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On its 70th Anniversary

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Principles of Publication

At a time when U.S. ambitions for a unipolar world order have lost their appeal, a new order is taking shape thanks to the multipolarization of world politics and the acceleration of cooperation between developing countries, rejecting the globalism of imperialist states. Under these conditions, the new agenda of global cooperation should respond to the needs and aspirations of developing countries seeking joint development and solidarity under the guidance of public-driven projects. In particular, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) -put forward in 2013 by Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China- provides a suitable opportunity and a sound foundation for the implementation of this new agenda of global cooperation.

BRI is an epoch-making move to re-implement the concept of the Silk Road, which dates back 2,000 years, to a time when China was immensely contributing to global prosperity and the development of trade and cooperation. The revival of this concept entails a much more comprehensive approach that also incorporates rail and sea transport, and digital systems.

BRI proposes to bring together over 60 countries across Asia, Europe, Africa, and Latin America –together accounting for nearly half of the world's gross domestic product– for prosperity and development at the initiative of China. Unlike the Western-centered world order, BRI seeks peaceful collaboration for improving global trade and production towards common goals for humanity. It firmly rejects crude imperialist exploitation. Two thousand years ago, the Silk Road was a conduit for the flow of gunpowder, spices, silk, compasses and paper to the world. Today, it offers artificial intelligence, quantum computers, new energy and material technologies, and space-age visions to developing countries. In addition, the New Silk Road provides incentives and opportunities for the development and implementation of bio-economic schemes in stakeholder countries against the threat of climate change and other environmental threats that bring the entire ecosystem to the brink of extinction.

Türkiye has a significant role –real and potential– in accelerating South-South cooperation. Türkiye is conveniently located as Asia's farthest outpost to the West. It assumes a critical position as a pivotal country on BRI's North-South and East-West axes. However, China's development and BRI's contribution to the future of humanity have remained to a large extent underrecognized and superficially evaluated in Turkish academia, media, and politics. This is mainly because Türkiye's academics, media professionals, and policy makers have been observing China using Western sources. In the same manner, China and BRI's other potential partners have been viewing Türkiye through a Western lens.

BRIQ has committed itself to developing an in-depth understanding of the present era, with a particular emphasis on the new opportunities and obstacles on the road to the New Asian Century.

BRIQ assumes the task of providing direct exchange of views and information among Chinese and Turkish academics, intellectuals, and policy makers. In the meantime, this journal will serve as a platform to bring together the intellectual accumulation of the whole world, especially developing countries, on the basis of the Belt and Road Initiative, which presents a historic opportunity for the common future of humanity.

BRIQ is also devoted to publishing research and other intellectual contributions that underline the transformative power of public-driven economies, where popular interests are upheld as the basic principle, ahead of individual profit. The fundamental tasks of BRIQ are to demonstrate how BRI can contribute to the implementation of this public-driven model, and to help potential BRI partners –including Türkiye- to realize their real potential.

BRIQ stands for the unity of humanity and a fair world order. It will therefore be a publication for the world's distinguished intellectuals, especially those from Eurasia, Africa, and the Americas: the defenders of a new civilization rising from Asia on the basis of peace, fraternity, cooperation, prosperity, social benefit and common development.



Submission Guidelines

BRIQ features a broad range of content, from academic articles to book reviews, review essays, interviews, news reports, and feature articles.

The Editorial Board can issue calls for papers for special issues and invite authors to contribute manuscripts; however, it also welcomes unsolicited submissions.

Submissions are invited in English or Turkish. All submissions are to include a short biography (150-word limit) and should be sent as Microsoft Word attachments to briq@briqjournal.com Articles or other content that have been previously published or are under review by other journals will not be considered for publication.

BRIQ follows American Psychology Association (APA) style, 7th edition, <https://www.apastyle.org> and uses American English spelling.

BRIQ applies a double-blind review process for all academic articles.

Academic articles should be between 5000 and 9000 words in length, including abstracts, notes, references, and all other content. Please supply a cover page that includes complete author information, and a fully anonymized manuscript that also contains an abstract (200-word limit) and five keywords.

Book reviews should not exceed 1,000 words; review essays covering two or more works can be up to 3,000 words.

News reports consisting of brief analyses of news developments should not exceed 1,500 words; feature articles combining reporting and analysis can be up to 3,500 words.

Please contact the Editorial Board for interview proposals.

EDITORIAL

From Bandung to BRICS: The forthcoming challenge for the Global South

The Bandung Conference was a manifestation of the worldwide revolutionary wave that rose in the post-World War II period with the demand for “independence of states, liberation of nations, revolution of peoples.” The Asian-African countries that came together against hegemonism in Bandung founded the Non-Aligned Movement with the Belgrade Summit in 1961. This initiative allowed the nations of the emerging world, then referred to as the Third World, to acquire significance worldwide. The influence of this transformative wave, coinciding with significant victories in the fight against colonialism in Asia and Africa, was seen all over the world. Third Worldism encompassed the sovereignty of nation-states and the pursuit of a populist, public-oriented system tipped toward socialism. During the subsequent period, the nation-states of the developing world confronted the assault of imperialism during the global surge of neoliberalism, unipolarity, and globalization in the 1990s.

The contemporary terrain is significantly distinct from both eras. In the imperialist states, a decline has commenced, whereas in developing nations, the pursuit of development based on their nation-states is producing favorable outcomes. The opportunities afforded by multipolarity in the international sphere have facilitated the advancement of nation-states. As emerging countries have freed themselves from imperialist domination, they have started to benefit from their relationships with one another as equal partners.

Through the Non-Aligned Movement, developing nations collaborated and learned from each other to resist hegemonism. Currently, the nations of the Global South are mobilizing to assert their national interests in opposition to the imperialist Global North. The North epitomizes a framework of disconnection from production and human need, alienation, individualism, racism, class and sexual discrimination, subjugation of emerging nations, and a neglect for humanity and nature in pursuit of private interest. Production, innovation, public interest, a public-driven economy, cohesion, equitable collaboration among nations, a just world, and the endeavor to create a nature- and human-centered system are emerging from the South.

In its 70th year, the fundamental demands of the Bandung Conference remain pertinent. Today, the national strengths and international conditions are more conducive for developing countries to attain these goals than they were 70 years ago. The imperative for Southern nations is to establish more sophisticated and institutionalized cooperative frameworks to counteract imperialism, which is detrimental to both humanity and nature.

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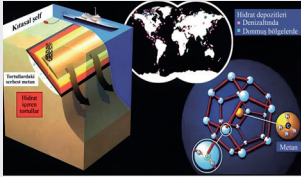
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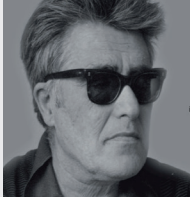
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**President Sukarno of Indonesia,
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**Diponegoro Wounded at
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POSTER 381

STAMP OF INDONESIA

**Indonesian postage stamp
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The Algerian Revolutionary Diplomacy: From the Bandung Basic Initiation to a New Concept of Non-Alignment



BELKACEM IRATNI*

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ABSTRACT

Following its independence in July 1962, Algeria commenced the application of non-alignment principles by supporting liberation movements, primarily in Africa, to eradicate Western colonialism. Algeria gradually sought to instill a new ethos in the Non-Alignment Movement, transcending mere formal pronouncements and the politics of passive neutrality. Consequently, it advocated for the integration of this movement in addressing global challenges and urged the formation of a New International Economic Order (NIEO) to enable Global South nations to assert control over their natural resources, reduce economic reliance on foreign entities, and establish a just and equitable international financial system. The article examines the progression of Algeria's non-alignment policy since the Bandung Conference by analyzing its endeavors to attain political liberation for the southern hemisphere and its persistent efforts to reform the global economic system, perceived as harmful to developing nations' economic advancement and well-being. This revolutionary ethos, derived from the principles established at Bandung and evident in Algerian diplomatic conduct, warrants the recognition it truly merits.

Keywords: Algeria, liberation movements, New International Economic Order, nonalignment, revolutionary diplomacy.

Introduction

THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE, CONDUCTED in April 1955, invigorated the Algerian struggle spearheaded by the National Liberation Front (FLN) against French colonial domination by seeking robust international diplomatic backing to attain national sovereignty. During the Soummam Congress in August 1956, the wartime FLN established its ideological and doctrinal tenets, which

repudiated any affiliation with the West, the Eastern Bloc, or other nations, in keeping with the ethos of the Bandung Conference. Following its independence in July 1962, Algeria commenced the application of non-alignment principles by supporting liberation movements, primarily in Africa, to eliminate Western colonialism. Algeria gradually sought to instill a new ethos in the Non-Alignment Movement, transcending mere formal pronouncements and the politics of passive neutrality.

In response to the allegations from the French colonial authorities that the Algerian revolution was advancing the interests of a foreign power, the wartime FLN declared in its Soummam Charter, adopted in August 1956, “The Algerian revolution is a patriotic struggle rooted unequivocally in national, political, and social foundations.” It pays allegiance neither to Cairo, London, Moscow, nor Washington” (Algerie Presse Service, 2024). Initially, the FLN affirmed the autonomous nature of its liberation struggle and its dedication to non-alignment principles, inspired by the ethos of the Bandung Conference, which it participated in as an observer. The Chinese leader Zhou Enlai specifically mentioned the Maghreb nations that were subjected to French colonial rule among the peoples enduring colonial oppression. In a heartbreaking statement to the plenary session of the Bandung Conference, he asserted, “All oppressed peoples are entitled to self-determination and must not endure repression.” Nonetheless, it is imperative to recognize that individuals advocating for independence in Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria persist in facing oppression through violence (Quotidien du Peuple, 1955).

During the Bandung conference, the FLN delegation presented a wealth of nuanced arguments and tactics to ensure the voice of the Algerian populace resonated with the influential leaders of the Afro-Asian bloc, including Jawaharlal Nehru (India), Ahmed Sukarno (Indonesia), Gamal Abdel Nasser (Egypt), Josip Broz Tito (Yugoslavia), and Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana). M’hamed Yazid, an FLN delegate at Bandung, requested that the sound system operators intermittently announce to the plenary session, urging members of the FLN delegation to convene in room X, thereby signaling the FLN’s presence at the Bandung conference and drawing the attention of the participants (Bereksi, 2020). Hocine Ait Ahmed, the leader of the FLN delegation, effec-

tively advocated for the independence of the Algerian people, despite the Algerian delegation’s status as an observer party at the conference, which precluded them from addressing the plenary session or engaging in general debates.

The Bandung Conference committed to “maintaining the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all nations, endorsing the equality of all nations and races, supporting national liberation movements against colonial powers, and advocating for non-aggression and non-interference in international relations.” This commitment resonated with the ethos and ideals of the Algerian War of Liberation, as the articulated principles aligned with the GPRA’s declarations on foreign policy and the doctrinal foundations of Algeria’s diplomacy throughout the protracted and arduous struggle for independence achieved in July 1962. This war resulted in one and a half million fatalities, hundreds of thousands of refugees enduring poor conditions in Tunisia and Morocco, two million internally displaced individuals, numerous orphans, and the devastation of utilities and essential infrastructure.

Bandung was the inaugural significant achievement of Algerian diplomacy, as numerous Afro-Asian nations endorsed the Algerian liberation struggle, particularly by facilitating the inclusion of the Algerian issue on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in 1957. The diplomatic backing from Afro-Asian nations for the Algerian cause undermined France’s assertion that the events in Algeria since November 1954 constituted not a liberation struggle but rather “merely internal events,” so exempting them from UN discourse. The FLN ultimately dispatched representatives to several nations in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Scandinavia to solicit diplomatic backing, financial assistance, and weaponry. In September 1958, it established the Provisional Government of



Algerian, Tunisian, and Moroccan delegates at the Bandung Conference
(Photograph: Algeria 360, 2017).

the Algerian Republic (GPRA) to represent the Algerian populace internationally and solicit support for its national cause. All Arab nations that were sovereign at that time swiftly extended recognition to the GPRA, while progressive Asian countries, notably China, along with Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and Guinea's Ahmed Sekou Touré, subsequently did the same (Charpentier, 1959).

The GPRA, representing a liberation movement, articulated its revolutionary position during the 1961 meetings in Tunis and Casablanca with Egypt, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, and Morocco, collectively referred to as the "Casablanca Group," which was critical of Western hegemony and embraced the principles of Africanism. The GPRA declined to participate in the "Monrovia group," composed of several African nations, including Nigeria, Senegal, and Cameroon, which rejected the establishment of an African Confederation and advocated for swift

and profound continental integration. Notwithstanding the Cold War's impact on Africa, Algerian diplomacy effectively garnered support from numerous African nations for its objectives and participated in efforts to rejuvenate Pan-Africanism, aiming to influence Africa's destiny via solidarity, shared interests, and the principles of political unification.

A former Algerian guerrilla leader, Azzedine, elucidated that the FLN had promoted resistance movements in Senegal, Niger, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, and the Portuguese colonies, spanning from Bamako to Accra and Conakry: "In Côte d'Ivoire and Nigeria, comparatively structured and advanced student unions maintained connections with the FLN. Senegal, namely the PAI (Parti Africain pour l'Indépendance), extended a harsh reception to General De Gaulle by expressing their solidarity with the Algerian revolution and Algeria's independence.

We maintained a relationship with Niger, Sawaba (a movement against local tribal chiefs and colonial troops, led by Djibo Bakary), Osman and Sekou, the leaders of the young groups, particularly with Djibo Bakari, the unequivocal leader” (El Moudjahid, 2023).

An infrequently promoted episode included the assistance provided by Fidel Castro to Algeria.

Frantz Fanon’s services, as a native of the French province of Martinique, significantly garnered sympathy for the Algerian cause from African nations, alongside the endeavors of Boualem Oussedik, the GPRA representative in Guinea-Conakry. Fanon represented the GPRA in Ghana after his tenure as a psychoanalyst at a hospital near Algiers and as a critic of colonial subjugation. He was instrumental in the backing provided by Ghana and Mali to the FLN independence fighters. This backing resulted in significant discord between the Malian president and France and conflicts with Léopold Sédar Senghor inside the Federation of Mali (Modibo-Keita site, 2024). An infrequently promoted episode included the assistance provided by Fidel Castro to Algeria. In June 1961, Cuba was the sole nation in the Western Hemisphere to acknowledge the GPRA, and in January 1962, it supplied 1500 weapons to the FLN base in Oujda during the conflict. The vessel, “Bahia de Nipe,” returned to Cuba carrying 78 injured Algerian liberation fighters and 20 children; the majority of them were orphans (Lamrani, 2018).

The GPRA attended the summit in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, in September 1961, which marked

the inception of the Non-Aligned Movement to implement the ideals established at Bandung in 1955. The Belgrade Declaration delineated the principles governing the Non-Aligned Movement:

- Non-affiliation with any military or ideological bloc led by a Great Power,
- A pledge to equality in relations among nations, irrespective of size or power,
- The entitlement of each nation to self-determination, and
- The eschewal of force as a means of resolving international conflicts (Rubinstein, 1970).

While the participants at the Belgrade Summit were resolute in avoiding East/West confrontation, disagreements regarding the interpretation of neutrality and non-alignment emerged among the prominent members of the Non-Alignment Movement during and after the summit. The disputes contrasted those who declined to align in the Cold War with those who advocated for leveraging the Non-Aligned Movement’s influence and capacities to redefine the global order and contest the balance of power characterized by two opposing blocs. The division pertained to political and ideological conflicts between nations favoring liberal market economy values aligned with the Western capitalist bloc and those advocating for a socialist developmental trajectory aligned with the Eastern bloc.

Following the nation’s independence, Algerian diplomacy not only revitalized but also elevated with great dedication the revolutionary ideals it had developed during its struggle against French domination. During the meeting convened in Tripoli in June 1962, just days prior to the declaration of independence in July 1962, the National Council of the Algerian Revolution (CNRA) resolved to establish “a modern state founded



Algerian leader Ahmed Ben Bella (left) meets with Che Guevara (center) and Fidel Castro during his visit to Cuba in 1962 (Photograph: Picryl, n.d.).

on democratic, anti-imperialist, and anti-feudal principles, achievable solely through the initiative, vigilance, and direct oversight of the populace” (Déclaration, 1962). The revolutionary spirit of the Algerian war of liberation persisted in independent Algeria, aiming to supplant the oppressive colonial regime with a popular political system committed to fostering the political emancipation and economic advancement of the Global South.

The “Mecca” of the Revolutionaries

During a fervent address at the inaugural conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held in Addis Ababa in 1963, Ahmed Ben Bella, the inaugural leader of independent Algeria, proclaimed, “African brothers consented to endure hardship for Algeria’s independence. Let us colle-

ctively consent to sacrifice ourselves, partially or entirely, to liberate those still subjected to colonial oppression and to ensure that African unity is not merely a hollow concept” (African Union, 1963). In accordance with Ben Bella’s rhetoric, Algerian diplomacy asserted a “duty toward African brothers,” characterizing brotherhood not by blood or race, but by the intensity of revolutionary fervor and a shared history of suffering under colonialism (Bechiche, 2024). The Algerian leaders established a connection between their experience as a colonized nation striving for independence and the obligation to promote global decolonization, especially in Africa. They established a connection between the post-independence construction of socialism to eradicate the adverse impacts of colonial heritage and the struggle for national sovereignty among global populations, even involving military conflict.

The Algiers Charter, enacted in 1964, proclaimed that “The Algerian War demonstrated that the alignment between liberation movements and peoples sharing a common adversary was not inherent.” To attain this harmony, it is essential to implement new concepts in international relations. The Algiers Charter encompasses the notion that the advancement of socialism in Algeria is interconnected with the struggles of other nations globally. The employment of armed conflict may be pivotal in attaining national sovereignty (Charte d’Alger, 1964).

True to their revolutionary history, exemplified by a liberation struggle against colonialism, and attributing their nation’s independence to the solidarity notably demonstrated by Africa, the Algerian leaders offered consistent and diverse support to African nations still subjected to Western colonial domination.

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Diplomatic support

Algeria provided official representation to several liberation movements in its capital, along with radio broadcasting capabilities and passports for

its leaders and representatives. The Algerian Presidency established a committee for liberation movements, chaired by Djelloul Malaika, a seasoned veteran of the wartime Algerian Liberation Army. A Commission of External Relations inside the FLN addressed liberation groups, headed by former high-ranking officer Slimane Hoffman.

Algeria welcomed the leaders of African liberation movements through the organization of popular meetings, such as those dedicated to Samora Machel (The Front for the Liberation of Mozambique—FRELIMO), Sam Nujoma (Southwest African People’s Organization, Namibia—SWAPO), Robert Mugabe (The African National Union Zimbabwe—ZANU), and Agostinho Neto (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola—MPLA). All four of these leaders became the presidents of their countries after winning independence from Portuguese and British colonial rule and the South African mandate (Namibia).

Algeria endorsed liberation movements deemed popular and dedicated to eradicating colonialism from their nations without compromise or concession. This position aligned with the revolutionary ethos of the Algerian War of Liberation and the commitment to pursuing a socialist development trajectory post-independence. Consequently, Algeria distanced itself from liberation forces perceived as conciliatory towards colonial rulers or exhibiting pro-Western tendencies, such as Angola’s UNITA, led by Jonas Savimbi, or the National Liberation Movement of Angola (FLNA), headed by Holden Roberto.

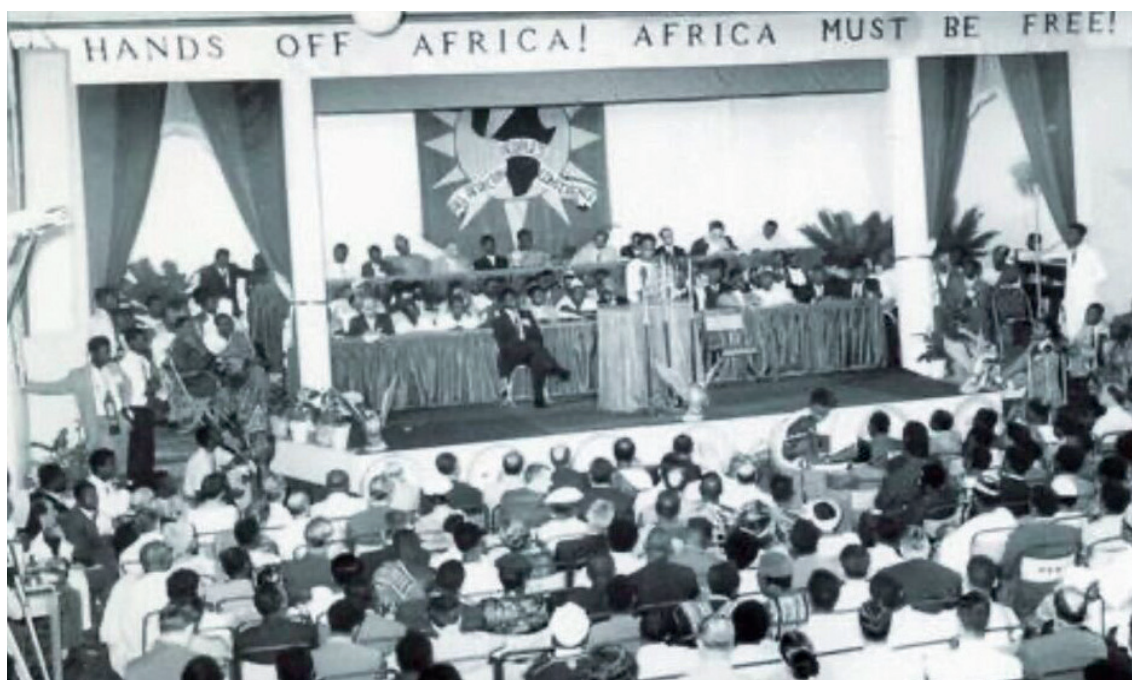
The OAU Committee for Liberation, responsible for coordinating and supporting liberation movements, resolved in its July 1968 meeting in Algeria to allow the OAU Fund to extend financial assistance solely to those liberation movements that have demonstrated efficacy in combating colonialism in

the field (Le Monde, 1968). This decision demonstrated Algeria's considerable influence on the OAU Committee of Liberation's directions.

With the question of Palestine emerging as the pivotal issue in Arab politics, particularly following the June 1967 conflict with Israel, Algeria sought to bolster the Palestinian struggle, recognizing it as a quest for liberation from colonial occupation, akin to Algeria's own historical experience. Algerian diplomacy facilitated Arafat, the PLO leader, in addressing the UN General Assembly in September 1974, presided over by Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Algerian Foreign Minister, and participating in the OAU summit session in Kampala in July 1975. In his address to the UN General Assembly, Yasir Arafat employed a poignant metaphor, stating, "I come bearing an olive branch in one hand and the freedom fighter's gun in the other." "Do not permit the

olive branch to drop from my grasp" (Time, 1974).

Algeria augmented its support for global revolutionary movements, including the Movement for the Independence of the Canary Islands (MPAIGC) under Antonio Cubillo and the Kanak National Liberation Front of Caledonia (FLNC), which advocates for the liberation of New Caledonia from French occupation. Several leaders of the US Black Panthers, including Wooldridge Weaver, Stokely Carmichael, and his spouse Myriam Makeba, a distinguished South African folk singer and ardent anti-apartheid activist, found shelter and support in Algeria. Algeria also offered asylum to militants from leftist parties who were persecuted in their nations, including the Portuguese Adolfo Suarez and followers of Chilean President Salvador Allende, who fell victim to a violent military takeover in September 1973.



All-African People's Conference held in Ghana, 1958
(Photograph: Toward Freedom, 2023).

Amílcar Cabral, the leader of the National Liberation of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, lauded Algiers as the “Mecca” of revolutionaries, stating, “Muslims journey to Mecca for pilgrimage, Catholics to the Vatican, and revolutionaries to Algiers.”

Algerian diplomacy had a pivotal role in providing diplomatic assistance to liberation forces during their quest for independence, which persisted until the 1990s.

Algeria significantly contributed to the diplomatic triumph of suspending South Africa from the General Assembly due to its segregationist apartheid system in November 1974. Furthermore, Algeria exerted significant effort to secure a UN General Assembly resolution that classified “Zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination” in November 1975. Algerian diplomacy had a pivotal role in providing diplomatic assistance to liberation forces during their quest for independence, which persisted until the 1990s. It showcased these endeavors within the specialized agencies of the UN and the Organization of African Unity, subsequently the African Union (AU), and aided in facilitating negotiations pertaining to the peace accords that culminated in the independence of Mozambique, Angola, Cape Verde, and Equatorial Guinea (MAE).

Over time, Algeria endorsed the Saharawi right to self-determination and extended various forms of support to the Polisario Front, subsequent to Spain’s withdrawal from conducting

a referendum, as mandated by the UN, and its decision to cede this territory to Morocco and Mauritania in November 1975 (Madrid Agreements). Since that time, Algeria has supported the Polisario Front in reclaiming its national rights and challenging the “fait accompli” of military occupation in Western Sahara, which includes the settlement of Moroccan colonizers and the implementation of repressive and discriminatory policies against the indigenous Saharawi population.

The Algerian leadership views the Western Sahara as a decolonization issue, aligned with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1960 (resolution 1514), and the various UN resolutions supporting the rights of the Saharawi people.

Given its history as a former colony that endured a protracted and arduous conflict against French colonialism, Algeria’s alignment with the Saharawi people was to be expected, despite potential discord with its neighbor, Morocco.

For the Algerians, the matter of decolonization is not open to any concessions or negotiations. King Hassan II suggested that President Boumedienne was expected to concede over the status of Western Sahara in exchange for Morocco relinquishing its claims to certain Algerian territories. This Moroccan irredentism pertains to the concept of a “Greater Morocco,” which would encompass Western Sahara, Mauritania, extending to the Senegal River, as well as extensive territories of Algeria. In a November 1977 address, President Boumedienne emphatically refuted these demands by asserting, “I am a militant, not a corrupt politician” (Boumedienne, 1977).



Houari Boumedienne, President of the Revolutionary Council and of the Council of Ministers of Algeria, is seen addressing the UN Assembly (Photograph: UN, 1974).

Arms and military training for African freedom fighters

One of the most notable forms of support for the African liberation movements was the clandestine transportation of arms to guerrillas engaged in combat in the jungles of South Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and Mozambique, facilitated by the Algerian Embassy in Tanzania and various covert maritime routes to Angola and Namibia. The initial shipment of Algerian armaments to African liberation organizations transpired in 1964, when Algerian officials opted to purchase a type of tub from a European shipowner due to their inability to procure appropriate freighters at that time. This vessel, operated by a crew of ex-merchant navy sailors and commanded by Rachid Benyellès, a senior officer of the Algerian natio-

nal navy, conveyed armaments along the perilous maritime path from the Suez Canal to the Gulf of Aden (Benyellès, 1997).

Samora Machel, the leader of FRELIMO, affirmed, “The initial bullet of freedom in Mozambique was Algerian,” while Sam Nujoma disclosed, “We commenced our liberation struggle with four firearms supplied by Ahmed Ben Bella.” The most notable fact included the smuggling of former Algerian high-ranking officials to recruit and train guerrilla soldiers in several African colonies. The Algerian War of Liberation against French colonialism acquainted these officers with guerrilla techniques. Mokhtar Kerkeb, a former high-ranking Algerian commander, was clandestinely transported into Angola by MPLA combatants and escorted into the wilderness following a 200 km trek to offer training and guerrilla warfare instruction (Bouraiab, 2022).

Colonel Kerkeb was clandestinely transported into Zimbabwe and traversed over 1,000 km through African jungles to arrive at the strongholds of the Angolan revolutionaries. Noureddine Djoudi, the interpreter for Mandela during his military training at the casemates of the Algerian Liberation Army near the Moroccan border in 1962, revealed this account during a memorial to this Algerian high-ranking soldier in 2023. Djoudi was Algeria's inaugural ambassador to South Africa after the conclusion of apartheid (APS, 2023).

After his release from prison in 1990, Mandela paid his first visit abroad to Algeria in recognition and gratitude for Algeria's contribution to freeing South Africa. During a popular meeting held in the Algerian capital, he attested with a deep emotion, "The Algerian army made me a man"

Numerous figures from the African liberation movements, like Samora Machel and Joaquim Chissano of the Mozambican FRELIMO, had military training in independent Algeria. As early as 1960, members of the South African National Congress (ANC) received training alongside Algeria's National Liberation Army (ALN) in the mountainous regions of Western Algeria, adjacent to the Moroccan border, subsequent to the Sharpeville massacre, which marked a pivotal shift in the anti-apartheid movement toward armed resistance (Bounab, 2020).

Among the ANC militants trained by the ALN was Nelson Mandela. When he returned to South

Africa in summer 1962, he faced arrest by the Apartheid regime security forces and was detained in jail for 27 years. One of the charges retained against him consisted of the military training he received in wartime Algeria. Nelson Mandela revealed in his famous speech from the dock during the Rivonia trial in 1964, "In Africa, such men promised me support... Ben Bella, now the president of Algeria... it was Ben Bella who invited me to visit Oujda, the headquarters of the Algerian Army of Liberation" (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2012).

After his release from prison in 1990, Mandela paid his first visit abroad to Algeria in recognition and gratitude for Algeria's contribution to freeing South Africa. During a popular meeting held in the Algerian capital, he attested with a deep emotion, "The Algerian army made me a man" (Larbi, 2014).

Algeria could not receive a more commendable acknowledgment for its role in advancing decolonization in Africa than this homage from a prominent figure who transformed his nation from a reprehensible and racist Apartheid regime to a hopeful "rainbow democracy." Following the independence achieved in July 1962, President Ahmed Ben Bella adopted a steadfast revolutionary political position and aimed for the political liberation of the Global South. He exerted substantial effort to organize the second Afro-Asian Conference in Algiers, a continuation of the Bandung Conference, but was ousted from office following a bloodless revolution orchestrated by his Minister of Defense, Houari Boumedienne, in June 1965. The new leadership characterized this action as a "revolutionary readjustment" intended to realign Algeria with its revolutionary ethos and obligations, distancing itself from the personal and authoritarian governance of Ben Bella. The deposition

of Ben Bella inadequately elucidated the inability to conduct the second Afro-Asian conference in Algiers, notwithstanding the vigorous endeavors of Algerian diplomacy to proceed with the conference as scheduled. The primary cause of this failure was the disparities among the countries, which sought to utilize the Afro-Asian Conference for appeals and propaganda that other nations may have deemed undesirable (Millar & Miller, 2008).

