



ARSIP NASIONAL REPUBLIK
INDONESIA
JAKARTA



UNIVERSITAS
PADJADJARAN
BANDUNG



UNIVERSITAS
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SURABAYA



UNIVERSITAS
UDAYANA
BALI

Jakarta-Bandung-Surabaya-Bali, November 7-13, 2022



**CALL FOR PAPERS
FOR PARTICIPATION
FOR PUBLICATION**

**International, Inter-and-Trans-disciplinary Conference
66th Anniversary of the Bandung Asian-African Conference
60th Anniversary of the Belgrade Non-Alignment Conference
55th Anniversary of the Havana Tricontinental Conference**

BANDUNG-BELGRADE-HAVANA IN GLOBAL HISTORY AND PERSPECTIVE

**WHAT DREAMS, WHAT CHALLENGES, WHAT PROJECTS
FOR A GLOBAL FUTURE?**





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IN GLOBAL HISTORY AND PERSPECTIVE

What dreams, what challenges, what projects for a global future?

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In Conjunction with the G20 Summit, Bali, November 15-16, 2022

General information: <https://bandungspirit.org/>

Inquiry: secretariat-bbh@e-group.bandungspirit.org

HOSTING AND CO-ORGANISING INSTITUTIONS



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CALL FOR PAPERS, FOR PARTICIPATION, FOR PUBLICATION

The conference is open to individual and group paper presentations.

New deadline of abstract (200-300 words) submission: July 31, 2022.

Deadline of full paper (2000-3000 words / 5-6 pages) submission: August 31, 2022

Notification for the selected presenters: progressively from June 2022.

The earlier an abstract is submitted, the earlier its author will get notified, which is important for a travel planning.

Address for abstract submission: <https://forms.gle/aWVKdMkDWgAf8LMYA>

In case of cancellation of the conference, due to coronavirus and/or other reasons, the selected abstracts will be taken into account in the publication projects related to the conference.

INTRODUCTION

BE GUIDED BY HOPES AND DETERMINATION!

BE GUIDED BY IDEALS!

AND, YES, BE GUIDED BY DREAMS!

(The president of the Republic of Indonesia Sukarno, *Opening Speech*, The Asian-African Conference, Bandung, Indonesia, April 18, 1955)

I HAVE A DREAM!

(Martin Luther King, *Public Speech*, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, August 28, 1963)

The world that we inherited today is still fraught with global injustice, inequality and violence.

Our common dream of a new world civilization based on social justice, equality, harmony, and prosperity, has yet to become a reality.

Global injustice and inequality are clearly on display before us.

When the rich nations, which comprise a mere 20 percent of the world's population, consume 70 percent of the world resources, then global injustice becomes real.

When hundreds of people in the northern hemisphere enjoy the lives of super rich, while more than 1.2 billion people in the southern hemisphere struggle with less than 2 dollars per day, then global injustice becomes more visible before eyes.

When a group of rich countries think that they could change the world by the use of force, the global inequality clearly brings about misery, of which the United Nations looks helpless.

The use of unilateral force without a clear UN mandate, as we have witnessed, has undermined the existence of our common world body. Therefore, we, the nations of Asia and Africa, demands the UN reform, so that it could function better, as a world body that puts justice for all of us before anything else.

[...]

We also feel the global injustice when a group of established nations are reluctant to recognize that the world has changed. The view that the world economic problems can only be solved by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the Asian Development Bank, is an outdated view.

I am of the view that the management of the global economy cannot be left only to the three international financial institutions. We must build a new global economic order, that is open to new emerging economic powers.

We push for a reform of the global financial architecture, to eliminate the domination of one group of countries over other countries.

The world needs a collective global leadership which is exercised in a just and responsible manner.

[...]

We can do all that by bringing the Bandung Spirit down to earth, by contextualizing the three core objectives that our predecessors had fought for sixty years ago.

First, prosperity. We must cooperate closely to eradicate poverty, improve education and health services, promote science and technology, and provide jobs for our people.

Second, solidarity. We must grow together, by increasing and expanding trade and investment between us. We must develop inter-regional economic cooperation between Asia and Africa, by helping each other in strengthening connectivity among us, by building infrastructures that connect our ports, our airports, and our roads. [...]

Third, internal and external stability, and respect for human rights. We have to ask ourselves, what is wrong with us that many of our countries are plagued by internal and external conflicts that derail our economy.

We must work together to withstand the challenges of violence, conflicts, and radicalism in our society, and respect and protect our people's rights. We must declare war against illegal drugs that destroys the future of our children.

We must work hard to establish external stability and security which are prerequisites to development in each country. We must cooperate to ensure that our oceans, or seas, are safe for international trade. We hope that no inter-state conflict and dispute is resolved through the use of force.

