STUDY GUIDE

The Bandung Conference (1955)

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1. STAFF PRESENTATION

Hello my fellow delegates! My name is Julia Theodoro Soares and I'll have the pleasure of being your director this year. I'm currently studying International Relations and by the days of the Intercollegiate United Nations Model (MINIONU) I'll be coursing the sixth semester. My experience with the model began in 2012, when I attended the United Nation’s General Assembly (AGNU) (2015) and later when I was a delegate of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) (1973). As a staff member, I began as a volunteer in the Committee on the Peloponnesian War (CGP) that occurred 420 b.C and then as an assistant director in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) (2014). I have a deep care for this project, as it was what introduced me to the International Relations and was also very important in my growth as a person and as a professional. Working with the Bandung Conference, in my view, is an amazing opportunity to see things from another angle. I hope that this committee will be a place to put in practice your ability to negotiate and act in cooperation. I also believe that this will be a great time to make friends and to develop a new view of the world! This guide will lead you to understand the subject better, so I hope that you all have a good reading, enjoy the information to prepare yourselves and be welcome to the Asian-African Conference (Bandung 1955).

Hi, I am Amanda Ramalho Guimarães. Ever since I started partaking in United Nation (UN) Models, I began to truly believe that all of us tend to look back in history in order to answer the problems of the present. That is only one of the reasons why I consider this committee very important. I’m currently coursing the 2nd semester of International Relations. I’m also an English teacher, so being here is also a hobby that I extremely appreciate, by putting the English language on the ground of our discussions proposals. Last year was my first participating as a member of MINIONU’s organizational team, with these two girls (Brenda e Julia) also on my team! With nothing further to add, I just expect the best of all of us on this manner! See ya!

I’m Brenda Fontana, assistant director and MINIONU lover. I’m also an International Relations student currently the fourth semester. In high school I participated as a delegate twice: firstly as Canada in a committee about nuclear disarmament the Committee on Disarmament and International Security (DSI) and secondly as China in a Human Rights reunion called Committee against Enforced Disappearance (CCDF). Those definitely were life changing experiences due to the fact that my way of interacting with people and seeing the world were changed. Last year I had my first opportunity to be part of MINIONU’s organization. It was an extremely rewarding experience that not only enhanced my interest in the event and knowledge but also gave me the chance to meet amazing individuals.
2. TOPIC PRESENTATION

After the end of the Second World War (WWII), the colonial relations between the European countries and the colonies in Africa and Asia started to break and a new scenario began to rise in these continents. In the greater international background, the Cold War polarized the European and American countries between the orbit of the United States of America (U.S.A.) and the capitalist ideology and the Union of Soviet Socialists Republics (URSS) influence with the communist ideals.

A demographic explosion in the ex-colonies of Africa and Asia made them hold, quickly, the biggest part of the world population. (WRIGHT, 1995). Most of these countries emerged with the leadership of local politicians who were educated in Europe, and they brought with them the notions of the western democracy and of strong nationalisms, however, it cannot be stated that the European education was the main reason for the uprise of the nationalist feelings. (CANÊDO, 1994). These factors allied to the advent of the Cold War, the rise of the Soviet Union and the potentiality of American interventions in the newly independent countries of Africa and Asia created an aura of concern for what could happen in this two regions.

Another issue present in this scenario was the need to affirm the independence of those nations and to point out their autonomy when it comes to any sovereignty question. It is important to remember, a lot of areas were still under colonial domination, what caught the attention of both the Soviet and American blocks, which were expecting to expand their influence area and the number of their allies. (WOOD, 2012). At this point, the elites of the countries in the decolonization process also feared the growth of the influence of the Cold War extremes. (WOOD, 2012). The impact of the Korean War, where the United States and Soviet Union actively interfered in the region and the fear of further actions in the Asian continent especially after the signing of the South Asian Treaty Agreement (SEATO) treaty by some countries of Asia, made the feeling of uncertainty about future interventions in the area grow between the newly independent States.

The international setting of instability and the possible consequence of this in the recent decolonized countries of Africa and Asia created a scenario where the governments of those States' found themselves in need of seeking for articulations between each other. It is in this delicate Cold War background that the leaderships of Indonesia, India, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma invite other countries from both Africa and Asia to a meeting in Bandung.

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a city located in the Java Island, Indonesia. This reunion would be called the African-Asian Conference, more commonly known as the Bandung Conference.

It is safe to say that the heart of the Conference was intensely related to the self-determination principle. Self-determination is a concept created by the American president Woodrow Wilson in his 14 points of peace and means the capacity of a nation to be ruled in the way the nation’s people wants to. (KATSURAGI; OLIVEIRA, 2015).

The Conference also pays special attention to the racial question. It is important to remember that the imperialism relayed theories that affirmed the superiority of the white race in comparison to the Asian and African, or so called “colored”. The European countries alleged that the non-white people were not capable of taking care of their governments and of their own countries. (CANÉDO, 1994). The white colonization of Africa and Asia was seen as some kind of “White Man Burden”\(^2\) in the view of the European colonizers, which was used to justify their actions in these countries. In this way, the racial question is deeply mixed with the colonization past, which makes it very relevant to the decolonization discussion.