The Afro-Asian movement experienced stagnation at that time, and Algeria entered a phase of near diplomatic isolation. Nonetheless, the fire of the Algerian liberation war persisted. In this robust context, Algerian diplomacy exhibited relentless endeavors to position the nation at the forefront of global affairs, advocating for decolonization and spearheading a Non-Aligned Movement with a novel approach. The mission, therefore, sought to transcend mere neutrality between the Eastern and Western bloc dynamics and structures.

The Arduous Quest for a Militant Non-Aligned Movement

Following its independence, Algeria decisively adopted an active non-aligned position and began to impart a more pronounced intellectual foundation and a far more radical essence to the Non-Aligned Movement. It then sought to transition this movement from a merely neutral stance regarding the two superpowers to an active initiative capable of impacting the global balance of power and promoting the political and social aspirations of the Global South.

In November 1966, during his address to the national assembly of the United Arab Republic, President Boumedienne advocated for a unified front of socialist nations and newly independent states to counteract the diverse forms of imperialist coercion that compelled them to abandon non-alignment and hindered their solidarity efforts.



Houari Boumedienne and Gamal AbdelNasser, 1967
(Photograph: OrientXXI, 2017).

In February 1967, a delegation from the FLN embarked on a 20-day tour of Africa to advocate for a conference of revolutionary and progressive parties on the continent. In April, Boumedienne participated in a minor summit of revolutionary African states in Cairo, alongside Gamal Nasser, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, and Mauritanian leader Mokhtar Ould Daddah. Nonetheless, these endeavors proved unsuccessful, prompting the Algerian leaders to adopt a juridical approach and a more pragmatic stance, while still maintaining their support for national liberation movements. Algeria was one of the initial African nations to terminate diplomatic relations with the United Kingdom on December 18, 1965, in response to the unilateral declaration of independence by South Rhodesia. It vehemently opposed Biafra's separation from Nigeria (1970-1973) and prohibited Biafran representatives from participating in the OAU conference staged in Algiers in September 1968. In 1984, General Yakub Gowon, the then-president of Nigeria, informed the author that the country's avoidance of fragmentation was attributable to the Algerian leader Boumedienne. This stance exemplified Algeria's commitment to a fundamental tenet of its foreign policy and one of the five principles outlined in the 1961 Belgrade Summit declaration, which emphasizes the respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of nations.

Algeria endorsed Yugoslavia's proposal for holding a non-aligned summit, presented during Tito's visit to Algeria in November 1969, and actively engaged in a 16-member group tasked with preparing for this summit, scheduled to occur in the Zambian capital in September 1970. From the beginning, the Algerians made it clear that they would resist the notion of a Non-Aligned Movement as only a moral and political entity, and sought, in collaboration with other progressive nations, to steer the

movement towards militancy and revolutionary obligations.

Following extensive diplomatic endeavors, the Algerians successfully hosted the fourth summit conference of non-aligned states in September 1973, regarded by numerous political analysts as a "second Bandung," not only due to the elevated attendance but also the presence of numerous distinguished leaders at the gathering.

Algeria successfully secured the inclusion of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Vietnam (PGRV) and the Royal Government of the National Union of Kampuchea-in-exile (GRUNK) as full participants at the ministerial assembly of the Non-Aligned Movement convened in Georgetown, Jamaica, in August 1972. This victory altered the stance of moderate nations, including Yugoslavia and Southeast Asian countries, which had only permitted the PGRV's admittance as an observer at the Lusaka summit in September 1970. Algeria successfully passed a resolution advocating for systematic support for liberation forces in Africa and beyond, as well as for the governments of Chile, Peru, and Panama in their efforts to diminish US hegemony in Latin America.

To provide a definitive interpretation of the Non-Aligned Movement, Algeria and its allies endeavored, during the ministerial conference of the Group of 77 in Santiago in August 1972, to advocate for a fundamental reconfiguration of international economic relations, countering the proposals put forth by moderate



Fidel Castro, the Cuban leader, addresses the Non-Aligned Movement Summit in Algeria alongside Algerian President Boumedienne, 1973 (Photograph: Cuban Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2023).

nations aimed at garnering the approval of Northern Hemisphere countries. Following extensive diplomatic endeavors, the Algerians successfully hosted the fourth summit conference of non-aligned states in September 1973, regarded by numerous political analysts as a “second Bandung,” not only due to the elevated attendance but also the presence of numerous distinguished leaders at the gathering (Perspective, 1973).

The meeting experienced a significant change in focus and concern on the agenda of the non-aligned movement. The accepted resolutions acknowledged the legitimacy of the Palestinian people’s fight, advocated for the self-determination of Western Sahara, emphasized the necessity for enhanced support for liberation movements, and repudiated the dominance of superpowers. The Algiers 1973 Summit’s most notable accomplishment was the approval of a comprehensive agenda concerning the New International Economic Order (NIEO). President Boumedienne cautioned the

attendees of the 1973 Algiers Summit that the policy of détente could exacerbate tensions between privileged nations and the remainder of humanity, urging Third World leaders to initiate a radical transformation of the international landscape by harnessing available resources for the benefit of their countries. In January 1974, Algerian President Boumedienne officially requested the convening of a special session of the General Assembly in reaction to the Washington Energy Conference and the French proposal for a World Energy Conference under the UN, both perceived as representing the perspectives of the Western developed world.

Algeria, with the backing of non-aligned nations, successfully persuaded the UN General Assembly to approve this proposal during a special session on raw materials in November 1974, presided over by President Boumedienne, who received prolonged applause and was celebrated as the leader of the non-aligned movement.

During this event, President Boumedienne articulated the requests outlined in a draft text developed by the Non-Aligned Movement and the Group of 77 in New York, facilitated by Algerian delegates, who included distinguished diplomats, senior economists, and financial specialists. The UN session ratified the Algerian-inspired Declaration of Principles, referred to as the “Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order,” along with a Program of Action.

The aim was to counter US maneuvers to weaken the third world coalition by using OPEC member countries against non-oil developing countries.

To foster Third World solidarity, the Algerians focused on facilitating a political consensus among Arab and African nations while garnering the support of Asian and Latin American countries that had been peripheral to the non-aligned movement. The Arab-African dialogue originated from the intent of Arab nations, particularly Algeria, Egypt, and Libya, to diplomatically isolate Israel in Africa by demonstrating that the “struggle of Africans against colonialism and racial discrimination was analogous to the struggle of Arabs against Zionism and imperialist domination.” Using this reasoning, which portrayed Israel and South Africa as adhering to a similar ideology, 28 African nations voted at the UN General Assembly in November 1975 in favor of an Arab-sponsored resolution asserting the equation, “colonialism=racism=Zionism.”

To solidify this Arab-African alliance, the Algerians successfully persuaded other Arab nations at the Arab summit they hosted in November 1973 to ter-

minate relations with Portugal, Rhodesia, and South Africa; enforce an oil embargo against these nations; and extend oil and financial assistance to African countries. The African alliance benefited the Arab cause, as the majority of African nations severed diplomatic ties with Israel.

To amplify the influence of the non-aligned movement and fortify its stance in the forthcoming negotiations with the Northern Hemisphere regarding the NIEO, Boumedienne traveled to Cuba and Southeast Asia in March 1974 and hosted Luis Echeverría, the Mexican president and a fervent proponent of North-South dialogue, in July 1975. Algeria effectively advocated for the endorsement of a resolution expressing the solidarity of third world nations with their OPEC counterparts during the joint assembly of non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 convened in Dakar in August 1975, shortly preceding the second session of the preparatory meeting for the Paris conference on international cooperation. The aim was to counter US maneuvers to weaken the third world coalition by using OPEC member countries against non-oil developing countries. The militant strategy that Algeria ardently adopted did not yield substantial benefits for the Third World coalition. The North’s hesitance and the discord among developing nations led to the failure of the majority of economic proposals proposed by the Algerian-inspired Group of 77. If, from the perspective of Algerians, the former’s hesitation was anticipated, then the fragmentation of the Third World represented a significant regression. Algeria’s pursuit of elevated oil prices inside OPEC conflicted with Saudi Arabia’s commitment to a moderate pricing strategy, aimed at preserving its advantageous relationship with the United States. Furthermore, the solidarity among developing nations did not meet Algeria’s expectations, as the non-oil developing countries, significantly affected by the global economic crisis and rising oil prices, began to exhibit antagonism

towards OPEC, which had previously refused them preferential oil pricing.

Similarly, Arab-African solidarity stagnated as African nations grew increasingly critical of the Arab position. Numerous African nations perceived no necessity to sustain a cold war with Israel following Egypt's signing of a peace deal in 1977. At the OAU conference in Monrovia in 1979, some African nations declined to denounce the Camp David agreements, while others, including Central Africa, Gabon, Ivory Coast, and Zaire, reacted to Israel's diplomatic initiatives in Africa aimed at countering perceived subversive Libyan activities.

In addition to these differences, the coherence of the Non-Aligned Movement was significantly weakened and degraded due to rivalries between moderate and radical states. While these divisions were evident during the non-aligned conference in Colombo in 1976, they were pronounced at the 1979 Havana meeting, ultimately leading to the cancellation of the summit conference scheduled for Baghdad in 1982. The unity

of the Non-Aligned Movement became pivotal due to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, Soviet-Cuban activities in Africa, Israel's intervention in Lebanon, U.S. aggressive policies in Central America (Nicaragua), the ongoing Western colonialism (the conflict between Argentina and the United Kingdom), and disagreements regarding the status of Western Sahara.

The ideological divisions among non-aligned governments, exacerbated by East-West tensions, diminished the content and efficacy of their commitment to non-alignment. The Algerian authorities considered the attempts to mitigate conflicts essential for transforming the non-aligned movement into a potent force between the Eastern and Western blocs. Algeria initially advocated for the revival of non-alignment principles and the repudiation of foreign involvement in the affairs of emerging nations. This country progressed towards political moderation, underscoring its commitment to the fundamental principles of a non-aligned state.



Delegations and participants of the First Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries (Photograph: UNESCO, n.d).

During his April 1981 tour of 11 African nations, President Chadli Bendjedid articulated a renewed image of moderation, reaffirming Algeria's commitment to the OAU, its adherence to the principles of non-interference in the affairs of other nations, and the necessity for Africa to resist military alliances with foreign powers while extricating itself from East-West rivalries. He shown a genuine alignment with the Non-Aligned Movement. In April 1982, President Chadli conducted formal visits to Yugoslavia and India, advocating for a revitalization of this movement.

Following Abdelaziz Bouteflika's ascension to power in 1999, Algerian diplomacy engaged vigorously in international matters, primarily concentrating on nuclear disarmament, global economic concerns, the Agenda for Sustainable Development in Africa, and the pursuit of self-determination in Western Sahara, regarded as Africa's final colony.

The Falkland Islands crisis, the stringent policies of the Reagan administration in Central America, and the economic challenges facing Latin America provided President Chadli with a favorable opportunity to persuade Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela to join the non-aligned movement during his visit in May 1985, following Colombia's accession in August 1982. In April 1985, President Chadli visited the United States as a representative of a non-align-

ned state to emphasize the significant role the Non-Aligned Movement should assume in global affairs and to ensure its voice is acknowledged by the superpowers.

Algeria, however, moderated its aspirations for overhauling the international economic system established by the US-influenced Bretton Woods agreements. The causes arise from the staunch resistance of the industrialized nations and the hesitance of certain non-aligned countries to adopt a confrontational stance against the Western powers, with which they shared military alliances and robust economic collaboration, especially during the Cold War and its complexities.

Consequently, North-South debates ceased in forums dominated by Third World countries; they were relocated to informal assemblies lacking decision-making authority or tangible outcomes, such as the 1979 meeting in Cancun, Mexico, attended by Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid as a prominent leader of the Third World. A commission of esteemed experts, chaired by former German Chancellor Willy Brandt and including notable Algerian diplomat Layachi Yaker, finalized a report on the NIEO under the auspices of the UN, yielding no significant advancements (IFRI, 1980).

Beginning in the mid-1980s, Algeria experienced a profound economic crisis accompanied by political instability. The nation experienced a significant decline in oil and gas prices, its primary sources of foreign revenue, violent incidents in October 1988, and the armed uprising initiated by the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) following the annulment of the second round of the general elections in January 1992, which the FIS was likely to win. The decade-long political and social upheaval led



to diplomatic isolation as Algeria confronted terrorism independently, amid the indifference of the international community, which perceived terrorist activities as lacking a transnational character at that time.

Following Abdelaziz Bouteflika's ascension to power in 1999, Algerian diplomacy engaged vigorously in international matters, primarily concentrating on nuclear disarmament, global economic concerns, the Agenda for Sustainable Development in Africa, and the pursuit of self-determination in Western Sahara, regarded as Africa's final colony (Iratni, 2015). Nonetheless, Bouteflika's illness, persisting from 2005 till his demise in 2019, has subdued Algeria's engagement on the global stage. Similar to how the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) remained intact despite the dissolution of the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact, non-alignment did not diminish only due to the conclusion of

the Cold War and the vanishing of the Eastern and Western blocs. A multitude of political observers contend that the movement has forfeited its objective. The conclusion of the Cold War diminished the ideological division between East and West, moderating their rivalry and weakening the efficacy of coalitions. The summits held from the 1990s to the early 2020s did not yield a beneficial effect on the activities of the non-aligned movement. Algeria, like many participants of this movement, has endeavored to rejuvenate it, remaining true to the Bandung ethos of political liberation for the Global South.

Since assuming office in 2020, President Abdelmadjid Tebboune has identified the revitalization of the Non-Alignment Movement as a principal priority amid a new internal political framework and significant, swift alterations in the geostrategic landscape, both regionally and internationally.

Adapting the Non-Aligned Movement to an Evolving Global Landscape

Algeria, with other allies, endeavored to reinvigorate the Non-Aligned Movement, which has become politically fragmented due to the absence of shared objectives and economically divergent with the ascendance of China and India as significant economic powers. The ambiguity surrounding the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement intensified following the fragmentation of Yugoslavia, a principal non-aligned leader; the civil conflicts in Libya and Syria; the decline of Iraq; the rise of the Asian Tigers; the strengthening of the BRICS; and the ongoing strife in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region. Furthermore, the rise of terrorism evolved into a transnational menace, intensifying insecurity in numerous regions worldwide, particularly following the tragic events of 9/11 and the ascendance of the Islamic State, which attained global notoriety in 2014 after seizing extensive territories in Iraq.

The voting behaviors indicated the disassociation of numerous Southern nations from Western positions, notwithstanding their significant economic, financial, and military reliance on the United States and the European Union.

The ongoing war in Ukraine since 2022 may have established a new global geostrategic framework, reminiscent of the Cold War dynamics characterized by intense rivalry between East and West and a competition among world powers for the economic and geostrategic resources of the Global South,

particularly Africa. The rationale of the Cold War has exacerbated disparities among nations and resulted in the destitution of numerous developing countries due to the inequitable exchanges that have defined international trade and commodity prices. A former Algerian official stated, “Predicting the definitive conclusion of non-alignment’s validity may be audacious.” The struggle of the Non-Aligned Movement may assume different manifestations as long as disparities persist in international relations” (Abba, 2023).

The war in Ukraine extends beyond its borders, representing a broader confrontation between the Western coalition, including the United States, Europe, and NATO, and Russia, China, along with certain allies from the Global South. The ramifications of the Ukraine conflict have instigated a significant increase in energy prices (oil and gas) and commodities, particularly wheat and fertilizers, which are critically required by the least developed nations, where substantial portions of the population are already enduring severe poverty.

A paradigm reflecting the global division among nations based on ideological affiliations, prompted by the war in Ukraine, was evidenced by the UNGA vote regarding Russia’s intervention in Ukraine. China, India, and 57 other countries from Africa and Latin America have abstained. These nations represent the majority of the global population and a significant proportion of political entities that follow a developmental trajectory centered on state authority, the prominence of the public sector in the national economy, and a propensity for authoritarian governance, thereby resisting free markets and liberal economies. The voting behaviors indicated the disassociation of numerous Southern nations from Western positions, notwithstanding their significant economic, financial, and military reliance on the United States and the European Union.

The Ukraine war has presented dilemmas and challenges for numerous Southern countries concerning alignment with one bloc over another; however, it has also provided them with significant opportunities to strengthen their standing in the global balance of power and to revitalize the Non-Alignment Movement. Algeria is ensnared in the predicament of maintaining balanced relations with significant global powers. Algeria maintains strategic ties with Russia, its most important source of armaments, and strong economic ties with the EU, to which it is a major gas supplier. It possesses shared security interests with the US as a pivotal state in combating terrorism in the Sahel-Sahara region and serves as a dependable ally of China within the context of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

Algeria faced escalating tensions with Morocco, which is bolstered by the backing of Israel, and challenges in effectively mediating the conflicts in Libya, Mali, and Niger due to external meddling. Nonetheless, these alliances may be temporary and susceptible to alteration due to the fundamentally divergent interests of these nations and the significance of Algeria as a regional power and a stabilizing force, not only in the Maghreb but also in the Sahel-Sahara, despite external interference in both regions. Algeria adeptly navigates its economic and geostrategic resources in response to global uncertainties and the evolving regional and international power dynamics by reaffirming its dedication to non-alignment principles.

President Abdelmadjid Tebboune stated, “I neither endorse nor criticize Russia’s actions in Ukraine. Algeria is a non-aligned nation, and I am dedicated to upholding this principle. Our nation is destined for freedom”. To convey the equitable policy Algeria sought to uphold among significant global powers, he remarked that “Russia and the United States are our allies; all others are our allies, except for the one

with whom we have a conflict regarding Palestine. Whoever wishes to adjudicate us may proceed. We are endeavoring to revitalize the Non-Aligned Movement. We observe the trajectory of global developments. Irrespective of the quantity of poles, we maintain equidistance from each one. Our commercial interests are inclusive; nevertheless, regarding political interests and stability, we prioritize our own—specifically, the interests of the Algerian populace” (Chikhaoui, 2022).

In response to a shifting geopolitical situation, Algeria seems inclined to pursue an unrestricted and non-aligned policy (Petropoulos, 2022). To indicate this alternative, Algerian diplomacy extended an invitation to the Azeri president of the Non-Alignment Movement to participate in the significant Arab summit convened in Algiers in November 2022, which aimed to unify Arab positions and reconcile Palestinian factions. President Tebboune visited Moscow in June 2023 and the subsequent month to enhance business connections with these two longstanding and amicable friends. He engaged in a succinct, amicable encounter with US President Joe Biden during the G7 Summit, conducted in Bari, Italy, in June 2024. The summit, to which he was invited, provided the Algerian President the opportunity to enhance Algeria’s global influence (Saada, 2024).

The Algerian Prime Minister participated in the 19th Non-Aligned Summit in Kampala, Uganda, in January 2024, delivering a speech on behalf of President Tebboune. In this address, President Tebboune urged for “the reinforcement of our unity and our strategic stance as an engaged participant in the establishment of a world order characterized by inclusivity and transparency, delineating responsibilities and obligations, and mandating respect for its laws and regulations by all” (Embassy of Algeria in Beijing, 2024).

One of the objectives that Algerian diplomacy urged the non-aligned movement to pursue was “reforming the UN, rehabilitating multilateralism, and augmenting diplomatic pressure to terminate the detrimental actions of Zionism in Gaza,” as stated by Ahmed Attaf, the Algerian foreign minister (Embassy of Algeria in Beijing, 2024). The Algerian diplomatic chief commended “the steadfast and principled stance of the Non-Aligned Movement supporting the inalienable and imprescriptible right of the Sahrawi people to self-determination, in alignment with the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) and General Assembly” (Embassy of Algeria in Beijing, 2024). The concerns articulated are crucial not only for the preservation of the Non-Alignment Movement but also for transforming this movement into a significant influence in influencing the future of the globe. The goal is to establish a global system founded on justice and equality by expanding the UNSC, abolishing the extensive use of nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction, and promoting economic competitiveness among nations through equitable regulations.

Conclusion

Jorge Heine, a former US diplomat and currently a Public Policy Fellow at the Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC, forecasted, “a shifting paradigm in which active non-alignment emerges as a crucial factor in influencing foreign policy decisions, as the Global South’s prominence increases, illustrated by the recent expansion of BRICS” (Pardee School, 2024).

This viewpoint appears to be assertive and is predicated on the presumed cohesion and empowerment of the southern hemisphere. It also assumes the deterioration of the world’s principal powers. The transition to multilateralism is protracted and challenging, with the elements of global instability

and insecurity persisting robustly.

Amidst these uncertainties, the Non-Aligned Movement can serve as a stabilizing influence, facilitating the reconciliation between East and West as well as between North and South. Furthermore, it has the potential to serve as a pivotal catalyst for international collaboration, facilitating the reform of the United Nations, promoting broader multilateralism, and preventing the dominance of a single global power. 

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Prof. Dr. Semih Koray

**“70th anniversary of Bandung:
from ‘non-alignment’ to shared development
and cooperation of national states against
hegemonism”**



**Prof. Dr. Semih Koray received his Ph.D. in Mathematics from Boğaziçi University in 1980. He has several articles published in journals such as Social Choice and Welfare, Review of Economic Design, Journal of Economic Theory, Econometrica, and Semigroup Forum. Koray acted as the coordinating editor-in-chief and an associate editor of Review of Economic Design, as the president and secretary general of the Association of Southern European Economic Theorists, as the chair of the Turkish Mathematical Olympiad Committee, as a member of the International Mathematical Olympiad Advisory Board, and as the president of the Foundation for Economic Design. Koray's research interests focus on economic and social design, game theory, and social choice theory. Koray is currently the Deputy President of the Vatan Party in Turkey. Koray has published various articles on political and social issues in the Aydınlık newspaper and the journals Teori and Bilim ve Ütopya.*

Whereas the Bandung Conference was a source of hope for humanity's search for a new civilization, and the Non-Aligned Movement was one of the initial stages of the road map to this civilization, today we are witnessing the rise of a new civilization from Asia that constitutes an alternative to the imperialist system in every sphere of life. The US offensive to destroy the national states of the developing world has led to a rediscovery of the importance of the "national state" as a key element of the Bandung spirit all over the world. The US offensive triggered the resistance of national states and national armies. "Non-alignment," which was a precondition for independence in the Oppressed and Developing World at the time of the Bandung Conference, is no longer a decisive concept today. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS, the Belt and Road Initiative, and related organizations and activities stand out as international formations in the developing world. The common characteristic of these formations is that the main factor that unites and mobilizes the participating countries in the same direction is the common interests and goals of the countries.

Prof. Dr. Semih Koray answered the questions of Fikret Akfırat, Editor-in-Chief of BRIQ.

What was the role of the Bandung Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement for the developing world in the post-World War II world geopolitical alignment?

Prof. Dr. Semih Koray: The Bandung Conference, which marked the founding of the Non-Aligned Movement, was a conference to promote cooperation and solidarity among Asian and African countries. It was a meeting for the newly independent Asian and African states to find common

ground to share their opportunities and experiences. "Non-Alignment" reflects the strategy of developing by maintaining 'independence' without relying on the 'great powers' struggling for hegemony in the world. Taking the national state as the main force in the struggle against hegemony is one of the most important components of the "Bandung Spirit," which has become stronger and stronger until today. Bandung was the emergence of Asia and Africa as the "Third World" on the international political stage.

The Non-Aligned Movement has an approach that aims to combine the principles of nationalism and populism. Relying on one's own strength for independence and strengthening the national state naturally brings with it the need to rely on the people. This approach was particularly important in an environment in which the US sought to create "Americanist 'nationalist' movements against communism" in its spheres of influence. During this period, the US tried to confront nationalism and populism in the Third World on the basis of anti-communism. The Non-Aligned Movement's rejection of anti-communism is a reflection of its joint defense of nationalism and populism. The Bandung Conference adopted the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" as an alternative to the imposition of bloc membership. These principles not only protect the independence of national states against hegemony but also enable relations between different countries to be based on equality and mutual benefit. This approach adopted by the Non-Aligned Movement is still valid today as the basic principles of a new and equitable international order.

The 'Bandung spirit' significantly contributed to the growing revolutionary movement around the world, driven by the desire for 'independence of states, liberation of nations, revolution of peoples' in the post-Second World War period.

Despite the countries participating in the Bandung Conference having a small share of the world

economy at that time, this conference had a significant impact on the international political arena. The 'Bandung spirit' significantly contributed to the growing revolutionary movement around the world, driven by the desire for 'independence of states, liberation of nations, revolution of peoples' in the post-Second World War period. Indeed, Bandung was both a product of this rising revolution and a contributor to it. By the 1980s, all the former colonies had established their own states.

The political impact of the Non-Aligned Movement was not limited to the Third World but also had significant repercussions among intellectuals in the West. I believe that it would not be wrong to interpret this as humanity longing for a new civilization, seeing the Non-Aligned Movement as a beacon that responded to this search.

The Path of National States against Imperialism

On the 70th anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement, what is the economic and political landscape in today's world in terms of its aims and objectives? What are the similarities and differences between the period when the Bandung Conference was convened and the Non-Aligned Movement was established and today?

Prof. Dr. Semih Koray: While the Bandung Conference was a source of hope for humanity's search for a new civilization, and the Non-Aligned Movement was one of the initial stages of the road map leading to this civilization, today we are witnessing the rise of a new civilization from Asia that constitutes an alternative to the imperialist system in every aspect of life.

Just as “you cannot bathe in the same river twice,” a river continues to be “called by the same name” as long as its bed remains largely unchanged despite the changes it undergoes. Therefore, it is necessary to consider historical processes with both their “variables” and their “constants.”

Since the early 20th century, humanity has been passing through the “Age of Imperialism, National Democratic Revolutions, and the Opening to Socialism.” The obstacle blocking the development of humanity is the imperialist system. This obstacle will be overcome by national democratic revolutions. The imperialist system is uniform. Different nations are at different stages of their development, and the historical and cultural factors that guide their nationalization processes differ. There-

fore, the revolutionary process of each country is unique. Despite their differences, national revolutions have another important common point beyond being “national.” A national democratic revolution that does not include an opening to socialism cannot be sustained and will end in regression.

In the last century, both world wars weakened the imperialist system, and revolutions took place in the weakened links of the imperialist chain. While the First World War led to the Russian and Turkish Revolutions, the Chinese Revolution triumphed after the Second World War, and the rising wave of revolution in the world reached its peak with the defeat of the USA in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia.



On September 1-6, 1961, the first NAM Summit was held in Belgrade, the capital of Yugoslavia, led by the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement. (from left to right) Shri Jawaharlal Nehru of India, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Sukarno of Indonesia, Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia (Photograph: NAMyouth, n.d.).

The maximum goal of the imperialist system is to establish absolute domination over the world. The US, believing that it could achieve this goal with the collapse of the Soviet Union, embarked on a campaign to destroy the national states and dismantle the nations of the Oppressed and Developing World. In this campaign, the USA has a right and a wrong from its point of view. The “right” is the determination that the obstacle to the absolutization of its domination is national states and that the way to dismantle a nation is to weaken and destroy its national state. Its “mistake” is that the US assumed that with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the main obstacle to its absolute world domination had disappeared.

The seemingly miraculous development of the People’s Republic of China, accompanied by great strides in science and technology in a short period of time, is also due to two fundamental factors: the redefinition of the nation as the main force of the revolution and the insistence on socialism.

When the shadow of the rivalry between the two superpowers was lifted over the world and the United States came into direct confrontation with the nation-states, the global alignment was radically transformed. The conservative classes and sections of societies have also come to see with the naked eye that the life they want to preserve is no longer threatened by communism but by the United States. The US offensive to destroy the national states

of the developing world has led to a rediscovery of the importance of the “national state” as a central element of the Bandung spirit all over the world. The US offensive triggered the resistance of national states and national armies.

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The world’s economic and political landscape today is vastly different from both the 1950s and the 1990s. The center of gravity of global production has shifted from the West to the East, particularly China. India’s share of world production is expected to rise to second place in the near future. It is projected that, when considered separately, European countries will fall out of the top 10, while Turkey will enter it.

However, the shift in the center of production to the East is not the only issue. If this shift in production did not seriously affect US hegemony over the world, there would be no reason for the imperialist system to worry about it. They might even think they had found a way to ‘consume without producing’ and ‘earn without working.’ However, as a result of this process, the world has become multipolar, with political centers of gravity shifting and US hegemony beginning to crumble. Moreover, a new civilization is emerging from Asia that offers an alternative to the imperialist system in all areas of life, including production, politics, science, technology, art, culture, and ideology.

The Bandung Conference was held at a time when the newly independent states of the Third World were fighting for their survival and development. Today, however, it is the imperialist system itself that is under threat.

The Dynamics of Multipolarity: How Today Differs from Yesterday

What does the Non-Aligned Movement represent for developing countries today? Is there a need for a new Non-Aligned Movement? In terms of the interests of developing countries and the future of humanity, what path should be taken against hegemonism, and what model should be built? Which developing nations should follow which path?

Prof. Dr. Semih Koray: The Non-Aligned Movement represents the experience of a new world order, free from hegemony and imposition at the international level, which enables each country to benefit from international cooperation on the basis of equality and mutual interest, in line with its own development and security strategies. The main social power of such an order is the nations, and the main actors are the organized form of these nations, the national states. Since newly independent states play an important role in the Non-Aligned Movement, there is also a quest to benefit from each other's experiences in transforming the national state into an organized form of the nation. This is a quest that remains important even today.

Today, we do not possess either a bipolar world, reminiscent of the period characterized by the hegemonic rivalry between the two "superpowers," or a unipolar world, which was momentarily relevant following the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The globe has become multipolar, and this trend continues to evolve and intensify across various domains of existence. The ramifications of this multipolarity are evident within the United States and therefore in the Atlantic System. Currently, the United States is undergo-

ing its most profound division since its inception following the American Civil War, a division that is mirrored throughout the Atlantic System.

Thus, "non-alignment," which was a precondition for independence in the oppressed and developing world at the time of the Bandung Conference, is no longer a defining concept today. Although the Non-Aligned Movement still formally exists, the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, the BRICS, the Belt and Road Initiative, and related organizations and activities are now prominent international formations in the developing world. The common characteristic of these organizations is that the main factor that unites and mobilizes the participating countries in the same direction is their common interests and goals. In this respect, they differ significantly from military, political, economic, and financial international organizations such as NATO, the Warsaw Pact before the collapse of the Soviet Union, or the IMF and the World Bank. The common characteristic of the international institutions of the imperialist system is that they are institutions that impose the program of this system on the participating countries and are equipped with sanction mechanisms to ensure the successful outcome of this imposition. The effective maintenance of these institutions also requires the existence of a "world gendarme."

