

**December 29, 1954**

**Cable from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Intelligence Department, 'The Agenda of the Five  
Southeast Asian Countries from the Bogor  
Conference and the Five Countries' Attitudes  
towards China's Participation in the Afro-Asian  
Conference '**

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**Summary:**

The agenda of the Bogor Conference was to determine the purposes, timing, and participants of the Asian-African Conference. The five Southeast Asian countries agreed that China and Japan should participate in the Asian-African Conference, but some countries also insisted on the participation of US allies such as Thailand and the Philippines.

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Produced by the Intelligence Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
29 December 1954

The Agenda of the Five Southeast Asian Countries from the Bogor Conference and the Five Countries' Attitudes towards China's Participation in the Afro-Asian Conference

(Combines telegrams from India, Indonesia, and Pakistan from November 27 to December 22)

The second Prime Ministers' conference of the five Southeast Asian countries will be held December 28 at Bogor in Indonesia.

(1) Regarding the issue of the agenda of the Bogor conference: The Times Of India journalist Lei [sic] on December 15th and the 17th claimed in a dispatch from Jakarta, the conference "is mainly to discuss the issue of convoking the Afro-Asian Conference next year. The Indonesian government expressed that after the issue of conference time, conference members and conference objectives are solved, the Indonesian prime minister will review the situation of the Far East after the Geneva conference. It is predicted that Indonesia will express that the Indonesian government is willing to include Beijing's suggested five principles (peaceful coexistence) into the preamble of the agreement on ending dual nationality for overseas Chinese which is about to be signed. This signifies the official and unified adoption of the policy of friendly peaceful coexistence with China by Indonesia, India and Burma. The prime ministers of India and Burma will describe the situation of the talks with China's leader, at the same time the prime minister of Ceylon will describe the talks with Eisenhower and [Foster] Dulles[2]; from this it is hoped that the eleven American pilots imprisoned by China may be discussed."

After we replied to releasing Hammarskjold's telegram to China, Indonesian English language newspaper The Observer (the editor in chief is the same lady who is editor of the pro-Indonesian government newspaper "The Independent") said on December 16 "The prime minister of Ceylon hinted that he will mention at the Bogor conference the issue of the [imprisoned] American pilots; this will provide a difficult problem to the conference. Since the conference is focusing all its attention on preparing for the convocation of the Afro-Asian Conference next March; hence the conference is not prepared to deal with this kind of explosive issue. However if this incident involves the issue of war and peace, and the Bogor conference is requested [to be the mediator], then the conference will mediate [on the issue] and attempt to find a solution that will not cause either side to lose face." The same newspaper claimed, "Neutral countries of Asia are gradually walking in front of international affairs."

Although April this year, the Geneva conference accepted the five Asian countries' resolution regarding Indochina, this time it can also accept [the solution to] the issue of the detainment of American pilots in order to eliminate tension."

The Indian newspaper The Politician claimed on December 12, "the Bogor conference's main objective is to strengthen the Asia peace zone, but Pakistan and Ceylon are targeting Communism; just like at the Kuala Lumpur conference, [Pakistan and Ceylon] must be satisfied."

(2) Regarding the issue of China participating in the Afro-Asian Conference: The Times Of India journalist Lei claimed the greatest issue faced by the Kuala Lumpur countries is still whether or not to invite China and Japan to participate in the conference. Our embassy in Indonesia reported Antara information agency head A-du-shi [sic] claimed in his talks: "India proposed to have China participate in the Afro-Asian Conference, Indonesia concurs; Ceylon and Pakistan both oppose. Burma brought forth a compromise solution which is that China will temporarily not be invited to the first Afro-Asian Conference". The Times Of India [journalist] Lei reported on December 15, 17 that "India, Burma, Indonesia all agree that the Afro-Asian Conference members [should] include China and Japan. These countries have always proposed that no issue in Asia can be solved without the participation of China, now they themselves cannot shun China from the Afro-Asian Conference." The same journalist claimed, "Indonesia proposed to have China and Japan [be included in the Afro-Asian Conference] in addition to the United Nations [countries] and the sixteen countries of the Arab Asia bloc. Indonesia already probed the opinion of the Arab countries, [the Arab countries] believe that the issue of China's participation should be decided by the Afro-Asian Conference itself as the first conference agenda item."

