

**CELEBRATING THE NATIONAL RE-AWAKENING DAY OF  
20 MAY 1908 IN THE YEAR OF THE LIBERATION OF  
WEST IRIAN 1962**

Speech delivered on the Eve of the National Re-awakening  
Day, 20 May 1908 celebration throughout Indonesia, centralized  
at the Negara Palace in Djakarta on 20 May 1962

by

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**NOT FOR SALE**



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OF 20 MAY 1908 IN THE YEAR OF THE LIBERATION  
OF WEST IRIAN 1962.

Fellow countrymen from Sabang till Merauke, at home, in the forests, at the front of the Theatre Command for the Liberation of West Irian as well as abroad.

Tomorrow, 20 May, we, the whole people of Indonesia are going to commemorate the National Reawakening Day, with one soul and one determination, i.e. the execution of the People's Tri-Command and the redemption of our vow to liberate West Irian in this very same year 1962.

About half a century ago, in the first eight years of the twentieth century, i.e. on 20 May 1908, the leaders of the Indonesian People, moved by their responsibility towards Country and People took the first step to unite and to associate the reawakening and the awareness of the Indonesian People in one organisation, which afterwards became a stepping-stone, a pushing-power towards the founding of other organisations, so that in this way it opened a new period in the method of struggle for the attainment of the independence of Indonesia. The organised struggle for freedom was started, different from that in the XIX, XVIII and XVII century.

The event, taking place in Indonesia in 1908 was part of the beginning of the awakening throughout Asia and Africa, and of the awakening of the individuality of the peoples of Asia and Africa, and of the growth of the awareness, that colonialism should and indeed could be put to an end by our own strength; that for the peoples of Asia and Africa the moment was there to raise themselves from the valley of insults, miseries and poverty caused by colonialism and imperialism. The first eight years of the twentieth century have become the impetus to the bursting forth of the seed of the new emerging forces, which started to gather together the strength to become greater and greater, and finally exploded together after World War II.

The association Budi Utomo was founded on 20 May 1908 under the shade of the banyuan tree inside the walls of the Doctors' College "Stovia" in the city of Djakarta, which became the centre of Indonesian scholars during the first, second and third decades of our twentieth century and the birthplace of all insular associations of youths in Indonesia.

Round the cradle of Budi Utomo were seen the youths Dr. Sutomo, Dr. Asikin, Sardjito, Gunawan, Suwarno and others, which afterwards was extended and enriched with a study-fund by Wahidin.

Since that came the movement of national, religious and social organisations, and organisations in the cultural field sprang up, all of which finally carried the slogan, acted and demanded the independence of Indonesia, opposing colonialism, imperialism and feudalism.

A violent controversy then arose: colonialism opposed by independence, putting nationalism and socialism on unity against colonialism-separatism that obstructed the building of the nation.

The Association Budi Utomo was founded in the city of Djakarta in an atmosphere reflecting two tendencies. The first tendency was the atmosphere of international struggle for freedom in the continents of Asia and Africa.

The people of Indonesia have heard of the struggle of the Boers in South Africa resisting the imperialism of Albion; they have heard of the rise of the New Egypt and the New Turkey movements. They have received the vibrations of the freedom struggle in the watershed of the Gangga river in India; they have received the vibrations of the rise of New China against the Manchu-dynasty in China, and the beginning of the downfall of the Tsarist regime in Russia, and ultimately regained their self-confidence, when an Asian country, i.e. Japan had been able to defeat the Russian empire by winning a glorious victory at sea and on land. The change in the international atmosphere impressed the Indonesian people at the first decades of the 20th century.

The second tendency was the turn of the century in Indonesia, which means leaving behind the ruins of our life due to

the pressure of imperialism and colonialism, and saying farewell to a life of insult and a life that is soiled and blood-stained in the past century; a life that is soiled through suffering of colonial economic pressure in the atmosphere of forced cultivation of coffee and sugar-canes, a life that is blood-stained because of we just parted from the rebellious spirit in the past centuries as a victim of the divide-and-rule policy, due to lack of unity and lack of an overall and synchronised organisation in a unitary Indonesia.

The struggle against imperialism and colonialism, pioneered in Indonesia by Budi Utomo in the form of an organised organisation, is not yet completed but has even reached its culmination point. In Indonesia as well as in other parts of Asia and Africa, an intense struggle is still being waged between the new emerging forces and the old established forces, between forces defending freedom, defending justice. Anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, anti-exploitation, are facing with colonial and imperialistic forces.

Since the records of human history it has been evident that there has never been a transfer of power voluntarily from the old forces which have been settled to the new forces that have arisen as a social and historical process. That transition is always accompanied by a physical and a mental confrontation between old established forces and new emerging forces. The transition from the colonial period to the free period throughout the Asian and African continents have been or is being carried out with such confrontation.

In Indonesia, it is likewise, and so it is in Burma, India and Pakistan, in the Congo, and also in Algeria. Sometimes that confrontation exploded into a fighting-scene between resisting forces. In other places such a fighting-scene does not take place, as the old forces are forced to withdraw under the pressure of combined and united potential on the side of the "new established forces". But confrontation always becomes a *conditio sine qua non* in facing imperialism and colonialism. That is the course of development which has been designed by history.