The fact that nation-states are the main actors in the developing world is not a factor that trivializes international cooperation, but on the contrary, it makes it all the more important to create and develop appropriate orientations, instruments, and institutions to strengthen coordination in pursuit of common interests and objectives. In this respect, I will highlight three areas to emphasize the importance of the issue and illustrate the challenges to be overcome.

Today, if a new world war breaks out, it will no longer be a new war of division between imperialists but a war of the Atlantic System, with the US at its head, to strangle the new civilization rising from Asia. No matter how much a social system stumbles, it will continue to exist unless an alternative is created. But as we have already mentioned, the new sharingist civilization rising from Asia is perceived by the imperialist system as a “serious threat to its existence” because it has created an alternative.

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No power would engage in a war that it is clear from the outset that it cannot win. The loss of power of the US and the Atlantic System in parallel with the multipolarization of the world prevents the US from waging such a war in the short term. The line it is pursuing aims to elevate itself

to a position where it can win an open war again by cutting off the developing world, tampering with international fault lines, and trying to divide the anti-hegemonic forces. Terrorist organizations are among the tools that the US systematically uses for this purpose. The divisions within the US stem not from a split over this imperialist objective but from the failure of attempts to date to achieve it.

Every new position that America gains brings it closer to its goal. Every position it loses moves it further away from its war objective. It is of the utmost importance that the developing world accept this strategic approach as the decisive and guiding principle. Different priorities at the tactical level must not be allowed to undermine this strategic approach. In this respect, the more developed and powerful countries have a greater responsibility.

Today, an America that cannot turn Europe and the Second World into a reserve force cannot wage a war that will cut off the new civilization rising from Asia. An approach that takes this into account is important in the relations of the developing world with different parts of the imperialist system.

Although weakened by multipolarity, the global dominance of the US in the financial sphere remains. This dominance depends on the use of the dollar as an international medium of exchange and therefore as a reserve currency. The continuing decline of the US share of world production is eroding the economic power on which the “reign of the dollar” is based and reducing “naked force” to the sole basis of this reign. Today, artificial intelligence technologies offer significant opportunities for creating alternative means of international exchange, and work in this field



Today, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), BRICS, the Belt and Road Initiative, and related organizations and activities stand out as international formations in the developing world. The 22nd meeting of the Council of Heads of State of the SCO on September 16, 2022, in Samarkand, Uzbekistan (Photograph: Xinhua, 2022).

continues intensively. But even more important for success is the building of a broad consensus on this issue in the developing world.

Throughout the 1970s, neoliberalism worked to eviscerate all the concepts that had gained prestige during the period of the rise of the revolution and to falsify them in fancy packaging to serve the counter-revolution. An ideological offensive based on this falsification of concepts was launched in the 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Although the impact of this offensive has diminished with the transition to multipolarity, the field of ideology is still an important area where the imperialist system is still strong. The developing countries are still mainly on the defensive against this ideological offensive.

A new civilization means new concepts. The new civilization rising from Asia is undoubtedly creating its own concepts. But much more intensive work and international cooperation are needed in the creation and consolidation of new concepts to counteract the impact of neoliberalism's concept falsification on the masses. It is necessary to develop much more intensive relations and activities between universities, scientific and artistic organizations and people, writers, poets, and cultural figures of developing countries. Such cooperation will also contribute to the design and construction of political, military, economic, financial, scientific, artistic, and cultural international governance institutions, which are new to humanity and therefore require innovation.

The Strategy Turkey Needs

What role should Turkey play in cooperation with developing countries?

Prof. Dr. Semih Koray: Turkey is a country that has just won a victorious war of independence, which was one of the important inspirations of the Bandung Conference. Despite the diversity among developing countries, there is a common program that unites them, and the Six

Arrows of the Kemalist Revolution succinctly reflect this program. Today, humanity is faced with the task of building a new civilization, not a simple change of system. Turkey is the country that recorded this longing of humanity at the beginning of the 20th century with Mehmet Akif Ersoy in the Turkish National Anthem, describing the imperialist system as “the one-toothed monster you call civilization.” Therefore, it is Turkey’s duty to play a pioneering, exemplary, and reassuring role in



Collaboration with regional nations, Eurasia, and the developing world is not only advantageous for Turkey but also essential for its interests (Photograph: Global Times, 2022).

the cooperation of the developing world.

It is a significant disaster and a blemish that Turkey served as “America’s representative” at the Bandung Conference in 1955. The economic and power alliances of developing nations are “voluntary unions.” The paramount cohesive element of voluntary associations is “mutual trust.” Attitudes that erode confidence, particularly in a strategic alliance, render collaboration unfeasible.

Collaboration with regional nations, Eurasia, and the developing world is not only advantageous for Turkey but also essential for its interests. Currently, the epicenter of the confrontation between the USA and emerging nations is the Eastern Mediterranean. The United States, having established Greece as a military base, has its artillery directed toward Turkey in conjunction with Israel, the Greek Cypriot administration of Southern Cyprus, and Greece. The “Immediate Response 2025” drill, conducted collaboratively by the USA and NATO, is evidently directed towards Turkey.

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vantageous for Turkey but also essential for its interests. Currently, the epicenter of the confrontation between the USA and emerging nations is the Eastern Mediterranean. The United States, having established Greece as a military base, has its artillery directed toward Turkey in conjunction with Israel, the Greek Cypriot administration of Southern Cyprus, and Greece. The “Immediate Response 2025” drill, conducted collaboratively by the USA and NATO, is evidently directed towards Turkey.

Therefore, it is of great importance for Turkey to prioritize a strategic approach in its international relations. The multipolarization of the world also serves the function of relatively increasing the tactical freedom of action of individual countries. This increased room for tactical maneuver can only yield positive results if it is utilized in the service of the right strategy. The strategic price of the strategic cost of a build-up error, which would lead to tactical policies in line with the imperialist system by chasing short-term so-called gains, would be great.

It is thanks to the strategic approach adopted by the conference and the Non-Aligned Movement that the Bandung Conference has left a valuable legacy to humanity despite all the changes in the world in the past 70 years. It would be in Turkey’s interest above all to learn the necessary lessons from both the grave mistake it made during the Bandung Conference and the experience of Bandung that sheds light on today. 🌸

Revisiting the Bandung Legacy in Indonesian Foreign Policy: A Historical Review and Its Contemporary



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ABSTRACT

During the Cold War, the intense confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as their competition for influence in the Third World, compelled newly independent countries like Indonesia to seek closer cooperation. The structure of the international system, the nature of the newly independent states, and Sukarno's own anti-imperialist and anti-colonial stance contributed to Indonesia's support for the Asian-African Conference. In the process of preparing for and hosting the Asian-African Conference, Indonesia effectively capitalized on its advantageous position as the host country and adeptly overcame various challenges to ensure the seamless progression of the conference. The Bandung spirit of "solidarity, friendship, and cooperation" established during the Asian-African Conference has served as a guiding principle for Indonesia's diplomatic endeavors. During the Sukarno and Suharto eras, Indonesia continued to advance its anti-colonial cause; however, it increasingly became entangled in great power competition and resorted to military force in addressing the issues of Malaysia's independence and East Timor's self-determination, thereby deviating from the principles upheld at the Bandung Conference. In the post-Suharto era, the Bandung spirit has returned as a guiding principle of Indonesian foreign policy.

Keywords: Anti-Colonial Movement, Bandung Conference, Bandung Spirit, Indonesia, Southeast Asia.

Introduction

THE FIRST ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE TOOK place on April 18, 1955, in Bandung, Indonesia. It brought together representatives from 29 Asian and African countries to discuss issues of common interest. The event was significant, as it was the first international event hosted by Indonesia after gaining independence (Portal Informasi Indonesia, 2019) and also the world's inaugural intercontinental con-

ference (Kemlu, 2019). Additionally, it provided a groundbreaking platform for Asian and African nations to have comprehensive discussions on regional affairs without any participation from official representatives of colonial powers. The conference not only strengthened the ties among emerging independent nations and pushed forward the process of global decolonization but also laid a foundation of equality and inclusiveness for multilateral cooperation among developing countries (Portal Kemlu, 2020; 2022).

Thus, the countries of Asia and Africa began to emerge as an independent political force on the international stage. Furthermore, Asian and African countries have established ten principles for managing interstate relations based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, thereby fostering the Bandung Spirit of solidarity, friendship, and cooperation. This enduring spirit holds immense practical significance and exerts a profound influence on international exchanges among developing countries to this day (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2012).

Scholars from various perspectives have extensively studied the Bandung Conference. Chinese scholars have specifically focused on examining its impact on China's international image and analyzing Premier Zhou Enlai's diplomatic practices (Chen & Niu, 2018; Shi, 2023; Xie, 2019). Indonesian scholars focus on Indonesia's important role in the Bandung Conference, its impact on the urban transformation of Bandung, its support for independence movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and its supporting activities (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2012; Wulandari, 2021a; Kusmayadi, 2018; Parastantria, 2022). Additionally, Wulandari examined the role of women in the 1963 Asian-African Journalists Conference (a legacy of the Bandung Conference) from a female perspective (Wulandari, 2021b). Sopart conducted a critical analysis of the Spirit of Bandung, highlighting that, despite the emphasis on Asian-African unity, obvious disparities in power structures and regional allegiances were exhibited at the Bandung Conference (Sopart, 2018).

In summary, previous research offers diverse perspectives on exploring the Bandung Conference and its impact. As the host country, Indonesia proposed and initiated the conference while playing a crucial role in its organization and success. However, non-Indonesian academics have given limited

attention to Indonesia's role in this event. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Bandung Conference, this paper seeks to analyze its legacy in Indonesia's foreign policy based on Indonesian language materials, revealing its historical significance and practical impact.

Why did Indonesia Initiate the Bandung Conference?

In his influential work, *Man, the State, and War*, Kenneth Waltz examines the root causes of war across three dimensions: human nature and behavior, the internal structure of a country, and the state of anarchy in international relations (Waltz, 2018). This analysis provides fresh perspectives and insights for research in the field of international relations. This paper adopts this multi-dimensional analysis method to analyze the causes of Indonesia initiating the Bandung Conference from three levels: international power structure, national attributes, and leaders' aspirations.

Reconfiguration of Global Powers Necessitates Third World Nations Uniting for Mutual Support

After World War II concluded, the global community entered a Cold War era characterized by the dominance of two superpowers: namely, the United States and the Soviet Union. These two blocs not only diverged significantly in terms of ideology but also engaged in fierce competition across various domains, including politics, economy, and military affairs (Wibisono, 1955).

Historian Odd Arne Westad has observed that a crucial aspect of the Cold War entailed the rivalry among major powers through interventions in third-world countries (Westad, 2005), and this

assertion is equally applicable to Southeast Asian countries. For instance, when the Anti-French Resistance War in Vietnam (i.e., the First Indochina War) erupted in 1946, the Soviet Union and its allies actively supported the Vietnamese independence movement by providing economic and military aid to North Vietnam (Luthi, 2006). In contrast, to contain the expansion of communism in Southeast Asia and prevent South Vietnam from falling into the Soviet bloc, thus triggering a domino effect, the United States initially maintained a neutral stance but later shifted its support to France on all fronts by providing military and financial assistance (Thuan & Minh, 2024).

After long struggles against imperialism and colonialism, Vietnam (1945), India (1947), Burma (1948), Indonesia (1945), and Egypt (1953) eventually achieved their independence.

As a former colony of the United States, the Philippines maintained close military ties with it. After World War II, the U.S. continued to station troops in the Philippines and signed the Mutual Defense Treaty between the Republic of the Philippines and the United States of America (MDT) in 1951 to provide military aid and technical support, helping suppress the communist movement (Fitzsimmons, 2018). In Laos, the U.S. supported anti-communist regimes to contain communism militarily and politically, while the Soviet Union supported left-wing forces to expand the communist sphere of influence. Thailand was an ally of the United States in Southeast Asia during the early Cold War and

maintained close military cooperation with the United States, becoming an important part of the anti-communist forces in Southeast Asia (Klemm, 2019).

In 1955, under the leadership of the United States, the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO) was established, which included both Southeast and South Asian countries, including the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan, as well as Western countries such as Britain, France, New Zealand, and Australia. Through this organization, the United States sought to promote anti-communist governments and expand its influence in Southeast Asia.

However, at that time, most Asian and African countries were unwilling to be drawn into the vortex of great power competition. After long struggles against imperialism and colonialism, Vietnam (1945), India (1947), Burma (1948), Indonesia (1945), and Egypt (1953) eventually achieved their independence. The economic structures of these emerging independent nations were shaped by colonial rule and heavily relied on the production and export of a single commodity, which posed a challenge to their economic autonomy after gaining independence. For instance, the Indonesian economy heavily relied on raw materials such as rubber, palm oil, and spices during Dutch colonial rule. This resulted in an unbalanced economy with a narrow range of products that was highly dependent on external market fluctuations (Aditya et al. & Yunita, 2024). Not only that, imperialist countries often defined the boundaries of their colonies based on their interests, ignoring local ethnic, religious, and cultural differences, leading to frequent ethnic conflicts and political instability in newly independent countries. For example, ethnic and administrative divisions imposed by Britain in Burma led to a long-lasting civil war (Sadovschi, 2024).

The US-Soviet confrontation worsened regional instability and profoundly impacted the political landscapes of Asian and African countries, posing significant threats to their sovereignty and independence. Consequently, these countries caught in the battle between the two camps felt deeply insecure. Meanwhile, in the process of striving for independence and development, Asian and African countries not only had to deal with external interference but also had to resolve internal ethnic conflicts and address economic backwardness. These factors limited their status in international affairs and prevented them from playing a decisive role in the bipolar world order (Serikat Petani Indonesia, 2007).

The United Nations, as the most important international organization, failed to effectively meet the core demands of Asian and African countries for independence, peace, and development. Therefore, emerging independent countries urgently need to seek new ways to establish equal international relations and advocate for their interests on the global stage. In this context, the idea of an Asian-African Conference emerged.

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The Recently Liberated Indonesia was in Urgent Need of Asserting its Sovereignty and Independence

Indonesia was under Dutch colonial rule from the end of the 16th century until the middle of the 20th century. In 1942, Japan seized control of the country from the Dutch. On August 17, 1945, President Sukarno proclaimed the Republic of Indonesia after Japan's unconditional surrender on August 15, 1945. Finally, after more than 300 years of colonial rule, the Indonesian people gained their independence (Kab. Sarolangun, 2024).

The Netherlands, rather than recognizing Indonesian independence, sought to extend its colonial control in Indonesia (Nurbantoro et al. & Widjanto, 2021). To protect the nation's sovereignty, the Indonesian people, led by President Sukarno and Vice President Mohammad Hatta, steadfastly opposed the military invasion by the Netherlands and engaged in a prolonged war for independence lasting almost four years. During this struggle, extensive armed confrontations occurred between the Indonesian military and Dutch colonial troops, as the anti-colonial ambitions of the Indonesian populace were brutally repressed by the Dutch military.

Alongside armed conflict, Indonesia pursued foreign assistance via diplomatic avenues. As the nation with the biggest Muslim population worldwide, Indonesia sought acknowledgment of its sovereignty from Arab nations. Conversely, in the post-war era, when the United States championed national self-determination and opposed colonialism, it



President Sukarno reads the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta on August 17, 1945 (Photograph: UMSU Law School, 2024).

supported Indonesia's quest for independence. As a result, Indonesia diligently pursued American assistance in opposition to Dutch colonial domination. Furthermore, Indonesia sought expanded support and recognition from the United Nations in international forums (Zhao, 2020).

Following international condemnation and persistent pressure, the Netherlands and Indonesia executed the Hague Agreement on November 2, 1949. The Netherlands consented to relinquish sovereignty. On August 17, 1950, Sukarno proclaimed the formation of a unified Republic of Indonesia subsequent to the ratification of a temporary constitution. Following a steadfast struggle of five years, Indonesia ultimately attained true independence, thereby concluding Dutch colonial control and establishing the groundwork for future modernization initiatives.

The steadfast resolve exhibited by Indonesians during this battle highlighted their deep desire for freedom and self-determination while cultivating significant appreciation for the hard-earned sovereignty they attained. As a nascent independent state at that time, Indonesia ardently sought to establish its independence in international relations.

Sukarno's Firm Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Colonialist Stance

Nationalist ideas significantly motivated Sukarno's initiative to organize the Asian-African Conference. In 1926, he founded the Algemeene Studie Club in Bandung, which subsequently transformed into the Indonesian National Party (PNI), primarily aimed at cultivating national consciousness.

His resistance to colonialism resulted in his incarceration at Banceuy Prison in Bandung in late 1929. While there, he authored *Indonesia Accuses* (Indonesian *Menggugat*) and emerged as a trailblazer in the struggle against colonial domination. In 1933, Sukarno authored *To Attain Independent Indonesia* (Mentjapai Indonesia Merdeka) in Bandung, further elucidating his support for independence (Detik-News, 2015). These factors also played a pivotal role in determining the significant status and symbolic importance of Bandung within Indonesia's anti-colonial movement.

Sukarno, the first president of post-independence Indonesia, had a deep comprehension of the subjugation inflicted by imperialism and colonialism on Asian and African countries. He fervently advocated for the rights of subjugated nations to attain autonomy and liberation. Inspired by this concept, Sukarno fervently promoted solidarity across Asian and African nations, creating a cohesive alliance against colonialism. Indonesia was a heterogeneous society with numerous ethnicities and religions, necessitating Sukarno's skillful management of intergroup dynamics while reconciling various political forces, including nationalists, Muslims, and communists. Consequently, Sukarno necessitated an international conference to solidify his political standing, establishing himself as a leader among nascent sovereign nations, bolstering nationalist fervor locally, and enhancing Indonesia's global impact in anti-colonial movements.

Bandung Conference and Indonesia's Domestic Diplomacy

The organization of the Bandung Conference was intricately associated with the vision of Ali Sastroamidjojo, the Prime Minister of Indonesia. Throughout his tenure as Ambassador to the United States (1950-1953), he engaged in lengthy dialogues

with leaders from many Asian and African nations regarding future collaboration. Upon assuming the role of Prime Minister in 1953, Ali Sastroamidjojo recognized that solidarity and collaboration among Asian and African nations were essential for addressing global tensions during the Cold War and served as a significant catalyst for world peace (Departemen Luar Negeri Republik Indonesia, 1996).

On August 25, 1953, Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo delivered a statement on Indonesia's foreign policy at the Provisional House of Representatives (DPRS), highlighting that Asian and African countries faced significant external pressures during the Cold War era. He underscored the necessity for heightened collaboration among Asian and African nations to effectively tackle this predicament (Kementerian Penerangan RI, 1956). For this reason, in April and December 1954, Indonesia, India, Burma, Pakistan, and Ceylon held separate meetings in Colombo and Bogor (Kusmayadi, 2018).

At the Colombo Conference, Ali Sastroamidjojo advocated for the organization of an Asian-African Conference. This proposal was later included in the joint communiqué of the Colombo summit, leading to the notion of an Asian-African summit (Asmawi, 1985). Indonesia has conducted diplomatic discussions with 18 Asian and African nations to get their viewpoints on the conference's convening. Notwithstanding differences concerning conference scheduling and eligibility requirements for participating nations, there was a consensus among all countries to convene the conference, with Indonesia preferred as the host. In December 1954, the five nations convened in Bogor, where they resolved to conduct the Asian-African Conference in Bandung in April 1955 (Abdulgani, 1988). A consensus was also achieved about the participating nations, conference dates, and agenda (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2012).

Bandung was strategically situated to hold an international conference. On one hand, it held profound



The Bogor Conference convened on December 24-29, 1954, at Bogor Palace in Java province
(Photograph: National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia, 2023).

significance in the history of Indonesia as a symbol of strong resistance against Dutch colonial rule. It witnessed the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggles led by Sukarno and embodied the relentless efforts of the Indonesian people toward independence. On the other hand, Bandung's strategic location, easy accessibility, and its status as the capital of West Java made it capable of hosting international conferences while providing adequate hospitality and security. At that time, the city boasted high-standard hotels and conference facilities, making it an ideal venue for international conferences (DetikNews, 2015).

In preparation for the Asian-African Conference, the Government of Indonesia, together with the other four organizing countries, established the Conference Secretariat and the Joint Secretariat. These secretariats were responsible for overall planning

and day-to-day management to ensure a smooth preparatory process. A local committee was set up in Bandung, where the conference was to be held, to coordinate accommodation, logistics, transportation, health services, communications, security measures, entertainment arrangements, protocol services, and lighting (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2012). On January 15, Indonesia officially extended an invitation to participate in the conference.

On April 16, 1955, delegates arrived in Bandung via Jakarta (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2012). Preceding the conference, Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo cordially received the heads of delegations in Jakarta and engaged in informal discussions to establish consensus on matters such as conference chairmanship, procedural rules, decision-making processes, and discussion topics.

These preliminary efforts laid a solid foundation for the subsequent success of the conference (Panitia Penulisan Sejarah Departemen Luar Negeri, 1971).

On the morning of April 18, 1955, delegates, dressed in traditional attire, made their way from their lodgings to the Merdeka Building (Gedung Merdeka) for the opening ceremony of the Asian-African Conference. During the journey, the residents of Bandung offered a warm and respectful reception to the delegates. During the inaugural event, Sukarno presented a speech titled “Let a New Asia and New Africa Be Born” (Lahirilah Asia Baru dan Afrika Baru).

“I hope that it will give evidence of the fact that we, Asian and African leaders, understand that Asia and Africa can prosper only when they are united, and that even the safety of the world at large cannot be safeguarded without a united Asia-Africa. I hope that the conference will give guidance to mankind and will point out to mankind the way it must take to attain safety and peace.”

With enormous passion, he envisioned a shared rise and promising future for Asian and African nations, reaffirmed an unshaken dedication to national self-determination, categorically rejected all forms of colonialism, and emphasized the importance of equal status among all nations (Ekadjati, 1985). He highlighted that despite their diverse ethnicities, social backgrounds, cultures, and reli-

gions, the participants in the Bandung Conference resonated with a common experience of anti-colonial struggle, which led to Asian-African solidarity in their pursuit of global peace. He concluded his speech by saying that:

“I hope that it will give evidence of the fact that we, Asian and African leaders, understand that Asia and Africa can prosper only when they are united, and that even the safety of the world at large cannot be safeguarded without a united Asia-Africa. I hope that the conference will give guidance to mankind and will point out to mankind the way it must take to attain safety and peace. I hope that it will provide evidence that Asia and Africa have been reborn, that a New Asia and New Africa have been born!” (Museum Konferensi Asia Afrika, n.d.).

Despite the eventual success of the conference, its preparatory process faced numerous challenges, particularly obstruction from Western countries such as Britain and the United States. These countries attempted to weaken the influence of the conference, discourage other countries from participating, and interfere with the conference process by exerting influence on “friendly countries.” As a result, there was significant controversy and disagreement in the early stages of the conference, posing a threat to its smooth progress (Acharya, 2016).

Prior to the conference, the British government issued a series of “guidance” documents to 37 foreign missions, alleging the threat of “communist colonialism,” recommending an embargo on strategic goods against China, and warning about the risks associated with the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. British representatives were asked to urge “friendly countries” to resist proposals that support disputed expansion of sovereignty in the conference and alert allies to possible plans by Asi-



President Sukarno speaking at the Bandung Conference
(Photograph: SMKAA, 2024).

an-African countries that could destabilize the region. For example, prior to the conference, Britain sent a memorandum to the Prime Minister of Ceylon, John Kotelawala, urging him to pay full attention to “communist colonialism.”

Kotelawala openly criticized what he termed “communist colonialism” at the meeting, which offended Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai and Indian Prime Minister Nehru. Nehru promptly adopted a resolute position against equating Western colonialism with the circumstances in the Soviet bloc nations.

The Eisenhower administration instructed the U.S. missions to avoid an open show of interest in the Bandung Conference and instead follow the British example by offering “advice” and “guidan-

ce” to friendly governments such as Japan, Turkey, South Vietnam, Lebanon, the Philippines, and Thailand. The U.S. also had advance access to the speech of Carlos Pena Romulo, the chief representative of the Philippines, at the opening session of the Bandung Conference and supplied him with a draft resolution concerning Taiwan. Romulo promised to use it at the conference (Acharya, 2016).

The Bandung Conference encompassed three political perspectives: (1) pro-Western stances, exemplified by the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Iran, and Turkey; (2) pro-communist positions represented by the People’s Republic of China and North Vietnam; and (3) neutral viewpoints held by India, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia (Panitia Penulisan Sejarah Departemen Luar Negeri, 1971).

The conflict of divergent positions at the conference somewhat hindered its smooth progress and consensus-building. However, under the guidance of the conference president, participating countries adhered to principles such as seeking common ground while respecting differences and practicing mutual tolerance, ensuring a smooth progression (Anwar, 2009). During the conference, representatives from various countries held consultations on issues of common concern for Asian and African countries, reached consensus on matters such as economy, culture, human rights, sovereignty, peace, and cooperation, and proposed the “Ten Principles of Bandung (Dasasila Bandung) for managing international relations. The conference communique reaffirmed the shared vision of Asian and African countries to deepen cooperation in all areas (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2012).

The Bandung Conference bolstered Indonesia's diplomatic ties with Asian and African nations, becoming the initial expression of its proactive engagement in international relations. The Asian-African Conference is considered a pivotal moment in Indonesia's dedication to an “independent and active” foreign policy (Kemlu, 2019). The Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference mandated that the five founding nations diligently organize for the subsequent Asian-African Conference by comprehensive consultations with additional countries. However, the preparations for and the convening of the second Asian-African Conference have encountered formidable challenges. In 1965, shortly before the conference was set to commence, a coup d'état in Algeria, the host nation, obstructed the timely execution of the Second Asian-African Conference (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2012). Nonetheless, the Bandung Spirit epitomizes unity, equality, and peace, offering a conceptual basis for Asian and African nations to pursue collaboration and development.

Indonesia's Inheritance or Divergence from the Bandung Legacy

Under Sukarno's leadership, Indonesia's foreign policy has been significantly shaped by nationalist and anti-colonial ideologies. It upholds the notion of *bebas dan aktif* (independent and active), preserving an independent and autonomous position in international relations without aligning with any major power (Kusno, 2014).

Under the influence of nationalism, Sukarno stood firm against Dutch colonial rule, defended national sovereignty, and fought for the restoration of control over West Irian. Through diplomatic efforts and military preparations, the Netherlands eventually agreed to resolve the West Irian issue through negotiations. In 1963, control of West Irian was formally transferred to Indonesia, reinforcing Sukarno's commitment to national independence and territorial integrity.

Sukarno, from an anti-colonial standpoint, fervently endorsed national liberation movements across Asia, Africa, and Latin America, while championing solidarity and collaboration among Third World nations. Throughout the Vietnam War, Sukarno vehemently opposed and condemned US military intervention in Vietnam, viewing Ho Chi Minh as a significant freedom fighter against imperialism and endorsing the Vietnamese people's struggle for national unity and independence (Husin, 2010). Throughout Algeria's struggle for independence from French colonialism, Indonesia offered both political and material support, as well as deployed military missions to aid its liberation movement (Mangku-subroto, 2023).

Motivated by the Bandung spirit, Sukarno ardently advocated for South-South cooperation, fostering collaboration among developing nations in political, economic, technological, and cultural spheres. Indo-

nesia was a founding member of the Group of 77, established in 1964, aimed at reducing dependence on developed nations and promoting solidarity, cooperation, and development within the Global South (Center for East Asian Cooperation Studies, 2010). Indonesia, as a representative of Southeast Asia, has actively participated in the group's initiatives.

On 16 September 1963, the Federation of Malaysia, together with Sabah, Sarawak, and Singapore, established Malaysia. Indonesia perceived this as an extension of Western colonialism and asserted that Sarawak and Sabah ought to be incorporated into Greater Indonesia. To attain this objective, Indonesia initiated a sequence of border confrontations, especially in Borneo. Indonesia diplomatically highligh-

ted to Asian and African nations that Malaysia was a byproduct of Western colonialism and advocated for a boycott of it. Indonesia terminated its economic relations with Malaysia, thereby intensifying its economic difficulties. These actions not only contravened the principle of peaceful dispute resolution, as highlighted at the Bandung Conference, but also jeopardized regional stability (Ali, 2024). In January 1965, Indonesia officially declared its withdrawal from the United Nations, vehemently opposing Malaysia's election as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. Indonesia alleged that this action exemplifies the collective endorsement of Malaysia by Western nations and the suppression of Indonesia (Kusmayadi, 2017).



Indonesia was one of the founding members of the Group of 77, established in 1964 to reduce dependence on developed countries and promote solidarity, cooperation, and development within the Global South (Photograph: G 77, n.d.).

Between 1963 and 1966, during the confrontation between Indonesia and Malaysia, the United States curtailed its assistance to Indonesia, maintaining only military-related projects to bolster the army's capacity to counter Sukarno, while China and the Soviet Union supplied Indonesia with diverse forms of aid, including armaments and technology. To consolidate his political standing, Sukarno endorsed leftists and communists, cultivated closer relations with socialist nations, and vehemently denounced US support for Malaysia and its aggression against North Vietnam. In the latter years of Sukarno's administration, Indonesia became increasingly entangled in the dynamics of great power rivalry.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was officially founded in 1967 to foster regional peace and stability. Since its inception, Indonesia has conducted multiple ASEAN Summit meetings and engaged in regional collaboration, endeavoring to take a prominent position within ASEAN (Wiharyanto, 2010).

During the early 1960s, Indonesia's economy persisted in its decline, accompanied by escalating public discontent. Sukarno's robust endorsement of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), which faced opposition from the military, exacerbated the turmoil. This resulted in the 30 September Movement of 1965. Following Sukarno's demise, Indonesian politics transitioned into the Suharto Era (1967-1998) (You, 2015).

The Suharto government advocated for peaceful dialogue and the resolution of international disputes through multilateral diplomatic channels. On August

11, 1966, Indonesia signed a normalization agreement with Malaysia, officially marking the end of the Indonesia-Malaysia confrontation and the restoration of bilateral relations. In September 1966, Indonesia rejoined the United Nations. The two countries formally reestablished diplomatic relations in 1967 (Omar, 2008).

