

BICHARA: WESTERN HUMAN RIGHTS AND ASIAN VALUES

Dato' Shaharil Talib

'The Master is Cross'

Who is it?
Where do you come from?
Where are you going?
Why are you running about here?
What are you looking for?
Don't pass along here!
You must stay over there!
You are not clever enough.
You are stupid.
You'll get into trouble in a minute.
Be careful, don't do it like that!
Think first. Look for ways and means.
Are you ashamed?
I want information.
I don't understand.
I think you are lying.

These provocative phrases are not the creative work of a poet. This is Lesson 24 in a book of elementary Malay compiled by S. van der Molen (adapted for the use of English-speaking students by Harry F. Cemach) and published by W. van Hoeve, The Hague, in 1949. Richard Wright who picked the booklet up while reporting on the 1955 Bandung Conference dryly commented that the author wrote 'a book to instruct an army of invaders how to demean, intimidate, and break the spirit of an enemy people in a conquered, occupied country All sentences were rendered in terms of flat orders, commands; an exclamation point usually followed each sentence, implying that one actually shouted one's orders'. An English speaking person in the mid-twentieth century learnt Malay not to **bichara**. He barked orders.

The word **bichara** evokes ancient relationships where individuals met in exchange of views ranging on a variety of subjects. On the island of Jolo at the ancient royal capital of Maimbung there was a **Rumah Bichara** where merchants and officials verbally transacted in-trade and commerce. When T.S. Raffles secured the island of Singapore from the rulers of Johor one of the early institutions

he established was a **Rumah Bichara** where all the officials met weekly to discuss matters of state. **Bichara** is an ancient tradition deeply ingrained in the language and cultures of island Southeast Asia.

In October 1818 Lady Sophia Raffles, the wife of T.S. Raffles, related an incident that embodied the relationship in **bichara** in all its simplicity. Lady Sophia had accompanied her husband on an inland expedition from Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra into Padang - the classical Malay country. Tired she laid down at the foot of a tree while other members of the party dispersed in different directions. A Malay girl approached her with great grace of manners and when asked if she wanted anything replied, 'No, but seeing you were quite alone, I thought you might like to have a 'little **bichara** (talk) and so I come to offer you some siri, (Betel) and sit beside you'. It is in this spirit of **bichara** with **kapor** and **sireh** this paper addresses the subject of Western Human Rights and Asian Values.

There must have occurred many instances of **bichara** between east and west. In 1857, Alfred Russel Wallace, the great naturalists, encountered a group of individuals in the islands of Aru. Their interest was on the origins of his country. He recorded the **bichara** thus:

Two or three of them got around me and begged me, for the twentieth time, to tell them the name of my country One funny old man.... was almost indignant. 'Unglung! said he, 'who ever heard of such a name? anglang - anger-lang- that can't be the name of your country; you are playing with us,. Then he tried to give a convincing illustration. 'My country is Wanumbai - any body can say Wanumbai. I am orang Wanumbai; but, N - glung! who ever heard of such a name? Do tell us the name of your country, and then when you are gone we shall know how to talk to you'. The conversation switched to other matters and finally returned to the familiar subject 'Do tell us the name of your country. We know the Bugis men, and the Macassar men and the Java men, and the China men; only you, we don't know from what country you come. Unglung! it can't be; I know that is not the name of your country.

In the realm of **bichara** the great naturalists remained a stranger among natural friends of the Bugis, Macassarese, Javanese and Chinese. This is a unfortunate. The last very note before he bade farewell to his readers of the 'civilised world', was a critique of that civilization. The following is a note in history lesson he had learnt from his **bichara** with strangers:

We are the richest country in the world, and yet one-twentieth of our population are parish paupers and one-thirtieth known criminals. Add to these, the criminals who escape detection, and the poor who live mainly on private charity (which according to Dr

Hawkesley, expends seven millions sterling annually in London alone), and we may be sure that more than ONETENTH of our population are actually Paupers and Criminals. Both these classes we keep idle or at unproductive labour, and each criminal costs us annually in our prisons more than the wages of an honest agricultural laborer. we allow over a hundred thousand persons known to have no means of subsistence but by crime, to remain at large and prey upon the community, and many thousand children to grow up before our eyes in ignorance and vice, to supply trained criminals for the next generation. This, in a country which boasts of its rapid increase in wealth, of its enormous commerce and gigantic manufactures, of its mechanical skill and scientific knowledge, of its high civilization and its pure Christianity, I can but term a state of social barbarism. We also boast of our love of justice, and that the law protects rich and poor alike, yet we retain money fines and punishment and make the very first steps to obtain justice a matter of expense - in both cases a barbarous injustice, or denial of justice to the poor. He concluded we shall never, as regards the whole community, attain to any real or important superiority over the better class of savages.

