

**ONLY A NATION WITH SELF-RELIANCE
CAN BECOME A GREAT NATION**

**Speech by H. E. President Sukarno
at a commemoration of National
Reawakening Day, 20 May 1962,
at Negara Palace, Djakarta**

NOT FOR SALE

Department of Information
Republic of Indonesia

SPEECH OF H. E. PRESIDENT SUKARNO AT THE
COMMEMORATION OF NATIONAL REAWAKENING
DAY, AT NEGARA PALACE ON 20TH MAY 1962

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

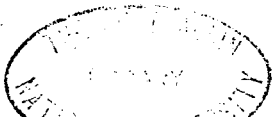
A few moments ago I have awarded medals of merit and honour to some widows of heroes and to heroes who all have had great merits in discharging their patriotic duties in defending the Republic of Indonesia.

And I am touched that I have pinned these medals of merit and honour, at this moment, i.e. the moment that we, that entire Indonesian Nation is commemorating the National Reawakening day. All of you are aware, that 54 years ago, exactly on the 20th of May, we can say for the first time in an organized way have stated our will to liberate our Fatherland again which had been colonized by the Dutch for more than 300 years.

When I led the Supreme Advisory Council's session some days ago, it was true that at that moment I instructed Mr. Muhammad Yamin. in his capacity of Minister for Special Affairs/Minister of Information, to arrange in the centre and in the regions as well the commemoration of this historic day, and now we have gathered in Djakarta, in the Negara Palace, to hold this commemoration and I know that the commemoration at this Negara Palace, is observed by the entire people of Indonesia from Sabang to Merauke.

Earlier the Vice Chairman of the Gotong Rojong House of Representatives, H. E. Mr. Subamia said, that the Dutch in their statement called the birth of Budi Utomo in the year 1908 a miracle, "a peculiarity, though a wonderful peculiarity".

With this expression the Dutch showed their incomprehension of the will of history. As has been said by Mr. Suba-



mia, it was indeed true that shortly after the Budi Utomo was founded in the year 1908, Mr. Conrad Theodore Van Deventer, one of the vanguards of what was called "the ethical course" of the colonial Government, stated in one of his writings: "Het wonder is geschied". "Insulinde, de schone slaapster, is ontwaakt". (The wonder has come. Insulinde the sleeping beauty has awoken). I therefore asked, if this is really the reawakening of Insulinde which has been made asleep for hundreds of years by the Dutch, by the cudgel of Dutch imperialists, is it not more than proper that the moment of the reawakening of this sleeping beauty Insulinde, be commemorated every year? To the Dutch who are possibly ridiculing us now, that we commemorate the National Reawakening Day I asked: "Is it not more than proper that we, the Indonesian Nation commemorate the day of the reawakening of the sleeping beauty Insulinde as has been said by Mr. Conrad Theodore van Deventer"?

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

There was another Dutchman, Professor Mr. P. J. Veth, who in his great work wrote, that due to the consequences of Dutch colonialism in Indonesia, the spirit of the tiger living in the hearts of the Indonesian Nation in former times, has entirely been killed. Mr. P. J. Veth said, that the tiger in him was killed (De tijger in hem is gedood). The spirit of the tiger in the hearts of the Indonesian Nation is dead, as the result of hundreds of years of imperialism.

I therefore again ask the Dutch or whosoever ridicule us that on this day we are commemorating the National Reawakening day, is it not more than proper that we be glad, is it not more than proper that we thank God Almighty, that the spirit of the tiger which according to the expression of Mr.

P. J. Veth has already been killed in our hearts, on the 20th of May 1908 has reawakened; that we commemorate the 20th of May 1908 as the day of the reawakening, the coming into life again of the tiger of Indonesia? I ask the Dutch who are always ridiculing us, is it not proper for a Nation who is indeed a great Nation to commemorate the reawakening of its patriotic spirit?