(The President of the Republic of Indonesia Joko Widodo, *Opening Statement*, The Asian-African Summit 2015, Jakarta, 22 April 2015)

SIX YEARS AFTER THAT STATEMENT, SIXTY-SIX YEARS AFTER THE BANDUNG CONFERENCE, WHAT DREAMS STAY DREAMS, WHAT CHALLENGES TO BE TAKEN-UP, WHAT PROJECTS TO BE PROPOSED TO MAKE THE DREAMS A REALITY?

To answer those questions, the conference will be focused on the “legacy” and “beyond the legacy” of the Bandung Conference. In this spirit, the conference is also dedicated to the commemoration of the 60th anniversary of the Belgrade Non-alignment Conference and the 55th anniversary of the Havana Tricontinental Conference, which were the most outstanding follow-ups of Bandung. Indonesia is the right place for commemorating the three conferences since they bear testimony to the key role of Indonesia and President Sukarno, besides other Bandung leaders, in the history of international struggle for global peace, justice and prosperity. By chance, Indonesia is the president of G20 from December 1, 2021 to November 30, 2022, and the 17th G20 Summit will take place in Bali on November 15-16, 2022. So, it would be historical for the Bandung Spirit Network of Scholars and Activists of Social Movements that its conference is to take place at the proximity in space and time of the G20 Summit. It would be interesting to observe how Indonesia, initiator of the Bandung Conference in 1955, became president of G20 in 2022. It would also be a great opportunity for conference participants to witness, and to watch, the conjunction of convergent and/or divergent global forces in a certain moment of history.

LEGACY: BANDUNG PRINCIPLES

The 1955 Bandung Conference produced a Final Communiqué including the well-known Dasa Sila Bandung or the Ten Principles of Peaceful Co-existence:

1. Respect for fundamental human rights and for the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
2. Respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all nations.
3. Recognition of the equality of all races and of the equality of all nations large and small.
4. Abstention from intervention or interference in the internal affairs of another country.
5. Respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
6. (a) Abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defence to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers.
(b) Abstention by any country from exerting pressures on other countries.
7. Refraining from acts or threats of aggression or the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any country.
8. Settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, such as negotiation, conciliation, arbitration or judicial settlement as well as other peaceful means of the parties' own choice, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.
9. Promotion of mutual interests and co-operation.
10. Respect for justice and international obligations.

Applied to contemporary cases at different parts of the world, this legacy raises questions such as in what way are they relevant or irrelevant today?

BEYOND THE LEGACY: BANDUNG SPIRIT IDEALS AND CONSTELLATION

In the geopolitical context of decolonisation, bipolarism and Cold War, those principles were proposed as a rule in international relations among countries, states and nations. In the context of post-colonialism, post-bipolarism and post-cold-war, it may be necessary to transcend the Bandung Legacy into Bandung Spirit Ideals that may serve as the basic rule of not only “international relations” among countries, states and nations, but also “human relations among themselves and with the environment” at local, national and global levels. The “environment” is essential because it was not taken into account in the Bandung Conference preoccupied mostly by geopolitics. The following “ideals” are proposed to include environment but also other contemporary issues such as gender and religions:

- 1) Peaceful co-existence (among diverse political and economic systems, cultures, ecologies, religions)
- 2) Liberation (from any kind of domination among nation-states and peoples)

- 3) Equality (among races, nations, ethnic groups, gender)
- 4) Solidarity (towards the colonised, oppressed, dominated, poor, weak, handicapped)
- 5) Emancipation (based on people's interests and sustainable perspective)

The endorsement to the Bandung Spirit Ideals entails the formation of a Bandung Constellation. Historically, the Bandung "Constellation" emerged at the "periphery" of a "galaxy", as a reaction to the Western "Galaxy" of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism, and geographically spread from Asia and Africa. In 1961, the Belgrade Conference of Non-Aligned Countries transcended for the first time the geographical basis (Asia and Africa) of Bandung Spirit to a set of principles devoid of geographical limits. At its last summit in 2019, the NAM is a home to 120 out of 193 UN state members including countries situated in Africa, Asia Pacific and Oceania, America (North, Central, South) and the Caribbean, and Europe (Eastern). Outside institutionalised movements, attempts have been made to transcend Bandung Spirit into "alternative" movements, at the level of nation-states as well as civil societies, beyond its geographical cradle. In the first half of the sixties, for example, Sukarno created NEFO (New Emerging Forces) as alternative to OLDEFO (Old Established Forces, i.e. old established capitalist, colonialist, imperialist countries incarnated by Western Europe and North America). The NEFO was supposed to be the united forces of nation-states of Asia, Africa and Latin America in addition to the progressive forces of OLDEFO. The NEFO's mobilisations were carried out through diverse events: alternative Olympic games (GANEF0 or Games of the New Emerging Forces) and a projected CONEF0 (Conference of the New Emerging Forces) as alternative to the UN dominated by OLDEFO. The call of Sukarno found its echo in Havana, Cuba, where the first conference involving revolutionary movements from Africa, Asia and Latin America was organised in 1966 and known as the Tricontinental Conference. At the level of civil societies, Samir Amin and his comrades initiated and developed since the end of the 20th century WSF (World Social Forum) and WFA (World Forum for Alternatives) as alternative to Neo-liberal Globalisation (generalised, globalised, financialised monopoly capitalism commanded by the North). The WFA are supposed to be the united forces of social movements of the South (Africa, Asia, Latin America, The Caribbean...) and progressive elements of the North. Other movements inspired by Bandung Spirit, at different scales, emerged, disappeared or developed. Thus, Bandung Spirit Constellation continues to evolve and its contours move.