In the mid-nineteenth century Britain ruled the waves. In the next fifty years Britain created a vast global empire that was unprecedented in world history. The British Empire at its height governed over a quarter of the human race, and encompassed more than a fifth of the globe. Britain in combination with Europe nations - Portugal, Spain, Holland, France, Italy, Germany, Russia and others scrambled to carve up vast swatches of continents, islands, oceans and seas on a global scale and brought these regions of ancient civilisations under colonial rule. The Empires of Imperial Europe rested ultimately upon military force and direct rule and carried with its global expansion Europe ideals of Human Rights - ideals of freedom, democracy and equality.

In the words of Bung Karno the 'Life-line of Imperialism'...runs from the Straits of Gibraltar, through the Mediterranean, the Suez Canal, the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea and the Sea of Japan. For most of that enormous distance, the territories on both sides of this lifeline were colonies, the peoples were unfree, their futures mortgaged to an alien system. Along that life-line, that main artery of imperialism, there was pumped the life-blood of colonialism'. It took two world wars and the collective voice of Asian conscience in the twentieth century that forced Europe to retreat from its colonial territories. The Atlantic hegemony in the mid-twentieth century was passed over to the Pacific. The United States of America with its vast array of International Institutions and boundless resources became the vanguard for the 'Free World'.

The concern with human rights and fundamental freedoms was the concern of the United Nations in the second half of the twentieth century. On 10 December 1948 the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted and proclaimed by

the General Assembly of the United Nations, meeting at Paris. The 30th Anniversary publication of The United Nations and Human Rights boldly stated without guilt the origins of its concerns on human rights and fundamental freedoms. The following is quoted from a United Nations publication:

The roots of this concern may be traced to the humanist traditions of the renaissance, to the struggle for self-determination, independence and equality that has taken place, and is still proceeding, in many parts of the world; to the philosophical concepts of such men as John Locke of England, Jean Jacques Rousseau of France, Thomas Jefferson of the United States of America, Karl Marx of Germany and V. I. Lenin of Russia; and to the impact of such events as the issuance of the Magna Carta by King John of England in 1215, the adoption of the Habeas Corpus Act by the British Parliament in 1679, the proclamation of the Declaration of Independence by representatives of the 13 North American colonies in 1776, the adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen by the National Assembly of France in 1798, and the publication of the Communist Manifesto in 1848.

In the name of the international community, Europe and the United States of America declared Human Rights for the world. Conspicuously missing were the philosophers of the ancient civilizations of Asia. Conspicuously dismissed in a phrase were the liberation struggles of humanity against the superiority of Europe and the United States of America. The humanist traditions, philosophical concepts and Asian experiences were negated from Human Rights. Asian values in its humanist traditions, philosophical traditions and living experiences is the dynamism of **bichara**. It is essential to put back the voices of the peoples of ancient civilisations into world historical literature dominated by the victors of World War II. There were other winners for peace whose peoples lived in the antiquity of Asian cultures and civilisations. Their State Constitutions embodied the essence of civilisation values. The names and events evoked by the United Nations Human Rights Declaration pales into insignificance and is hollow without meaning against the human spirit that Asia had symbolised through the ages. The following are historical acts in Southeast Asia pregnant with meaning:

On 17th August 1945 the Indonesian Republic declared its independence. The Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia reads:

Since independence is the right of every nation, any subjugation in this world is contrary to humanity and justice, and must therefore be abolished. Our struggle for an independent Indonesia has come to a successful stage and the Indonesian people are on the very threshold of an Indonesian State - independent, united, sovereign, just and prosperous. With God's blessing and moved by the high ideal of a free national life, the Indonesian people hereby

declare their Independence.