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On the evening of September 30, 1965, Lieutenant Colonel Untung Syamsuri proclaimed the initiation of the "September 30th Movement." On the morning of October 1, the Indonesian military abducted and executed six high-ranking generals. Major General Suharto of the Indonesian Army was not apprehended. Upon receiving the news, he commanded the army to quell the coup and swiftly usurped power during the suppression. Subsequent to the coup, the government alleged that the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) orchestrated it. Subsequently, anti-communist factions led by Suharto initiated a widespread anti-communist purge. From 1965 to 1966, numerous members of the Communist Party and leftists faced persecution, resulting in the massacre of hundreds of thousands. Suharto incrementally consolidated authority over the government and the military. He officially assumed the presidency in 1967, instituting a new regime focused on military and pro-Western political factions (Adriyanto, 2016). From 1966 to 1967, anti-Chinese sentiment in

Indonesia intensified, resulting in multiple assaults on Chinese embassies and consulates. In 1967, the Suharto administration implemented severe measures, instituting a total prohibition on the dissemination of Chinese literature, culture, and script in Indonesia, while urging Indonesian Chinese to renounce their Chinese names. The two nations entirely terminated their diplomatic relations on October 30, 1967 (Xue, 2020).

Throughout the Suharto administration, Indonesia exhibited a diplomatic inclination towards the United States. The Suharto administration entered into a military cooperation agreement with the United States, resulting in the provision of military aid to Indonesia, including weapons, training, and intelligence, thereby enhancing the capabilities of the Indonesian military. Concurrently, Indonesia enacted the “New Order” (Orde Baru) policy, which advocated for market liberalization reforms, eased limitations on foreign investment, and promoted the entry of American enterprises into the Indonesian market. Consequently, American

corporations acquired a substantial market share in oil, gas, minerals, and other sectors (Setia, 2023).

The Suharto government’s policy regarding East Timor significantly diverged from the principles of Bandung. East Timor endured prolonged oppression under Portuguese colonial rule. On November 28, 1975, East Timor proclaimed its independence and formed the Democratic Republic of East Timor. One week later, the Suharto administration commanded Indonesian forces to invade East Timor. The coercive annexation of East Timor as Indonesia’s 27th province in 1976 elicited extensive denunciation and significant censure from the international community (Ulung, 2023).

The 1997 Asian financial crisis triggered a significant economic decline in Indonesia, intensifying social unrest and confronting the nation with an unparalleled challenge marked by increasing calls for political reform. Suharto resigned from the presidency in 1998, thus ending his thirty-year reign. Subsequently, Indonesia initiated a phase of democratic transition.



Under the Suharto-led regime from 1965 to 1966, many Communist Party members and leftists were persecuted, resulting in hundreds of thousands of massacres. Here members of the party are being transported to a prison in the capital, Jakarta (Photograph: [NTB Scanpix] Norwegian Refugee Council, 2015).

The Transformation of Indonesian Diplomacy and its Contribution to Fostering the Bandung Spirit

In the post-Suharto period, the Bandung spirit and the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence have reemerged as the foundational tenets of Indonesia's foreign policy. First, to reestablish friendship and collaboration with China. Since August 8, 1990, when China officially reinstated diplomatic relations with Indonesia, Sino-Indonesian relations have swiftly advanced in economic and trade collaboration, cultural exchanges, and people-to-people interactions. In 2013, President Xi Jinping visited Indonesia as his inaugural destination in Southeast Asia, where he conferred with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono. In the meeting, he declared the elevation of relations between the two nations to a comprehensive strategic partnership and suggested the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 2013). Recently, the cooperation between the two countries has entered a new stage of all-around development. Joko Widodo (2014-2024) visited China eight times during his 10-year presidency, and President Xi met with him twelve times (Antara, 2024b). The Jakarta-Bandung High-Speed Railway, as a landmark project of bilateral cooperation, showcases the potential for collaboration between China and Indonesia in infrastructure development (Yamin & Windymadksa, 2017). Furthermore, Indonesia has revised its policy toward Chinese-Indonesians, gradually restoring their legal rights and promoting harmonious social development (Dwivianto, 2016).

Second, Indonesia engages in international organizations such as the UN, IMF, WTO, and NAM (Non-Aligned Movement) to foster global cooperation and development. Indonesia actively participates in peacekeeping operations and fulfills its international obligations. As of July 11, 2024, Indonesia had deployed a total of 2,715 military and police personnel to UN peacekeeping forces, actively engaging in missions in Sudan, the Central African Republic, Cyprus, and other regions,

thereby ranking as the sixth-largest contributor of peacekeeping personnel worldwide. Furthermore, Indonesia significantly contributes to the female peacekeeping contingent, with 183 female peacekeepers engaged in peacekeeping operations (Widyawati, 2024).

Third, to enhance ASEAN's function in regional integration. Since its inception in 1967, ASEAN's prominence in regional and international matters has been progressively increasing. In 1997, ASEAN leaders introduced the "ASEAN Vision 2020," with the objective of establishing a peaceful, stable, prosperous, and inclusive ASEAN Community (ASEAN Main Portal, 2012). As a founding member of ASEAN, Indonesia is dedicated to promoting an enhanced role for ASEAN in regional integration. Indonesia introduced the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC) at the Bali Summit in 2003 to uphold regional stability (Mohadib, 2018). In terms of economic development, during its tenure as the ASEAN Chair in 2011, Indonesia reached an agreement with all member states to continue strengthening the construction of the ASEAN Community, laying the foundation for the formal launch of the "ASEAN Economic Community" (AEC) in 2015. Meanwhile, Indonesia actively participates in the construction of the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA) to reduce tariff barriers, promote the free flow of goods and services, and expedite the process of economic integration. In the social and cultural realm, Indonesia has pushed for the establishment of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) and participated in setting up the ASEAN Cultural Fund to protect the cultural heritage of ASEAN member states and promote exchanges and interactions in language, culture, and education within the region.

Fourth, to change the policy on the East Timor issue. Indonesia declared in 1999 that a referendum would allow East Timor to decide its future status. In August 1999, under the supervision of the United Nations, East Timor held a referendum, with the results showing that about 78.5% of voters supported independence. The voting results sparked a riot by pro-Indonesian militants. Under the urging of the international community, Indo-

nesia agreed to allow the United Nations to send international peacekeeping forces to East Timor to quell the riots and restore order. On May 20, 2002, East Timor formally declared independence and established the Democratic Republic of East Timor (Rustamana & Narendra, 2023). Following this, Indonesia worked closely with East Timor under the supervision of the international community to engage in reconciliation dialogues and restore bilateral relations. In August 2005, the two countries jointly established the “Indonesia-East Timor Commission on Truth and Friendship” to conduct a comprehensive investigation into historical atrocities and promote historical reconciliation.

In support of the just cause of the Palestinian people, Indonesia has refused to establish diplomatic relations with Israel and has urged the international community to take action for justice.

Fifth, to uphold a just stance in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and condemn Israel's aggressive actions. In support of the just cause of the Palestinian people, Indonesia has refused to establish diplomatic relations with Israel and has urged the international community to take action for justice (Portal Informasi Indonesia, 2024). As the country with the largest Muslim population, Indonesia has always supported Palestine's legitimate rights and advocated for the advancement of the peace process through international law and multilateral frameworks. Indonesia consistently opposes Israel's policy of occupation and settlement expansion, utilizing platforms such as the United Nations, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC, formerly the Organization of the Islamic Conference), and the Non-Aligned Movement to urge concrete measures from the international community in promoting Palestinian independence. At the 60th anni-

versary commemoration of the 1955 Bandung Conference in Jakarta in 2015, Indonesia reaffirmed the Bandung Spirit and strengthened international attention on the Palestinian issue. In 2016, at the fifth special summit of the OIC, Indonesia once again urged member states to intensify their aid and support for Palestine (Kementerian Sekretariat Negara Republik Indonesia, 2016).

Sixth, to reject choosing sides and maintain a flexible stance in the strategic competition between China and the United States. Indonesia values economic development and regards China as an important trade and investment partner. It actively participates in the Belt and Road Initiative to promote infrastructure development and enhance economic connectivity. Simultaneously, it maintains security cooperation with the United States, ensuring its flexibility in the great power game (Luo, 2024). In the South China Sea issue, as a non-claimant country, Indonesia insists on prioritizing peace and opposing military conflicts. It advocates resolving disputes in a peaceful manner based on international law through ASEAN and multilateral mechanisms (Antara, 2024c). On October 20, 2024, Prabowo Subianto was inaugurated as Indonesia's president. President Prabowo has stressed that he will continue the policies of his predecessor, President Joko Widodo, by upholding the principle of an independent, active, and non-aligned (bebas aktif nonblok) foreign policy while refraining from joining any military alliances to maintain Indonesia's independence and sovereignty (Antara, 2024a).

In summary, in the post-Suharto era, Indonesia's political reform and democratization process is closely linked to the spirit of the Bandung Conference, and Indonesia continues to play a bridge role in Asian-African cooperation on the international stage. The principles of independence, equality, and peaceful coexistence advocated at the Bandung Conference provided Indonesia with ideological support for exploring its path to development in the post-Suharto era. At the same time, Indonesia continued to promote South-South cooperation in the international community and world peace and prosperity.

Conclusion

Indonesia emerged from the anti-colonial struggle, achieving independence with much effort. During the Cold War, it was imperative to swiftly identify novel methods to convey its political interest. The Asian-African Conference in Bandung was shaped by various elements, including systemic polarization, the characteristics of newly independent nations, and Sukarno's anti-colonial and anti-imperialist philosophy. Overcoming challenges in planning, preparation, and conference execution, Indonesia, as host country, took the lead in proposing a vision and making a significant contribution to the conference's success. The successful convening of the Bandung Conference signified the initial emergence of Asian and African nations as an independent political force globally, while also fostering the influential Bandung Spirit and informing Indonesia's diplomatic strategy. In some historical epochs, Indonesia diverged from the diplomatic tenets set forth at the Bandung Conference, leading to its eventual diplomatic isolation and a deterioration of its international stature. Throughout the democratic transition, Indonesia has revitalized the Bandung Spirit, enhancing relations with China and actively participating in the formation of the ASEAN community while preserving an independent and flexible position in the strategic rivalry between China and the United States. The Bandung spirit has proven its importance in Indonesia's diplomatic endeavors throughout the past seventy years, encompassing both positive and negative aspects, while also acting as a foundational principle for promoting solidarity and collaboration among nations in the Global South. 

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Bandung Spirit is 70 Years Old



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ABSTRACT

The Asian-African Conference, referred to as the Bandung Conference, emerged as a beacon of hope in a post-war world fraught with conflict between two political-ideological extremes, where the remnants of pre-war devastation remained and colonialism persisted. The Final Declaration of the Conference, ratified on April 24, 1955, is the essential text that influenced the framework of the post-colonial international community. The core tenets of the Final Declaration encompass the eradication of colonialism, the sovereignty and parity of nations regardless of size, economic and cultural collaboration, resistance to racial discrimination, the right to self-determination for nations, and the promotion of peaceful coexistence. In the latter part of the 20th century, humanity significantly eradicated harsh colonialism, narrowed the disparity between small and large nations to a degree, and enhanced economic and cultural collaboration among developing countries. In the latter half of the 20th century, the Bandung spirit, which originated the Non-Aligned Movement, is currently invigorating new regional organizations. Entities like BRICS, which challenge dollar supremacy and U.S. hegemony while advocating for a new international order, along with the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), focused on combating terrorism and extremism, and numerous regional organizations, both large and small, remain influenced by the Bandung Spirit.

Keywords: imperialism, non-alignment, Non-Aligned Movement, right of nation to self-determination, struggle against colonialism.

Introduction

THE UNASSUMING INTERNATIONAL conference, convened in 1955 in a secluded region of Asia, Bandung, Indonesia, emerged as one of the most significant international gatherings of the 20th century. This year commemorates the 70th anniversary of the conference. The Asia-Africa Conference, referred to as the Bandung Conference, emerged as a beacon of optimism, illuminating the circumstances of a post-war world

ensnared in significant tension between two political factions, amidst the lingering devastation of pre-war ruins and the persistence of colonialism. The Final Declaration of the Conference, finalized on April 24, 1955, serves as the principal document affirming the independence and equality of both large and small nations, their collaboration in economic and cultural domains, the Asian-African stance against racial discrimination, the right to self-determination for nations, and the principle of peaceful coexistence.

In the latter half of the 20th century, humanity significantly eradicated severe colonialism, somewhat bridging the disparity between small and large nations, while fostering enhanced economic and cultural collaboration among developing countries. The Non-Aligned Movement, which gained significant influence in the international sphere throughout the 1960s and 70s, controlled the United Nations General Assembly and made substantial contributions to global peace. Palestinian author Edward Said articulates the historical significance of Bandung with the following statement: “The Bandung Conference, convened in 1955, represents the most pivotal political initiative in history, wherein the East collectively attained its liberation from Western Empires” (Said, 1998).

Following the demise of its founding leaders, shifts in the international context influenced the Bandung spirit, albeit it could not be entirely eradicated. The Bandung Spirit is a source of inspiration in contemporary times.

The Non-Aligned Movement in the latter part of the 20th century, which led to the establishment of new regional entities such as BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), motivated several regional organizations to draw inspiration from the Bandung Spirit.

The achievements of the Non-Aligned Movement were not enduring; following the demise of its founding leaders, shifts in the international context influenced the Bandung spirit, albeit it could not be entirely eradicated. The Bandung

Spirit is a source of inspiration in contemporary times.

The 60th anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement, which was marginalized by Western powers following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, was commemorated with grand festivities in Belgrade, Serbia, and Bandung, Indonesia. During the summit in Belgrade, which was attended by 105 countries and 9 organizations, United Nations Secretary-General António Guterres delivered a speech. In his inaugural address over video conference as president, Azerbaijani President İlham Aliyev underscored the transnational nature of the Non-Aligned Movement, advocating for global peace, justice, and solidarity (Saragih, 2015).

A separate commemorative ceremony occurred in Asia. A coalition of leaders, comprising Chinese President Xi Jinping, Indonesian President Joko Widodo, and Swaziland King Mswati, convened in Bandung at the Independence Building, the original site of the Bandung Conference, to commemorate its 60th anniversary at 09:20 local time, departing from the Savoy Homann Hotel. He proceeded on foot. The memorial event took place at the same location, Independence Building (Saragih, 2015).

Indonesian President Joko Widodo, Chinese President Xi Jinping, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, Myanmar President U Thein Sein, Egyptian Prime Minister Ibrahim Mahlab, and Venezuelan Vice President Jorge Arreaza discussed issues pertaining to emerging nations. They highlighted significant challenges in safeguarding their rights and interests, as well as in their growth, and commended the Bandung Spirit, emphasizing the importance of their efforts for collective welfare (Xinhua, 2015). Xi Jinping asserted that Asian-African nations, motivated by the Bandung Spirit, have strengthened via collaboration, advanced by enhancing regional coo-



High-Level Commemorative Meeting on 60th Anniversary of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) held in Belgrade on October 11-12, 2021 (Photograph: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Serbia, 2021).

peration, and played greater responsibilities on both regional and international stages (Xi, 2015).

A significant event occurred in Beijing one year ago. Chinese leader Xi Jinping remembered the 5 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence during a ceremony marking the 70th anniversary of their declaration. The Chinese leader asserted that the concept of cohabitation originated in Asia but rapidly disseminated globally, highlighting that the concepts of the Bandung Spirit, established by Asian-African nations, emerged from the “5 Principles of Peaceful Coexistence” (Xi Jinping, 2024). He reminded them that it was enshrined in the agreement with China, India, and Burma, the framework of which was established by Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai and Indian Prime Minister Pandit Nehru. The principles included respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty,

non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, development of ties based on equality and mutual benefit, and economic cooperation (Sander, 2000, p. 337).

The Bandung Conference conveyed three fundamental messages: Initially, it exhibited indications of the resurgence of the oppressed amidst the swift decline of US imperialism and the West’s descent into a profound crisis. Secondly, Serbia’s announcement to rejoin the Non-Aligned Movement, originally spearheaded by Tito but which distanced itself following his demise. Serbian President Vucic emphasized that over 100 nations opted for an alternative course in the unstable and bipolar world of 1961, stating, “The Non-Aligned Movement represented the countries striving for independence and sovereignty.” “We, as Serbia, persist in our struggle,” he stated. (AA, 2024).

Thirdly, and of greater significance, the contributions of the Non-Aligned Movement to global peace and international collaboration are reintroduced to the agenda. In a context of global crises, the Non-Aligned Movement has rekindled aspirations for peace and stability, which are essential for everyone.

The Global Landscape Prior to the Bandung Conference

The objective of the “Asia-Africa Conference” was articulated as the pursuit of a new international order. The battle that commenced in Europe post-World War II transitioned to Asia throughout the 1950s. The surrender of Japan following the devastating bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki marked the initial indication of significant tension. The defeat in Tokyo created significant military and political voids in the nations controlled by Japanese forces during the war, both in the Pacific and Southeast Asia. Following the victory of the people’s forces in China over the Western-supported Kuomintang, they proclaimed the foundation of the People’s Republic of China on October 1, 1949, significantly influencing the destiny of the Far East. Western powers shifted the Cold War to the Far East to curtail the dissemination of revolutionary China’s influence, and following the Soviet Union, they adopted a strategy of “containment” regarding China (Kennan, 1947). To comprehend the Bandung Spirit, it is essential to recall the events that transpired in the region at that period.

The Korean War: Korea was significantly impacted by the Chinese revolution. Following Japan’s defeat, the discord between the USA and Soviet Union factions in Korea concluded in initial reconciliation. The two major countries retracted their occupation forces in 1948 and recognized the 38th parallel as the boundary. Nevertheless, the circumstances altered

after the 1950 elections, when pro-Western Syngman Rhee’s party secured merely 48 seats, while other parties obtained 120 seats. In opposition to the changing circumstances, North Korean forces advanced south of the 38th Parallel. Subsequently, the USA intervened by mobilizing the United Nations. China responded to the US action by stating, “Korea is China’s neighbor” (Sander, 2000, p. 252). Following the crossing of the 38th Parallel by US/UN forces, China intervened, transforming the conflict into a war between US/UN and Korea/China. The cease-fire negotiations, initiated when the conflict was centered around the 38th Parallel, were finalized in 1953. Korea was partitioned into two entities: North Korea and South Korea (Cumings, 1996; Stueck, 1997).

Vietnam War: During World War II, Japan seized Indochina, a French colony. Recognizing its impending defeat in 1945, Japan proclaimed the formation of three autonomous republics in Indochina (Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia) and designated Bao Dai as the leader of Vietnam. The Vietnamese communists resisted by founding the Vietminh, led by Ho Chi Minh. Uncle Ho, a moniker for Chi Minh, initiated the guerilla warfare by proclaiming the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at the conclusion of 1946. In 1954, the capture of Dien Bien Phu by Vietnamese resistance fighters altered the destiny of the region, as it housed France’s principal garrison. Conceding defeat, France opted to withdraw from Indochina. The United States will address the ensuing gap in the future (Lawrene, 2010, p. 94; Zhai, 2000, p. 112).

Following France’s withdrawal, Britain, the USA, France, and the Soviet Union convened in Geneva in May 1954 and concluded an accord on the subsequent matters: Vietnam was partitioned at the 17th Parallel. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was founded in the north, while a Western-aligned administration was formed in the south. The objective was to have elections in 1956 and achieve national uni-



Front and back cover of the August 1972 issue of Gidra, a revolutionary monthly newspaper-magazine published from 1969 to 1974. During this period, the use of napalm and other chemical weapons in Vietnam was often compared to the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima (Photograph: Gidra, 1972).

fication; however, this did not occur. Consequently, for the third instance following Germany and Korea, a nation was bifurcated into two entities. As North Vietnam aligned with the Soviet bloc, South Vietnam associated itself with the United States. Hostilities between the factions in Vietnam intensified, resulting in a violent civil war. The conflict concluded with the defeat of the pro-US forces in 1975 (Lawrence, 2010; Zhai, 2000).

Formation of SEATO: The United States, while controlling the Soviet Union, which was at the gates of Berlin after the conclusion of World War II, solidified its supremacy in Europe by founding NATO in 1949. In the early 1950s, the USA, faced with developments akin to those in Europe, sought to construct a comparable Cold War framework in Southeast Asia and next to China. SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization) was established in 1954 in

Manila, the capital of the Philippines. On the day the agreement was executed, along with an additional protocol, eight nations (Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, USA, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand) proclaimed that Indochina was under the aegis of SEATO, regarded as the NATO of the Indochina region. The USA established SEATO in response to the Geneva Agreement (Sander, 2000, p. 260). The Bandung Conference was organized to safeguard against the detrimental forces at the period when the Cold War impacted Southeast Asia and the southern coasts of Asia.

India before Bandung: The idea of Indian Prime Minister Pandit J. Nehru, the endorsement of Indonesian President Ahmed Sukarno, and the autonomy of the People's Republic of China/Asia. The Bandung Conference of 1955 established it, resulting from the endeavors of the newly unified young states.

The marginalized populations of Asia and Africa convened in Bandung, located on Indonesia's Java Island, despite substantial divergences in their foreign policies and goals (Sander, 2000, p. 386). The conference centered on the tenets of "Peaceful Coexistence".

Asian Relations Conference in Delhi

The Asian Relations Conference occurred in Delhi, India, from 23 March to 2 April 1947. (Akalin, 2024). The Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA) convened the gathering on behalf of the Indian National Congress Party (Tharoor, 2007, p. 149). The Asian Relations Conference is regarded as the precursor to the Bandung Conference; however, India engaged in various international meetings prior to and subsequent to this conference, including the World Trade Union Conference (February 1945), the World Trade Union Congress (September 1945), the Subject Peoples' Conference (London, October 1945), and the International Labor Conference (Geneva, July 1947). Nehru and his party, the National Congress Party, implemented these programs prior to the conclusion of World War II. This clearly indicates Nehru's interest and his aspiration to contribute to the world community established post-World War II. The Asian Relations Conference represents an endeavor to develop the Asian component of the newly created world order. RC Majumdar, 2008

Participants from Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bhutan, Burma, China (before to the establishment of the PRC), Laos, Egypt, Georgia, India, and Indonesia The Conference in Delhi was attended by Iran, Cambodia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Korea (undivided at the time), Egypt, Mongolia, Nepal, the Philippines, Thailand, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), Tajikistan, Tibet, Türkiye, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam (Nanda, 2003, p. 107). Delegates from the United States of America. The

Soviet Union, British-administered Malaya, Australia, New Zealand, and Palestine participated in the conference as observers. The United States obstructed Japan's participation (Tharoor, 2007).

Nehru articulated the objective of the meeting a year prior, in his address on 22 August 1946, stating: "The conference will foster amicable relations among neighboring nations; it will consolidate ideas and experiences to elevate living standards; it will reinforce cultural, social, and economic connections among the peoples of Asia"

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Nehru, in his inaugural address as the host of the conference, emphasized four key points: the necessity for Asian unity; the declaration of Asia's ascendance on the global arena; the importance of refraining from consistently promoting anti-Western sentiments; and the growing imperative for regional collaboration. Nehru underscored that the conference request originated from numerous Asian nations and that the assembly was a manifestation of

the prevailing sentiment that “the time has come to unite and progress collectively” (Nehru, 2003).

In February 1946, British Prime Minister Atlee directed his cabinet to initiate negotiations with Indian leaders to establish a new Indian Constitution. India. The legal status of the Republic was to be established. Nevertheless, England was actively attempting to partition India and inciting bigotry (Tharoor, 2007, p. 149). Following the refusal of Indian officials to reach a compromise, the Islamic Union’s declaration of “Direct Action Day” on August 6, 1946, prompted hundreds of thousands of Muslims to protest in the streets. Intense confrontations erupted in numerous cities and towns, particularly in Calcutta, resulting in the deaths of tens of thousands from both factions (Nanda, 2003, p. 107). The assembly of the Asian Conference in Delhi in March 1947, within that historical context, should

be regarded as an integral aspect of the foundational intent of the Republic of India (Akalın, n.d.).

The Delhi Conference garnered attention from Indonesian nationalist groups engaged in a parallel quest for independence. Indonesian leader Dr. Ahmed Sukarno extended an invitation to Nehru to visit Indonesia on October 9, 1945. The Bandung process commenced at that time. Nehru acknowledged Sukarno’s invitation by asserting that “the struggle for freedom is interconnected in India, Java, or elsewhere,” although the British obstructed this visit (Nanda, 2003, p. 104).

The Indian delegation’s appeal for enhanced collaboration was echoed by other delegates. Afghan delegate Abdülmecit Khan stated, “To survive, we must coexist,” while Bhutan delegate Jigme Dorji expressed his aspiration that “the conference will become a symbol of love and solidarity in Asia.”



Jawaharlal Nehru, greeting Dr. Burhaneddin, Head of Delegation of Malay, at the Asian Relations Conference held in New Delhi on 31st March and 1st April 1947 (Photograph: Malaya Ganapathy, 2022).

Bandaranaike from Ceylon remarked, “The conference pertains to a much larger issue.” He articulated his desire that “it would mark the inception of a federation of free and equal Asian nations.” Indonesian Prime Minister Shutan Shariar expressed his hope that “the conference will significantly contribute to unifying Asian nations.” Vietnamese delegate Mai The Chau stated, “We extensively discussed the unity of Asia.” “Let us act immediately,” he stated. He advocated for action (Nanda, 2003, p. 111).

China’s Contributions

The Communist Party of China (CPC), which spearheaded the declaration of the People’s Republic on October 1, 1949, maintained favorable relations with Moscow in foreign policy; however, unlike members of the Soviet Bloc, its concept of peace was predicated on the struggle against imperialism and colonialism. The United States’ support for Taiwan and Japan’s rearmament heightened China’s security apprehensions. Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai’s assertion that “Asian people will never forget that the first atomic bomb was detonated on Asian soil” underscores the regional security concerns of the People’s Republic of China (Zhou, 1981).

Zhou Enlai’s attendance at the conference com-

2001). Zhou evaded disaster by altering his flight at the last time; nonetheless, 11 other passengers perished in the incident.

China’s international political circumstances progressively enhanced following the Bandung meeting. The presence of numerous neutral states at the meeting contributed to the decline of the US-backed strategy of economically and diplomatically isolating the PRC (Westad, 2006). The People’s Republic of China acquired the authority to represent China in the United Nations Security Council in 1971 (UN, 1971).

Indonesia’s Contributions

Ahmet Sukarno, the host of the Bandung Conference, is the man who proclaimed Indonesia’s independence following the defeat of the occupying Japanese forces. Post-independence, it was imperative to construct the nation by combating feudal aspects and the vestiges left by Western influence. Only by this method could a sovereign state endure. Sukarno’s initiative to host the Asia-Africa Conference might be regarded as a component of his endeavor to establish an autonomous state.

In the 1955 general elections, Sukarno’s Indonesian Nationalist Party secured the highest number of votes, but the religiously affiliated Masyumi and Nahdatu’l-Ulema, along with the Indonesian Communist Party, garnered closely contested ballots. Nevertheless, as no party can secure a majority, a stable coalition government cannot be established. Niyazi Berkes’ observation from his 1958-59 visit to Indonesia is insightful: “When Indonesians confronted the challenge of founding a new independent state, they lacked experience in legislative, executive, and judicial matters, particularly following World War II. They were astonished by the events that transpired upon achieving inde-

China’s international political circumstances progressively enhanced following the Bandung meeting.

menced under unfavorable circumstances. An assassination attempt occurred on the Air India aircraft leased by the PRC from Hong Kong (Chen,

pendence, a consequence of the turmoil instigated by the war” (Berkes, 1999).

Additional sources indicate that the nationalization process in Indonesia was more arduous than in Türkiye and Iran, which possess robust state traditions. Ricklefs, 1993. Sukarno implemented a strategy of equilibrium among nationalists, religious factions, and communists. During that period, the Indonesian Communist Party steadily increased in strength, ultimately becoming the predominant political party in the nation (Mortimer, 2006).

The initiative for the Bandung Conference originated in Indonesia. In January 1954, at the behest of Indonesia’s Prime Minister, Dr. Upon Ali Saastroomiijojo, Ceylon, Burma, India, Pakistan, and Indonesia convened in Colombo, Ceylon’s capital, and resolved to conduct a meeting in Bandung in 1955 (Mackie, 2005; Kahin, 1956).

Bandung-Asia-Africa Conference

The summit aimed to foster unity and solidarity among newly established African and Asian nations to safeguard their sovereignty against the United States and Soviet Russia. The meeting, aimed at maximizing participation, took place in Bandung, Java Island, on 18 April 1955. The Bandung Conference was designated to take place at the headquarters and the Convordia building.

At that time, Convordia Hall was the largest venue in Bandung, selected for its proximity to the Savoy Homann Hotel and Preanger Hotel in the city center. The structure was renovated to accommodate the requirements of the international conference, subsequently renamed Gedung Merdeka (Independence Building).



Delegations from 29 Asian and African countries and regions participated in the Asia-Africa Conference held in Bandung, Indonesia, on April 18-24, 1955 (Photograph: Qian Sijie/Xinhua, 1955).

Subsequently, meetings of the Indonesian House of Representatives convened in this edifice (Mackie, 2005; Kahin, 1956).

“Indeed, the diversity among us is undeniable; both small and large nations are represented, alongside individuals practicing religions such as Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, and others.” This hall contains representatives of every political ideology and economic system, including democracy, monarchy, theocracy, socialism, and capitalism. However, if there is consensus in aspiration, what detriment does variety present?

Representatives from Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Abyssinia, the Gold Coast (Ghana), India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Jordan, Laos, Lebanon, Nigeria, Libya, Nepal, Pakistan, Iran, the Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Siam (Thailand), Sudan, Syria, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Yemen, the People’s Republic of China, and Türkiye, along with Cyprus leader Makarios, the former mufti of Jerusalem, and a spokesperson for the African National Congress, were in attendance. Neither South Korea nor North Korea received an invitation. Israel was excluded due to the opposition of Arab nations. (Türk Diplomasi Arşivi, n.d.; Kahin, 1956; Mackie, 2005) On April 26, 1955, the Israeli Prime Minister

expressed his disappointment at his nation’s exclusion from the delegation (Türk Diplomasi Arşivi, n.d).

In his inaugural address on April 18, 1955, Indonesian President Ahmed Sukarno commenced by chanting the Bismillah, emphasizing the multifaceted solidarity of the oppressed. “Indeed, the diversity among us is undeniable; both small and large nations are represented, alongside individuals practicing religions such as Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, and others.” This hall contains representatives of every political ideology and economic system, including democracy, monarchy, theocracy, socialism, and capitalism. However, if there is consensus in aspiration, what detriment does variety present? This meeting embodies fraternity, not antagonism (Sukarno, 1955).

