



THE QUIRINO WAY

Collection of Speeches and Addresses of

**PRESIDENT
ELPIDIO QUIRINO**

Introduction by JUAN COLLAS

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PRESIDENT ELPIDIO QUIRINO FOUNDATION

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In the clear light of actual accomplishments, one can truthfully say that Elpidio Quirino, second President of the Republic of the Philippines, has done more work of nation-building than any other past Chief Executive of the country. A positive exception was Manuel L. Quezon, but President Quezon, who first headed the Philippine Commonwealth, was more a precursor than an actual builder of the Filipino nation. In point of fact, he died, to his people's great misfortune, before he could see the first rays of its glorious dawn. In the span of six years, two by right of succession and four by direct mandate of the people, Quirino succeeded not only in laying the broad and firm foundation of the nation, but also in constructing upon it what now appears to many as an enduring monument to the indomitable courage, foresight, and vision of his race.

Probably because of his enormous success, both envy and malice, not without a mixture of partisanship, tried time and again to divest him of his glory and fame. The means used did not matter in the least. Everything, it would seem, is fair in war and politics. Fortunately, the experienced know that those who wield power over men, however democratic and disinterested their rule may be, are usually paid with ingratitude. Examples abound in the history of every nation whatever the form of its government.

There was one thing, however, that Quirino's blatant and bitter critics could not deny

without exposing themselves to embarrassment. They could not deny that he had and still has the ability to soliloquize in public, that is, to speak impromptu before any gathering of men and women and acquit himself with honor and distinction. It did not matter who composed the group, whether they were representatives of the scientific, literary, religious, political, or intellectual world, or just plain citizens with plain intelligence. Invariably, he rose to the occasion regardless of what the occasion was.

One great advantage Quirino has over other national leaders is his ability to think well on his feet. Not only does he think well and react logically on the spur of the moment, but he has the gift of enlivening his private talks and public addresses with flashes of wit and humor. Now and then, he tempers them with words of wisdom and enriches them with bursts of home-spun eloquence which not infrequently sweep his listeners off their feet more effectively than a prepared speech. Audience after audience either from abroad or from some association or fraternity at home, has never left him without feeling exhilarated and carrying the conviction that the speaker has a complete grasp of the subject of his discourse.

Knowledge and experience broadened and deepened by constant reflection have given Quirino enormous confidence in himself. Due largely to that mastery of self, in the last two years of his incumbency, he delivered nearly all his public speeches without the aid of a single note. That he did not only in Malacañan where he preferred to speak before

I N T R O D U C T I O N

any delegation or group of visitors, but wherever he happened to be. Exceptions were his monthly radio chats. Even in them, however, he always gave tongue to whatever thoughts occurred to him at the moment. Thus he ad libbed piquantly and caustically to the delight and amusement of his immediate audience who readily noticed that he was, perhaps naughtily, taking a pot-shot at one or two of his better known political enemies.

A voice sonorously rich and manly has been heard attentively through the length and breadth of the Philippines for so many years as well as in the halls of both houses of the American congress and in many palaces of crowned heads and other rulers of Europe, most surely be worth listening to whatever the burden of its message. It must have something that charms or impresses. It was in that honest belief that the writer took the liberty of culling and enclosing within the covers of this modest volume a sufficiently representative variety of President Quirino's speeches here and abroad. The book, he felt, would be of some benefit or value to those who had not been privileged to read or hear them or having done both would like to have them in handy form and within easy reach. Certainly, a number of them can well qualify as masterpieces of oratory, "gems of purest ray serene."

Another reason which prompted the writer to undertake so delicate a task was the sober conviction that the reading public in and outside the Philippines should see for itself that the man whom self-elected critics have deliberately abused in the name and for the sake of politics, actually possesses a sterling character. This his addresses written and extemporaneous vividly reflects. More than character, they disclose, as the observant reader will quickly note, merits of the highest quality – nothing less than the merits of a man who will fight to the last to preserve the honor and dignity and territorial integrity of his country.

From the selected speeches, the reader will readily detect the truth his enemies had long hidden behind the curtain of prejudice and partisanship; that it was Quirino who with the late President Manuel Roxas – both were recognized as the foremost economists

of the Islands – worked hardest to build that "Island Nation" the advent of which with uncanny accuracy Quirino had envisioned when as a participant in an oratorical contest at the college of law of the University of the Philippines, he delivered his winning oration over four decades ago. It was he who sounded the tocsin and rallied the people when the archipelago was in ruins, the coffers of the government were empty, and the horizon looked dark and threatening as a result of the chaotic conditions obtaining everywhere and the consequent debasement of man's moral currency.

With his demonstrated enthusiasm and determination to succeed with his people in the face of appalling and seemingly insuperable obstacles, Quirino can truly and justly say that he, too, has sown the seeds – the richer seeds of democracy, culture, and progress – and has left others to reap. He has left them to reap the fruits of his labors and his courage as head of the land he has always loved with fervor and undivided devotion. That love he has in common with Rizal and Quezon, his two models and mentors in all his patriotic endeavors. So distinct and pleasant a note runs like a golden thread through most of his speeches and pronouncements, investing them, as it were, with warmth and freshness, vitality and vigor.

Quezon became the target of acrimonious criticism and butt of ridicule in the heyday of his fame and power. But with the swift passage of time, he has grown considerably in stature as a leader and statesman. His surviving critics are now one in praising and giving him his due.

There is every reason to believe that some day when the fury of current partisanship subsides and becomes an eternal part of that vast silence where "the wings of music close," Quirino, too, will grow greater in stature as the leader and statesman who piloted the Ship of State when the seas were most stormy and perilous, and brought it safe to port with enhanced prestige and matchless gallantry.

J. Collas

IN COLLEGE
1913

THE ADVENT OF AN ISLAND NATION

Father to the vision embodied in this winning oration at the University of the Philippines where he delivered it in 1913 as a law student, was Rizal's dream graphically and touchingly revealed in his immortal swan-song, *My Last Farewell*. Consciously and perhaps subconsciously, Quirino labored unceasingly since then for the attainment of this country's freedom. He helped lay the foundation and piled on it stone upon stone until the great work was finished. This he did by taking active and sometimes decisive part in the Island's struggle for independence successively as representative, senator, delegate of the Constituent Assembly, secretary of the interior, secretary of finance, secretary of foreign affairs, Vice President, and Chief Magistrate of the new Philippine Republic, his envisioned 'Island Nation.' Upon the proclamation of the Philippine independence on July 4, 1946, Quirino was Vice President and such was a principal witness to the turn-over of the sovereignty. Two years later he assumed the Presidency, his team-mate and fellow nation-builder, Manuel Roxas, having suddenly died at Clark Field, Pampanga.

Four Hundred Years ago a group of fertile islands was known to dot this side of the blue Pacific. The semi barbarous and warlike dwellers were living in scattered communities independent of one another. They hardly had a social union. Many a time they fell upon one another to settle their tribal wrongs, and their Moro brothers from the South and their Sangley neighbors from the North were not without a share in the stir of primitive unrest. A ready prey to selfish aggression, they did not fail to arouse the interest of European nations. The English, the Dutch, the Portuguese even the Chinese all tried to grab from the hospitable islander his lawful possession. In the guise of religious conquest the adventurous subjects of Phiipp II proclaimed themselves masters of this group of fruitful isles and called it their Philippines. Instead of the petty rajahs, the Spanish lords obtruded their power and undertook the efficient task of reconstructing the rude institutions of an Oriental people divided into about thirty tribes of different customs and dialects.

Difficult indeed was the noble works begun by the early Spaniards; but no sooner have the docile native learned the key to western knowledge than medieval civilization wrought its magic upon his receptive nature and did away with his antiquated arts. In his unconditional surrender to his white conquerors he renounced his tribal superstitions to receive the blessings of Christianity. His progress was wonderful, and his aspirations increased commensurately. But the haughty instinct of the Iberian blood changed that paternal regime into one of repression and absolute despotism. Instead of giving encouragement, the *padre*, the *encomendero*, and the *gobernadorcillo* began to dislike, to despise, and even to

ridicule their native ward because he was learning so rapidly than was consistent with his subordinate position.

This treatment shocked the awakening Malay. He remonstrated with his local masters, with the Cortes and with the King; and even resorted to a series of petty revolts, but of no avail. His most earnest efforts gained for him only unkept promises to right the wrongs which the Spaniards could not, see. Was he to give up, close his eyes, and accept the innumerable injustices in a passive humiliation? He had too much self respect, and his native land was too dear to him. He bided his time. In 1872 the Cavite cry of “Death to Spain!” sounded an alarm for the worse. And on that early morn of December 30, 1886, when the Spanish ladies and gentlemen rejoiced on leaving their homes to witness the execution of Rizal because he had exposed the social cancer which afflicted his brethren, the inhabitants of these three hundred islands, enraged by the cowardly slaughter, united into one Filipino people in defiance of that once powerful colonial empire.

Reason could not correct the oppression of the Spaniards, and the Filipinos resolved to obtain justice by more bloody process. With but the bolo and spear and a few guns, a power was to be overthrown. The difficulties was formidable. But during the opportune period when “God gave victory to the American arms at Manila Bay,” the Filipinos not only succeeded in checking the Spanish evil but also in establishing their dreamed-of Filipino Republic. Emboldened by that astounding success, the native soldier, summoning all the energetic elements of his Malay heritage, brandished his sword in the face of the sturdy Yankees and demanded the coveted sanction of the ephemeral republic. But he mistook right from might, and received a staggering blow.

Such is the sad history of my sun-kissed land. Dispossessed of their original heritage, deprived of their inborn right to govern themselves, inhumanly oppressed in their subjugation by foreign yoke, and bitterly thwarted in their lawful aspirations, my revered ancestors resisted only to suffer the pangs of defeat and famine. The more I learn of the many battles in which they engaged their enemy and how desperately they fought, the more is my wonder not that they did not win for us the blessings of liberty but that we were not wholly exterminated. Fortunately those wars are over. Ancient wrongs and tribal warfares have passed away. There are no Drapers¹ any longer, no Moro pirates, no Limahongs² to disturb the tranquility of our shores. Spain taught best to withdraw from this laboratory of colonial policies, and Castilian cruelty and duplicity are now a mere recollection. The American eagle swept away the menacing inquisition, and once more the downtrodden people of yore have come into their own.

¹ Gen. William Draper with Admiral Cavendish invaded the Philippines on Sept. 22, 1962 and their men raped Manila early in October of that year.

Those painful experiences, the unnecessary destruction on property, the sanguinary toll of many humble life, and the inevitable calamities of those devastating wars have forged for us a more beautiful national ideal. Once more we are united, not by the hatred of a common oppressor, but by the spirit of a bloody, brutal vengeance against a foreign intruder, but by the great desire for a swift realization of that consecrated ideal. The great republic of the liberty-loving people whose avowed object in retaining these islands is “primarily for the welfare of the Filipinos,” has afforded safety to our new battlefields where we have fought and are still fighting a bloodless revolution. His fertile soil and these beautiful islands are not fit for the conflict of arms. War is inhuman and destructive. The iron and fire policy of Bismarck is not our deliverer, and the United States of America – that mother of Republics – is not our England. In Mindanao, Visayas, Luzon and throughout the whole archipelago we have waged another, a more lasting war – the war of Peace.

The siege is peculiar. We have summoned every Filipino man, woman and child, and instructed them in the language of reserve and industry. Though without an enemy we have equipped them all for the strife. We have armed our children with books, and built school houses for their trenches. Some we have sent abroad to learn the tactics of war. We have provided our women with the most powerful weapons of modern times – virtue and perseverance. We have fitted out our working men with impressive tools and modern implements. Instead of the familiar sword and gun, we have supplied our old veterans with peace and patience – and the plow. In place of cannons we have substituted machinery. We have manned our new battleships with merchants and fishermen and bidden them to guard our coasts. Our old generals are again in command, not of the rank and file of man-killers, plunderers, robbers, but of an army of laborers, mechanics, farmers! The Aguinaldo of the Revolution is now the Aguinaldo of the *hacienda* and, voicing the spirit of this new Philippine endeavor, has rallied his willing army with the battlecry: “Peace and Prosperity, Enlightenment and Liberty for All !”

² A notorious Chinese pirate who in 1574 attempted to conquer the Islands.

We are still in the prime of this struggle, but lo! What new vistas present themselves to our eyes! Yonder are verdant farms and outstretching railways. Where armies have marched and fought, we now see good roads and concrete bridges. On the old battlefields where once was spoil and blood, plants are thriving – coconut, hemp, sugar cane, tobacco and what not. In the old ravines where the bones of our fallen soldiers have changed to dust, we discern men and machines at work – extracting the untold wealth for centuries unexplored. We hear the whistle of distant factories and busy workshops rallying organized workers instead of dogs of war. The muffled hum of awakened trade has benumbed the deafening roar of the cannons. Along our coast where the Moro pirates were wont to raid, we see steamships plying, laden with Philippine products ready for export. In our rivers, in our valleys, in our forests, in our rocky mountains, everywhere around us we see progress in every avenue of development. The wand of prosperity has touched this fertile soil and turned a land of bondage into a land of plenty. How gratifying to contemplate these promising changes! All these have been accomplished in 16 short years.

Who would doubt that with these auspicious indications we shall achieve a stronger Philippines? Can conscientious observation overlook the fact that with our present system of education we are producing a new type of Filipino people – robust and intelligent, peaceful and industrious? Who will not admit that under the wise and benign guidance of the United States of America we have learned the way of self-government and to self-dependance? With these past accomplishment and still greater possibilities, who is so blind as to resist the conviction that we shall justify our cherished national hopes?

We may not realize any sudden developments but with undying devotion to our material prosperity and intellectual advancement, we can “ make nonds of freedom wider yet.” When that prosperity and advancement shall have become potent realities, that simple but massive monument which n ow stands on the historical spot where once the *garrote* cast its dreadful shadow, shall but proclaim a progressive, intelligent, greater Philippine hailing with the beneticion of that noble martyr the advent of a Filipino nation. ●

IN THE SENATE 1933

WOMEN AND THE NATIONAL CRISIS

Philippine Women's University, March 22, 1933.

The higher education for women is a question over which great minds had fought in the past and even as late as the beginning of the twentieth century. We are still familiar with the objections raised when it was first proposed that we should send our young boys and girls to the same school. It was then the belief that women are not entitled to the same education as men because they perform entirely different functions. The theory was well established that women's only sphere is only in the home. Schopenhauer argued that woman is "not called to great things. She pays her debt to life by the throes of birth, care of the children, subjection to their husband. Girls should be brought up to the habits of domesticity and servility." Thus, before the implantation of our public schools and universities for both sexes, the only secondary schools attended by our girls were exclusively for women. In these schools, the women were taught only which they were supposed to learn. No doubt such schools fulfilled the ends for which they were established in accordance with the traditions and philosophy of the times.

But it did not take long for our women to grasp the spirit of modernism, and co-education was readily accepted upon its implantation in the Islands. Our women educators became so encouraged by the magnificent result that, perhaps, in the spirit of division of labor more than anything else, they have been inspired to establish their own institutions of higher learning more rapidly than their sisters in other countries. Let us cite two instances. The Vassar College, one of the most popular schools in the United States, was founded long after Harvard and Yale was established. In England, the noted Girton College for women did not come into existence until after the famous Oxford College for men was established. The same thing can be said of all the noted modern educational institutions for women today. They were thought of after colleges and universities for men were long established, and they sprang into being in answer to a necessity. For it is a fact long admitted that one sex cannot remain progressive if the other sex stays ignorant and backward. The efforts,

therefore, of our educated and intelligent women to found institutions that would place in the hands of their sex all the benefits of new and higher education, should enlist both our sympathy and support.

It is an excellent indication that our educated women are conscious of the new demands of our modern civilization. They are anxious to face their own responsibilities with supreme courage and intelligence. Today, the higher institutions for women are no longer fighting for their right to teach a liberal education. They are no longer looked upon with prejudice and misgivings. Their right to contribute to the educational progress of the state is universally recognized. As a result, we now look upon our women colleges and universities for the right institutions of the future mothers of this country. Their task is fraught with bright promise and hope. Filipino women have shown ample proof that they possess the same aptitude as that of men in the field of education. It is a fact that 60 percent of our school valedictorians in the co-educational institutions of the Archipelago are women. In the short space of time during which the liberal profession were open to women, we have produced women of remarkable and exceptional success, as physicians, lawyers, chemists, pharmacists, educators and even agriculturalists. In spite of the existence of disadvantageous legislation, our women have won great success in business and commercial enterprises. The possibility of women developing such character and influence as to occupy high positions needing courage, determination and action is exemplified by the appointment of a woman in the Cabinet of President Franklin D. Roosevelt to hold the portfolio of Secretary of Labor, and also by the election of other American women to posts of governors of their States and members of the United States Congress. These instances point to a new field of service for women, and reveal the great possibilities for the cooperation of both men and women in building up not only a modern home but a new State. We are living in a rapidly changing age, wherein all our ideals and traditions and the stability of our home and our Government are being tested. The attendant problems pertain not only to a single group or region. They pertain to all of us who belong to the great human society. In this period of national crisis, we expect much from the cooperation of our women.

The new education has produced a type of woman different from the convent bred of two generations ago. This new type of woman is not without her host of critics. Her newly gained freedom and enlarged scope of action are viewed in some quarters with pessimism and distrust. There are those who would like to see her still as the artificial product of her environment, a being apart and pleasant to look at nurtured in the cares of the home, "pictured as an ideal rather than as a reality," the contamination of the purity and loftiness of whose character being the constant fear of her men protectors. "These men," a noted writer has observed, "behold in women something higher than sex, something holier than sacrifice; the right to relative justice. Such men see a saintliness in motherhood

that transcends natural accident; they acknowledge the sustaining of graces of womanly companionship; they feel its rapture and warmth; they recognize the dignity of her character, the sanctity of her person, and the possibilities of her destiny. They see beauty in her form, loveliness in her ways, and they fancy that they see an aura called divine hovering above her. They see all her rights to clearly talk of 'granting her privileges'." But the efforts of modern women to free herself from traditional bondage and confinement signify not only a revolt of sex but woman's desire to readjust herself to new conditions. "There is nothing new," says another writer, "in the fundamentals of problems confronting women today, which are the same as they have been in time past and will continue to be in the future; namely, adjustment to the world in which they live to the end that life may yield a maximum satisfaction and development."

Viewed in this light there is nothing surprising or unusual about the so-called woman movement. On the other hand, to me it appears more greatly desirable that the new type of womanhood should continue conquering her way to the position of equality, with and not against man. It is not my intension to cast a reflection upon the character of the Filipino woman in the past when I say that the Filipino woman of today has become more energetic, more practical and a less sentimental being than her sister of yesterday. This should inspire us with new hopes. In the conditions wherein we find ourselves, the Filipino woman is not unexpected but called upon to help us revise our philosophy of national life and invent a new orientation of constructive and practical thinking. We are facing practical problems of far-reaching effects. We need to profit by her experience for actual cooperation. If man is to be the right hand, woman must be ready to contribute in the national planning. With or without independence she cannot minimize her responsibility, simply because she is or will be a wife. The days of Blackstone when married women were said to be under coverture and when "The civil law allows absolute divorce if the wife goes to the theater or public games without the knowledge of the husband," are now mere recollections. Her acceptance of the sole responsibility in the affairs of the home and her demand for a joint responsibility in the affairs of the State has developed her self-reliance and toned down man's sense of superiority over her. For in the truth, the so-called inferiority of woman is nothing more than an excusable obsession and an incurable weakness of man.

The Philippines is entering upon a new life. The country is engaged today in laying the foundation of its future existence. The opportunity for service is open for all of us. Nowhere in the period of our history has such an opportunity like the present one been offered to every patriotic element of the country to contribute its best thought in the foundation of a formula that would secure us our longed-for independence and freedom. To the educated Filipino woman belongs the great responsibility of enlightening her own sex about the new problems brought about by the new conditions. Thus, as a modern

woman brings up her new-born babe, she cannot escape the responsibility of nurturing and educating it to the new outlook under which it will have to live its own life.

There is confusion in men's minds over the solution of many of our pressing problems. Old political ties are breaking down as a result of the existence of strong differences of conviction as to whether or not in these days of war and economic distress, it would be to the lasting benefit of our nation to plunge headlong into the world of chaos by accepting racial humiliation with political and economic fetters, in change for a new but empty promise of ultimate freedom, when the fulfillment of the promise is long overdue and should be forthcoming without restrictions. The dark cloud shows no prospect of clearing up just yet. On the contrary the conflict has begun, and those to whom we have looked for leadership all these years seem too hopelessly divided to show us the one clear way. In times of family crisis, we instinctively look for guidance to the father and mother of the home. In this hour, when the fathers of our Government seem unable for the present to show the way, it may not be amiss to turn our eyes to those who direct the domestic affairs of our home for light. The Filipino educated workman, by reason of her greater intelligence and broader background, is called upon to furnish this needed light. May her word be like an angel's voice in the darkness and confusion!

This is not spoken with the desire to exaggerate actual facts. The spirit of conflict is raging throughout the country. And there are those who would rekindle personal animosities by unjust and puerile recriminations. And this conflict has not yet pervaded the quietness of woman's thought, it must be because of her traditional peace of mind and sweetness of character. But if our modern Filipino women are anxious, as I presume they are, to make their influence felt in the settlement of the present national conflict, they must not remain indifferent for any length of time to the present economic and political conflagration.

Obviously, we are witnessing a serious but ill-founded friction between the spiritual and practical approach of our national cause. Conscious of the existence of a troubled atmosphere in world affairs, we must consider the foundation of our national stability in case earlier independence is granted as a result of the possible rejection of the Congressional Act which is supposed to give us independence after twelve years. Even now, there are those of us who begin to lose faith in the present structure of our spiritual as well as material life. True, an international war is making its repercussion felt in our country. Favored by the existence of a free American market for our products, we have enjoyed comparative prosperity at a time when other nations are suffering disastrously with the debacle of the modern economic system. However, this state of relative prosperity is now being threatened by enemies of our products in the United States and we may not long succeed in holding it on account of a determined desire among farm elements in the United States to drive our products out of

competition. But what of it? In the days when the country was comparatively prosperous and peaceful, woman was by common consent the sole arbiter of our own home economy. Simulated by the fabulous markets of the United States, years ago we entered into the speculation of raising exclusively export crops. The result is that we almost neglected the development of other products which are essential to our economic self-sufficiency. Now that these times are hard and demand for our export crops is much less in the American market, we instinctively turn to the old system of home economy for the restoration of our economic prosperity. It is here where the Filipino woman greatly excels. We need her helping hand in this period of economic distress. With her devotion to family life and her extraordinary gift as a business woman and manager of family affairs, let us hope that with the benefit of her new education the country will again regain its faith in the soundness of its institutions and the security of its future.

You have broken away from the fetters of tradition that confined your mothers and grandmothers to the affairs exclusively of the home. If you are to be worthy of the new freedom that you enjoy, of the rights and privileges that you have wrestled from the tyranny of the past, you cannot but feel yourselves called upon to face fearlessly and courageously the problems that confront your country and people. The Philippines today is passing through the most critical period of its existence. Material and spiritual values are both being tested in the crucible of the new nationalism. In hours like this, man turns to woman for inspiration we do not call upon you for great heroism of deeds. But in the midst of present chaos, confusion, conflict and general conflagration of ideas and purpose, of base motives and good intentions, of spiritual and material revolutions, we expect the new Filipino woman to emerge, clothed with all the beauty and virtues of her past, like a Joan of Arc, intelligent, energetic, vigorous, with the burning love of country flaming in her heart, giving the unfailing light from Batanes to Jolo and from Baler to Manila, – to illumine the mind and the soul of this suffering country and deliver it from this crisis of crises, so that we may clear before us, straight and permanent the road to real freedom, to happiness and prosperity. ●

IN PURSUIT OF AMERICA'S NOBLE PURPOSE

¹ Before Chicago's Council on Foreign Relations, December 20, 1933.

I wish to express my deep appreciation for the opportunity extended to me to bring to your attention the present status of the Filipino struggle for liberty. As you are all aware, a law was enacted in the last session of the 72nd Congress, purporting to grant the Philippine independence after ten years of transition from the establishment of a Philippine Commonwealth Government provided thereunder. Before this law could operate, the Philippine Legislature or a national convention called for the purpose, must first accept it. The Philippine Legislature, however, declined to accept the law and, instead, created a new Independence Delegation to proceed to the United States to restate the Philippine case to the Government and people of this country.

For the last thirty-five years the Filipino people have unequivocally expressed their desire to be free and independent. After wresting the Philippines from Spanish power and establishing a republic at Malolos, the Filipino army, mistaking right from might, resisted American occupation and received a staggering blow. Thenceforth, America remained in possession of the Philippines. She established therein a government which, in the words of United States Presidents, both Democratic and Republican, was intended to be merely preparatory to Filipino self-government and independence.

In 1916, Congress made patent this purpose by enacting the Jones Law which promised to grant complete Philippine independence as soon as a stable government has been established in the Islands. In 1920 President Wilson certified to Congress that this condition had been fulfilled and that it was the duty of the United States to grant the coveted Filipino freedom. Congress, however, failed to act upon this recommendation.

We have employed all means of appeal, from memorials and petitions to national prayers. Mission after missions have been sent to the United States since 1919. At last on January 17, 1933, the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act was passed, making a proffer of independence.

The natural and logical question that may be asked now is: Why did the Philippine Legislature decline to accept this law?

To those who have not closely followed the trend of events which led to the rejection of this law, or who have not carefully analyzed its probable ill effects upon the economic and political future of the Philippines, it may seem strange that the Philippine Legislature should decline to accept the offer when its avowed purpose was to grant the Islands independence. So that you may understand better the position of the Filipino people and appreciate the real purpose of the new Philippine Independence Delegation now present in the United States, may I be permitted to state the reason for the negative action of the Philippine Legislature. I shall not tire you with all the details. I shall only point out two or three, perhaps four, of the most important reasons upon which the Insular Legislature based its action.

The first is the provision of the law which gives the United States, at the discretion of the President, the right to have and hold forever, military and naval reservations in the Philippine Islands after the Independence shall have been granted. At present, there are about two hundred fifty thousand hectares of land in the Philippine Islands reserved by the United States as military and naval reservations. Some of them are located in very strategic places from the standpoint of commerce and national defense. These military and naval reservations include Corregidor, the Cavite Naval Yard, and the Mariveles Naval Station. All of them are found at the entrance of the Manila Bay and constitute the key to the national defense of the country's capital, the center of commerce of the Archipelago. In the very heart of the city and in the midst of its most thickly inhabited districts are five military reservations: Fort Santiago, the Santa Lucia Barracks, the Arroceros Barracks, the Malate Barracks, and the San Antonio Abad Fort. In the immediate vicinity of Manila along the Pasig River, there is Fort McKinley covering several square miles. A few miles north of Manila is Camp Stotsenburg. Almost immediately west of this reservation is the Masinloc Naval Reservation. Scattered throughout the northern part of Luzon, there are other military and naval reservations: one in Baguio, Mountain Province; one in Burgos Ilocos Norte; and one in Cauayan, Isabela Province. In the Southern part of Luzon and throughout the Visayan Islands, there are other military and naval reservations. The most important of such

reservations, are those in Los Baños, Laguna; Sorsogon, Samar, Leyte, Palawan, Romblon and Iloilo.

In Mindanao and in the Sulu group, and scattered throughout the coasts and occupying the best strategic points for defense and commercial ports, there are also military and naval reservations. The most important of them is Camp Overton and Camp Keithley, both of which are in the province of Lanao. There are three military reservations in Zamboanga, the most important and beautiful port in Mindanao, the military reservations in Jolo, Cotabato and Davao. In short there are about sixty-two United States and other reservations in the whole Philippine Islands.

Under the provisions of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, any or all of these military reservations can be retained as the property and for the permanent use of the United States by presidential redesignation within two years after the declaration of Philippine Independence.

Let us not be misunderstood in our objection to this power and discretion given to the President of the United States under the law. It is not that we are unwilling to grant or cede to the United States Government some naval or coaling stations that the Federal government may need for its own purposes, but we cannot conceive how the Philippines could be really and truly independent if the United States is to retain and maintain indefinitely military and naval reservations scattered throughout the Archipelago and in the most important strategic and commercial places.

Another objection to this military and naval provision is the belief that it would defeat the desired neutralization of the Philippine Islands. The Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law authorizes the President of the United States to negotiate with foreign powers treaties that would guarantee the neutrality of the Philippines. It may reasonably be doubted that the nations having interest in the Pacific would care to guarantee the neutrality of a country in which one of the great powers has so many military and naval reservations. We, of course, know that there are many people who have lost faith in treaties and who gave very little or no importance to the neutralization of the Philippines as a means of insuring the peace and territorial integrity and independence of that little country. But as we know of no other way protecting small nations from foreign aggression, and as, in any event, this is the course which the United States Congress has adopted, we have no objection to the accomplishment of this purpose.

The next main reason for the negative action of the Philippine Legislature on the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act is based upon the trade relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands during the ten-year period previous to the granting of independence.

Under the provisions of this much discussed law, Philippine products exported to the United States during the ten year will be limited in a volume, and the excess export shall pay the full rate of tariff that is imposed upon foreign goods entering the United States. But even the Philippine products that would come into the United States within the specified limits would have to pay export tax beginning from the sixth year of this transition period. This export tax would increase annually by five percent until it becomes twenty five percent of the full rate on the tenth year. At the end of the tenth year, the full rate of the American tariff would be imposed upon all Philippine goods entering the United States. By the way, export tax, as you know is prohibited by the Constitution.

An analysis of the probable effects of this tax upon the major Philippine industries shows that, before the end of the ten-year transition period, the Philippine sugar industry, coconut industry and cordage industry, as well as other important industries like the tobacco, embroidery and button industries, would have been ruined. This of course would have adversely affected the revenues of the Philippine Government and impoverished the country. On the other hand, American products would enter the Philippine markets free of duty and without any limitation.

The present free trade relations between the United States and the Philippines were established 1909 over the objections of the Filipino representatives both at home and in Congress. Because of this trade arrangement, the volume of the trade between the United States and the Philippines has tremendously increased— from P 267,891,232 in 1932 representing an increase in the share of the United States in the total trade of the Islands from 37.07% in 1909 to 77% in 1932. This trade also represents an increase in the total imports of the Islands from the United States, from 20.73% in 1909 to 65% in 1932 of the total import trades of the Islands, while it represents an increase in Philippine exports to the United States from 42.17% in 1909 to 87% in 1932 of the total export trade of the Philippines.

Although there has been mutual increase in the volume of trade between the two countries, official statistics show that the proportions of increase has been greatly in favor of the United States. To illustrate, the average yearly exports of the Philippines to the United States for the ten-year period immediately preceding the establishment of free trade (1899 – 1908) was P 90,026,915, while the average yearly exports for the ten-year period thereafter (1921-1930) was P 193,461,847. This shows an increase of 391.2%. On the other hand, the exports of the United States to the Philippine Islands for the ten-year period, from 1899 to 1908, show yearly exports to the Islands for the ten-year period, from 1921 to 1930, amounting to P 139,921, representing an increase of 1,766.1%. Thus, while Philippine export to the United States have increased only 391% and exports of the United

States to the Philippines have increased 1,633%.

Official statistics show also that as a whole, from 1909 to 1930 Philippine exports to the United States have increased by 615% as compared with 1,113% increase in the exports of the United States to the Philippines during the same period.

So, despite the fact that the United States has derived more advantage from our present free trade relations, the Philippine Islands, which takes from the United States 77% of the total import trade of the Islands, and exports to that country 87% of the total Philippine export trade, has become completely dependent upon and is now economically at the mercy of the United States as a result of these free trade relations.

It is not, however, the desire of the Filipino people to continue indefinitely with this arrangement if the wish of the American people be otherwise. But it is evident that the Filipino people should be given ample time, and other favorable conditions, to set up its own economic structure independent of the United States. It may be argued that such is precisely the reason why there is provided under the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law a period of ten years during which the Philippines is expected to make its economic readjustment. Ten years are sufficient for this purpose, and if the limitation imposed upon the free entrance of our products into the United States was based upon the *status quo*, that is to say, upon our present exports, and the export tax were eliminated, the provisions of the law as amended in this manner would meet the situation.

It should be emphasized that our desire to safeguard the economic and financial position of the Philippines is not predicated upon any intention on our part to give undue importance to the material things of life as compared with spiritual and moral values. To us freedom is everything. But in these times in which we live, no country can be independent unless it can support itself. It is precisely because we want to insure and maintain our independence once again that we feel duly bound to call the attention of the American Government and people to the financial and economic difficulties which would confront our country under the trade provisions of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law.

The trade relations between your country and ours were forced upon us by Congress. In the course of years, such trade relations artificially fostered by the American tariff have made the Islands dependent upon the American market.

A sudden closing of this market or an undue curtailment of our exports into the United States before we have time to prepare ourselves for the world competition would be disastrous. Should such happen there would be many people who, unaware of the cause,

would attribute it to the incapacity or inability of the Filipino people to establish and maintain their own government. The reaction in this country to such a situation in the Philippines would likely be to withhold the grant of the promised independence at the end of the ten-yr transition period.

