better relations among Asian and African countries and resolving global issues of common concern. The 1955 Bandung Conference remains as a beacon in guiding the future progress of Asia and Africa.

We note with satisfaction that since the 1955 Conference, Asian and African countries have attained significant political advances. We have successfully combated the scourge of colonialism and consistently fought racism.

In particular, the abolishment of apartheid represents a milestone in Asian-African cooperation and we reaffirm our continued determination to eradicate racism and all forms of discrimination. As a result of our efforts over the last fifty years, we are all independent, sovereign and equal nations striving for the promotion of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law. However, having made these political gains, we are concerned that we have not yet attained commensurate progress in the social and economic spheres. We recognize the need to continuously strengthen the process of nation and state-building, as well as social integration.

We remain committed to the principle of self-determination as set forth in the Final Communiqué of the 1955 Bandung Conference and in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In particular, we express our abhorrence that, fifty years since the 1955 Bandung Conference, the Palestinian people remain deprived of their right to independence. We remain steadfast in our support for the Palestinian people and the creation of a viable and sovereign Palestinian state, in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions. We emphasize the importance of multilateral approaches to international relations and the need for countries to strictly abide by the principles of international law, in particular the Charter of the United Nations. As Asia and Africa represent the majority in the community of nations, we reaffirm the need to support and strengthen multilateralism in order to address global issues, including reforming multilateral institutions.

We recognize that the current global situation and the prevailing conditions in Asia and Africa necessitate the need to actively pursue a common view and collective action to ensure the equitable sharing of the benefits of globalization. We are determined to meet the internationally agreed targets and goals aimed at poverty eradication, development and growth, and underline the necessity for all parties to honour their commitments in this regard. We emphasize the importance of enhancing cooperation with all regions. We underline the importance of dialogue among civilizations to promote a culture of peace, tolerance and respect for religious, cultural, language and racial diversities as well as gender equality.

We acknowledge the positive development of intra-regional/sub-regional integration in both continents.

Nevertheless, continent-wide inter-regional cooperation among the two continents needs to be developed. We are convinced that cooperation between sub-regional organizations, through sharing experiences and best practices, can propel growth and sustainable development.

We underline the importance of bringing the regions closer together by utilizing the advantages derived from the commonalities and diversity of, as well as the new and encouraging developments in, both regions. We emphasize both the collective responsibilities and the important role of all stakeholders in exploring innovative and concrete ways and means to strengthen cooperation between Asia and Africa.

In this regard, we acknowledge the importance of complementing and building upon existing initiatives that link the two continents, inter alia Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), China-Africa Cooperation Forum (CACF), India-Africa Cooperation, Indonesia-Brunei Darussalam sponsored Non-Aligned Movement Centre for South-South Technical Cooperation, Vietnam-Africa Business Forum, and the Smart Partnership Initiative and the Langkawi International Dialogue. We stress the importance of streamlining and aligning existing initiatives for coherence and maximum benefit and to avoid duplication.

We acknowledge the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as the African Union's programme for poverty eradication, socio-economic development and growth and accept it as the framework for engagement with Africa. We express our support for the implementation of NEPAD.

We underscore the urgency of promoting economic development in the Asian and African regions, as stipulated in the 1955 Bandung Conference. We stress that poverty and under-development, gender mainstreaming, communicable diseases, environmental degradation, natural disasters, drought and desertification, digital divide, inequitable market access, and foreign debt, remain as issues of common concern which call for our closer cooperation and collective action.

We envision an Asian-African region at peace with itself and with the world at large working together as a concert of nations in harmony, non-exclusive, bonded in dynamic partnership and conscious of our historical ties and cultural heritage. We visualize an affluent Asian-African region characterized by equitable growth, sustainable development as well as a common determination to enhance the quality of life and well-being of our people. We further envisage a caring Asian-African society where the people live in stability, prosperity, dignity and free from the fear of violence, oppression and injustice.

