

Bandung Conference Study Guide

The Issue of Cold War Cooperation
and Self-Determination



**PREPMUN
2022**



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Bandung Conference

Introductions



Welcome letter
Chair introductions



Welcome Letter

Dear Delegates,

Welcome to the Bandung Conference (1955) at PREPMUN 2022. Let's transport ourselves back to the turbulent times post-WWII; tensions are rising between the US and the USSR, and nations are freshly emerging from colonial shackles trying to find their place in the new world order. Millions of people who had no say on their governance now have the ability to speak for themselves.

However, many are still under colonial rule. You as delegates are to navigate through turbulent and ever-evolving political conditions to attain the best possible agreements matching your delegation's stances. We hope that through this experience you would gain greater insight into the beginnings of the post colonial era and the situation that the Afro-Asian nations found themselves in. But, most importantly we wish you that you will have an enriching and exciting experience that satisfies your thirst for a good challenge. For the newer delegates this could be the place where you realise the strength of your voice. Don't be afraid to make mistakes, in PREPMUN we are all about learning from experience. Let's create a progressive and inclusive world for all nations.

The Dais of the Bandung Conference,
Kevin, Joanne and Peiduo

Chair Introductions

Head Chair: Kevin Benedict

Kevin Benedict is a Year 5 student studying in SJI. He attended his first MUN during the circuit breaker period and has been hooked ever since. He has always believed that MUN is for everyone and that council sessions should give all delegates a platform to make their voices heard. Apart from MUNnig, Kevin enjoys music of all genres constantly seeking for new elusive types of music to listen to and play. With the ambition to one day make it in the music industry, Kevin takes on opportunities to perform and collaborate with other musicians on rap and singing, dabbling in music production as well. Just like music council sessions are dynamic and unique, no two songs or sessions are the same.

Deputy Chair: Joanne Woon

Joanne is a 15-year-old who enjoys romanticising the aesthetics of studying, often visiting different libraries and cafes. She takes particular interest in exploring the social entrepreneurship sector. Joanne can also often be seen hopping between events and meetings, often taking on too many projects out of passion. She hopes to provide delegates an enriching and fulfilling experience at PREPMUN 2022.

Deputy Chair: Yang Peiduo

Peiduo is a 16-year-old who really enjoys making new friends and hanging out with them. He is also very interested in Chinese debate and Chinese literature. PREPMUN 2022 marks the first MUN that he will chair, so it is going to be a significant milestone in his MUN journey. He is really looking forward to meeting the delegates.



Bandung Conference

The Issue of Cold War Cooperation
and Self-Determination

Topic and Council Introduction

Organised by Indonesia, Myanmar, Ceylon, India, and Pakistan, the Bandung Conference brought nations together to discuss peace and the role of the Global South in the Cold War, economic development, and decolonisation in the wake of the end of World War II and the Cold War.¹ The conference acted on the core principles of political self-determination, mutual respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, and equality.² The conference drew participation from 29 countries, which collectively represented more than half the world's population.

Definitions

Colonialism: Defined as “control by one power over a dependent area or people.” It occurs when one nation subjugates another, conquering its population and exploiting it, often while forcing its own language and cultural values upon its people.³

Neutralism: Defined as the peacetime policy of avoiding political or ideological affiliations with major power blocs, also known as non-alignment in international relations.⁴

Self-determination: Defined as the legal right of people to decide their own destiny in the international order.⁵

Context of the Cold War

The Cold War had wide-reaching implications for the Third World. Starting in March 1947, it shaped the struggle for Third World decolonisation and exerted tremendous pressure on newly independent nations. It was partly as a response to these influences that the Bandung Conference was organised.

Post-World War II saw a struggle between the US and the USSR as they clashed over ideological differences and struggled to expand their geopolitical influence that was often tied to their security. The USSR adopted a foreign policy that saw it supporting communist regimes around the world whereas the US propped up largely liberal, but more importantly, anti-communist governments. As

¹ Daniel J. Lawler and Erin R. Mahan, eds., ‘Bandung Conference (Asian-African Conference), 1955’ (Office of the Historian), accessed 15 October 2022, <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/bandung-conf>.

² Ibid.

³ Blakemore, Erin. ‘Colonialism Facts and Information’, National Geographic, 19 February 2019. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/culture/article/colonialism>.

⁴ ‘Bandung Conference | Asia-Africa [1955] | Britannica’, accessed 15 October 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Bandung-Conference>.

⁵ ‘Self Determination (International Law) | Wex | US Law | LII / Legal Information Institute’, accessed 15 October 2022, [https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/self_determination_\(international_law\)](https://www.law.cornell.edu/wex/self_determination_(international_law)).

the superpowers raced to secure allies amongst the newly independent nations, these nascent states were concerned about being pulled into superpower conflicts as well as looking to make best use of the opportunities from the East-West clash. Conflicts like the Indochina War demonstrated how superpower rivalry could devastate a country whereas the Marshall Plan which provided billions in aid to Europe hinted at the support that countries could potentially receive from the superpowers during the Cold War.⁶

The Decolonisation Wave

As a result of the Second World War, there was a decline in the colonial powers' former prestige.⁷ In Asia, the Japanese had driven the European powers out and given former colonies the opportunity to campaign for independence post-World War II, breaking away from the now-ruined Europe.⁸ In their place, two anti-colonialist superpowers emerged in the United States and the Soviet Union, which encouraged colonies to make a bid for independence from 1945.⁹ Even amongst European citizens, voices of decolonisation had risen as more felt that it was a burden to the colonising country's economy to excessively invest in their colonies.¹⁰

Decolonisation took place in two phases, the first from 1945 to 1955, mainly affecting the Middle East and Southeast Asia, and the second in 1955, mostly concerning North Africa and sub-Saharan Africa.¹¹ Additionally, there were notable nations such as India and Pakistan which gained their independence in 1947 after century-long struggles.¹² Their independence also inspired many other nations to seek their independence as they demonstrated that decolonisation was achievable.¹³

⁶ Special, Bernard Gwertzman. "Indochina Conflict Seen as 'Proxy War'." The New York Times. The New York Times, January 9, 1978. <https://www.nytimes.com/1978/01/09/archives/indochina-conflict-seen-as-proxy-war-brzezinski-stresses-the-soviet.html>.