Sukarno articulated that apprehensions should be set aside and that the objective of formulating a strategy advantageous to all mankind should be embraced. The agenda was subsequently advanced. The agenda issues approved by 24 of the 29 countries included: 1- Cultural cooperation; 2- Economic cooperation; 3- Issues faced by nations under foreign domination; 4- Human rights and the right to self-determination; 5- Utilization of atomic energy. 6- Weapons of mass devastation; 7- Advancement of global peace and collaboration. Subsequent to the deliberations, the heads of the delegation convened another meeting and reorganized the agenda. The topic of atomic energy was eliminated from the agenda. The approved agenda topics included: 1) Economic Cooperation, 2) Cultural Cooperation, 3) Human Rights and the Right to Self-Determination (Akşam, 1955).

During the committee deliberations, particularly within the political committee, significant divergences of opinion arose between members of pro-Western governments and those of opposing states. The initial faction, pro-Western, was spearheaded by Tur-

key, Iraq, and Pakistan, whereas the subsequent faction was led by India, the People's Republic of China, and Egypt (Nehru, 2003). Certain Arab states (Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Libya) endorsed Western perspectives, but others (Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Yemen) promoted neutrality. Laos and Cambodia aligned with the neutralists in accordance with the guarantees provided by Nehru and Zhou Enlai.

Leader of Egypt, Gamal Abdel Nasser. Abdul Nasser vehemently denounces Israel and insists that the matter be prioritized, expressing his sadness and condemnation of racial prejudice in South Africa. Nasser expressed his support for enhancing collaboration between his country and those in Asia and Africa. He asserted that small states possess the right to contribute constructively to the regulation of international relations and the alleviation of global tensions. Furthermore, the Egyptian Government maintains that the United Nations Organization is essential for ensuring and maintaining peace and security, and it will persist in its support for this organization (Aydın Tarihi, 1955).

A particularly tense moment during the discussion occurs between the Philippine envoy and Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai. Zhou Enlai, responding defensively to the allegations, asserted that it was the United States, rather than his side, that engaged in damaging actions, expressing a wish to instigate conflict in Formosa, and thereafter posed the challenge: "We are communists." What implications does this hold for other nations globally? If you doubt our peaceful endeavors, I extend an invitation to all of you to visit China. Assess our nation by dispatching your representatives at your convenience. "We seek commonality between our regime and others" (Milletiyet, 1955).

It is noteworthy that Nehru, who turned his back to the Philippine delegate during the speech, supported Zhou Enlai's speech with applause.

Nehru-Zorlu conflict during the conference

A specific parenthesis must be established for Türkiye-India ties at the conference. Nehru, an admirer of Atatürk and a staunch advocate for republican Turkey on the global stage, responded vehemently to Zorlu's pro-Western stance (Nehru, 1955).

During the conference's discourse on colonialism, the Turkish delegation collaborated with Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, and the Philippines to formulate a single proposal advocating for the denunciation of the detrimental actions of international communism. During his address at the Conference, the leader of the Turkish delegation asserted that numerous free and independent governments are confronting a renewed assault from colonialism, and that communism is involved in subversive actions and, when deemed necessary, the application of force (Akşam, 1955). In his address, F. R. Zorlu contended that the threat of rape inhibits free states from forming coalitions like the North Atlantic Pact, the Balkan Pact, and the Southeast Asia Defense Pact. Zorlu asserts, "Our hope for the preservation of peace and security stems from the collaboration of individuals who cherish unity and freedom, demonstrating that rape is neither successful nor acceptable" (Olaylarla Türk Dışpolitikası 1919-1995, 2020).

This speech was bound to elicit severe reactions from the newly independent nations. Zorlu presents a singular perspective. Nehru contended that "NATO represents the opposing facet," asserting that "aligning with either bloc constitutes an unacceptable humiliation for an Asian-African nation" and underscoring that "NATO is a formidable defender of colonialism" (Nehru, 1955). At a subsequent address, F. Rüştü Zorlu declared that Turkey's participation at Bandung was compelled by Western influence. "At the last minute we went to Bandung.

Our allies strongly advocated for this collaboration, claiming that failure to participate would have detrimental consequences” (Olaylarla Türk Dış Politikası 1919-1995, 2020). The error was acknowledged years later, but it was too late. The Turkish government’s stance in Bandung resulted in a significant loss of respect for Turkey among Asian-African nations.

The Bandung Conference is no exception; the error originates from Prime Minister Adnan Menderes’ foreign policy, which was endorsed by French imperialists in their opposition to Algeria during the War of National Liberation. Turkey will rectify these errors over time (AA, 2021).

Bandung Conference in Turkish Press

The Turkish media, including *Akşam*, *Milliyet*, *Cumhuriyet*, and *Vatan*, monitored the Bandung Conference, albeit constrained by the resources available at that time. The press covered the conference news. In 1955, regarded as the zenith of the Cold War era, the Turkish press was significantly influenced by the currents of anti-communism.

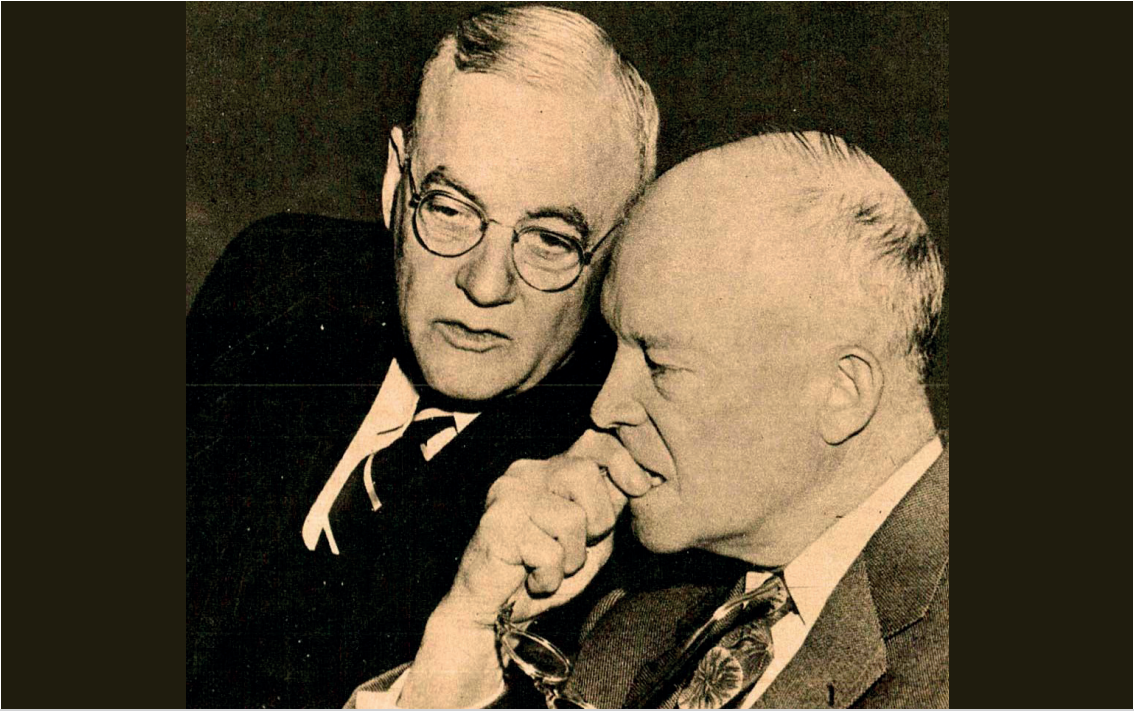
The liberal *Vatan* newspaper reported on its front page that 30 states, representing over half of the global population, commenced the “Bandung Conference,” while diverting attention from the core issues pertinent to the conference.

Consequently, the Turkish press chose to interpret Bandung through an anti-communist lens rather than focusing on the dissolution of colonialism and the rise

of new nations in historical context; newspapers emphasized the statements of Foreign Minister F. Rüştü Zorlu, who advocated for Western positions. In reality, the majority of these periodicals were not supportive of the government; yet, the prevailing anti-communist sentiments of the day influenced both the government and the opposition.

The liberal *Vatan* newspaper reported on its front page that 30 states, representing over half of the global population, commenced the “Bandung Conference,” while diverting attention from the core issues pertinent to the conference. It emphasized: “Nasser’s reception by Nehru” and “Nasser’s invitation to Communist China” (Vatan, 1955: 1-7). During the conference’s opening news, *Vatan* persists in its anti-communist stance with headlines like “Communism Attacked in Bandung” (Vatan, 1955: 1-7). *Vatan* emphasizes the Nehru-Zorlu rivalry, asserting, “Fatin Rüştü Zorlu thwarted one of Nehru’s initiatives.” (Vatan, 1955: 1-7). This story is evidently disconnected from reality and is, furthermore, highly inappropriate on a platform dedicated to the struggle against colonialism. The newspaper’s coverage on the conclusion of the Conference reiterates Zorlu’s circular rhetoric: “Zorlu, ‘Cooperation is Necessary for Peace’” (Vatan, 1955: 1-7). The *Vatan*, which covered F. Rüştü Zorlu’s return to the country, diverges from events in Bandung and emphasizes Zorlu’s statement: “F. Rüştü Zorlu: Turkey’s concept of peace, security, and collective defense was received with comprehension” (Vatan, 1955: 1-7).

The perspective of the center-leaning Turkish newspaper *Cumhuriyet* on the Bandung Conference is analogous to that of the liberal *Vatan* newspaper. The initial report in the newspaper regarding the inauguration of the Asia-Africa Conference was titled “Iraqi Delegate’s Assault on Communism” (Cumhuriyet, 1955: 1-6). The representative of Iraq, a monarchy, is among the delegates of the Westernist faction at Bandung. The forthcoming edition of the newspaper persists in its publication with



President Dwight D. Eisenhower (right) with Secretary of State John Foster Dulles
(Photograph: George Washington University, NSA Archive, n.d.).

reports on various assaults against Communism. The Prime Ministers of India and Red China expressed anger when the Prime Ministers of Pakistan and the Philippines criticized Communism (Cumhuriyet, 1955: 1-7).

Concluding the meeting, *Cumhuriyet* cedes the stage once more to Minister of Foreign Affairs F. Rüştü Zorlu: “I am pleased that the proliferation of communism was referenced, despite its absence in the final communiqué.” This minor joy is attributed to Zorlu! Ultimately, *Cumhuriyet* assigns the evaluation piece at the conclusion of the conference to the renowned anti-communist author and Turkestan delegate, Ruzi Nazar, who asserts, “Communism was defeated in Bandung” (Cumhuriyet, 1955: 1-7). Right-wing and pro-Western criticisms of communism over Bandung exist, although the attribution of the phrase “communism’s defeat in Bandung” is credited to Ruzi Nazar. This conclusion reached by Nazar surpasses the viewpoint of Cold War strategist Dulles.

Western Positions on Bandung

Western authorities meticulously observe the changes in the Far East, which transformed significantly with the founding of the People’s Republic of China and the Korean War.

USA: The presence and, more significantly, the organizational potential of the neutralists intensified Washington’s concerns on a potential connection between Bandung and “the Communists.” On 25 January, the State Department issued a circular telegram to select diplomatic missions, including Ankara, indicating that: (a) Communists will endeavor to manipulate the Conference; (b) the primary objective of the Communists at the Conference will be to sever the ties between free Asian nations and their Western allies; (c) the Conference will serve as a platform for Communist propaganda throughout the region.

(d) Non-Communist countries must exercise extreme caution and vigilance; otherwise, they risk endorsing resolutions that imply shared objectives with the Communist bloc, which could be misinterpreted by non-Communist nations not involved in the Conference (FRUS, 1955).

British officials, who closely monitor colonial developments, exhibit greater realism than their American counterparts; they recognize the influence of the Bandung Spirit from the first. On 4 February 1955, the British Foreign Ministry conveyed its concerns in a note to the Commonwealth High Commission, just prior to the Conference. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicates a significant risk that the Conference may be affected by communist antagonism towards the West.

J.F. Dulles, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, assessed the Bandung Conference a few days post-event to a gathering of 38 individuals, including US President Eisenhower, his vice president, and notable politicians such as H. Humphrey. Dulles expresses initial apprehension regarding the potential dominance of PRC leader Zhou Enlai at the conference; however, he contends that it was primarily influenced by a coalition of amicable Asian nations advocating for collaboration with the West. He assesses that the conference's final declaration is a document in which the USA will also engage, excluding the Palestine issue. He asserts that parallels to colonialism parallel

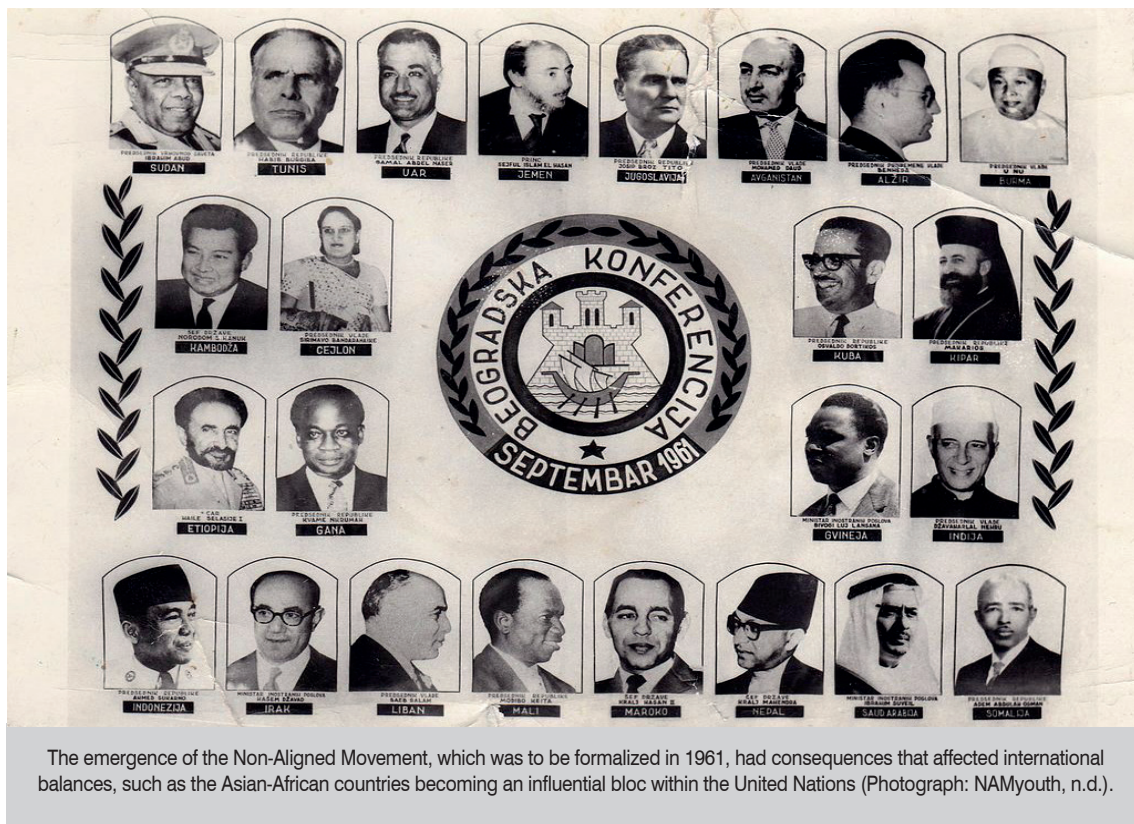
the sentiments of the United States. J.F. Dulles asserted that the conference undermined Nehru, resulting in a significant deterioration of his reputation. Dulles noted that Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai distinguished himself by astute moves. Minister J.F. Dulles highlights that despite the Soviet Union facing severe condemnation for "colonialism" during the conference, the PRC foreign minister refrained from defending the Soviets (FRUS, 1955).

The initial perception of the USA is that the circumstances are not sufficiently dire to incite anxiety. The conference, overall, does not devolve into anti-Western feeling, nor does it transform into unqualified pro-Soviet sentiment. Nehru's apprehension with the perception of being aligned with either group proved beneficial in this regard.

Dulles's evaluation of Bandung rapidly deteriorated because to the actions of the emerging states in the region that gained strength and assumed the initiative. The United States perceives no alternative but to occupy the substantial void created by England and France on behalf of Western imperialists. The resilience of Democratic Korea, Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, coupled with India's growing influence in the Non-Aligned Movement, determines the trajectory of Southeast Asia in the contemporary era.

United Kingdom: British officials, who closely monitor colonial developments, exhibit greater realism than their American counterparts; they recognize the influence of the Bandung Spirit from the first. On 4 February 1955, the British Foreign Ministry conveyed its concerns in a note to the Commonwealth High Commission, just prior to the Conference. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicates a significant risk that the Conference may be affected by communist antagonism towards the West.

Conversely, the Times daily states: "Despite certain apprehensive moments, the 29 nations represented at the Asia-Africa conference, which concluded yesterday, successfully reached a unanimous agreement



on the communiqué summarizing their negotiations. The conference, initially divided into three factions—anti-Communists, Communists, and neutrals—did not achieve a successful compromise” (Murat, 2018). The publication paradoxically asserts failure while delineating triumph.

Soviet disposition The Soviet perspective is elucidated through the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Archive. Pravda published two pieces regarding the conference. The Kızılyıldız newspaper features an article on the topic as well. All Soviet newspapers feature the declaration released at the conclusion of the Conference. Pravda, dated 28 April 1955, characterizes the event as the ‘Great Emancipation of the Peace Forces’ (Türk Diplomasi Arşivi, 1955).

Soviet Union: The Turkish Foreign Affairs Archive indicates that two pieces regarding the Conference

were published in Pravda. The Kızılyıldız newspaper likewise disseminated a story on the topic. All publications published the declaration released at the conclusion of the Conference. Pravda, on April 28, 1955, characterizes the event as the ‘Great Success of the Forces of Peace’ (Türk Diplomasi Arşivi, 1955).

Non-Alignment Movement After Bandung

Subsequent to the Bandung Conference, the proliferation of states attaining independence accelerated significantly. In 1961, the Non-Aligned Preparatory Conference convened in Belgrade as a precursor to subsequent sessions. Consequently, the Bandung Spirit evolved into a structured entity. The drafted regulation specifies that the invited countries must adhere to the following principles:

Involved States,

- The harmonious coexistence of nations with diverse social and political structures necessitates the pursuit of an independent policy.

- Must have consistently advocated for national liberation and independence,

- Should not have engaged in military pacts or Cold War conflicts and arrangements between East and West,

- No military bases belonging to any state benefiting from the Cold War shall be established on its territory (Sander, 2000).

Of the 27 resolutions made at the Belgrade conference, 16 pertained directly or indirectly to the provisions of the UN Charter. This and similar conferences demonstrated that “neutrality” and “non-alignment” were the prevailing philosophies in the Asian-African context (Sander, 2000). Sixty states participated in the Non-Aligned Meeting convened in Cairo in 1964, representing half of the sovereign states globally at that time.

Conclusion

The Final Declaration of the Conference, which finished on April 24, is the essential text that defines the framework of the post-colonial international society. The core of the Final Declaration, summarized in the appendix, encompasses the eradication of colonialism, the independence and equality of nations regardless of size, collaboration in economic and cultural domains, opposition to racial discrimination, the right to self-determination for nations, and the principle of peaceful coexistence.

Although it appears straightforward currently, the truth is somewhat different. The convey-

ing of 29 Asian-African nations, despite their diverse political and social systems, to together address shared challenges and reach unanimous agreements that would significantly influence international dynamics is a notable diplomatic achievement. P. Nehru is indisputably the principal architect of this triumph. Bandung is the inaugural significant assembly when Chinese Prime Minister Zhou Enlai, who faced substantial criticism throughout the conference, made his worldwide debut.

The Bandung Spirit, which catalyzed the Non-Aligned Movement in the latter half of the 20th century, invigorates contemporary regional organizations such as BRICS, which oppose dollar supremacy and, consequently, US hegemony, in pursuit of a new international order, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which focuses on combating terrorism and extremism. Organizations like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and several regional entities, both large and small, remain motivated by the Bandung Spirit.

The Bandung Conference concluded with the Final Declaration, leading to the formation of an influential bloc of Asian-African nations within



On June 28, 2024, China solemnly celebrated the 70th anniversary of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which also marked the Bandung Conference (Photograph: Global Times, 2024).

the United Nations in international politics, the establishment of the Non-Aligned Movement, formalized in 1961, and the consolidation of Asian-African countries as a significant entity within the United Nations. It generates repercussions that influence global equilibria, such as Subsequent events plainly demonstrated that this significantly helped to global peace and stability during that period.

The Bandung Spirit endures to this day. A testament to this is the commemoration of Bandung's 70th anniversary through a series of events. The Indonesia-Africa meetings in Bali and the China-Africa meetings in Beijing address various issues faced by developing countries (Independent, 2024).

In the latter part of the 20th century, huma-

nity significantly eradicated severe colonialism, diminished the disparity between small and large nations to a degree, and enhanced economic and cultural collaboration among developing countries.

The Bandung Spirit, which catalyzed the Non-Aligned Movement in the latter half of the 20th century, invigorates contemporary regional organizations such as BRICS, which oppose dollar supremacy and, consequently, US hegemony, in pursuit of a new international order, and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, which focuses on combating terrorism and extremism. Organizations like the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and several regional entities, both large and small, remain motivated by the Bandung Spirit.

The Bandung Spirit proclaimed to the world the commencement of a new epoch. A cursory examination of the international landscape recognizes the Bandung Spirit's contribution to the significant transformations occurring. Currently, the Bandung Spirit extends beyond the Asia-Africa context, permeating all five continents and the globe. 

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New China's Foreign Policy Before and After the Bandung Conference: Rethinking the Bandung Conference



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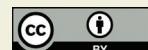
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ABSTRACT

The Bandung Conference, also known as the inaugural Asian-African Conference, took place in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955. It was the first significant international assembly of Asian and African nations to deliberate on the essential interests of their peoples without the involvement of colonial powers. From the standpoint of examining the diplomatic strategy framework of the People's Republic of China during that period, the Bandung Conference represented a continuation and enhancement of China's initiatives to manage and cultivate relations with surrounding nations in the early 1950s. China's active involvement in the meeting was consistent with Third World principles, advocating for solidarity, autonomy, and collaboration among developing countries. This represents a significant aspect of New China's pursuit of an autonomous diplomatic trajectory and constitutes a pivotal event that facilitated the transition from the "Leaning to One Side" policy to the approach of seeking common ground while setting aside differences and promoting peaceful coexistence. Seventy years post-Bandung Conference, the Bandung Spirit—characterized by "unity, friendship, cooperation, peaceful coexistence, and the pursuit of common ground while setting aside differences"—continues to exert a significant and lasting influence on the evolution of China's diplomatic strategy.

Keywords: Bandung Conference, Asian and African countries, New China's diplomacy, "Leaning to One Side" policy, Peaceful coexistence, Third World Theory.

Introduction

FOLLOWING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF the People's Republic of China in 1949, the nation rapidly encountered diplomatic isolation due to a complicated international landscape. Western nations, spearheaded by the United States, claiming ideological disparities and global strategic interests, declined to acknowledge the new Chinese government and sought to restrict its advancement through economic

sanctions and military intimidation. By that time, the Cold War framework had already been established, prompting the United States' position on China to compel the Communist Party of China to forgo collaboration with the United States, opt for an alliance with the Soviet Union for survival and security, and adopt a "Leaning to One Side" diplomatic approach. "Leaning to One Side" emerged as the foundational tenet of New China's diplomatic strategy during that period and served as a significant manifestation of its revolutionary diplomacy.

This circumstance compelled New China to progressively seek a means to overcome isolation, foster collaboration with developing nations by endorsing anti-imperialist and anti-colonial initiatives, and establish the groundwork for its subsequent integration into the international system. In April 1955, delegates from 29 Asian and African nations convened in Bandung, Indonesia, for the inaugural Asia-Africa Conference, often known as the Bandung Conference. The Bandung Conference was the inaugural extensive international assembly convened by Asian and African nations to deliberate on regional matters and the concerns of their peoples, excluding Western colonial powers. The Bandung Conference marked the commencement of China's diplomatic strategy, transitioning from the predominant "Leaning to One Side" revolutionary ideology to a policy of seeking common ground while setting aside disagreements and promoting peaceful coexistence.

**Before the Bandung Conference:
From "Leaning to One Side" to peaceful
coexistence**

**The historical logic of the "one-sided"
diplomatic strategy**

In the initial years following the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, it adopted a "Leaning to One Side" diplomatic strategy, aligning politically with the Soviet Union and collaborating with nations within the socialist bloc, thus standing by the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union. The "Leaning to One Side" policy encompasses two key aspects: Initially, a thorough political disengagement from capitalist nations, eliminating all misconceptions regarding Western countries. Second, avoiding a stance of straddling

two boats—one foot in socialism and the other in Western capitalism (Liu, 2004). The "Leaning to One Side" policy, signifying China's unequivocal endorsement of the socialist bloc, also mirrored New China's perception of nationalist nations, significantly shaped by the Soviet Union's dichotomous camp theory. This perspective posits that nationalist nations were deemed components of the Western imperialist bloc, and any ideologies labeled as "revisionist" or "neutralist"—those lacking a strong alignment with socialism—were deemed unacceptable. This method seemed to be an unavoidable selection for New China's domestic and international policies. This diplomatic strategy stemmed from various internal and external influences operating concurrently throughout the Cold War (Li, 2017). Concerning the origins of the "Leaning to One Side" foreign policy, Chinese scholars highlight the crucial influence of ideological and historical elements, asserting that this policy's development was predicated on the Chinese Communist Party and the government's evaluation of national interests (Cheng, 2007), ideology (Liu, 2006), and international conditions, especially the interplay of political dynamics involving China, the United States, and the Soviet Union (Wu, 2011). This policy resulted from a thorough analysis and assessment of multiple aspects.

At that juncture, the conflict between the two camps had already crystallized, with the stark ideological and social system split being the most salient characteristic of international relations. The U.S. strategy of endorsing Chiang Kai-shek and countering communism exacerbated the nascent China's inclination to forge an alliance with the Soviet Union to safeguard its national interests. Scholars typically analyze the fundamental implications of the "Leaning to One Side" foreign policy from two viewpoints: "alliance" and "independence."



On February 14, 1950, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance was signed in Moscow. Premier and Foreign Minister Zhou Enlai signed the treaty on behalf of the Chinese government. This was the first treaty signed between New China and a foreign country (Photograph: China.org, n.d.).

The primary implication of the “Leaning to One Side” foreign strategy asserts that the Chinese revolution was integral to the global proletarian socialist revolution and underscores that China’s revolutionary success was contingent upon the support of the socialist Soviet Union. This approach aimed to forge an alliance with the Soviet Union to obtain robust external backing (Li, 2017). Moreover, independence served not only as the foundation for the Chinese Communist Party’s formulation of the “Leaning to One Side” foreign policy but also as the core concept it steadfastly maintained throughout its execution. The primary objective of the policy was to uphold national sovereignty and dignity in international relations while preventing external interference in China’s domestic affairs, relying on the strength of its people rather than foreign powers to safeguard national security and foster economic development.

One of the important manifestations of “Leaning to One Side”: The Korean War

Shortly after the establishment of New China, in order to protect its sovereignty and security, and guided by the diplomatic policy of “Leaning to One Side,” China engaged in military conflicts to support Vietnam against France and the United States, as well as North Korea, to defend the socialist bloc.

Initially, according to plans articulated by those like George Kennan, U.S. military deployments during the Cold War were to emphasize Europe. The establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949 and the Soviet Union’s successful detonation of its inaugural atomic bomb necessitated a strategic pivot by the United States towards the East Asian region (Christensen, 1996: 85; Chang, 1990: 29–41).

The Korean Peninsula, governed by wartime accords and a temporary trusteeship jointly administered by the United States and the Soviet Union, inevitably emerged as the most unstable and violent area in East Asia during the Cold War. On September 8, 1949, U.S. forces commenced landings at Incheon and Busan, while Soviet troops stationed south of the 38th parallel progressively retreated northward, delineating a divide of the peninsula along the 38th parallel (Niu, 2015).

The partition of the peninsula resulted in the establishment of two governments in North and South Korea, a circumstance deemed intolerable by Koreans on both sides of the demarcation. The regime of Kim Il-sung in North Korea promptly initiated diplomatic endeavors to garner support from the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Union for the forcible unification of the peninsula. In May, Kim Il-sung's emissary, Kim Il, clandestinely visited China and conferred with Mao Zedong, who counseled North Korea to forgo the notion of launching an assault (Kovalev, 1949/2003). On December 26, during his inaugural visit to Moscow, Mao Zedong informed Stalin that "the paramount issue now is to secure peace" and that "resolving China's critical issues is contingent upon the prospect of peace" (Stalin & Mao, 1949/2015). Due to geopolitical security concerns, Mao Zedong initially pursued a peaceful growth environment for the nascent Chinese rule and opposed North Korea's use of military action.

Nonetheless, neither the United States nor the Soviet Union intended to uphold peace on the Korean Peninsula. In January 1950, U.S. President Truman directed the State and Defense Departments to reevaluate America's objectives in both war and peace, as well as the implications of those objectives on strategic planning (Mitrovich, 2000: 50). The request resulted in the formulation of

NSC-68, a strategy document that first predicted a possible military confrontation with the Soviet Union, designating 1954 as "the most perilous year" (U.S. Department of State, 1950: 267). This plan demonstrated the United States' urgent intention to mobilize domestically for rivalry with the Soviet Union, prioritizing crisis mitigation and peace maintenance as secondary concerns (Wang, 2024). Equipped with nuclear capabilities, the Soviet Union grew increasingly assertive in its interactions with the United States and implemented interventionist tactics on the Korean Peninsula. Upon discovering that the United States had diminished its support for the Syngman Rhee administration, the Soviet Union promptly devised military assistance strategies for North Korea. On January 30, during discussions between Mao Zedong and Stalin over assistance to the Vietnamese Communist Party, Stalin communicated via telegram to Kim Il-sung his readiness to host Kim in Moscow and offer requisite support after assessing the circumstances (Stalin & Mao, 1949/2015).