Resuming the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law is defeating in that with the provisions of the United States military and naval reservations complete independence would be incompatible, and with the trade relations thereunder our country would be in ruin.

One sentimental but not secondary, objection to the law is that under it, Filipino immigrants to the United States would be treated as subjects to enter under quota during the transition period, and thereafter as undesirable foreign elements to be absolutely excluded from the mainland. On the other hand, for the benefit of the sugar planters in Hawaii, these immigrants may go into the territory of the United States in any number, depending upon the needs of the plantations and subject to the approval of the Federal Secretary of the Interior. If it were not for the fact that under the commonwealth constitution, the Filipino people are compelled to acknowledge, respect and safeguard the existing rights of American citizens and corporations in the Philippine Islands to the same extent as if they were Filipino citizens and corporations, and that during all the period of transition American citizens in the Islands would enjoy the same rights and privileges that Filipinos enjoy in their own country, the discriminatory provisions of the law against Filipino immigrants into the United States would not have the importance that the Filipino people have attached to it out of racial dignity and pride. Certainlay, we cannot conscientiously understand why we should be considered as undesirable foreigners in one case and as subjects or mere commodity in another, depending upon wether or not the Filipino immigrants could be utilized by the American people. If the Filipinos are not wanted in this country, we could perhaps find another scheme for our honorable exit.

There are other secondary objections to the law that compel us not to accept it. Among these are denial of currency autonomy, immigration autonomy and foreign relations autonomy, subjects which are placed under the direct control and supervision of the United States during the transition period, but which are essential instrumentalities in the preparation for a Philippine independence existence.

However, we cannot indulge in fault-finding or hair-splitting and scrupulously quibble over the provisions of the law that makes an honest offer of liberty. But the Filipinos would not be loyal to the American people if we did not frankly and sincerely lay bare before this country the reasons for not accepting it in the form in which it has been offered.

As a whole, it is the honest belief of the Philippine Legislature that the provisions of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act do not achieve the very purpose of the American Congress in disposing of the Filipino question. The Filipino people are not unmindful of the highest motives of the American Congress in approving the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act. It constitutes another source of the traditional gratitude and loyalty of the whole Filipino race towards the American government and people. But precisely because the United States meant to give our people the freedom for which they have been struggling for years under conditions that would be compatible with America's altruistic purpose announced upon the inception of her occupation of the Philippines of the Philippines, the Philippine Legislature did not hesitate to take advantage of the very privilege offered by Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act itself to decline the offer so that we might have the opportunity to restate our case before congress. May I say that the act of the Legislature is in pursuit of the noble purposes of the United States toward the Philippine Isalands. We have been encouraged by the pronouncements of the Chief Executives of this nation, Democrats and Republicans alike, by the specific pledge of the United States Congress, by the history of American administration over the Islands, and by the lofty traditions and ideals of the United States as liberty-loving country whose liberating mission among other weaker and subject peoples has not failed.

We are confident that our moral cause is won. What remains now to be done is perhaps to lay down anew at a round table the cold facts and figures from both sides of the Pacific, in the last supreme effort to make them tally and coincide with the march of the minutes and the seconds of the independence clock so that when the hour of final redemption shall strike it will strike to the satisfaction and honor of America and Philippines. ●

IN THE CABINET 1936

FROM OBSCURITY TO FREEDOM

Delivered when he was Secretary of the Interior, Nov. 15, 1936.

We commemorate today the initial fulfillment of four centuries of struggle from obscurity to freedom. In barely a year of its foundation, the Commonwealth of the Philippines has established confidence at home and inspired admiration abroad. It has met every task and responsibility leading to the recognition of a truly independent nation. Its accomplishment justifies all our hopes in the future Philippine Republic.

But we cannot merely dedicate this solemn occasion to such an achievement however splendid. Much less can we, with a proper sense of history, justly accredit this achievement to our epoch. There have been two great eras in our life, and we are living in a third. The first was the era of national awakening; the second, the revolutionary era; and this in which we live, the era of construction. The heroes and martyrs who before us gladly gave their lives that this country might live, deserve, therefore, an eloquent place in this memorial.

We must not forget to honor the deeds and the valor of those who first saw the light of liberty over this land and who died and gave their all fighting for it. They left us as our sacred heritage their undying love for freedom. Nor must we forget that we owe a debt of gratitude to the men not of our own race but whom fortune has chosen to guide our destiny as if it were their own. Their extraordinary benevolence and solicitude for our well-being enriched the life of the nation that they helped to build.

So this occasion, which in simplicity itself holds a far deeper and greater significance than is implied by the mere ceremony of unveiling a memorial tablet. For, at last, after centuries of being held in doubt, of being belittled and looked upon at times with pity and contempt, our capacity as a race is vindicated. The intrepidity of Magellan, too, is happily remembered; Spain's early civilizing and Christianizing spirit justly rewarded; and America's noble work in the Orient from McKinley to Murphy fittingly glorified.

The joyous outcome of events, unfolded to our eyes by this celebration, has come sooner than even our fondest hopes had ever dreamed of largely because of the wise, aggressive and intelligent leadership of the first Filipino to occupy this historic seat of authority – Malacañan. He assumes the reins of this government in an era of depression and suffering the world over. But while the government of older and far more stable nations floundered, he steadily steered ours with a firm and unerring hand, immediately transforming this government from a founding into one that is solvent, enduring and prosperous.

He has completed in one year a program of political and economic development for the ten-year period preparatory to the automatic grant of our independence. He has established the national credit here and abroad. He had rapidly acquired a renown in world affairs through the organization of an orderly and fearless government, thereby enhancing the national prestige. He has founded a citizen army and a centralized state police for our national defense and internal security. He has reorganized the government to effect the economy in expenditures and efficiency in public service, and by the high standard of official integrity and morale permeating his decisions, doctrines and appointments, he has everywhere gained confidence for the government.

He has created councils, boards and companies which have reinvigorated and revitalized all the other agencies for the proper and adequate material development of the country. He has laid ample provision for the protection and conservation of our rich natural resources for the benefit of this and the succeeding generations. He has endeavored to elevate the standard of living of our masses and to provide for their security. He has set up a substantial relief and rehabilitation program for the distressed and for the amelioration of the poor and unemployed. He has spurred the country to productive activities, laying special emphasis on the proper orientation of the people for their new duties and responsibilities.

The task of nation-building has certainly gained a great impetus under him. He has inaugurated a comprehensive program of large scale development of the erstwhile virgin region of Mindanao. He has created four new cities, and several municipalities. He has solidified our political institutions, encouraged trade and commerce, given new life to agriculture, awakened industries, mobilized men and means, and afforded new opportunities for the enhancement of the material welfare of the general populace. In these and various ways, and in a measure far exceeding our expectations, he has endeavored to establish a well-rounded national life, securely able to withstand the ten year's transition period and calculated to outlast any change of administration or government.

Mr. President, yours has been the privilege and the great opportunity to advance

the cause of your race and to carry into fulfillment the realizations of the ideals of our country.

We, therefore, call upon you to unveil this tablet bearing the names of our departed illustrious heroes and leaders – Burgos, Rizal, Marcelo del Pilar, Bonifacio, Jacinto, Mabini, and Antonio Luna ; the names of Presidents of the United States – McKinley, Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt ; of American governors general – Taft, Harrison, and Murphy ; and Senators and Congressmen – Cooper, Jones, Hawes, Cutting, Hare, Tydings and McDuffie. In an outstanding way they all helped and labored with unselfish devotion that our dream of independence may become reality.

Yours, Mr. President, does not appear on this tablet, because although we are sure that posterity will similarly engrave your name in plates and letters of gold, while you live we can only fittingly write your name in our hearts – in the hearts of fourteen million people who live in everlasting gratitude to you as their benefactor and liberator for your noble deeds and unselfish leadership.

As a worthy depository of the ideals, traditions, and the hopes of this Gold Memorial Tablet. With it goes the prayer of your people that the memory it seeks to hold inviolate, will ever continue to inspire faith and confidence in the guiding spirit of our heroes and martyrs and in the generous assistance of our benefactors, and that we will ever follow their example of self-abnegation and fortitude in the search for common good.

No depth of human suffering, no height of material comfort can ever dissuade our people to deviate from our set course of right and justice. For, never has a people have we wavered to follow the path of national duty. May we all remember that our national freedom is not yet won, and if we abandon or falter at this hour in its search, or stop to count the sacrifice to personal comfort and convenience in achieving it, we cannot, we shall never, attain it. So in entrusting this tablet to you Mr. President, we renew our faith and trust in that high ideal and in your ability to bring into complete fulfillment the cause that has been richly consecrated by your endeavors and by the lives and sufferings of our martyrs and heroes. ●

IN THE VICE PRESIDENCY 1946

ORATION ON PRESIDENT QUEZON

July 31, 1946.

Thirty years ago I met the man, who today is the object of the highest tributes of the nation. He was entering his thirty-eight year – an extraordinarily handsome man, dashing and virile, agile and intellectually alert with a name and a reputation already made – which explained the ease and the poise with which he carried the title “Mr. President.” He was then President of the Philippine Senate from which high position he was to dominate the body-politic of his people, to lead them from one victory to another victory in their struggle for political emancipation and freedom. So I addressed him when I met him for the first time, and, “Mr. President,” thus I addressed you all the time, everywhere, within the confines of our native land or across the seas when you and I used to travel in different lands.

Thus, I addressed you, always during my continuous association with you since then. Thus I address you for the last time before your mortal remains mix with the sod of the land you have bravely fought for and died for in a lifelong struggle both in peace and in war that it might know real freedom and independence.

I saw you, Mr. President, ten days before the national elections of 1941. I still have a vivid picture of your parting when you bid me good luck and godspeed. Those beaming eyes of victory and the warm grasp of a friend, I still see and feel. Since then I only heard your faint voice over the radio when, for the last time, you addressed your people from your sickbed far away across the ocean that they might keep up their morale and continue hoping that they would be liberated. No, I will not see your mortal remains because I refuse to believe that you are not alive, and in order that I may forever keep fresh in my memory that radiant face of health, of vigor, of triumph that I know. Even the faint voice I last heard over the shortwave radio during the enemy occupation when you exhorted your countryman to continue the fight for the liberation and inspired us with the hope of final redemption, I wish to forget. I prefer to keep ringing in my ears your many a time thunderous denunciations of what you consider wrong and unjust.

No, you are not dead. Your pervading presence in every living minute of your people, in our lives and in our hearts, must endure. We see in every handiwork that surrounds us your courageous heart and creative mind.

This Republic of the Philippines, born scarcely a month ago, is greatly the result of your labors and dreams and is, therefore, the vibrant symbol of life.

No, you are not dead. Only yesterday, it seems, you emerged from the mountain fastnesses of Bataan as a revolutionary leader to surrender voluntarily to the American army to continue the fight for the cause which your country failed to achieve by force of arms and which now you wanted to attain by peaceful means. You are not dead, when only yesterday, it seems, you were pleading in the halls of the Congress of the United States for the enactment of the Jones Act which gave your people greater political freedom. You are not dead, when only yesterday, it seems, as I stood beside you, you fought for the enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie Independence Act – the Charter of the Philippine freedom.

One sweltering day, exactly two years tomorrow, a day as black and as grim and as desolate as all the days were under the harsh and cruel enemy occupation, from across the seas and over the air, we heard that MANUEL L. QUEZON had died on the beautiful shores of Saranac Lake in the state of New York. The whole nation was struck by sorrow by the stunning news. But grief-stricken as we all were, we could express our sorrow only in the loneliness of the whispers, fearing that the least sign of outward bereavement would bring immediately to our doors the sound of the steps of the despicable *Kempatai*, or agents of the Japanese Military Police. All of us remember that only a year before on the occasion of his birthday, some friends of our departed leader who were celebrating the day in Manila were rounded up by the enemy in a surprise raid and eventually killed for an allegedly hostile act. And later we learned with poignant feeling that the townsfolk of a certain municipality of Tayabas, his home province, who dared wear the black arm band to attend a church service the day they learned of his death suffered the indignity of being arrested and imprisoned. Thus, many wept but would not reveal the cause of their tears; many just grieved but with the tears in their hearts. Even our prayers for his soul we had to conceal. If there has been a nation so grief-stricken that it could not express itself in words or in tears or even in prayers – that nation was no other than the Filipino people in those dark unforgettable days.

For two long years we have kept that grief in our soul. We have experienced, tragedies, torments and have seen death at its ugliest and darkest in the massacre, butchery and inhuman ordeals of the intervening between Quezon's natural death and our deliverance from the Japanese rule. Ah, we certainly suffered as no other people had suffered during that

period, and witnessed as perhaps no other people had witnessed with their own naked eyes the dead falling and torn away beside us— our children, our brothers and sisters, our parents and our wives! Yet above all this, I know, you know, that the heaviest sorrow that the country had to bear and the deepest grief that was graven in our hearts as a nation was the death and loss of our beloved leader and friend, the benefactor and the father of his people – Manuel L. Quezon. But his death we have never seen!

As one who has suffered most in the darkest hour of our history, I like to think that such incomparable sorrow has its reward and its own meaning. I like to think that in the equation of human experiences as it is in the law of natural forces, the deeper the sorrow the higher its reward. I like to think that God Who was so lavish in giving His gifts to Manuel L. Quezon and Who was not so sparing in giving him disappointments and difficulties, having so ended his life as to have permitted us and the whole world to render him the highest tribute that can be paid to any of His creatures, has some priceless bounty in the store for his still suffering people.

My friends, let us take solace in the thought that out of the profound grief that we felt for this brave and singular man – a higher promise of destiny now beckons to us. Not only *now* have we mourned over the loss of one so great. In earlier years, our people felt with tears the sad death of martyrs, such as Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora. Out of our grief over their martyrdom came a quickened national life. After them, they mourned over the unjust fate of Jose Rizal, that immortal man of Philippine freedom and liberty. His death further quickened our life and inspired a deeper sense of national consciousness. Then came the turn of the revolutionary heroes – Bonifacio, Del Pilar, Lopez Jaena, Mabini and Luna, and out of the tragedy of their lives, our nation moved still higher toward its destiny. We are today what we are because of the noble examples and sacrifices of great men of our race. And only after their death do we justly realize their beneficent influence upon their country and people. Manuel L. Quezon, who in himself embodied all the vigors, all the ideals, all the fighting spirit of this long line of gallant martyrs and heroes, by his death has brought the nation not only to the higher level of life, but to the final redemption which we have long awaited, dreamed of, labored and fought for – the republic of the Philippines.

Never in our history as a people has death so united us in grief over one who has departed as in the passing away of our national leader – Manuel L. Quezon. In our centuries of struggle for liberty and unity, Rizal was the idealistic legend, Quezon the breathing power and driving force.

The Republic of the Philippines may be the only inheritance that Quezon, by the will of our Almighty God, has bequeathed us. This republic would be an empty shell

if we were to cherish it only in name and in form. Manuel L. Quezon lives and he is still with us because of the examples that he has left behind, by the handiwork he has sculptured before our eyes, and by the lofty thoughts which are ever-ringing with the clear-cut voice admonishing us that, if we desire to see this Republic live and endure as the proud legacy of our race in its transitory travel across the vast space of time to the final redemption of mankind where justice, liberty, democracy, happiness and peace dwell eternally and rule as one, we must live by the principles for which he labored and worked indefatigably at every moment of our life, instead of sitting immovably or quietly in awe and wrapt attention before the image of the republic that he has wrought with his own hands. He was not for any single moment idle, so we too must act worthy of his heritage.

For this contribution to human advancement and peace, the great American people in whose midst he died, honored President Quezon with a temporary repose in the hallowed burying ground of their natinal heroes as if he were their native kin and son. Then with signal distinction, they put his mortal remains aboard one of their mightiest and newest carriers, the "USS PRINCETON," for his voyage home to the Philippines, across the Pacific and other the vigil of their own marines, and with the tender care of their special envoy, Frank Murphy, a great American citizen, and a devoted loyal friend of the Filipino people. No man could have asked for more in tribute and in homage such as has been liberally and generously extended to the mortal remains of our beloved dead by the people of the United States and by the rest of the world before he returned to the proud land of his birth.

We, his oen people who truly love, respect, and honor him, can conceive of no greater honors to add to those which have already been paid to him here and abroad. Ours is merely the sad and solemn duty to provide his final resting. But while we attempt to construct the most magnificent mausoleum that is within our means and power to erect, while we try to surpass ourselves in lavishing rites and rituals for his final repose, we know that no matter how we strain ourselves to render him the highest outward honors we can give give him, we cannot, we shall not be able even to half reflect the consecrated inward tributes with which we individually have enshrined him in our hearts. Poor and futile, indeed, is all the homage that at this moment we can show him. At best, such a homage is only the form and shadow of the passing moment, with deathless and timeless is the homage with which we have enshrined him within us.

But as time travels away from us through the inscrutable ways of Destiny to we know not where fate will lead us, I seem to see Quezon steadily growing in stature before the eyes of his people as he goes farther as a shadoe from us, but nearer to the torch of liberty that has been beckoning us from the distant past. I seem to see side by side with Rizal's, Quezon monuments erected in every public plaza through the length and breadth

of the Archipelago that he loved so much, for there is nothing more endearing to his people than to see his figure in the midst of communities where the common people used to walk with him. I seem to see his name inscribed in numberless streets, squares and parks. I seem to contemplate happy homes and numerous schools and hospitals for the poor and other eleemosynary institutions erected to perpetuate the memory of Quezon, their benefactor. I seem to see new municipalities, new beautiful cities and new provinces established to carry to realization the beautiful vision of the constructive leader, Quezon. I seem to see distributed in all schools, colleges and universities abundant books containing the biography and pen pictures of the work and achievements of Patriot and Statesman Quezon. I seem to contemplate proudly waving amidst the flags of the greatest and most powerful nations of the earth the beautiful flag of the Republic of the Philippines in international conventions and conferences where quezon made it respected even before his country became a sovereign nation. I seem to hear from the lips of the lowliest people in the barrios, in the far-flung communities, and even in the mountain fastnesses, the name of Quezon as the by-word and synonym of social justice and amelioration. And in a moment of crisis, of calamity and adversity, or another war, when the Filipino people will need encouragement to fight valiantly for the liberty of this nation, I seem to see the whole populace rise as one man, impelled by the unifying spirit of Quezon's undying influence and patritic fervor. There can be no greater tribute to a man who walked with us in highways of turbulent life than now to find himself seated at the sidfe of our Creator as the life and soul of his people – the Filipino people. ●

FACE THE WORLD WITH COURAGE AND DIGNITY

Delivered at a convocation of the University of the Philippines on September 23, 1964.

THE foundations of our foreign relations as an independent nation were laid before the inauguration of the Republic of the Philippines. We owe their establishment to no other than our late beloved President Quezon who, while conducting the affairs of our government-in-exile in Washington during the enemy occupation, succeeded, under the sponsorship of the United States, in winning a seat in the Pacific War Council imposed of independent nations then at war with the Axis and Japan. With customary boldness and energy, President Quezon was able to win foreign recognition for the independent interest of the Philippines in the concert of free nations despite the fact that we were not yet then a free people. As a result of his labors, we were made an original signatory of the United Nations Charter, and in turn as a result of our membership in this international organization, we are committed to certain obligations appearing in that charter and to certain responsibilities and compensations as are, or have later been, provided by agencies of said organization in the final adjustment of the conflicts and problems concerning the war.

I have no vain illusions over the prospects of our foreign relations, including those that have resulted from the establishment of the Republic of the Philippines, and which owe largely their origin and conception to the leadership and statesmanship of President Quezon and in no small part to President Osmeña who briefly followed in his footsteps. As an independent republic, we are confronted with internal problems far more serious, far more intricate and far more difficult than those which concern for the moment our foreign relations. And it is for this fact that I want every Filipino to understand fully what I mean when I say we can ill afford to have any vain illusions on the conduct of our foreign affairs with respect to the world at large. For in the last analysis, the concern of foreign policy is the defense of our frontiers, our sovereignty and our security.

Of course, as a member of the United Nations, our duty is to participate fully in the activities of that organization and follow logically its course. So for the time being that our attention is occupied with the solution of our internal problems, which to me appear more urgent and compelling, we can only look, as it were, from the window of our newly born Republic and follow with eagerness and yearning the vista of a new world emerging from a most desolate war to establish a new era of peace under the leadership of the victorious nations of which we are a part, although a most insignificant part.

Indeed, we cannot but consider ourselves part of the crusade trying to find a new world in the debris of war, sharing in the fear and want that are driving individuals and peoples into a frenzied search for a new pattern of social organization where security can be reconciled with liberty and where the liberty so painfully regained will not be lost again.

The broad outlines of that pattern we also can clearly discern. They are traced by the successive instances of unprecedented international cooperation which marked the closing years of war and the past year of victory. We feel indissolubly identified with the nations of the world in the endeavor to work out the common problems with a frankness and eagerness that mankind has never seen before. Into this new world pattern it will be our constant effort to fit in with whatever material, intellectual and spiritual resources we are capable of contributing to the common good of the world. The Republic of the Philippines cannot remain outside of the irresistible stream of world history. We, too, must take cognizance of the irreversible changes that have occurred. We must take our place in this new world —one world for all men of all races and creeds. In pursuit of these high ideals, let me now briefly enumerate what modest participation we are trying to render and its scope and nature.

We have joined the UNRA (United Nations relief and Rehabilitation Administration), which provides relief and initial rehabilitation through intergovernmental organizations among the haves and the have-nots of the world; the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which facilitates international loans for the reconstruction of devastated areas; the Food and Agriculture Organization, which set up a machinery for international cooperation in the development of agriculture and for the improvement of living standards among nations; the International Monetary Fund, which seeks the stabilization of foreign exchange among the United Nations; the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, which seeks to insure the coordination of scientific and cultural activities among the United Nations and for the promotion of peace and human welfare; the International Civil Aviation Conference, which has formulated agreements on the regulation of international airways and air traffic through an

intergovernmental administrative body; and the Far Eastern Commission, which determines policies regarding reparations from Japan and the occupation of its territory.

In that short time that has elapsed, we can point out with certain satisfaction some real and lasting achievements in our foreign relations. The UNRRA has given us relief grants totaling six million dollars for the purchase of basic relief goods, such as food, clothing, and medical supplies. Of this amount roughly four and one half million dollars' worth has already been actually received while the remainder is under procurement, on board ships, or left for further allocation.

At the recent Copenhagen conference, another five million dollars was granted to the Philippines for basic relief supplies and five million more in terms of relief clothing and other textiles out of UNRRA's stockpiles.

From the Far Eastern Commission we shall receive a substantial share of the reparations due from defeated Japan in industrial machinery, textiles, and other goods to replace in part the losses caused by the vandalism of the imperial armies.

In addition, from the other inter-governmental organizations of the United Nations we can expect other benefits. From the international emergency food council, we can hope for allocations of essential foodstuffs and other consumer goods for importation into the Philippines, while from the Food and Agriculture organization we can expect a share in the pool of technical information on agriculture and in the measures for the promotion of better nutrition and higher standards of living.

The Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization has already enabled us to participate in a fair apportionment of the trade routes of the air and in the reciprocity of facilities. From the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund in which we are represented on the Board of Governors, we can derive voice and vote in the stabilization of commercial exchange rates and international currencies, improved international trade relations, and loans for our internal reconstruction.

The relationship of the Philippines with the United States of America has entered a new phase. No longer a sovereign and a territory, we are now a sister republic. But independence has not estranged us. If we are no longer united by the legalities of allegiance, we are united even more closely by the realities of mutual advantage.

In our present situation, when we must somehow raise ourselves from almost total

destitution, the United States of America has also extended the following assistance :
A loan of \$150,000,000 to meet budget needs for the current fiscal year;
The release of \$95,000,000 out of the War Damage Act appropriations for public works reconstruction ;

Tractors and agricultural machineries worth \$11,000,000 out of \$200,000,000 worth of surplus goods that are due to be transferred to the Government under the war Damage Act;

Large stocks of arms, ammunition, military and naval stores and a big amount of miscellaneous equipment already transferred and to be acquired, without cost.

Even more important than these measures of immediate relief, however, are the basic agreements that have been entered into by the Republic and the United States. The transfer of the rich and extensive Japanese abaca plantations in Davao, together with certain properties located in Manila and other assets in local and American banks for the nominal sum of one dollar, restored to the national patrimony those fertile portions subtracted from it by the cunning and deceit of the enemy.

In addition to the acquisition of such plantations and properties, the Government obtained a loan of \$4,000,000 from \$7,000,000 including rice, sugar, flour, trucks, tractors, textiles, etc., which had been intended for these plantations, have been sold to the government at cost plus only 10%. These stocks have gone a long way in stabilizing locally available supplies of these commodities.

The recent agreement on abaca fiber and copra and coconut oil has secured a higher ceiling price for these products. This agreement which has been entered into for these products. This agreement which has been entered into for the primary benefit of producers, while not giving the commodities involved the best price obtainable in the world market, offers the best practicable means of getting the copra, coconut oil and abaca industries started without further delay. Moreover, by virtue of the *agreement*, the Philippines has secured food allocations from the international food control body. It is to be understood that the *agreement* is subject to change on the initiative of either one of the contracting parties as conditions and circumstances change. As a matter of fact, following representations of local producers particularly of coconut oil and copra, the President is now preparing the ground for revisions in the trade agreement for the further benefit of local producers.

The Philippine Trade Act, above all, will enable us to maintain our free trade relations for the next 28 years, with our principal exports, like sugar, copra and coconut oil, cordage, cigars and scrap tobacco, and pearl buttons, entering the American market free of

duty under certain limitations and conditions.

It is not my intention now to expand upon the advantages or shortcomings of this trade arrangement, which only a few days ago received the retrated approval of our Congress. It is, I believe, unnecessary to point out the urgency of sympathetic assistance from the United States in the desperate straits in which, through no fault of our own, we now find ourselves.

I should like only to emphasize that in all these negotiations the Filipinos have not approached the Americans as beggars. The basis on which we have been granted continued free trade is well known. Other assistance has also been rendered on considerations that were not charity.

The United States needs our copra and our abaca as much as we need the American market. If we have received a loan for tyhe rehabilitation of the above industries, it has been to the advantage of the United States as well as to ourselves. And if we have been granted benefit payments for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the Philippines, surely their consideration can be found in the steadfast loyalty of our people which earned them the savage vengeance of Japan.

We do not have to invoke the terrible specter of war to see the lofgic of our association with america. Our two countries are bound together with the intimate ties of long and happy connection, ties of mutual affection that survived a ruthless war, ties that will surely resist the corrosion of temporary misunderstandings.

In this new world pattern of international cooperation, especially with the united states, the Philippine Republic stands thus pledged, not only to enforce its right but also to fulfill its obligations in the community of nations. As a small nation that cannot hope to meet the vast requirements of modern war, the Philippines looks for its immediate security to this system of international cooperation, and beyond it to the continued and benevolent aid of the United States of America.

But as an independent nation we cannot in all dignity and honor call ourselves a sovereign people by being dependent upon any nation or group of nations for any length or period of time. It is upon ourselves, upon our efforts, and upon our own ingenuity and labor that independence will ultimately rest. Much to our regret we are compelled at this juncture, just when we should exercise the inherent right of sovereignty to project our nation into the concert of free nations, to ask for outside help not only as we have done through the instrumentality of the United nations but also through agreement with the

United States which, indeed, has been most generous and benevolent. Only the compelling force of circumstances, supported by unprecedented moral claims, justifies us in relying upon and accepting so much generosity from the outside world. Not even devotion to the same ideals would justify one nation in depending upon others for the preservation of its sovereignty for, as history well illustrates, sooner or later such a situation results in its absorption or final obliteration. And if merely to contribute to the discussion of a topic so essential to the life and well-being of this new Republic, let me now turn your attention, barring other considerations, to what I consider the fundamental objective of this nation as I see and believe it to be at present.

Far and above the material things that occupy our minds at this stage of our national uplift, there is something that we need most to rebuild and that is our spirit and soul, our morale as a people. For if therete can be said to be an over-all objective of our foreign policy, it is certainly to preserve and maintain the independence which we have so dearly won, and primordial to such a task is the building up in each individual of the necessary qualities for independent spirit and character — which task should challenge all the natural instincts of youth.

I conceive that task primarily to be one of spiritual rehabilitation, or moral reconstruction. With monotonous regularity we have of late accustomed our ears to appeals and expectations for relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction since our liberation. We have repeated, time and again, and we ourselves have indulged in lamentations, times withoput number, that the country recuperate from the grave and almost fatal losses inflicted by the enemy.

But it seems to me that even more important than the rehabilitation of our economic structure, even more essential from the ntional point of view than the reconstruction of ruined bridges and blasted roads, is the reparation of our souls.

I have observed with profound astonishment and regret that, after the war, and perhaps as a result of the war, many of those who in the past were sturdy, aggressive, full of energy and initiative, now seem to be not only lacking in enthusiasm and vitality but even quite resigned to be servile. They have lost faith in themselves ; they have lost heart.

It may be that they bear invisible scars of the terrifying years of enemy occupation. It may be that they were driven in those years into a fatal habit of passive subservience which now they cannot discard. In those years into a fatal habit of passive subservience which now they cannot discard. It may be that the excesses of the enemy upon our helpless people have instilled in them a horror of falling once again into that wretched fate.

Whatever their reasons or their motives, they falter and tremble now that we should and must stand on our own feet. They do not tire of the melancholy refrain that the Filipino people can never hope to control their own destinies.

The war taught us, they say, that the Philippines cannot survive without the protection of America. The war taught us, they say, that the Filipino people are doomed to ruin and destitution without the economic aid of America, and equally doomed to conquest and slavery without the military assistance of America.

I am not impugning the decisions which have already been taken to continue our long, sincere and cordial association with America, an association of mutual advantage, when I say emphatically that such are not the true lessons of the war. Certainly, if the only lesson we have learned from this Great War is the conviction that we can survive only by economic dependence upon the United States or exclusively under the military protection of that mighty leader of the world, then I would say that the moral fortitude that the Filipinos have exhibited, the clear understanding of human rights which they have so well defended and their willingness and readiness to die for their native land, have all been in vain. If the war taught us anything, it should have taught us that the Filipino people, to be free, must work out that freedom themselves.

Throughout the bloody years of subjugation and despite all the cunning and the cruelty of a powerful enemy, commanding overwhelming forces, we remained faithful to the ideal of independence, alone. We were alone when we thwarted their exactions, and when we wrung out a living from our own resources by the exercise of our racial ingenuity and by pure will.

That is what the war should have taught us; and what we did then, we can do now, if necessary. Yes, if necessary, we can call once again on that grim and gallant purpose which won us our independence, to uphold and enhance it.

But we cannot do so if we remain under the baleful spell of defeatism. We cannot do anything if we begin by saying that we cannot do it.

We cannot work out our economic salvation if we begin by saying that we are hopelessly ruined, that we are without resources, without ability, without ability, without experience. We cannot defend our independence if we begin by being afraid of it.

Before we can begin to reconstruct our economy, before we can begin to rehabilitate

our material situation, we must first of all rebuild our faith in ourselves. We must heal the spiritual injuries of the war. We must revive and nourish the national soul.

That is the problem of rehabilitation that comes before any other. For it seems that in many Filipinos the spirit of independence has lost its home; it has become a spent and melancholy refugee wandering aimlessly in the debris of the past, frightened by the slightest outcry, hiding from meaningless shadows, begging on its knees for a scrap of sustenance.

That is not the posture of an independent people. And it is not an attitude that will appeal or can be shared by the youth of the land. It is the attitude of the old, the broken, the defeated, and I know that whatever they will be, the youth will always be brave and strong.

It is to you therefore that I have chosen to make this appeal. Before all else, above all else, let us devote ourselves to the moral rehabilitation of our people, let us rebuild our spirits. I am not asking for the blind and fatal chauvinism that seeks only its selfish advantage and scorns its duties in the community of nations; nor am I asking for the vain and empty arrogance which would brush aside the offers of assistance made by generous and sincere friends.

But I do ask for an essential loyalty to ourselves, a spirit of dignity and self-reliance, a belief without reservation in our right and ability to be independent in fact as we are independent in name. Let us face the world not on bended knees like beggars, but standing erect like men as the equal of any other free people, ready to bargain, willing to consider any honorable proposition of mutual aid and advantage, — for after all nowadays there is no such thing as an absolutely independent people on earth, — and pledged to preserve and maintain this free Republic so that its citizens will say of us spirit liberty without which no true independence can exist, nor any foreign policy be wisely formulated before the world. ●

FATHER BURGOS

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A century ago there was no Filipino nation, so to speak. The human rights of all the scattered tribes and divided regions of these islands were either deliberately ignored or misunderstood. The people were oppressed and despised in their own land, set one against the other by a sovereign intent on buttressing his dominion with the regional antagonisms of his subjects. They were taught and were almost convinced of their own racial inferiority. There was need of a genius with vision to weld the scattered people into one, in-still in them the dignity of the race and assert their equal rights in the land of their birth the man who had that vision and genius was Father Burgos. Seventy-five years ago today, he was executed because he fought for equal rights, dignity and respect for the Filipino clergy. By his unjust condemnation and execution by his frightened enemies, he succeeded in arousing the first truly national movement among our people to win equality and dignity. His death marked the birth of a new nation.