⁷ 'The Beginnings of Decolonisation and the Emergence of the Non-Aligned States - Historical Events in the European Integration Process (1945–2014)', CVCE.EU by UNI.LU, accessed 25 October 2022, <https://www.cvce.eu/en/recherche/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/0397bac4-10f2-4b69-8d1a-366ca4a08c34>.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ 'The Bandung Conference - Historical Events in the European Integration Process (1945–2014)', Centre Virtuel de la Connaissance sur l'Europe, accessed 15 October 2022, <https://www.cvce.eu/en/recherche/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/672bad6e-07d9-4d0d-b921-4a932321017f>.

¹⁰ 'The Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy'. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://www.amazon.com/Commanding-Heights-Battle-World-Economy/dp/068483569X>.

¹¹ 'Bandung Conference | Asia-Africa [1955] | Britannica', accessed 15 October 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Bandung-Conference>.

¹² 'The Indian Independence Movement Began in 1857', accessed 22 October 2022, <https://owd.tenj.edu/~borland/2006-indianindependence/>.

¹³ Yergin, Daniel. *The Commanding Heights: The Battle for the World Economy*, 2002, https://www-tc.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/shared/pdf/ess_africadevel.pdf.

Crucially, the push for decolonisation took place against the backdrop of the Cold War which had immense implications. Colonies that were striving for independence sought to take advantage of the superpower conflict to gain supporters for their movements.¹⁴ Some local anti-colonial leaders genuinely saw Communism or socialism as the answer to their nation's problems, one that could provide a path to development.¹⁵ Communism, as an ideology that is inherently anti-imperialist, thus managed to find support in nationalist movements like that in China and North Vietnam.¹⁶ These countries largely supported the USSR line.

The United States' position, however, was more complex. While the United States was indeed a champion of self-determination, its foreign policy was complicated by its strong ties to its Western allies. Many of these Western allies were colonial powers and the US' close relations with them elicited suspicion from anti-colonial national leaders. Some were even driven to ally with the USSR as a result. Additionally, initial Cold War calculus limited the US to merely encouraging its allies to grant their colonies independence. Europe was one of the key battlefields of the Cold War, and the United States saw a strong Western Europe as key to containing communism and combatting Soviet expansion in Europe – North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) members indicated that by maintaining their colonies they would be able to provide the bloc with greater military strength.

Yet, as the Cold War continued, the US grew increasingly concerned over the possibility of newly independent nations turning to the USSR's sphere of influence. They thus increased their "aid packages, technical assistance and sometimes military intervention" to many of the independence movements and nascent countries in order to assert their moral leadership and nudge them towards West-aligned policies.¹⁷

In the leadup to the Bandung Conference, only a handful of colonies had managed to gain their independence – for instance, Africa only had five nations that had achieved self-determination.¹⁸ Leaders of post-colonial nations found themselves in solidarity with the independence movements,

¹⁴ "Read: Cold War - An Overview (Article)." Khan Academy. Khan Academy. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/whp-origins/era-7-the-great-convergence-and-divergence-1880-ce-to-the-future/74-end-of-empires-beta/a/read-cold-war-an-overview-beta>.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ "Decolonization of Asia and Africa, 1945–1960." U.S. Department of State. U.S. Department of State. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/asia-and-africa>.

¹⁸ ThoughtCo. 'Chronological List of African Independence'. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://www.thoughtco.com/chronological-list-of-african-independence-4070467>.

using their newfound voices as United Nations (UN) members to call for an end to colonialism.¹⁹ One of the most prominent figures was Nehru, then Prime Minister of India, who was determined to expel European control in Asia. He organised the Asian Relations Conference in 1947 to push for this goal alongside other anti-colonial national leaders. Indonesia's foreign policy and rhetoric under Sukarno similarly demonstrated hostility towards colonialism.²⁰ Its anti-colonial sentiments were further inflamed as the Dutch attempted to retain control over West Papua, which Indonesia saw as a rightful part of Indonesian sovereignty.²¹

As the struggle for independence continued, like-minded opponents of colonialism came to see the value in cooperating to resist Western influences. The New Delhi Conference on Indonesia in 1949,²² which brought to light the transgressions of the Dutch police in Indonesia, is one such example. This helped to pave the road to the Bandung Conference, whereby the question of resisting colonialism was high on the agenda.

Neutralism and Non-Alignment

As the US and the USSR began to consolidate their influence amongst newly-independent countries, many of them grew concerned about pressures from the superpowers. Aligning themselves with either bloc would increase their chances of being pulled into a proxy conflict. Having emerged from colonial rule with unsustainable economies, many nascent states saw promoting economic development and alleviating poverty within their domestic territory as far more important than winning an ideological battle. Furthermore, few of these nations had a developed army that could be called upon to defend the country in a conflict.²³ Hence, in response to these external geopolitical trends, many nascent states began to see a neutral stance in their foreign policy as the ideal course of action. Essentially,

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Hall, Ian. 'Jawaharlal Nehru's Vision for a Just and Equitable Post-Colonial World, with India Leading the Way'. The Conversation. Accessed 30 October 2022. <http://theconversation.com/jawaharlal-nehru-vision-for-a-just-and-equitable-post-colonial-world-with-india-leading-the-way-156307>.

²¹ Yeremia, Ardhitya Eduard. "Sukarno and Colonialism: An Analysis of Indonesia's Foreign Policy Discourse, 1955-1961." *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 16, no. 1 (2020): 1-17. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v16i1.3838.1-17>.

²² "THE DUTCH MUST BE TOLD! ." *Economic Weekly*, January 22, 1949.