To this end, we hereby declare, as an expression of our new political will, the establishment of a New Asian- African Strategic Partnership (NAASP) as a framework to build a bridge between Asia and Africa covering three broad areas of partnership, namely political solidarity, economic cooperation, and socio-cultural relations. The strategic partnership provides a momentum in achieving peace, prosperity and progress, and will be based on the following principles and ideals:

1. The Ten Principles of Bandung of the 1955 Asian – African Conference;
2. Recognition of diversity between and within the regions, including different social and economic systems and levels of development;
3. Commitment to open dialogue, based on mutual respect and benefit;
4. Promotion of non-exclusive cooperation by involving all stakeholders;
5. Attainment of practical and sustainable cooperation based on comparative advantage, equal partnership, common ownership and vision, as well as a firm and shared conviction to address common challenges;
6. Promotion of sustainable partnership by complementing and building upon existing regional/sub-regional initiatives in Asia and Africa;
7. Promotion of a just, democratic, transparent, accountable and harmonious society;

8. Promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms, including the right to development;

9. Promotion of collective and unified efforts in multilateral fora.

The NAASP shall emphasize the need to promote practical cooperation between the two continents in areas such as trade, industry, investment, finance, tourism, information and communication technology, energy, health, transportation, agriculture, water resources and fisheries.

The NAASP shall also address issues of common concern such as, armed conflict, weapons of mass destruction, transnational organized crimes and terrorism, which are fundamental to ensuring peace, stability, and security.

We are determined to prevent conflict and resolve disputes by peaceful means and endeavor to explore innovative mechanisms for confidence building and dispute resolution as well as for post- conflict peacebuilding.

The NAASP shall promote human resource development, enhanced capacity building and technical cooperation in order to create an enabling environment for the betterment of the regions.

We resolve that the sustainability of the NAASP shall be conducted through three tiers of interaction: an intergovernmental forum; sub-regional organizations; and people-to-people interaction, particularly business, academia, and civil society.

We are determined to develop an institutionalized process of the NAASP through convening: a Summit of Heads of State/Government every four years; a Ministerial Meeting of Foreign Ministers every two years; and Sectoral Ministerial and other Technical Meetings when deemed necessary. A Business Summit in conjunction with the Summit of Heads of State/Government will be held every four years.

We pledge to our peoples our joint determination and commitment to bringing the NAASP into reality by implementing concrete actions for the benefit and prosperity of our peoples.

Done in Bandung, Indonesia, on the Twenty-fourth of April in the year Two Thousand and Five, in conjunction with the Commemoration of the Golden Jubilee of the Asian-African Conference of 1955.

## **2. JOINT MINISTERIAL STATEMENT ON THE NEW ASIAN-AFRICAN STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP PLAN OF ACTION**

We, the Ministers of the Asian-African countries, assembled in Jakarta on 20 April 2005 for the Asian-African Ministerial Meeting:

Reaffirming our commitment to the Spirit and Principles of Bandung as enshrined in the Final Communique of the 1955 Asian-African Conference and the Charter of the United Nations;  
Acknowledging the need to build a bridge between Asia and Africa based on shared vision and conviction, solidarity, equal partnership, common ownership, mutual respect, interest and strength;  
Emphasizing the importance of complementing and building upon existing initiatives as well as internationally agreed development targets and goals emanating from various Conferences and Summits inter alia Millennium Development Goals, Monterrey Consensus, Johannesburg Plan of Implementation, and Doha Development

Agenda; Recognizing the need to enhance technical cooperation and capacity building as well as human resource development to address challenges of common concern; Emphasizing the prominent and leading role of all Asian and African regional and sub-regional organizations in the NAASP, and the supportive

role of regional development banks and United Nations regional economic commissions in promoting Asian-African partnership; Desiring to realize mutually beneficial areas of cooperation that are pragmatic, structured, and sustainable; To these ends, we shall strive to implement the following concrete measures in three broad areas of partnership, to which we assign special significance:

#### **A. Political solidarity**

1. Promoting conditions essential for greater political cooperation and confidence building, conducive to the attainment of peace and stability in both regions;
2. Striving to prevent conflict and resolve disputes by peaceful means including through enhanced dialogue, preventive diplomacy, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction;
3. Encouraging regional, sub-regional and national mechanisms for preventing conflict and promoting political stability and supporting efforts in peace keeping and post-conflict peace- building;
4. Supporting the peaceful settlement of the question of Palestine and a lasting peace in the Middle East and calling upon the Quartet and the international community to ensure the implementation of the Roadmap;
5. Strengthening democratic institutions and popular participation by, among others, sharing of best practices and experiences;
6. Promoting and protecting human rights and fundamental freedoms through dialogue and capacity building;
7. Strengthening international and inter-regional cooperation to fight terrorism in all its forms and manifestations in full conformity with international law as well as to address its underlying causes;
8. Combating transnational crimes in all its dimensions inter-alia money laundering, illicit trafficking of drugs, small arms and light weapons as well as trafficking in persons particularly women and children, through capacity building among law enforcement agencies in the two regions;
9. Preventing and combating corruption through promoting good governance and a culture of integrity based on the rule of law;
10. Promoting the reform of the United Nations with the aims of strengthening multilateralism, reinforcing the role of the United Nations in maintaining and promoting international peace, security and sustainable development, as well as ensuring greater participation for and share among Asian and African countries in its decision-making processes.

#### **B. Economic cooperation**

1. Supporting efforts to create an enabling international economic environment, which is critical for Asian and African countries to acquire the requisite capacities to successfully compete and fully benefit from globalization;
2. Resolving the issue of poverty in a collective and comprehensive fashion through mobilizing resources for sustained economic growth, resolving debt issues, developing internationally agreed innovative financial mechanisms, capital market cooperation, ensuring flows of international development assistance, improving market access and addressing unfair and trade-distorting subsidies, addressing weak and unstable commodity prices, and enhancing flows of investment;
3. Promoting and facilitating direct trade and investment between Asia and Africa;
4. Maximizing the benefits of trade liberalization through improved market access for products of export interest to Asian and African countries, including by striving to provide voluntary non-reciprocal market access for Asian-African Least Developed Countries (LDCs);
5. Building effective and targeted technical assistance and capacity building programs to allow Asian and African countries to integrate into the world economy and enhance competitiveness;
6. Striving for sustainable development, food security, and rural development through enhanced cooperation in the areas of agriculture, water resources, fishery, and forestry;
7. Maximizing the benefits arising from the protection of intellectual property rights by inter alia advancing the protection of genetic resources, traditional knowledge and folklore, as well as from flexibilities provided by trade related intellectual property rights agreements;

8. Strengthening cooperation among Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) in Asian and African Countries by means of education and skill enhancement as well as sharing best practices and experiences;
9. Strengthening cooperation in narrowing the digital divide, creating digital opportunities, and supporting initiatives such as the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) aimed at harnessing the potential of information and communication technologies for development;
10. Fostering research and development and the sharing of relevant technologies, including nanotechnology, biotechnology, and vaccine research;
11. Promoting the development of sustainable energy resources and technologies including geothermal, biogas, solar, hydro-power, and nuclear energy for peaceful purposes;
12. Undertaking joint exploration of the Indian Ocean, including marine resources, marine scientific research, safety of navigation and communication at sea, and search and rescue operations, to further bridge the divide between the two regions;
13. Encouraging the establishment of an Asia–Africa Business Forum to enable greater contact among private sectors in contributing to increased flows of trade and investment among Asian and African countries.