My comrades-in-arms!

In Indonesia, too, we are compelled to follow the way of confrontation. The drumbeats of re-awakening, the drumbeats

as a sign to begin resistance of imperialism, given in 1908, were the drumbeats of confrontation. Those drumbeats of confrontation have been going continuously from the middle of this century till this moment. And in carrying out the struggle for the liberation of West Irian at present, there is no other way but confrontation.

It is up to the Dutch to make their choice, whether they want the confrontation which is being carried out at present to culminate in an armed conflict in which they are sure to be defeated, or they want the transfer of West Irian in an honourable way. Ninety-six million Indonesian people are ready to take up any challenge from the Dutch part. We have already sworn — and we shall keep to that vow — that West Irian should be free from colonialism before the sun rises on the first of January 1963. The firm attitude and the full determination of the Indonesian People are not to be compromised. In the Political Manifesto as well as in the Government Three-point-programme, and similarly in the People's Tri Command, the struggle for the Liberation of West Irian is a command which cannot be avoided; a command originating from the Mandate of People's Sufferings, a command which is an unconditional part of the Indonesian Revolution, nay, a command coming from the human heart.

In the soul of the Indonesian People the conviction has been strengthened, that victory shall be on our side. We are convinced, because we are strong. We are strong in the physical field, because the whole potentials of the Indonesian People have been thrown into the execution of the People's Tri-Command, and our Armed Forces in quantity as well as in quality are superior to the opponent. In the ideal field we are strong, because we stand on the principle of resisting that cursed imperialism-colonialism, and because we are on the side of righteousness and justice.

We are convinced to attain victory, because we also meet with the rule of history, running on rails which have already been designed by history. We are but a means of history, which has already determined that victory shall be on the side of the anti-colonial forces and the fall of the last fortresses of imperialism-colonialism in the latter half of this 20th Century too.

The annihilation of the Dutch colonial power in the Asian continent forever, if the Dutch remain stubborn, will certainly be carried out by using the Holy weapon destroying the illegal weapon, and its annihilation will be dishonourable. West Irian is sure to be liberated in six months and ten days more in this very year of 1962.

The course of history cannot be hampered anymore by whatever force, let alone under the guise of a puppet state, called "Papua", under the guise of "papua-council", under the guise of "self-determination" according to the Dutch conception.

We shall be traitors to our Fatherland, if we were prepared to trust the right of self-determination à la the Dutch. The story and the proof of the execution of that right was one used by Van Mook in the name of the Dutch Government, dividing our Fatherland into tens of federal states in the scheme of a federal republic, which was overthrown by the People of Indonesia but in 7 months only at the beginning of 1950; the self-determination policy had the mean intention to overthrow Free and Sovereign Indonesia, aiming at the failure of the nation building of a united Indonesian People and to prevent the state as the birth of the National Indonesian identity.

It is important and more just when the People's Tri Command is executed now to overthrow the structure of the puppet Papuan State in West Irian composed by the Dutch by using traitor Jouwe as a means, founded they said, as the execution of the right of self-determination, while in fact it is a province under a Dutch governor within the colonial Dutch kingdom in the Hague. An old tune and more violent than the federal, separatistic policy à la van Mook.

Fellow-countrymen, especially our Brothers and Sisters in West Irian and on the Indonesian islands around it.

Brothers and sisters, have made up your choice. The choice to live in freedom under your own flag, our flag, i.e. the Sang Merah Putih (the Red and white flag). You have carried out the People's Tri-Command, because you have already proved through deeds in frustrating and annihilating the tricks of the founding of the puppet-state of "Papua"; you have already planted the Sang Merah Putih

on the soil of West Irian; you have already in a short time all existing forces; you have already launched guerilla-movements repeatedly at your own initiative and conviction.

The guerilla-activities you are carrying out so courageously, so determinedly and superiorly, are witnessed and followed by the whole Indonesian people, nay, by the new emerging forces, and by all lovers of freedom and peace spread over the five continents. The whole world is witnessing the deterioration of the colonial throne in West Irian and the chattering of teeth of the colonial troops behind their defence fortifications because of fear.

Brothers and Sisters.

In connection with the National Re-awakening Day tomorrow, I appeal to you: Stimulate your fighting spirit. Plant the Sang Merah Putih from Sabang till Merauke. In West Irian too, from the coast till the virgin forests. Throughout the territory of our Fatherland, to-morrow at sunrise till the sun has disappeared behind the equator, the colours of the Sang Merah Putih should be hoisted, as a symbol of sovereignty and the firm determination to execute the People's Tricommand, and as a renewal of the vow, that West Irian should enter the territory under the authority of the Republic of Indonesia in this very year of 1962.

Surely, the National Re-awakening Day, God willing, in 1963 shall be celebrated at every place, from Sabang till Merauke, also at places such as Fak-fak, Manokwari, Biak, Serui, Kaimana and Kota Baru, on the banks of Sentani lake under the beating of the waves of the Tabi Bay on the beach of the Pacific Ocean under the waving of the Sang Merah Putih. The future is ours.

West Irian shall be free within a period of 200 days more, now in the very same year of 1962!