The initiative that gave birth to the Bandung Conference was intensely connected to the traumatic past the newly independent nations had with the West, and a significant number of these countries aimed to keep some kind of distance from the western nations. Keeping this anti-western feeling in mind, the United States felt suspicious in relation to this kind of meeting due to the participation of China. (PARKER, 2006).

The Asian-African Conference is, sometimes, described as the first articulation of the decolonized Asia and Africa to build a new scenario after Imperialism. (WOOD, 2012). Sukarno, the president of Indonesia had stamped the expression “unity in diversity”.\(^3\) This statement translated a lot of the Conference’s main core, since it marked the union of countries that presented harsh differences but that joined together under a single flag: the affirmation of their sovereignty and autonomy in the troubled scenario of the Asian and African continents during the Cold War. (WOOD, 2012).

2.1. The Imperialism

Imperialism or Colonialism is a type of regime in which a foreign nation seek richness through the influence and domination of another people. (MESGRAVIS, 1994). The European countries colonial expansion was firstly carried out during the Modern Era, some authors as Wallerstein had even pointed out that this process was the opening march of the

\(^2\)Term inspired by the poem of Rudyard Kipling. The poem is available in: http://ux1.eiu.edu/~cfnek/syllabi/british/kipling1899.pdf

Modern Era, when the Portuguese and Spanish empires conquered the so-called New World, the Americas. The American colonies, however, were fully independent by the end of the 1890’s. After this event, western countries, during the 19th century, managed to conquer most of the globe, exporting to the so-called “uncivilized lands”, which were the African and Asian lands, their institutions. (HOBSBAWN, 1995a).

There were several types of domination that varied according to the peculiarities of the native populations and the colonial power in question. Some of the colonies experienced an indirect domination in which the colonial power relied on only a few important sectors of the society and the metropolis used the influence it had in the elite of those societies in order to have plenty control of the country. (CANÊDO, 1994). There were other cases in which the territory would be placed under the direct power of a small European elite that expropriated the population’s land and administrated the main institutions. (CANÊDO, 1994). Also, some colonies were placed under high economic dependence that evolved to the colonial ruler’s administration in certain institutions, such as what happened in China. (CANÊDO, 1994).

When it comes to the motivations of the second phase of the imperialism, a lot of explanation can be traced, but the social crises that hit Europe in the second half of the XIX century is often indicated as a huge factor to the colonial expansion. The Old Continent was immersing in a deep economic crisis and there was a large surplus population. The conquest of foreign territories came to light as a solution to both problems, since it would expand the European market and find a place to allocate the population surplus that Europe was facing. (MESGRAVIS, 1994).

The growing idea in the European society was that the key to development was westernization and that the eastern societies needed to be kept under tutelage due to its incapacity of self-rule of these peoples and its barbarianism. (MESGRAVIS, 1994). Racist ideals, such as social-Darwinism, were considered to be science and used as a form of justification to several social beliefs. (HOBSBAWN, 2009). At this time, Europe were also heavily marked by national rivalry, and the race for the conquest of the colonial lands was only reinforced this kind of relation. This growing tension and will to overcome new colonial lands and markets ended by the outbreak the First World War.

The imperialist world order lasted until the end of the WWII when the bipolar arrangement started to be built and the “Cold War” structure was designed. (HOBSBAWN, 1995a).

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4Second phase of the imperialism is the denomination used to specify the imperial domination of the XIX century. (MESGRAVIS, 1994).

5Social-Darwinism is a theory that applies the presupposes of the Natural Selection to the societies. This theory was used to legitimize the idea of superiority of the European societies of the white race towards the non-European people. See more in: BRITANNICA ACADEMIC, Social-Darwinism. Available in: <http://academic-eb-britannica.ez93.periodicos.capes.gov.br/EBchecked/topic/551058/social-Darwinism/>. Access in: 17 Apr. 2015.
However, the imperial world could be considered to have been “in a crisis” since the 1930’s. The weakening of Europe during World War II can also be traced as a factor that lead to the ruin of the colonial order, since the European countries were very compromised, a great number of colonies found it a good time to fight and conquer their independence. (HOBSBAWN, 1995b).

2.2. The International Conjuncture

Accordingly to Ang Chang Guan (2008), the Bandung Conference held in 1955 must be analyzed in the context of three overlapping developments that took place in Asia, especially Southeast Asia. The year of 1945 marked the end of the Japanese occupation in Southeast Asia and the end of World War II which led to the termination of pre-war colonial relationships between the British, French, Dutch and Portuguese powers and the Southeast colonies. The second development was that although these states shared a common goal for independence, their transformation paths and history were diametrically different and complex. The third overlapping development was the advent of the Cold War in Asia in 1949 that turned the situation even more complicated. (GUAN, 2008).

To present the context of Asian-African decolonization process, some concepts have to be linked; besides the physical and obvious effects of the Cold War: the political bipolarization of the world into two massive epicenters of influences and the pursuit of more influence of the both blocks, the economic world scenario, the ethnic questions that some countries faced and the instability in the region, when it comes to the possibility of intervention. Furthermore, on a more subjective scope, the acknowledgement that the exploitation had gone too far, were the main ingredients to pull the trigger that took both Asia and Africa States to Bandung, in 1955.