### **C. Socio-cultural relations**

1. Fostering greater people-to-people contacts so as to enrich civil society and good governance as well as ensure that cooperation development reaches the different levels of society in countries in Asia and Africa;
  2. Enhancing dialogue among civilizations, including interfaith dialogues, with a view to promoting peace and development through mutual understanding and tolerance among societies;
  3. Promoting mutual understanding of diverse cultures and societies through inter alia cultural exchanges, preserving and restoring the cultural heritage of our peoples and the establishment of a Cultural Dialogue Forum;
  4. Advancing youth, gender equality, education, science and technology, with a view to enhancing the capacity of human resources, overcoming illiteracy and improving the quality of life;
  5. Fighting against HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria and various other epidemics and communicable diseases through prevention, treatment and care which are based on the advancement of public community health, a coordinated and sustained global response, as well as greater availability of medicines at an affordable price;
  6. Enhancing the role of the media in promoting the sharing of information and greater knowledge of the ways of life in Asian and African countries;
  7. Developing a network among universities, libraries, research institutions and centers of excellence in Asia and Africa, including linkages with existing regional, inter-regional and international agencies, with a view to sharing and expanding the pool of resources, skills and knowledge as well as developing mechanisms for scholarships and exchanges;
  8. Building cooperation to improve environment protection, through inter-alia, responsible use of nonrenewable natural resources, transfer of environmentally sound technology;
  9. Striving for improved management and conservation of biodiversity while respecting and protecting the rights and socio-cultural practices of local communities;
  10. Advancing efforts to create an emergency preparedness mechanism and early warning system concomitant with on-going efforts to better deal with and mitigate natural disasters. We appreciate the efforts of several countries and organizations that conducted studies, as mandated by the Asian-African Sub-Regional Organizations (AASROC) Ministerial Working Group Meeting and AASROC II. We express our satisfaction with the deliberations of the Sub-Regional Organizations in also providing concrete recommendations to further our cooperation.
- We welcome the efforts of the business community to promote closer economic and trade cooperation through the convening of the First Asian-African Business Summit. We look forward to continued progress and interaction between our business communities.

We acknowledge with appreciation the outcomes emanating from the Workshop on the Role of Women and Youth in Furthering Asia-Africa Cooperation as well as the Asian-African Symposium on Renewable Energy.

We welcome the generosity of the Provincial Government of West Java in providing a venue in Bandung, Indonesia, for the establishment of an Asian African Village in celebration of the mutual bond of friendship between Africa and Asia.

We note with appreciation the Co-chairmanship of Indonesia and South Africa, and the warm hospitality and excellent arrangements made for the Meeting by the Government and people of the Republic of Indonesia.

---

### 3.3

#### **Prime Minister, India, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's Speech to Bandung Conference Political Committee, 1955**

Modern History Sourcebook:

@ <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1955nehru-bandung2.html>

---

Mr. Chairman, the turn this discussion has taken is a much wider one than that we had already expected. In fact, it has covered the whole major heading. We have just had the advantage of listening to the distinguished leader of the Turkish Delegation who told us what lie, as a responsible leader of the nation must do and must not do. He gave us an able statement of what I might call one side representing the views of one of the major blocs existing at the present time in the world. I have no doubt that an equally able disposition could be made on the part of the other bloc. I belong to neither and I propose to belong to neither whatever happens in the world. If we have to stand alone, we will stand by ourselves, whatever happens (and India has stood alone without any aid against a mighty Empire, the British Empire) and we propose to face all consequences. . . .

We do not agree with the communist teachings, we do not agree with the anti-communist teachings, because they are both based on wrong principles. I never challenged the right of my country to defend itself; it has to. We will defend ourselves with whatever arms and strength we have, and if we have no arms we will defend ourselves without arms. I am dead certain that no country can conquer India. Even the two great power blocs together cannot conquer India; not even the atom or the hydrogen bomb. I know what my people are. But I know also that if we rely on others, whatever great powers they might be if we look to them for sustenance, then we are weak indeed. . . .

My country has made mistakes. Every country makes mistakes. I have no doubt we will make mistakes; we will Stumble and fall and get up. The mistakes of my country and perhaps the mistakes of other countries here do not make a difference; but the mistakes the Great Powers make do make a difference to the world and may well bring about a terrible catastrophe. I speak with the greatest respect of these Great Powers because they are not only great in military might but in development, in culture, in civilization. But I do submit that greatness sometimes brings quite false values, false standards. When they begin to think in terms of military strength - whether it be the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union or the U.S.A. - then they are going away from the right track and the result of that will be that the overwhelming might of one country will conquer the world. Thus far the world has succeeded in preventing that; I cannot speak for the future. . . .