I express my surprise to the Dutch because I lately saw on the part of the Dutch, that they are no more commemorating and glorifying Willem van Oranje, their hero of freedom. On the other hand we, the Indonesian Nation see in Prince Willem van Oranje one of the freedom fighters, who should properly, be glorified, honoured not only by the Dutch people themselves but also by the Indonesian Nation because we ought to honour every hero on this earth.

This is a sign that the Dutch lately do not understand anymore the spirit of freedom, that they are not glorifying anymore the spirit of freedom. Because of that, we are not surprised, that the Dutch lately on the contrary very strenuously retain West Irian within their claws. I know, as I have said the other day at Semarang, that the Dutch hate me very much, the person Sukarno, that the Dutch always say: "Hey, Sukarno is the trouble maker". It is he who always makes trouble, makes nuisance, makes chaos.

Why is it that the Dutch say so? Because the Dutch do not understand history. Because the Dutch do not understand, that all the activities of the Indonesian Nation, especially those activities in regard to the achievement of the full freedom of their Fatherland from Sabang to Merauke are not made by one leader but emerge from the hearts of the entire Indonesian Nation.

I ask, if the Dutch say that I, Sukarno, is the trouble maker, is it nice and is it proper if I say, "that Prince Willem van

Oranje is a trouble maker" ? Was the independence movement in Egypt, the United Arab Republic, the sole result of the work of Arabi Pasha, of Mustafa Kamil ? No ! The independence movement in Egypt at that time, now the United Arab Republic, was the movement of history which emerged from the hearts of the Egyptian Nation.

I also ask : "Was the freedom movement in India the sole result of the work of Krishna Gokhale, of Mahatma Gandhi only, or Jawaharlal Nehru only, so that the British could properly say for instance that Gandhi was a trouble maker, that Jawaharlal Nehru was a trouble maker ? No ! The movement of India was not made by Gandhi, not made by Jawaharlal Nehru.

And I also ask the United States of America, is it true if people say for instance, that the independence of the Philippines was the result of the trouble maker José Rizal Y Mercado, or Aguinaldo. No !

That movement was not made by Aguinaldo or José Rizal Y Mercado, but it was the movement of history.

Therefore our movement to build a Unitarian State which is free and independent, with a territory from Sabang to Merauke, is not made by one leader, but was made by the entire people of Indonesia. When I installed Ambassador Armunanto, I said : "this was in fact the outbreak of the "Social conscience of Men". If the Indonesian Nation has reawakened, that is the manifestation of the "Social Conscience of Men". If the Egyptian Nation reawakened, that is the manifestation of the "Social Conscience of Men". If the Indian Nation reawakened, that is the outbreak of the "Social Conscience of Men". If the Vietnamese Nation reawakened, it is the outbreak of the Social Conscience of Men. If the Korean Nation reawakened, that is the outbreak of the Social Conscience of Men. If the Cuban

Nation reawakened, it is the outbreak of the Social Conscience of Men' If in this world a big revolution explodes, a "Revolution of Mankind" I said, that is the outbreak of the Social Conscience of Men.

Therefore, because our movement, — and I use the word movement, to describe *all* our activities since 1908 up till now — all the activities of the Indonesian Nation is the outbreak of the "Conscience of Men", I always say : it is for certain that it will gain the victory. I always say, that not for a second we doubt or suspect, that we shall not obtain the goal we are aiming at. The message of the people's sufferings must and shall be achieved because the message of people's sufferings, is the outburst of the Social Conscience of Men.

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

All of us have not only pledged, resolved to include in this very year, West Irian within the territory of our Republic we so much love, but even more than that, we are convinced I say, truly convinced, that God willing West Irian shall be included within the territory of the Republic in this very year. And it is on the basis of this conviction that we execute the Tri-Command. Based upon this conviction, that we pursue our diplomacy. Based upon this conviction that I said to prefer a peaceful way rather than the use of armed force, while saying so, I said : If a peaceful way can be achieved, we shall use the peaceful way, but if it cannot be achieved by peaceful ways we shall liberate West Irian by all means.