Beginning with the economic dimension of period in case, it’s important to understand the shift of the commerce routes and the needs of both population and state. (GUAN, 2008). The armed focused in materials that could not be easily found in Africa and Asia, putting other countries in the role of main commodities exporters. (GUAN, 2008). More so, the main owners of Asian-African business were Europeans, but it is important to remember that Europe was in a reconstruction process, so, their focus was not in commerce at all.

The idea of non-alignment started a decade after the Cold War. Assuming that both Soviet Union and United States were irradiating communist and capitalistic points of view and models of legislation around the globe, their influence did the best to be able to reach Asia-Africa. (HOBSBAWN, 1995b). However, those models didn’t fit well in most of the Africa and Asian countries, most of them had no socio-economic conditions to do so, besides, the cultural background of the Asian-African population were taken from great monopolistic and
stated-centered empires, such as the Mongol Empire in Asia and the Mali Empire in Africa—it was an impossible model to reach and also, mainly capitalism, describes a very specific rout of the means of production, which both continents were not able to fulfill at that time. (HOBSBAWN, 1995b).

In relation to the Cold War, there is the agreement among most of scholars that anything important that happened in those years was initiated either by the US or by the Soviet Union. So every explanation is linked to these powers' action. This narrative, in Wallerstein's (2010) view is a fantasy as he talks about an alternative or counter-narrative which denied the basic premise that there were only two sides and every country was even in one side or another. (WALLERSTEIN, 2010).

3. THE COLD WAR IN ASIA AND IN AFRICA

As explained, the Cold War was a completely new scenario in the international system and in this structure, the Asian and African Continent began a struggle scenario where the two great powers looked for areas of influence in the newly independent countries. (HOBSBAWN, 1995b). Many of the former imperialism-resistance groups were influenced by communist or anti-communist ideologies and the violence was inevitable. (CROZIER, 1968). In this view, it can be said that Africa and Asia were the perfect stages for physical confrontation between the two opposite dominant ideologies. (HOBSBAWN, 1995b).

The conflict of influence in these areas has often become physical, but the confrontation between ideals in Asia and Africa was restless. (CROZIER, 1968). The first conflicts related to the Cold War dynamics were the Azerbaijan Crisis in Iran and the communist insurrections in Burma, Malaysia Philippines and Indonesia. (CROZIER, 1968). But the first one to draw big attention was the Vietnamese struggle for independence against France. In Vietnam the communist leader Ho Chi Minh emerged as the main pro-independence personality. With this scenario of a possible communist insurgence in Southeast Asia, the United States helped the French army with weapons and training. (CANÊDO, 1994). After a nine year war, the Geneva Agreement6 divided Vietnam into two countries and ended the struggle.

However, in the Vietnamese case, neither the Soviet Union nor the United States acted directly. (CANÊDO, 1994). During the Korean War both the United States and the Soviet Union openly supported opposite sides and the U.S.A. even sent troops to the war theatre and this intervention was, indeed, approved by the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). The conflict started in 1950, when the USSR helped North Korean communist leader Kim Il

Sung to pass the 38th parallel\(^7\) and invade South Korea. This episode led the United States to give direct assistance to the capitalist based Korea. In theory the war hadn’t ended yet, the parts only accorded to an armistice that remains until the days of the Asian-African Conference\(^8\). (HOBSBAWN, 1995b).

Some Third World’s leaders began to avoid the idea of an alignment, afraid that it would bring further conflicts. (BHALLA, 2012). The countries brought to the Bandung Conference a strong feeling that they seek the independence from the North-Powers. To the view of these leaders there was not only a western-eastern duality, but also a north-south. (PARKER, 2006).

An important actor in this scenario is China. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) ascended to power after a long civil war period. Since its start, the CCP showed signs that it aimed to follow a different path them the Soviet Communist Party, but only in the 1950’s that the two parties definitely broke the ties between them\(^9\). The invitation of China created tension both between the other countries attending to the conference and the countries in the capitalist bloc. (SHIMAZU, 2014).

### 3.1. The SEATO Treaty

On the other hand, the capitalist bloc was represented at the Conference by three of the SEATO participant countries: Pakistan, Thailand and Philippines. The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization was created in 1954 and its creation can be stated as a demonstration that even after the communist victories in Indochina, the West was still close and committed to the approach of the Far East. (CROZIER, 1968). The SEATO was composed by Thailand, Philippines, Pakistan, Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, United States and France. As part of the Treaty, France and Great Britain tried to reach the Colombo Powers\(^10\) to become part of SEATO, or at least, part of its influence area. However, the only country that actually became part of SEATO was Pakistan, largely because of the Kashmir and its anti-India questions. (CROZIER, 1968).

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\(^10\) The Countries that formed the Colombo Power are: India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia (CROZIER, 1968)..
Pakistan had a closer relation to the US than most of the Asian countries since during its process of independence the United States was one of the first countries to recognize Pakistan as an independent nation. (JABEEN; MAZHAR, 2011). The attention given by the United States to Pakistan grew after India begun its non-aligned policy. Without the commitment of India to the capitalist block, Pakistan turned into US’ main ally in the subcontinent. (JABEEN; MAZHAR, 2011). However, as already stated, being part of SEATO also benefited Pakistan, since it was a guarantee against possible menaces of India. (JABEEN; MAZHAR, 2011).