If Dr. Burgos today is known and revered as a great Filipino, it is due in a decisive measure to his own prophecies and apostleship of a free and sovereign Filipino people. In a very real sense, Dr. Burgos was one of the feathers of this Republic.

The fact that Father Burgos chose the rights of the Filipino as his battlecry has sometimes tended to obscure or minimize his achievements. But the magnitude of his task and of his triumph can be clearly understood if we consider that in his time the clergy in the Philippines was one of the most potent, if not the paramount, vehicle of political, economic

and social power in the country. It was the clergy who dictated the social structure of the masses through the control of education and family relations; it was the clergy who in great part influenced the economic life of the country through a system of vast estates; it was the clergy, even more than the representatives of the King himself, who guided the political destiny of the isolated colony.

The challenge that Father Burgos hurled to this overweening power was surprisingly modest, in the light of our modern standards of achievement. He did not openly ask for independence, for democratic rights, or for social justice. In the history of our liberation struggles, his was only the first move, the demand for racial dignity and equality, the protest against racial discrimination which, in the Orient, has necessarily preceded the protest against political oppression and economic injustice.

But his challenge was the first cry of Filipino nationalism. It was the first affirmation of our people of our right to forge our own destiny. And its vigor and justice swept throughout our scattered islands from the northern hills where Father Burgos was born, to the southernmost province, and gathered all the Filipino into the nation.

The issues for which Father Burgos fought and died are largely, though not completely, won. But the cause to which he dedicated his life will never be entirely secure. Even now that it has reached the pinnacle of a free and sovereign Republic of the Philippines, it must still require our unceasing vigilance, our undivided energy, our eternal loyalty.

On the eve of the diamond anniversary of Father Burgos martyrdom, we find occasion to renew the inspiration that his life has always provided to our nationalism. With the same uncompromising conviction in the dignity of our race, the same patience and wisdom and courage, the same acute understanding of how much we can demand and achieve at one time in our history, we must continue to fight for a Filipino nation that is equal in dignity and rights of any other nation in the world. ●

A POSITIVE FOREIGN POLICY

I sincerely appreciate the opportunity of addressing you this evening, particularly because in your invitation you expressed a desire to hear a discussion of our foreign policy. The local press has indulged in numerous conjectures of late as to a definition of that policy and I do not doubt that you yourselves have been led to expect some sort of official statement on the subject.

I can think of no occasion more auspicious or favourable than this to dispel the speculation and satisfy the curiosities that have thus been aroused. The unique aloofness and isolation of this once beautiful city, far above the clouds of chaos and confusion that have been the natural aftermath of war, certainly lend themselves to calm thinking, free from the mutual recriminations engendered by our past political conflicts and even from boisterous pontifications about our future. From here we can look far beyond the summits of our present perplexities and philosophically contemplate the valleys of hope and ravines of suffering in our national landscape.

Considering that is a conference of businessmen, I am happy that we can discuss our foreign policy in a direct, business-like and realistic common-sense manner, addressing ourselves not to the next elections, but to the next generations, and even if posterity may overhear us, we shall only be talking among ourselves, to ourselves. Talking big shall therefore be out of the question. Thus you will not expect me to dwell on what we expect to do about the Palestine problem, the Franco regime, the nascent nationalisms of Southeast Asia, the future political and economic structure of Germany, or the United States financial

assistance to Greece and Turkey.

I have had occasion in the past to state, and I repeat it now, that I have no vain illusions about our foreign policy. I have great confidence in our ability to grow and develop into a strong and self-reliant nation. I am by nature an optimist and I know the unlimited resources of our country and the great advantages that we command because of the strategic position in which God has placed our country, as a pivot of trade and commerce in the Pacific and the mainland of Asia.

A people such as ours that has had the misfortune of being the victim of successive invasions and the object of innumerable colonial experimentations, reducing this country to a scrap-heap for centuries; a people such as ours that has yet wittingly taken advantage of every opportunity to harden its spirit, to profit from whatever good was left behind by the countries that have subdued and exploited us, and thus to amalgamate and take in and grow flesh on its body politic from the apparently conflicting influences from the outside; a people such as ours cannot but be confident that in time of crisis such as we have experienced and are still experiencing, it can collect its wits and be the master of its own soul and its own destiny.

But at the same time I am also aware, as a realist, of our own limitations as a people and I am aware that, although the horizons seem to be unlimited before us, there are points beyond our reach, heights to which we cannot aspire, and power and influence that we cannot enjoy. A clear perception of our position should deter us from plunging into competition for leading influence in the councils of the world.

True, we must be spurred by high ambition. But ambition without limit or without reason is a luxury we cannot afford. A keen sense of proportion must rule our activities in our international as well as in our national affairs. Our first, foremost, and paramount objective is to promote and protect the interest of the nation. Even while we court the friendship, goodwill, and cooperation of other states in order that we may secure our rightful place in the family of nations, we cannot, we should not, we must never lose sight of the ground under our feet. We must keep our feet on it, on our native soil.

Our job, therefore, is to solve our own problems first, those problems which we can, in our time and within our capacity, solve at this stage of our national life, leaving the rest for future generations to continue where we left off, for we cannot in a generation or two aspire to build this country as it should be built.

Indeed, paradoxical as it may sound, we can best improve our external position

by improving our internal position. Our sober, prudent, and wise foreign policy is to seek support for our national policies. But we must be more than constant suppliants for generous attention; we must make ourselves into a united, substantial, self-respecting member of the human community. We enjoy now the sympathy, the cooperation, and the assistance of great nations, particularly the richest, the strongest and the most magnanimous of them all, the United States of America, that great benefactor and liberator of the Philippines and the Filipinos. But we cannot, in dignity, and as worthy successors of the hardy, self-reliant and courageous heroes and martyrs of the nation, continue to be dependent on the sympathy and protection of any nation or group of nations for an indefinite period of time. We want to be an asset and not a mere liability in that world organization—the United Nations.

Through no fault of our own, some, even among us, have the impression that we are a beggar-nation, divided among ourselves, unable to concentrate and coordinate our own national resources and energies toward the pursuit and achievement of those aims which we want the world to help us attain. That is an impression which we must make haste to correct. As a result of our gallant and glorious record during the war, our country has won a magnificent, even a unique, reputation. We have gained the admiration, esteem, and active good-will of other freedom-loving peoples. Let us not waste that good-will; let us not bankrupt it by constantly drawing upon the sympathies our heroes have aroused. We must work, and work hard, indefatigably, with firm resolve, to shape our own future, our own salvation, our own security. We cannot for all time ride on the floating foam of universal sympathy and assistance. We must achieve a definite and rightful place in this globe, modest though it may be. We should not be constantly a clinging vine to other nations. As we take our rightful course in the international sea, we should not be merely tugged. And we should sail on even keel, avoiding the whirlwinds of shifting world conflicts.

That is the only sane and realistic foundation of our foreign policy, which should be simple and direct, positive and well within our control.

We are committed to the acceleration of the work of internal reconstruction and rehabilitation, sharing in the world progress in a cooperative and constructive spirit, and educating ourselves to a life of peace in our desire to grow and develop rapidly, for only when we are really wealthy and strong can we inspire the respectful regard of other nations. Our needs being simple and having no designs outside of our territory, we can well afford to concentrate our attention on the strengthening of our national economy which should be our immediate concern. The rehabilitation of our sugar industry, the revival of our coconut and tobacco industry, the promotion of our lumber industry, the reorganization of our mining industry, the scientific exploitation of our fish and other natural resources—these require our solicitous, vigilant attention, and our foreign policy should be directed to

fostering an economic diplomacy to achieve these ends.

Nothing should discourage us. True, the ruins of Baguio are the symbol and example of the devastation everywhere in our country and, with the great moral suffering still permeating our soul, with the knowledge that we are presently incapable of restoring our country at least to its pre-war condition without the assistance of friends, well-wishers and protectors, a sense of defeatism might be stimulated within us, compelling us to stoopdown and stare in despairing impotence at our miseries and misfortunes. But there is a divine feeling that urges our spirit to defy bravely adversity, poverty and suffering, an inner conviction that this nation cannot be abandoned to its fate, and that it will be a disgrace to our race to continue licking our wounds and whimpering. Lurking deep in our soul is a certain pride that calls upon us to meet the challenge of the age.

“Hitch your wagon to a star,” the poet once advised us. I would rather say, “Hitch your wagon to your working animal,” and to me, the best working animal is still man. Man has conquered, before this, forces that seemed unconquerable; he has suffered and survived, before this, situations that seemed insufferable; he has attained, before this, ideals that seemed unattainable. He has tamed the oceans, spanned the limitless skies, and circled and explored the innermost and outermost recesses of the earth. He has measured the farthest star and interpreted to his pleasure and advantage the obscure laws of nature governing space and light and sound. He has even solved the awesome secret of the atom, the secret that may well be the secret of life and death.

Such a type of man abounds in our midst. All he needs is guidance, means and opportunity. Let us have faith in ourselves, the Filipino people whose patriotism, prudence, courage, patience, industry, and love of freedom have survived the violence of many conquerors, the oppression of many tyrants, the cunning of many exploiters. Neither war nor defeat, neither pestilence nor massacre, neither the ravages of nature nor the scourge of human aggressors, has subdued or broken our spirit. And I want to tell you, my friends, that in our onward march, we have an excellent leader in Manuel Roxas. I conceive it to be our civic and national duty to unite behind him. As a constitutional leader, placed by unmistakable popular will at the head of this struggling nation, he is entitled to our undivided support in his titanic effort to steer bravely the destiny of this newly born Republic. Helping him is helping ourselves, denying him our support is depriving him of the great opportunity we have placed upon his shoulders to carve out our own salvation from the ruins of the past and the uncleared jungles of the future. To be worthy of the world’s help we must help ourselves, to be worthy of the world’s respect we must respect ourselves, to be a worthy unit of this new One World we must join it with our own contribution of peace, prosperity, and security, to the welfare and happiness of mankind. ●

FOR A NEW INTELLECTUAL ORIENTATION

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“When the cares of life o’ertake us, mingling to return to the scenes of many a youthful day, a good number of years have passed since I was a struggling, often impecunious, student of law in this famous University. They have been years of light and darkness, of storm and sunshine, of happiness and bereavement. The intellectually invigorating atmosphere of those student days seems strangely the same this evening, although the crumbling walls and the debris that still surround us tell epic stories of a radical change. For one thing, we miss some of the eminent men who used to honor us occasionally with their presence and company and delight us with their sallies of wit and wisdom. I refer particularly to our late lamented President Rafael Palma. Both men, in their respective fashions, did so much for the advancement of this great and beloved institution of learning. To them we owe, as students and alumni, an abiding debt of gratitude.

Eighteen years ago, the faculty of the University of the Philippines conferred upon me a signal honor by making me the first alumnus of our Alma Mater to deliver the commencement address on these very grounds. Memory does not retain much of what I said then, but I remember having donned the mantle of the prophet and boldly predicted that a new type of Filipino manhood had arrived, with the sons and daughters of our University at the vanguard, and would soon assume the responsibility of guiding and shaping the destinies of this nation. The presence here this afternoon of the illustrious Chairman of the Board of Visitors, His Excellency Manuel Roxas, of the class of 1913, the first President of our new-born Republic, has not only confirmed my prediction but has also given eloquent testimony to the popular confidence in the ability and fitness of this generation, which he gallantly and wisely leads, to lay the foundation of an independent Philippines.

Today, as we enter upon an entirely new era, unprecedented in the vastness and quality of the problems with which it is confronted, may I be allowed to affirm that this generation will accomplish its epochal mission. Over our land the resplendent rays of liberty finally shine. Our flag flies unchallenged in our skies. For once we freely breathe the air of freedom. But the World War and independence⁴ have brought to us a complexity of problems which for many years will tax the minds and ingenuity of our foremost leaders and statesmen. We find ourselves in the midst of another world readjustment after a most bloody, brutal, and barbarous conflict, that, unfortunately for our land, directly involved us. At home and pressing us with the greatest urgency, we have the problem of how to conquer poverty. National reconstruction demands the immediate adoption of a well-planned and comprehensive scheme of nation building. Spiritual revitalization and intellectual re-orientation, which are the mainspring of all, cannot be delayed. The hour calls for a new approach, a new perspective, with a new philosophy, social and political which should envisage the material and spiritual enrichment of our people. “The blessings of independence under a regime of justice, liberty and democracy,” must be established everywhere in our homeland not only in obedience to a constitutional mandate but as the compelling and indispensable basis of our happiness and internal security as a people. God willing, I am sure we will be equal to the task assigned to us.

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Already, we are speeding up the program for our economic rehabilitation. No stone have we left unturned in our effort to obtain the necessary material here and abroad for the strengthening of the national economy. We are reorganizing our institutions, public and private, with a view to meeting the increasing and expanding demands of our new national life so as to render them responsive and adequate to the country’s needs and potentialities. In spite of seemingly insuperable obstacles, we, as a whole, have succeeded to a great extent in preserving the moral and spiritual strength and stamina of our race, the same quality and virtue that enabled us to weather the most terrifying ordeal that adversity and human depravity at its worst could contrive and foist upon us.

From the long, dark and stormy night of our immediate past with its appalling tragedy, we have emerged as if through a screen of fire with a new life, and a new soul, saddened, weakened, and impoverished, but richer in experience, broader in outlook, and greater in tolerance and understanding. With our re-birth, we have found a respectable place among civilized and progressive nations. Outside, the world looks upon us if not with admiration, at least with sympathy. The people around us, still groaning under the yoke of oppression and foreign domination, are intensely interested in all that we do. They are intently watching us, following us. They know that we are blazing the trail of a well-learned freedom. They know that we have raised the beacon-light of liberty in the East and have hoisted at long last the flag that our revolutionaries had definitely unfurled.

In the Orient we can truthfully say that we are taking the lead in the march to progress. For her part, America, who has unselfishly weaned us as a loving mother, has lavishly poured upon us all available assistance, financial, economic, and military, in an earnest and generous endeavour to help us rise as quickly as possible from our prostration. In the entire scheme of reconstruction and rehabilitation of this battered land, there is a common compulsive force, at home and in the United States, calculated to make our Republic not only a credit to the enlightened colonial policy of the American people, but also a model, a worthy and inspiring example of the democratic processes and institutions. Democracy in our hemisphere stands at the crossroads and that crossroads is the Philippines.

With breadth of view and clearness of vision and in the light of world experience, our generation has the unique privilege to adopt the blue-print of our new nation. It is our firm belief and sincere conviction that the Philippines we envisage will exceed expectations and will be more than worthy of the dream of our greatest heroes, bards, and patriots.

Not only are we making history, the history of our Republic, but are actually writing it, with the products of this University taking the lead. In that most difficult and exacting task, it is our solemn and inescapable duty to write it in the epic spirit of our race and in accordance with the highest traditions of our people. I am confident that posterity, far from blushing, will take a justifiable pride in what we, the men and women of today, have accomplished.

But to carry out the program of nation-building, it is imperative that the people have the right perspective and understand the long-range and far-reaching projects of national development. It is important and vital that we have faith in ourselves and that we all work together for the promotion and realization of our common enterprise with the proper intellectual orientation. For no plan of action however skilfully conceived, no theory of development our progress however brilliant, no scheme of readjustment however ingenious; in short, no blue-print of national existence however scientific and masterly, can properly be carried out unless the people understand and believe in it and give it their undivided and unselfish support. We must therefore devote to the common undertaking our individual and collective efforts and our coordinated national attention. Thus we shall find that not only is there strength in unity, but also power, progress, and happiness.

Some inspiration we might derive from a cursory review of our past. In the course of our country's long struggle for liberty, we passed through several stages quite distinct in character and purpose. In order to awaken national consciousness it was the supreme task of our early intellectual leaders to preach and to protest, to preach solidarity and even to defy, despite the dangers it involved, the abuses to which the Filipinos were then subjected. It

became the self-imposed duty of such leaders to rouse all the people to a realization of their human worth and dignity and to impress upon them their common destiny. Their motto was solidarity.

Philippine history records how well those leaders succeeded in discharging their extremely difficult and dangerous mission. By their martyrdom on the garrotte, Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora, set the seal of their blood on our demand for racial equality in religion and in every other sphere of human action. By their untiring and resourceful pamphleteering at home and afterward in exile on foreign lands where they made bitter sacrifices without hope of recognition or reward, Del Pilar and Lopez-Jaena and other Filipino patriots opened the eyes of every liberal and freedom-loving man in Spain and in the whole of Europe to the cause of reform in the Philippines and the rights of the Filipino People. While, standing by himself in the horizon of time, like a solitary giant, Jose Rizal seems even to this day to have gathered in himself all the genius, all the courage and gallantry, all the spirit of self-sacrifice, and all the patriotism of the Malayan race.

Theirs was the generation of the reformers, preachers and martyrs,—men who were ready to cement and sanctify with their blood, if need be, the aspirations and demands of their country. It was also the age of literary romance culminating in Rizal's Last Farewell, which with profound pathos and consummate art envisioned our Republic as the "Gem of the Orient Sea, with eyes undimmed by tears," and with a "lovely forehead high from frown and furrows and from blush entirely free." Perhaps those heroes mostly of thought would be considered today as dreamers, poets, impractical visionaries. They lived and thought and wrote under the romantic and patriotic inspiration, the inspiration of the oppressed whose home, they saw, had been ruthlessly dispossessed.

Taking impetus from the titanic labors of these unselfish leaders, events move on, carrying forward our people to the next stage in their development. That stage was the revolution against Spain. Another group of men stepped forward to shoulder the burden of leadership. These men were no longer reformers; they were revolutionaries. They were fighters. They believed in the necessity and finality of force and did not hesitate to use it.

To them, their predecessors were theorists, dreamers, and martyrs. They had to assume a different role. Where argument, where reason and justice failed, perhaps it was better to employ something more decisive. Hence they decided to resort to the arbitrament of arms, to become heroes not of thought but of action, for the sake of their oppressed Motherland. That period may properly be called the era of Bonifacio and Aguinaldo, of Luna and Gregorio del Pilar. Although armed with naught but courage and bolos, with no organization but the unity and brotherhood of the people, and with absolutely no military

training, they were able with their fury and desperation to sweep the Spanish armies from every province and corral them in a few fortified towns and cities.

Certainly, it was not their fault that in the end they were deprived of the fruits of victory they had just won. The inscrutable designs of Providence called forth from across the ocean power of the United States of America, itself at war against Spain. In the brief, uneven but mortal combat between the Americans and Filipinos, our infant Republic was crushed. But we won a moral victory. No one can now deny that that generation did its duty nobly and gloriously, with young Gegerio del Pilar emulating the famous feat at Thermopylae.

America's advent in the Philippines marked the beginning of our democratic struggle for liberty. Our young leaders, headed first by Osmeña and later by Quezon, adopted the shibboleth of "complete, immediate, and absolute independence." It dawned upon them as it had dawned upon Rizal that appeals to arms were futile. Besides, the country was confronted with a new type of conqueror, a leader who himself had fought for his freedom and upon the attainment of his independence, had boldly announced as self-evident truth that all men are created equal.

That was startlingly novel to us, accustomed as we had been to be treated as inferiors, as if we had been born with saddles on our backs and our masters with boots and spurs. It was a political philosophy that suited us and favoured our aspirations to be free. It embodied the doctrine of democracy that we had dreamed of attaining under an awakened Spain. Accordingly, our political leaders sought to win our cause no longer by violence, but by moral suasion, by employing the language and the logic of democracy – oratory, discussions, and debate.

The paladins of that age are well known to you and to me. Many still live and are with us even in this august assemblage. One of them, the late Jose Abad Santos, faced death with a tenacity of conviction and patriotic ardour that, like Rizal's, will always be a source of inspiration to us. This is the new type of Filipino manhood, educated in the Anglo-Saxon schools and reared in an environment of democracy and freedom. They originally formed the Philippine Columbian Association and their meetings they preceded to formulate the policies of the Philippine government under the dynamic, constructive, and aggressive leadership of the political genius of Baler.

No people can boast of having accomplished such an unprecedented transformation of their country as this generation of Filipinos, who, under the guidance and inspiration of Quezon, and with the valor and heroism of the younger generation who gave us a new name in Bataan, Corregidor, Leyte and elsewhere, learned to love and practice democracy with

such passionate devotion that they lived, fought, and died for it.

Today, we are reaping the fruits of the labors of our compeers. The devastation of war and the ravages of the enemy have destroyed our economic structure, the nascent industries, the thriving mines, the mills and factories, the hoarded treasure, which, generation after generation, we have accumulated as the foundations of our future security and independence. Fortunately, neither war nor the implacable enemy has taken away or could have taken away the habits of thought and the love of democracy which we as a nation had acquired.

The alert and intelligent masses of the people, who are without peer in this region of the globe, are our greatest heritage. With the swift march of time, we are entering upon this new period of our history equipped with the experience of centuries under varied ordeals and sufferings that steeled our sturdy character as a race. We must rise as a new and wiser people. The setting requires that we lay aside literary romance, revolutionary language, and democratic and political demagoguery. It demands that we use a different language and adopt a different philosophy, a language and a philosophy expressive of the potentialities of an atomic age. The occasion compels us not only to be practical, but also to be intensely realistic. We must use what for want of a better classification I shall call the language of substance.

It is high time that we did our own thinking and ceased to be more echoes of the great and near great from across the seas. It is thought that gives one individuality, dignity, and power. It is action that gives one importance, substantial name. but to make our thoughts worthy of us, it is necessary that they bear the genuine Filipino stamp, the stamp of freedom from the stultifying influence of colonialism, under which we have lived for centuries, freedom from the habits of mediocrity, inferiority, and servile mentality.

No longer can we afford to indulge in the language of borrowed rhetoric, to fritter away our energies in political agitation, bickering, or social disorder. The march of our nation has passed them by; they have been discarded by the progress of events. There may have been a time when it was proper and even necessary to raise an outcry throughout the civilized world in order to attract attention and rouse its conscience. There may have been a period in our historic progress, and it was not so long ago, when it served a useful purpose to repeat glibly the wisdom of others; when our people were still learning the philosophy and the technique of democracy, when they were still trying to catch up with the evolution of the world during their long seclusion. There may have been a justification then for collecting the experiences of others, their discoveries, their experiments, their reports, their meditations, their reflections and passing them on to the people to the extent occasionally of

making them appear as if they were the speaker's or the writer's own.

But surely that time is past. To spend our time in repetitious oratory, in bombastic braggadocio, and in boisterous pontifications or exaggerations, when there is so much to do, is not conducive to our lasting good. We no longer live in an age of oratory, full of sound and fury, but in an age of realism stark, hard, and exacting. It would be impossible to compute the national energy wasted in delivering and listening to these flights of rhetoric, heavily laden with verbiage. The mind of our youth should be disabused. We should not encourage any further the cult of superficiality and give premium to the spectacular. Let us give due credit to those who have contributed one new thought in the uplift of our race, one new stone in the construction of our new edifice, one step farther in the progress and advancement of our country, one manly stand in the defense and preservation of our rights as a people. One act of honest endeavour, no matter how modest, which tends to uphold the good name of our new nation in this moment of confusion, of envy, of hate, of discrimination that unfortunately pervades the atmosphere already surcharged with ills and sufferings.

What is most disturbing is that so much importance is actually attached to these vain and empty effusions. The real assignment of this generation is constructive thinking and action.

In appealing to you for your share of the duties of the present and to stand in the vanguard of the future, I plead with you, members of the graduating classes to concentrate your energies, your talents, and your youthful enthusiasm on activities people, our distinct way of life, our habits of thought, our idiosyncrasies, and a philosophy that should embody our own experiences and views on the world around that are positive, constructive, actual. We need today a literature of our own accomplishments, a literature that should vividly reflect the real sentiments of our us. It is my hope that when you have these halls you will act and construct, silently if need be, but more concerned with results than with promises and more eager for performance than for praise.

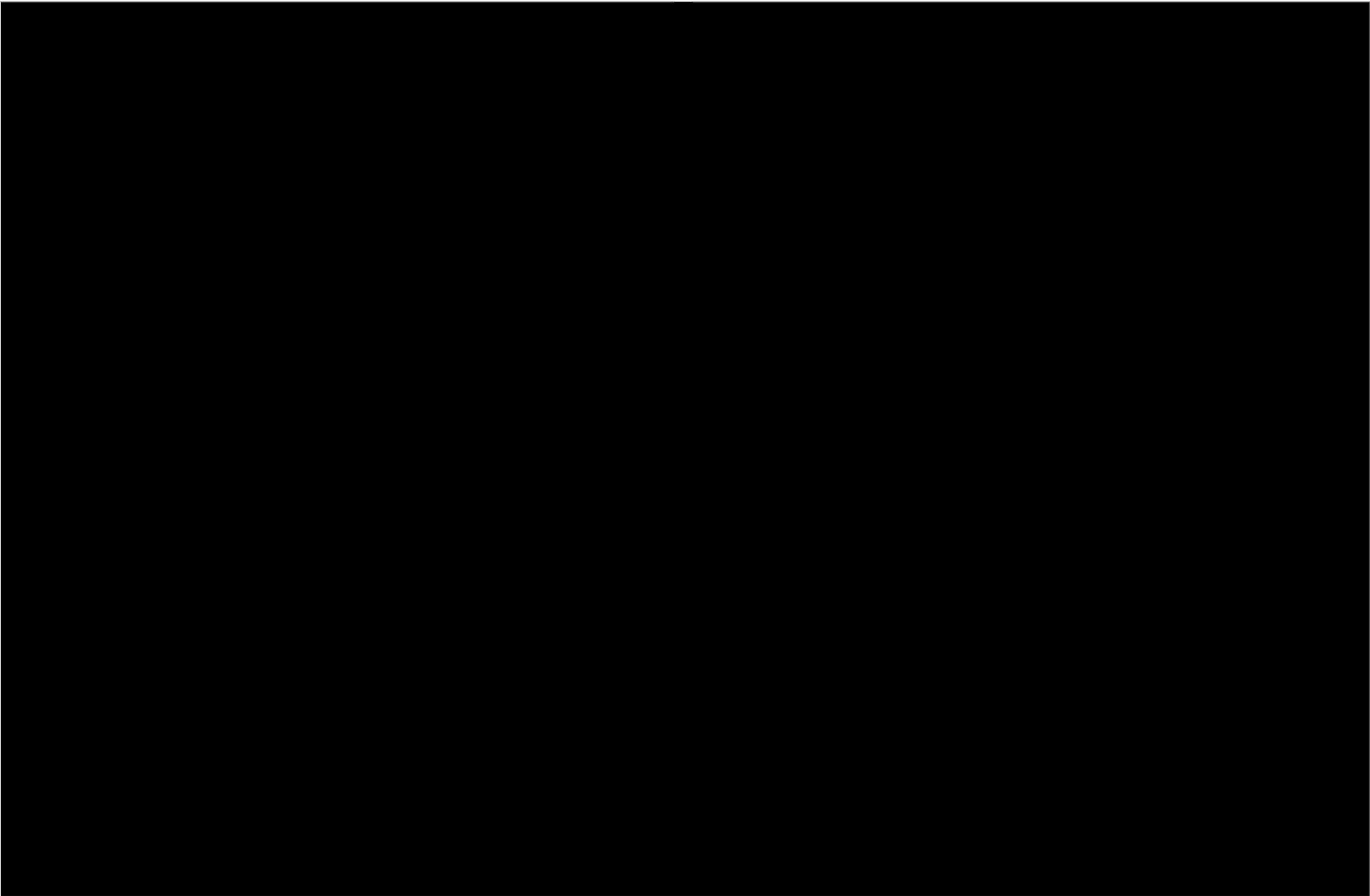
I wish to leave you two thoughts.

Let us not debase the moral currency by making money or wealth the ultimate measure of constructive success. Honesty is still the best policy. No man and no nation has attained greatness on the strength of money alone. Let us not be misled by stories of easy riches, by visions of ill-gotten gains; they never last and even when they do, they come at too high a price, the price of your good name and your self-respect. For the country, the price is even higher; dishonesty and greed will bring not only moral but even material ruin to our

young Republic, for there can be no true and lasting progress, no positive and constructive action, when vice corrupts virtue and crime pays more than honest work.

Let us aim at contributing to the welfare of the entire people and the development of the whole country as much as at personal advancement. It is natural for every man to think first of himself, but though charity begins at home, it should never end there. I believe the war has taught us that no man should think of and for himself alone. We do not live alone; we are inseparably linked together in fate and fortune with every one of our countrymen and indeed with every one of our fellowmen. That is the basic philosophy of this country ever since Burgos and Rizal discovered for us a common national soul.

I have reason to believe that you will prove equal to the exigencies and expectations of this generation. A challenging and demanding present awaits you tomorrow, today. Meet that challenge with confidence and patriotism. The danger to this generation is not that others may steal or violate our rights, but that we may not exercise them ourselves. There is more danger that we may not know or may not be willing to develop and exploit our natural resources than that others may rob us of them. If we are in danger, it is the danger of inaction. Go forth then and act, act like men, to the end that in the national equation you will have contributed a positive individual value. In the division of national labor, some will have to go to the farthest corner of this country, open up its riches, help build the factories, the mills, the turbines, and the dams, and prepare the harvest which shall sustain this generation in its historic task of constructing a safe, secure and prosperous habitation worthy of free men. But no matter where you go, no matter what you do, in the silent cluster or in the open field, in or outside the Government, always hold foremost, my friends, your honor and the honor of your country. ●



subjugate them, they never entertained any lasting hatred against anyone because in the end their patience and endurance invariably won for them new strength, new courage and even new friends.

With an abiding source of inspiration such as this, the Filipinos are trying to establish the foundations of their Republic. But what would have been the material groundwork of this endeavour unfortunately was blasted away in the last war. The joint effort of the United States and the Philippines to build an enduring economic structure for an independent and democratic government in the Far East, a joint work of forty-eight years, is well-nigh obliterated. The work must be done all over again, if the newly established Republic is to become not a mere shell but the symbol of a vigorous state capable of maintaining its position among the nations of the world.

What this work means will perhaps be better understood if we make a brief recapitulation of the present devastation of Philippine economy. The total value of damages and losses in the Philippines resulting from the last world war, as of November 5, 1946, is estimated by American and Filipino experts at approximately six billion dollars.

The casualty loss, evaluated in terms of economic wealth is estimated at 74.5 per cent of the total damages.

The next item is damage to real estate improvements amounting to 5 per cent of the total value and consisting of government edifices, buildings for industrial, commercial and financial purposes, and private residential houses. The estimated pre-war value of this item is \$1,351,000,000. The damages actually sustained are \$1,104,000,000, or 80 per cent of the total losses.

Japanese military notes, which were issued and circulated by the Japanese military government in payment for goods and services, rank third, representing 4.9 per cent of the total losses.

The fourth item in the list of war damages and losses, described as industrial, commercial, financial, and public utility properties and mining, excluding buildings, represents 4.8 per cent of the total value. Our pre-war shipping which was valued at \$75,000,000 sustained a loss of \$70,000,000, thus 95 per cent of the whole has been destroyed. Damaged to agriculture amounted to \$145,585,395.

The fifth item is made up of personal and household effects, representing 3.8 per cent of the total losses. Then follow agricultural products and implements, public works,

government office furniture and fixtures, properties of government corporations, and libraries, in the order named.

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These figures describe the material loss of the Philippines. The destruction of capital equipment and pre-war industries and transportation facilities, and the shortage if not absence of capital to buy new machineries and equipment to replace them, are the principal deterrent factors in the immediate rehabilitation of Philippine economy.

Production, by this very reason, is at an extremely low level. The domestic and foreign trade of the country, which before the war was dependent upon the export crops, has greatly shrunk. The disruption of our transportation, communication, and port facilities is also contributing to the slow revival of business. While crops may be raised in many localities, they cannot be moved out on account of the high cost of transportation. The problem of distribution is accordingly acute.

With livestock, particularly work animals, depleted, many farms remain uncultivated. The sugar industry, depending largely on sugar mills, is slow in reviving because sugar centrals destroyed have not as yet been replaced. Mining is in the same predicament. The production of gold which came second to sugar in value of our exports before the war has not started due to lack of mining equipment and adequate capital.

Other industries, such as the lumber, cigar, furniture, and some household industries have not recovered their pre-war footing in Philippine economy.

Before the war, our pleadings with the Government of the United States were somewhat in the nature of demands for increased quotas in our shipments of sugar, Manila cigars, cordage and coconut oil to the American market, as Philippines economy had an excess of these commodities. Today, what a paradox! Our pleas are for a greater allocation of rice and sugar for consumption in the Philippines.

Again, before the war, we not only had balanced our yearly budgets, but succeeded in reducing our public indebtedness year after year. Our budget, like that of the United States, was an elaborate statement of income and expenditures. In fact, our statement of expected revenues was more impressive than the statement of expenditures.

Now, for the first time in our political experience our finances are strained, and we must explore all potential sources. There are many ways of borrowing money which are open to an independent government with undeveloped wealth and credit and with a good record of past performances

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For the first time also in our national existence, we have come to realize that it is neither a disgrace nor a confession of national weakness to borrow when borrowing is justified by one's needs and ability to meet obligations.