I do not know whether it was, yesterday, or the day before yesterday, I said that we do not want mendicancy for a peaceful way". We do not want mendicancy for negotiations, though we prefer that West Irian can be liberated through peaceful means,

that West Irian can be freed through negotiations, negotiations as I have repeatedly said, negotiations only on the basis of the transfer of West Irian within the territory under the authority of the Republic. Not negotiations "ins Blaue hincin" I said.

Because of that I ask to make notes, to be noted by all diplomats present here, especially to be noted by H. E. the Ambassador of the United States of America.

Why is it that I ask H. E. the Ambassador of the United States of America to make notes? Because Mr. Ellsworth Bunker is an American citizen. Mr. Ellsworth Bunker has made a proposal, and the Republic of Indonesia, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and I myself said, that we in principle, are willing to accept the basis as proposed by Mr. Ellsworth Bunker. That means that we want to negotiate with the Dutch based on the fundamentals proposed by Mr. Ellsworth Bunker.

On that basis, I therefore sent Mr. Adam Malik to meet the Dutch in the presence of Mr. Ellsworth Bunker. But what happened? There, at a place called Middleburgh, in Dutch called "Middelburg", the Dutch did not want to make a statement accepting the principles as proposed by Mr. Ellsworth Bunker.

Lately, Luns — the Dutch Foreign Minister — in Athens for 4 hours long held discussions with the Foreign Secretary of the United States of America, Mr. Dean Rusk. Twice. The first time for 2½ hours, the second time for 1½ hours, in all 4 hours long.

What was the result of the discussions between Luns and Dean Rusk, my dear Brothers and Sisters?

A statement was issued. A statement saying that Luns, the Dutch, want to negotiate, want to talk with Indonesia to discuss the basis of the negotiations, to discuss what has been

proposed by Mr. Ellsworth Bunker. "To discuss" for the sake of discussions only, not to accept, but just to discuss the bases of what have been proposed by Bunker.

I therefore now officially state: "We do not want to talk with the Dutch only just to discuss the proposals which have been made by Mr. Ellsworth Bunker". Yes, Ambassador Jones, there we are!

I shall not want to negotiate with the Dutch just to discuss the Bunker proposal. No! We very much wish, I repeat again, we prefer the peaceful way, we prefer negotiations, based upon the transfer of West Irian to the territory under the authority of the Republic, because in that way, without bloodshed, God willing, West Irian can return into the territory under our authority before cockcrow on 1st January 1963.

But, as I have already said in Medan on 25th April last, the Dutch have always been like that, they have not changed. This day I even received a letter from a friend, a close friend, he is an American citizen. He said: Beware of the delay tactics of the Dutch, Brother Sukarno — he addressed me with Brother Sukarno — look out the Dutch are now using delay tactics, that means dragging on. Thus if we face such a situation, the Dutch always use delay tactics. The Dutch even — as I said in Medan the other day — are sending military reinforcements, their navy, their airforce to West Irian. I have therefore said: Never mind.

And it was also said by Mr. Subandrio to the International Union of Students: "If the Dutch want force, never mind we too will use force!" Because it has become our pledge to liberate West Irian this very year. And for this — the Dutch have openly strengthened their military forces in West Irian

— we also strengthen our military forces. We strengthen our military forces among other things by sending the Subandrio mission to Moscow the other day. And all of you know, that the Subandrio mission has achieved satisfactory results. But there is one thing I want to tell you. When Subandrio was in Moscow, the Soviet Government said: We will give all the assistance needed by Indonesia, but ultimately — listen — ultimately everything depends on the strength, the power, the determination, the struggle, and the endeavours of the Indonesian people themselves. And it was correctly answered by Subandrio: "yes indeed, our principle, is indeed that a nation can only stand firmly, that a nation can achieve independence, that a nation can defend its freedom, that a nation can build a just and properous society, first of all only by its own power.