The participation of Philippines was also related to its political and ideological proximity of the USA. The Philippines was dominated by the Americans from 1899 until its independence in 1946, but even after the country was strongly influenced by the USA, an example of this proximity is that the post independent Philippines adopted a democracy in the American model. (CROZIER, 1968). Just as the US, Philippines harbored a strong feel of anti-communism, which made the country fit in perfectly with the proposes of the organization. (CROZIER, 1968).

The treaty was accorded as a “security umbrella”, which meant that any attack against one of the members was to be considered an aggression against all of them, but some authors question if any conflict with a non-communist country would be actually judged by the Treaty as an assault valid to the treaty call. (CROZIER, 1968). Even though, it can be said that it appeared that the Asian members of SEATO were quite comfortable with this kind of protection. (CROZIER, 1968).

Moreover, some of the other countries present in the Conference did not seem to be comfortable with negotiating with western powers. (CROZIER, 1968). Anyways, most of those countries would also be willing to find paths to a peaceful Asia and if the participants of the SEATO felt that it could be a course to this, there wouldn’t be much resistance against the participation of some countries to the Treaty. An important role of the SEATO members, especially of those that are diplomatically close to the USA, such as Philippines and Pakistan, is to represent the capitalist countries and its demands in the Bandung Conference.

3.2. The Colombo Plan

The Colombo Plan was most common way to refer to the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic Development in South and Southeast Asia. It was formed in 1951 after a meeting in the city of Colombo, Ceylon. The current members of the Colombo Plan in 1955 are Australia, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Burma Nepal, New Zealand, Pakistan Ceylon, South Vietnam, Cambodia, United States and Canada.
The main motivations of the Colombo Plan were the cooperation and development in the technical, educational and economic areas. (COLLINS, 2012). It can be said that the Colombo Plan was thought as a strategy to block the development of communist approaches in south and southeastern Asian countries. (COLLINS, 2012). However, the participation of some countries in this cooperation plan created a greater feeling of unity in aid of each other, creating one of the first attempts to develop a species of an Asian Regionalist feeling. (MOHAN, 2012). Some of the leaderships of the South and Southeast Asia that were part of the plan were quickly put together in a small group called the “Colombo Powers”. (MOHAN, 2012). The so called Colombo Powers (Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia and Pakistan) were pivots in the idea of regionalism and Asian cooperation. (MOHAN, 2012). It can be noted that the main organizers of the Bandung Conference are among the Colombo Powers.

The plan was idealized to be an Asian counterpart of the Marshall Plan. However, since the Asian countries had a different demand than the European ones, the plan had to pass through an adaptation to fit in the requests of the Asian governments. (OAKMAN, 2000).

4. THE THIRD WORLD

Ten years after the closure of the World War II, the decolonized world and the yet existing colonies’ population quadrupled. (HOBSBAWN, 1995a). What can be noted in this scenario is that the countries that will attend the Conference are the home of a great part of the world’s population. These countries can be very similar to each other in some aspects and deeply different on other facets. Most of these countries were once home to empires and most of them have been very damaged by the colonialist practices. (CROZIER, 1968).

With the decolonization process the African and Asian countries have to deal with new struggles. (CROZIER, 1968). The problems faced by these nations will be discussed in the Conference, however, some important guidelines to understand these questions will be presented in the items below. These topics will embrace the questions of territorial integrity and the non-intervention in the present time of those countries, but also, will be discussed possibilities of healing past issues institutionalized in the colonial era.

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12 Such as Iran was once the main territory of the Persian Empire and the Indochina countries (North and South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and Burma) were the lands of the Khmer Empire.
4.1. Self Determination and Territorial Integrity

The term of Self Determination is widely known as a part of President Woodrew Wilson’s Fourteen Points for peace. (SELF-DETERMINATION, s.d.). The idea of self-determination means the right that all peoples have to choose how and by who they want to be governed. (SELF-DETERMINATION, s.d.). The self-determination principle is strongly related to another principle, the principal of territorial integrity. (GRIFFITHS, 2014). Territorial Integrity means that no State has the right to advance into the territory of another without the latter’s consent. (GRIFFITHS, 2014).

The ideals of Self-Determination and Territorial Integrity are foreseen in the UN charter and were part of the League of Nations charter. These two items were first used to rebuild a post-World War I Europe and to legitimize some countries that first appeared after the end of the First World War. (HAZEWINNEL, 2007). The Self-Determination and Territorial Integrity principles only started to be applied to the Asian and African countries after the creation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945. These norms influenced the nationalist movements around the world since now they could rely on an international law principle to legitimize their struggle. (GRIFFITHS, 2014).

Even though these new laws outlawed non-requested interventions, there exists some cases which occurred in Asia in the immediate post-World War II period, such as the Korean War and the struggle for the Vietnamese independence. (CROZIER, 1968). These two cases happened on occasions were the bipolar tensions were high, which makes the reiteration of these principles to the Asian and African countries an important item in the committee discussion.