. . . So far as I am concerned, it does not matter what war takes place; we will not take part in it unless we have to defend ourselves. If I join any of these big groups I lose my identity. . . . If all the world were to be divided up between these two big blocs what would be the result? The inevitable result would be war. Therefore every step that takes place in reducing that area in the world which may be called the *unaligned area* is a dangerous step and leads to war. It reduces that objective, that balance, that outlook which other countries without military might can perhaps exercise.

Honorable Members laid great stress on moral force. It is with military force that we are dealing now, but I submit that moral force counts and the moral force of Asia and Africa must, in spite of the atomic and hydrogen bombs of Russia, the U.S.A. or another country, count. . . .

. . . Many members present here do not obviously accept the communist ideology, while some of them do. For my part I do not. I am a positive person, not an 'anti' person. I want positive good for my country and the world. Therefore, are we, the countries of Asia and Africa, devoid of any positive position except being pro-communist or anti-communist? Has it come to this, that the leaders of thought who have given religions and all kinds of things to the world have to tag on to this kind of group or that and be hangers-on of this party or the other carrying out their wishes and occasionally giving an idea? It is most degrading

and humiliating to any self-respecting people or nation. It is an intolerable thought to me that the great countries of Asia and Africa should come out of bondage into freedom only to degrade themselves or humiliate themselves in this way. . . .

I submit to you, every pact has brought insecurity and not security to the countries which have entered into them. They have brought the danger of atomic bombs and the rest of it nearer to them than would have been the case otherwise. They have not added to the strength of any country, I submit, which it had singly. It may have produced some idea of security, but it is a false security. It is a bad thing for any country thus to be lulled into security. . . .

....Today in the world, I do submit, not only because of the presence of these two colossuses but also because of the coming of the atomic and hydrogen-bomb age, the whole concept of war, of peace, of politics, has changed. We are thinking and acting in terms of a past age. No matter what generals and soldiers learned in the past, it is useless in this atomic age. They do not understand its implications or its use. As an eminent military critic said: 'The whole conception of War is changed. There is no precedent.' It may be so. Now it does not matter if one country is more powerful than the other in the use of the atomic bomb and the hydrogen bomb. One is more powerful in its ruin than the other. That is what is meant by saying that the point of saturation has been reached. However powerful one country is, the other is also powerful. To hit the nail on the head, the world suffers; there can be no victory. It may be said perhaps rightly that owing to this very terrible danger, people refrain from going to war. I hope so.. The difficulty is that while Governments want to refrain from war, something suddenly happens and there is war and utter ruin. There is another thing: because of the present position in the world there can be aggression. If there is aggression anywhere in the world, it is bound to result in world war. It does not matter where the aggression is. If one commits the aggression there is world war.

I want the countries here to realise it and not to think in terms of any limitation. Today, a war however limited it may be is bound to lead to a big war. Even if tactical atomic weapons, as they are called, are used, the next step would be the use of the big atomic bomb. You cannot stop these things. In a country's life and death struggle, it is not going to stop short of this. It is not going to decide on our or anybody else's resolutions but it would engage in war, ruin and annihilation of others before it annihilates itself completely. Annihilation will result not only in the countries engaged in war, but owing to the radioactive waves which go thousands and thousands of miles it will destroy everything. That is the position. It is not an academic position; it is not a position of discussing ideologies; nor is it a position of discussing past history. It is looking at the world as it is today.

---

**Source:**

Reprinted in G. M. Kahin, *The Asian-African Conference* (Cornell University Press, 1956), pp. 64-72.

---

This text is part of the [Internet Modern History Sourcebook](#). The Sourcebook is a collection of public domain and copy-permitted texts for introductory level classes in modern European and World history. Unless otherwise indicated the specific electronic form of the document is copyright. Permission is granted for electronic copying, distribution in print form for educational purposes and personal use. If you do reduplicate the document, indicate the source. No permission is granted for commercial use of the Sourcebook.

© Paul Halsall, July 1998

[halsall@murray.fordham.edu](mailto:halsall@murray.fordham.edu)