²³ "National Army of Indonesia: Indonesian Military." Encyclopedia.com. Encyclopedia.com, November 1, 2022. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/neutralism-and-nonalignment>.

these nations did not want to ‘take a side’ in the Cold War conflict in hopes that they would be able to maintain their peace.²⁴

Neutralism gave these newly-independent countries a strategy that allowed them to maintain their sovereignty and security through asserting their independence and thus deter foreign interference. These states had weak political institutions, making them prime for interventions by the superpowers, potentially creating political divisions. Neutrality gave them a shield against this. It also aided them in their developmental pursuits - Nehru argued that through refraining from allying explicitly with either side, they were able to reduce their military spending, instead diverting the funds towards developing infrastructure and their economies.²⁵ Furthermore, although not the primary consideration behind the neutralist movement, countries were often able to play both sides of the conflict as the US and USSR attempted to lure these countries into their spheres of influence with technical assistance and foreign aid.²⁶ Should either side attempt to attach conditions to their aid, neutralism allowed the recipients to simply turn to the opposing bloc. (Importantly, neutralism should not be confused with neutrality which is a legal term with specific conditions that govern what a neutral state like Austria can do in a conflict between two or more parties.)²⁷

While often used interchangeably with ‘non-alignment’ to describe a general mood of refraining from Cold War conflicts, to a significant number of political leaders, the distinction between ‘neutralism’ and ‘non-alignment’ was substantial.²⁸ In a visit to Asia in 1954, Tito influenced Nehru to see neutralism as insufficient in securing peace for their country and in resisting the domination of their nations by foreign powers.²⁹ They believed the implied passivity and isolationism of the term meant a withdrawal from the international system. Instead, they promoted what they viewed as a more active policy of ‘non-alignment’, which supported a ‘collective peace as the foundation for collective

²⁴ Martin, Laurence W. *Neutralism and Nonalignment: The New States in World Affairs*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976.

²⁵ The Wire. ‘When Nehru Refused American Bait on a Permanent Seat for India at the UN’. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://thewire.in/diplomacy/when-nehru-refused-american-bait-on-a-permanent-seat-for-india-at-the-un>.

²⁶ “Neutralism and nonalignment.” International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. . Encyclopedia.com. 27 Oct. 2022. . Encyclopedia.com, November 1, 2022. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/neutralism-and-nonalignment>.

²⁷ “Neutrality, Neutralism, Non-Alignment.” *International Relations* 3, no. 6 (1969): 444–50. <https://doi.org/10.1177/004711786900300604>.

²⁸ Rajak, Svetozar. “No Bargaining Chips, No Spheres of Interest: The Yugoslav Origins of Cold War Non-Alignment.” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 16, no. 1 (2014): 146–79. https://doi.org/10.1162/jcws_a_00434.

²⁹ Ibid.

security.”³⁰ This general sentiment of actively promoting peace can further be seen in Tito’s suggestions to U Nu in early 1955 that Burma would have to fight to maintain freedom from domination by either Cold War bloc.³¹ It would amount to a rejection of the superpowers’ hegemony and the adoption of a foreign policy approach that entailed defiance of East-West forces.

Prior to the Bandung Conference in 1955, the 5 principles of coexistence were set to emphasise the importance of decolonisation and neutrality.³² Neutralism was thus a key consideration at the Bandung Conference as key proponents attempted to expand the reach and buy-in of the idea.

Global Economic Disparity and Neocolonialism

The economic disparity between the colonies and newly independent countries, and the developed nations was large. For example, Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Middle East only took up around 23% of the Global income in 1950.³³ In comparison, the USA alone took up 25% of the Global Income in 1950.³⁴ This large economic disparity was mainly because many countries in these areas were newly independent nations or colonies. Their dire economies were characterised by rampant diseases, underdeveloped industries and a lack of trading relationships with other nations.³⁵ In many of them, colonists had eradicated free trade agreements between colonies and other countries, only allowing trade with their colonial masters. For example, British colonists heavily limited the imports that Malaya accepted,³⁶ leaving it with few trade links upon independence. This dependency on European markets thus left an economic vacuum upon decolonisation.

Many colonists only developed infrastructure that was critical to their agenda, leaving their colonies with major infrastructural gaps.³⁷ Additionally, the education level was intentionally limited in order to

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Historically, after Bandung, the idea of non-aligned became much more widespread, ultimately culminating in the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961, comprising 120 countries that were explicitly unaligned with either the US or the USSR.

³² ‘Carry Forward the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence To Build a Better World Through Win-Win Cooperation’. Accessed 30 October 2022. https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/201407/t20140701_678184.html.

³³ Chancel, Lucas, and Thomas Piketty. ‘Global Income Inequality, 1820–2020: The Persistence and Mutation of Extreme Inequality’. *Journal of the European Economic Association* 19, no. 6 (30 December 2021): 3025–62. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jeaa/jvab047>.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ ‘The Global North/South Divide’, Royal Geographical Society, accessed 25 October 2022, <https://www.rgs.org/CMSPages/GetFile.aspx?nodeguid=9c1ce781-9117-4741-af0a-a6a8b75f32b4&lang=en-GB>

³⁶ ‘Economic Inequality in British Colonial Malaya - ARTICLES | Economic History Malaya’, accessed 22 October 2022, <https://www.ehm.my/publications/articles/economic-inequality-in-british-colonial-malaya>.

³⁷ Kibin, ‘The Challenges of Decolonization’, 2022, <https://www.kibin.com/essay-examples/the-challenges-of-decolonization-sxies0wX>.

better control the colonies.³⁸³⁹ This lack of human resources severely hindered the economic development of ex-colonies. For instance, at the end of the 1940s, Nigeria only had 150 locals as lawyers and 160 locals as doctors out of a population of 30 million,⁴⁰ leaving the country without sufficient human capital to bring about economic growth.

Even upon independence, these limitations allowed former colonial powers to continue economically exploiting their colonies through more subtle means.⁴¹ They sought to retain these nations as sources of cheap raw materials and labour. For example, western colonial powers invested in the local companies of African countries which caused the companies to cater more to foreign needs instead of their national interests such as upholding neutralism.⁴² The Cold War influences further exacerbated this phenomenon. Countries that accepted aid from the US also saw heavy pressures to enact policies that would be inimical to local developmental aims but highly supportive of large multinational corporations.

