

inheritance, but under a national Government, under a Government dedicated to the uplifting and progress of our people, these things are not insupportable or unchangeable.

Proud of Nation's Progress

Just eleven years ago almost all of our people were illiterate; today less than half of our people are illiterate. Perhaps it may seem that I am boasting. I do not intend to boast, but I am immensely proud of the achievement in this field, and I am immensely proud of our national progress in other fields. We a nation previously numbered amongst the voiceless and the unconsidered in the world, a nation previously numbered amongst the unregarded, we have, for example, but recently completed, to our great satisfaction, the very first general elections in our country. This is a considerable achievement, and I am proud of it. I am proud of it because it shows a degree of political progress which could hardly have been expected of a nation which, only eleven years ago, was not even considered by the world.

We elected, under conditions of universal suffrage and secret ballot, a Parliament and a Constituent Assembly. Although I know well that those things alone are not a guarantee of democracy, I know equally well that without those things democracy cannot exist. We have chosen, and chosen after proper consideration, the democratic path to national fulfilment and national emancipation. We have chosen the path of Pantja Sila, the five principles of our State. They are: Belief in God; Nationalism; Humanitarianism; Democracy, and, last of all, Social Justice. It is our belief that this path will lead us most rapidly to the full and useful life which every nation ought to contribute and enjoy in our present-day world.

We all know that there is more than one road to participation in the world's affairs. We have chosen this Pantja Sila road. It is our sincere hope, our most sincere hope, that it will lead to success.

An Independent Foreign Policy

I am told that people are sometimes surprised at our attitude towards certain international problems in the world. We do not automatically accept the views of any group of people. We do not join in any military organization. We intend to be ourselves. It is true, it is very true, that we are enthusiastic members of the United Nations, and we see in the United Nations the faint outlines of a future world organization. We call our foreign policy not a "neutral" foreign policy; we call our foreign policy "independent" and "active". We call it so, because we take an independent line in accordance with what we see as the best interests of the world and our own nation, and we act upon that.

One of the draftsmen of Canada's greatness, Sir Wilfred Laurier, said in the year 1900: "I claim for Canada this: that in future Canada shall be at liberty to act or not to act." In those words that great Prime Minister, that architect of the future, summed up the foreign policy which we of Indonesia choose to follow today.

We seek to follow a policy which will give the greatest benefit to all mankind, and if that foreign policy should sometimes run counter to what you believe and act upon, believe me when I say that what we do, and how we vote, is dictated by our ideals, and not by any spirit of opposition.

Yes, we are separated, as I said, by the Pacific Ocean. But we are also joined by the Pacific Ocean! We are neighbours, and nothing is more important than that neighbours should understand each other. I have not come to your vast country to negotiate any treaty. I have come with the hope that this short