The rehabilitation of our major industries at an early date must be accomplished. Our sugar industry, because of world shortage of sugar, has top priority. The procurement

of a better variety of sugar seedlings, the restoration of transportation facilities, and the reconstruction of the mills—these are urgently needed to rehabilitate the sugar industry. Our gold mines, the source of an annual national income of over \$40,000,000 before the war, must also receive immediate attention. The Philippine government is definitely committed to a long-range program of rebuilding our economic structure on the pre-war basis, and the groundwork for this undertaking has been laid. This program may not be as complete as the situation demands. But we have started it and we mean to press toward a speedy and successful end.

The people and government of the United States have been generously extended the initial help. The war damages voted by the United States Congress amounting to \$400,000,000 will be paid in the course of four or five years to citizens of the Philippines and of the United States who suffered property losses. In addition, the Philippine Government will receive approximately \$120,000,000 for the reconstruction of roads and highways and the replacement of public buildings completely destroyed during the war. Likewise, American war surplus materials, some of which are usable for agricultural and industrial purposes, have been turned over to the Philippine government.

Because the Philippine government does not derive at present any revenue of consequence from taxation as a result of the impoverished condition of the Island's major industries, we have obtained a loan of \$75,000,000 from the United States to meet budgetary requirements of the national government this year.

The preferential trade agreement between the United States and the Philippines, which will continue for 28 years from 1946, is, in the considered opinion of experts on Philippine affairs, the most important single factor in our rehabilitation program.

Upon the initiative of President Roxas, there has recently been created the Philippine Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, capitalized at \$150,000,000 so as to provide government agencies and private individuals with the necessary means with which to rebuild our homes or to finance or rehabilitate our ruined industries.

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But when all these are said and done, there yet remains a wide gap toward the complete restoration of the Philippine economy. Considered against the overall background of real Philippine reconstruction and rehabilitation, these measure, I might say, are largely of a remedial nature. In recent plebiscite held to amend the Constitution of the Philippines, the Filipino people voted to extend the same rights to American citizens as those enjoyed by them in the development of their natural resources and the operation of public utilities for a period of 28 years. They have done this fully realizing that the initial measures already undertaken, alone cannot cope with the vast reconstruction program without the active participation of private capital and technical experience.

Let it not be understood that the Philippine is inspired only by self-interest. Much as she desires to have her economy re-established and to see it working normally at this

critical period, when nations are starving and suffering for lack of food and shelter, she knows that with the immediate rehabilitation of her industries, principally agriculture, lumber and mining, she can be of great help to a needy world. For example, because her coconut industry miraculously escaped war destruction, she was able soon after the close of the war to export large quantities of copra which partly supplied the world's acute needs for fats and oils. In a similar measure, she was able to provide the world with abaca and rope which had become critical material during the three years in which the Philippines was under enemy occupation. Likewise, the early revival of the Philippine sugar industry can partly satisfy the present world shortage of this commodity, and the same thing can be said of the export of lumber, which industry is only awaiting the replacement of destroyed mills to resume the sale of its products abroad, particularly the Philippine mahogany, which today is in great demand everywhere.

Not for a billion dollars or any amount of money in the world would we Filipinos barter our birthright. In granting equal rights to American citizen in the development of our resources and public utilities, we are fully certain that the Philippines can absorb any amount of American capital and still be able to reward it adequately because our resources are tremendously rich. And in making such a particular offer to the citizens of the United States, our decision is not merely guided by our desire to enlist American financial assistance and technical guidance but by the conviction that we can offer, too, through this means, the best returns that American capital and technical knowledge can have everywhere in the world under the present circumstances. Where in the world today can Americans trade freely without being afraid of run-away inflation and bloc currencies? Our Philippine peso is tied by law to the American dollar at the ratio of two to one.

Under the military base agreement recently approved by the governments of the United States and the Philippines, the United States shown its determination to provide both countries with mutual protection. The Philippines, too, on her own part, has assured the people of the United States of her willingness to share with them not only the use of her territory but of her manpower to help preserve the peace of the world and extend her aid to the United States whenever it is needed for the protection of her interests in the Far East. Under the provisions of this agreement, these bases have also been made available to the United Nations. Security is thus insured under this joint guaranty not only for the safety of American life but also of American investment.

The two pacts, the trade agreement and the base agreement, providing for the economic and military security of the two countries, have brought them into closer relationship of mutual trust than was the case, I dare say, before the grant of Philippine independence.

To us Filipinos no factor can better strengthen the links that presently exist between the United States and the Philippines than the readiness with which the people of the United States will come to participate in the rebuilding of our industries and economic life in their critical state. After all, our present deplorable situation as a result of the great war is not completely of our own making. At this juncture, may I recall also the great sacrifices of our people who fought and survived the war—the veterans and the widows and their families—whose sufferings have not yet ended and who expect but justice and generous assistance from this great government of the United States. We ask American help not in terms of charity, but in terms of mutual benefit. We want to be in a position, morally and materially, to discharge all our obligations to the United States and to share with the American people the benefits to be derived from sound and legitimate enterprise pursued in the spirit of partnership. We certainly need you, and we feel that you need us, too, in many ways. The strength of America today is the guaranty of our security, and a reinvigorated Philippines, drawing inspiration from your democratic teachings and ideals will add to your power. Whatever investment you make in the Philippines material and spiritual, will be an invaluable asset in America's leadership of the world. ●

WE ARE READY FOR THE FUTURE

In a little more than two months, or on July 4th, the same day that marks the 173rd anniversary of your glorious Declaration of Independence, the Republic of the Philippines will complete its first year of existence. The scene of a prolonged enemy occupation and a brief but terrific war of liberation, waged from the outside by powerful returning American forces and from within by a determined and wide-spread guerrilla movement, the Philippines was a veritable wreck on the day of her liberation. Literally speaking, she arose as a Republic almost from the ruins and ashes left by the Greater East Asia War. Our progress, in the face of that devastation, has been gradual in the past year, but we are no less determined to face the responsibilities that confront us and our Republic.

Our task of reconstruction and rehabilitation, to achieve which will tax our every resource and ingenuity for years, is truly tremendous. It will require an enormous amount of labor and capital to carry through. With generous concern, the government of the United States is presently extending to us considerable assistance. Meantime, we are also trying to marshal our own brain and brawn to meet our supreme test.

What is perhaps not so well known outside the Philippines is the full extent of damage inflicted by the enemy. The total war damages in the Philippines, as estimated by American and Filipino experts, amount approximately to six billion dollars, a tremendous sum for so small a country.

It is estimated besides that the rehabilitation of the principal crops alone, such as copra, tobacco, abaca, sugar, and rice, will require the immediate investment of 200 million

dollars. For the development and improvement of major agricultural industries, including the construction of new irrigation systems, an additional investment of \$900,000,000 will be necessary. For the industrialization of local raw materials, about \$150,000,000 will be needed.

Partially to compensate us for the tremendous loss of property and equipment, the Congress of the United States has voted the sum of \$400,000,000 in damage payments to private individuals and organizations. In addition, \$120,000,000 has also been voted for the reconstruction of destroyed bridges, highways and public buildings. War surplus materials at a book value of over \$600,000,000 but transferred at the rate of twenty-one cents to the dollar have also been turned over to the Philippine Government to cover other claims. Huge as these sums are, they comprise only a fraction of the total estimated war damages. Capital outlay for the reconstruction of the destroyed industries besides will still have to be found.

But potential resources are available everywhere in our land. Properly developed and exploited, they will promptly bring about steady recovery from war devastation. Rich and fertile lands we have in plenty. Forest resources are unexcelled. Our mines are rich not only in gold but in iron, chromium, silver, copper and manganese. Our rivers can be harnessed for electric power. Our seas are rich fishing grounds, and our climate is suitable for yearly round of labor and cultivation. Our population has increased by arithmetical progression from a little over 6 million in 1898, at the start of the American regime, to 18 million people upon the grant of our independence last year. While we suffered the loss of more than a million people during the war, our population grew within this period from 16 to 18 million despite the enormous toll of lives.

The strategic position of the Philippines with respect to commerce and transportation in the Orient is unique. Located as she is at the very crossroads of the South and North Pacific along the most populous coast of the great mainland of Asia and the first stopover in the Far East from the East Pacific, she commands all the international waterways and airways in this part of the world. Such a position backed up by our tremendous wealth of natural resources and coupled with a population of hard-working, peaceful and industrious people – politically trained besides in democratic ideals and principles – makes the Philippines certainly the best field for business investment in the world today. With the establishment of our Republic, we have well demonstrated our capacity for political development. Given time and the same opportunity to exploit our resources, we can prove, and will prove, our land to be a great asset to the economic world.

As a people we have many reasons to be discouraged in view of the extensive and terrific devastation that our country has sustained. While the enemy has capitulated, peace

is not truly restored anywhere in the world and dangers lurk everywhere. Truly, amid such dismal surroundings a heroic effort was required to restore our government and to establish the Republic. Without American assistance, we know, success would not have been possible.

But, dark as the prospect was and would seem to be even now, we are today wholly optimistic. Our optimism is based firmly on fact – not only on our customary faith in ourselves to face successfully any adversity, but on the wealth of our natural resources and their limitless possibilities for varied development. The opportunity for development is there. Our pre-war performance proves it. Before 1941, we supplied the world with one-third of its demand for copra; we supplied and still supply almost all the world's abaca; were second only to the State of California in gold production under the American flag; were next only to Cuba in export of sugar to the United States; and Philippine mahogany found its way to every port of the world. Besides gold, we have enormous deposits of iron, chromium and manganese; our coal and mineral oil wealth is yet to be explored. As an importer on the other hand of manufactured goods, we ranked and still rank very high as a market for American goods, despite the fact that we were merely 16 million people and essentially an agricultural country. Our total value of agricultural and mineral exports was such that never once under the American occupation were our imports in excess of our exports.

Today, with raw materials and food products needed world-wide, a great incentive is offered to our industries. During the whole period of war, the outside world almost exhausted its efforts and resources to meet the requirements of mass production. Shortages were covered by synthetic materials or manufactures at high costs. All the nations at war, with the possible exception of the United States, had to scratch bottom to continue in the fight. On the other hand, the fortunes of war placed us immediately within the Japanese blockade. We suffered internally for lack of manufactured goods which we normally imported from abroad. The enemy besides did his best to strip our country of capital investments, rolling stock, work animals, machinery and equipment, thus rendering us economically impotent to produce even for our own needs. While we suffered severely, our reverses proved in one way a blessing in disguise.

Thus, for four years during which our productive economy was paralyzed—and our trade with the outside world cut off, our industries destroyed and neglected – most of our natural resources were fortunately conserved. During these four years we did not cut our lumber, we did not strip our abaca, we did not gather coconuts, and we did not work our mines. For the same period, most of our agricultural lands lay fallow and our soil accordingly enriched. We have, therefore, the singular advantage over almost all the rest of the world of forced conservation of our natural resources.

That conserved wealth, so attractively diversified to meet the current demands for critical material and food, we now offer to the world in return for our rehabilitation and reconstruction. A deep sense of gratitude has prompted the Filipinos to make a preferential offer to the people of the United States, namely, the enjoyment of equal rights with Filipino citizens in the development of natural resources and in the ownership and operation of public utilities. It is the desire of our people that American citizens take advantage of this opportunity. Americans are not only assured of equal rights in the development of Philippine resources but of continued enjoyment during a period of 28 years of preferential trade treatment for American products in our home market, in accordance with the trade agreement between our two countries.

Military security is also provided under the bases agreement recently concluded, whereby American forces get for a period of 99 years the use of strategic areas of the Philippines for the joint protection of the Philippines and the United States.

Before the war we had close commercial relations with other countries. American control of our commerce and industries during our colonial period did not prevent the maintenance of these outside relations, nor their gradual expansion. The Republic of the Philippines will continue maintaining and improving these relations. To this end we are taking positive steps toward the progressive expansion of the branches of our foreign service abroad.

We are fully aware that the early establishment of these trade relations will depend largely upon our economic ability to produce. We possess a high production potential. Assuredly, if American capital will only take advantage of the opportunities for investment, there is no doubt that our commanding geographic position in the Far East, supported by the wealth of our natural resources, can attract, nay, add to the wealth of people inhabiting the west basin of the Pacific Ocean. I dare say that just to bring to these billion people the materials and goods of which they have been deprived by the disruption and dislocation of international trade would in itself constitute a contribution to the early establishment of peace and better understanding among men.

Today, the Philippines and America are the objects of world attention. Their relationship, intended as an object lesson to mankind, must be intelligently managed. If at this period America neglects to give timely support for the reconstruction of the Philippine economic structure, such neglect may seriously impair the great lesson of democracy in action. Some of the benevolent gestures of the United States toward the Filipino people are being misinterpreted in certain sections of the world. Even India which is soon to be given independence has cast aspersions upon the real character and nature of the

independence granted us by the United States. We understand very well how hasty and unfair these aspersions are. If the lesson of America's unselfish and exemplary leadership in the Philippines can be brought home to all peoples, I am sure that world opinion will rally in support of the United States' role in world affairs.

We, your people and mine, are facing together today a great test of our identical principles political and economic. Democracy and the free enterprise system are on trial before the bewildered peoples of the world. I am sure that we will survive that test. I am confident that our system is the best yet evolve by man. But we must work together, comfort one another, support each other, and cling to one another in adversity or prosperity, if we are to demonstrate the superiority of freedom over regimentation. W of the Philippines will not fail, if you, our friends, well-wishers and allies, hold up the banners and point the way. Proudly the Republic of the Philippines is ready for the future. ●

THE PHILIPPINES' FOREMOST POLITICAL GENIUS

The man whose birthday you and I and the rest of the Filipino people celebrate today with mingled feelings of joy and sadness is like Jose Rizal, our national hero, but the pride and glory of our country and race. Like Rizal, death has not removed him from our midst, rather he lives idolized as a model, preceptor and guide. Through his long and patriotic service he has endeared himself to each and every one of us. In return we have reared in our heart of hearts a shrine of affection and devotion for him.

Three years after his death the world has finally come to regard Manuel L. Quezon in the perspective of time and history as the eloquent and deathless symbol of our struggle for freedom. He is the foremost political genius the Philippines has produced. Because of his genius we are, in a large sense the children of that eminent son of Baler. We are his heirs and beneficiaries, political as well as ideological. From him we have inherited in a great measure the independence, whose blessings we, the Filipino people, now enjoy.

A man of vision, inspired and animated during his whole fruitful life by the best and highest interest of his country, he labored in his lifetime by example and high concept of duty and ideals to train the youth who will assume after him the responsibilities of the patriotic leadership. So, largely through these endeavours coupled with the sterling qualities and capabilities of the man himself, we have today as the head of our State, His Excellency, President Manuel Roxas, who has graciously honoured us with his presence here.

President Quezon has grown in stature with the flight of time. That, to my mind, is the real test of greatness. Today, in the estimation of the public, he is a far greater man

than when he died three years ago thousand of miles from the land he loved, in the presence of his family and in the arms of immortality. Even those who criticized and attacked him became his ardent admirers. They found in him a brave and noble opponent, a forgiving foe. On the other hand, we who honoured and respected him in life love and admire him without the dross of passion death. We have carved for him in grateful memory a niche which will stand so long as our people last. For their part the great mass of the people whom he served know that regardless of occasional ungenerous depreciations, he always placed their interest and those of his country over and above everything else.

“The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones,” a great poet once said. But the good that Quezon did for his people survives. Quezon’s handiwork lives today as the shining monument of his life.

In his posthumous book, *The Good Fight*, in which the fighting Quezon that we knew lives again, he says: “I have heard or read that in politics one cannot be too frank without being sooner or later politically ruined. I have never been defeated in any of the innumerable battles I have gone through. People, I think, are more indulgent with the weaknesses and mistakes of public men if they avow them candidly. It may sound presumptuous, but it is a fact, nevertheless, that few men in public life have held the confidence of their constituents as continuously and as long as I have. Since 1905 I have been holding elective public office, without interruption and always in the ascendant, although my opponents have accused me of every crime of commission and omission.”

But who remembers now or who cares to remember those crimes of omission and commission with which his rivals in politics had generously charged him? All that we remember is that he loved his people, that unceasingly he toiled for them even when a consuming illness had laid him prostrate, too weak to move but never weak to fight, and that he died championing their cause and the cause of freedom for all. His undivided affection for and unflinching devotion to his people is such that at one time when we thought he was going to die, he penned with his conscience as his witness what he then believed would be his last will and last message to his countrymen.

“I have served you, land that I love,” he wrote moments before undergoing the ordeal of a serious operation in the same exalted mood as when Rizal penned his last message to the Filipino people on the eve of his tragic death, “I have loved and served you to the full extent of my capacity . . . I will never forget till the last beat of my heart your kindness to me. I regret that I cannot be with you in the fortunate hour when you will be wholly free. But you are almost there and only a short way to go.”

Then remembering the words of wisdom he had learned and practised and wishing to transmit them he wrote:

“So that the lives that were given up for you be not brought to naught and so that you as well as your sons may profit from that you will soon receive, my last words to you are: ‘Value your honor, freedom and independence and fight for them to the last.’

‘Always remember that you are one nation and your unity is the source of your strength, peace and happiness.’

‘Do not pay heed to evil counsel, couched in beautiful words by those who wish for nothing but self-aggrandizement . . . Be at peace with every nation, but from anyone except America ask nothing.’

Lastly, thinking of the motherland that gave us Christianity and culture, he penned:

“Be mindful of our indebtedness to Spain. The Spaniards have affection for us.”

His love for his country, passionate and consuming as Rizal’s was, did not blind him to the defects or shortcomings of his people. Too well he knew them and like his predecessor, the Martyr of Bagumbayan, he exposed them in order to correct them.

As he thought of his country so he thought of his family. This he showed in the letter he addressed to his “sweetheart,” Mrs. Quezon. “I regret that I have not dedicated my life to give me strength to continue my services to our Motherland.” What a touching tribute! Only a loving and thoughtful husband deeply attached to his wife and family could have said that.

“Forgive me for all my faults,” he pleaded. “My love for you has never changed. My heart and life are for you alone. No wife could have equalled you in kindness and in everything. All the happiness I received came from you. Now at this hour believe what is ay because it comes from the deepest part of my soul.

“Pray for me,” he concluded, “and, our children pray for me. I am kissing you, embracing you, and praying to God for all of us. If this be the end, then I will be waiting for you in the peace of heaven, and I will never forget to watch over you and through the Almighty to deliver you from evil.”

His deep love for his country made the Filipino youth his chief preoccupation during his lifetime. “We, the Filipinos of today,” he once reminded the faculty members and

student bodies of the different institutions of learning in Manila, “we . . . are soft and easy going,” “Worse,” he said, “our tendency is toward parasitism. We are disinclined to sustain strenuous efforts. We lack earnestness. Our sense of righteousness is often dulled by the desire for personal gain. Our norm of conduct is generally prompted by expediency rather than by principle.

We show a falling in that superb courage which impels action because it is right, even at the cost of self-sacrifice. Our greatest fear is not to do wrong, but to be caught doing wrong. The patriotism of many of us is skin deep, incapable of inspiring heroic deeds.”

Again, like Rizal, he had a noble purpose for saying that. “We are engaged,” he explained, “in the epic task of building our nation, to live and flourish, not for a day, but for all time. This undertaking – the regeneration of the Filipino – is my most cherished ambition and I want to see it realized. It is the greatest prize that I can crave for my life. I call upon all the teachers, the ministers of every faith, the political and social leaders, and particularly upon . . . the young men and women to be at the vanguard of the crusade.”

Only a man of character, a man of courage, passionately in love with his people, could have issued that ringing challenge and challenging call. Rizal had done it before him.

These momentous thoughts so pregnant with meaning convey moral lessons that are worth preserving for us and posterity. We should observe them from day to day for our greater honor and glory. They should serve not only as an individual but also as a national mirror for us.

Burgos instilled in the soul of his people dignity and racial equality; Rizal gave concrete form to their ideals and aspirations and sanctified them with his blood in Bagumbayan; Quezon with master’s hand drew the blueprint of our national existence and gave it name before its birth; our heroic dead of the past and present generations added lustre and veneration to that name even beyond the confines of our native land. With such an inspiring yesterday, Roxas, chosen by Providence to erect the national edifice, is today directing like a zealous architect its construction from that noble pattern.

Together and with him we all are now engaged in the construction of that edifice. It is therefore proper and fitting that on a day of re-consecration and rededication such as this we consult the blueprint once in a while, especially when occasionally we detect distortions here or apparent departures there which we feel are not in conformity with the original design. It is for us, the builders, to correct such errors of construction as we proceed with our work. Self-criticism, after all, is the noblest expression of patriotic endeavour.

What is most important is that the ideal, the soul, as it were, and the pattern, that we have adopted for the construction of the new edifice should be so harmonized and our efforts so concentrated that the work assigned to us be loyally accomplished in our time. Not only should we consult the blueprint to see that our work is in accordance with it, but that those of us who do the work should not be weakened or stultified in our efforts by mutual jealousies, mutual distrust, and, what is worse, mutual destruction.

It is necessary to impress upon the minds of this and succeeding generations the teachings of President Quezon's life, lesson which will grow in weight and importance with the passage of years.

If there is anything that I can claim as a result of my close association with him it is that I understood him—may I venture to say? – better than the rest of his followers and friends. I met him when he was at the height of his popularity. I did not have the privilege of knowing him in the formative stage of his life, but, I am sure, I had the privilege of having a deeper insight into his character than most of his friends, and that was because I was with him through thick and thin, not only in happiness, power, and prosperity, but also in adversity. The words of wisdom that he had uttered, his lofty ideals, and his high concept of duty and responsibility towards his people and his country should be adopted as a pattern for us all to uphold and to observe. ●

CORREGIDOR: SHRINE AND SYMBOL

We have come to this hallowed spot to witness a simple but solemn act. We exerted special efforts to reach this place, outwardly barren and uninteresting, and evocative of sad thoughts of suffering and sacrifice. If only to bring back to my mine memories of a bloody odyssey in which I was at once an actor and a victim, I would not, for all the world, have attempted to set my eyes on such ruin and devastation that surround us. But the occasion means a great deal more than the mere transfer of property or the mere change of sovereignty over an invaluable portion of the Philippines Archipelago. It demands of us the living our full measure of devotion to the cause for which those whose bones now form part of the dust on this Rock, made for us the supreme sacrifice.

Corregidor during the Spanish time was a penitentiary for those who committed high crimes. It was not only for their correction but also for their extinction. During the period of American occupation, Corregidor symbolized the strength and power and the invulnerability of American sovereignty in these islands. It was depository as well of the valued treasures of both the American and Filipino governments. In the recent world war Filipino and American armed forces joined hands and mingled their blood in the recesses and ravines of this island in defense of honor, liberty and our democratic way of life.

Today, as I accept on behalf of the Filipino people the delivery of this island fortress to the Republic of the Philippines, this signal, noble and stirring act acquires a new meaning. Historians will record this event as one of the brightest and most touching pages in the history of Philippine-American relations. America is parting with this small island by turning it over to the Philippines, but Americans and Filipinos are not parting, God forbid, on this historic Rock. No, here they are united forever in the silent embrace of death and in the memory of the living, and this island shall always remain as the Rock in which we formed at the crossroads of destiny and in a compact of spirits indissoluble ties of association and friendship.

“Corregidor needs no comment from me. It has sounded its own story at the mouth of its guns. It has scrolled its own epitaph on enemy tablets. But through the bloody haze of its last reverberating shot I shall always seem to see a vision of grim, gaunt, ghostly man, still unafraid.”

So said General MacArthur the day Corregidor fell and returned to American control. I have a different and more inspiring vision of Corregidor and its influence upon the soul of hundreds of thousands of Filipinos, men, women and children, who day in and day out and all night, when everything was dark in the City of Manila during the month of April and the first week of May, 1942, could see the exchange of fires between the Japanese in Bataan and the USAFFE in Corregidor. We felt a strange emotion then as the American guns roared from Corregidor towards the enemy at Bataan. To us, Corregidor was firm and unconquerable. So was our feeling, those of us who were subjected in the city and elsewhere to all kinds of tortures, humiliations and atrocities. Corregidor stood before us as the real bulwark of the undaunted spirit of freedom. In the morning it was a rock of hope; at noon, a bastion of courage and valor; and at night, the beaconlight of liberty. But all the time it was the depository of our noble feeling of loyalty and the love and devotion of two peoples who were generously shedding their blood in defense of their common, cherished ideals.

I have never seen the Filipino flag raised on this island—until now. The American Stars and Stripes was hauled down in 1942 and in its place the Rising mockingly fluttered over this embattled rock. Three years later the Old Glory was raised again in victory. The flags, both of America and of Japan, have been hauled down and hoisted in turn as a result of military force. Today, as the Filipino flag is raised without bitterness or hatred and only with the beatings of throbbing hearts among two peoples who have proudly pledged to keep it there never to be hauled down by an enemy, the Filipino people attach an added meaning to this most impressive occasion. In accepting the delivery of this historic island, we do not only write the closing and intensely fascinating chapter of our epic struggle for freedom, but also the first chapter of a new history, the history of a beautiful and touching relationship of two brave and noble peoples—Americans and Filipinos; Americans because they have nobly redeemed their word, and Filipinos because they have known as nobly written their loyalty and devotion in blood. To commemorate the days when both fought side by side and unafraid gave up their lives to a common cause, and to consecrate the ideals of liberty and democracy which they have sanctified with their blood, Corregidor will henceforth be the sanctuary of valor and heroism, of freedom and democracy, of nobility and loyalty. From year to year Americans and Filipinos alike will come in pilgrimage to pay homage in this common shrine, a shrine to the memory of those who shed their youthful blood that the finest flower of love and friendship between Americans and Filipinos – distinct in race and yet the same in ideals – may grow not only to the consolation of kins who have been

orphaned by their last sacrifice but also to the satisfaction, pride, and happiness of our posterity. America shall live here to the end of time. So shall she live in the hearts of the Filipino people. ●

CAPAS: SAGA OF HEROISM

We meet today as we will meet from year to year on this same spot to honor our heroic dead and perpetuate their memory. We have come here not merely to eulogize their valiant deeds but to affirm, also in deeds, our faith in the cause for which they died. It is our solemn duty to show by our acts that they did not die for us, the living, in vain. The subtleness or sincerity of praise cannot add new glories to their names. What they accomplished now belongs to eternity. Only the eloquence of action and the imperishable work of nation-building will satisfy their victimized souls. For what we must give concrete form to the ideals and principles for which they gave their all. Let every anniversary of their holocaust, therefore, be an occasion for the periodic revision in retrospect of our accomplishments in furtherance of the liberty and freedom and of the fame they won for us as a people in the ravines and trenches of Bataan and Corregidor. We can do them honor only by making this country, which they loved so much, grow and develop and endure as a sovereign nation. That is the ultimate meaning of their legacy to us; that is the message that, were they able, they would send to us from beyond their silent graves.

“Greater love hath no man than this that he lay down his life for his friend.” So the Bible tells us. But the men, who died or perished here, did not merely lay down their lives. They fought not only for their friends, but what is better and more important, for their motherland. They were patriots, heroes, and martyrs, in their own fashion. With sweat, tears, and blood, they wrote in the heart of their people the epic of their struggle, an epic that the civilized and freedom-loving world first read with admiration and then with joy and amazement. That was their glory; it is no less ours.

They suffered beyond measure. I say these sons and brothers of ours as they entered San Fernando, Pampanga, in their “Death March” to hallowed grounds, gaunt, famished, bedraggled. I saw them and watched them enter the gates of a hell in this once evil

compound. With horrified eyes and a bleeding heart I witnessed how they were bayoneted and kicked and thrown to the ditches while marching and left on the wayside at the mercy of fearful but kindly folks and even of hungry dogs. Upon reaching this, their Calvary, I saw many more instantly struck, bayoneted and killed when their sadist guards deemed it futile to lead them to their death shacks because their extreme exhaustion. I remember, when I returned a week later to see a brother-in-law who was amongst them, that as I stood for 15 minutes at the entrance of the office of the High Command waiting for an opportunity to plead for a personal interview with my brother-in-law, 15 men, brown and white, with nothing left but skin and bones, were paraded before my tearful eyes carried on the shoulders of stronger comrades. Covered with nothing but mango leaves, they were silently taken from their respective barracks to be buried uncoffined in the vicinity of this our meeting place. Perhaps some of them were not even dead.

Yes, they died, the great majority of them in the prime of youth, victims of disease of neglect and sadism of the enemy, of inhumanity. Row on row they now lie, brothers in death as they were comrades in life and in arms. The humble crosses that mark their graves mutely adjure us to measure up to the deeper meaning of their deaths. They knew deceit, cruelty and disaster. But they all died secure in the thought and happy in the conviction that the cause for which they bled shall never disappear from the face of the earth, and that their living countrymen shall henceforth never be slaves. Like good soldiers, they knew that the “paths of glory lead but to the grave.” Still to a man, they were more than willing, they were glad to pay the price. Certainly, their supreme sacrifice shall be as brightly emblazoned on the pages of history as they are now inscribed on the tablets of memory.

“The evil that men do lives after them; the good is often interred with their bones.” Not so with our heroes who are dust before us. The good that they did shall be handed down from generation to generation and shall never be the theme of our bards and singers.

While this place marked the end of their calvary, it stands today as their imperishable monument, a monument which far from imploring the passing tribute of a sigh, now excites among us a feeling of elevated pride. For this hallowed earth we will always remember as the spot where Filipino heroism reached its culminating point, where the torch of liberty remained and shall always remain burning as long as we, Filipinos, love liberty and justice.

These brave souls who perhaps now listen to us from above know that when pressed the trigger, mounted artillery, crept through the underbrush, hurled hand-grenades, and dashed toward the enemy, they were passionately and fiercely defending the land of their birth and the cause of freedom. Men from all walks of life, farmer, fisherman, clerk,

doctor, lawyer, engineer, they fought like concerned lions; and if they succumbed it was only because of the numerical superiority of the enemy, because their flesh was not made of steel, and because their mortal bodies could stand so much and no more. Alive, they displayed inspiring and manifold expressions of love of country, of fraternity, and of justice; dead, they only ask us that we treasure, and treasuring, protect the legacy they have left us, a legacy we now enjoy.

Less than two years since the grant of our independence, an independence made richer by their sacrifice, we are still seeking the light by which we may find the true path of greater freedom and expanding security. During that time we have come to realize with dramatic impact that as free men, as the possessors of a priceless heritage, we must safeguard our hard-won peace. We are still fighting as much as did the heroes and patriots who lie here, for this freedoms which that true exponent of democracy and friend of the Filipino people, the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, has succinctly summarized during the war years – freedom of speech and expression, freedom of every person to worship God in its own way, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. We are of one mind in travelling the straight and rocky road of our destiny, but in the sordidness of contemporary life, we sometimes forget these truths that make man free, truths that spell for him peace, justice, and economic security.

Too often we have been prone to ascribe the apparent disorder in our post-war lives to a lack of concern among our leaders. Today many of us like to create the impression that they alone have the exclusive knack, virtue of wisdom of detecting social ills and have the interest to remedy them, of knowing what is right and just, of seeing the way clear out of political chaos which more often than not they themselves have created, and of prescribing the panacea of peace, prosperity and contentment.

In our desire to criticize or hurry to condemn, we forget that to attain these ends – peace, prosperity and contentment – we all must work for them, fight for them, and even risk our lives for them. That we can do only by resolving to integrate our moral resources and our creative impulses. The condition precedent for peace and contentment is creative energy supported by immutable moral laws and a high sense of civic and collective responsibility. We cannot expect to make of this radiant land of ours a shining spot, a pearl of the Orient, if we forsake those creeds, precepts and principles which insure the continuity of our race and our institutions. To transform our war-ravaged Philippines into a flourishing nation, we must work, we must determined, we must be united.

Our strength lies in work and understanding with one another, in our persistent pursuit of honest and fruitful endeavour. We must integrate every branch of our national

life. Statesmanship of the highest order will fail if we refuse to do our part. There is need, an urgent need today, of cooperation and working together with vigor and passion. Our dream of a better life will never be realized unless we pool our strength and resources and hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, push back the frontiers of disunity and misunderstanding. Let us all help to set all the country's brilliant minds working, teach the masses to realize their responsibilities, as we look for those effective measures which will insure the stability of their lives, drive the dark shadow of unemployment in our land, encourage the briskness and activity in trade and industry, inculcate upon the minds of our youth moral principles and civic discipline, and protect our democratic ideals.

We owe it to ourselves, as free men proud of our heritage, to break away from a too-evident, an all-too clear, attempt to lead a life of ease. We must face the problems that confront our national existence with integrity, wisdom and courage and strike a balance between our energies and our needs.

The time has come when we must unite and labor together as we have never done before or we endanger the safety of our country. Without labor, without unity, without vision, we cannot expect to survive as a nation. I appeal to you all to collaborate in the imperative task of material recovery and national solidification. In this time of crucial changes and decisive adjustments, let us all rally, my countrymen, under the flag of fruitful endeavour as much as you and I have rallied under the flag of liberty.