4.2. Colonialism and the Racial Question

Although historians mark the beginning of the Imperialistic run in the XIX century, due to factors such as the Second Industrial Revolution and the ideological pursuit for land extensions led by the Age of Enlightenment, it is possible to relate Imperialistic issues as an outspread of colonialism itself. (CÂNÊDO, 1994). Around the XV century, the Great Navigations introduced an European view of the foreigner, to develop this view, we shall detail two important concepts – colonialism and coloniality. Colonialism implies an overlap of sovereignty, a quarrelsome dialog between cultures, a shock that leads towards domination – the basis of this domination will be discussed later. Coloniality is a pack of power webs,

structured as a colonial matrix which is absorbed by both the majority in domain as the dominated minority. Therefore, colonialism was the first attempt on categorizing the foreigner in its central differences, based on central versus peripheral images of the XV world’s view; however the intrinsic differences rely on coloniality as a major key. (MESGRAVIS, 1994).

[...] One of them saw white beads of a rosary. He made a sign to be given them and was very pleased with them, and put them around his neck. Then he took them off and put them around his arm, pointing to the land, and again at the beads and at the captain's collar, as if he meant they would give gold for them [...]. (CAMINHA, 1963).

This piece of the letter of Pero Vaz de Caminha to King Manoel describes the Portuguese arrival in America. The non-acknowledgment of relative values and monetary status were deeply exploited in this interaction. The indigenous population was considered by them as almost barbarians. Furthermore, the Catholic Church developed a major role in creating grounds for the establishment of Europeans in America. Religion has bonded and explained the need of intervention – Europe would bring the Savior's word and salvation to the uncivilized lands. (MESGRAVIS, 1994).

The slavery idea and its impulse rely on the aegis of deep discrepancy or relative relevance of humanity itself. Subsequently, the impact of slavery affected the entire social construction afterwards, away from the deep removal of Asian and Africa from the systemic center of XIX century. (KNOWLES, 1996).

4.2.1. **Illuminism and theories about foreigners - the social impact**

Moving forward to Illuminism, the ideal political construction of reality, following Immanuel Kant’s studies on “Perpetual Peace: a philosophical sketch”, was an equal rational faculty – all men are able to think and express themselves in the same way, even if culture’s whole is to establish a mold for these interactions. The opposing theoretical mark supported by the end of the XIX century and by the beginning of the XX century relies on Darwin (1809 - 1882), Ratzel (1844 - 1904), Gautier (1853-1937) and Hegel (1770 - 1831) works. (BECQUEMONT, 2011). One of the multiple possible reads of their works is a prejudicial view of the Other; the need of expansion of State’s shall be on top of Other’s rights to be equally treated and the differences on human race establishes survival skills - colonialism shall be used in order to civilize peripheral peoples based on a world’s progress point.

To educate humanity towards a singular value which would bond us together and prevent World Wars was a piece of Kant’s purposes. For Kant, the barriers of States should be penetrable by men and every aspect within humanity. Segregation is, by Kant’s grounds a stupidity based on human beings passion and ego. In a State’s scope of interactions,
acquiring maneuver is taken as a threat to humanity. Whatsoever, men and State should act to guarantee hospitality for all kinds of people and folks. (KANT, 2008).

In his work “On the Origin of the Species” (1859), Charles Darwin described the biological adaptation of species – in order to survive, they should pass through genetic adaptation compatible with its current natural habitat. The impact of Darwin’s works arrived in social science, and “On the Origin of Species” was adapted to explain differences spotted between Europe and the rest of the world. In this line of thought, what had made European folks being in complex domain of weaponry, science and industry, was the adaptation process and their treatment concerning the use of the land. Therefore, the determinant of such relative differences between civilized and uncivilized countries was a biological read of social constructions. (BECQUEMONT, 2011).

Edward Said (1990), a more contemporary author points out to the European image of themselves as the race that knew the best to the other ethnic groups, and so, the ones that had the right to govern the others. Assuming these, the European people created a narrative that described the non-western populations as a barbarian people, incapable of living without the tutelage of more advanced people. (SAID, 1990). However, Said (1990) points out how even the differentiation of what is Western and what is Eastern was carefully constructed by Europe, and reinforced the whole idea of orientalism and European superiority. (SAID, 1990).

Consequently, the XIX century came with theoretical grounds to sustain the idea of a reasonable and successful Europe that had a whole to push the rest of the world to progress, by introducing them science, trade and industry. The apogee of this feeling can be proved in Berlin Conference (1884) purposes and achievements.

4.2.2. The racial factor behind and the tribal structure

The contact with the foreigner provided a sense of hierarchical difference. The conflict presented by the interaction of civilized and uncivilized folks is beyond the economical scope of Imperialism itself. Therefore, the sanitation effect can be described as a secondary goal of European countries, and an united global community converging to a conducted progress led by western powers. (CANÉDO, 1994). Although, in a Marxist view, Asia and Africa should be a peripheral exploited proletariat, laborers force the basis of a new industrial era. Moreover, this view of biased labor forces remotes to colonial slavery on the XV century. (HOBSBAWN, 1995b).

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14 Karl Marx had dedicated his works on Capital to Charles Darwin
15 Based on the concept of physiocracy: Idea that all the wealth comes from the soil cultivation.

This dichotomy was enforced by skin colour and the affirmative that non Anglo-Saxon communities were less developed due to their ethnic heritage, as said in the previous topic. Related to the modern State arrangements, all tribal institutions were meant to be dissolved, following the western powers perspectives for both Africa and Asia. The enhanced cosmopolitanism suggested that all continents shall be equal, but based on a pattern created and spread by Europe. (BECQUEMONT, 2011).