This method of controlling ex-colonies after they have been granted independence is known as neo-colonialism.⁴³ Furthermore, neo-colonialism became even more powerful with the expansion of the international financial system.⁴⁴ Liberia, which although typically considered ‘never colonised’, was highly reliant on foreign trade and investment, subjecting it to domination by foreign powers. To stabilise its currency and access foreign trade, Liberia adopted the US Dollar, which resulted in the loss of political sovereignty due to its dependence on it.⁴⁵ After the establishment of the Open Door Policy in 1944, Liberia accumulated \$422 million in foreign investment from 1940-1960.⁴⁶ Furthermore, its economy was largely made up of the primary sector, with 60% of its gross domestic product coming from exports of iron ores and rubber, mostly to developed countries.⁴⁷ This saw a

³⁸ Beihami, Hussein and Fahram Meifa, ‘The Effects of Decolonization in Africa’, *World Scientific News* 3, no. null (2014): 16–21.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ “Neocolonialism.” Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/neocolonialism>.

⁴² ‘Neocolonialism’, in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, accessed 25 October 2022, <https://iep.utm.edu/neocolon>.

⁴³ Neo-colonialism is generally seen as colonial powers and developed countries controlling less developed countries through economical, military and cultural pressure.

⁴⁴ ‘Neocolonialism’, in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, accessed 25 October 2022, <https://iep.utm.edu/neocolon>.

⁴⁵ Carlsson, Jerker. *Transnational Companies in Liberia: The Role of Transnational Companies in the Economic Development of Liberia*. Research Report - Scandinavian Institute of African Studies; No. 37. Uppsala: Scandinavian inst. of African studies [Nordiska Afrika inst.], 1977. <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:275786/FULLTEXT01.pdf>.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

pattern of dependency on the international trade and financial system which the developed countries dominated, as well as the third world remaining as low value economies unable to move up the development ladder. Through such a system, the global economy structurally kept developing countries underdeveloped.⁴⁸

Ex-colonies saw this continued economic domination by former colonial powers as inhibitions to attaining full independence. Therefore, to assert their independence, these underdeveloped countries called for an increased redistribution of wealth and promoted economic cooperation between newly-independent nations. At the same time, the countries at Bandung wanted to take their place in the world economy through rapid industrialisation of their economies. The Bandung Conference saw the culmination of these sentiments and acted as a platform for pushing such an agenda.

Human Rights

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was drafted in 1948 by only about 50 nations in the United Nations.⁴⁹ This left many of the countries, which were present at Bandung, out of the drafting and voting process, leaving questions open about the universality of the Declaration.

Additionally, human rights, despite the unanimous adoption of the UDHR, was still denied to a significant part of the world population. European powers consistently refused to guarantee the provision of human rights to their colonies. Some argued that colonial territories should be exempted from human rights, going so far as to claim ‘the people of the colonies and dependent areas might be embarrassed if offered human rights’.⁵⁰ Derogatory remarks were also often tinged with racial discrimination - Belgium, France and Great Britain having argued that “backward indigenous” inhabitants were ill prepared to be a recipient of “Western human rights”.⁵¹ Another glaring example of this is in South Africa where the apartheid system established a strict hierarchy of races placing white citizens of European descent at the top.⁵² This meant that the former colonists from Europe continued to retain political and social power, which resulted in innumerable cases of human rights

⁴⁸ Munro, André. “Dependency Theory.” Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/dependency-theory>.

⁴⁹ “History of the Declaration.” United Nations. United Nations. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/udhr/history-of-the-declaration>.

⁵⁰ United Nations General Assembly. “Draft International Covenants on Human Rights and Measures of Implementation: Future Work for the Commission on Human Rights.” Resolution. New York and Paris: United Nations General Assembly, Fifth Session, 1951. <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/666660>.

⁵¹ Burke, Roland. *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights*. Univ Of Pennsylvania Pr, 2013.

⁵² “Apartheid.” 2017. The Martin Luther King, Jr., Research and Education Institute. April 24, 2017. <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/encyclopedia/apartheid>.

abuse. This denial of decolonisation was notwithstanding the fact that colonialism stood against the right to self-determination enshrined within the Charter of the United Nations.⁵³

Colonies fighting for their independence were thus able to use the “emancipatory ideals” as a justification for anticolonialism and provided them with a “supporting ideology”.⁵⁴ Newly-independent nations similarly believed in the promotion of human rights as an ideal. Human rights, and solidarity in promulgating and fighting for them, thus formed one of the key questions at the Bandung Conference.

⁵³ “United Nations Charter (Full Text).” United Nations. United Nations. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/un-charter/full-text>.

⁵⁴ Burke, Roland. *Decolonization and the Evolution of International Human Rights*. Univ Of Pennsylvania Pr, 2013.

Scope of Debate

Promoting the Economic Development of Afro-Asian Countries

The vast majority of newly-independent nations were desperate for economic development. Their economies were largely commodity-based, giving them thin margins on exports and insufficient funds to develop their infrastructure.⁵⁵ Delegates have to consider how economic development can be spurred and promoted through the Bandung Conference. However, with the backdrop of colonialism and the Cold War, delegates will also have to deal with the struggle over how they could promote development more independently of the superpowers and former colonists.

To promote development, countries had to attain managerial and technical expertise that could expand their industries as well as services such as shipping and transport.⁵⁶ They also needed to establish their banking system and eventually their financial sectors. Another major concern was the instability of the commodity markets.⁵⁷ Commodities are vulnerable to the fluctuations of the market, with dips in prices resulting in severe balance of payments issues for these nations.⁵⁸ Delegates should discuss how best countries could deal with these economic problems and develop a framework, especially in the context of cooperation amongst the Afro-Asian countries, for economic growth that can address the state of underdevelopment present in the third world.