Yes, I said in Djambi the other day: Look, many countries in Asia are in fact not standing on their own power, are not standing on their own force. Countries may look prosperous but live on help, live on support, live on aids, live on money poured on them by another country. I said in Djambi: when those countries lose those supports, they will entirely collapse. The Indonesian Nation do not want to become such a country, my brothers.

And while we are commemorating National Reawakening this evening, at this instant it may be proper if I remind you to the year 1927; 1908—1927, 18 years after the 20th May 1908. In 1927, it was for the first time that we firmly stated: "self-reliance", "selfhelp". At that time, my brothers, I even said: "Self-reliance, no mendicancy" — To rely on one's own strength, to rely on one's own power, to rely on one's own capability, to foster, to build, to bundle one's forces. No mendicancy.

In 1927 — 35 years ago — we formulated for the first time this position of our soul. Now, in 1962, it is good to remind you of this once more: Hay, Indonesian People! We get assistance from the new emerging forces. We get assistance from several countries in our struggle to build our State, in our struggle for the liberation of West Irian, in our struggle to build a just and prosperous society, we get assistance, assistance, simpathv, simpathy, simpathy, but don't forget, that only a nation who stands on its own strength can become a great nation. Even more so, if this assistance doesn't exist do not be discouraged. If this assistance doesn't exist, don't be down-hearted. Strengthen ourselves! Because only a nation who strengthens itself, can become a strong nation. "Inna'lláhâ la jugojjirû mâ bekaumin hattâ jugojjirû ma bianfusihim" (God will not change the fate of a nation if that nation itself does not change its own fate).

My Dear Brothers and Sisters,

In this way this commemoration of National Reawakening Day has got a meaning for us, a psychological meaning, not just, commemoration that 54 years ago, there was a man by the name of Dr. Wahidin Sudirohusodo and associates who founded the Budi Utomo. And that from this Budi Utomo, the Serikat Islam emerged, and from this Serikat Islam, the Serikat Islam Indonesia was born, and besides it the Partai Nasional Indonesia (The Indonesian National Party), Partai P.K.I. (The Indonesian Communist Party), and other parties. No! Let us — as I have just said — first of all remember the reawakening of our souls. The Tiger of Indonesia now has arisen. P. J. Veth said, that the Indonesian Tiger is dead, since we have been colonised by the Dutch for more than 300 years. On 20 th of May 1908, the Indonesian Tiger has reawaken. Let us foster

the life of this tiger, in order that this tiger will truly bring us to the accomplishment of the mandate of people's sufferings which is indeed our duty.

My dear Brothers and Sisters, I myself, thank God Almighty. Five times people have tried to kill me, and five times God Almighty has given me His protection. Somebody said recently, that Bung Karno is invulnerable. No! I am not invulnerable. My skin is as soft as your skin.

But at Tjikini, or between Mandai and Makassar, or when machine-gunned by Maukar, or in Makassar some months ago, or at the Idul Adha Day, God Almighty has given me His protection. Please keep this in mind. Not because I am invulnerable, but because God Almighty had mercy upon me, and given me His protection. For me myself — besides thanking God Almighty — it has strengthened my conviction that it may be a justification of God Almighty that the basis of my leadership to the Indonesian Nation, that everything I have given to the Indonesian Nation, every "ism" I have given to the Indonesian people, the way in which to unite the Indonesian people, the way how others with me mobilized the Indonesian people, the way of implanting self-help in the Indonesian people, in short all the policy I have given to the Indonesian Nation, has got the approval of God Almighty, because God Almighty has for 5 times given me His protection.

Because of that I have become more determined, I have become more convinced that the unity of the Indonesian Nation is right, that the deed for achieving independence can only be done with the bundeling of all Revolutionary forces, that the Political Manifesto is right, that U.S.D.E.K. is right, that the Indonesian Socialism is right, that everything I have given to the Indonesian Nation is, according to my conviction, right.

