

SECOND ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE
FINAL COMMUNIQUE
OF
THE PREPARATORY MEETING OF MINISTERS

INTRODUCTION

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IN THE BOGOR MEETING, preparatory to the First Asian-African Conference, only five countries participated. At Bandung in April 1955, 22 Afro-Asian countries were present of which only six were from Africa. Since the First *'Bandung'* far reaching developments have taken place and the two continents have undergone a revolutionary process of political change.

This change reflected itself in the recently held Djakarta Preparatory Meeting of Ministers for the Second Asian-African Conference, in which, as against the participation of five countries in the Bogor meeting, as many as 22 countries took part. The Second Conference, to be held in an African country, is expected to be attended by more than twice the number that was present at Bandung. More than half the membership of the U.N. now belongs to Asia and Africa. The Second Asian-African Conference will, therefore, be of enormous importance not only to the developing countries of the two continents but its deliberations will greatly influence world affairs at large.

The Final Communique issued at the conclusion of the Djakarta meeting is significant as it laid down the objectives as well as the agenda of the Second Conference. It also brought to the surface the undercurrent of sharp differences that have arisen among the major proponents since the First *'Bandung.'* The theme song of the Conference remains the Afro-Asian solidarity and community of interest; however, the "Bandung Spirit" has seemingly withered down a great deal, giving way to mutual distrust and antagonism.

The controversy over the invitation to the Soviet Union to attend the Conference has introduced an element of 'cold war' and the diplomatic tug-of-war between Russia and Communist China is likely to be stepped up on this question between now and March 1965. Indonesian objection to the invitation to Malaysia is not likely to ease. It is interesting to note that nearly half of the countries present at the Djakarta meet have recognized Malaysia, however, except two countries—India and Ceylon—none of the others came out in support of Malaysia against the Indonesian objection. These are but a few of the many problems that will engage the attention of Afro-Asian statesmen, and on their amicable settlement will largely depend the success or failure of the Conference.

TEXT OF THE COMMUNIQUE

I. At the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and in pursuance of the recommendation adopted by the Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in April 1955, that the five sponsoring countries consider in consultation with the participating countries, the convening of the next Conference, the following African and Asian countries met in Djakarta from the 10th to the 15th of April 1964 to make preparations for the Second Conference:

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| 1. Afghanistan | 12. Iran |
| 2. Algeria | 13. Iraq |
| 3. Cambodia | 14. Liberia |
| 4. Cameroon | 15. Morocco |
| 5. Ceylon | 16. Nepal |
| 6. People's Republic of China | 17. Pakistan |
| 7. Ethiopia | 18. Philippines |
| 8. Ghana | 19. Syria |
| 9. Guinea | 20. Tanganyika |
| 10. India | 21. Turkey |
| 11. Indonesia | 22. United Arab Republic |

Imbued with the Bandung Spirit of African-Asian solidarity and guided by the Ten Principles laid down by the First Asian-African Conference, the meetings took place in a most cordial atmosphere.

II. It was unanimously re-affirmed that at this juncture in international developments the convening of a Second African-Asian Conference was of paramount importance.

The First Conference having been held in Asia, it was decided that the Second African-Asian Conference be held in Africa on March 10th, 1965, at the level of Heads of States/Heads of Governments, and that the selection of the Government which would serve as host to the Conference be left to the Organization of African Unity.

It was decided that a meeting of Foreign Ministers be held immediately before and in conjunction with the Second African-Asian Conference and that this meeting pay special attention to the questions of economic development and cooperation.

It was also decided to recommend that the governments of the countries invited to the Second African-Asian Conference which are represented in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

instruct their Heads of Delegation in Geneva to meet at the end of that United Nations Conference to review and evaluate its results in the light of the Provisional Agenda of the Second African-Asian Conference with a view to formulating recommendations on economic problems. African-Asian countries not represented in that United Nations Conference should be invited to participate in such a meeting.

III. The Meeting decided that the objectives of the Second African-Asian Conference would be as follows:

In consonance with the spirit of the First Asian-African Conference held in Bandung in 1955, and taking note of the substantial increase in the number of independent nations and peoples in Africa and Asia since that Conference, and their enhanced role in international affairs:

1. to promote and strengthen mutual understanding and friendship among the nations and peoples of Africa and Asia and further to exchange experiences and information for their common benefit;
2. to attain common understanding of the basic problems arising out of the revolutionary changes which have been taking place in all fields in the lives of the peoples in Africa and Asia in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for the achievement of full and complete national independence;
3. to search for appropriate methods to ensure continuous and full cooperation among African-Asian nations for the development of African-Asian solidarity on the basis of equality, mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
4. to make policies for the peaceful settlement of disputes and for the renunciation of threat or use of force in international relations;
5. to revive the spiritual heritage of the African and Asian peoples and to exploit fully their natural resources so as to utilize them for their moral and material advancement and the development of their national identities on the basis of political sovereignty, economic self-reliance and cultural self-assertion;
6. to formulate guiding principles and to devise practical measures which would:
 - (a) further inspire the peoples of Africa and Asia in their continuing struggle against all forms of colonialism, racial discrimination, and foreign economic exploitation;