This raises questions such as in what way Bandung Spirit has been developed into theories and practices of social movements in different parts of the world?

DREAMS-CHALLENGES-PROJECTS

The "trilogy" Dreams-Challenges-Projects is supposed to be the basic elements of planning at all levels of living-beings, individual as well as community and nation. In relation with Bandung, the conference is supposed to discuss cases of "dreams-challenges-projects", analysed entirely or separately, at the level of community (e.g. ethnic, religious, gender group) or nation-state (e.g. country, state, region).

This raises questions such as how different countries or societal entities among the state members of Non-Aligned Movement have been developing so far?

PARTICIPANTS

The conference encourages the participation of scholars from a wide range of scientific disciplines (area studies, cultural studies, ecology, economics, geography, history, humanities, languages, management, political and social sciences...) and practitioners from diverse professional fields (business, civil society, education, enterprise, government, management, parliament, public policy, social and solidarity movements...) as well as artists, writers, journalists and activists of social and solidarity movements, based in diverse

geographical areas (North, South, East, West, Central AFRICA; North, Central, South AMERICA; the CARIBBEAN; AUSTRALIA; North, East, West, Central, South and Southeast ASIA; Central, Eastern, Southern, Northern, Western EUROPE; RUSSIA, PACIFIC, OCEANIA...).

CONFERENCE ITINERARY

The conference is to take place successively in four localities, which have special meanings in Indonesian liberation movement and special relations with Sukarno: Jakarta-Bandung-Surabaya-Bali.

JAKARTA

Jakarta was an old settlement dated back at the 4th century, under the control of different kingdoms, until it was named Jayakarta at the 16th century. The Dutch East India Company conquered the area and founded a fort Batavia at the 17th century and developed it progressively as the economic, political and administrative centre of the Dutch East India until the Japanese arrival in 1942. Thanks to this latter, Sukarno – who was put in jail in Bandung and in exile in different islands of Indonesia since the 1930s by the Dutch colonial government – was liberated from detention. Being aware of the nature of Japanese temporary military occupation, Sukarno moved to Batavia then called Jakarta, took advantage of the Japanese discourse of Pan-Asianism for advancing the national movement of Indonesian independence, in a hidden collaboration with his comrades who resisted clandestinely the Japanese occupation. There he led the preparation of Indonesian independence, formulated the philosophical foundation and the constitution of the state to be born. Following the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the independence of Indonesia on August 17, 1945.

BANDUNG

Around 150 km south-east of Jakarta, Bandung is situated at a mountainous area of West Java (768 meters above sea level), surrounded by tea plantations, a resort city of plantation owners during the Dutch colonial period, marked by luxurious hotels, restaurants, cafés, and European boutiques, leading to its nickname *Parijs van Java* (Dutch: “The Paris of Java”). There the Dutch founded the first *Technische Hoogeschool* (Higher School of Engineering) in 1920 (now ITB, Bandung Institute of Technology) where Sukarno was among the first and rare “indigenous” students until his graduation as architectural and civil engineer in 1926. There he developed his intellectual orientation and capacity, his talent as writer and orator, his discourses and actions in forming Indonesia as a nation, his struggle against colonialism and imperialism, his leadership in national movements for Indonesian independence. There, at the age of 25 years, he wrote his synthesis of “*Islam, Marxism and Nationalism*”, which became his personal and political conviction until the end of his life in 1970. There he got to know with colonial prisons and exiles until the end of the Dutch colonial occupation of Indonesia in 1942. There he was put in jail by the Dutch colonial government for his movement, during which he wrote his “*Indonesia Menggugat*” (Indonesia Accuses) and pronounced it as his defence at the Dutch colonial trial in 1930, a text that became the “manifesto” of independent Indonesia. There the Asian-African Conference took place in 1955.