By this means, non-alignment international conferences had the whole of creating or rescuing an identity lost or suppressed by Imperialistic fluxes. However, even if with this recapture of proud, the marks led by an Anglo-Saxon tradition pervaded through political sustainment of Asian and African countries. Even racism ideological basis penetrated conjectures surrounded non-alignment countries.

**4.3. Cooperation among the Third World**

The cooperation on development among countries is more often thought in terms of relations of the economical developed north and the undeveloped south. (THE REALITY OF AID MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE, 2010). This kind of relation aims to state that the only the richer countries have the resources to help the poor countries of the south, by this angle, it can be said that this relation puts the north in the position of promoting economic development and the financial assistance. (THE REALITY OF AID MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE, 2010).

South-South cooperation (SSC) is taking hold nowadays (1950s) in the context of the common struggle of former colonies to achieve genuine independence and development as these states sought to develop an alternative to the Bretton Woods system established after the Second World War. The Bretton Woods Agreements is a set of multilateral arrangements in the international political economy after the Second World War. The main objectives of this meeting includes financing the reconstruction of the postwar Europe and try to avoid uncertain exchange rates and competitive-devaluing by instituting stable exchanging rates. World Bank was established to serve the first objective and International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the second. (BRETTON WOODS…, s.d.).

Under the Bretton Woods's prescriptions underdeveloped nations tend to have deficit in their trade balance what leads to foreign currency crisis. As the exchange rates were fixed if they were not able to attract international capital these countries would need to borrow money from other nations or the IMF to cover their deficits. (SCHMUKLER, 2004).

In this regard, South-South Cooperation (SSC) is about underdeveloped countries working together to find solutions to common development challenges as a tool to support and facilitate political and economic integration. It promotes financing for development,
investment, trade social, cultural, environmental and technological fields. (WHAT IS…, 2016).

The basic premise of South-South Cooperation is that these countries will develop together. Therefore, much SSC-based development cooperation takes the form of aid that promotes commercial interests in the providing country, whether indirectly as tied aid, or directly as aid to support exports or other commercial activities in the providing country. (MINOR; DESAI; SINHA, 2016). South-South Cooperation’s aim is to promote self-sufficiency among Southern nations and to strengthen economic ties among states whose market power match more equally than in asymmetric North-South relationships.

4.3.1. South-South Cooperation Strengths

It can be a way for developing countries to accomplish much more than they can achieve individually. Achievements and lessons from one country may eliminate the need for trial and error in another, thereby reducing costs and enhancing efficiency. It also contributes to economic advances in Southern nations, especially in Africa, Southern Asia and South America due to the fact that South-South investments tend to create more jobs than the generally capital-intensive foreign development investment from the North. Furthermore, SSC lacks the overtone of cultural, political and economic hegemony that is sometimes associated with traditional North-South aid. (ROSSEEL; et al, 2009).

4.3.2. South-South Cooperation Weaknesses

The benefits of SSC may not be evenly shared among nations, more vulnerable states might worsen their situation. Another weakness is that the gap between North and South will remain for a long time, therefore South-South Cooperation is not capable to substitute North-South Cooperation. Not to mention that the lack of resources, information, mechanisms and institutions to coordinate and manage South-South cooperation have not been sufficiently developed, which causes ineffectiveness. (ROSSEEL; et al, 2009).

4.3.3. Types of South-South Cooperation

SSC can exist in several manners depending on the criteria that has been used. It can be based on:

- Sharing experiences and goods;

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16 A capital-intensive investment requires more capital (machinery, technology and so on) than labor, thus creates less jobs.
• Strengthening of networks between several institutions from different developing countries allowing them to form a network and work together within this network;
• Capacity-building through increasing the ability of a Southern countries to promote development, it can include the training of personnel and the purchase of equipment;
• Partnership development, setting up a common project to build on development. (ROSSEEL; et al, 2009).

4.3.4. Cooperation and Decolonization of Africa and Asia

Until the day of the Bandung Conference most of the Asian former colonies were already independent. It is interesting to highlight that during World War II, Japan, a significant imperial power, drove the European powers out of Asia. (CROZIER, 1968). After the Japanese surrender in 1945, local nationalist movements in the former Asian colonies campaigned for independence rather than a return to European colonial rule. In many cases, as in Indonesia and French Indochina, these nationalists had been guerrillas fighting the Japanese after European surrenders, or were former members of colonial military establishments. (CROZIER, 1968). These independence movements often appealed to the United States Government for support. (CROZIER, 1968).

On the other hand, most of the African colonies were still colonized by European countries. In this sense, SSC cooperation comes as a possibility to enhance decolonization movements through solidarity among colonies and ex-colonies. In order to elucidate solidarity and support to the decolonization process in Asia and Africa one should pay attention to pan-Asianism and pan-Africanism.

4.3.4.1. Pan-Asianism

There is a great number of formats of solidarity among the Asian countries, most of them are driven by the need of cooperation among geographical neighbors. In this context, some thinkers saw the new quest for solidarity as a strengthening of the existing networks of economic and cultural exchange. Others were inspired by pan-movements emerging almost simultaneously in Europe and America. The various approaches to Pan-Asianism, however, all shared a common emphasis on transnationalism and Asian unity. (SZPILMAN; SAALER, 2011).