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam declared its independence on 2nd September 1945. The Independence Declaration was delivered by President Ho Chi Minh at Ba Dinh Square, Hanoi, Vietnam. The text enshrined in written and collective memory the brutal and degrading excesses of French colonial rule. Its voice and spirit could well apply to the experiences of other peoples under colonial subjugation:

Politically, they have deprived our people of every democratic liberty. They have enforced inhuman laws; they have set up three different political regimes in the North, the Center and the South of Viet Nam in order to wreck our country's oneness and prevent our peoples from being united. They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly massacred our patriots. They have drowned our uprisings in seas of blood. They have fettered public opinion practised and obscurantism. They have weakened our race with opium and alcohol. In the field of economy, they have sucked us dry, driven our people to destitution and devastated our land. They have robbed us of our rice fields, our mines, our forests and our natural resources. They have monopolized the issue of bank-notes and import and export trade. They have invented numerous unjustifiable taxes and reduced our people, especially our peasantry, to extreme poverty. They have made it impossible for our national bourgeoisie to prosper; they have mercilessly exploited our workers.

On 4th July 1946 the Republic Of the Philippines came being, its Preamble reads:

We, the sovereign Filipino people, imploring the aid of Divine providence, in order to establish a Government that shall embody our ideals, Promote the general welfare, conserve and develop the patrimony of our Nation, and secure to ourselves and our posterity, the blessings of democracy under a regime of justice, peace, liberty, and equality, do ordain and promulgate this Constitution.

The Preamble of the Constitution of The Union of Burma declared on 24th September 1947 reads:

WE, THE PEOPLE OF BURMA including the Frontier Areas and the Karenni states, Determined to establish in strength and unity a SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT STATE, To maintain social order on the basis of the eternal principles of JUSTICE, LIBERTY AND EQUALITY and To guarantee and secure to all citizens JUSTICE social, economic and political; LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action; EQUALITY of status, of opportunity and before the law, IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this Tenth day of Thadingyut waxing 1309 B.E. (Twentyfourth day of September, 1947 A.D.), DO HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES

THIS CONSTITUTION.

The collective and sovereign will of Southeast Asian peoples, Asian peoples, African peoples, all victims of Europe's global expansion should never be abdicated to others who were once masters. Europe is not the centre of history and progress.

On 23rd March 1947 the leaders of Asia met at New Delhi in the First Asian Relations Conference. They came from all quarters of Asia not merely for Asia but to share her heritage with World Civilisation. The humanist traditions and philosophical concepts that they **bichara** were not merely confined to one nation or to a particular people but were to be spread out over the whole human race. They each carried the message of the East, of wisdom, scholarship, culture, fellowship, service, dedication, dignity of the human spirit, and the one-ness of man to share with the world. In the spirit of an Asian renaissance, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his Inaugural Address summarised the past and painted the future:

We stand at the end of an era and on the threshold of a new period of history. standing on this watershed which divides two epochs of human history and endeavour, we can look back on our long past and look forward to the future that is taking shape before our eyes. Asia, after a long period of quiescence, has suddenly become important again in world affairs. If we view the millennia of history, this continent of Asia, with which Egypt has been so intimately connected in cultural fellowship, has played a mighty role in the evolution of humanity. It was here that civilisation began and man started unceasingly for truth and the spirit of man shone out like a beacon which lightened up the whole world.

This dynamic Asia from which great streams of culture flowed in all directions, gradually became static and unchanging. Other peoples and other continents came to the fore and with their new dynamism spread out and took possession of great parts of the world. This mighty continent became just a field for the rival imperialism of Europe, and Europe became the centre of history and progress in human affairs.

A change is coming over the scene now and Asia is again finding herself. We live in a tremendous age of transition and already the next stage takes shape when Asia takes her rightful place with other continents.

Pandit Nehru in welcoming the Asian delegates encapsulated what Asia meant to the Indian continent.

We welcome you delegates from China, that great country to which Asia owes so much and from which so much is expected; from Egypt and the Arab countries of western Asia, inheritors of a proud culture which spread far and wide and influenced India greatly; from Iran whose contacts with India go back to the dawn of history; from Indonesia and Indo-

China whose history is intertwined with India's culture, and where recently the battle of freedom has continued - a reminder to us that freedom must be won and cannot come as a gift; from Turkey that has been rejuvenated by the genius of a great leader; from Korea and Mongolia, Siam, Malaya and the Philippines; from the Soviet Republics of Asia which has advanced so rapidly in our generation and which have so many lessons to teach us; and from our neighbours Afghanistan, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Burma and Ceylon to which we look especially for cooperation and close and friendly intercourse.