The spectre of neocolonialism means delegates at the Conference have to contend with how much support they should receive from the developed world. As the richest and most technologically developed nations,⁵⁹ they were the ones that could provide the most capital and technical aid to the third world. Even as Afro-Asian cooperation was promoted, it was indeed acknowledged that the countries present lacked the funds to render financial assistance to one another. This also tied in to the question of establishing markets for their manufactured products as they moved up the value chain as these richer nations had the most purchasing power. Yet with all these potential benefits, there was always the danger of economic domination, with Sukarno warning that “Colonialism also has its

⁵⁵ Fofack, Hippolyte. “Overcoming the Colonial Development Model of Resource Extraction for Sustainable Development in Africa.” Brookings. Brookings, March 9, 2022. <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2019/01/31/overcoming-the-colonial-development-model-of-resource-extraction-for-sustainable-development-in-africa/>.

⁵⁶ Appadorai, A. “The Bandung Conference.” *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs* 11, no. 3 (1955): 207–35. <https://doi.org/10.1177/097492845501100301>.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ “Instability of the Commodities Trade.” THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD PROBLEMS & HUMAN POTENTIAL. THE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF WORLD PROBLEMS & HUMAN POTENTIAL. Accessed November 1, 2022. <http://encyclopedia.uia.org/en/problem/145454>.

⁵⁹ Pursell, Carroll. *Technology in Postwar America A History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

modern form, namely in the form of economic control”.⁶⁰ Thus, delegates need to appropriately balance aid and relations with the developed world.

Another area of discussion was the peaceful use of atomic energy. New forms of atomic energy had potential to bring about massive economic benefits and many of the Asian and African nations called for what they believed was their ‘fair share’ of nuclear energy.⁶¹ However, producing nuclear power not only requires sophisticated technology, but also highly skilled personnel that are able to maintain the nuclear power plant. Most of the nations at Bandung lacked such capabilities and against the backdrop of the risks of nuclear meltdowns, delegates will have to consider how the countries at the conference can promote atomic energy responsibly and bring it to their nations.⁶²

Cultural Cooperation

The Bandung Conference was a multilingual, multicultural, and multi-faceted delegation, with Afro-Asian delegates that have a rich cultural history.⁶³ Under colonialism, this culture was often suppressed and sometimes completely eradicated.⁶⁴ In the examples of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria, their respective languages were slowly pushed out as French became a more important language of commerce and administration when they were under French colonial rule.⁶⁵ Given the cultural similarities and common roots of numerous Asian and African countries respectively, cross-cultural cooperation can strengthen and enrich their own cultures that were previously undermined by colonialism.⁶⁶

Additionally, cultural cooperation has a spillover effect in supporting economic development. Through an increased understanding and appreciation of each other’s cultures, trade and commerce

⁶⁰ “Modern History Sourcebook: President Sukarno of Indonesia: Speech at the Opening of the Bandung Conference, April 18 1955.” Internet history sourcebooks. Fordham University. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/mod/1955sukarno-bandong.asp>.

⁶¹ Gordin, Michael D., and G. John Ikenberry. *The Age of Hiroshima*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2020.

⁶² Paul Day and Paul Day, ‘Finding a Workforce May Be Nuclear’s Largest Challenge’, *Reuters*, 3 October 2022, sec. Energy, <https://www.reuters.com/business/energy/finding-workforce-may-be-nuclears-largest-challenge-2022-10-03/>.

⁶³ Hong Liu and Taomo Zhou, ‘Bandung Humanism and a New Understanding of the Global South: An Introduction’, *Critical Asian Studies* 51, no. 2 (3 April 2019): 141–43, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2018.1564625>.

⁶⁴ Zendra Kambysellis, ‘Post-Colonialism: The Unconscious Changing of a Culture’, *Political Discourse*, 1997, <http://www.postcolonialweb.org/poldiscourse/kz1.html>.

⁶⁵ Andy & Abi, ‘Why Tunisia Is a French-Speaking Country’, *Tunisian Experience* (blog), 3 March 2020, <https://tunisianexperience.com/why-tunisia-is-a-french-speaking-country/>.

⁶⁶ Toyin Falola, *The Power of African Cultures* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), <http://catdir.loc.gov/catdir/toc/ecip044/2003011478.html>.

can be better facilitated as well as helping negotiations.⁶⁷ It might also increase mobility of labour, providing them, collectively, with access to a much larger talent pool.⁶⁸ Creating a cultural bridge thus encouraged understanding amongst different nations, thereby fostering peace and cooperation beyond that. Hence, delegates can consider how these countries might best promote cultural cooperation, paying special attention to the links between cultural cooperation and the rest of their country's goals.

Neutralism

In the Cold War conflict, in order to maintain peace, sovereignty and security, many newly independent countries did not want to 'take a side' between the US and the USSR, but to instead maintain a stance of neutralism, escaping involvement in the Cold War. This ensured that newly independent countries could maintain their beneficial relationships with both the US and the USSR, continuing to reap massive economic and political benefits from both sides instead of cutting off one. Furthermore, this ensured that newly-independent countries would not be over reliant on one superpower, which could cause their countries to become dominated by them. Such countries that took on such a stance were India, Indonesia, and the Arabic Nations.⁶⁹ These nations argued for neutrality, and to banish the influence of Western powers in their region. For example, early signs of this first appeared in 1950 at the United Nations debates over Korea. Egypt had abstained from voting on the US resolution for UN action in Korea, which was stated to be made on two grounds, one of which was that Egypt was adumbrating a policy of non-involvement, which shortly developed into a movement of neutral mediation between the disputants.⁷⁰ Thus, it can be seen that neutralism was also a method seen by its proponents as key to promoting peace while maintaining an active role in global events.