In the nineteenth century new forms of nationalism developed in East Asia. Just as Pan-Asianism, they represented a reaction to Western colonialism and over time turn into
national independence movements. Yet again, these nationalist aspirations and the independence movements they spawned were characterized by strong transnational links, alliances that were apparent in the activities of Indians, Vietnamese, Indonesians, Filipinos revolutionaries and activists from other Asian countries who went into exile in Japan, where they exchanged ideas, promoted pan-Asian solidarity, developed networks, and worked together to achieve national independence. (SZPILMAN; SAALER, 2011).

4.3.4.2. Pan-Africanism

It can be said that Pan-Africanism has its origins from the struggles of African the people against enslavement and colonization. It reflects a range of political views, being a belief that African people in the continent and in the Diaspora share a common history and a common destiny, this sense has influenced the creation of institutions. (MAKALANI, 2011).

In the twentieth century Pan Africanism emerged as a distinct political movement initially formed and led by people African heritage living outside of the Continent. In 1900, the Trinidadian barrister, Henry Sylvester Williams, called a conference that took place in Westminster Hall, London to protest against the imperialist actions against the African countries. (THE HISTORY..., 2011).

The most important figure of 1940s and early '50s is Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, who believed that European colonial rule of Africa could be extinguished if Africans unite politically and economically. With the coming of independence for some African countries in the decade following World War II, the cause of African unity was largely confined to the concerns of the African continent. (KURYLA, 2016).

At the Conference, the attendees may highlight various issues among that the colonial question is undoubtedly one of the most important, on which the conference is expected to pronounce verdict. As most of the Afro-Asian Countries present has attained recently their independence from colonial rule, more importantly, the decolonialization process is still going, and the delegates can start to speak for other colonized people particularly in Africa who had not got yet established independent governments. Keeping in view the aforementioned points, the denunciation of colonization in any form is incumbent on these newly independent states in order to sustain their survival because their immediate concern is naturally the security of their states against external threats and danger to their territorial integrity and independence. (TARIK, s.d).
5. COMMITTEE PRESENTATION

The Asian-African Conference will be held on April of 1955 in the Indonesian city of Bandung, which is the reason to this conference will be known as the Bandung Conference. The city was chosen over the Indonesian capital Jakarta because of its symbolic value, the architecture in the city mix art deco building built during the Dutch colonization and Javanese styled buildings. Also, Bandung was the land of formation of the “freedom-fighters”, the leadership of the independence fight, between those “freedom-fighters” educated in Bandung, there was Sukarno himself. (SHIMAZU, 2014).

The date of the Conference was also strategically chosen so it would respect the religion of all of the delegates that would attend, since the Ramadan17 would begin in the end of April and the Buddhist sacred days would happen in the beginning of the month, so the Conference was scheduled to occur on April 18th to April 24th of 1955. (SHIMAZU, 2014). The delegates that will participate of the Bandung Conference are from different governmental posts, there will be presidents such as Sukarno, ministers of foreign affairs such as the Liberian delegate Momolu Dukuly, premiers such as Zhou Enlai from China, career diplomats such as Charles Malik of the Lebanon and even kings like King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia.

The countries that will attend the conference are newly independent countries, most of them bound by a very strong feeling of nationalism and marked by strong cultural and religious ties. (WRIGHT, 1995). Some of the countries are strongly aligned to the United States, especially the ones that were part of the SEATO treaty. On the other hand, some nations adopts a neutral position towards the Cold War, between those were the organizers of the Asian-African Conference, India, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon. Also, some communist based countries like China and Northern Vietnam were invited and will attend to it.

The main reason the meeting was called, and one of the subjects, was the Cold War and how the countries should act towards the polarization. (WOOD, 2012). The anti-colonialism struggle is also an important topic in the discussions, as well as the need of articulation between Asian and African nations in the international forums to make their voice be heard. Another issue that will be present in the reunion is the racial issue and the need of racial equality between the countries. (WOOD, 2012).

It’s also important to think that the Bandung Conference will not be part of any UN agency or of any already existent organization. The Conference has some degree of an

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“informal nature”, it aims to create a different specter of cooperation. However, it is also important to remember that this “informal nature” does not turn the conference in less important or less diplomatic. The actors must behave with the same conduct that any UN agency based committee demands.

6. MAIN ACTORS POSITIONS

The main organizers of the conference are India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Ceylon and Burma, the so called Colombo Powers, however, not all of the host countries can be considered main actors, since some of them aligned to other States. (SHIMAZU, 2014). Some of the countries will be, somehow, representatives of the Western capitalist block or of the Eastern socialist block. (SHIMAZU, 2014). With this optic the delegations that are going to represent any block or oppose to the blocks in the committee will now be presented.