The Korean War commenced on June 25, 1950. The Korean Peninsula serves as a natural barrier for China's northeastern territory, posing a direct security threat for China. China would face a direct threat if the entire peninsula were to fall under American control. Alongside geopolitical security reasons, China's "Leaning to One Side" policy significantly influenced its actions, positioning North Korea, a socialist state, as a natural ally due to its ideological affinities with China and the Soviet Union. This common ideology bolstered collaboration between the two nations, prompting China to unequivocally support North Korea to maintain a congenial and reasonably stable neighbor.

By endorsing North Korea, China not only reinforced its standing within the socialist bloc but also augmented its strategic security in the context



The Chinese People's Volunteers fought alongside the Korean people and army in the War of Resistance to US Aggression and Aid to Korea (Photograph: Zhihu, n.d.).

of the Cold War. This stance resulted in extended conflict with Western nations, complicating China's diplomatic relations. In the final phases of the war, Chinese officials redirected their attention to domestic economic development and modified foreign policy to enhance the regional environment and uphold national security, as the Korean conflict became increasingly localized. Since the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, partnership, and Mutual Assistance on February 14, 1950, Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party have sought to forge an equitable partnership with the Soviet Union, rather than a subordinate one. Relations with other socialist nations were governed by the ideals of peaceful coexistence, emphasizing mutual equality and sovereignty.

In 1953, at the concluding phase of the Korean War armistice negotiations, India was designated as the chair of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. According to the Korean Armistice Agreement, India, as a non-combatant nation, was tasked with overseeing the repatriation of prisoners of war. This position facilitated regular engagements between India, China, North Korea, and United Nations forces. During the negotiations, Chinese Premier and Foreign Minister Zhou Enlai engaged with Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru via diplomatic channels over prisoner return and the execution of the armistice agreement. Notwithstanding the disparities on the issue, the interactions fostered mutual confidence and established a basis for future Sino-Indian relations (Kim, 1993).

Moreover, India's impartial diplomatic stance affected China's management of major power relations throughout the Cold War. This experience established the theoretical basis for the subsequent promotion of peaceful coexistence and the non-aligned movement by the two governments among Third World nations.

The Proposal of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence

The Korean War exacerbated the antagonistic relationship between the two camps of the Cold War, with China firmly aligned with the Soviet bloc and significantly disdained by the West. The demise of Stalin in 1953 presented China with a pivotal opportunity to adjust and finally relinquish its "Leaning to One Side" diplomatic approach. The "Leaning to One Side" policy enabled the nascent China to solidify its standing in a polarized ideological landscape, safeguard the new regime's development, and facilitate post-war economic recovery; however, it also inherently embodied a bias stemming from ideological disparities. This approach, by delineating ideological boundaries in international relations, curtailed China's autonomy in its interactions with Western nations and newly sovereign nationalist states in Asia and Africa. It also diminished China's diplomatic flexibility and obstructed the pursuit of independence and essential national interests. In order to dismantle the Western blockade on the newly established People's Republic of China and alleviate its frequent diplomatic isolation globally, China aimed to actualize Mao Zedong's vision of "the Chinese people have stood up." This endeavor initiated a new era of diplomatic inquiry and endeavor, with one of the most significant accomplishments being the formal introduction of the Five Principles of Peaceful

Coexistence (Yu, 2015). The Five Principles of Peaceful cohabitation, first articulated by Zhou Enlai in 1953, include: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in domestic affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful cohabitation. These concepts evolved become a fundamental international diplomatic guideline for China.

In April 1949, Mao Zedong, representing the People's Liberation Army, articulated two principles for the establishment of diplomatic ties with foreign nations. He asserted that the People's Republic of China was prepared to forge diplomatic relations predicated on "equality, mutual benefit, and reciprocal respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity" with nations that "do not support the reactionary Kuomintang." On October 1st, Chairman Mao Zedong proclaimed from the Tiananmen Gate to the world: "We are prepared to establish diplomatic relations with any foreign government that adheres to the principles of equality, mutual benefit, and respect for territorial sovereignty." Within a year of the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the nation swiftly and comprehensively eradicated imperialist privileges and influences, instituted the People's Customs, and, while forging diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union and 11 other socialist nations, secured recognition from 13 countries. The list comprises, in sequential order, the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, East Germany, Albania, Vietnam, Yugoslavia, India, and North Korea. The acknowledgment of these nations signified the gradual validation of the worldwide legitimacy of the new China, particularly the formation of diplomatic relations with socialist states. These nations not only acknowledged New China diplomatically but also fostered political and economic collabora-

tion across various dimensions. During this time, New China's foreign policy underwent significant expansion (Zhang et al., 2015). India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and Finland were the inaugural non-socialist nations to establish diplomatic ties with the new China.

The "Peaceful United Front Policy" originated in 1952 and was fully developed by 1954, centered around the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

The "Peaceful United Front Policy" originated in 1952 and was fully developed by 1954, centered around the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. In late 1953, the Chinese government, in conjunction with the Indian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, established a delegation comprising Indian representatives, including Gol, the joint secretary of the Indian Ministry, Ambassador Lai Jiawen, and Tibet Studies expert Luba Lakari, to negotiate trade and communication matters between India and Tibet, China. On December 31, Premier Zhou Enlai convened with the delegation in Zhongnanhai and, for the first time, articulated the comprehensive Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. On April 29, 1954, China and India executed the "Agreement on Trade and Communication between the Tibet Autonomous Region of China and India," formally integrating the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence into an international treaty. During Premier Zhou Enlai's visit to Myanmar in June of the same year, he and Myanmar Prime Minister U Nu reaffirmed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, with Zhou Enlai asserting that these principles

were relevant not only to China's foreign policy but also to other nations. The assertion was founded on China's scientific evaluation of the contemporary international context and epitomized the accurate inference derived from past lessons (Wang, 1994).

During the global landscape of the era, the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified in the 1950s, with both powers vying for influence in the Third World. The Soviet Union persistently pursued advancements in the Third World, but the United States endeavored to preserve its dominance in the area, resulting in considerable confrontations between the two superpowers. Conversely, the heightened consciousness of the populations in Asia and Africa, along with the subjugation by colonial administrations, catalyzed anti-imperialist, anti-colonial, and nationalist movements. Individuals in North Africa, Asia, and the Americas revolted in defiance and achieved national sovereignty. Independent nations in Asia and Africa began to emphasize their impartial position on the global scene. Countries in Asia and Africa, traditionally passive in international forums, began engaged in the early 1950s inside the United Nations and other global platforms. For instance, India, within the United Nations, consistently advocated for Asian and Arab nations to demand a truce in Korea and a diplomatic end to the Korean conflict, audaciously challenging U.S. military policy.

China's proposal of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence during this period reflected its position and perspective on the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union in the Third World. China staunchly resisted imperialism, colonialism, and hegemony, while vigorously endorsing the national liberation movements of Third World nations. China likewise condemned the imprudent actions of the United States and the Soviet Union in the developing world.

The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence represented a stance against warfare and involvement in the domestic matters of sovereign nations, alongside a firm repudiation of aggression and militaristic forces. The Five Principles also highlighted that China's foreign policy was independent and self-determined. Deng Xiaoping asserted, "China does not utilize the American card, nor the Soviet card, and we do not permit others to employ the China card" (Li & Zhu, 2001). China has comprehensively acknowledged the collective aspiration of Third World nations to repudiate power politics and collaborate in the quest for peace. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, promoted by China, profoundly illustrate its commitment to fostering consensus with Third World nations and reconciling conflicts with them. Consequently, unlike the earlier revolutionary mindset of "Leaning to One Side," the notion of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" regarding ideology and political systems emerged as the cornerstone of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The establishment of these principles prompted a transformation in China's diplomatic concepts and strategic policies.

In the Bandung Conference: Exploration of New Diplomatic Routes

Preparation for the Conference: The Indonesian Initiative and the Bogor Conference

The concept of uniting Asian and African nations against colonialism predates the Bandung Conference. The nations, spearheaded by India, convened initially in Colombo and subsequently in Bogor to deliberate on the organizing of an Afro-Asian Conference. The countries in-

volved in the Colombo Conference, which was held in April 1954, acknowledged and endorsed the initiative of Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Shastro Amizoyo to organize the Asian-African Conference. Subsequently, at the Bogor Conference in late 1954, the five nations of India, Indonesia, Myanmar, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), and Pakistan released a joint communiqué in which they officially resolved to convene the inaugural Asian-African Conference in 1955, known as the Bandung Conference. In alignment with the "principle of independent government," the participating nations nominated 30 countries, including China, to attend the Asian-African Conference (National Museum of China, 2021).

Prior to the Bandung Conference, in October and December of 1954, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Burmese Prime Minister U Nu had already proposed the notion of organizing an Afro-Asian conference during their travels to China. In October 1954, at a meeting organized for Nehru's visit to China, Premier Zhou Enlai suggested concrete actions to form an international peace coalition and enhance diplomatic initiatives. Zhou categorized countries within the capitalist bloc into three types: the first, spearheaded by the United States, represented the war party; the second, led by the United Kingdom and France, embodied the status quo group; and the third, guided by India, constituted the peace and neutral side. The Chinese government sought to isolate the United States, win over the second group of nations, and combine with the third category (Central Literature Research Office, 1997: 419–420).

Upon the revelation of the proposal to convene the Afro-Asian Conference, Premier Zhou Enlai promptly acknowledged its significance as a historic event, not only for Asia and Africa but



On September 30, 1956, Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Zhou Enlai and others welcomed Indonesian President Sukarno and his entourage at the Capital Airport (Photograph: The Paper, 2019).

also for contemporary international relations, heralding the commencement of a new era in which Asian and African nations would govern their own destinies. China need to participate in the conference, as it presents a significant opportunity to broaden its diplomatic horizons, enhance international interactions, and forge new alliances. Zhou Enlai articulated his endorsement: “We endorse Indonesian Prime Minister Sukarno’s initiative for the Afro-Asian Conference, along with Prime Minister Nehru’s sponsorship of the event. We are prepared to attend this conference as it promotes Asian and global peace and fosters the expansion of calm zones, which will alleviate tensions” (Tang, 2003: 6). Mao Zedong placed significant emphasis on the Afro-Asian Conference, which excluded imperialist and colonialist nations. He assigned Zhou Enlai to personally devise the strategy for China’s involvement in the meeting

(Feng & Jin, 2003: 590).

It is noteworthy that some pro-Western journalists at the Bogor Conference questioned China’s invitation to the Bandung Conference. Of the 30 countries invited to the meeting, only six Asian nations—Afghanistan, Pakistan, Burma, India, Indonesia, and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam—had established diplomatic relations with China. Among the five founding nations of the conference, Ceylon had not yet established diplomatic relations with China, retaining solely commercial links. However, during the Bogor Conference, the predominant number of Afro-Asian nations endorsed the invitation for China to participate. Burmese Prime Minister U Nu exhibited the most steadfast position, declaring, “If the conference excludes the largest nation in Asia—the People’s Republic of China—then Burma will likewise refrain from attending.”

At that time, China maintained trade agreements with Democratic Vietnam, India, Ceylon, Burma, and Indonesia, semi-official trade accords with Japan and Pakistan, and direct trade relations with Egypt, Syria, and Nepal; nonetheless, it exhibited minimal trade engagement with other Middle Eastern and African nations (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 1955). The data suggests considerable potential for advancement in China's political, diplomatic, economic, and trade connections with Afro-Asian nations. The invitation extended to China for participation in the Bandung Conference demonstrated the initiating countries' confidence in China, which had considerable ramifications for China's endeavors to extricate itself from Soviet influence, adopt an independent and peaceful foreign policy, and enhance its international affiliations. It is noteworthy that certain Afro-Asian nations, influenced and dominated by the United States during that period, held negative perceptions of communist states. For instance, Egypt maintained many contacts with Taiwan throughout that period and subsequently became the inaugural Arab and African nation to establish diplomatic relations with China.

Before the Bandung Conference, China's connections with Afro-Asian nations were problematic. In light of impediments posed by adversarial forces spearheaded by the United States and the ramifications of the Taiwan Question, the Chinese leadership was compelled to meticulously prepare in advance and steadfastly maintain its position throughout the summit. China aimed to enhance its diplomatic relations with Afro-Asian nations during this critical event, guided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence (Xia, 2005).

In January 1955, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs finalized the Preliminary Plan for Cultural and Friendship Preparations for Participation in the Afro-Asian Conference, along with the Draft of the Preliminary Work Plan for Participation in the Afro-Asian Confe-

rence. On January 15, Indonesian Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo, representing the five initiating nations of the Colombo Conference, cordially invited China to partake in the Afro-Asian Conference scheduled for April in Bandung. On February 10, Premier Zhou Enlai, representing the Chinese government, dispatched a telegram in which he expressed his enthusiastic acceptance of the offer. On April 4, Zhou Enlai composed essential documents, including the Draft Plan for Participation in the Afro-Asian Conference and the Draft Plan for Visiting Indonesia, which were presented for evaluation by Mao Zedong and others. On April 5, Mao Zedong presided over an extended meeting of the Politburo, during which these documents were meticulously examined and ratified. The draft Plan for Participation in the Afro-Asian Conference indicated that China's overarching policy at the conference should focus on broadening the global peace front, advancing national independence movements, and fostering conditions for the establishment and enhancement of diplomatic and other relations with diverse Afro-Asian nations. This approach fundamentally encapsulated the values of peaceful coexistence. The Chinese delegation was keen to participate in this significant international meeting, which was conducted for the first time without the presence of the Soviet Union (Party History Research Office of the CPC Central Committee, 2011).

Conference process: Zhou Enlai's diplomatic practice

On April 18, 1955, the Bandung Conference opened ceremoniously. During this epoch-making seven-day conference, the Chinese delegation put forward the policy of "seeking common ground while reserving differences" and, based on its pre-established strategy of dealing with possible differences and controversies at the Asian-African Conference, successfully resolved some of the questions and



During a break in the Bandung Conference from April 18-24, 1955, people from all parties asked Premier Zhou Enlai to sign a souvenir (Photograph: Qian Sijie/Xinhua, 1955).

problems at the Conference, thus making a significant contribution to the successful conclusion of the Conference. According to China's judgment, the key to overcoming the differences between China and some Asian and African countries that still expressed skepticism towards China lay in clarifying the position of the Chinese government - that is, China, as an independent socialist country, should seek common ground while reserving differences and coexist peacefully with Asian and African countries. At the Bandung Conference, Premier Zhou Enlai formally articulated the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, while clarifying the doubts of certain countries.

In response to the Taiwan Question posed by the U.S. Embassy in Indonesia, China promptly released a statement aimed at alleviating tensions in the Taiwan region, indicating its readiness to engage in negotiations with the United States on equitable terms. The declaration asserted, "The Chinese populace is amicable towards the American populace. The Chi-

nese populace exhibits no inclination to participate in hostilities with the United States. The Chinese government is prepared to engage in negotiations with the U.S. government to address and alleviate tensions in the Far East, particularly concerning the Taiwan region" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China & Central Documentary Research Office, 1990: 134). Despite the U.S. authorities' negative reception of Zhou Enlai's conciliatory stance at the Bandung Conference and their call for United Nations intervention in the Taiwan Question, which China found wholly unacceptable (Developments Over Week End Relating to Chou En-lai's Negotiation Proposal, 1955), the Chinese delegation's statement received considerable acclaim from the attending nations. Through a resolute position and adept diplomatic strategies, China successfully alleviated the pressure imposed by the U.S. regarding the Taiwan Question, averting a stalemate at the conference (Li, 2020: 70-85).

Due to the diverse ideologies of the participating countries and the anti-communist propaganda led by hostile forces, such as the United States, many countries harbored doubts and fears about China. At the conference, some even proposed opposing not only colonialism but also communism, arguing against adopting the term “peaceful coexistence” coined by the Chinese Communist Party. Faced with the risk of these intense debates causing the conference to end in discord, Zhou Enlai calmly reassured the participants, stating that he had anticipated attempts by Western powers to manipulate and exacerbate ideological differences among countries. He remarked:

Premier Zhou Enlai declared, “China is a country with freedom of religious belief. It not only has seven million Communist Party members but also tens of millions of Muslims and Buddhists, as well as millions of Christians and Catholics”

“Participants in this conference include countries involved in military treaties, members of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization or the Baghdad Pact, and even countries in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. There are socialist countries as well as nationalist ones. Given this diversity, it is natural for many disagreements to arise...” He further elaborated: “Although participating countries have differing opinions, acknowledging these differences itself is a form of agreement! If there is a common ground to be found, it is the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.”

Hearing Zhou’s remarks, several national leaders nodded in agreement and expressed their admiration (Tang, 2003: 299–300). Zhou emphasized that while

Asian and African countries differ in ideology and social systems, this should not hinder their pursuit of common ground and solidarity. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence could serve as the foundation for building friendly cooperation and neighborly relations among Asian and African nations. To address the sensitive issue of ideology, which often triggers debates and conflicts, China deliberately adopted a “no debate” strategy, avoiding revolutionary or ideological rhetoric in response to criticism and accusations. By proposing that “acknowledging differences itself constitutes agreement”, China deeply implemented the diplomatic philosophy of seeking common ground while preserving differences. This approach not only defused tensions at the Bandung Conference but also allowed the proceedings to continue, leaving a lasting impression of China’s peaceful posture.

Regarding the issue of religious freedom, China was mindful that many participating countries at the Bandung Conference were Muslim nations. In preparing for the conference, China deliberately invited Da Pusheng, Vice Chairman of the China Islamic Association, to serve as an advisor to the delegation. Zhou Enlai regarded freedom of religious belief as a principle universally recognized by modern nations. While communists are atheists, they respect religious beliefs. In the Asian-African family, individuals with and without religious faith can coexist and unite. Premier Zhou Enlai declared, “China is a country with freedom of religious belief. It not only has seven million Communist Party members but also tens of millions of Muslims and Buddhists, as well as millions of Christians and Catholics” (Central Documentary Research Office, 1997: 466). This statement garnered goodwill from Muslim countries and other nations with religious populations, improving their perception of China.

Finally, Premier Zhou Enlai emphasized analyzing the issue of the so-called “exporting revolution” un-

der the previous “Leaning to One Side” policy. The Bandung Conference, as the first in history without the participation of Western colonial powers, aimed to oppose colonial rule and oppression by Western colonial states while also resisting interference and “the export of revolution” by the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Although China participated in the conference as an ally of the Soviet Union under the “Leaning to One Side” policy, this underscored China’s efforts in diplomacy to break free from this policy’s constraints and seek greater diplomatic autonomy. The core tasks of China’s participation in Conference were to “expand the global peace united front” and “promote national independence movements”, rather than to advance a global socialist revolution. Zhou Enlai made it clear during the conference that China’s revolution succeeded th-

rough the efforts of the Chinese people and was not imported externally. Therefore, the success of China’s revolution would not hinder its peaceful cooperation and solidarity with Asian and African countries. China’s diplomacy was moving away from the Soviet Union’s goal of world revolution and the constraints of the Soviet-Eastern bloc. Instead, it sought to guide its foreign policy with the “revolutionary” paradigm of the Global South, focusing on national independence and liberation rather than the goals of the Western or Soviet blocs (Liu, 2019). During the conference, Zhou Enlai also had extensive engagements with leaders of many Asian and African countries, including those without diplomatic relations with China. These interactions laid a solid foundation for China to expand its circle of international friends and overcome diplomatic isolation in the future.



The Observer Delegation from Palestine, Mufti Amien El Husaini, with the Prime Minister of the PRC, Zou Enlai, during the Bandung Conference (Photograph: UNESCO, 2015).

Outcome of the Conference: The Ten Principles of Bandung

On the evening of April 24, 1955, the final plenary session of the Bandung Conference unanimously adopted the Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference, the first document in human history issued in the name of 29 Asian and African countries. In the seventh section of the communiqué titled “Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation”, it explicitly stated: “All nations should have the right to choose their own political and economic systems and their way of life in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter” (Tang, 2003: 350–351). The communiqué also put forward the historically and practically significant Ten Principles of Bandung, which encompassed the entirety of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and extended them further. This demonstrated a consensus among Asian and African countries, including China, to continue promoting the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as an international diplomatic norm.

The Bandung Conference represented an effort by New China to transition from “revolutionary diplomacy” to “national diplomacy” in its diplomatic strategic shift.

The Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference reached agreements on opposing colonialism and securing and safeguarding national independence and adopted resolutions and declarations aimed at promoting world peace and cooperation. It affirmed the shared aspiration of Asian and African

peoples to oppose aggressive wars and uphold world peace. The Bandung Conference also passed resolutions to enhance economic and cultural cooperation among Asian and African countries, marking a milestone in international political and economic cooperation (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China Archives, 2007: 95–119).

As a newly independent significant power in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, New China actively engaged in the Bandung Conference and contributed constructively, acquiring unparalleled diplomatic influence (Zhang, 2015). Zhou Enlai’s diplomatic strategies garnered overwhelming acclaim from the participating nations and astonished the global community. Shortly after the conference, the U.S. Department of State evaluated the Bandung Conference in a telegram, observing that Zhou Enlai “largely succeeded in convincing other delegations of the peaceful nature of Peking’s intentions and the feasibility of peaceful coexistence with Communist China. He further elevated his personal stature as an Asian leader.” The report additionally said that Zhou “may have established the foundation at Bandung for a succession of peace initiatives and for the eventual recognition of Communist China within the international community, especially in the United Nations. Zhou has significantly elevated the worldwide stature of his regime by approving a moderate, statesmanlike closing communiqué and highlighting ideals aligned with the United Nations.” The assessment determined, “Regardless of his intentions, Zhou’s actions at Bandung appear to have instigated a shift in the Cold War, marked by a revitalized optimism regarding the prevention of armed conflict—a shift that may, in reality, complicate the maintenance of peace” (U.S. Department of State, 1955). This illustrates that Zhou Enlai’s diplomatic initiatives profoundly ingrained China’s peaceful stance within global awareness. The Bandung model, defined by the pursuit of commo-

nality while acknowledging differences and promoting peaceful coexistence, is set to have a significant and enduring impact on the global arena.

The Bandung Conference represented an effort by New China to transition from “revolutionary diplomacy” to “national diplomacy” in its diplomatic strategic shift. During the meeting, the Chinese delegation, led by Zhou Enlai, deliberately minimized and circumvented ideological and social system elements characteristic of revolutionary diplomacy. This event marked a pivotal transition in China's departure from the “leaning to one side” approach towards an independent foreign policy of peaceful coexistence, liberating itself from the limitations of the bipolar bloc theory. The Bandung Conference was the inaugural extensive international assembly attended by China in the absence of Soviet involvement. Zhou Enlai abstained from overly defending the Soviet Union or devising policies under its influence. This incident illustrated that, despite its collaboration with the Soviet Union, China upheld an independent position in its foreign policy. In a telegram dispatched by the U.S. Department of State to the American Embassy in Moscow in February 1955, the Department observed, “Zhou Enlai's actions suggest that he aims to foster the perception that Asian nations could coexist harmoniously with Peking without becoming embroiled in the geopolitical rivalry between Moscow and Washington” (Outgoing Telegram from Department of State to American Embassy Moscow, 1955).

After the Bandung Conference: The evolution of Chinese Foreign policy

Subsequent to the Bandung Conference, China persisted in its endeavors to fortify links with Asian and African nations. In July 1955, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs presented the Opinions on Enhanc-

ing and Cultivating Friendly Relations with Asian and African Nations. The Chinese government underscored its commitment to cultivating such partnerships by submitting the Asian-African Conference (Draft) to the central government. The draft recommended drawing insights from the Asian-African Conference and offered essential steps in various domains: fostering amicable encounters, increasing publicity initiatives, conducting research, and training personnel for engagements with Asian and African nations (Xia, 2005). During these initiatives, adhering to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, China cultivated amicable diplomatic relations with various Asian and African nations, signifying the second wave of diplomatic recognition in China's contemporary diplomatic history. From April 1955, upon the conclusion of the Bandung Conference, to 1964, China forged diplomatic relations with 25 Asian and African countries. In late May 1956, China and Egypt released a joint communiqué establishing diplomatic ties, so Egypt became the inaugural African nation to recognize the People's Republic of China. This accomplishment was inextricably linked to the robust camaraderie established between Premier Zhou Enlai and Egyptian Prime Minister Nasser during the Bandung Conference. By 1964, 30 of the 49 nations that had formed diplomatic relations with China were nationalist countries from Asia and Africa, representing the majority. Moreover, Latin American countries also overcame U.S. opposition to engage in friendly exchanges with China, significantly improving China's international standing.

During the global surge of national liberation, China served as a crucial catalyst. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were introduced, encapsulating aspects of idealism and experimentation. These concepts encompassed universal values in international relations, facilitating their broad acceptance.

It is important to recognize that the constant adherence to and application of the Five Principles as diplomatic norms for developing nations has been a protracted historical endeavor. Subsequent to the Bandung Conference, China's endorsement of revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America—especially in neighboring Southeast Asian nations—partially contravened the principle of “non-interference in internal affairs” outlined in the Five Principles. The revival of revolutionary diplomatic thought from the pre-Bandung period signified an intricate stage in China's diplomatic strategy, which developed through experimentation. Following the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the nation encountered dual challenges: navigating international affairs at the state level and bolstering revolutionary movements within the socialist camp. The former necessitated compliance with fundamental principles of international relations, whereas the latter required the execution of proletarian internationalist duties (Zhang et al., 2015).

Observing both domestic and international circumstances, Mao Zedong formulated the strategic concept of the “Three Worlds” and frequently emphasized China's position as a Third World country in diplomatic engagements, initiating adjustments to China's foreign policy.

Beginning in the late 1950s, numerous evaluations by China regarding the international and domestic landscape—such as “the Eastern wind prevails over the Western wind,” “the world revolution is on

the verge of its climax,” and “revolution causes war or revolution eliminates war”—suggest that China's perception of the world during that period was somewhat skewed. Mao Zedong first endorsed the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence put forward by Zhou Enlai. He ultimately saw that these concepts did not truly embody the fundamental principles of proletarian internationalism. After Mao attended the Moscow meeting of world communist and workers' parties in 1957, the divergence in their understanding of international affairs deepened. This shift led China to adopt a more radical stance in the postwar national liberation movements. By the time of the “Cultural Revolution,” China became increasingly self-isolated, positioning itself as the center of world revolution. China had joined the international system and sought to reform and perfect it, but for a period, China made certain missteps and took a detour. Due to various factors, the status of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence within China's foreign policy fluctuated during this time. These principles, however, is still reflected in China's diplomatic practices, particularly in adhering to multilateral diplomacy and strengthening cooperation with developing countries. For instance, in 1956, when the Egyptian government announced the nationalization of the Suez Canal and faced intervention from Western nations, China firmly supported Egypt's decision in international forums (Luo, 1998). Similarly, in the 1960s, China actively responded to the needs of Tanzania and Zambia by providing assistance to construct a railway connecting the two countries, supporting African nations in achieving independence and economic development (Zhou, 2000).

By the early 1970s, as political forces in other regions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America gained momentum, China achieved significant breakthroughs in its diplomacy: in October 1971, the People's Republic of China regained its legitimate seat at the

United Nations; in February 1972, the issuance of the Joint Communiqué between China and the United States marked the beginning of normalized relations between the two nations. Observing both domestic and international circumstances, Mao Zedong formulated the strategic concept of the “Three Worlds” and frequently emphasized China’s position as a Third World country in diplomatic engagements, initiating adjustments to China’s foreign policy.

The “Three Worlds” strategic concept was elaborated by Deng Xiaoping at the United Nations on April 10, 1974. Deng stated, “From the changes in international relations, the world today can be divided into three interconnected yet contradictory aspects, or three worlds. The United States and the Soviet Union constitute the First World. Developing countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and other regions form the Third World. Developed countries situated between these two constitute the Second World.”

He further pointed out, “The United States and the Soviet Union are the greatest international exploiters and oppressors of our time... The vast majority of Third World countries were once colonies or semi-colonies, and after gaining independence, they still face the historical tasks of eliminating the remnants of colonialism, developing their national economies, and consolidating their national independence. Third World countries strongly demand changes to the highly unequal international economic relations and have proposed many reasonable reform initiatives, which the Chinese government and people warmly support and firmly endorse” (Shi, 2024: 14-15).

After the launch of the Reform and Opening-Up policy, under the influence of Deng Xiaoping, opposing hegemonism, maintaining world peace, and strengthening solidarity and cooperation with the Third World increasingly became core elements of China’s foreign policy.



The “Three Worlds” strategic concept was elaborated by Deng Xiaoping at the United Nations on April 10, 1974 (Photograph: UN, 2020).

In May 1984, while outlining the fundamental principles of contemporary Chinese diplomacy, Deng Xiaoping emphasized: “China currently belongs to the Third World, and even when it develops and becomes prosperous in the future, it will still belong to the Third World” (Deng, 1993: 56). Chinese leaders increasingly used the term “independent and peaceful foreign policy” to summarize the country’s basic diplomatic approach during international exchanges. Following the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, China’s basic foreign policy withstood significant global changes and remained largely consistent. It continued to evolve by incorporating new elements in response to shifting circumstances, demonstrating stability and continuity while establishing a comprehensive framework for external relations.

Conclusion

The Bandung Conference served as a pivotal moment in the evolution of New China’s diplomatic strategy, establishing a pragmatic basis for the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. The Bandung Conference illustrates that substantial advancements in international cooperation can only be achieved by pursuing shared objectives while honoring differences. Amidst nations with varied ideologies and divergent interests, the People’s Republic of China has adeptly mitigated disputes and achieved extensive consensus by prioritizing commonalities while setting aside disparities. The diplomatic principles and the ethos of togetherness, camaraderie, and collaboration exemplified by the Bandung Conference remain profoundly relevant today, 70 years post-anniversary. Since that time, China’s diplomatic decisions in response to the evolving global landscape have been defined by confusion, passivity, and diversion; yet, they have generally progressed under the framework of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Commu-

nist Party of China, China has entered a new era, with the Central Committee, led by Xi Jinping, introducing the concept of building a community with a shared future for mankind. This is a significant enrichment and development of the idea of peaceful coexistence in the modern context. Amid challenges to globalization and complexities in international relations, China adheres to the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, advocating for dialogue and consultation to resolve differences and promoting the construction of a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind. This initiative is the best continuation, promotion, and elevation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, providing new answers to the questions of “what kind of world to build and how to build it” in the current era (Wang, 2024). During the Bandung Conference, China successfully broke Western isolation and blockades, establishing itself as a reliable partner for Third World countries. Today, through multilateral platforms such as the BRICS cooperation mechanism and G20 summits, China collaborates with developing countries to advocate for reforms in the global governance system. The Belt and Road Initiative, proposed in 2013, emphasizes infrastructure construction and economic cooperation to enhance connectivity with countries along its routes. This demonstrates China’s commitment to peaceful development and international cooperation, reflecting the enduring value of the Bandung Conference in contemporary global strategies. 