However, opposing this bloc were countries that saw the security of their country tied to allying with the larger nations. These countries included two of the oil-rich Middle East states, Iran and Iraq, who had made a formal decision to accept Western arms and Western protection, as well as the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO).⁷¹ SEATO was formed by the US, Great Britain, New Zealand, Australia, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan to prevent communism from gaining ground in the

⁶⁷ Donald M. DePamphilis, 'Cultural Cooperation - an Overview | ScienceDirect Topics', ScienceDirect, 2019, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/topics/social-sciences/cultural-cooperation>.

⁶⁸ 'What Is International Cultural Cooperation?', FutureLearn, accessed 31 October 2022, <https://www.futurelearn.com/info/blog>.

⁶⁹ Stevens, Georgiana G. 'Arab Neutralism and Bandung'. *Middle East Journal* 11, no. 2 (1957): 139–52.

⁷⁰ Ginat, Rami. 'The Egyptian Left and the Roots of Neutralism in the Pre-Nasserite Era.' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 30, no. 1 (May 1, 2003): 5–24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1353019032000059063>.

⁷¹ "History of the Declaration." United Nations. United Nations. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/udhr/history-of-the-declaration>.

region.⁷² Many nations who had joined SEATO were smaller nations who required protection and resources that could be provided by the larger Western powers. Western powers could provide the support needed in United Nations Security Council meetings to fight back against the USSR, who held veto power, and could provide arms as aid for the smaller nations, including military assistance programs, providing equipment, direct money aid, and training of personnel.⁷³ Thus, the US was able to use their power and military resources to convince their allies in Bandung to fight for their interests, to prevent the further spread of communism within Southeast Asia. Similarly, North Vietnam and China were aligned with the USSR, united through their common political structure of communism.⁷⁴ The USSR and China had provided immense amounts of economic and military aid towards North Vietnam, so as to fight back against the US which had supported South Vietnam during the struggle between the communist and democratic party.⁷⁵ Thus, both countries are able to influence North Vietnam to fight for their interests of communism in Bandung, holding advantage over North Vietnam. As both the US and USSR saw neutralism as potentially damaging to expanding their influence, they thus sought to use their positions of influence and power to urge countries away from it.

Hence, embedded within the fight over neutralism was the question of how nascent countries could maintain their security. In light of expansionist superpower agendas and the vulnerability of small nations, delegates will have to deal with the competing frameworks of security professed by the different countries.

Human Rights and Colonialism

Against the backdrop of the continued human right violations, especially under colonialism, the countries at Bandung, while generally supporting human rights, have to deal with the question of whether the articles in the UDHR were applicable to them.

Primarily, delegates should discuss the merits of such human rights and the applicability of them to their own nations. There were many nations that demonstrated significant support, even before the Bandung Conference, for human rights. Some of them included Sri Lanka, Iran, Iraq, Japan, Pakistan,

⁷² ‘Milestones: 1953–1960 - Office of the Historian’. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/seato>.

⁷³ ‘SEATO - Segment Of Collective Security | Proceedings - February 1960 Vol. 86/2/684’. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/1960/february/seato-segment-collective-security>.

⁷⁴ Singh, Bilveer. “The Soviet Union in Southeast Asia: National Perspectives from the Region.” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 8, no. 4 (1987): 276–97. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25797915>.

⁷⁵ ‘Chinese and Soviet Involvement in Vietnam’. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://alphahistory.com/vietnamwar/chinese-and-soviet-involvement/>.

Thailand, Turkey and South Vietnam.⁷⁶ Delegates may also have to deal with the question of the Western slant of the UDHR - in the initial drafting of the UDHR, Saudi Arabia abstained from voting for it due to contradictions between Sharia Law and Article 18.⁷⁷ Article 18 guarantees that “Everyone has the right to freedom of [...] religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief” which goes against Sharia Law which requires Saudi citizens to subscribe to Islam as their religion.⁷⁸

Delegates will also have to deal with China’s general objection to the UDHR, as a document that was not crafted without their participation, bolstered by some support from India, Indonesia and North Vietnam.⁷⁹ Their lack of involvement inclined them towards suspicion of the document and proposals of drafting a set of human rights of their own. Furthermore, indications of the incompatibility of China’s communist outlook and the UDHR arose as they saw liberation as mainly freedom from Western foreign rule, whereas the UDHR emphasised individual liberties. The bias towards Western forms of governance, such as Article 21 which guarantees the right to elections, contrasted with the Communist system of government under Mao.⁸⁰ Delegates will have to balance these competing visions of human rights and find a method conciliating the differences.

At the same time, the debate over colonialism and human rights need to be resolved as delegates discuss the definition of colonialism. The question of communism as potentially a form of colonialism should be considered by delegates. Countries like Iran and Libya have both indicated their wariness of Communism as a new form of domination, warning against Soviet expansionism.⁸¹ Delegates can choose to examine this contention in view of Soviet actions in Eastern Europe, where it established satellite states, along with China’s policy of exporting revolution, especially to its nearby Southeast Asian neighbours.^{82,83} Furthermore, the incompatibility of the West’s call for human rights while continuing colonialism demonstrates a need for countries to further combat colonialism and push back

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Moraes, Victoria. “What's Wrong with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)?” Impakter. Impakter, August 9, 2020. <https://impakter.com/whats-wrong-with-the-universal-declaration-of-human-rights-udhr/>.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ “Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” United Nations. United Nations. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/universal-declaration-of-human-rights>.

⁸¹ Burke, Roland. “‘The Compelling Dialogue of Freedom’: Human Rights at the Bandung Conference”. *Human Rights Quarterly* 28, no. 4 (2006): 947–65.

⁸² ‘Soviet Satellite States Facts, Worksheets, History, Impact & Communism’, *School History* (blog), 18 August 2020, <https://schoolhistory.co.uk/modern/soviet-satellite-states/>.

⁸³ Chan Chun-ho, “‘Beijing’s Plan to Export Revolution Hasn’t Changed’: Ching Cheong”, Radio Free Asia, 17 December 2020, <https://www.rfa.org/english/news/china/hongkong-journalist-12172020105214.html>.

against it. Therefore, delegates ought to consider the link between colonialism and human rights and how they may choose to promote them.