The attitude of India towards inviting China underwent the following change: November 26 The Times Of India said: "India agrees with inviting China to participate in the Afro-Asian Conference as an observer." Our embassy in Pakistan reported, early December, Pakistani newspaper disclosed: "India hopes China and the United Kingdom participate in the [Afro-Asian] conference as observers." December 14, The Hindustan Times which represents the official view said: "For convenience, the Afro-Asian Conference decided to exclude China and Israel." December 21 Indian newspaper The Politician said: "India's views will submit to the discussion of the Jakarta meeting." December 22 Indian Express, The Hindustan Times both referred to United News of India dispatch claiming: "India feels that there is hope the Kuala Lumpur countries will agree to the participation of China and Japan in the Afro-Asian Conference, the Indian delegation will be inviting China and Japan in Jakarta."

Burmese semi-official newspaper purposed China's participation in the Afro-Asian Conference, just as a Yangon newspaper said: "The five prime minister conference should develop cooperation between Asian countries under the five principles; they should expand the scope and invite China and Japan to participate." The pro-American newspaper Han-sa-wa-de [sic] and The National claimed, if China was invited then countries that joined the South East Asia Defense Treaty like Thailand and the Philippines both should attend.

The attitude of Pakistan: Early December, Pakistani bourgeoisie newspaper expressed opposition to inviting our country, Japan and Israel to attend [the Afro-Asian Conference]. However the official government attitude was never expressed. December 26 Associated Press reported, the prime minister of Pakistan at Kolkata talks said regarding China and Japan's participation in the Afro-Asian Conference, "Pakistan does not oppose, however there are some countries that have not recognized China yet, we need to see if they agree; I do not see why Japan's participation as an Asian country would be opposed." On the same day, United Press claimed Pakistan does not oppose China's participation, Pakistan recognizes China. "However for those countries that do not yet recognize China, they may face difficulties."

Our embassy in Pakistan compiled opinions of the Pakistani journalistic circles and analyzed Pakistan's attitude at the Bogor conference; [we feel that Pakistan] mainly reflects the intentions of the United States but is more reticent. Regarding the issue of our country's participation in the Afro-Asian Conference, [Pakistan] will oppose our country's participation using various pretexts such as opposition to "the creation of blocs that will weaken the importance of the United Nations", opposition to the influence of large countries on the Afro-Asian Conference, etc. However due to the attitude of India, Burma, Indonesia, [they] will agree to discuss this issue at the Afro-Asian Conference or agree to agree to our participation via allowing us to send observers.

(3) The attitude of Arab countries: The 22nd Council of the Arab League during December (The six countries that attended were Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia) Regarding the issue of the Afro-Asian Conference their resolution stated: Under the circumstance of Israel not being invited, in principle [the Arab countries] agree to participate in the Afro-Asian Conference; propose that the Afro-Asian Conference [should] "examine in detail the causes for the tense relationship between the communist world and the non-communist world."

Already sent to: Mao [Zedong], Liu [Shaoqi], Zhou [Enlai], Zhu [De], Chen [Yun], [Guo] Moruo, [Peng] Dehuai, Lin Biao, [Deng] Xiaoping, [Deng] Zihui, He Long, Chen Yi, Wu Lanfu [Ulfanfu], [Li] Fuchun, [Li] Xiannian, [Xi] Zhongxun, [Luo] Ruiqing, Lin Feng, [Ye] Jizhuang, [Li] Kenong, [Wang] Jiaxiang, [Yang] Shangkun, Vice Minister, Minister's Assistant, Office, Secrets Center, Luo Qing Zhang, Xue Qiao, Zhang Ting, Asia Department, Intelligence Department (2).