6.1. Republic of Indonesia

The Indonesian independence from the Netherlands was declared in 1945 and it was recognized by it and the by United Nations in 1949. Indonesia is one of the organizers of the Asian-African Conference and its main sponsor. It held the position of a South-Asian leadership. Indonesia stands by neutrality in the Cold War, in its view, both Soviet socialism and American capitalism were new forms of imperialism. The Indonesian president Sukarno is exponent personality in Asia, he fought in the Indonesian independence war and his struggle against the imperialism made him define his foreign policy as neutrality. (HUEI, 2009). So, Indonesia clearly does not support any of the two great powers (United States and Soviet Union). The Indonesian policy is to be close of both countries but with no ideological alignment, the country approximation of any one of those States is purely ideological. (SHIMAZU, 2014). Indonesia also has more the 300 different ethnicities, what make the country especially interested in discussion on the international recognition of the peoples’ diversity and equality of all the races. (HUEI, 2009).

6.2. Republic of India

India’s independence in 1947 was a worldwide remarkable event. The leadership of Mahatma Gandhi became iconic because of the use the civil disobedience and of the non-violence method. (CANÉDO, 1994). Even though the independent India was recognized in 1947 by Great Britain, the struggle of the country for self-determination can be strongly seen
since the 20’s. India is one of the most populated countries in the world, in 1955 it held more than 350 million of people, being only less populated them China. (HOBSBAWN, 2015b). Since the SEATO treaty was signed, India became closer and closer to China, but always assuring that it was only a peaceful approach. In the Bandung Conference, India will stand for a peaceful-coexistence with its border countries. (WOOD, 2012). Since India has a tension area with Pakistan (the Kashmir) and Pakistan is part of the SEATO treaty, India will strongly defend the sovereignty and non-intervention point. (CROZIER, 1968). India is a strong supporter of the neutralism, even though its Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was very prestigious in the West. India is, with Indonesia, the leadership of the neutralist countries and always held a peaceful position. (SHIMAZU, 2014).

6.3. Republic of Philippines

Philippines passed from the Spanish to the North American dominion in 1898. The country fought in the Pacific War during the Second World War by the USA’s side. (CROZIER, 1968). The United States crushed several movements that sought independence in Philippines. (CROZIER, 1968). In 1934 the United States signed a law that would have proclaimed the independence of Philippines, but the law was revoked and what would have become a self-government turned into a commonwealth with the United States. The independent Philippines, on the other hand, were recognized by the United States in 1946. Even after the independence, Philippines kept a strong relation with the United States, which made it even, enter in the Korean War in the USA’s side. The Philippine delegate, Carlos Romulo, stated that Philippines would defend the “democratic values over the communist approach” in the Conference. (SHIMAZU, 2014). So, Philippines will be performing a pro capitalist role. It is important to note that in the Philippines’ view, not only the communist countries represent a threat, but the neutralist countries also, since a neutral country could easily approach the socialist block. (CROZIER, 1968).

6.4. People’s Republic of China

China came to the Bandung Conference represented by the country’s Prime Minister Zhou Enlai, who was for known by his unique way of diplomacy. (HUEI, 2009). China was never formally a colony, but the country felt into a deep influence from the Western countries during the period of decline of the Chinese Imperium. (CÂNEDO, 1994). In 1949, Mao Tse Tung ascended to the power with the Chinese Communist Party and established a socialist

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government with one single party. (CÂNEDO, 1994). In 1954, China signed the Five-Principals of Peaceful Coexistence with India, this treaty lead the approximation of China and India, with the success of this treaty, China seeks to expand it to the other neutralist countries, or even to the whole Asian-African Conference. (WOOD, 2012). The presence of China brings some kind of tension in the committee, since it is the strongest country to be part of the communist block to attend in the committee. China will represent the interests of the communist block as well as defend the other socialist countries' right of self-determination and respect to their sovereignty. China is also expecting from the Western aligned countries reaction to the principles of coexistence. (SHIMAZU, 2014).

6.5. Gold Coast

The Gold Coast was not completely independent in 1955, but the process of achieving the complete governmental autonomy of the country was already advanced. (SHIMAZU, 2014). As an autonomous province of the United Kingdom, the Gold Coast sent a delegate to the Asian-African Conference. The Gold Coast tended to the neutralism, as did the organizers of the conference. The main subjects to be discussed by the Gold Coast are related to the African territories under severe colonial domain, the country in question felt as a representative of those nations. (SHIMAZU, 2014). The Gold Coast also has an important voice on the racial issue, especially as it is representing several ethnic groups of Africa.

7. RELEVANT QUESTIONS

- How to succeed with the solidarity to the territories under imperialist domain?
  o Should the recent-independent countries support the independences of the remaining colonies?
- Is the approach of the two greater world powers (Soviet Union and United States) a new form of imperialism?
- What is the best way to act in the polarized world of Cold War?
  o Is the alignment to any one of the two powers positive to the newly independent countries?
- How to deal with the racial issues and assure the importance of racial equality to the other countries and set this thematic in the international agenda?
- How to assure the respect to the independence and the territorial integrity of the recent independent countries?
- What is the best way to succeed on the conflicts in the African-Asian Regions?
○ Is it right to support any kind of intervention on the conflicts?
○ Is it right to not support any kind of intervention on the conflicts?

- What is the best way of the countries in the present conference to articulate among themselves to support each other development?
- How to deal with the religious and ethnic minorities in the countries?
REFERENCES


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Table of Relevance of the Delegations

The following table will classify the delegations of this present committee by the demand that will be asked of the delegate on a scale of 1 to 3. This scale does not classify the delegations by their importance or their difficulty, focusing instead on the need of the delegation to partake actively in the debate inside this committee.

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