Potential Actions

While the Bandung Conference did see some solutions being put forth, a large part of its strengths and achievements were agreements in principles which should be reflected in the final communique. Delegates should keep this in mind when they are considering the potential actions.

Economic Development

Potential solutions considered by delegates need to address the root causes of economic issues faced by the nations participating in the Bandung Conference, namely: over reliance on colonial powers and superpowers, underdeveloped technology and industries and low education level.

To resolve this issue, countries can consider the idea of forming a regional trading network to allow the community of newly independent nations to be more self-sustainable. In managing the transition away from the primary sector and towards manufacturing, delegates can examine sharing of technology and research, joint collaboration projects, mutual aid and capital amongst others as means to further their development. Referencing dependency theory, this could also involve calling for more access to industrialised markets or promoting self-reliance.⁸⁴

Delegates may also review how new multilateral frameworks and agreements can aid them in achieving their goals. For instance, bilateral or multilateral trade deals, or through the use of future options,⁸⁵ can bring some stability to commodity prices which heavily made up the GDPs of many of the countries at the Bandung Conference. Else, delegates may also appraise how they can cooperate with some of the newly emergent international organisations to achieve their needs, for instance funding.⁸⁶

Cultural Cooperation

Cultural cooperation is largely promoted through programmes that deepen countries' understanding of one another's cultures. For instance, cultural exchanges like scholarships that bring students overseas. Additionally, strengthening research institutes, specifically on Asian-African history, can develop greater understanding of the respective countries' heritage and tradition, bolstering their identities and

⁸⁴ "Dependency Theory." Encyclopædia Britannica. Encyclopædia Britannica, inc. Accessed November 1, 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/dependency-theory>.

⁸⁵ Agarwal, Kushal. "An Overview of Futures." Investopedia. Investopedia, May 27, 2022. <https://www.investopedia.com/articles/active-trading/110614/futures-derivatives-and-liquidity-more-or-less-risk-y.asp>.

⁸⁶ Nesadurai, Helen E. S. "Bandung And The Political Economy of North-South Relations: Sowing The Seeds For Revisioning International Society" Singapore: Nanyang Technological University. RSIS Working Paper, No. 095.

ability to engage with other cultures. Additionally, spreading and making information widely available about their cultures could also provide another avenue for cross-cultural understanding.

Delegates may even consider how international organisations can play a part in their objectives. For instance, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) was already set up in 1945 and could have supported cross-cultural exchanges.

Military Pacts

To deal with the question of security and protecting their sovereignty, military pacts are one potential method that delegates might consider. Pacts fashioned similarly to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), or SEATO can help smaller nations level out their disadvantages in security. As the right to collective defence has been recognised in the UN Charter, nations may see this as a viable method of defending themselves. Furthermore, these alliances have the potential to act as a deterrent if they operate on collective defence principles, where an attack on one of its members is an attack on all.⁸⁷ Joint military exercises can also strengthen the weaker members' militaries to prepare them better against threats.⁸⁸

Increasing the Un-aligned Area of Peace

Alternatively, delegates can consider the increase of the Un-aligned Area of Peace to promote peace and thereby the security of respective nations. Fundamentally, it rejects aligning with a powerful bloc and points out that the Cold War bloc only further increases the risk of conflict and thereby war. Additionally, such a method has the added advantage of preventing pressures from more powerful nations within the bloc.

⁸⁷ 'Disadvantages Of Joining Military Alliances - 788 Words | Cram', accessed 31 October 2022, https://www.cram.com/essay/Pros-And-Cons-Of-An-Alliance/FKX6RVLG6E45#google_vignette.

⁸⁸ 'Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) | Facts & Members | Britannica', accessed 31 October 2022, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Southeast-Asia-Treaty-Organization>.

Key Stakeholders

Neutralist

Many countries wanted to promote neutralism among the third world nations that attended the conference. This was rooted in anti-colonialism as well as a refusal to align with either of the superpowers.

The organisers of the Bandung Conference were part of the strongest proponents for neutralism. For example, the leader of India, Nehru had openly said, “we propose as far as possible, to keep away from the power-politics of groups, aligned against one another which have led to the past world wars and which may again lead to disasters on an even vaster scale”.⁸⁹ They wanted to use neutralism as a tool for brokering international peace and through collective strength resist domination by foreign powers. Other countries like Egypt,⁹⁰ Indonesia and Liberia were also active participants in pushing for neutralism.⁹¹ These neutralist countries sought to convince the other nations at Bandung, which saw their defence as tied to military links with the superpowers and other foreign nations, to turn towards relinquishing those alignments and alliances.⁹²

India

As one of the sponsors of the Bandung Conference, India was also one of the most active countries in promoting the idea of neutrality and self-determination as it initiated numerous conferences to bond nations in the Middle East, Asia and Africa together. Being a strong supporter of neutralism, it had condemned several nations, specifically the SEATO Nations, for working closely in terms of forming a military alliance with the USA. To further demonstrate its determination to maintain peace in the Asian community, India also put in a lot of effort to control the conflicts between countries. For example, it actively tried to prevent China giving military support to North Vietnam during Vietnam’s independence war and US intervention.⁹³

Additionally, India also valued its relationship with China, who they believed could be one of their close allies,⁹⁴ while also demonstrating its belief in Asian rule of Asia. Therefore, it invited China to

⁸⁹ Chopra, Surendra. ‘The Emerging Trends in the Non-Aligned Movement’. *The Indian Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 2 (1986): 161–77.

⁹⁰ Steele, William B. ‘Egypt’s Relations with the Soviet Union: An’. *Naval War College Review* 16, no. 1 (1963): 16–45.

⁹¹ ‘Global Connections . Liberia . Timeline | PBS’. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/globalconnections/liberia/timeline/time4.html>.

⁹² Stevens, Georgiana G. ‘Arab Neutralism and Bandung’. *Middle East Journal* 11, no. 2 (1957): 139–52.