Nations today, like individuals, have human needs that must be satisfied if they want to live in peace. A needy soul is exposed to many dangers. His reasoning faculty is often deceived by the lure and blandishment of comfort. An indolent person seldom understands liberty or appreciates freedom. He often falls, sacrificing both. A forlorn creature is easily seduced by empty promises of betterment. The down-trodden are easily excited to exaggeration. And many there are who are out to exploit these human weaknesses in order to further an unholy cause. Only by the blunt realization of necessity and suffering and the driving force of action for positive endeavour can we expect to convert these elements into assets instead of liabilities of the nation. Henceforth, we should wage another war to save them, and saving, save the country from destruction and ruin. Let us avoid national disintegration through misunderstanding. We need here another freedom – freedom from fratricidal conflict, a conflict which is bound to end in a national suicide. As the tide of social convulsion which is becoming apparent has not as yet reached national proportions, let us stem and direct the tide. Where once we encountered our enemies in the successive battlefields, we should wage another battle to defeat famine and starvation that stalk in neglected or abandoned areas. Instead of guns and cannons, machineguns and hand-grenades and other deadly weapons, we should arm our new soldiers, the noble

brigade of this new epoch, with farm implements and equipment for production. In the ravines and foxholes where the mangled bodies of our unidentified heroes have fallen, let us dig the mines, exploit the natural resources that have been kept untouched for centuries of neglect. Instead of the roar of cannons and the deafening hiss of shells, let us hear the hums of factories and the whistles of boats that ply in our beautiful shores laden with the products, raw or industrialized, that we export. Instead of the moans and groans of fallen soldiers in the mountain fastnesses, let us hear the thud of trees that our new woodsmen fell. Let us turn our mind and soul to this picture of a new era. Let us have, my friends a national moratorium of dissatisfaction, suspicion and hate. Let us have confidence in one another. Let us breathe a new air in a new atmosphere, and acquire a new outlook, a new life. Let us stop the blight in our national spirit and resolve to recover the true spirit and soul of our race – one and indivisible.

The task is not beyond realization and human endurance. We are strong and noble enough to undertake it. To our veterans no sacrifice was too great for our country and no disease so fatal that could not be endured with the will-to-survive. In the turmoil of defeat and disaster, they suffered more than we will ever suffer. Our work today is light measured against the vile durance they endured in Bataan, in Corregidor, in the mountain fastnesses, and in this now sanctified spot – Capas. Let us live and fight for their welfare. And for the widows, orphans and kins of our departed heroes, those who died so that peace, equality and security among us may prevail, let us not falter in our endeavors to give them a fuller life. Thus alone can we show our gratitude to those who have fallen that we may rise. ●

DIPLOMACY OF PEACE

Extemporaneous remarks before the Diplomatic Corps, December 26, 1947

SOME of my critical friends or friendly critics are reported to have accused me more or less openly of being partial to the members of the diplomatic and consular corps in the Philippines. The evidence they have adduced, I understand, is that if I were not partial to you I would not be showing so much fondness for you. The logic is not very convincing, but the charge apparently is not without foundation. I like the members of the diplomatic corps here because I have found them to be courteous, kind, and accommodating.

There are, however, other and more important reasons for that supposed partiality or fondness. Not only are you friendly, but you represent friendly countries which, like the Philippines, are vitally and tremendously interested in the preservation of peace and order, security and good-will, in this war-weary world of ours. We have lived too long and too persistently in an atmosphere of hate, greed, rivalry, and suspicion, a state of mind which inevitably leads to war. Some nations seem to have been most unneighborly. They have used not the inviting and welcoming curtains of friendship but the iron curtains of secrecy and – shall I say? – conspiracy.

It is high time that we, men, especially those upon whom the mantle of leadership has fallen, changed radically our national attitudes and that we ushered in the spirit of love and good-will throughout the world. You, members of the diplomatic corps, have two supreme missions on earth, to the accomplishment of which you should devote all your time and strength. The first is to save the mankind from another war; and the second, to pave the way to an ever-lasting peace, the peace that the herald angels on the nativity of Christ wished humanity to have.

Your presence here this evening is a clear indication that men of different countries, colors, creeds, can live together in peace, freedom, happiness, each performing his duty or assignment as he thinks best. Our state of fraternity or friendship can well serve as an example to those peoples who are not happy or satisfied unless they are engaged in bitter rivalry or hostility or unless their collective will or ideology prevail over that of their neighbors.

As the Republic of the Philippines moves into its second year, it hopes to see the fruition of its harmonious and friendly-relations with the countries you, members of the diplomatic corps, so ably and worthily represent.

In the pursuit of our common ideals, we may have occasions to differ, but steeped in liberty and justice as we are, we can always thresh out our differences on the conference table with patience and understanding, determined as we are to adhere to the concept and principle of One World where there is neither East nor west, black nor white.

It was precisely in the light of this new philosophy of international relations and amity that the treaties and agreements we have concluded with your respective countries have been written to this satisfaction, I hope, of all parties concerned. At least, I have not yet heard any complaint from your side or from ours. Living in an age in which the great masses of the security and prosperity, we have unhesitatingly entered into pacts in the honest belief that they will lead to international stability and world amity. We have done our part; I am sure others will do theirs.

Thus far, as you all know, the Philippines has concluded treaties with the United States, China, France, Italy, and Spain. With the coming year we expect to implement our political and economic relations with other countries until we can truly boast that we are the friend of all nations. Uncomprising believers in democracy and democratic processes and in peaceful collaboration with other peoples, we have always insisted that all men should participate in equal and reciprocal endeavors. Our foreign policy has been shaped by that principle of enlightened political philosophy. Not only has the Philippines renounced the use of force except in the interest of peace and justice, but it has also gone out of its way to champion the causes of other peoples in the firm belief that every country has the right to be free to shape its own destiny.

We believe that freedom engenders responsibility and that this responsibility involves a solemn obligation to humanity. We do not intend to shirk this responsibility, much less disregard the proffer of cooperation other countries are extending to us so generously. However, we draw the line against certain misrepresentations made about the Philippines. Charges have been launched abroad that the republic of the Philippines has been violating democratic processes and that it is on the road to perdition and fascism. Nothing, as you all know, can be farther from the truth, and hardly anything can be more malicious and vicious.

I renew my assurances to the diplomatic and consular corps that the Philippines is always ready to cooperate with you and your respective countries in the interest of peace and friendship. As the dawn of the New Year breaks in upon our expectant world, let us ring out of our hearts hatred, suspicion, and misunderstanding. I toast the diplomatic and consular corps in the name of peace, justice, and brotherhood. May you all have a happy and prosperous New Year. ●

RIZAL

Luneta, December 30, 1974

THE greatness or prestige of a nation depends upon the genius, the character and the achievements of its people. Men have made epochs, countries only produced men. Every epoch has its man of his epoch not only in his own country but outside the Philippines as well. Of the great leaders of mankind, whose writings, teachings and examples survived them for ages, only a few have enjoyed the unanimous admiration and esteem of their own people. Among this few is Jose Rizal.

To this day, and certainly to a greater extent, Rizal enjoys the love, the esteem and the veneration of the Filipino generation since his tragic death has acclaimed him the greatest man that his race has produced. Thus, year in and year out, on this day throughout the Philippines, every Filipino opens the portals of his heart to consecrate in his memory the teachings of this Christ-like martyr who devoted his whole life to the sacred cause of his people struggling for light and liberty from the bondage of darkness and oppression.

Early in the morning of a day like this 51 years ago, when he was only 35 years old, Jose Rizal was executed on that hallowed spot near where his monument now looks down upon us. In the circumscribed and bigoted concept of the authorities of his time, he was shot for teaching revolutionary ideas and his death was accordingly stigmatized with treason. And yet today as we scan every page of his life from his youthful years, we find no hour that was not solely devoted to the future and well-being of his country and people. A life full of activity and vigor, every minute of it was spent for self-enlightenment and improvement. Though his life was cut short, he covered almost every field of humanitarian and intellectual endeavor and in each field left the mark of a sparkling genius unmatched in any clime even to this day. That record more than anything else made patent largely the Filipino capacity for progress and improvement, for liberty and for self-determination.

We do well to hold on this place the annual observance of the anniversary of his death. It was here that he had his rendezvous with death and destiny, and he met them not with fear or trepidation but with a heart almost brimful of elation, because he was conscious of having fulfilled the greatest mission to his people. He died without seeing the fruits of his dream, but he knew that he had set a noble example for his people to follow. The Philippine

Revolution which broke loose soon after his death came as a result of his execution. Only later did his people really come to understand and learn the value and meaning of his time considered subversive and revolutionary. Withal, even to this day I profess a doubt whether we as a people have fully understood Rizal's ennobling lessons.

Born a genius, Rizal manifested his passion in a surprising variety of forms— in arts and in literature, in music and in sculpture, in logic and in philosophy, in science and in religion, in languages, in thoughts and in action, in teachings and in examples, in life and in death. No man in any land could give or has given such a living, pulsating influence destined to dominate all the phases of the life and soul of his people in so distinct and decisive a manner. Rizal's monument stands in every public square, his name appears in practically every main street, his bust adorns the front of every school, his portrait graces every hall, office or gallery, Rizal in countless names of barrios, municipalities, cities and provinces, Rizal in text-books, Rizal in great speeches and famous poems, Rizal in the elevated thoughts and writings of his countrymen, Rizal in the heart and soul of every liberty-loving people, Rizal in the supreme moments of civic and patriotic ecstasy, Rizal pervasive in the entire atmosphere of the land he redeemed.

What is the meaning of all these ever-present tributes of affection and veneration? Ah, Rizal will never die so long as the land of his birth does not appear and the people he loved and for whom he died do not perish on this earth. I dare say he lives so in our lives because there is so much to learn from him and to draw out from the example of his genius and his life. He left a legacy with the ages and made his mark upon the scroll of time.

Today we are again gathered to do him homage, on this very spot where two years ago, with rejoicing and solemnity, the whole world witnessed the realization of his dream of seeing his beloved Philippines free and independent. The contrast that is before us between the scene of his death and this picture of a happy nation united in homage to its hero, would have gladdened, indeed, any patriot's heart. The atmosphere is absolutely and strangely different from which saddened and depressed the spirit of his people in his own time as when he shed his blood for their redemption. The Philippines then was in the grip of the most humiliating despotism. She had no strength, no power, no voice. She was as clay in the hands of the potter, and the potter was none too kind to the clay in his hands that was a distressing environment in which our people lived, an environment that could engender only hatred and hostility. Verily the whole atmosphere then reeked with iniquity, oppression and intolerance, religious, social and political. Sensitive as Rizal was, he could not be embittered. He hated injustice; he was against tyranny of any kind. He detested hypocrisy—hypocrisy in society, hypocrisy in religion, hypocrisy in public administration. No wonder his language was incisive and inciting. In one of his novels where he held up the

mirror for Spain and the Philippines, he observed: "Resignation is not always a virtue; it is a crime when it encourages tyranny."

Today, it is all different. The atmosphere has changed, and changed radically. So has the whole panorama. Where there was hostility there is now friendship, where there was hatred there is now love and sympathy, and where there was suspicion there is now understanding. Above all there is freedom. The Sun and Stars wave proudly alone and stand guard over Rizal's monument yonder— yes, waving alone and unchallenged over the very spot where once the garrote cast its dreadful shadow.

As a tribute to Rizal's prophetic vision, I wish to recall on this occasion one of his essays entitled *A Century Hence*, in which he foresaw the coming of the United States to the Philippines. That predicted event took place barely two years after his death, but long after he made the prophecy. At that time America was just beginning to make strides in the world's progress and civilization, "engaged in commerce with nations who feel power and forget right, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the reach of the mortal eye." Rizal could clearly visualize the coming of America. But did it have his blessing? Who knows? Subsequent events, however, proved that American occupation of the Philippines was the highest blessing that ever befell the Filipinos similar in a way to the advent of Spain. He did not know that America would give us our independence and more than independence her laws and philosophy of democracy on which to build our own charter of freedom.

But what never occurred to Rizal, perhaps, with all his gift of intuition was that some day, in less than half a century from the time he wrote his prophetic essay, the Filipino people would be the victims of a terrible war, that his country would be invaded and ravaged by a ruthless enemy, and that at the end we would emerge with pride and glory fully vindicated in our aspiration for freedom and independence, with a new character, new life, new soul, new name, finally accepted as a sovereign nation with all the good will of a sympathetic world. What Rizal thus left out in his prophecy it was the task of the great Republic of the United States to fill in and to fulfill.

Time, world events and vicissitudes have thus shown that the people he tried to teach and lead and in whom he had reposed so much trust and confidence, especially the youth of his land, have not failed him. Perhaps they have even exceeded his fondest expectations and wildest dreams. In the short intervening period of five decades, the Philippines has undergone violent changes and readjustments, passing through revolutions and wars, but pressing firmly forward nevertheless, from short-lived prosperity to prostration, thence to humiliation, and from humiliation to respect, honor, dignity, and sovereignty. Much of that achievement, my countrymen, we certainly owe to Rizal's lofty ideals and continued

inspiration and silent promptings from his grave.

Rizal may have never foreseen the great suffering that his people would undergo, the sacrifices they would make, and the supreme ordeal to which they would be subjected in attaining the ideals he helped to disseminate and create, but the admirable stamina which the Filipinos exhibited in the face of all these difficulties shows how well his writings have taught them how to emulate his equanimity, his fortitude, his life, his example.

Today, we are faced with vast, tremendous, multifarious problems, internal and external, never dreamt of in Rizal's time. The universe now looks far more complex and complicated due largely to new discoveries and inventions and to entirely new ideologies, and to the attendant problems, internal and external, never dreamt of in Rizal's time. The universe now looks far more complex and complicated due largely to new discoveries and inventions and to entirely new ideologies, and to the attendant problems, at once amazing and terrifying. But the Philippines can justly feel proud that in a world such as this, and in spite of seemingly insuperable obstacles and difficulties, she has been able to rise with her head high, self-confident, when hardly two years ago she faced a bleak future. Certainly, we must summon all the strength, all the energy, all the accumulated intellect and all the physical and moral heritage of our race to regain the ground that is recently lost, and set the clock of progress moving forward to a more glorious destiny. I am confident that, drawing still deeper from Rizal's ideals and inspiration, and implementing them with our greatest and noblest endeavors, and with hard work, we will succeed anew and rise higher to meet the goal that he has set for us all. ●

PHILIPPINE RED CROSS

February 14, 1948.

SINCE the coming Christ with His sublime message of love and good-will, humanity has not known a happier or a more memorable event than the foundation of the Red Cross in Switzerland over eight decades ago. It came into this world without fanfare, without noise, without publicity, but surely with the blessing of high Heaven. In fact, the man who first conceived the idea of establishing the Red Cross seemed to have been inspired by God. His moving appeal to his country and later to other civilized nations embodies the noblest and finest feeling of humanity and expresses in concrete form the teachings of the Man from Galilee.

Like Christianity, the Red Cross had a modest beginning. And like Christianity, it has spread although at a much quicker pace, to all the corners of the earth with its healing and humanizing mission, its mission of mercy and faith and charity. It has lightened the sorrows and griefs of the sick, the wounded, and the afflicted; it has shed rays of joy on their paths; it has strengthened their failing courage; it has instilled hope in their moment of despair.

No wonder, the Red Cross, with its splendid record of achievements, counts today with the solid support of nearly seventy societies, each society, representing a country, and all devoting their time and energy unselfishly to the alleviation of human pain and to relief in times of distress and national emergency. Although not a person, but an association actuated by the spirit of brotherhood, the Red Cross has been regarded as an individual and in 1945 was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Shortly, after 1918, the Red Cross exerted herculean efforts to perfect the conventions designed to combat the ills and causes that had precipitated a global conflagration. Failing to save mankind because mankind seems unwilling to be saved, it has nevertheless expanded its sphere of action so that today it literally girds the whole world.

It has become not only an organization of mercy in time of war but also of relief in time of peace. Its pleading voice was drowned in the clash of vast and conflicting forces that finally engulfed the world in blood for the second time, but it has not failed the world to accomplish its primary function, its essential duty, to serve suffering humanity.

One year ago, the red cross in the Philippines acceded to the international Red Cross organization and became an independent society in the midst of stirring ceremonies within the Malacañang compound. It is a significant fact as well as a distinct tribute that the loving and self-effacing wife of the man who worked and struggled so hard and so long for the freedom and independence of his country was chosen leader of that organization – Doña Aurora quezon. In barely a year of its separate and independent existence under her able, untiring, and unfailing leadership, our Red Cross has given ample and convincing proof of its vitality and its ability to carry on with energy, promptitude and efficiency.

True, it has been handicapped by lack of facilities and the remoteness of the territories it has to cover. Nevertheless, it has been able to succor most if not all those in need of aid and answer the urgent cries of distress. It has sent its members under the most trying and perilous circumstances to such places as the Cagayan Valley, bringing with them food and medicine for the victims of the wrath and fury of Nature ; to the Visayan islands to set up emergency stations in areas heavily devastated by ill-behaved lady typhoons ; to the slums of cities whose inhabitants have been visited and ruined by fires ; to iloilo where the recent earthquakes have exacted a toll of human lives and great loss of property. No place has been too distant, no danger too great, no calamity or disaster too appalling, no epidemic too destructive, to deter for one moment the courageous members of the Red Cross from performing their humanitarian mission.

Those of us who have been fortunate to escape from the clutches of wrenching disasters caused by the elements or brought in the wake of war will not forget, nor can we fail to realize, the active humanity and unselfish devotion to duty which the Red Cross members have shown in the past years. They have been like ministering angels. They have faced danger defied death with an equanimity that would have done honor to the bravest men. We who have heard the sobbing or moaning of bereaved or anguished women and seen the look of fright in the eyes of children, the deep lines of worry and anxiety on the faces of persons who have fled terror-stricken from their burning homes, have always looked up to the Red Cross for help, for consolation, for encouragement.

It is the philippine Red Cross that has continuously and steadily aided our victims of war, the veterans, the widows, and the orphans. In addition, it has continued its undertaking of extending training on first aid, life saving, and accident prevention. It has instructed the

people in the care of the sick, carried out a program among the youth to supplement the objectives of our educational system, and assisted our service-men in the hospitals.

Working in conjunction with the government, the Philippine Red Cross has labored indefatigably for the improvement of the health, safety, and welfare of the people. I have nothing but praise and admiration for this humanitarian organization. I avail myself of this opportunity to extend my heartiest organization. I avail myself of this opportunity to extend my heartiest congratulations to its chairman and its staff members who have unstintedly given their best so that the sublime ideals of the Red Cross may become a throbbing reality.

Today for the first time in its history as an independent organization, the Philippine Red Cross launches its nationwide appeals for funds, funds which it needs to carry on in the self-same spirit of service and devotion. I have no doubt that the people it has served so faithfully and well, in rain or shine, in peace or in war, will respond to its appeal promptly and generously.

Friends who are listening to me, rich and poor are alike, let us make our Red Cross a truly great and independent organization, giving it all that each can so that it may proceed unhampered with its wonderful humanitarian work. It is the voice of humanity, which we cannot ignore and to which we cannot lend a deaf ear. It means the relief, the consolation, an the encouragement of our distressed people, which we cannot deny. Let us all heed the call and give, and give ! Giving should make us happy, and suffering humanity happier, indeed. ●

OUR SPIRITUAL REBIRTH

1 Delivered before the Catholic Women's League, February 28, 1948.

I AM deeply grateful for your thoughtfulness in inviting me to address you on the occasion of your 16th annual convention. I like to believe that you have remembered me not because of the office which I hold by the mandate of our people but because, as a Catholic citizen in the public service, I have constantly endeavored to uphold and honor the ideals of the Catholic Women's League of charity, work, loyalty and honesty.

Woman, wrote a poet, is a ministering angel on earth. Although other bards no less inspired than he by the same marvel of creation have thought differently, depending upon their prevailing moods, the great majority of our women have been, if not ministering angels, at least angels of light and sweetness both to the ailing and the destitute. Rizal compared to tenderness of a Filipino woman to the caressing softness of the breeze. Both the stability and tranquility of our homes and the strength and permanence of our social fabric, we owe to such women and their kind. Realistically, I will go farther and say that to them we owe our happiness and— why not admit? — unhappiness.

It has been said that in all ages past woman has been the source of everything that is pure, noble, and heroic in the spirit and life of man. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, still recognized as the grandest epics conceived by the fertile imagination of man, were each inspired by a woman, the first by her divine beauty and the second by her unfailing faith and touching devotion. It is not an exaggeration to say that from women come “all the purity, all the hope, and all the courage” with which men fight the battle of life. It is the women who inspire men to perform the seemingly impossible and accomplish the greatest

feats whether on the field of battle or in the realm of science, art or invention. In truth and in deed, it is they who really make the world move forward.

More than a year ago, I had occasion to call attention to the imperative need of fortifying our moral fibre. There was an apparent moral laxity which society could not ignore. With it there was a challenge which neither the state nor religion nor the home could disregard. It was largely the aftermath of war, but I felt that with the healthy influence of the church, the school, and the home, its effect could be arrested, if not individual, the work of the Catholic Women's League in opposing the pressures that menace our society, assumes paramount importance.

The Catholic Women's League is now engaged in reorganizing its units scattered all over the Philippines with a view to reviving its night classes and conferences for moral rehabilitation. Handicapped by the absence of a building and the loss of its records and equipment, it is valiantly struggling to put its house in order. I understand it is planning to re-establish a home for girls who have wittingly or unwittingly forsaken the good life, maintain a social hall for students, and reopen night schools, kindergarten classes, and a nursery.

As one immensely interested in the moral uplift of the young generation, I have nothing but praise for the Catholic Women's League, its past achievements, and its desire to help the government in teaching the young people the ways of the Good Life. The future of our country rests upon the moral strength of our sons and daughters. More important than the technical preparation we are giving them, more important than the ability to solve our social and economic problems, is the development of moral stamina among our people. Some of us seriously but mistakenly believe that progress and success can be measured only by the lust and unscrupulousness with which we acquire wealth. We forgot that the family as the primordial unit of the society should rest on stable foundations. Too long have we witnessed the debasing and often the destruction of human values. The tenets and teachings of Christ must be revived and revitalized or society will perish. The rock of ages should still be our rock of strength. Our nation has suffered cruelly from the effects of war. While the conclusive opportunities.....

IN THE PRESIDENCY **1948**

ROXAS : FATHER OF THE REPUBLIC

1 Delivered at the House of Representatives, April 25, 1948.

Yesterday the panorama of our history as a people revealed only two peaks, massive and tall, whose crowns pierce the skies. On them the figure of Jose Rizal, rears up, solemn and majestic, symbolizing the father and founder of Filipino nationalism. The other, the likeness of Manuel L. Quezon, rises to gridly heights, bold and austers, as befits the memory of the Father of his Country. Today, a third one, by light emblazoned and as solid as granite, takes its proper place beside these two peaks as we enshrine the memory of Manuel Roxas and pay our last homage to his mortal remains. Fate has destined this great leader to be known henceforth as th Father of the Republic of the Philippines. The first caught my youthful imagination and struck the tenderest cord of my love of country when, at the age of seven, I learned of his execution in Bagumbayan. With the second I was thoroughly acquainted as it was through his promptings and my attachment to him that I first entered public life. The third was a bossom friend with whom I grew up. Reared in the same atmosphere, I was not only fond of him, but as an admirer I watched with unceasing wonder his reapid and swift rise to great heights.

In our school days, although belonging to different classes, we often found ourselves together, many a time side by side and occasionally face to face, thrown together in our school activities whether in debates, declamations, or oratorical contests, or in fraternities and other extra-curricular organizations, always we found ourselves moving forward. How touching it is to recall those days on this occasion !

In our earlier manhood, we entered the public service again at the same time. He began in the executive branch as a provincial governor and I in the legislative branch as a representative. While he ws Speaker, I was senator. Together we joined the campaign for independence here and abroad. We met in the Constitutional Convention ; we held the same porfolio one after the other in the Cabinet. We found ourselves together again in the Senate, he as President and I as President Pro-Tempore, and lately, we were in the executive branch of this Republic, he, as President, and I, as Vice-President. We faced the same crisis and problems. Although perhaps I suffered more, we went through the same vissitudes in the darkest hour of our history.

We read the same books, we saw the same lights, pursued the same objectives, and came upon the same oasis in our desert of years. I derive great pride in recalling my close association with our departed leader principally because, as time passed, my admiration grew deeper, and I learned many of his qualities as a leader in school, in provincial government, in the legislature and in the high councils of our government. All these gave me the opportunity to appreciate fully the merit of his far-visioned statesmanship that lead him onward along the path I am now to follow by constitutional mandate.

Manuel Roxas was truly a great man. He has left us to join the caravan of the immortals. He has become a part of eternity. In our hearts, as in our nation, he has left a painful void which no one will ever fill. As we perform the last rites over his mortal remains and bid him our last farewell, we pause to make appraisal of his accomplishments as the leader of the nation.

To his cares as chief magistrate he gave of himself without stint and without limit. In health and in illness, he labored and toiled that our people may be prosperous and happy, that our future may be tranquil and secure, that our nation may be enlightened and great. For rewards he did not care. Selfish consideration he spurned. Even a well-earned rest he would not take. His constant obsession and passion was to serve his people. He bartered his whole life for the people service and nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to give his all for the country.

When barely two years ago he took his oath of office as President of the Republic, the cries of women in distress, the groans of men dragged from their homes by bandits and kidnappers, almost drowned his ringing and reassuring voice. Today the voice of fear has receded to the distant jungles and remote mountain fastnesses. Where once ruin and ruble assailed the eye and the atmosphere of insecurity and despair prevailed, homes have been built and reconstructed, confidence has been restored, and a glow of hope now brightens the faces of a reawakened and optimistic people. In the countrysides, farms are being tilled to

yield wherewithal of our people, and in the centers of population commercial and industrial activities have reached a tempo indicative of an increasing property. When almost all the rest of the world, also trying to recover from shock and war destruction, was still bleak and gloomy, he made this country a bright and happy spot.

The bare facts speaks for themselves. Two years ago the public coffers were empty ; today we face the bright prospect not only of a balanced budget but of having a probable surplus. Two years ago it took four and a half times more money than pre-war to live ; today the value of money has increased to twice its purchasing power. Production of the basic crop has doubled and in some cases quadrupled. In spite of the decrease in the cost of living wages have increased by twenty percent. The new tide of the of prosperity is filling our children, almost doubling the enrollment during the last two years. Our foreign trade has expanded to over two billion pesos, far exceeding the pre-war record.

His solid achievements at home projected the fame of Manuel Roxas abroad, winning for his nation and people the esteem and respect of other nations. His contemporaries the world over singled him out as one of the outstanding statesman of his time. Old and powerful countries, unscathed by the war, saw our nations in ruin rise over him, witnessed its rapid strides, watched the Government grow in strength, and prestige and in praise and admiration finally extended their hands to seek the amity and friendship of this young Republic. So it is the sad and shocking tidings of his passing were quickly followed by a spontaneous and universal outburst of sympathy throughout the civilized world. Wired condolences from presidents and kings, premiers and princes, legislators and commoners, flowed to Malacañan. The United Nations quickly adjourned its session out of respect to his memory.

By his record in office and circumstances of his death, Manuel Roxas was a champion of democracy. He gave his life not only to his country but also to the commonwealth of the world democracies. The fame of his life was extinguished at a glorious but tragic moment in Clark Field Air Base when in a public address which proved to be his last, he gave vent to all the fervor of his patriotism and his abiding love for democracy, voicing at the same time his deep dislike for communism and its rapacious and predatory activities the world over. With that fervid speech, he made a sacrificial offering of his life.

His death symbolizes the unshakable friendship and inseparable destiny of the Philippines and the United States. Reared and educated in the atmosphere of American democracy and American sovereignty, the later now ended in our land, he breathed his last when his country was already independent and free, in a territory which by treaty continues under the American flag. Thus, he died for both the Philippines and America, two countries which in his lifetime he envisioned as forever working and fighting together

for the preservation of their common way of life and the enduring peace of the world. Undoubtedly, his voice shall forever ring where free institutions are worshipped. For his was the supreme sacrifice to world democracy.

History will honor Manuel Roxas for his versatile achievements. It will honor him as a soldier. It will honor him as a statesman. It will honor him as a patriot. It will honor him as the Father of the Republic of the Philippines. Above all else, it will honor him because he had the vision to see clearly the reconstruction of a country cruelly devastated by war and the courage to meet the crisis with firmness and audacity. A hundred years from now Filipinos will thank God on their bended knees that Manuel Roxas was in Malacañan to give clarity to the confused thoughts of his people and leadership to elevate their prostrate country at its most critical time.

His assigned work was nobly begun. We can truly honor him only by continuing it with the same patriotic and disinterested devotion. I, therefore, call upon every Filipino – man, woman and child, of every creed and station in life throughout our beloved land – to join me in a sincere spirit of national unity to construct a massive monument of deeds in the bold pattern of his ideals in loving dedication to his revered memory. It is not an exaggeration situation requires that we make this high resolve, brushing aside petty differences, selfish motives, and personal ambitions, for the sake of national tranquility and security and for the progress and happiness of, our people. My fellow countrymen, as we pray for the eternal repose of our departed illustrious friend, may I also fervently pray in his name and on behalf of posterity that we all heed the call of this hour. ●

LET US ACHIEVE THEIR IDEAL

Delivered at the ceremony for the repatriation of America's World War II dead held at Pier 5 on May 15, 1948.

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ONCE AGAIN we are gathered here today, Filipinos and Americans, Americans and Filipinos, to honor our common heroes. From the warmth of the tropical earth which has claimed them temporarily as its own, we yield the mortal remains of gallant Americans whose dear ones at home long for their return to the land of their birth. Fighting side by side with Filipinos in the mountain fastnesses of Bataan, in the trenches of Corregidor, or on yonder battlefields, these brave soldiers gave a fresh heroic expression to the ideal that once impelled their forebears to find new homes across the Atlantic when, persecuted in all parts of Western Europe, they fled from tyranny to set up a nation dedicated to the principle that all men are created equal, that the government exists with the consent and for the good of the governed, and they are ruled by laws and not by men.

By the deeds of these honored dead who but yesterday crossed the Pacific, the Eastern World and the Philippine soil are today the richer with their blood and sacrifice. They came to sanctify America's sacred mission to make the world safe for democracy. And as their bones return to their homeland, they carry with them the gratitude of a liberated people in whose flesh and blood, in whose hearts and souls, and in whose national life, the undying devotion to freedom and democracy will ever be dominant spirit.

Never in the history of mankind has one people given so much of its own in friendship to another as these gallant men gave to the Filipinos in the name of their fatherland. We may consecrate the spot where they fell. In fact, we have done so. Among the most inspiring spectacles that embellish the panorama of this many-times embattled land

today are the beautiful solemn shrines, on the choice slopes and plains of these scattered islands, erected to the memory of American soldiers who died that this country may be free. We may thus hold each inch of the battlefield where they fought a hallowed ground. But we cannot make them any more sacred or more hallowed by mere acts of reverence or prayer which we do today. The truest tribute we can offer them is to emulate the example of their deeds and live each hour of the day to attain the object of their unselfish sacrifice.

These men will not rest until we achieve the ideal for which they died. The pattern of that ideal is not written in mere abstractions. It inspired Abraham Lincoln to preserve the Union through the terrible ordeal of a civil war. Woodrow Wilson brought that ideal across the seas when he led America in a crusade to keep the world safe for democracy. It was further projected by Franklin D. Roosevelt when, on converting the American leadership among freedom-loving nations. That ideal was realized when in Africa and in Europe, Eisenhower led his forces to victory; when McArthur, wading through the marshes of Leyte, landed his victorious army of liberation to redeem America's pledge to give the Philippines freedom and independence. It is now embodied in the charter of fifty-eight nations at Lake Success and is embedded in the conscience of all mankind. That ideal is universal peace and security—peace in our hearts, peace in our minds, peace in our homes, peace in our country, and peace in the world, and security for all races.

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In the presence of these heroic dead, let us pledge to prosecute the mission they have died to fulfill, to honor and love America, to fight for her cause of justice and equality, of individual liberty, security, and freedom here and everywhere. The Filipinos on their part, I wish to assure my American friends, will always be ready to respond at America's bidding to the last man. ●

THIS REPUBLIC SHALL ENDURE

July 4, 1948

TWO NATIONS celebrate today their anniversary of freedom. With the United States of America, this celebration is one of the many she has observed annually in her long and successful life as a republic. With our Republic, it is only the second in its young but promising life. To the Philippines, Fourth of July means both freedom to the Filipinos and gratitude to the America. To America, aside from being also the historic day of her freedom, it is now properly a continuous source of justifiable pride for the liberty she made possible for us to enjoy. To both countries it should likewise signify from now on the periodic reaffirmation of faith, friendship, and confidence in one another, based on their solemn covenants and mutual commitments.