The Conference was the spirit of Asia on the move held in Asia by Asians for all humanity. In the closing plenary session, Mahatma Gandhi, the apostle of truth and non-violence, carried the message from the grand masters of Asian teachers for the future of mankind. All these teachers had carried the message of love and all these wise men came from the East.

Zoroaster - he belonged to the East. He was followed by the Buddha. He belonged to the East. He belonged to India. Who followed the Buddha? Jesus again from Asia. Before Jesus who was there? Moses, also belonging to Palestine, though he was born in Egypt. And then came Jesus, then came Mohammad. I do not know a single person to match these men of Asia". The message they all delivered is a message of love. He concluded his closing address with the message that the message of love should be re-delivered to the west. "You can re-deliver this message with the greatest emphasis. Then you will complete the conquest of the whole of the West. I am so sanguine that if all of you put, not merely your heads but hearts together, understand the secret of the message which all these wise men of the east have left for us, and if we really become worthy of that great message, then you will easily understand the conquest of the west will be completed and that conquest will be felt by the West itself.

Much occurred in the decade after the First Asian Relations Conference, 1947. France was humiliated at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The Korean War broke out at that period. The Asian inspired world renaissance froze in the hell-fires of the Cold War for the next twenty years until the armed forces of the United States of America withdrew in full view of television cameras from Saigon in 1975. In more recent times the United States Navy withdrew from Subic Bay in the Philippines and the Soviet Union Navy sailed out of Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam. International relations were once again reconstituted in the post cold war era. Curiously in 1976 the International Covenants on Human Rights came into force, thereby completing the International Bill of Human Rights for the United Nations. In rapid succession institutions, non-government organisations and other organisations mushroomed and staged conferences, seminars and dialogues under the Banner of Human Rights. Asia was being watched.

There is another momentous conference organised in Asia that requires mentioning in this **bichara**. In 1955 the Republic of Indonesia staged the first Afro-Asia Conference in Bandung. Bung Karno declared in his **jowo** style delivery that the event was 'the first international conference of coloured peoples in the history of mankind'. It was the first time in world history that the leaders of Asian and African peoples met together in their own countries to **bichara** upon matters of common concern. Vibrating through his electrifying speech were core moral and spiritual Asian values passed on through the ages that is worth reflecting. These values were reinforced many times over in the proceedings of the Conference by other Afro-Asian leaders. The first is cry freedom. It is a priceless value for New Asia and New Africa made possible by sacrifices of generations before. It was their undying, indomitable and invincible spirit that made possible this meeting of independent and sovereign peoples of the two biggest continents of the globe.

The second core value was that of responsibility. It is the responsibility of the present generation to hold dear the questions of life and death of humanity itself.

For that is part of the duties of independence itself. That is part of the price we gladly pay for our independence. For many generations our peoples have been the voiceless ones in the world. We have been unregarded, the peoples for whom decisions were made by others whose interest were paramount, the peoples who lived in poverty and humiliation. Then our nations demanded, nay fought for independence, and achieved independence, and with that independence came responsibility. We have heavy responsibilities to ourselves, and to the world, and to the yet unborn generations. But we do not regret them.

The third core value is tolerance. Bung Karno evoked the principle of **Bhineka Tunggal Ika** - Unity in Diversity. There was great diversity in the gathering of Afro-Asia and none denied that.

Small and great nations are represented here, with people professing almost every religion under the sun,- Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Sikhism, Zoroastrianism, Shintoism, and others. Almost every political faith we encounter here - Democracy, Monarchism, Theocracy, with its innumerable variants. And practically every economic doctrine has representatives in this hall Marhaenism, Socialism, Capitalism, Communism, in all their manifold variations and combinations. It is in the tolerant spirit of Asian religion and cultures that the gathering was staged. It was to impress on the world Asian values that it is possible to live together, meet together, speak to each other, without losing one's individual identity; and yet to contribute to the general understanding of matters of common concern, and to develop a true consciousness of the interdependence of men and nations for the wellbeing and survival on earth.