⁹³ ‘East of India, South of China: Sino-Indian Encounters in Southeast Asia | Oxford Academic’. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://academic.oup.com/book/26309>.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

the Conference despite opposition from the western bloc and proposed the “engaging China” formula.⁹⁵

Anticommunist, Pro-West

Japan

Japan saw the Japan-US Security Treaty as paradoxically priming its nation to dangers and its population increasingly called for neutrality as a means to maintaining peace.⁹⁶ This was largely due to the parallel Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance signed between the USSR and China which contained aggressive clauses directed at Japan due to its relations with the US.⁹⁷ It also saw the treaty as preventing it from achieving ‘true’ sovereignty but merely a ‘formal’ sovereignty since the large military presence in its country might be a potential threat to its security.⁹⁸ Yet for the most part, it was still a supporter of the Western bloc. Hence, the USA pressured Japan to speak for it during the conference and prevent the conference from going into the denunciation of the western bloc.⁹⁹

Japan also wanted to increase economic relations with the rest of the Asian countries as a potential for its growing exports.¹⁰⁰ This would also allow Japan to assert its self-determination away from the US.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, it was also determined to repair its relationship with the Asian community as it had been isolated from it after WWII and wanted to reassert its leadership in the Asian community.^{102,103}

General Pro-West Nations

Many nations have strong ties with the USA in terms of military and economy. These ties were so close that some nations may consider to reject the invitations of neutralism. They argued that while larger countries like India could assert their neutral stance, smaller countries required the protections from the superpowers. For example, the US helped Iraq in negotiating a cease first to end the

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ampiah, Kweku. *The Political and Moral Imperatives of the Bandung Conference of 1955: The Reactions of the US, UK and Japan*. Brill, 2007. <https://brill.com/view/title/19409>.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ ‘Information on Japan’s Participation in the Asian-African Conference’ (Wilson Centre Digital Archive International History Declassified, n.d.), <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/114719>.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ampiah, Kweku. *The Political and Moral Imperatives of the Bandung Conference of 1955: The Reactions of the US, UK and Japan*. Brill, 2007. <https://brill.com/view/title/19409>.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Arab-Israeli War.¹⁰⁴ Iraq has also indicated its belief that as a small nation, it needed to engage the world and was unable to merely remain potentially isolated and neutralist. In another instance, the USA even asked the Philippines to serve as a friendly non-neutralist spokesman during the Bandung Conference.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, such nations that greatly benefited from an alliance with the West leaned against calls for complete non-alignment.

Communists

The communist bloc was not always unified. Before the start of de-Stalinisation in 1956,¹⁰⁶ China had a friendly relationship with the USSR as the USSR spent a large number of resources to help China develop its economy although Mao had already begun to move away from the USSR.¹⁰⁷ Similar to China, North Vietnam's relationship with the USSR was ambiguous.¹⁰⁸ North Vietnam was pressurised by the USSR to give up on some of its territories reluctantly in the Geneva Agreement signed in 1954,¹⁰⁹ but it also relied on the assistance provided by the USSR and China to develop its technology, economy and military.¹¹⁰

Despite their conflict with the USSR, they were still firm believers in communism and opposed the ideology of the Western Bloc. Therefore, delegates of communist states are encouraged to explore how they can effectively spread their communist ideologies and hedge other countries to increase their global influence. Using the quote from Liu Shaoqi (The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China), the neutral countries held the important role of “opposing and hampering the war activities of the United States and resisting the American plot to organise aggressive military blocs.”¹¹¹ Furthermore, China aimed to establish stronger ties with the Afro-Asia nations and engage the Afro-Asia economy,¹¹² allowing it to increase its reach.

¹⁰⁴ ‘A Century of U.S. Relations with Iraq | Origins’. Accessed 30 October 2022. https://origins.osu.edu/article/century-us-relations-iraq?language_content_entity=en.

¹⁰⁵ Parker, Jason. ‘Cold War II: The Eisenhower Administration, the Bandung Conference, and the Reperiodization of the Postwar Era’. *Diplomatic History* 30, no. 5 (2006): 867–92.

¹⁰⁶ ‘De-Stalinization | Soviet History | Britannica’. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://www.britannica.com/event/de-Stalinization>.

¹⁰⁷ Alpha History. ‘Sino-Soviet Relations’. *Chinese Revolution* (blog), 1 October 2019. <https://alphahistory.com/chineserevolution/sino-soviet-relations/>.

¹⁰⁸ obo. ‘The Bandung Conference’. Accessed 30 October 2022. <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199796953/obo-9780199796953-0150.xml>.

¹⁰⁹ Watt, Alan. ‘The Geneva Agreements 1954 in Relation to Vietnam’. *The Australian Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1967): 7–23. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20634125>.

¹¹⁰ Li, Xiaobing. *Building Ho's Army: Chinese Military Assistance to North Vietnam*. University Press of Kentucky, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctvkjb352>.

¹¹¹ Liu Shaoqi's speech at the National Representative Conference of the CCP, March 22, 1955, in *Jianguo yilai Liu Shaoqi wengao*, vol. 7, p. 129.

¹¹² Zhai, Qiang. ‘Oad to Bandung: China's Evolving Approach to De-Colonization.’, n.d., 26.

Questions a Communique Must Answer

1. How can countries promote economic and cultural cooperation and development? How do they balance between self-reliance and solidarity and the need for technology and capital from the developed nations? Should atomic energy be used, if so, how can countries best capitalise on it?
2. How can countries promote peace and ensure their security in the hostile environment of the Cold War? What is the role of neutralism in this aim?
3. What are the human rights that can apply to the nations at the Bandung Conference?
4. What constitutes colonialism? How can the nations at Bandung combat it?

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Bandung Conference was a very nuanced conference where countries with varying agendas gathered to discuss ways to achieve the common goal of being independent. Although these countries have different interests, they were able to compromise and seek for cooperation to reach a final conclusion that can benefit most of the participants. Furthermore, it also marked the rise of Third World Countries as the Bandung Conference showed their determination to become self-sufficient instead of relying on specific superpowers for survival.

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