To be sure, the Filipino people celebrate this memorable day with perhaps greater rejoicing. I shall tell you why. The recentness of our birth as a republic makes our part in this observance like that of proud parents, watching fondly their child grow up. You – I – every Filipino, dead or alive, are the proud parents. Dig deep into the past or scour the present and you will find that our libertarian achievements have no parallel in the history of the world. Every man, woman and child in this vast congregation, especially those who suffered in the recent war, know how we won our independence. Our emergence as a nation has been a most painful process. We can truthfully say that this Republic is the child of storm and stress – of fire and famine. Strange as it may seem, although we are only two years old today, we have shown clear signs of amazing strength and vitality, both physical and spiritual, which surely will endure the hardest test.

To us living present, it is of moment to know if we who are responsible for the realization of our dream of freedom and are privileged to enjoy it have accomplished what has been expected of us within the brief span of our independent existence. The question is not so much how we have loyally kept our boon of liberty as we have used it and insured its further enjoyment by succeeding generations. That is what counts.

Liberty is a mere abstraction. It is devoid substance as well as meaning if the people who possess it do not in reality enjoy its blessings. Many countries became free before us. Several others became free after us. However, in the main, they are yet to enjoy the blessings of freedom and independence in the way we now enjoy ours. We are fortunate that while many nations still face revolutions and civil wars, purges and military coups, today we can breathe in common with our fellow-countrymen the air of liberty in an era of peace and good feeling.

Heretofore, we have been enjoying the four freedoms made classic by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt. We have recently acquired two other freedoms as essential as the first four. They are the the freedom from hate and the freedom to work. A rediscovery of the greatest qualities of our race made this acquisition possible. Our character as a people was duly and fully tested of late in the case of the dissident elements. In bringing them to reason in the impetuous moments of a national crisis, the national character outweighed ballots and bullets. It is this humane spirit that dominates all nations of Christian faith, serving as the great reservoir – which, wisely utilized in the most patriotic sense of statemanship, can surely make of our country a unified and solid nation and an exemplary unit in the world organization for peace.

In this new epoch, political independence does not mean merely nondependence upon others. It means co-existence under the most favorable circumstances, among which is the right to live a free, peaceful, and prosperous life. By this concept we now co-exist side by side with the most powerful and prosperous countries in the world. Nations and peoples today are no longer judged merely by the power that they can wield ; neither are they judged only by the might of their standing armies, for none of these can stand alone against the World Federation of States to come. Peoples and nations are now largely judged, and rightly, by their positive contribution to the peace and happiness of the world. Judged by this criterion, we can assert that in the Philippines we are certainly making that contribution. We can justly say that as a people we are an active and positive factor in the promotion of world peace. This common achievement of which all of us – from the highest executive, legislative, or judicial official to the lowest employee, the intellectual, the businessman, the rich and the poor alike – can be proud, we won in the teeth of seemingly insuperable obstacles.

When this country was ushered into the family of nations at this very minute and hour two years ago, there were serious forebodings and misgivings, fears not entirely unfounded, that this country could survive. There were warnings that the obstacles blocking our way were insurmountable, that a crisis would occur sooner or later to interrupt our charted course as an independent nation. Apprehensive but not fearful, we faced these doubts with faith in ourselves and in the future.

As always in the past, Filipino character again proved dauntless and invincible. So today, the prophets of fear and disaster of yesterday may witness for themselves how mistaken they were in their underestimation of our stamina and fortitude – of the ability of every citizen of this country to shoulder whatever burden and discharge whatever responsibility may be placed upon him.

We have moved firmly and steadily onward in strengthening our Republic. In every endeavor of our national life, our creative genius, dint of hard work, and love of peace and progress have been our constant guide. Our finances, our agricultural and industrial enterprises, our trade and commerce, our international relationship, have accordingly been bolstered up in all directions. And we are growing every day in national stature and winning the respect and even the love of other nations due mainly to our innate sense of responsibility to the nation and to the world and our respect for our international commitments and obligations.

The long strides we have taken in our economic rehabilitation are far beyond our expectations when we assumed sovereignty. Independent of proffered outside assistance, we have proceeded on our own steam. By our own efforts the volume of our production has almost reached the pre-war level ; our foreign trade has exceeded the two billion mark ; our government revenues have markedly increased and have even exceeded government expenditures. Although upon the establishment of the new Republic there was fear that we may not be able to balance our budget within five years, we have reached that goal in two years. This is an achievement short of miraculous. Our living costs have been greatly reduced while our living standards continue to improve. The creation of the Central Bank is expected to enhance our economic sovereignty and to encourage the healthy and sturdy growth of our financial institutions in a manner that will effectively protect our national economy, while cautiously guarding against inflation, and insuring at the same time our monetary and currency stability.

The system of effective control we have established over exports and imports seeks to facilitate our economic recovery and balance our payments abroad as well as to regulate

our foreign trade in furtherance of our economic rehabilitation. Our industrialization program is proceeding abreast with the impending harnessing of our hydraulic powers in strategic places ; our mining industry will receive the greatest impetus ; our gold, our coal, our copper, our chromium and other mines will not only be reopened but will be afforded full development.

Our program of social amelioration henceforth will proceed with the greatest speed on a handsome appropriation earmarked for the purpose. We have sought to improve the life of the less fortunate in our national complement ; the laborers, small employees, permanent and temporary, the enlisted men in the army, the schoolteachers. All these have been granted not only increased salaries but also vacation and sick leaves with full pay. The great mass of our public servants who have been denied payment of their back salaries have now been given the right to enjoy what had been previously withheld from them owing to lack of immediately available funds. The construction of homes for our middle class will be encouraged by the government's guaranty of not more than ten thousand pesos of loan for the construction of each home. The opening of public lands for settlement and production and the acquisition of private lands for distribution to tenants, are definite parts of our program of government. Social security measures of even broader scope are in the offing.

The transition which marks off the period of planning from the actual execution of our huge program of development is fast narrowing. Presently we are to set in motion a greater machinery production. We will, of course, continue to plan but, meanwhile, we shall also try to break the ground for expanding productivity and development. Carried forward by the spirit of goodwill that has at last united us, we can with greater confidence move towards newer goals and newer achievements. God illumine our way ; God give us strength ; God continue instilling in our minds faith on Him and in our capacity to make this nation forever strong and enduring.

On this very spot, two years ago, the highest representation of the United States Government, upon proclaiming our independence, asked if the Republic of the Philippines then just born would survive. Our dear friend for whom our prayers shall never cease, the first President of our Republic, Manuel Roxas, promptly answered : "It will live and endure the shock of time." In his memory and with the greatest resolve I can muster, I wish today to repeat to the world : *This Republic lives and shall endure the shock of all time!* ●

HELP MAKE OUR COUNTRY STRONG

Delivered at the University of the Philippines, Oct. 18, 1948.

COMING TO THE University of the Philippines is to me like turning to an ancestral home. As an alumnus of this institution, I feel the kinship to all and every one of the faculty and students. Our family is getting bigger, greater, stronger, and consequently, more powerful every day. There is in this country today no human endeavor in which a member of ours is not found doing creditably his own share in the national upbuilding. Each and every one of us here congregated should be proud that he belongs to this family – a family whom history will single out as having mainly shouldered the heaviest task of guiding the steps of the Republic of the Philippines in its tender years.

But, my friends, I did not come to make vain boasts of our achievement. I came rather to discuss with you the nature of the responsibility we have assumed and the role our country is duty bound to play on the international stage, if we are to survive as an independent people. I consider it proper that you should take time out in your curricular activities, setting a United Nations Week, to devote your attention to the practical consideration of the international problems of the day. I know I will not succeed within a space of a few minutes to analyze and discuss with you at length the present world situation, as a necessary background for this celebration.

The United Nations, now in general assembly in Paris, has devoted all its time to this work for the first three years of its existence. What it has done to furnish this perspective since its organization in San Francisco in 1945, or in its meetings in London, at Lake Success, or in Paris, is now written in voluminous tomes. For our purposes, this afternoon, however, and for what I have in mind to tell you, it is sufficient to know the incontrovertible fact that the world today has not as yet found the formula to end wars or to make permanent peace. The first world war was ostensibly fought “to make the world safe for democracy”; the second “to end all wars”; and the third, probably, may not be to dominate the world, or God forbid, to liquidate humanity. Thus it looks as if to attain peace the whole human creation must achieve a rebirth, a transformation so profound as to erase all distinctions of race, color, and creed and enable all peoples to feel as belonging to one another in heart, in soul, in conscience – to one universal family before the eyes of the Creator. ●

THE NEW PHILIPPINE IDEOLOGY

On his conferment of LL.D. by the University of the Philippines, February 12, 1949.

WITH solemn gratification I rise to bear witness with you to the initial realization of a great vision. President Quezon conceived the idea of a greater university on this spacious ground. He saw that the University of the Philippines must have room to grow. It could not grow bigger where it was first planted. It needed not only more ground but better surroundings. It needed an atmosphere of concentrated but not cloistered intellectuality. It needed an open field far removed from the noisy and sordid distractions of the workaday world – an open field where the imagination and thought could freely take wing, and the spirit could make direct peregrinations to broader realms of truth and wisdom.

Environment influences and determines the thoughts that guide man's action. By continued contact with the things that man sees in his daily life, he develops his faculties to adapt himself to his surroundings. If the space in which he lives is limited, his development is dwarfed as a tree is dwarfed in a garden pot. Similarly with a man's thoughts and imagination – they are dwarfed by a limited horizon.

Today I read with a great joy in the faces of the faculty and students the great psychological influence of the transfer of our University to this bigger, more beautiful site. I sense in your midst the spirit of great expectations, than which there can be no greater encouragement to deeper thinking, to higher aspiration. I see more life, more enthusiasm, more aggressiveness in both professor and student, and feel the irresistible contagion of their influence. Here indeed, taking shape, is the promise of a greater University.

I shall not tax your mind with pure abstractions. As a part of a workaday world, I cannot bring you the compulsion of our country's practical problems.

Under the shadow of two world wars and all the bitter lesser conflicts before them, as well as the more precarious ones after them, the common man has emerged as the main object of solicitude and highest hope. This is only to be expected. The Lord Almighty has created so many of his kind. The happiness of the most privileged being can never be secure where the common man fails to find satisfaction for his basic grievance – the lack of the elementary necessities for a life of relative decency, dignity, and growing fulfillment.

Heretofore, we have been nurturing the common man's loyalty to his country and government merely in terms of direct personal, material benefits. He has been pampered into believing that the nation's sole concern is his material welfare and upliftment. And for so long as these benefits continue to make him contented and happy, his loyalty to his government and country lasts. But the moment he is deprived of them, or suffers even only a diminution of his share of them, he becomes disillusioned and bitter towards his government and country. He has developed no sufficient moral leverage with which to keep his loyalty unshaken during his temporary disadvantage or suffering. His attachment to his country and government lacks the tensile strength of that loyalty which binds a child to his mother. A mother may be incapable of providing her child with all his needs because of limited means or because of the accidents of human life. But we would not expect that child to disown her, or turn his back on her. No matter what happens, he would continue to love her and serve her as he comes to a man's estate.

The heart and soul of the common man must be strengthened in his attachment to his land, to his fellow countrymen, to his government, as they constitute the sources of all the benefits that enable him to have and enjoy the good things in life.

Who knows but that this lack of attachment is due to the fact that the government's solicitude for the common man's welfare has not yet gone deep enough in his conscience to impress upon him that it is sincere and earnest! Thus it is necessary to inspire mutual trust as an essential human value in the attainment of this ideal relationship. The government is a corporate body politic, and, because it has life, it must also have a soul. This soul must find flowering in the common man.

I hold that to serve the interest of the common man is to serve the interest of all – including the highest, the richest, the most powerful, and the best endowed.

Some alien system would place economic benefits within the reach of all, but it reserves to the State the absolute power to regiment or erase the individual to attain that objective. In the Philippines, in keeping with our democratic tradition, we seek to democratize economic benefits and leave to private individual and collective effort, under State guidance, the development of our economy that will sustain those benefits. We are faced with the choice between physical satisfaction along with moral abdication of the individual human personality on one side, and material betterment rooted in individual and common responsibility, dignity and liberty on the other. Our choice is clear.

Under our system, we hate no class. But we proscribe and prosecute any group, capitalist or labor, that utilizes its power to bully and exploit others. We respect property

as the product of honest effort and a means to fuller living, but not as an instrument for oppressing others or for perpetuating that oppression. We want and help people to build their own homes, to own the lot on which to build them and the land they cultivate to sustain their needs. Such people contribute most and best to the success of an economic program of balanced, stable national life.

We have the advantage of a patrimony rich in natural wealth. Our responsibility does not end upon announcing and feeling that we have practically unlimited natural resources. Merely to speak of them is not to benefit ourselves as a people. And we should not be too sure that they will forever remain our patrimony, or that their potential value will rise, let alone remain, the same with time.

We must remember the Parable of the Talents. It teaches us that what we do not use we cannot develop, that what we do not develop we cannot always keep. The world is becoming closer and more crowded neighborhood. Democracy, or any other system, is not protection to those who sleep, like the Foolish Virgins, on their opportunities or their potentialities. It is never intended to be.

We must get busy ; we must work, dig. All the expected gold under the ground cannot establish our credit for the capital we need unless we start digging ourselves and prove that we are determined to, and can produce – as I know it is producing – citizens and institutions with demonstrable capacity of achievement in creating wealth and opportunity.

We must know how to take intelligent risks in developing resources. The same daring and courage with which we assume direction of our destiny when we secured our political freedom should be manifest in our economic program. We have always known that God helps those who help themselves. We have proved it in the political field. Nothing should bar us from doing it in the economic. This is a critical phase of our struggle for the betterment of the common man. We are right in it now, at the crux of it.

We should be inspired by the fact that we are the master of the instrument to social betterment because we are the instrument ourselves. This instrument is not dependent on the whim of any person or agency beyond our control. It depends solely on our vision, our spirit of resolution, our willingness to undertake responsibilities, our capacity to show our loyalty to our people and the heritage of common liberty that has developed through centuries of pain and aspiration.

This is an age of universal readjustment. Other peoples of the world today are

revising and strengthening their way of life. They have to, to get along and survive in a community where it has become impossible to ignore the neighbors, impossible to wish away the potential threats to their respective established ways and the common welfare.

Each nation has its own pattern of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Each country has its own program of action inspired by an idealism peculiar to its history and the extent of the havoc wrought upon its people by the last international conflagration.

We do not have to dissolve our personality as a nation in that world community. Indeed, by reason of our national experience, it requires that we develop and strengthen that personality more. For it is as a distinct personality that we can enrich our contribution to the life and well-being of that world community.

Our objective, therefore, is a happy citizen of this country that is equally a happy and helpful citizen of the world. He lives free and secure not in national isolation but in international independence. He loyally supports his government and makes his individual voice, jointly with others, count for understanding and cooperation in the family of nations. His country and people have a way of life that fulfills their material and moral aspirations and contributes variety to the color and texture of a world pattern of cooperate living.

In an effort to cooperate in the establishment of a world order we must start with an acceptance of the diverse cultures of the world. We must understand their basic similarity of purpose and process. We must recognize their diversity and their different emphases as productive of the richness and color and variation that man has achieved in living and in human relations.

The world today is ruled by conflicting ideologies which have complicated all the more the work of universal readjustment. Our country happens to have been linked with experiences, with adversities and with glories which, at one time or another in our short history, we have shared with others. In fact we have been both beneficiaries and victims of world conflicts.

I know of no country which has been more subject to changes in its national evolution because of these conflicts than the Philippines.

In planning and pursuing our salvation, we should keep within the context of the broader world tasks towards peace and ordered living. The stability of whatever social betterment we may achieve for ourselves as a people is conditioned by the measure of security and cooperation that prevail beyond our national borders. We would not be presumptuous to

assume responsibility for the peace and happiness of the world. But we should see that the attainment of our own betterment at home helps clear the way to its increasing achievement and just enjoyment in the broader community of the family of nations. We take the position that this shrinking planet must accept the urgency of mutually just accommodation among peoples as the only alternative to its reduction to a wasteland and common graveyard of all human hope and humanity itself.

We need total economic mobilization to raise the common man, make him strong, self-reliant, patriotic. The total economic mobilization spells full employment, which in turn would mean peace, security, and contentment. It is idle to talk of social amelioration without the material means for achieving it –the nation-wide release of our available energies for economic production. There can be no full employment without industries to create enough opportunities for work for the people. Social relief is an empty phrase without the goods created by work to satisfy immediate needs during disaster. There can be no peace where people are restless because of their inability to earn the wherewithal for feeding, clothing, sheltering, and educating their children. The particular problem of peace is not definitely and permanently solved by law-enforcement officers.

It is necessary that there be a continuous and steady development of the country in order to make available all the benefits that the common man as well as any other citizen of the land longs to enjoy. But this development cannot be realized without the common man's cooperation in the maintenance of peace which is the necessary prerequisite to any constructive and creative activity – the fountain-source of every material benefit – can only be achieved on his own soil, with his own hands, with his own intellect, and with his own determination. He cannot depend on any other land or any other people.

Total economic mobilization is not the exclusive prerogative and function of the government, or of the party in power, or of any social group. It is the concern of all as it should be, in our kind of democracy. The government is expected to fill the bill of leadership, but it feels free to invite and to draw upon the talents available in public and in private life. It feels free to inspire and to enlist support from any and every section of the population. It does not depend upon coercive power to secure public cooperation. It looks to the compulsion of an inner sense of individual obligation and national responsibility to muster all efforts in the promotion and prosecution of a common social program.

This program has a definite advantage in its being developed in an atmosphere of democracy. We do not have to liquidate millions of our countrymen to see that it works, or to find out if it works. Our system is flexible enough to give everyone a chance to be heard, to permit revisions in our planning, as exigencies require. Our people are free to exert and

coordinate their individual efforts under a government whose sanctions we periodically pass upon for correction and improvement.

The effort and the responsibility for the ample production of the good things of life intended by total economic mobilization require that we must subordinate personal interests to the imperatives of the common welfare. This program presupposes individual self-reliance and social cooperation. Our intellectual elements, our business and industrial elements, our labor elements, must realize this compulsion. We have no other alternative to the new slavery in which freedom rests not even in those who dictate because they are prisoners no less of their own dialectic.

We should not mistake, however, the attainment of the material good things of life for the ultimate answer to the yearning for peace, for goodness and beauty, or for lasting individual and social happiness.

A confirmed materialist would invoke his mystic formula of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis to produce the good man of his ideal society. In that society the State is presumed to have withered away because the good man no longer needs its dictation and protection, and because the environment has reached its complete efficiency and effectiveness in perfecting the good citizen. Individual freedom and happiness are sacrificed for efficiency.

We should have had some reassuring proof of this assumption by now from the new generation brought under its dictation. But we are not permitted to see it. An iron curtain has been set up and all we are allowed to glimpse and appreciate, on occasion, is continued hate, truculence, and suspicion to wards the unregenerate non-communist portion of humankind. We can see, by the filtering reports, that there is more, instead of less, government in the communist Promised Land. Its reconditioned citizens are denied by their State the joy of visiting and leavening freely and directly if I may be allowed a mixed metaphor the outside world with their sweetness and light. They leave this missionary task to naive fellow travelers, to mysterious underground agents of political subversion, to disciplined engineers of social division and chaos. The homegrown common comrade cannot be trusted to resist the alluring but evil appointments of a tottering, capitalist order.

It is a sad fact that the prosperous are no less immune to evil-doing than the poor and the hungry. Not infrequently, prosperity merely accentuates the appetite for conspiring against goodness, truth, or beauty. Man does not live by bread alone, and it is to be doubted that it can be any different even in a materialistic society where spiritual matters are regarded as legitimate objects of derision, and where people, after all, are still human beings.

Social amelioration through total economic mobilization has, therefore, its limitations in the attainment of greater peace and contentment for our people. However important and urgent, abundant supply of the good things and mastery over the technique of their production, such as applied science assures us, are not the decisive element in our individual and national fulfillment.

It is not what more things can belong to us, but what high things we can belong to. It is not so much mastery over things as being mastered by supreme spiritual devotions. The great hour of our lives, rememberable to our dying day, are the moments when we were swept out of our individual selves by something that mastered us the breath-taking sweep of great mountains, the magic of great music, the fascination of heroic and noble deeds, the inner consecration to a cause bigger than ourselves, our family, or even our restricted community. This is the soul and substance of our Christian heritage. In our efforts to develop our country to raise the common man, we must find firm anchorage in the fruits of our labors and in the spiritual loyalties that can deepen the meaning of our lives. We cherish the liberties that our kind of democracy provides in order to enjoy the privilege of being mastered by these loyalties.

Dr. Trinidad Pardo de Tavera once remarked : *“Los enemigos del pueblo Filipino son la nipa, la caña, el coco, y el Padre Nuestro .”* this was searching explanation of the much alleged indolence and the resigned acceptance of the common man’s lot in his time.

But times have changed. The Filipino has awakened from his lethargy, a different man from yesteryears. The nipa, the bamboo, the coconut, in the light of this initiation to the modern science and technology, are now militant symbol of his determination to develop his country’s natural resources to secure national stability and happiness. *El Padre Nuestro* we still retain, but not as an enemy ; for we need, indeed, not a return to blind belief, superstition, and obscurantism, but an enlightened appreciation of the unsearchable riches of the spirit. Yes, we need more urgently than ever to rediscover God and the creative benedictions of His discipline. We should ever invoke a deeper love for of country upon actual toil and devotion.

To get the most if this privilege is to continually strengthen our faith in ourselves, our self-reliance, even as we look up to the hills whence cometh our help. We must eschew factional bickerings, captious carping and honest efforts of others to serve, facile, approaches to problems of public welfare, the dissipation of social intelligence in magnifying trifles to salve the individual ego.

Undue preoccupation with the ego, with *amor proprio* can be a great obstruction to our national progress. We should not be afraid of losing face in a passing issue, of being disauthorized and repudiated, if our heart is in the right place. In our business, intellectual and political life, we should rejoice in the success of others and welcome the discipline of gracious in terms of individuals we have helped, of institutions we have built and developed. We should welcome any chance to credit people for their good work, to acknowledge their fine constructive performance. We need charity and humility when we are right, but especially when we are tempted to dogmatize in direct proportion to our lack of information.

We cannot conceal our deficiency in facts and reason by heaping abuse on others who refuse to stoop to our manners. Our keenest rivalry should be, not for position and prerogatives, but for the best way of giving constructive service.

Our country deserves all the loyalty and devotion we can give. It is a beautiful country. It is a rich country. And it is a free country. It has been consecrated by our blood. It has developed a way of life allowing for continued improvement consistent with the needs of free men. It holds up the hope to millions beyond our shores courageously fighting for the advantage we enjoy. My fellow-countrymen, we have every reason to be proud of our country and people – without falling for the illusion of becoming a chosen or master race.

We have every reason to be happy in this country without coveting what is not our own.

As we reconstruct and reshape our new nation in harmony with world readjustment, we define our own mode of living. We must have our own pattern, drawing from the experiences and lessons of others – a pattern suitable for our peculiar conditions. Thus we evolve a way of life inspired by democratic ideas and guided by tested social advantages. It is a new philosophy that has been distilled from the bitterness of the past. It is a flower that has grown from the ashes and ruins of yesterday. It is a spiritual force that has sprung from the severest test of our moral fiber. It is a weapon that has been forged on an anvil of adversity so that we should ever vanquish hunger and want. It is an inspiration that makes us march forward to conquer a new day for our prosperity. It is a vision that has presented itself on the dawn of our redemption and resurrection. It is a new ideology that urges us on, shaking our lives and our very soul, to realize the dream of our dreams – an enduring sovereign Republic.

Upon institution such as this great university of our people, upon people such as the products of this institution, largely depend the conversation, the development, the fulfilment of our Philippine ideology into increasing reality, into a creative individual, national and world experience.

The measure of this university as our country's most precious investment in the development of our best human resources will not be noble structures that will rise in due course on this picturesque rolling uplands. It will not be in the amount of deposited and recited learning in its halls. It will not be in the lofty scholarships that can, on short notice, be mustered into parade for public inspection. The measure of this university has been, is, and will continue to be – the men and women that sally forth from this campus equipped for consecrated leadership, the happy progressive communities in every corner of this land that benefit from their dedication and service, the growing quality of life and aspiration which is offered to every child born in this blessed country of ours as its heritage.

Far it be from us the complete realization of our dream of the good life. We can only pray for the capacity to pursue with undiminished fervor a continually rising ideal for every generation. This is life's most exciting privilege. This is our greatest adventure. Our Alma Mater should always be here to help us and our children become worthy of this high adventure. For this is the height of social amelioration – for you and for me, for this generation and for our posterity. ●

A PATTERN OF SANITY AND ACTION

Radio Chat February 15, 1949.

The other day on the occasion of the conferment upon me of the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by my Alma Mater, the University of the Philippines, I launched the new Philippine Ideology. More than a mere theory, it is a program of action. I am determined to follow it for as long as I have the privilege of directing the affairs of the nation. I earnestly request every right-thinking and civic minded Filipino to give it serious study, to adhere to it and to act upon it with intelligence, vigor, and zeal.

As a nation we must have a positive ideology to guide our actions. The realization of this ideology as a goal will insure the welfare of the common man and stability of our country. It is based on the material development of all our sources of wealth – our rich soil, our beautiful climate, our waterfalls, our deposits of oil, of gold, of iron, of chromite, of copper, of coal and innumerable other minerals; the wealth in fish and other aquatic products of our seas, lakes and rivers ; our vast forest of the best kinds of wood in the world ; our strategic position in world commerce.

We already have an established name in the world market for our copra, our sugar, our abaca, our tobacco. We have other agricultural products of potential world importance. These must all be developed, exploited and expanded to the limit in order that we may be able to provide the government and our people with all the necessities for our sustenance and continued existence as a people.

We need to loan to our farmers ; to buy food clothing, and medicine for the needy and sick people ; to provide school for the children. We need to create industries in order to

give work to the unemployed. We need to provide one thousand and once convenience of a more decent life for the common man. In order to provide all these we need to produce. Thus we need to exploit all our natural resources and advance our domestic and foreign trade. This is what I meant by total economic mobilization as the foundation of our new way of life.

I said then, and I repeat it now, that “ to serve the interest of the common man is to serve the interest of all – including the highest, the richest, the most powerful and the best endowed.”

I did not conceive this ideology all by myself as a sudden inspiration from the blue. It was not the exclusive product of my thought and imagination and the promptings of my heart. It was developed from thoughts that had found lasting expression in the conduct and actions of our countrymen in the past and under different trying circumstances. I picked up the loose threads of idealism that had sparked the lives and sacrifices of our leaders of thought, of our heroes, of our martyrs who gave their lives at home and abroad to win freedom and elevate our race.

To this ideology I have contributed my observations and experiences in the darkest hour of our history, compelled by a vision of the dawn of a greater day after the most terrifying and horrifying ordeals of the last war in our country. I knitted all these together with the longings and experienced wisdom of our countrymen, specially the underprivileged who had suffered most during the time of our subjugation, struggle and humiliation.

As a people as a nation, we must have by now, a definite, concrete, unified pattern of living ; we must have a battlecry, as it were, in our new struggle for a better, more satisfying, and more enduring national life. This need prompted me to launch the new Philippine ideology.

But all the efforts that we exert, no matter how earnest and sublime, cannot find fulfillment unless there is a corresponding appreciation of our situation, unless there is a will to carry it through on the part of all of us. Our bitter lessons of the past must teach us to stand together and shoulder the accumulated burden of generations. This we must do if we are to lighten the load of our children to give them a chance adequately to assume the added responsibilities of their time. It is a mission that everyone of us most unselfishly, unassumingly, and self-effacingly join and accomplish in order to deserve the name of father of our children.

It is not, I realize a simple matter to follow this line of thought and action without

awakening jealousy or suspicion among our compeers. At one time or another in our life long struggle as a people, they have seen the vision too. But they are apt to be confused or discouraged by others who think they have found a better way without telling us what it is.

This moment in our history requires that there be a determined cooperation in fulfilling a national program of action. At least in a democratic country such as ours, we must pursue a definite line of official conduct and national action.; we must give those who have conceived it a chance to carry it out with proper implementation.

Time will provide opportunities for the trial of others should this one fail. But certainly there must be one definite line of conduct, a program of action, if we are to develop and insure our orderly life as a nation.

After all I am not advocating an entirely new line of conduct. I am only launching a system of coordinated national action suggested by the dispersed beliefs and conviction that have inspired the manner of living of our countrymen in recent years. It is an organized Filipino mode of living that has actually entrenched itself in our national soul in answer to the continuous threats to our individual and collective existence as a people.

The atmosphere in which new ideology has been launched, although propitious, may appear suspicious. At least to some calculating political minds, nothing worthy or noble in this ideology may be seen through their electoral eye during this election year. At this juncture may I take notice of the political diseases that is spreading like an epidemic from Jolo to Batanes. It is afflicting the proudest as well as the poorest who have not been immunized from the contagion of its vicious influence. Every little incident or accident or experience is exploited for whatever opportune interpretation may be derived to promote partisan political designs. Often it is magnified beyond decent bounds to serve selfish political ends.

I rely on the maturity of judgement of our citizenry. But I do believe that when our national firmament is beclouded, and prejudice and suspicion hang over our immediate horizon, we must identify and try to banish the active menace to the success of our sincere endeavors to serve the welfare and future of our country. We must watch out against being unwittingly swept by the prevailing current of prejudice. We should guard against extravagant, reckless adventure inspired by trivial emotions or induced by passing moral and intellectual confusion. Our honest-thinking people should know how to arrive at an adequate answer in the face of a challenging situation.

My fellow countrymen, I beseech you to summon all that is big and noble in you,

all that is earnest, all that is patriotic, all that is sincere to help set a pattern of sanity and constructive action in these days of bitterness and political bewilderment. I am confident that we can prove again and again the maturity of judgement which we are known to have developed after centuries of struggle for national self-determination.

We must establish in our minds that there is no magic to expect in the matter of realizing our new way of life. There is no royal road to national stability and self-respect. We have to work together.

The failure of any government is not a failure of a few, but of all. This government is ours. We cannot treat it as an impersonal thing, as something merely to sneer at in the hands of an adversary. We have to devote more time to discover what is right for our government, as for our country and people, and use it as the basis of our efforts.

We must be more friendly to freedom and democracy, not by thinking that age-old problems can be resolved by a witticism, but by rolling up our sleeves, in cooperation with our neighbors, with a definite purpose and a will, to grow two blades where only one or nothing grew before. If we consider any totalitarianism as inimical to our ideology or self-reliance, national loyalty and world cooperation, we must suspect and resist these impatient, pontifical schools of so called progressive thought which would establish the millennium with one wave of the hand.

There is no substitute for good will, loyalty, cooperation and working the solution of our problems and the fulfillment of our national objectives. When we ask our duly constituted government what it is doing in this direction, let us ask ourselves individually and collectively what we are doing ourselves. An honest answer to this question will clear a lot of rubbish obstructing our common way to individual and social happiness. It will also help us to appreciate the new way of life that I have just submitted to my countrymen as the basis of estimating the task and contributions of this administration in advancing the common welfare.

I shall in due time in other occasions, elaborate on the implementation of our program of national action. I wish to acknowledge here my appreciation of the communications of private fellow citizens in different parts of the country who take time to endorse the position I have been taking in the country's interest regardless of purely political consequences. I am tremendously encouraged. I would not be fair to myself and to our people to deny my pleasure in the inspiration they have been giving me. ●

AMERICA LOSING HER PIONEERING SPIRIT?

A VERY good friend of our people speaking undoubtedly for other equally sincere friends in this country, has had occasion to accuse me of being an incorrigible optimist. I was quite truly flattered even by a comparison with President Truman, who, for his Inaugural message, is dubbed realistic while I, because of my last state of the nation address to Congress, am regarded as a dangerous romantic. “It is wise, “ it is asked, “ for the President to use such rose-tinted glasses that he misses all the deep shadows that are cast over the land? ”

I should like to please these friends, but I wonder if they would rather that I say the country was going to be ruined because of import control even if all I have learned all along, from Rotarians and Horacio Algers, compels me to look ahead and prepare to climb the highest mountain. That the country is doomed on that account is possibly the one thing I am determined not to say or to admit. I do not propose to be crape-hanger. I have always felt that addressing the elected representatives of our people at a time demanding constructive action does not mean presiding at a wake or leading a funeral, but rallying our people to have the vision and courage to tackle the task ahead.

Anyone aware of the vivid mark of devastation, material and spiritual, in our midst after four years of the cruelest war known to man and after three years of effort at recovery, must be callow and insensitive, indeed, not to be impressed by their reality without having to proclaim the fact officially. Anyone who runs may read in this particular situation, and my duty is not to encourage the undertaker but to follow the Rotary spirit of enlightened hope and purposeful action.

Many of the problems of this country today are not peculiar to us. And the problems we have inherited from the war are problems that have engaged the best minds of America and other lands, and I am not sure that they have been or will be resolved by one grand gesture. I am hopeful, nevertheless, as I will always be, that we shall find our ways to higher level of achievement if Rotarians will permit us to hope and to plan for ourselves without requiring us to go through the motions of pious wringing of the hands and being sorry for our country. ●

A GREAT BUILDER

Radio Chat, April 15, 1949.