The peoples of the ancient cradles of world civilisation held a **bichara** at Bandung. The media reaction in Europe, United States of America and Australia were pointed. 'The Masters were Cross'. Sefton Delmer writing for an English daily commented:

They are holding a jamboree in the sun-drenched Indonesian hill town of Bandung next month. It is a political jamboree, an anticolonial gathering of Asian and African nations. What a pity president Sukarno and the Indonesian Government are being so very exclusive and colour conscious about it!

The Launceston **Examiner** of Tasmania (Australia) in its December 30, 1954 issue warned:

Decisions by the 'Colombo Premiers' are of deep significance to Australia and the western world. Their invitation to twenty-five nations, including Communist China, but excluding all Western countries, to a conference in April, could be the beginning of racial hatreds against the West.

Newsweek greeted the New Year 1955 with the fear of the **Yellow Peril**, a phrase popularised by Kaiser Wilhelm II:

Everbody knows what must come to pass between Asia and the West, the **yellow and the white**. It is imbecile folly for us to close our eyes to the inevitable ... All the world understands that the gravest crisis in the destiny of the earth's population is at hand...

The dogs of war have been unchained again in the guise of the Cold War.

The essence of **bichara** is the enduring relationships built on understanding among equal peoples engaged in common exchanges. The experience of **bichara** is integral to Asian humanist traditions and philosophical concepts. It is a peoples democracy at work. Alfred Russel Wallace found that exchange is.... in its simplest form the genius of Commerce at work of Civilization. Trade is the magic that keeps all at peace, and unites these discordant elements into a well-behaved community. All traders, and all know that peace and order are essential to successful trade, and thus public opinion is created which puts down all lawlessness. Freedom to access the market, responsibility in the process of buying and selling, tolerance of each others needs and views and social justice are all values intricately bound in the process of exchange and **bichara**.

The great archipelagic chain of **nusalaut** Asia that makes island Southeast Asia is the world's largest floating market of islands, straits and seas. In T.S. Raffles view, this market

embraces the whole of that vast Archipelago, which stretching from Sumatra and Java to the Islands of the Pacific; and thence to the shores of China and Japan, has in all ages excited the attention and attracted the cupidity of more civilised nations; whose valuable and peculiar contribution to swell the extravagance of Roman luxury, and in more modern times has raised the power and consequence of every successive European nation into whose hands commerce has fallen. It has raised several of these from insignificance and obscurity, to power and eminence, and perhaps in its earliest period among the Italian states, communicated the first electric spark which woke life the energies and literature of Europe.

The extent of global exchange and trade networks in the vast expanse of **nusalaut** before European domination is breathtaking. T.S. Raffles gives this inspiring and awesome picture:

Situated between the rich and populous continents of China on the one hand and India on the other, and furnishing to Europe the means of an extensive commerce, the demand for the produce of these Islands is unailing, and that produce is only limited by the extent of the population. By means of the variety of its tribes, their intermixture and connection, each with each other, and the accessible nature of the coasts washed by the smoothest seas in the world, while large and navigable rivers open communication with the interior, the stimulus of this commerce is propagated in successive waves through the whole, and the inexhaustible resources of the country are drawn forth in a manner and to an extent that could not otherwise be obtained. Each is dependent on the other, and receives and communicates a portion of the general activity. Thus the savage and intractable Batta collects and furnishes the camphor and benjamin, the spontaneous produce of his woods; the equally barbarous Dayak and wild Harafura ransacks the bowels of the earth for its gold and its diamonds; the inhabitants of Sulu seeks for the pearl beneath the waters that surround them, and others traverse the shores for the **tripang** or sea-slug, or descend into its rooky caverns for the Chinese luxury of birds, nest. Ascending from these we find the more civilised Sumatran, whose agriculture is still rude, employed in the raising of pepper; the native of the Moluccas in the culture of nutmeg, and the clove; the still higher Javan and Siamese, besides their abundant harvests of rice, supplying Europe with their coffee and sugar, and all impelled and set in motion by the spirit of commerce. No less varied are the people who collect this produce from all these different quarters till it is finally shipped for Europe India, and China, from the petty bartering trader who brings it from the interior of the ports and mouths of the rivers, the Malay who conveys it from Port to port, the more adventurous Bugguese who sweeps the remote shores to concentrate their produce at the

emporium, to the Chinese merchant who sends his junks laden with this accumulated produce to be dispersed through the empire of China, and furnishes Europeans with the cargoes of their ships. Through the same diverging channels are again circulated the manufacture of India and Europe, and thus a constant intercourse and circulation is maintained through the whole.