My dear Brothers and Sisters,

This gives me strength. And therefore, I invite you again for so many times this evening, let us march on. On the basis of Manipol, on the basis of the USDEK, on the basis of the Indonesian unity, which has its spindle of NASAKOM (Nationalist, Religious groups and Communists), on the basis of all our struggle, on the basis of self-help. In short, only if my conviction is right, only if we keep going on we have done so far, on the right path, only then we shall achieve what has been entrusted by the people to us that is, full independence of Indonesia, free and independent from Sabang to Merauke, in the form of an Unitarian State of the Republic of Indonesia, with a just and prosperous society, and having friendly relations with all nations in the world.

This aim I have ever stated. A sentence I repeatedly state is: come let all of us stream to the sea. It looks as if we have left our source. Because we left this source and stream to the sea. But yet I say, come let us go ahead towards the sea. Because by going towards the sea we remain faithful to our source. "Door naar de zee toe te strömen zijn wij trouw aan onze bron". (By streaming seawards we remain faithful to our source). Why is that so, my dear Brothers?

From this platform I have once described, told about the vast sea, the beautiful ocean, the glorious ocean, the living ocean, the ocean which can accommodate everything coming into that ocean, beamed by the sun. That's why it becomes vapour, raises to heaven to become clouds, white clouds parading in the sky, white clouds become thick clouds, thick clouds become dark clouds, and blown by the cold air rainwater falls on earth. Rainwater comes on slopes of mountains, penetrates the earth, comes out again as springs, as sources. Every water

drop coming out of these springs, every water atom coming from these springs wish to come back to the sea. Originating from the sea, beamed by the sun, they raise upwards, fall on earth, penetrate the earth, come out again as a spring, but every drop of that water, every atom of that water then says: back to the sea! Come, let's go to the sea! Come let's go to the sea, come let's go to the sea! To the open sea! To the free sea! To the vast sea, to the grand ocean, to the grand ocean of freedom!. Because of that I say, water which comes out of this spring, every atom coming from this source though it has left the spring while going to the sea, in fact remains faithful to its spring. Because those springs are the source of water drops, and all of them send those water drops back to the sea.

Now, my dear Brothers and Sisters,

On the 20th of May 1908, we have founded what we called the National Movement for the first time. At that time we had already vaguely defined that the Indonesian Nation shall become a great and free Nation, that our society shall become a just and prosperous society. What has been vaguely defined in 1908, have gradually become clear, clearer and clearer, and have gradually been implanted in our hearts. It ultimately becomes our strongest resolve, our determination to become free, our determination that only a just and prosperous society is the society which we should strive for, even more than that, I said yesterday, that one of the aims of the Revolution must be socialism. Socialism is one of the bases of a rightful Revolution. All these have become elements, atoms of our spring. Come let's go ahead to the sea, the sea of the implementation of the message of the people's sufferings.

Come let's go ahead. Go ahead! Also in the struggle for the liberation of West Irian, we go ahead, despite of whatever

obstacles. Therefore, at this place, I am not only bowing my head to ask God's blessing to give a good place to our heroes who died in the past, who died recently in the present fightings, I am not only bowing my head while asking to God Almighty that He will give the best place to all our heroes who have sacrificed their lives, but I also express my salute of honour to all the people of Mandala, to the fighters of the Indonesian People who in the Mandala territory want to implement the People's Tri-Command, to all our boys and girls, to all the people in the Mandala territory who are fighting at all cost to liberate West Irian, because they are implementing not only a historic task, but also a task towards God Almighty.

Therefore, we who are here, behind the Mandala front-line, come let us unite ourselves as strong as possible, be prepared to participate in the liberation of West Irian, be prepared to assist the fight of our youth in the Mandala territory, to assist the struggle of the people and our youth in West Irian proper.

Only by doing so our pledge can be fulfilled, that before the cock crows on the 1st of January 1963, the Red and White flag will officially fly in the entire territory of West Irian, from the Radja Ampat isles to Merauke.

My dear Brothers and Sisters, thank you.

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