SURABAYA

Around 750 km east of Bandung, Surabaya is the second biggest city of Indonesia, settled in the 10th century, a major political and military power as well as a port in eastern Java until the 16th century linking the trade route between Malacca and the Spice Islands of Moluccas via the Java Sea, a major economic centre of the Dutch East India before the WW II. It is also

the cradle of Indonesian movements for national liberation from colonialism and imperialism, the main battlefield of Indonesian struggle for independence. There Sukarno was born (1901) and brought up. There he got to know at his teenage years with revolutionary literature and global movements (he discovered Marx and Marxism at the age of 16 years – 1917, Russian October Revolution – got familiarised with literature of revolutions and revolutionary movements in France, Russia, China, India, Egypt, Turkey, Latin America...). There he met his political mentor (Tjokroaminoto, founder and leader of the biggest political party in Southeast Asia before the first world war) and comrades who became later the most important national radical political leaders of independent Indonesia (Communist at one side and Islamist at the other side). Following the defeat of Japan in the WW II and the proclamation of Indonesian independence, the Dutch came back with the help of the British to retake the control over Indonesia in 1945. Surabaya was bombed by British aviation on November 10, 1945, which triggered the war for Indonesian independence, starting from Surabaya, until the international recognition of Indonesian sovereignty in 1949. This is why Surabaya was known as “City of Hero” and Sukarno called it “the kitchen of Indonesian revolution”.

BALI

Around 450 south-east of Surabaya, Bali is known as a “paradise island”, an “island of gods”, and some other iconic names. The island is characterised by Hindu-Balinese centuries of tradition with multiple rituals and ceremonies. The Balinese struggle against the Dutch colonial occupation was marked by three heroic wars known as “Puputan” (resistance until the last drop of blood): Puputan Buleleng (1844-1849), Puputan Badung (1904-1906) and Puputan Margarana (1946). Bali has also a special place in Indonesia since Sukarno’s mother is Balinese. After Indonesian independence, a presidential palace was built in Tampaksiring, Gianyar, Bali following the ideas of Sukarno. The uniqueness of Bali in art, architecture, tradition, custom, hospitality and natural environment led it to be the most important tourist destination of Indonesia and venues of international meetings, festivals, conferences, forums, summits. There the G20 Summit will take place on November 15-16, 2022.

TENTATIVE ITINERARY

JAKARTA

Hosting Institution: ANRI (National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia)

05/11 Saturday: Informal Progressive arrival of participants

06/11 Sunday: Informal program. Jakarta Tour

07/11 Monday: Full Day Plenary Session – Moving to Bandung by bus (150 km)

BANDUNG

Hosting Institutions: Universitas Padjadjaran

08/11 Tuesday: Bandung Half Day Visit and Plenary Session – Sociocultural Evening

09/11 Wednesday: Half Day Parallel Sessions – Moving to Surabaya by bus (750 km)

SURABAYA

Hosting Institution: Universitas Airlangga

10/11 Thursday: Surabaya Visit of Historical Sites

11/11 Friday: Plenary & Parallel Sessions – Sociocultural Evening

12/11 Saturday: Half Day Parallel Sessions – Moving to Bali by plane (450 km)

BALI

Hosting Institution: Universitas Udayana

13/11 Sunday: Plenary & Parallel Sessions – Closing Session – Sociocultural Evening

14/11 Monday: Informal Bali Visit & Cultural Activities

GUIDELINES FOR PRESENTER CANDIDATES

The selection of presenters is based on the abstract and the basic personal data of the presenter candidates in respect to the following dates:

- 1) Deadline of abstract (200-300 words) submission: July 31, 2022
- 2) Deadline of full paper (2000-3000 words / 5-6 pages) submission: August 31, 2022
- 3) Notification for the selected presenters: progressively from June 2022. The earlier an abstract is submitted, the earlier its author will get notified, which is important for a travel planning.

The abstract is to be submitted online at <https://forms.gle/aWVKdMkDWgAf8LMYA>

FINANCING

The organising committee does not provide travel grant to any participant. The presenters as well as simple participants of the conference are supposed to find the necessary fund for their own participation (visa, international and national transport, accommodation).

DOMESTIC TRANSPORT AND ACCOMMODATION

International participants travelling by airplane are invited to land at Jakarta International Airport. The Conference NOC (National Organising Committee) will organise their trip to Bandung, Surabaya and Bali. The travel cost will be indicated in the Registration Form.

As for accommodation, the NOC will provide information about hotels and their tariffs in Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya and Bali.

CONFIRMATION FOR PAPER PRESENTERS

The selected abstract authors will receive a notification and be requested to confirm their participation via an online Confirmation/Registration indicated later.

PRACTICAL MATTERS

Other practical information will be published progressively at <https://bandungspirit.org/>