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Gas Hydrates as a New Energy Resource



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ABSTRACT

Gas hydrates, solid ice-like structures formed by water and methane molecules, are emerging as a critical future energy resource, offering abundant reserves of cleaner-burning methane. These reserves have the potential to enhance energy security, diversify energy portfolios, and support the transition from traditional hydrocarbons to more sustainable energy systems. Globally, nations such as Japan, China, the United States, India, South Korea, and Canada are leading research and development in gas hydrates, making substantial investments in advanced technologies and field tests. These efforts aim to overcome the significant technical and economic challenges currently limiting commercial-scale production. Türkiye's proximity to significant gas hydrate deposits, particularly in the Black Sea, presents a notable strategic opportunity. It is imperative that Türkiye capitalizes on this unique positioning by transforming these inherent advantages into long-term competitive strengths. The confirmed gas reserves in the Black Sea exemplifies such potential.

Keywords: Energy security, environmental sustainability, gas hydrates, new energy resources, Turkey National Gas Hydrate Project.

Introduction

GAS HYDRATES, CRYSTALLINE COMPOUNDS composed of water and methane, have captured significant attention as an unconventional energy resource with immense potential. Methane hydrates, also known as 'burning ice,' occur at all ocean margins (Figures 1 and 2). Minshull et al., 2021, identified a series of regions where there is substantial evidence for hydrate occurrence. The base of gas hydrate accumulations follows the seabed topography and is called "Bottom Simulated Reflectors (BSR)" in seismic sections. The bottom-simulating reflector (BSR) is a reflection event that is closely

associated with identifying hydrates in multichannel seismic reflection sections (Ojha & Sain, 2009). Identifying and analyzing hydrates is important (Figure 3). Found primarily in marine sediments and permafrost regions, these naturally occurring compounds are estimated to contain more energy than all known fossil fuel reserves combined. The methane stored in gas hydrates represents a cleaner-burning alternative to traditional hydrocarbons like coal and oil, positioning this resource as a promising contributor to universal energy security and sustainability (Figure 2). Çifci (2020) emphasizes the importance of gas hydrates as a future energy source for earth science and economics.

The gas hydrate resource pyramid, conceptualized by Boswell & Collett (2011) categorizes these deposits based on their geological and economic recoverability (Figure 4). It highlights the substantial variation in resource accessibility, ranging from easily extractable accumulations to those requiring advanced technologies for recovery. Such diversity underscores the need for innovative extraction techniques and strategic planning to unlock their full potential. Moreover, their widespread distribution in continental margins and Arctic regions presents opportunities for countries seeking to diversify their energy portfolios and reduce dependency on imported fuels.

Innovative extraction technologies have been a

focal point of global research efforts. Methods like depressurization, thermal stimulation, and chemical injection are under active development, each offering unique benefits and challenges (Figure 5). Among these, CO₂ injection stands out due to its dual benefit of methane recovery and carbon sequestration, aligning with international climate change mitigation goals. Emerging techniques such as electromagnetic heating, microbiological stimulation, and nanotechnology applications are being explored to improve efficiency, reduce environmental impacts, and address the technical barriers to commercial production. Çifci et al., (in press) examines these production methods from gas hydrates.

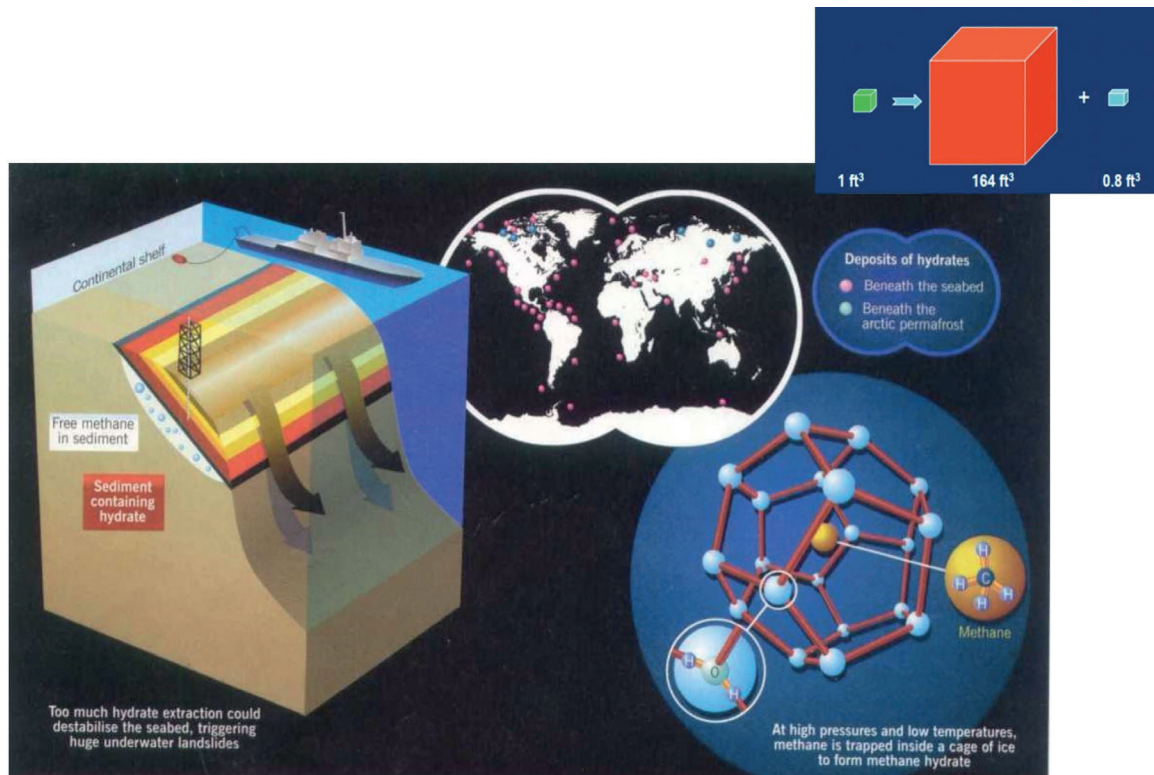


Figure 1. This shows the importance and locations of gas hydrates in marine sediments and permafrost regions, which are crystalline compounds composed of water and methane. At high pressure and low temperatures, methane is trapped inside a cage of ice, which forms methane hydrate (Figure: Çifci et al., in press).

Nations such as Japan, China, and the United States are leading in research and development, conducting field tests and pilot projects to refine these methods and scale up production. For instance, Japan's Methane Hydrate R&D program has demonstrated the feasibility of extracting methane from hydrates through depressurization, making it a frontrunner in this domain. Similarly, China has achieved significant milestones with its offshore hydrate production trials, showcasing advancements in extraction technologies and environmental safety protocols. The country is conducting intensive research on the discovery and production of gas hydrates and making significant investments in scientific and engineering endeavors in

this field. It holds numerous patents related to production and processing technologies, encompassing processes such as extraction, storage, and transportation of gas hydrates.

The potential of gas hydrates as an alternative source to fossil fuels is of considerable importance for energy security strategies, making advancements in this area a strategic priority for the nation. The country is working on improvements to transition to commercial applications in gas hydrate production and is undertaking various technology development projects in this process. This leadership in the field of gas hydrates plays a significant role in both national energy policies and global energy dynamics.



Figure 2. Images of recovered gas hydrates from the seafloor and their appearance when burned in the western Black Sea (Figure: TP-DEPARK Project Report, 2018).

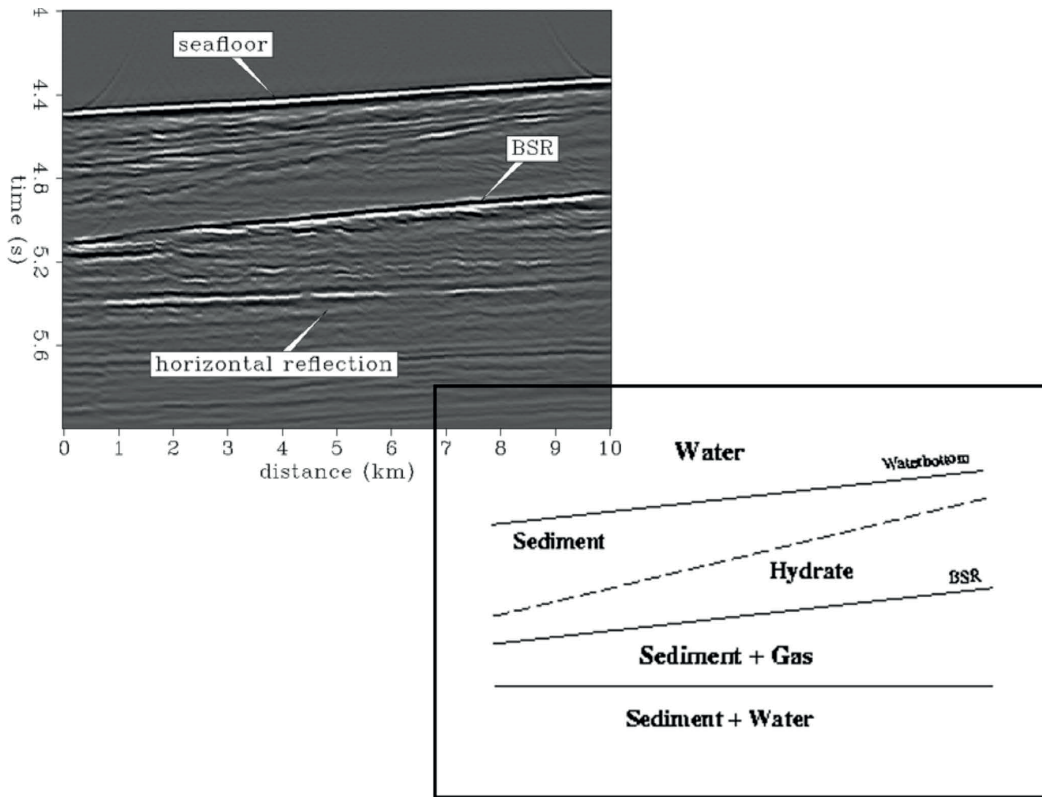


Figure 3. Geophysics, seismic reflection section interpretation showing bottom-simulating reflector (BSR) as an indicator to identify gas hydrates in marine sediments (Figure: Çifci et al., in press).

Globally, nations such as Japan, China, the United States, India, South Korea, and Canada are leading research and development in gas hydrates, making substantial investments in advanced technologies and field tests. These efforts aim to overcome the significant technical and economic challenges currently limiting commercial-scale production. Integrating gas hydrate extraction with carbon capture and storage technologies further strengthens its potential as an environmentally sustainable energy source. With proper innovation and international collaboration, gas hydrates could supply energy for decades, serving as a transitional resource in the global shift toward cleaner energy. Advancing these

technologies will be essential for unlocking the economic and environmental benefits of gas hydrates, making them a cornerstone of future energy strategies. China is among the leading countries globally in terms of patent ownership in gas hydrate production technologies. This status is a result of its active efforts in gas hydrate research and development. China is also engaged in international collaborations and joint research projects concerning gas hydrate technologies, promoting knowledge sharing and technological innovations. “Gas Hydrates,” recognized as the energy source of the near future, have been identified and mapped in a pilot area as part of the first phase of Türkiye’s National Gas Hydrate Project.

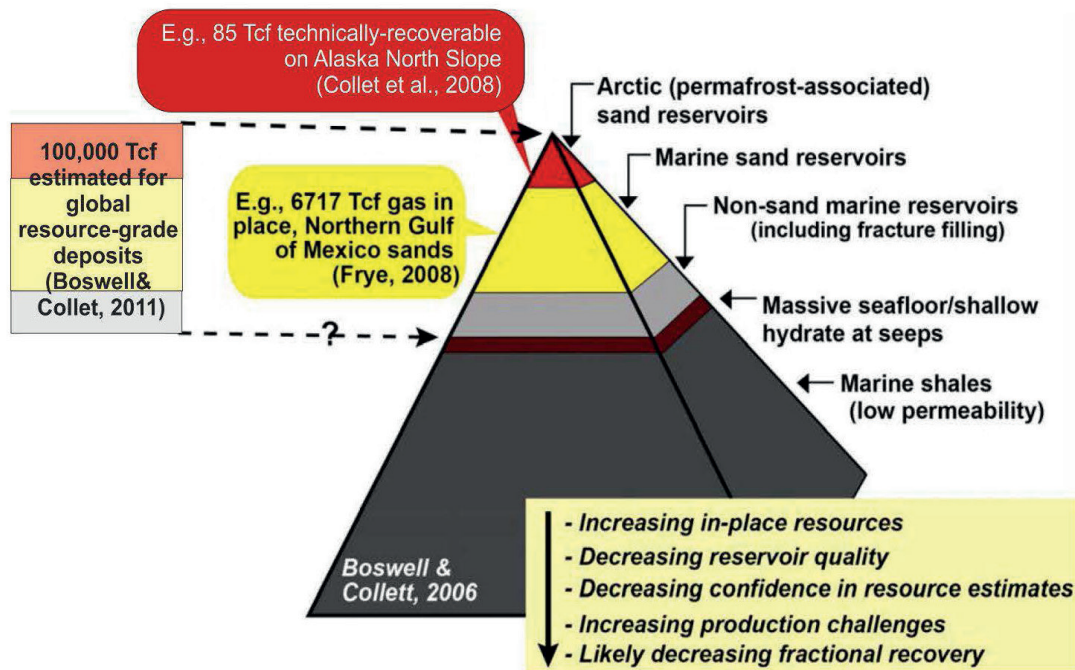


Figure 4. Gas hydrate resource pyramid, which categorizes these deposits based on their geological and economic recoverability (Figure: Boswell & Collett, 2011).

Through multidisciplinary collaboration involving multiple institutions and universities, the presence of gas hydrates has been officially confirmed, and reserve estimations have been conducted. The discovery of gas hydrates, which are widely regarded as a potential energy resource, in an extensive and significant area positions this reserve as a “game-changer” with strategic importance, capable of altering Türkiye’s energy future when considering global energy resource dynamics. Türkiye’s proximity to significant gas hydrate deposits, particularly in the Black Sea, presents a notable strategic opportunity. It is imperative that Türkiye capitalizes on this unique positioning by transforming these inherent advantages into long-term competitive strengths. The confir-

med gas reserves in the Black Sea exemplifies such potential. In addition to the fact that this discovery was achieved by Turkish researchers, its scientific contribution, which has the potential to resonate both nationally, regionally, and globally, could lead to immense opportunities. Within this framework, the next steps include mapping the distribution of gas hydrates in other areas, transitioning to the second phase in the completed pilot site, producing gas using existing production techniques in the pilot area, and, in the final phase, collaborating with countries that possess advanced production technologies.

This paper delves into the environmental, economic, and geopolitical implications of gas hydrate development, examining the current state of re-

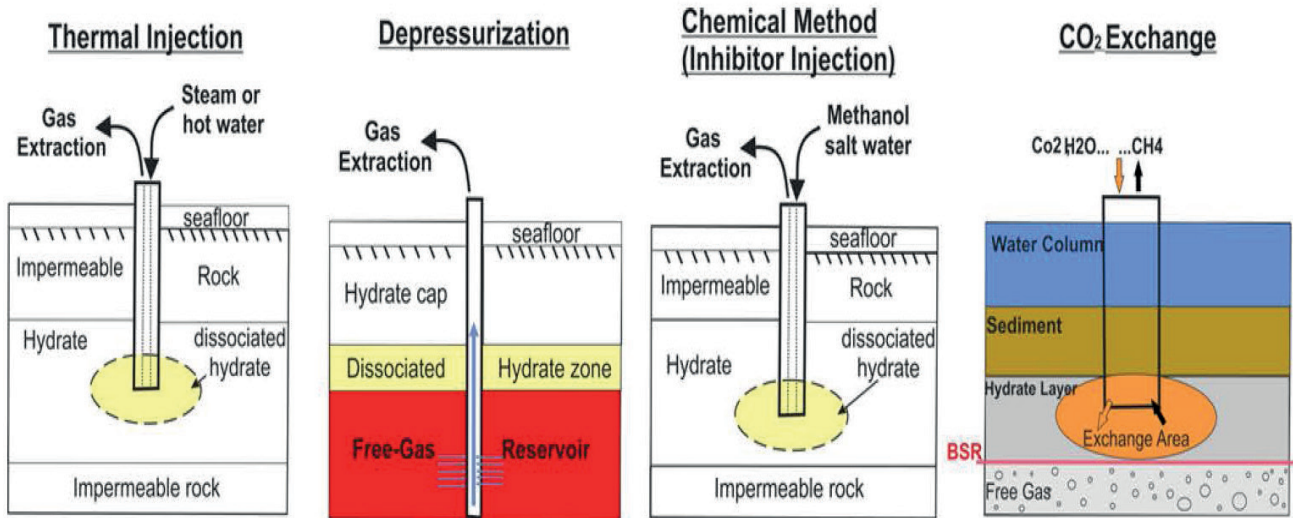


Figure 5: Extraction methods in which natural gas can be extracted from gas hydrates. Depressurization, thermal stimulation, chemical injection and CO₂ exchange, each of these methods offering unique benefits and challenges (Figure: Çifci et al., in press).

search, technological advancements, and potential challenges. It explores how gas hydrates could serve as a transitional energy resource, bridging the gap between fossil fuels and cleaner alternatives. Furthermore, the paper emphasizes the importance of international collaboration in developing unified standards and sustainable practices for responsible exploitation of this promising resource.

Methane Production Methods from Gas Hydrates

The extraction of natural gas from gas hydrates can be accomplished through various methods, each of which presents specific environmental and economic implications (Figure 5). This section explores these methods and their potential effects in greater detail:

Depressurization

This method involves reducing the pressure within the gas hydrate reservoir, thereby inducing the dissociation of hydrates into natural gas. The environmental impacts associated with depressurization may include alterations in the mechanical structure of the reservoir, which can potentially lead to subsidence or surface collapse. Additionally, the dissociation process absorbs heat, causing local freezing of the surrounding water and potentially impacting marine ecosystems. Economically, depressurization is generally less expensive compared to other methods, as it does not require complex technologies or the use of costly chemicals (Boswell & Collett, 2011). It offers the potential for efficient production, capturing a substantial proportion of the reservoir (up to 60%).

However, efficiency may decline over time due to changes in the reservoir's mechanical and thermodynamic characteristics. Furthermore, this method's relatively lower energy consumption translates to reduced operational costs.

Thermal Injection

In thermal injections, the reservoir temperature is increased through the injection of hot water or steam or by heating the wellbore. Environmental impacts include the potential warming of adjacent water layers, which could pose risks to aquatic organisms (Lee & Lee, 2014). Moreover, the high energy requirements of thermal injections necessitate substantial fossil fuel consumption, leading to increased greenhouse gas emissions. This method demands significant initial investment in equipment and energy for steam or hot water generation and injection. While it has the potential to achieve nearly complete production of the reservoir, yielding high returns, a considerable portion of the produced gas's energy is expended in heating the reservoir, which lowers the net energy output.

Chemical Injection

In this method, chemicals such as glycol or methanol are injected to alter the reservoir's conditions and induce gas release. The associated environmental impacts may involve potential chemical leakage, which could contaminate groundwater sources and damage ecosystems (Makogon et al., 2007). The disposal of used chemicals further presents environmental management challenges. From an economic standpoint, chemical injection incurs substan-

tial costs due to the chemicals involved, which significantly increase operational expenses. This method typically requires extensive laboratory and pilot-scale testing, leading to elevated research and development costs. Moreover, compliance with environmental regulations and waste management protocols can further raise costs. However, combining CO₂ injection with methane production can potentially yield long-term sustainability by offering environmental credits or tax incentives for reducing emissions.

CO₂ Injection

This method entails capturing CO₂ and displacing methane within the reservoir by injecting it. The primary environmental advantage is the potential reduction in atmospheric CO₂ emissions, which contributes positively to mitigating climate change (Hovland & Judd, 2004). Nonetheless, CO₂ injection can disrupt the reservoir's pressure balance, potentially causing geological instability issues.

Emerging Methods

Several innovative approaches are under investigation, including gas injection, microbiological techniques, ultrasonic stimulation, and electrical heating. Each of these methods has unique environmental implications. For instance, microbiological methods might disrupt microbial balances within ecosystems (Liu et al., 2012 ; Chong et al., 2016). Microbial methanogenesis, which promotes methane release through the biological activities of microorganisms, offers an environmentally sustainable alternative, particularly in low-temperature and

low-pressure conditions. Conversely, methods involving electrical heating require significant energy input, which may carry environmental impacts contingent on the energy sources employed.

Various microbiological investigations of gas hydrates suggest the potential of biological applications for producing hydrates through destabilization. Among these are processes involving microbial conversion of CO₂, biological in-situ methane production, and organisms that produce antifreeze proteins (AFPs), which inhibit the crystallization of hydrates and eliminate more rapid recrystallization or “memory effect.” These concepts require more research to explore techniques to uncover “green inhibitors” for hydrates. This represents a challenge to researchers involved in projects related to monetizing the significant gas hydrate accumulations worldwide: microbiological processes may be the key to their economical recovery (Jones et al., 2010).

Economic Considerations

Understanding and mitigating the environmental impacts of these methods are crucial for sustainable energy production and environmental management. As such, detailed environmental impact assessments and monitoring protocols must be conducted during the implementation of each method. The economic viability of natural gas production from gas hydrates depends on the method employed, technological accessibility, energy market conditions, and prevailing environmental regulations (Jones et al., 2010). New methods generally require substantial research and development expenditures, with returns contingent upon the commercial

success of the technologies. The implementation of novel technologies can entail operational risks, such as unforeseen technical challenges or suboptimal performance. Given the high initial costs and technical uncertainties, comprehensive cost analyses and pilot projects are essential to maximize economic profitability and minimize associated risks.

Geopolitical and Technological Considerations

The potential to exploit gas hydrates primarily benefits countries with abundant natural resources and advanced technological capabilities. Currently, several nations are leading research and development initiatives in the domain of gas hydrate extraction, positioning themselves to capitalize on these resources (Cherskiy & Tsarev, 1977).

Innovative Approaches for Future Projects

Ongoing research seeks to enhance the efficiency of existing methods, reduce environmental impacts, and lower economic costs. Several innovative techniques proposed for future gas hydrate projects include:

Microbiological Processes

Gas hydrates are closely linked to specific micro- and macrofauna, presenting opportunities to leverage these organisms or their metabolic processes to stimulate hydrate destabilization for natural gas production. Three primary methods for producing natural gas from hydrates are identified: pressure destabilization, methanol-induced destabilization, and thermal destabilization.

Experimental findings suggest that these methods can be operated under conditions sufficient to cover operational costs, with microbial processes potentially facilitating hydrate dissociation and methane production through the use of methanol.

Microbial processes hold promise for enhancing the conversion of hydrates to natural gas. For instance, *Methylococcus capsulatus* Bath and *Methylosinus trichosporium*, both of which possess methanotrophic capabilities, can be cultivated at elevated temperatures and demonstrate copper-tolerant monooxygenase activity, positioning them as viable candidates for biotechnological applications in methane conversion. Additionally, microbial communities in methane hydrate-bearing sediments are dominated by groups such as JS1, Planctomycetes, and Chloroflexi, indicating significant potential for their application in hydrate destabilization. Furthermore, organisms like *Acidimethylosilex fumarolicum* SolV can grow on methane under extreme conditions, suggesting that CO₂-converting microbial communities could enable controlled destabilization of methane hydrates. Ongoing research, including studies from the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory, underscores the role of microbial methods in hydrate dissociation, highlighting the potential of antifreeze proteins from organisms like *Chryseobacterium* sp. C14 to inhibit hydrate crystallization. As commercial production methods for gas hydrates evolve, microbiological processes are strong candidates for integration into future projects aimed at sustainable gas production (Inagaki et al., 2006 ; Heijmans et al., 2007 ; Yan et al., 2006 ; White, 2008).

Electromagnetic Heating: As an alternative to traditional thermal stimulation, electromagnetic waves can effectively distribute heat even in deep and less accessible reservoirs. This method is characterized by its high energy efficiency and low environmental impact.

Nanotechnology Applications: The use of nano-sized materials and chemicals can enhance the solubility of hydrates or catalyze chemical reactions to accelerate gas release. Additionally, nanoparticles may improve reservoir porosity and permeability, facilitating gas flow.

Enhanced CO₂ Injection: By utilizing CO₂ at higher pressures, this method can facilitate more efficient methane displacement while simultaneously contributing to atmospheric CO₂ reduction.

Ultrasonic or Acoustic Waves: These methods aim to increase gas hydrate solubility and aid in methane release by disrupting the hydrate structure.

Hybrid Methods: Combining existing techniques can generate synergistic effects throughout the extraction process. For example, integrating thermal stimulation with chemical or CO₂ injections can optimize solubility and accelerate extraction.

These innovative techniques should undergo further validation through laboratory tests and pilot projects. Future applications must consider the environmental compatibility, economic sustainability, and technical feasibility of these approaches. By advancing these methods, the potential for sustainable and environmentally friendly energy production from gas hydrates can be realized.

Energy Production from Gas Hydrates

Countries such as Japan, China, the USA, Canada, India, and South Korea have significantly advanced their capacities to exploit gas hydrates through technological innovation, strategic investments, and alignment with national energy policies (Boswell et al., 2012). Detection of gas hydrates through geophysical methods (seismic reflection) has been demonstrated through drilling and coring programs (McConnell, 2019). Figure 6 shows BSR, which is the base of gas hydrate. These nations are allocating substantial resources to research and development (R&D)

activities, aiming to maximize the potential benefits of gas hydrates soon. Gas hydrates are expected to play a critical role in diversifying energy portfolios and transitioning to cleaner energy systems, which is increasingly pertinent given global concerns about energy sustainability and environmental impacts (Boswell & Collett, 2006).

Another academic paper by Zhang et al. (2012) examines the dual nature of marine gas hydrates as both a promising energy resource and a potential environmental threat. The authors highlight three key resource characteristics that make gas hydrates appealing as a future energy source:

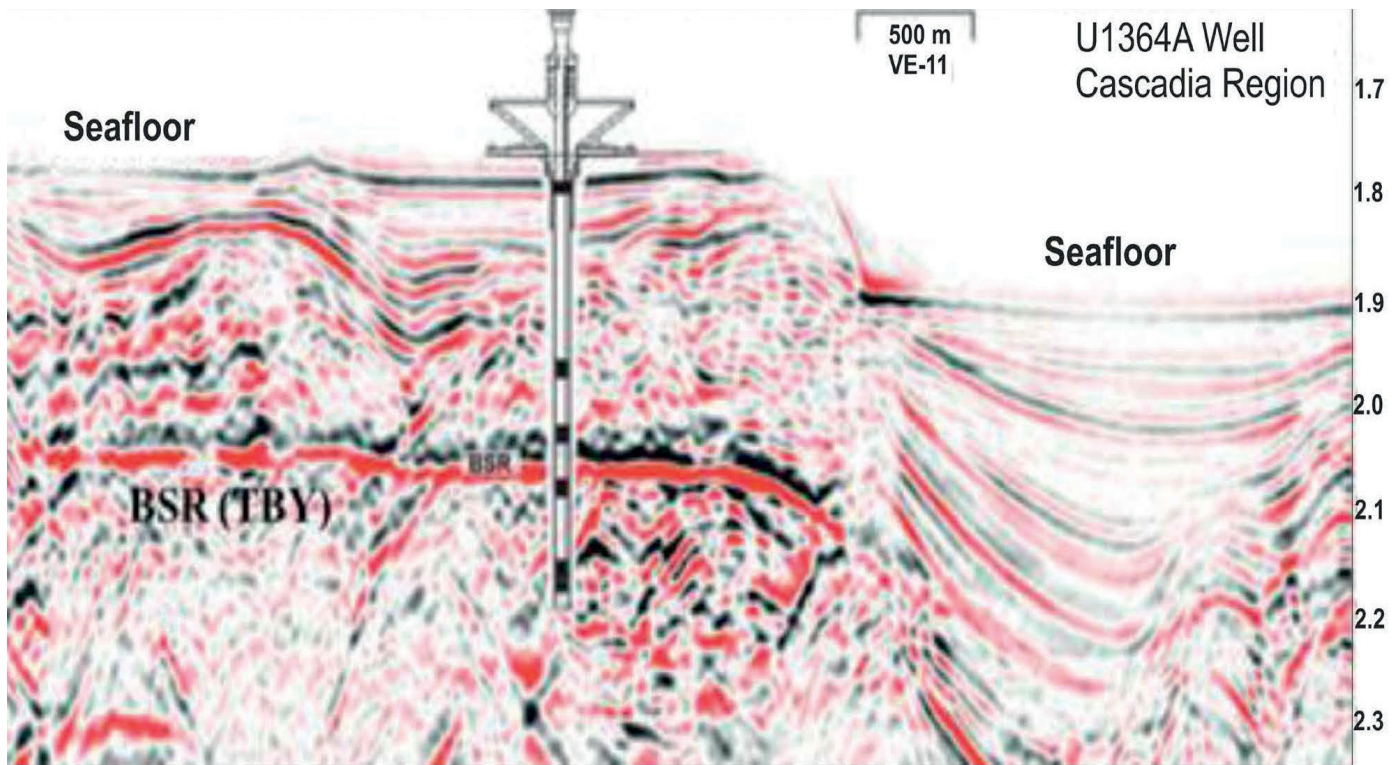


Figure 6. An example from the Cascadia region showing drilling depth that reaches to BSR, the base of gas hydrates (Figure: McConnell, 2019).

Enormous quantity: Credible estimates suggest 10^{13} to $20 \times 10^{15} \text{ m}^3$ of methane gas in global deposits, potentially meeting human energy needs for nearly 1,000 years.

The carbon content ($10 \times 10^{12} \text{ t}$) is twice that of all fossil fuel minerals combined. Cleanliness: Contains high-purity methane with fewer harmful gases compared to coal, oil, and natural gas. High energy density: 1 m^3 of gas hydrates equals 164 m^3 of methane under normal conditions - 10 times the energy density of other non-conventional sources and 2-5 times that of conventional natural gas. The authors identify three major environmental risks associated with gas hydrate destabilization: Global Warming: Methane is a potent greenhouse gas with 3.7 times the global warming potential of CO_2 by mole and 20 times by weight. The paper connects historical rapid warming events (particularly the "Latest Paleocene Thermal Maximum" about 55.6 million years ago) to massive methane releases from hydrates. Seabed Geological Disasters: Gas hydrates lack consolidation cap and are prone to phase transformation. When temperature-pressure conditions change, hydrates can dissociate, releasing methane and potentially triggering submarine landslides.