In **nusalaut** Asia, peaceful exchange in trade and commerce is the bedrock of its civilisation. The cultural diversity of world traders met in markets for mutual exchange and common **bichara**. All of **nusalaut** Asia was a global market. The relationships were multicultural and multilateral in markets. In the remote corner of the east, at Dobbo in the Aru islands, various communities met as they expressed it, 'to look for their fortune'. Alfred Russel Wallace observed that at the Dobbo market Chinese, Bugis, Ceramese, and half-caste Javanese, Papuans from Timor, Babber, and other islands met in peaceful exchange.

This motley, ignorant, bloodthirsty, thievish population live here without the shadow of a government, with no police, no courts, and no lawyers; yet they do not cut each other's throats, do not plunder each other -day and night, do not fall into the anarchy such a state of things might be supposed to lead to. It is very extraordinary. It puts strange thoughts into one's head about the mountain-load of government under which people exist in Europe, and suggests the idea that we may be overgoverned. Think of the hundred acts of Parliament annually enacted to prevent us, the people of England, from cutting each other's throats, from doing to our neighbour as we would not be done by. Think of the thousands of lawyers and barristers whose whole lives are spent in telling us what the hundred acts of Parliament mean....

Asia and its civilisation built on multiculturalism and multilateral market relations is the centre of world history. Asia is the birthplace and cradle of all civilisations. Europe subjugated Asia and closed its frontiers. Asia became the voiceless peoples. Thousands of anti-colonial wars and two world wars broke the mastery of Europe. For a brief interlude the voice of Asia was heard. However, the Voice of America in the mid-twentieth century became the Voice of the Free World. The end of the Cold War and the making of the new moral order brings us back to this **bichara**.

Asia survived the harsh cold winter and now experiences spring. The Asian renaissance is an all consuming civilising mission for all humanity. It will wage a social **jihad** against human poverty, human ignorance and human diseases. Life is celebrated not mourned.

Endnotes:

1. Richard Wight, *The Colour Curtain: A Report on the Bandung Conference*, The World Publishing Company, New York, p. 181.
2. *Ibid.*, p 181.
3. Lady Sophia Raffles, *Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles*, Oxford University Press, 1991, pg.321.
4. Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-Utan, and the Bird of Paradise*, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1991, pp. 463-464.
5. *Ibid.*, p.599.
6. *Collected Documents of the Asian-African Conference*, April 18-24, 1955, Department of Foreign Affairs, The Republic of Indonesia, 1983, p.5.
7. *The United Nations and Human Rights*, United Nations, New York, 1978, p. 1.
8. *Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia*, Department of Information, The Republic of Indonesia.
9. *The Declaration of Independence of 1945: The Foundation of the New Vietnam*, delivered by President Ho Chi Minh on September 2, 1945 at Ba Dinh Square, Ha Noi, Vietnam.
10. *The Constitution of the Republic of the Philippines*, Government Printing Office, Manila, 1974.
11. *The Constitution of the Union of Burma*, Supdt. Government Printing and Stationery, Rangoon, 1948.
12. *Asian Relations: being Report of the Proceedings and Documentation of the First Asian Relations Conference*, New Delhi, March-April, 1947, Asian Relations Organisation, New Delhi, 1948, p.21.
13. *Ibid.*, p.22.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.
15. See Appendix One. This advertisement was posted to the Head, Department of Southeast

Asian Studies, University of Malaya. It was received on 24th October 1996.

16. *Collected Documents of the Asian-African Conference*, p.3.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

18. *Ibid.*, p.10.

19. *Ibid.*, p.10.

20. Richard Wright, *op.cit.*, pp. 82-83.

21. *Ibid.*, p.84.

22. *Ibid.*, p.85.

23. Alfred Russel Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 444.

24. Lady Sophia Raffles, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

26. Alfred Russel Wallace, *op. cit.*, pp. 443-444.

27. This is a paraphrase of the words of Uncle Ho Chi Minh, a fifty-six year old person, with a bamboo walking-stick and a pair of rubber sandals, when he declared the first sacred war of resistance against France in Deceniber 1946. His actual words were 'If we endure through this cold winter, we shall see spring'. General Vo Nguyen Giap, *Unforgettable Days*, Second Edition, Foreign Languages Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p. 426.