I WISH to dedicate my thoughts tonight to a departed friend who, exactly one year ago at this very hour, was called to the side of Almighty. The nation remembers him now as Christendom remembers the Saviour of mankind on this Good Friday. For in truth, Manuel Roxas died on the cross of public duty only to rise again and live for always in the conscience of his country.

As time pulls together the loose threads of his life activities, we who are left behind can discern more clearly the magnitude of his benign influence on his country and people.

We mortals are wont to be over-gallant and generous in expressing bereavement immediately after the loss of a friend and within the hearing of weeping kinsmen. But what were said upon the death of Manuel Roxas have stood the test of patriotic scrutiny. As his figure recedes in our mental horizon, his deeds remain as golden grain sifted from the chaff created by bias, prejudice, or mere kindness.

Thus we speak of Manuel Roxas today subjectively against a background not only of his accomplishments but of his spiritual influence upon the mind and soul of the people he loved so well.

Only those close by his side who have, at every step, followed his thorny path and pursued the same objectives in his high concept of public duty, can best interpret how much he suffered in his endeavors and how much more he should be glorified.

To organize a Republic, to lay the foundations of its enduring existence, to grapple with unusually cruel circumstances in an atmosphere of despair and devastation and with utmost calm and composure, to deliver his people from prostration and lift them into prosperity and distinction—that was the task of Manuel Roxas.

It was perplexing, vexing, and taxing to the limit. It was a job for a mortal who must be more than ordinary.

The task overcame his body, but not his spirit. His inspiration today is greater than what passing admirers could regard as his worldly accomplishments. As long as a grateful

and intelligent people knows how to appreciate a man's greatness on the basis of integrity, patriotism, creativeness, and devotion to the people's welfare. Manuel Roxas will ever continue to be the symbol of Filipino capacity to build a nation.

Truly, he was a great builder but, like other great builders, he was also greatly misunderstood. He was misunderstood while he lived, as was Jesus Christ who was tortured by the very people whom He sought to redeem. Roxas had too good and kind a heart to retaliate or destroy those who were destroying him, or attempted to destroy him. He was determined not to be distracted in his vast work of nation-building. He was too preoccupied with his task to watch others undermining the great work that he was doing. Nor did he lose time to answer the revilements of jealous ill-wishers who harrassed him. He just went right on, taking no notice of them. Perhaps he was repeating all along in his mind the Spanish poet's description of a traveler, who said:

*“Si he de parar
Parar oir ladrar
Al perro en el camino
Nunca llegare a mi destino,”*

and determinedly proceeded undisturbed with his fateful task. Only as we become more and more detached from his immediate personal influence do we realize the noble deeds for whose memory the generations to come will enshrine him in their thoughts.

I perfectly remember a moment in our presidential campaign in 1946 when, concluding a speech, I stated that if I should be able, if elected to do nothing during my incumbency but to see corruption eradicated in our government, I would consider my mission justly accomplished, he immediately rose from his seat and, with a tight handclasp and warm embrace, said, “Partner, that is our mission.”

What is happening in our country today indicates nothing but the processes that must be followed in the probing ground of public duty, as he and I conceived to be our joint and common mission. And yet there are people today, many of them his so-called close friends, who would unkindly invoke his memory to justify public or official misdeeds.

The task that we chartered was bold, risky, and thankless. But as the surviving leader of that crusade, I shall not be deterred! There is such an inner satisfaction and spiritual consolation in that greater effort that makes me more determined to attain something bigger, greater, and nobler than mere political fortune. It is costly apostleship but it pays for the preservation of the honor and prestige of the nation.

For as President Theodore Roosevelt rightly said of his own time:

“The exposure and punishment of public corruption is an honor to a nation, not a disgrace. The shame lies in toleration, not in correction. No city or state, still less the Nation, can be injured by the enforcement of law. As long as public plunderers detected can avoid punishment, just so long encouragement is given them to continue their practices. If we fail to do all that in us lies to stamp out corruption, we cannot escape our share of responsibility for the guilt. The first requisite of the law and the cutting out of corruption.

On the first anniversary of Manuel Roxas' death, it is fitting that we recall his compassion as the ruling element of his career of service. He thought deeply, but he felt even more deeply. Reason was a thing for him to use but not to worship. The logic of the heart was something more substantial and demanding to him. People who are not afraid to grow up will increasingly appreciate his type of wisdom. They will also be capable of loyalty that passes understanding. And they can distinguish courage from mere bravado. Of course, we can discount the fact that there are a few bystanders who prefer kibitzing to lifting a helping hand while waiting for the main chance to accomplish as great a task.

It is being unnecessarily unctuous to feel that what we are trying to uproot reflects on our country as a young democracy. It is part of any country's democratic experience, and we should be happy to be advanced enough to indulge in it for whatever wisdom we can collectively derive therefrom and for our people's sake and our country's future.

What is deeply deplorable is that the hectic period of cleaning and clearing the rubbish as we execute our huge program of economic development, coincides with the election agitation which is being manipulated not only to stultify our highest motives but to dwarf the greater constructive issues before the country.

Small souls and mendacious minds should not be allowed unthinkably to becloud the greater things in our national life. This year we are traversing the most delicate and crucial part of our course as a people. We have too much at stake for the future of our country and our children. The passion for public service cannot be a substitute for the ultimate and permanent interests of the country. I repeat, there must be a greater sense of sobriety and proportion. I invoke the spirit of self-abnegation of Rizal; I invoke the love for the masses of Quezon; I invoke the martyrdom to public duty of Roxas; I invoke the charity of the man from Galilee who, in the midst of His agony, benignly turned to His torturers and said, “Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.”

OASIS IN THE DESERT

Delivered extemporaneously, May 7, 1949, before the Baguio meeting of the Liberal Party's National Committee.

I APPRECIATE more than I can express your vote of confidence in my leadership. The yearning of my life is to so conduct myself that nobody will ever consider it misplaced. It came to me like a gentle flower from the filth and mud to which I have been dragged in our recent political and partisan bickerings. I have a feeling that at long last I am coming upon the oasis in the desert years of my public life.

We are gathered this morning to exalt our political institution. The successive political events that have rocked the nation from the center of legislative power have been a revelation to me. Yet it may appear strange to you that I feel happy in having been chosen as one of the incidents in the supreme test of the soundness of our political institution. Subjected as I have been to the cruelest public scrutiny and emerging thereafter enjoying the esteem and confidence of my colleagues in the executive and legislative departments of our government, I can not ask for anything more from you. All that should vindicate my name as a public servant.

The resolution of the provincial governors and city mayors in convention the other day and the resolution of the National Committee of the Liberal Party today, reiterating the confidence of my colleagues in the government and in the party in my actuations as head of this nation and of the party, constitute the greatest consolation in this country a regime of respect for the law and the conscience of this nation.

Others like me have been placed on the carpet in the merciless crusade for a clean and honest government. It should not be queer that, having started the movement, I should be dragged into the vortex of its fury. There is a native saying that whoever wields the broom "gets the dust." My only regret is that in wielding the broom, I have been mistaken for the dust. The outcome of the other cases has been varied and different. But the ultimate result, by the national estimation of this unusual effort of the epoch, vindicates the name of our people and reaffirms the stability and strength of our democratic institution. We have proven beyond doubt not only national resiliency but also political stability.

No wonder that in our tutelage under different powers and systems of government, in our bitter experiences as a struggling people, in our multiple contacts with foreign elements employing heretofore unknown weapons of conquest, of domination, and of absorption, we have trained ourselves to grapple within and without, with our taxing national problems, for survival as a people. And this generation that has inherited the wisdom and experiences of our earlier leaders and the epochal struggles of our race, has been able to derive inspiration from our leaders of the past. Thus, we have known how to employ on opportune occasions the alertness, aggressiveness or impulsiveness of a Quezon; and at times, the brilliance and vision of a Roxas, or the audacity of an Aguinaldo; but, all the time, the inspiration and spirit of self-abnegation and love of the country of Rizal and his colleagues in the early awakening of our national consciousness. Verily, we now present a new pattern in our political life that we have only discovered as we knit the loose threads that national history. Thus, the new pattern of democracy in its color and texture as established in this country, is not only peculiar to our country as a unique product of international influences but also adaptable in this era of universal readjustment. I can now see and conclude that as long as we do not destroy the warp and woof of our national life, the new pattern that we have established in this part of the Orient shall survive and endure.

So, rather than lament the recent political convulsions that have apparently shaken seriously our political institution, we should thank the efforts of our alert, aggressive, and impulsive leaders in Congress for having roused the country from its lethargy and complacency and challenged a long-established and tolerated order of life that was undermining the existence of our political institution and robbing us of the name, reputation, and respect that we now enjoy in the council of nations.

I like to see the direct and incisive philosophy of political life of Tañada, the tactical maneuvers of Arranz, the big stick of Mabanag, the coolness and earnestness of Cuenco, the piercing malice and wisdom of Diokno, the technical resourcefulness of Francisco, the abrupt and clean-cut actuations of Lopez, the political romanticism of Sanidad, the

uproarious outbursts of Pendatun, and even the curious malignment of Angeles David—all these in the Upper House, stirring the political hornets's nest, but all calming down and subsiding in reverence to our laws, to our Constitution, and to our high responsibilities as leaders of this nation, accepting with grace the verdict of history in the present stage of our national life.

I could only say the same thing in the Lower House : the partisan consistency and stubbornness of Primicias, the immovable firmness and coolness of Sumulong, the gentle and tactful influence of Leuterio, and the fatherly guidance of our *Manong*, just to enumerate a few examples.

My great hope and earnest which is that, after this interesting experiment in our national evolution, we can now turn our attention to other phases of our national objectives.

So much for our political life. I shall invite you to turn a new leaf and open a new chapter in our economic life. This is where we need less political theorizing and experimentation.

Now that our house is in order, let us go out to the premises, to the backyard, to the garden, to the farm, to the forest, to the mountains, and even to the air, and contemplate the whole panorama of our national life. We cannot live in honor, righteousness, and honesty alone. The new evangelists of this era cannot continue merely preaching their abstract aspirations. We can no longer soar high, mixing ourselves with the molecules in an effort to find the ways and means of feeding our people, providing them with the human necessities to make our lives worth living in a practical and troubled world.

Positive efforts, concrete endeavors, and substantial achievements are the inescapable bases of our enduring existence. It was right, when we were still planning for the future, to scan the skies, interpret the movements of the planets, and invoke spiritual guidance from the unknown, giving expression to our imprisoned thoughts in our vague intrusions into the unexplored and the unexpected. As long as this nation must lean upon something solid on which to lay the foundations of a stable economic life as the fountain source of the contentment and happiness that we must afford to our people, we must clip our wings and discontinue making ambiguous, philosophical disquisitions on the manner

in which we should solve our practical problems as a nation.

Our action must be positive and not negative, distilling from the misgivings or failures of others a program of action based on mere theorizing. The problems of state are vital, practical, and concrete. We live in a confused world where a person does not know where to stand firm and secure unless he counts not only upon his individual efforts to stand on his own feet but also on the support of others struggling for co-existence, mutual protection, and goodwill.

Much of the success of any living creature does not depend merely upon its isolated existence. There is something that should supplement and complement its life in a society created by the Great Master. No nation lives by itself alone at this moment. It must count upon friends, upon the sympathy of others, upon friendship, upon the one thousand and one things that make human relations the determining factor in a successful human existence.

Thus, as we put our house in order and establish here a stable political and economic life, we must cast our eyes beyond our confines and look for the society, the company, and the friendship of other nations that make of our national life a real part of world institutions. That is our new life, our new aspiration, our outlook, as a new democracy. In achieving our high purposes and objectives, as leaders of this country, we must, therefore, examine our conscience, our very acts, to see if they are in keeping with the high ideals of community life in this new world. We should not sacrifice our country's future simply because we want to lead this nation when, in so doing, we know very well that we may be sacrificing the permanent interest of the country and people. The real test is our readiness to sacrifice self for country.

Many of you have exposed and perhaps sacrificed your political fortunes in the most recent test of our country's stability. Your greatest hope, your greatest consolation, your biggest reward, will be the recognition of your patriotic efforts by those who succeed you. I invite you all to continue unrelenting in the noble cause that you have espoused for the country's name. The Liberal Party has shown to the whole world that it knows how to clean its house, that it is true to its high principles of government, and earnest in establishing a constructive regime for the permanent existence of our Republic. You cannot be ashamed of its actuations ; you cannot be discouraged by the results ; you cannot in all dignity retreat in your steps as leaders of this Party by destroying the organization or renouncing its responsibility, or changing its name—the name which you and I have justly redeemed in our recent efforts in the Administration.

As for me, I am still proud that I am a Liberal. I have gone through a thorny path in the realization of the Party objectives. I have the distinction of being the first Chief Executive of the land to be impeached for seemingly reproachable acts under the Constitution, under our laws, and under our traditions as a people.

“ I care not what the world may seem,

Not if the day is bright or dim ;
I do not count the pangs of years,
Nor tell of hours I spent in tears,
Because I know God still sends
The light and warmth that I may need,
Because I know, I know God blends
The joys and tears to make my creed.”

Thus, I thought and expressed myself in early youth ; thus I think and express myself in my declining years. God willing, I will continue support and promptings and the strength i am confident you will always give me in sinews and in morale, I expect to justify your actuations and mine, and earn the favorable verdict of history! ●

MOTHER OF HER RACE

1 Delivered at the Memorial service in honor of Doña Aurora Aragon quezon given by the Philippine National Red Cross at Malacañan on May 9,1949.

IT IS a common belief and feeling among men and women everywhere that their mission on earth ceases when they lose their respective spouses in their declining years. Many even wish to be buried together in the Christian belief that they can still travel together in the life beyond. Their devotion and attachment to each other inspire the conviction that their union is as indestructible below as it is eternal above. And if one fails to follow the other soon in the other side of life, the former, if young enough, seeks another's company in his or her nostalgia or, that failing, considers the rest of his or her own life as a mere transistion until he or she crosses the Great Divide. Still others, who may no longer entertain such longing, consider themselves as dead among the living and gradually languish away.

There are notable examples of such types in our own country. In fact, I know several of them. But there are also notable exceptions. One of them is the beautiful soul whose memory we are gathered to exalt tonight.

Mrs. Quezon, devoted and attached to her husband as she always been all her life, human enough to feel the immeasurable loss of her beloved husband's demise, summoned all the courage and wisdom that she could muster from her heritage and determined to continue her husband's life struggles while she lived. It was she who had served as the lever that had gauged the course of her husband's public life. She had stabilized and steadied his movements and convictions as he embarked upon his aggressive and compelling patriotic endeavors at the height of his strength, power, influence as a leader of his people. The husband's vicissitudes of fortune in his great battles of life had made him turn his eyes

upon the lot of the common man. But it was she who touched and softened his heart and made him champion the cause of the masses, the underprivileged, the underfed. President Quezon's social justice had been Aurora Quezon's inspiration and passion.

But great as her influence had been, she had never abused it to further even a justifiable personal pride when she knew that grave problems of state were involved. She had asked nothing for herself. She had never suggested that she would be sharing the criticism or glorification of her husband's conduct even if it affected her feelings or dignity as the mother of his children. Nor had she minded being dragged along up or down as her husband's career had brought him higher or lower in the national estimation. She had always risen to the occasion in the most helpful spirit. In fact, there were times when it was most difficult to distinguish . . . Over and above her realization of some of her husband's failings in his human adventures, was her absolute confidence in her husband's devotion and respect for her, which she undoubtedly had inspired by her conduct and her prayers. Quzon, the great man and leader, became the greater because of the inspiring influence of Mrs. Quezon, the woman and wife. And thenceforth, she eventually became the rock of refuge and of strength to many a Filipino leader beset with the burden of the people's problems. That she did all this quietly within the private sanctuary of the home, is a grateful fact and commentary on the womanhood of this country.

Aurora Aragon Quezon was not only the first of the First Ladies of the land. In her own right, she was also a grand lady. The insuperable dignity, wisdom and grace with which she carried her responsibility to the nation after the death of President Quezon were no accident ; they came as the mature flowering of a lifetime of responsible, devoted, and fulfilled comradeship. When she undertook to head our National Red Cross, she simply acceded to giving her formal confirmation, on her own right, of being in fact and in truth, mother to her people. She did not merely lend her name, great as it was, to that noble cause. She labored mightily, doing yeoman service like everyone else who belonged to it, and provided it with its deepest and most abiding inspiration. Our people may not know now who was the greater, Quezon the Father of his country, or aurora Quezon, the truly symbolic mother of her race. But history will record these two, both of thwem, as the greatest woman in her country.

The world has shared our people's sorrow in her tragic passing. I have received condolences from heads of states as weel as from the Holy Father and from other friends abroad. Those of us who knew her well can most truly say : to know her was to respect her, to admire her, to love her. No longer will she grace the halls of the land which were wont to be exalted by her ennobling personality ; no longer will welfare institutions feel the touch of her kind heart and hand. No longer will these Palace halls be dignified by her handsome

and queenly figure ; no longer will these walls receive the impact of her gentle influence. No longer will this atmosphere, which for many years she had enlivened with her wisdom and charm, be permeated with the spirit of racial honor and pride – by her presence as the embodiment of the noblest type of Filipino womanhood.

Every one of us feels the poorer because of her death. But all of our people as well as our posterity will be the richer because she has lived. ●

THE NOBLE EXAMPLE OF JOSE ABAD SANTOS

Radio broadcast , May 15, 1949

By proclamation I have designated May 15th each year as JOSE ABAD SANTOS DAY so that on this day the nation may dedicate its thoughts to this hero and martyr of the race and instill in the mind of our youth his qualities and character that made him truly great.

The history of nations is the story of their great men. Their intellectual, scientific, and military achievements, their wisdom, and their moral examples are more enduring than the material and outward manifestations of their genius and the landmarks of their life activities. Thus, the cross upon which Jesus Christ was nailed at Calvary could not stand the test of time, yet the love for humanity that emanated from that crucifixion shall never die in the human soul. It is the crucifixion and not the cross that perpetuates His noble example. So, tonight, we weave into the texture of our race the noble example of Jose Abad Santos to add character and dignity to our people. And we do it at the most opportune time when many of us are beginning to forget the greatest trials and sufferings that made him accept the supreme sacrifice. He could have saved his life if he had chosen to live as others did choose to live and enjoy living under the same circumstances. But to Jose Abad Santos, loyalty to his country and people was far more important than life itself. For he knew well that it was not his life that the Japanese wanted but his name as the veritable symbol of his government at that time, and he preferred to give his life rather than his name – the name of his people. And if he had accepted the role that the Japanese wanted him to play, inviting his people to surrender and cooperate with the cruel invader, he would have killed the fire

that burned in every Filipino heart to resist those who would rob them of the opportunity to live a life of freedom and dignity.

His resistance was not enough, but his example he gave electrified every Filipino heart and soul to continue resisting to the end. Jose Abad Santos gave true meaning to the phrase “loyalty to country”. In his last words to his son, he enjoined his children to live up to his name.

On this special day I, therefore, want the youth of the land should live up to his name and emulate his example.

I know of no life more usefully and positively lived in the interest of his country, fully sharing its high and difficult moments of crisis and peril.

The simplicity of his manner, the loftiness of his outlook, the discipline of his mind, the clearness of his vision, and the charity of his heart, as cultivated in a lifetime rich, devoted service to his countrymen, explain the serenity of spirit with which he met the challenge of the supreme sacrifice in the final hour and gave it the touch of deathless victory.

Let us refresh our memory regarding the circumstances of his death. When he was taken captive by the enemy in Cebu on April 11, 1942, he was acting as Chief Executive of the Commonwealth Government. The Japanese wanted him to cooperate, and offered him the opportunity to continue as head of his people’s government under Japanese dictation. The call of public service had always had an irresistible appeal to him, not that he considered public service an unavoidable duty of a good citizen. Many a time in his long career of public service he had had to give up his lucrative law practice or a high position in order to serve in another capacity which the State had demanded him. He invariably had yielded, for he had a weakness for his people’s welfare and was always their devoted servant. But not this time. He could not be a willing instrument of an alien ideology and program of conquest.

Because he refused to become a “puppet,” he was executed in Malabang, Lanao, on May 7 of the same year. His steadfastness is a tale of devotion to duty, courage, and heroism that will bear repeating to our posterity. It sustains the tradition of our greatest martyrs to liberty, and it will always remain an incorruptible spiritual armor against alien subjugation and slavery.

In the imminence of death, without benefit of an applauding audience, he affectionately chided his son and only friendly company; “Do not cry . . . This is a rare opportunity for me to die for our country; not everybody is given that chance.”

There could not have been a greater, more impressive act of faith. Jose Abad Santos believed in the ultimate triumph of his country's cause. He believed in the potentialities of that country as the home of a free, progressive, and self-respecting people.

The faith which gloriously lighted Jose Abad Santos in death is still aflame among our people. It must continue to fire our hearts to increased consecration, effort, and sacrifice. It should fortify us against another alien way of life that is beginning to cast its grim shadow upon us and is threatening us with its servitude.

Strange as it may seem, we again hear many voices promising speedy salvation from the confusion and distress which they are helping to sow in the midst of our greatest efforts to reconstruct the country that but yesterday they delivered to the enemy. A goodly proportion of such voices will seek to disguise their inclination and intention to toy with the absolutist techniques of terrorism to bring about the promise of the kind of heaven others ostensibly realized elsewhere. We have heard similar voices before when the success of the last dream of conquest was seemingly at such full high tide. We were not deceived then, and we should not be deceived now. We can at all times check their words against their deeds.

Jose Abad Santos in his time knew of a nobler dream and a nobler promise of life for his people. Eschewing survival for his own self, he gave that dream and that promise the loyalty that he had learned from the heroes and martyrs of our early struggles for freedom and the good life. He wanted to prove, and he did, that there had been and will be Filipinos capable of loyalty to the vision of a truth that could really make men free. He was not dominated by the sheer lust for power nor enticed by the pathological pleasures and satisfactions derived from unbridled exercise of it. His country was fighting for a principle, not for a temporary prerogative. He sacrificed the latter to enthrone the former. In doing so, he gave up his life. What a noble example! Philippine history contains beautiful chapters of heroic deeds, noble achievements and martyrdoms of sons and daughters of our sturdy race, who in one epoch or another in our epic struggle for freedom, have shown the admirable character of the Filipino people. But one shining example of heroism and martyrdom that sprang from the darkness of the most unhappy and unfortunate period in our centuries of struggle and longing, redeeming all that was execrable and disgraceful to our name as a people, was Jose Abad Santos' valor and courage exhibited at two o'clock on the afternoon of May 7, 1942 in the jungle of Malabang when, calmly as Rizal did and facing the cowards serene and unperturbed, he smilingly met death to give a worthy legacy to a worthy people.

Yes, this is our dynamic inheritance. But as any other inheritance, it may be dissipated or misused. Already, loyalty to our country is being flippantly invoked; and, assuming the trappings of public interest, claiming the welfare of the masses as exclusive personal prerogative or promising redress to the suffering of the so-called downtrodden,

many a scoundrel would perpetrate the most heinous crimes of murder and robbery with the cynical complacency and approval of those who would draw political strength from such dastardly acts. They mistake loyalty to the constitution and laws of the country, loyalty to society, and loyalty to their own brethren and benefactors for personal loyalty to a group of men in power whom they hate for not allowing them to continue committing their depredations. And what is worse in their avowed loyalty to a foreign principle, they forget that they are Filipinos and only remember that foreign promptings are justified in so far as they promote their violent bid for power. Thus, the security of the State, the security of their own people, their own security, are exposed in the name of misplaced loyalty to an alien doctrine. Nor are they guided by any principle at all, except the primitive principle of survival in the life of the jungle.

My fellow countrymen, the inheritance that Jose Abad Santos left us is the inheritance for the good life—the inheritance of peace, the inheritance of dignity, the inheritance of love of country, the inheritance of love of our fellowmen. To die for the country as he did is the hallmark of the truly noble soul. Let us at this hour grasp all the meaning and worth of that inheritance. And may the youth of the land catch the spark of Jose Abad Santos' life and kindle in their soul a similar flame that will never die. This is the meaning of this special day. ●

THEY GAVE THEIR LIVES TO LIBERTY

Memorial Day address, May 30, 1949.

FILIPINOS and Americans alike pause once again to pay grateful homage and to assess our obligations to America's unnumbered heroic dead.

They laid down their lives that the American people might preserve their union and retain their cherished liberty, that the oppressed peoples of other lands and climes might enjoy the same boon of freedom, and that the whole world might live without fear.

I have a vivid picture of America's noble mission in my own land. In the afternoon as I gaze over the sunset at Manila Bay, I erect in my memory a statue of liberty on the black rock of Corregidor against a background of multicolored haze – of blue, of violet, of vermillion, of crimson, beautifully combined as by a master painter, to constitute a symbolic halo of America's setting sun on Philippine horizon – a sun that recedes, leaving behind it the glow and the glory of a great libertarian mission.

There are many such sunsets in other lands today. Tomorrow they will increase. For, henceforth, as one roams the seven seas and commutes across four continents, one's eyes will never fail to observe that there is hardly a corner of this good earth but what has been enriched by good American blood to nourish the great American dream – the promise of the good life for all, born out of passionate devotion to freedom and sanctified by the sacrifices of those whose bones are honored guests in foreign soil.

The progress of this dream dating back from long before Gettysburg, and coming down to our day through the Spanish-American War and the two World Wars, stirs the imagination. Today, almost every American home from sunny California to cold New England is linked by memorial bonds of common sacrifices extending to the farthest reaches

of the Pacific and the Atlantic, to the frozen wastes around the two poles, to Asia, Africa, and Europe. America gave the flower of her manhood and the cream of her substance in the most prodigal proportion in an adventure without parallel in the history of human effort, not in pursuit of plunder or power but the noble realization and protection of that dream. Their blood and treasure were expended without stint and without measure, without distinction as to land and sky – in the jungles of Bataan and Guadalcanal, on the beaches of Normandy and Caigara and Lingayen, on the burning sands of Africa, the sunny slopes of Italy, and the frozen tundras in perpetual winter. I stood across the ruins of the monastery of Mt. Casino one day, scene of some of the fiercest battles fought in Italy, and was moved by the sight of the huge white cross of the Polish cemetery, at the foot of which I read the following epitaph: "They gave their lives to liberty, their bones to Italy, and their hearts to their fatherland." In the choice burial grounds of this my sun-kissed land, we see uncountable white crosses for the Filipino and American dead, for which a similar epitaph can well be dedicated: "For those who gave their lives to the freedom of this country, their bones to enrich the soil they redeemed, and their all for the peace and security of the world."

Wherever the dream was challenged or desecrated, America sent her youth to bear the brunt of the battle. The Philippines, benefiting from the blessings of that dream, also gave the flower of its youth; bore willingly and gallantly its share of sacrifice.

It takes one's breath away to view in retrospect the courageous march of these heroes of democracy and justice, "wearing their wounds like stars." No spot on earth is alien to them and their deeds. They constitute the great American record of faith and freedom that stands incomparable to any in the history of mankind.

And because of this fact, the eyes of the whole world are focused on America today—the eyes of friends, allies, and former foes alike. While there is stupendous gratitude for and admiration of the record, while it has struck great hope and faith among all peoples, the wonder remains as to what extent those who make America today will heed the spirit of her heroic dead and continue the unfinished task of liberty and justice for all mankind. For the task is as obviously unfinished a task of liberty and justice for all mankind. For the task is as obviously unfinished as it is tremendous. And the whole world, in spite of being finished as it is tremendous. And the whole world, in spite or precisely because of the allure of a rising doctrine of violence, looks to America to lead.

America's heroic dead can only charge to the living:

"Take up our quarrel with the foe!
To you from failing hands we throw
The Torch—be yours to hold it high;

If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep. . . . “

That must be the voice not only from the silent poppy fields of France but from Corregidor or Okinawa’s highest hill.

America is still the world’s greatest hope. The sacrifice of her heroic million dead has raised her to that highest distinction and responsibility. Peoples of the world who have benefited from her sacrifice and service or have glimpsed the vision of her glorious heritage, are anxious to see her provide the leadership and assistance to achieve a unity of peace and plenty that alone can guarantee the lasting welfare and happiness of her people and make the ultimate measure of her loyalty to her heroic dead.

This hope will remain as stubborn, compelling, and universal as the memory of America’s noble dead is eternal.

The voice of Franklin Delano Roosevelt now rings more eloquently than ever before from his simple but gentle grave at Hyde Park :

“ We cannot and must not build walls around ourselves and hide our heads in the sands ;

we must go forward with all our strength and stress and strive for international peace.”

In the face of the turmoil still besetting our troubled world, I seem to hear him continue repeating with the poet :

“I am not resigned to the shutting away of loving hearts in the hard ground,

So it is, and so it will be, for so it has been, time out of mind :

Into the darkness, they go, the wise and the lovely.

Crowned with lilies and with laurel they go ; but I am not resigned.

Down, down, down into the darkness of the grave

Gently they go, the beautiful, the tender, the kind ;

Quietly they go, the intelligent, the witty, the brave.

I know. But I do not approve. And I am not resigned..”

ELECTION AND THE PEOPLE

Radio chat, June 15, 1949.

NOW that the major political parties have held their conventions and announced their platforms and standard-bearers, I hope that there will be at least a temporary breathing spell after an unprecedented tension due to political hysteria. The dramatization of the party processes with the attendant sensations caused by those who had something to get out of their system must subside for a time. The people should be given opportunity to make intelligent appraisal of the political issues being presented to them, in the most dispassionate manner. It is the security and freedom with which the people can make this appraisal that constitutes the very core and substance of our democratic heritage.

Every election year is testing time for the vigor and value of our free institutions. In effect every election submits our people to the crucible and determines our right to the blessings of a democratic system established through the sacrifices of our heroic predecessors. The opportunity given to our people during this time to weigh issues and the men identified with such issues is as much a test to our people’s loyalty to the democratic traditions that raise the blood, bone, and sinew of our prized political institutions.

It is gratifying to note that the press, as a vital part of our free institutions, is affording our people every possible responsible assistance to make good use of the opportunity to see the real issues clearly and get the facts essential to sound judgment. The power of our press is not to be denied. It is a power that works two ways—one for destruction and the other for construction, one for confusion and the other for crystallization, one for prejudice and hate and the other for truth and understanding.

It is curious that, the calamity howlers much in currency today are people in comfortable circumstances—well-housed, well fed, well-dressed. Their looks of well-being do not square with their dire lamentations. They cry tyranny and yet they have freedom to excess in shouting it to the four winds of heaven. They cry corruption but would not lift a finger to help do the dirty work of cleaning—they say it is their precious secret which they

would keep to themselves presumably for their leverage to power.

It is my great hope that in maintaining their leverages to power our press itself will strike a balance somewhere to give light an equal chance with the shadows of our life as a democracy.

For our press owes it to our people to foster the sound perspective needed for intelligent appraisal of the crucial issues of the day. I take the press to be not only a mirror but a guide. Where confusion is worse confounded, the guidance can only be negligible if not vicious and harmful.

The issues before the country today are grave and fundamental. They involve the greatest problems of construction and development to insure the security and stability of the nation. The slogans should not be careless expressions of temporary tensions. They should be sober and more far-reaching. And the issues should not hang merely on the vindication of the honor and the aspirations of a single man that would sacrifice the welfare of the entire people to realize them. They are not merely to clear the name of a single person whose loyalty to the country's highest interests had been questioned in a paid terror under alien domination and dictatorship. What should occupy the mind and soul of our people is the manner in which we should continue laying the firm foundations of our democratic institutions and insuring a life of substance and contentment that would make such institutions survive. We must always remember that we are not living in the world alone, that when we launched the Republic of the Philippines three years ago we meant it to be a strong unit in the contribution to world peace and security. To destroy that unit by fratricidal dissension or internal disintegration would be national suicide. Our efforts, fruitful and eloquent as they have been demonstrated so far, would be set at naught.

I would like every citizen of this country to discuss more actively and responsibly in his household and neighborhood, and not only at public squares, the current topics of the day. A child who inquires about his prospect for room in his school should be answered affirmatively. The father, if a teacher, may be informed that his salary has been increased. If he is an enlisted man in the Army, the same may be said of him. If he is a tobacco planter, he may tell the news that he can now plant more tobacco because the industry has been revived by the government. Similarly with the abaca planter, who can now secure a handsome crop loan. The coconut grower may apprise his neighbors that there is now an appropriation to eradicate the coconut pest commonly known as *kadang-kadang*. The rice grower may also inform his neighbors that irrigation systems are being established everywhere and that fertilizers are being provided to increase his production. The existence of every challenge of those who would sow distress, confusion, disaffection, and violence to bring

about their slave paradise. of the PACSA as a field agency of the government to minister to the needs of the suffering people in the barrios may be a proper household topic. The general discussion may include an inquiry as to who is responsible for all these benefits and for the incarceration or dismissal of erring officials. The household members may then be judge who can steadily secure all these for country—and so on, until the collective family opinion becomes the public opinion of the community, which may then spread and find honest reflection in the press that moulds public opinion. I conceive this to be a constructive and fruitful way of stimulating public interest in the big issues before the country.