Ecological Disasters: The paper links massive methane releases to historical extinction events, noting evidence that suggests hydrate decomposition caused the extinction of 1/2 to 2/3 of benthic animals around the Paleocene-Eocene boundary (55 Ma). The discussion section emphasizes that while gas hyd-

rates represent an important potential energy resource, any development must prioritize safety and environmental protection. This balanced assessment illustrates the complex nature of gas hydrates as both a promising energy solution and a potential environmental threat, highlighting the need for careful, environmentally conscious approaches to their development (Zhen-guo et al., 2012).

Gas hydrates offer the potential to enhance energy security, particularly in regions where conventional hydrocarbon reserves are depleting or access is constrained. This resource could be a viable option for countries seeking to reduce reliance on energy imports and establish a more diversified and resilient energy portfolio.

Environmental Implications and Technological Considerations

The environmental implications of gas hydrate extraction present both opportunities and challenges. On one hand, gas hydrates could contribute to reducing carbon emissions if combined with innovative techniques such as carbon capture and storage/utilization (CCSU). On the other hand, the extraction process carries risks such as potential methane leaks and other ecological disturbances, which must be managed effectively. As a result, rigorous environmental assessments are essential to ensure sustainable and responsible development.

Despite its potential, the commercial-scale production of gas hydrates remains hinde-

red by technical challenges. Ongoing R&D efforts aim to address these barriers through the development of advanced extraction technologies. Energy policies should therefore support technological innovation while ensuring economic growth and environmental sustainability.

Role of International Collaborations

The complexity and global significance of gas hydrates necessitate international collaborations to establish unified standards, policies, and practices (International Energy Agency, 2018). These collaborations facilitate joint R&D initiatives, enabling countries to pool expertise and resources. Furthermore, harmonizing international standards is critical to managing environmental and safety risks during gas hydrate extraction. Collaborative frameworks also provide opportunities for coordinated policy development, training programs, and investment strategies, all of which are essential for the responsible and efficient utilization of gas hydrate resources.

Notable Projects and Future Directions

Noteworthy projects in Japan, China, and India are leading the way in advancing gas hydrate extraction technologies (Matsumoto et al., 2013). These initiatives provide valuable insights into the technical and environmental challenges associated with gas hydrates and are essential steps toward potential commercial applications. The findings from these projects

may serve as benchmarks for other nations, helping to overcome technical hurdles, minimize environmental impacts, and optimize economic efficiency. Given the considerable energy content and wide distribution of gas hydrates, they are positioned as a key resource for future energy supply strategies.

Economic Potential and Market Implications

The economic viability of gas hydrates is a key area of ongoing research. Studies generally focus on assessing the cost-effectiveness of various extraction techniques, such as thermal stimulation, chemical injection, depressurization, and CO₂ injection (Matsumoto et al., 2013). Additionally, these studies examine the competitiveness of gas hydrates in global energy markets, evaluating their potential to diversify energy portfolios and enhance energy security. Environmental regulations also play a significant role in determining the economic sustainability of gas hydrate projects, given the costs associated with compliance and risk mitigation (Jones et al., 2010).

Geopolitical analyses highlight the implications of gas hydrate reserves for national energy strategies. Countries with substantial reserves may leverage this resource to achieve greater energy independence, thereby influencing global energy dynamics. Scenario-based studies further explore the long-term economic potential of gas hydrates under various technological and market conditions, offering insights into their role in future energy systems.

Key Policy Considerations

Several key considerations emerge from research on gas hydrates and their integration into energy policies:

Diversification of Energy Resources: Incorporating gas hydrates into energy portfolios enhances energy security and reduces dependence on traditional hydrocarbons. This is particularly relevant for regions facing depleting reserves or restricted access to conventional resources.

Energy Security: With their high methane content, gas hydrates are seen as a strategic energy resource that could reduce import dependency and promote self-sufficiency in energy policies.

Environmental Sustainability: Environmentally responsible extraction techniques, such as CO₂ injection, could mitigate greenhouse gas emissions, thereby influencing environmental regulations and sustainability policies.

Economic Development: The development of gas hydrate resources could stimulate job creation and economic growth, especially in coastal regions and countries with ocean access, driving further investment in this emerging sector.

International Collaborations and Policies: The global importance of gas hydrates necessitates international standards and protocols for their research, production, and management. Strengthening international regulations and cooperation can foster innovation and improve environmental outcomes (International Energy Agency, 2018).

Results

The extraction of methane from gas hydrates through various methods has yielded significant insights into both environmental and economic implications.

“Depressurization” emerged as a cost-effective technique, capable of producing up to 60% of the reservoir’s gas (Boswell & Collett, 2011). However, it poses risks such as subsidence and local freezing, which can adversely affect marine ecosystems. The method’s lower energy consumption contributes to reduced operational costs, although efficiency may diminish over time due to reservoir changes.

“Thermal Injection”, while potentially achieving nearly complete gas production, faces challenges related to high energy requirements and substantial fossil fuel use, leading to increased greenhouse gas emissions. The initial investment for this method is significant, and much of the energy produced is consumed in heating the reservoir, reducing net energy output.

“Chemical Injection” involves the use of chemicals like glycol or methanol, raising concerns about potential leakage and groundwater contamination (Makogon et al., 2007). The high costs associated with chemicals and compliance with environmental regulations make this method economically burdensome, despite the possible long-term benefits of combining CO₂ injection with methane production for sustainability.

“CO₂ Injection” presents an environmental advantage by potentially reducing atmospheric

ric carbon dioxide emissions (Hovland & Judd, 2004). However, it can disrupt the pressure balance within the reservoir, leading to geological stability issues.

Emerging methods such as “microbiological techniques,” “ultrasonic stimulation,” and “electromagnetic heating” are under investigation. These innovative approaches aim to enhance extraction efficiency while minimizing environmental impacts. For instance, microbiological methods could provide a sustainable alternative by promoting methane release under favorable conditions (Liu et al., 2012).

Countries like Japan, China, and the United States are leading advancements in gas hydrate extraction technologies. Their ongoing research focuses on addressing technical challenges and optimizing economic viability. Notably, Japan and China are poised to achieve commercial production soon.

Gas hydrates provide an opportunity to diversify energy portfolios and reduce reliance on imported fuels. Environmentally, integrating extraction with carbon capture technologies could mitigate methane emissions and promote sustainability.

Gas hydrates have the potential to act as an intermediary energy source, facilitating the transition from high-carbon fuels like coal and oil to more sustainable energy systems. Innovative methods, such as electromagnetic heating and enhanced CO₂ injection, are essential for realizing their full potential.

The integration of gas hydrate extraction with carbon capture and storage/utilization

(CCSU) technologies further strengthens its potential as an environmentally sustainable energy source. With proper innovation and international collaboration, gas hydrates could supply energy for decades, serving as a transitional resource in the global shift toward cleaner energy. Advancing these technologies will be essential for unlocking the economic and environmental benefits of gas hydrates, making them a cornerstone of future energy strategies.

As a result, gas hydrates represent a viable energy source with the capability to meet future energy demands sustainably. Their successful utilization will depend on continued technological innovation, international collaboration, and robust environmental safeguards.

Our country's primary goals include reducing Turkey's external dependency on energy by using domestic and national resources. Considering the research conducted by major countries that have a say in the world economy on gas hydrates and the latest production tests for natural gas production from gas hydrates, it becomes clear that our country needs to rapidly increase its activities for gas hydrate research with domestic and national resources. In this context, the roadmap to be followed was mentioned in Küçük's (2018) study.

The tables below summarize the comparison of natural gas production methods from gas hydrates, advantages and disadvantages of gas hydrate production methods, and technological maturity and application status of gas hydrate production methods.

Table 1. Comparison of Natural Gas Production Methods from Gas Hydrates

Production Method	Basic Principle	Technical Applicability	Gas Production Efficiency	Energy Efficiency	Economic feasibility	Environmental Impact	Technological Maturity	Important Successful Applications
Depressurization	Triggering of dissociation by lowering reservoir pressure below the hydrate stability zone (Konno et al., 2010; Li et al., 2018)	High - Applicable with existing offshore technologies (Yamamoto et al., 2014)	%35-55 recovery rate (Moridis et al., 2011; Feng et al., 2015)	High (EROI: 5:1 - 8:1) (Walsh et al., 2009)	8-15 USD/MMBtu (Anderson et al., 2014)	Medium - Seabed stability risk and water production problems (Rutqvist et al., 2009)	High (TRL: 7-8) Field tests completed (Fujii et al., 2018)	Japan Nankai Trough (2013, 2017), China South China Sea (2020) (Yamamoto et al., 2014; Su et al., 2021)
Thermal Injection	Decomposition by applying heat to the hydrate-containing formation (Li et al., 2016; Song et al., 2016)	Medium - Heat loss problems in deep waters (Islam, 2015)	%40-70 potential recovery (Li et al., 2015)	Low (EROI: 1.5:1 - 3:1) (Yang et al., 2012)	15-25 USD/MMBtu (Anderson et al., 2014)	Medium-High - Thermal pollution and higher CH ₄ leakage risk (Ruppel & Kessler, 2017)	Medium (TRL: 5-6) Lab and limited pilot tests (Li et al., 2016)	Laboratory and pilot-scale tests in the South China Sea, China (Li et al., 2016; Song et al., 2016)
Chemical Injection	Modification of hydrate stability curve using chemicals (Sloan and Koh, 2008)	Medium - Chemical distribution issues and logistical challenges (Sahu et al., 2018)	%30-50 estimated yield (Kamath and Patil, 2013)	Medium (EROI: 3:1 - 5:1) (Liu et al., 2012)	12-20 USD/MMBtu (Chong et al., 2016)	High - Chemical pollution potential (Chong et al., 2016)	Medium - (TRL: 4-5) Weighted lab tests (Xu et al., 2016)	India NGHP laboratory studies, limited field tests (Sahu et al., 2018)
CO₂/CH₄ CO₂ Exchange	Displacement of methane by CO ₂ injection (Park et al., 2008; Koh et al., 2012)	Low - Challenges of CO ₂ transport/injection in the deep sea (Espinoza and Santamarina, 2011)	%60-80 theoretical potential (Boswell et al., 2017)	Variable (EROI: 2:1 - 4:1) (McGrail et al., 2007)	18-30 USD/MMBtu, without carbon credits (Anderson et al., 2014)	Low - Carbon capture and storage potential (Boswell et al., 2017)	Low (TRL: 3-4) Alaska field test (permafrost) (Boswell et al., 2017)	Alaska North Slope Ignik Sikumi (2012) (Konno et al., 2014)

Table 1. Comparison of Natural Gas Production Methods from Gas Hydrates (continued)

Production Method	Basic Principle	Technical Applicability	Gas Production Efficiency	Energy Efficiency	Economic feasibility	Environmental Impact	Technological Maturity	Important Successful Applications
Mechanical Methods	Physical removal of hydrate containing material (Chong et al., 2016)	Very Low - Very difficult to apply in deep sea (Yamamoto et al., 2014)	%70-90 Theoretical, not practical (Chong et al., 2016)	Very Low (EROI: 1:1 - 2:1) (Anderson vd., 2014)	25-40 USD/MMBtu (estimated) (Anderson et al., 2014)	Very High - Major physical impact on the seabed (Chong vd., 2016)	Very Low (TRL: 2-3) At the concept stage (Yamamoto vd., 2014)	Only concept studies and shallow sea suggestions (Chong vd., 2016)
Depressurization + Thermal Stimulation Hybrid Method	Partial thermal support with pressure reduction (Konno et al., 2010; Li et al., 2018)	Medium-High - More accessible based on pressure reduction (Li vd., 2018)	%40-60 - Increase by reducing the cooling effect (Feng vd., 2015)	Medium (EROI: 4:1 - 7:1) (Li vd., 2018)	10-15 USD/MMBtu (Japon METI, 2017)	Medium - Less effect than simple thermal method (Feng vd., 2015)	Medium (TRL: 6-7) Tested in Japan (Fujii vd., 2018)	Japan MH21 hybrid tests, China Guangzhou tests (Li vd., 2018)
Depressurization + Chemical Inhibitor Hybrid Method	Low concentration inhibitor and pressure reducing combination (Feng et al., 2015; Sun et al., 2015)	High - Less chemical requirements (Sun et al., 2015)	%35-50 - Improved stability (Sun et al., 2015)	High (EROI: 5:1 - 8:1) (Feng et al., 2015)	9-14 USD/MMBtu (China GMGS, 2020)	Medium - Reduced chemical use (Xu et al., 2016)	Medium (TRL: 6-7) Tested in China (Li et al., 2018)	China South China Sea GMGS projects (Su et al., 2021)

(Table: Çifci et al., 2024)

Conclusion

The extraction of gas hydrates and their integration into the economy are feasible using existing methods and technologies. Future research aimed at refining and advancing these extraction techniques will contribute to patented innovations.

Field studies previously conducted in the Black Sea indicate that regional gas hydrate reser-

ves may exceed 100 trillion cubic meters (Bazauk et al., 2021). Of the Black Sea's total surface area (approximately 470,000 square kilometers), around 200,000 square kilometers fall within Türkiye's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Although the exact volume of reserves within this jurisdiction has yet to be precisely determined, there is strong reason to believe they would be sufficient to meet the country's energy needs for many years.

Table 2. Advantages and Disadvantages of Gas Hydrate Production Methods

Production Method	Advantages	Disadvantages	References
Depressurization	• Technically the simplest approach • Low energy requirement • Better economic feasibility • Proven Field application • Long-term sustainable production potential	• Reservoir cooling • Slow production in low permeability reservoirs • Sand production problems • High water production	Dallimore et al. (2012) Konno et al. (2010) Moridis et al. (2011) Yamamoto et al. (2014) Reagan et al. (2010)
Thermal Injection	• Potential for rapid hydrate dissociation • Effective in low permeability formations • High production speed under suitable conditions • Eliminate the cooling effect	• Excessive heat losses in the deep sea • Very high energy requirement • Low energy efficiency • Thermal energy transport difficulties • Slow heat transfer and limited penetration	Li et al. (2015) Moridis et al. (2011) Song et al. (2016) Feng et al. (2015) Islam (2015) Chen et al. (2017)
Chemical Inhibitor Injection	• Fast decomposition in some cases • Ability to work at low temperatures • Lower energy requirements than thermal methods • Can be combined with other methods	• Difficulty using large volumes of chemicals • High chemical costs • Penetration limitations • Environmental concerns • Chemical recovery issues	Dong et al. (2009) Kamath and Patil (2013) Li et al. (2014) Sun et al. (2015) Sahu et al. (2018) Liu et al. (2012)
CO₂/CH₄ Exchange	• Carbon capture/storage integration • The most environmentally positive approach • Maintaining seabed stability • Simultaneous methane production and CO₂ storage • Exothermic process advantage	• Low exchange kinetics and slow reaction • CO₂ transportation/injection challenges in deep sea • High pressure requirements • Reservoir heterogeneity problems • High cost and complex logistics	Koh et al. (2012) Chong et al. (2016) Jung et al. (2010) Boswell et al. (2017) McGrail et al. (2007) Lee et al. (2013)
Mechanical Methods	• Direct and controlled access • Usability in areas where other methods cannot be applied • Potential for shallow sea-bed hydrates	• Extremely difficult to implement in deep water • Very high technical difficulties • Seabed stability hazards • Extremely high cost • Serious environmental impacts	Chong et al. (2016) Yamamoto et al. (2014)
Depressurization + Thermal Hybrid	• Compensate for decompression cooling • Increase production speed and stability • Less energy required than full thermal method • Prevent hydrate regeneration	• Additional heating equipment required • Deep sea heating challenges • High equipment cost • Energy efficiency still a problem	Konno et al. (2010) Li et al. (2018) Feng et al. (2015) Fujii et al. (2018)
Depressurization + Chemical Hybrid	• Less chemical use • Reduce cooling by lowering decomposition temperature • Prevent hydrate reformation • Reducing sand production	• Chemical distribution issues • Partial increase in cost • Reservoir heterogeneity challenge • Environmental impact still present	Feng et al. (2015) Sun et al. (2015) Xu et al. (2016) Li et al. (2018)

(Table: Çifci et al., 2024)

Table 3. Technological Maturity and Application Status of Gas Hydrate Production Methods

Production Method	Technologic Ripeness Level (TRL)	Field Application	Research Situation Assessment	Correlation of Laboratory Results with Field Applications	References
Depressurization	TRL 7-8 Tested at field scale	Japan (2013): 6 day, 120.000 m ³ gas Japan (2017): 36 day, 235.000 m ³ gas China (2020): 30 day, 861.400 m ³ gas	The most mature technology, especially in sand-rich Class 1 and Class 2 hydrate reservoirs	High correlation - laboratory models predict field behavior well	Yamamoto et al. (2014) Fujii et al. (2018) Su et al. (2021) Li et al. (2018)
Thermal Inhibitor	TRL 5-6 Laboratory and limited pilot tests	Mainly laboratory and reservoir simulations Partial heating applications in Japan and China	Limited application in deep seas due to energy efficiency issues More valuable in hybrid use	Moderate correlation - heat losses exceed laboratory estimates under field conditions	Li et al. (2016) Song et al. (2016) Li et al. (2015) Chen et al. (2017)
Chemical Inhibitor	TRL 4-5 Laboratory and small-scale pilot tests	India NGHP laboratory studies Small-scale field tests	Focus on hybrid use rather than pure form due to environmental concerns and costs	Low-Medium correlation - Reservoir heterogeneity and field conditions significantly affect laboratory results.	Sahu et al. (2018) Kamath and Patil (2013) Xu et al. (2016) Sun et al. (2015)
CO₂/CH₄ Exchange	TRL 3-4 Proven concept, limited field testing	Alaska Ignik Sikumi Test (2012) In permafrost environment, not in deep sea	The most environmentally friendly method in the long run. However, due to technical difficulties, commercial application is far from possible.	Low correlation - field tests show slower kinetics than laboratory results	Boswell et al. (2017) Konno et al. (2014) Koh et al. (2012) Park et al. (2008)
Mechanical Methods	TRL 2-3 In concept stage	Only theoretical and conceptual studies Recommendations for shallow sea	Impractical approach in deep seas Limited application potential for shallow hydrates	Very low correlation - no real field applications yet	Chong et al. (2016) Yamamoto et al. (2014)
Depressurization + Thermal Hybrid	TRL 6-7 Tested on pilot scale	Japan MH21 hybrid tests (2019) China Guangzhou tests (2018-2020)	Improved version of traditional decompression Practical approach to eliminate cooling effect	High correlation - practical applications give results close to laboratory predictions	Li et al. (2018) Feng et al. (2015) Fujii et al. (2018) METI (2017)
Depressurization + Chemical Hybrid	TRL 6-7 Tested on pilot scale	China GMGS projects (2020-2023) Daily gas production of 28,700 m ³	Hybrid method most likely to be commercially available in the near future Advantages with less chemical use	High correlation - field tests at optimization stage before commercial scale	Su et al. (2021) Feng et al. (2015) Sun et al. (2015) Li et al. (2018)

(Table: Çifci et al., 2024)

From the extracted gas hydrates, blue hydrogen or synthesis gas can be produced through processes such as steam methane reforming (SMR) and pyrolysis. These methods not only yield hydrogen but also generate synthesis gas and pure carbon as valuable by-products, which can be employed in the production of a wide range of advanced materials.

This approach not only prevents the release of greenhouse gases into the atmosphere but also supports sustainable development. Thus, the economic utilization of gas hydrates presents a promising avenue for mitigating climate change while harnessing these resources for industrial applications.

Japan, China, and the United States are at the forefront of global gas hydrate research and development, with significant advancements in field tests and extraction methods. India, South Korea, and Canada are also making substantial progress in exploring gas hydrate reservoirs and refining extraction technologies. While commercial production is yet to be realized, these nations are laying the groundwork for future development by addressing technical and environmental challenges. In the coming years, Japan and China are likely to be among the first to achieve commercial production.

Gas hydrates can serve as a transitional energy resource, bridging the gap between fossil fuels and cleaner energy systems. With their vast methane reserves, gas hydrates have the potential to supply energy for decades, offering an opportunity to reduce the environmental impact of energy production.

In sum, the comprehensive study of gas hydrates is essential for shaping energy policies and creating the frameworks necessary to sustainably harness this resource. The collaborative efforts of

nations, driven by shared interests in energy security and environmental stewardship, will play a crucial role in realizing the potential of gas hydrates as a future energy source. 

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AGUS R. SARJONO*



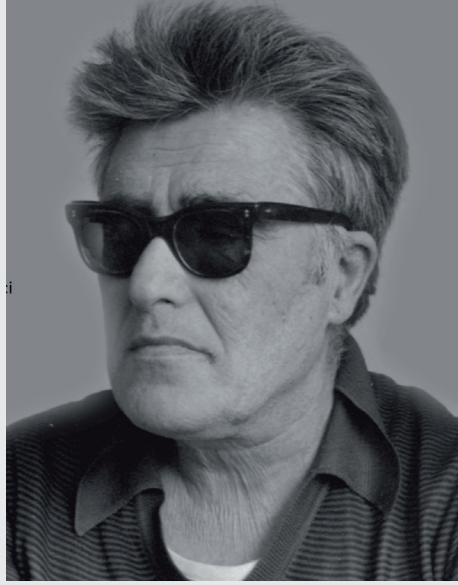
**Agus R. Sarjono was born on July 27, 1962 in Bandung, West Java. He graduated from the Department of Literature at IKIP Bandung Indonesia in 1988. He completed his MA at the University of Indonesia in 2002. Outside Indonesia, his poems, short stories, and plays have been published in various journals in Malaysia, Brunei, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Poland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. His poems have been included in more than 20 anthologies. He was an editor of the literary journal Horison. He worked as a lecturer at the Department of Theatre in Bandung and as the Program Director of the Jakarta Arts Council from 2002 to 2006. He was a writer-in-residence at the International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden from February to October 2001, with the permission of the Poets of All Nations Foundation. From December 2002 to March 2003 he was a writer-in-residence of the Heinrich-Böll Foundation in Langenbroich, Germany.*

FAKE POEM (Sajak Palsu)**

Good morning sir, good morning ma'am, the school children say
 with fake politeness. Then they study fake history
 from fake text-books. When school is finished
 they are horrified to see the range
 of their fake marks. Unable to enter university,
 they go to their teachers' homes to offer
 their fake respect and envelopes
 full of money. With fake smiles,
 the teachers pretend to refuse, then finally
 accept the envelopes and make fake promises
 that they will change the old fake marks
 for new fake marks. The semesters pass,
 and they are born as fake economists, fake lawyers,
 fake agricultural scientists, fake engineers.
 Some become fake teachers, scholars,
 and artists. Passionately they rush to take advantage
 of fake developmental policies based on fake economics.
 They witness fake trading based on fake exports
 and fake imports, offering fake quality goods.
 Fake banks busily offer fake bonuses and gifts,
 while silently providing loans based on fake
 letters of security signed by fake officials
 from the fake state banking authority.
 Society trades with fake money supported
 by fake exchange rates.
 Fake currencies snarl at fake exchange rates
 until the whole structure collapses
 and the crisis destroys the fake government
 through fake bad luck. The fake people
 shout with fake delight and debate fake concepts
 at fake seminars, honouring the arrival
 of a fake democracy,



ENVER GÖKÇE*



**Enver Gökçe (1920–1981) was born in the village of Çit, located in the Kemaliye district of Erzincan. He commenced his education in Ankara, to which his family relocated when he was eight years old. He obtained his degree from the Department of Turkish Language and Literature at the Faculty of Language and History-Geography (DTCF), Ankara University, in 1948. In 1951, while serving as a manager at Kadirga Student Dormitory in Istanbul, he was apprehended and condemned to six years in connection with the Communist Party of Turkey case. He was incarcerated from 1951 to 1957, then resided in exile in Çorum for two and a half years. Subsequent to 1960, he served as a proofreader and freelance writer for multiple newspapers in Ankara. From 1963 until 1966, he was employed in the Dormitories Directorate in Istanbul. Subsequently, he retired to his birthplace and resided in the village, far from urban areas, for many years. Following his treatment in Bulgaria in 1977, he established his residence in Ankara and engaged in translation work. He passed away in Ankara on November 19, 1981. His poetry collections include Dost Dost İlle Kavga (1973), Panzerler Üstümüze Kalkar (1977), and Eğin Türküleri (1947-1982). He employed the linguistic traits of his upbringing and colloquial idioms to articulate the corruptions of the social order and the plight of the populace. Enver Gökçe, who resided in a nursing home during his final years, passed away in Ankara on November 19, 1981.*

WAR OF 39 **

I wish I could go or go ...
 If I were to leave the land for a moment
 I know this is the way
 It is a river, an army
 And an adventure, a journey belonging to people
 But should I see migration, victory, defeat
 If I were to see
 Who are those who chain those I call friends?
 I kept my open and Turkish palms
 Warm
 It was for frozen
 Hands,
 Now I am coming without bandages, without ointment, helpless
 Shrapnel wounded arms!
 Now I come from far away without permission and for you
 Waiting for news from bullet wounds
 I am not a stranger or
 I have a lack of acquaintance
 And forgottenness.
 If I were to climb, if I were to climb, even if it were a mountain,
 Would I hear, would I hear the cannon fire
 My hero who climbed over a horse's neck
 That abandoned land
 That burning village
 That overturned car
 That under a tank
 Are your loved ones?
 Coal would be processed,
 The pen would write, the road would be paved,
 The sun would be greeted,
 At the beginning of each day
 If I were to be there, if I were to see
 If I were to see, is everything in its place?
 I became your enemy, the war of 939
 You made me lose my friends,
 You made me sad
 You made me miserable
 You made me a poet!
 A thousand thanks to you
 Great suffering
 You taught me to love
 You taught me the truth
 You taught me people

1945



CHINA RECONSTRUCTS



President Sukarno of Indonesia, Chairman Mao Zedong of China, and Premier Tanka Prasad Acharya of Nepal on the reviewing stand on China's National Day, October 1, 1956.

Source: China Reconstructs, vol. 5, no. 12, 1956.

HENDRA GUNAWAN*



Diponegoro Wounded at War, 1982.

**Born in Bandung in 1918, Hendra Gunawan was an Indonesian artist well known for combining Western painting techniques and traditional Indonesian aesthetics. Gunawan, known as one of the most famous artists in Indonesia, was also involved in the Indonesian independence movement and arrested in the following years as part of the anti-communist purge. After his release from prison in 1978, he created huge paintings depicting the revolutionary history and local culture of Indonesia. He submitted these paintings to some of the provinces in Indonesia, and 'Diponegoro Wounded at War' was one of them. This huge painting depicts a scene from the Java War (1825-1830), one of the most well-known battles of the colonial period. However, Gunawan died before he could finish the painting, and the unfinished Diponegoro figure in the painting, depicted fighting on a horse wearing white trousers and a blue shirt, also caused many comments. In its unfinished form, the masterpiece, interpreted as referring to Diponegoro's unfinished struggle passed on to the next generations, has become an iconic work both in terms of art and Indonesian history and continues to appeal to patriotic feelings.*

Source: Ciputra Artpreneur and Museum.

STAMP OF INDONESIA



Indonesian postage stamp on the theme of the Bandung Asian-African Conference, 1955.
Colnect 260830.

Source: <https://picryl.com/media/stamp-of-indonesia-1955-colnect-260830-asian-african-conference-b1d15d>

18th Annual Forum of the World Association for Political Economy

Multipolarity in the 21st Century: Challenges & Opportunities in Political Economy

August 6-8, 2025

Yeditepe University Kayışdağı Campus, İstanbul, Türkiye

The World Association for Political Economy (WAPE) is pleased to announce its annual meeting, themed “Multipolarity in the 21st Century: Challenges and Opportunities in Political Economy” We invite scholars, researchers, activists, and practitioners to submit their papers for consideration.

Call for Papers

We welcome papers that address theoretical, empirical, or policy-oriented dimensions of multipolarity and its intersections with topics such as:

- The law of uneven economic development and the new patterns of international economic development.
- The rise of emerging economies and their impact on global power structures, including BRI international cooperation and BRICS development.
- The challenge to the dominance of the dollar and the creation of alternative mechanisms for international economic relations such as a new common currency.
- The role of regional blocs and institutions in shaping multipolar governance.
- The ecological challenge and resource politics in a multipolar world.
- Shifts in labor relations and production systems under multipolarity.
- The geopolitical economy of technology and digital governance.
- Historical and theoretical insights into past transitions to multipolarity.
- New developments in left-wing international political economy theory.
- Proposing solutions to the challenges faced by global south countries in democratization, wealth distribution and people's involvement in governance.
- The political economy of Artificial Intelligence (AI), the prospect for full automation, and the future of surplus value exploitation.
- The social classes in world and countries within the context of digitalization and multipolarity.
- Explaining the decline of (neo)liberalism and the advent of nationalist and right-wing parties in the West and beyond within the context of multipolar world.

We look forward to your contributions to what promises to be a vibrant and intellectually stimulating discussion on multipolarity and its implications for political economy.

Submission Guidelines

- Abstracts (no more than 300 words) should be submitted to <https://bagevent.com/event/18thWAPE>. Please include a brief biography (up to 150 words), highlighting your academic affiliation and key research interests.
- Papers selected for presentation will be eligible for consideration in WAPE-affiliated journals (World Review of Political Economy, International Critical Thought, World Marxist Review, The Belt and Road Initiative Quarterly - BRIQ).

Important Dates

Abstract Submission Deadline: **May 15, 2025**

Notification of Acceptance: **June 1, 2025**

Final Paper Submission Deadline: **June 30, 2025**

WAPE 2025 Forum Organizing Committee

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On its 70th Anniversary

From Bandung to BRICS
The Emergence of the
Global South Against Hegemonism

"In its 70th year, the fundamental demands of the Bandung Conference remain pertinent. Today, the national strengths and international conditions are more conducive for developing countries to attain these goals than they were 70 years ago. The imperative for Southern nations is to establish more sophisticated and institutionalized cooperative frameworks to counteract imperialism, which is detrimental to both humanity and nature."

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