- (b) secure restoration of their lawful rights of domicile to populations evicted from their ancestral homes as a result of imperialist and colonialist designs, and also in violation of human rights;
- (c) ensure complete emancipation of countries which are still under foreign domination;

thereby permitting the countries of Africa and Asia to play their legitimate role in this changing world in a constructive and progressive way towards justice, prosperity and peace among nations, based on respect for fundamental human rights and the rule of international law;

- 7. to strengthen economic, social and cultural cooperation among the countries of Africa and Asia as a means of consolidating and safeguarding their independence and raising the standards of living of their peoples.

In accordance with the objectives set out in the preceding paragraph the following provisional agenda for the Second African-Asian Conference was agreed upon:

1. General Review of the international situation in the light of the First Asian-African Conference and an appraisal of the Ten Principles of Bandung.
2. Decolonization and the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism.
3. Human Rights:
 - (a) Racial discrimination and apartheid.
 - (b) Genocide.
4. World Peace and disarmament:
 - (a) Strict international control.
 - (b) Prohibition of all types of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests.
 - (c) Non-dissemination of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons.
 - (d) Creation of nuclear free zones.
 - (e) Complete prohibition and thorough destruction of all nuclear weapons.
5. The peaceful settlement of international disputes and the renunciation of the threat or use of force in international relations:
 - (a) Basic principles for the settlement of African-Asian disputes.
6. The strengthening of the United Nations:
 - a. Review of the United Nations Charter.

- b. Observance of the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.
 - c. Implementation of United Nations resolutions by its members.
7. Economic development and cooperation:
- a. Review of the results of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development in particular with respect to the position of African-Asian countries *vis-a-vis* the industrialized countries.
 - b. Basic principles for the cooperation amongst African and Asian countries towards economic emancipation.
8. Cultural cooperation.
9. Peaceful co-existence:
- a. Basic principles of peaceful co-existence.
10. The desirability of the establishment of a permanent Secretariat to facilitate effective cooperation amongst African-Asian nations.
- IV. A. It was decided that the following countries be invited to the Second African-Asian Conference:
- a. All the 29 countries in Africa and Asia which participated in the Bandung Conference.
 - b. Countries in Africa, members of the Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.)
 - c. Countries in Africa and Asia which will become independent between now and the convening of the Second African-Asian Conference.
 - d. The following: Mongolia
Democratic Peoples' Republic of Korea
Republic of Korea
Cyprus
Kuwait
Western Samoa
The Provisional Government of Angola.
- B. Representatives of all National Movements from non-self-governing territories recognized by the O.A.U. in Africa and from Asia, which have not yet attained independence, may come to the Conference with the right to be heard and the host country is requested to provide facilities for their attendance. This provision should also apply to South Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Oman, Aden and Palestine.

C. With regard to the composition of the Second African-Asian Conference:

- a. It was proposed that an invitation be extended to the U.S.S.R. Some Delegations supported and others opposed the proposal to extend an invitation to the U.S.S.R. A number of Delegations stated that they needed consultations with their Governments. After discussion no consensus could be reached. Some Delegations were of the view that the matter may be placed before the Heads of States/Governments at the Second African-Asian Conference for their consideration. Some other Delegations were against submitting this matter to the Heads of States/Governments at the Second African-Asian Conference for their consideration. Therefore, no agreement was reached.
- b. It was also proposed that an invitation be extended to Malaysia. In this case, it was hoped that the obstacles which prevented reaching a consensus on the invitation would be eliminated. In this case, an invitation should be extended as soon as possible. Some countries that recognized Malaysia stated their position that Malaysia was fully entitled to an invitation and should be invited.

V. The Meeting unanimously expressed the hope that the Second African-Asian Conference, like the First Conference held in Bandung, would make a significant contribution to the solidarity and complete emancipation of the African-Asian countries as well as the growth of friendly cooperation among nations, the promotion of universal respect for human rights, and the attainment of lasting peace.

VI. The participants expressed their deep appreciation for the initiative taken by the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in convening the Preparatory Meeting, for the excellent arrangements made, and for the gracious hospitality extended to them by the host Government.

Djakarta, 15th April 1964 *

* Foreign Affairs Record, New Delhi, Vol. X, No. 4, April 1964, p. 124-126.