The world is watching this young democracy of ours. I am confident that we can survive the scrutiny. I am confident that our people will be able to detect the camouflage of peculiar birds seeking to don the feathers of honesty and decency, whose voices and manners are bound to give themselves away. I am confident no less that our people will not be bamboozled by irresponsible tall talk about revolution. Our people have become much too familiar with the recent nightmare of blood, terror, and violence to wish for a return engagement so soon, however emphatic the promise of bread and good government which they did not have during that dark night of the war and which are now plain realities so obvious as to be taken for granted by our very articulate and uninhibited critics.

We have reason to be grateful today that we can talk our head off in any direction because we have freedom now as we have never enjoyed. But let us ever keep our sense of proportion. Let us consider the issues soberly and study the men that give them flesh, reality. Our will must find true expression in November, and this ultimately depends on how responsibly we exercise our rights and privileges to this end. The choice is ours, yours and mine. We shall prove once again that democracy works in this country, that it is equal to every challenge of those who would sow distress, confusion, disaffection, and violence to bring about their slave paradise. ●

A BRIGHT SPOT IN THE PACIFIC

Independence Anniversary Address, July 4, 1949.

THREE years ago today and close on the heels of a terrible world war, the second but the most devastating ever, which left everything in shambles, the Filipino people dared the United States of America to fulfill her promise of independence. The time hardly seemed auspicious, but, in an comparable historic gesture of idealism and faith, America, the world's greatest democracy, honored her word and decided to launch the Republic of the Philippines in its adventure of freedom.

A world that was watching us had doubts, many of them serious, but not our own people nor the great people of America. Of its own will, the United States chose the 170th anniversary of its own independence to renounce its sovereignty in the Philippines, recognizing the right of our people to determine our own destiny. Thus, fired with confidence and great faith and determined to rise from our prostration, we the Filipino people became, on July 4th, 1946, the first full-fledged democracy on this side of the great Pacific.

The record of our first three years of independent existence sustains that faith. The very influence of the record upon the outside world, especially upon our immediate neighbors, more than amply sustains that faith. Since the inauguration of our Republic, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, and Korea have followed our example, while Indonesia and Indo-China have followed closely to effect their liberation.

In his inaugural address as first President of our Republic, our dear friend President Roxas gave full appreciation of the difficulties facing us at the start. The beautiful surroundings that now lend grandeur to this year's 4th of July celebration were then a sorrowful sight. Our other cities and towns were rubble in great part; our farms were so much abandoned waste land; our industries, mainstay of our prewar economy, were crippled; our income was negligible; most every supply of material for food, clothing, and shelter was in ration. Our schools were in ruins; the barong-barong as a makeshift structure was not only the prevailing reality but also the common state of mind of the population. Violence was more than a mere hang-over of the war; it was the routine experience and not the nine-day sensation it has since become. We then predicted that it would take us no less than ten years to reconstruct our battered country and its institutions. But in three years, we have risen above those difficulties; we reconstituted and reorganized our institutions, reinvigorated our spiritual and material life, and established a pattern of freedom and peace peculiarly our own in our part of the world.

The firm foundations of our body politic as a free and democratic nation have been successfully laid. We have, besides, designed a concrete and comprehensive plan of national development and launched its systematic fulfillment with ample funds, millions of funds, for its implementation. While we have cast our eyes for assistance in some directions largely towards our friend and ally the United States, and secured some very handsome relief and assistance, we looked into our resources directly and proceeded apace to lift our country on our own initiative. We have started full steam ahead and established the basis of our economic sovereignty.

In our total economic mobilization program, which constitutes now the foundation of the new Philippine ideology, we have given immediate and full attention to food production. As a result of the program of expanding food production now in active execution, we have narrowed the margin of our foreign dependence for rice supply and have practically banished the blackmarket. Our average annual prewar rice production was about 1,857,000 metric tons. Our present production is estimated at more than 2,240,000 metric tons. We have set up the machinery which will make the country within five years self-sufficient in the staple cereal that is the yardstick of our living costs and standards.

We eat and dress and live better today than we have ever done since liberation and, in some respects, even before the war. The homes that we have built and are building today, whether for owners or for those who rent, for the well-to-do as well as for the modest employee and worker, are a decided improvement over what we have had ever before the war—in design and function. Our cost of living has been reduced since 1946. The peso today can buy about 40 per cent more prime commodities since then, indicating that we

are waging a successful war against the high cost of living, while at the same time increasing the purchasing power of the wage earner.

The Philippine peso today is recognized throughout the world as one of the most stable currencies. International reserves, consisting of gold and U.S. dollar exchange, amount to 113 per cent of the total currency circulation. Our foreign trade has jumped in volume from P72 million in 1946 to P1,775 million in 1948, and the trend is still rising this year.

The growth of popular education has been adequately met. The pre-war enrollment in the public schools was about 1,944,000; today we have more than 3,372,000, and since last year no child of school age has been refused admission for lack of room, nor will there be any this year even with the prospect of much greater enrollment.

The highways, to sample the rate of rehabilitation of our public improvements that have been rebuilt or built or are in building all over the country, are now obvious features of the landscape; only a professional partisan, a renegade, a grouse, would deliberately miss them. The motorized traffic that crowds them everywhere attests to the vigor and substance of our recovery and development under the most straightened conditions. All national, provincial, and city roads existing at the outbreak of the war have been completely opened to traffic. In addition, more than three thousand kilometers of new roads have been constructed. In the course of a few more months, motorized traffic between Aparri in the extreme north and Sorsogon in the extreme south of Luzon will be opened and we are completing the network of roads in Mindanao.

Since we became a Republic, about 2,400 public buildings, including hospitals, markets, post offices, and municipal buildings have been built, reconstructed, or repaired. An aggregate of 156 irrigation, river control, and flood control projects have been constructed or repaired. In addition, almost all pre-war water supply systems, port works, and other public works projects have been restored into operation. We have embarked upon a large scale construction of 17 major irrigation projects, setting aside therefor P10,000,000 this year alone for their construction in addition to the P22,000,000 worth of irrigation projects already provided for by law and P5,750,000 portable irrigation projects by the employment of pumps and pipes now in use in Rizal, Bulacan, and Quezon provinces. This is aside from the three rice production projects in Mindanao, Mindoro, and Cagayan Valley, for which we have released already P10,000,000 in order to avoid the importation of rice.

Now, let me turn to the lot of the less fortunate of our inhabitants, especially those who bore the brunt of the resistance at home or in the field. Large scale provisions

and gratuities, vacation leave, back pay, hospitalization, educational and other benefits, have been made as a partial measure of the nation's appreciation of their loyalty and heroism. We shall not cease until they have been completely brought back to the normal pursuits of productive endeavor. And the teachers and the enlisted men in the Army, and the other low-salaried employees—they have all received increase in salary, providing them with a more decent livelihood.

At no time in the history of our nation has the worker, in this same period, been given more opportunity to win benefits and privileges in our industrial set-up and to consolidate his gains consistent with the enlightened principles for the advancement of the welfare of the common man. The redistribution of landed estates has been accelerated; a system of extending credit facilities to small farmers not only through crop loans under the auspices of the PACSA but small credits from the PNB and RFC, and of apportioning uncultivated land acquisition by those wishing to work them, has been perfected.

Graft and corruption is no monopoly of this country and Republic. We have proceeded to uproot it with utmost vigor within the sanctions of our constitutional and democratic processes, giving every man his day in court and putting him in jail when he deserves it, irrespective of his status or his relationship with the powers that be. The infections of our body politic should worry us if we could find no feasible method of eradicating them except by cremating the whole body.

The solution to ills besting our nation is not to be achieved by simple incantation. It rests on freedom to probe our soft spots and the will to apply the knife of truth, understanding, and responsibility to them. We are a healthy Republic today because we have that freedom and that will.

Our Republic, I am proud to say, is the one specially bright spot in our corner of the Pacific today. It is the one spot where any stranger bringing goodwill and understanding can feel immediately the warmth of our people's welcome and the advantages of our increasing restoration to the ways of freedom, productivity, and peace.

In the currents and cross-currents of conflicting interests touching this part of the Pacific, our Republic enjoys a unique position that is being viewed today from outside not without admiration and judicious envy. We have freedom; we have achieved a great measure of recovery and peace; we have chartered our course of economic development and are going ahead with it; we have concluded pacts and agreements with other free nations essential to our security and growth; we have a manner of intervening in a very articulate and respected way invariably aligned with justice and the oppressed in the councils of the

United Nations. We established our international credit and acquired a name and prestige of distinction among the leading powers of the world. On top of all, we celebrate today in common with the United States of America the glory of the Fourth of July rooted in a common liberal and libertarian tradition and in a joint experience in and for democracy consecrated in blood; the Philippine tricolor, our flag, whenever it is raised anywhere in the world, floats proudly high and dignified inspiring the respect, and friendship, and the goodwill of all nations. *(Applause)*

.....strange as it may seem, only some conventional critics at home would rob it of its magic wand. And not all is rosy to us. Today we face the prospect of extinguishment of our freedom by the lowering clouds of a ruthless imperialism—now in retreat in the West, but at its flood tide in the East—prompted our local adversary into ill repercussions affecting our internal security and integrity. We cannot afford to think that we, or any other free nations here, can remain free, can continue to advance towards plenty, and can preserve the peace if the countries around us now valiantly struggling to shake off old chains and to ward off new ones, fail to conserve their gains towards freedom until they fully attain it.

Our answer to the threat of red imperialism and the new slavery is a real union of the peoples around the Pacific, but paramount of all, the union of our own people on the basis of common counsel and assistance in protecting and advancing freedom and peace, in facilitating the development of their resources for the benefit of their general population. To this our Republic feels bound to commit itself if it is to continue the pace of its progress since 1946 and to see its neighbors share the blessings of freedom and peace under a democratic system. Such a union should enable under-developed members to help themselves better through cooperation, common protection in the manner contemplated in President Truman's bold new program of technical and material mutual aid.

We are favored by the fact that while our Republic may be envied, it is not feared. We do not envisage encroaching on our neighbors to insure the fulfillment of our program of total economic mobilization and social amelioration. Of course we enjoy picking on each other at home to discover our limitations and test our virtues, proving how well we can stand the hazards of democracy. Our record has shown that we have reached that maturity—political maturity – after years of national existence.

If this epoch of democracy, as we have reason to believe it is, and if we are the unique outpost of democracy in this part of the world, as we are proud to know we are, we have, in this Republic of ours, achieved the basis for the spiritual inspiration that should set and keep the lights of democracy continually aglow in our part of the world.

Our Republic was born in an atmosphere of crisis and want, but now it is hitting its stride. It knows where it is going and how it is to get there. What emergencies it faces today are incidental passing pains artificially created by seasonal partisanship, very common among democracies, but will disappear with the rains that follow the thunder-claps, not later than November 8 this year.

On this sacred day, let us dedicate ourselves anew to the unfinished tasks before us. Let us pray the Almighty that our hearts and our minds may continue to be sensitive to the grace of His wisdom and guidance.

Because we have been singularly blessed in the first three years of complete freedom, I am confident that, as good and true Filipinos all, conscious of our country's heroic traditions, we shall continue to build up into a dynamic, intelligent, and decisive factor— at home and abroad – for freedom, for goodwill, and for justice to all men. *(Applause)*

TO FOLD OUR ARMS WOULD BE SUICIDAL

Radio Chat, July 15, 1949.

THREE LIVE topics are occupying the mind of our people today : the most recent one is the visit of Generalissimo Chiang-kai-Shek to the Philippines; the purely legalistic one is the exercise of the emergency powers of the President ; and the hot one is the talk of revolution and secret formulas by desperate candidates.

The first topic – the Chiang Kai-shek visit— evoked world-wide attention to the proposed union of the Far Eastern countries and those bordering on the Pacific which are menaced by the onrush of communism ; the second raised the question of dictatorship in the Philippines; and the third, the ticklish question of collaboration with the Japanese.

It is most gratifying to observe that our general populace is taking active interest in the discussion of these topics. In the streets, in the restaurants, in the factories, and even in the wharves, the cocher, the driver, the waiter, the laborer— all now talk of the Pacific Union, the emergency powers of the President, and the probable effect to the country if Mr. Avelino or Mr. Laurel or Mr. Quirino is elected President in the coming elections. This shows that our people are getting to see beyond purely parochial horizons. We had reason to drop the word “Islands” from the name of our country, simply calling our homeland “The Philippines”. The new name now signifies not only our spiritual unity but also our relations with our neighbors and the rest of the world. We are no longer isolated islands or a mere group of islands. We have become an integral part of the world.

I shall not elaborate on the collaboration issue because it is not only ticklish but delicate. Many say it is a dead issue. I think it is. My wonder is why some people are so afraid of the dead. Considering the rising temperature in the political pot, we should refrain from scaring the people with threats of revolution such as begot the collaboration issue. It would be safer perhaps to read the saga of the living than remember the valor and heroism of the dead. In any event I recommend in all seriousness more caution, more coolness, and more good nature in our political campaigns.

The question of the exercise of the emergency powers of the President being sub-judice, I shall not interfere with the function of the court by discussing the constitutional points involved outside of the courtroom.

But I must say that when I issued the executive orders authorizing the continuation of the general appropriations of last year, I did nothing but insure the continuity of the existing public services so as not to paralyze the normal functions of government, the Congress having failed during its last session to enact the necessary legislation for the purpose. This practice was authorized by the United States Congress under the Jones Act and during the American regime without even requiring the American chief executive to act, or to issue any executive order, much less to submit it to the legislature for ratification or revocation in its next session. This action is also authorized by an act of our own legislature known as Commonwealth act No. 671 requiring the President of the Philippines to submit his executive order thereon in the next session of the Congress for ratification or revocation.

Those who contest the validity of my executive orders would make my action appear as dictatorial, when it could not be so under the American regime. Was not the appropriation law which I continued an act of the legislature itself? Are not the services for which I set funds for their continuation all previously authorized by the Congress? What did the president dictate?

.....even the necessary funds for the conduct of the coming presidential elections authorized in my other executive order, now being assailed also on the same ground, were the same amount included in the appropriation bill that Congress was ready to enact, but which was arrested in the conference committees upon adjournment. My point is, why unnecessarily paralyze the functions of government or embarrass the administration with these court proceedings when the very law that authorizes the issuance of the executive orders in question stands in the statute books despite the efforts of some legislators to repeal it? The answer is politics, pure politics. This is evidenced by the fact that the petitioner to declare these executive orders null and void is the President of the Nacionalista Party himself, aided by other political adversaries of the administration. They are afraid that I would use the emergency powers for electioneering purposes. I have repeatedly made assurances, my

fellow countrymen, and I want to assure you again, that I will not do it; I do not think I need to do it to win elections.

I come now to the visit of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek of China. As you already know, the Generalissimo visited us last Sunday and stayed with me in Baguio for two days. He came in response to a previous invitation extended during the lifetime of President Roxas yet and reiterated by me through Minister, now Ambassador, Chen Chih-Ping in his last visit to the Generalissimo in Formosa.

The Generalissimo's visit was unofficial and our conversations on various topics of common interest were purely informative and exploratory in nature.

In my conversations with him, I had the opportunity to learn from a first-hand source the present situation in China and also to appraise him as a neighbor of the situation obtaining in the Philippines. The conversations have become a matter not only of national but of world-wide interest.

A few of our people have expressed some fear about the implications and consequences of the initiative we took in having the recognized leader of the Nationalist China come over for some frank but friendly conversations. This fear is partly to be explained, undoubtedly, either by the war atmosphere in China or by mere insufficient experience, and partly by pure political contrariness.

Our people should realize that we are faced by an active threat to our free institutions. If we are not going to do anything about it, nobody else will. No mere contrariness on the part of any political element, which would denounce us if we did not act as they are indeed denouncing us now that we are doing something, should discourage us from acting to protect and preserve our cherished way of life.

Some plan must be evolved to meet the impact of red dictatorship-- a new imperialism and a new slavery. We conceived in the Philippines the new Filipino ideology based on our total economic mobilization as a means of checking communism in our land by insuring to our people a life of substance, of contentment of peace, of happiness; for where these exist communism will not thrive.

There has to be a start made somewhere on the idea of uniting the peoples of Asia and the Pacific to achieve this common objective on the basis of mutuality and equality. There is need of coordinated full development of these nations in order to secure their

stability and security. Thus, we explored the possibility of bringing together the peoples of the Far East in an effort to seek common counsel for the solution of our own internal problems and preserve our democratic institutions.

Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and I, therefore, began thinking out loud-- on how the countries in the Far East and in the Pacific could contain and counteract the common threat.

In my Fourth of July speech, I stated that our answer to the threat is a union of those countries in the Far East, as a measure of self-defense based on mutual cooperation for the economic, political, and cultural development of the countries concerned, believing that only the full and coordinated development of these countries can effectively and permanently counteract the influence of communism.

China cannot well do her part in this regard at the moment, beset as she is with an internal armed conflict; her most direct approach to this problem is peculiarly her own-- which, just now, is military. My only concern is to secure the necessary moral rearmament of the threatened countries of the Far East, to be achieved with the economic, political, and cultural collaboration of the neighboring countries.

My original concept of a Pacific Union was predicated upon the independence and sovereignty of the peoples of Southeast Asia and the countries bordering the Pacific so that, matters of their own destiny, they can concentrate to world peace and security. I conceive this to be our greatest goal.

What could be the danger of such a movement? What could be the deleterious effect of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's visit in order to cooperate towards that end?

That Washington or London is cool to the idea of a Pacific union is the most natural thing in the world. After all, they already have their North Atlantic Pact. So perhaps they can afford to be cool. Not we of Asia and the Pacific. The fire of communism is at our door, and it is absurd to imagine that to devise means to extinguish it is to play with it.

Isn't it natural that when there is a nearby conflagration the neighbors should immediately get together and think of measures that would protect themselves get together and think of measures that would protect themselves from the danger, especially if their close friends are either too far or are not ready to help them? Our means of protection may be limited and not immediately effective because it is largely economic and not political

development or only moral in effect. And we know that the difficulties are tremendous, but it is worth the try to save our lives, our free institutions -- democracy itself. To prepare for the worst is not only foresight but release from the paralysis of inaction superinduced by sheer animal fear. This is the essence of the proposed union.

Those of the West who are our friends and are genuinely interested in the preservation of the democratic way of life will, I am sure, have greater incentive to help us peoples of the East if we show that we are seriously exerting to help ourselves. And the best way to do so is to pool our unexhausted resources and find a common basis of exploiting them for the benefit not of one special nation but of all the member nations.

I see no other way of effecting the unification off the countries of the East to become an integral unit of the greater world union. ●

TO FIGHT ON AMERICA'S SIDE

Before the House of Representatives of the United States of America on August 9, 1949.

IT IS a rare honor and privilege for any man to appear before this august body of the distinguished representatives of the American people. Thirty years ago I occupied a seat in the House of Representatives of my country. This fact makes me feel at home in your midst. As the head of a new State that owes its existence to American wisdom and idealism, I am filled with mingled feelings of gratitude and humility because of the special circumstances that have brought me to this mighty rostrum.

The Independence Act you passed in 1934 as our charter of liberty has well directed our course as a nation. During the transition period between 1934 and the actual grant of independence on July 4, 1946, events of the most far-reaching significance to the world transpired. That period provided the greatest test ever served on our people and it revealed to us that quality of the freedom that we had been fighting for, and to America and the world at large, the character of the nation that has become its recipient and beneficiary.

The whole world has plunged into the most destructive war known in history. The Filipinos bled with the rest of humanity in that titanic struggle. Thank God, we have survived. Instead of succumbing to desperation, following the untold devastation of our country and the decimation of our population, we have come out stronger, fortified in the blessings of democracy and freedom. We have risen from our prostration disposed to anticipate and face the dangers of another possible world conflict. And we are determined to carry on and to fight to the last man on the side of America if freedom, our freedom and your freedom, should ever again be menaced and the democratic way of life imperiled.

Immediately after the liberation of our country in 1945, we thought that the Philippines could not be rebuilt in less than ten years, that it would take much longer for us to be able to stand on our own feet. But I can say with pardonable pride that the stride we have made during the last three years has more than eloquently vindicated our capacity to bear our burdens and obligations as a free and independent people.

While many countries in the world are still at a loss to reconstruct or rehabilitate themselves, bewildered in the face of uncertainties produce by their troubled surroundings, the Philippines today stands in the midst of a most distressed region as one stable unit, a veritable haven of many people in the Far East whose liberties have been threatened.

We have been concentrating our attention on our internal development. We have not lost a single moment and opportunity to enhance the stabilization of our economy. We have adopted a new ideology based on total economic mobilization of our country as a means of providing our people a fuller life of substance and contentment, in our determined endeavor to improve our living standards and in that manner contain and counteract the onrush of a totalitarian system battering down the doors of our neighbors.

We thank America for the opportunities given us to develop ourselves and our country, and for the assistance and guidance we know the United States is disposed to lend to us in our future undertakings. The new Republic of the Philippines was born in self-reliance and we are determined to build it on solid rock. We cannot do otherwise if we are to deserve the distinction of being America's original handiwork in the sphere of freedom in Asia.

I have come to your country in furtherance of mutual understanding between your country and mine -- for the preservation not only freedom and prosperity but also of the peace of the world in our part of the globe. I am positive of your concern in this regard. I am emboldened by the fact that President Truman has graciously invited me to have an opportunity of presenting our side of that understanding.

I hope that this mightiest body of legislators in the world will have timely and effective cooperation in our efforts to achieve the rich promise of that understanding, and enable us to contribute in our modest way to the fulfillment of the high mission of the United States in the advancement and preservation of world peace and security to all liberty-loving peoples. This has become an important phase of our Philippine foreign policy. It has been inspired no less by a deep sense of obligation that we owe to this great country that has given us the freedom which I know America will do her best to help protect and develop.

My country is determined to succeed. My people are confident that you will continue to extend them every possible support to succeed. Your people and mine, by a fluke of destiny, have become partners in a most glorious adventure which it will be to your interest, as well as to that of the entire world, to prosecute towards increasing fulfillment. ●

OUR MOST URGENT PROBLEM: SECURITY

Delivered before the Senate of the United States of America on August 9, 1949.

FIFTEEN years ago in this very hall, I took the oath as a member of the federal bar. It was this august body of the Senate that, for several months before the Tydings-McDuffie Act was converted into law on March 24, 1934, I had also frequently visited as ranking member of the last Philippine Independence Mission headed by our friend, the late President Manuel L. Quezon, to watch developments in the discussions of the provisions of the bill, in the original drafting of which, I now recall with pride, I cooperated with my dear friend, Senator Tydings.

I have come as a bidden guest of your Government. I am happy to report that America's handiwork in the orient has justified its existence as the first English-speaking republic in the East. When Commodore Dewey entered Manila Bay and God gave victory to his arms against the Spanish fleet, the American people little thought, and the Filipinos thought less, that 50 years afterwards America would assume a role, and the Filipinos an obligation, unparalleled in the history of liberty-loving peoples. In spite of herself, America assumed the responsibility of leadership in the extension of freedom and security to the peoples in that part of the globe. And the Philippines, correspondingly and in deep gratitude, is under obligation of extending the democratic way of life, as richly enjoyed by the Filipino people, to our neighborhood and elsewhere.

Today the Republic of the Philippines stands as a monument to the great American dream of freedom -- the freedom to which the American nation was born and by which it lives, and which it has shared increasingly with the peoples of other lands.

I have recalled this little bit of history because times presses for a redefinition of the relations between the United States and the Philippines. I speak of the Philippines in a very special sense, not as just one more State with which this great Republic maintains certain ties, but as vital outpost of freedom which you taught us to treasure and of which you are today the great champion and defender.

How far we have proved ourselves worthy of freedom, the world knows. And the world will know that we are determined to fight for freedom so long as Bataan and Corregidor exist. So far as we are concerned the history of our unremitting struggle for liberty during the last four hundred years has predetermined our future course, should our freedom be menaced from any quarter.

Our Republic is only three years old. It was born under exceedingly difficult and trying circumstances, drawing in its birth not only the blood and tears of my countrymen but of yours, as well. Our faith in democracy is being tested most severely. But I ask you, remembering the history of your own original thirteen States that formed the Union, to believe that the Republic of the Philippines will emerge from these troubled times stronger in its faith in the soundness and incomparable advantages of the democratic way. The Filipino people have found in the democracy you have implanted in our land the fullness of life and enjoyment of its blessings, and they will not surrender them in exchange for the false Utopian promises of any totalitarian system.

But today the most urgent problem that confronts the Philippines and the other free countries of Asia is the problem security. It is, in fact, the principal problem that besets all those States that lie athwart the advancing tide of communism.

The Philippines rejoices with the rest of the free world there has at least been erected a mighty bulwark against the advance of communism in Europe. That sector of the globe has been secured and the peace of the world, to that extent, has been stabilized.

However, it is obvious to everyone that the task of securing our free world is only half done. No one who realizes the extent of the menace to which Asia is exposed -- the threat to Korea, the infiltration into Vietnam, the debacle in China -- can well afford to rest at ease now that the north Atlantic Pact is in full force and effect.

Asia with its vast population which accounts for more than half that of the world and with its incalculable resources, cannot and ought not to be lost to communism by default. And yet this is bound to happen unless something of the courage and vision that went into the forging of the democratic defenses in Europe is applied to the forging of a similar system of defense in Asia.

My concern over this problem has led me into taking the first steps towards this end. I realize fully that there are strong reasons why the United States may not too readily welcome the obligations that its active participation in this project would entail. I have not, therefore, made

such participation a necessary condition for the initiation of the project itself.

But I feel very strongly that the free countries of South-east Asia and the Pacific must themselves start the movement for closer cooperation in furtherance of their common interests in the political, economic, and cultural fields. No military commitments are contemplated at the moment. The reason is simple. The countries concerned have presently no armies, navies, or air forces to muster under the terms of a military alliance. Most of them have but newly emerged into independent nationhood and are faced with grave domestic problems. They count with no industrial base of sufficient strength or magnitude to support a major military undertaking and, by constitutional mandate, the Philippines renounces war as an instrument of national policy. Above all, it is my feeling that we have time in the still free countries of Asia to halt the advance of communism by non-military means.

Our problem is therefore basically economic. Asia must properly feed and clothe and house its millions, and raise their living standards. Technical aid is needed as well as capital to tap and develop its agricultural and industrial potentialities. Fortunately, President Truman's four-point program and the United Nation's project of technical assistance to under-developed countries give promise of aid to come.

We realize that, in the end, our salvation must come from self-help, and that the advantages of self-help, and that the advantages of self-help will be enhanced tenfold if, as we now propose to do in the projected Pacific Union, we can convert self-help to mutual help.

This is the fundamental aim and purpose of the Pacific union: To forge stronger ties of economic cooperation and collaboration among the free countries of Asia in order to enhance their prosperity, to hasten the march of self-government in order to afford concentration on internal development, and to preserve their freedom. If, after the Union has been organized and the modes of collaboration have been determined, the United States of the Union will gratefully accept the renewal, in peace and for peaceful ends, of an alliance that was forged in the last war for the sake of a common victory.

The time runs short and the margin of our common security grows narrower each day. As President of the Republic of the Philippines, I consider it my supreme responsibility in this perilous hour to call upon our friends everywhere, but especially your friends in America, not to tarry too long in the redefinition of fundamental attitudes towards Asia to which I have earlier referred. May I venture to hope that this process, which may well determine the fate of more than half of mankind in the next thousand years, will be a calm, deliberate movement towards clarity, vigor, and resolution. ●

EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

Extemporaneous address before educators, December 10, 1949.

Our system of education is supposed to be a bulwark in the preservation and continued enrichment of our cherished way of life. It cannot maintain this function without taking cognizance of the dynamic quality of our technological civilization and making the necessary adjustments to have that quality serve a constructive purpose.

This only mean that our educatinal leaders must constantly reassess not only the techniques of our educational system but its objectives. In other words, we must constantly ask ourselves what kind of social order we want to find a reasonable measure of agreement as to a basic pattern sufficiently flexible to respond to the contingencies of rapid change.

A feature we would no doubt want to achieve and maintain in the pattern of this social order is equality of educational opportunity. We have already achieved that to the extent that no Filipino child is now denied the chance to have at least an elementary education ; to the extent that no qualified child is, in effect and in fact, refused admission in any school.

And yet the urgency and the obligations of freedom we cannot ignore. Upon our educational leaders devolves a great responsibility to fashion and run a system that will teach us to be free and remain free. The task therefore is to give us a helpful and creative picture of freedom that will preserve us and preserve the world in a dynamic age because it actively accepts responsibility.

Because we are in a critical period of nation building, we need to be educated to the positive and creative aspects of freedom.

The Quirino Way Page 196. ¹ Extemporaneous address before educators, December 10, 1949.

I invite you to a careful and constant examination of the measure of your effectiveness in educating yourselves and our people for this freedom. ●

TEACHERS SHOULD SPREAD LIGHT

Extemporaneous remarks before teachers, June 5, 1951.

ALMOST 45 years ago I was a *barrio* school teacher in a school site of which no longer appears in the map. It was washed away by the Abra River. The school was in barrio Caparia-an, formerly a part of the Municipality of Caoayan near Vigan. I taught school for one semester only. After that I availed myself of the following vacation to further my studies.

My experience therefore was very short but that was the first time I entered public life, and, as you know, first impression lasts the longest. My first impression of public life was nurtured by a burning ambition. It was not satisfied with being a barrio school teacher. By the time vacation was over, I had saved a good part of my salary which I had been turning over to my mother – about P 50.00. I took a boat bound for Manila where since then I have lived longer than in my own province. In the city I grappled with untold difficulties. It is where I earned the reputation of being a self-made man. I worked my way through college from high school in Manila to the University of the Philippines. It is a regrettable fact that throughout my four-year law course I was not able to buy even one class textbook. That didn't mean I had no money or that I lagged behind. I was able to pull through and finished my course without any hitch.

I love to remember my humble beginnings. Many students who have begun in a very modest way as I did are often discouraged in the middle of the road. If I succeeded after forty five years of struggle to reach the first magistracy of this land, it is because of two qualities or factors : firm determination and burning ambition.

I still have another ambition, and that is to retire someday from this palace to another barrio school and teach in it. I expect to be able to realize that ambition. I have already prepared my retirement. I have built a small house in Novaliches where I am trying to learn how to be a good farmer. I am now an amateur farmer but I will try to make good

and see if during the days of my retirement I shall not be able to uplift the adults who have never been to school in all their lives. There are many of them still. That is going to be the concluding and culminating chapter of my ambition as a citizen of this country.

I am amused to hear the beautiful sugar coating of your purpose in coming to Manila : to discuss topics which would promote your community life and thereby make the adult people profit from your experience and your training or, as you expressed it, to develop your philosophy of social service. Why don't you begin with the last number? You came here to find out whether your future is going to be assured by this administration or not. It certainly is as long as I am here. (*Applause*)

It is a source of pride to me that in my public service I was able to improve the salaries and conditions of the public school teachers by raising your pay, fixing its minimum and making your vacation leave commutable. And we are not going to stop there. Personally, I will not because I know that you are in the frontline of the great national brigade. There are messengers in the government, even laborers who earn more today than the barrio school teachers and yet the school teachers has a great responsibility at the top officials of the national government. You mould the minds of our youth in the barrios and in the municipalities. You are the first light that they see in their community.

In the brigade where we want to bring the people closer to the government and make them understand the function of the government and the extent of their duties and privileges, it is you who first give the light and explain the rights and responsibilities of the citizen. That is why the great mass of teachers in the Philippines constitute the frontline in this brigade of national understanding that must be promoted, exploited, and accelerated in order to enlighten and quicken the people in a counterpart campaign against those who are trying to sow in our soil the seeds of dangerous theories of life which we find most inimical to our liberty and freedom.

Your campaign of furthering your community life or, as you call it, community center schools, must be encouraged. It is in line with our policy of constituting other agencies in the outlying communities to enable us to carry out our national policies with a complete system of communications and direct contact with the people, such as the barangay, the community assembly, the boy scouts and girl scouts, and civic, and charitable associations of every kind sponsored and assisted by the national government. But all these should be coordinated. They should be accelerated. Your life in each community is one of leadership. We should overcome the monotony in the barrios or in isolated political entities of this country by injecting new enthusiasm and giving them a new outlook. We should not be

content with being chosen as leaders in athletics, in literary programs or in beauty contests.

You must do more than that to arouse intellectual curiosity and sharpen the intelligence of our people and make them enthusiastic in their association with you as you promote the general welfare of the community.

You say you are now 85,000 teachers. Over two decades ago you were only 25,000. Imagine the enormous number that is representing us as an individual unit in each community. If we could make the whole country hum with your activities, your inspiration, your courage, how beneficial would that be to all of us. I remember the days when there are no many schools in the barrios and when we used to hear people almost in every home reading and singing the *Pasion*.

Now something like that should be evolved to attract people and bolster their morale and their spirit, and break the monotony in each community. It may take the form of a community or cooperative store, a cooperative irrigation system, cooperative vegetable production, or a cooperative poultry association. It may vary to folk dances, songs and serenades at night. I used to take part in such serenades, and I can tell you that it exerted some influence in my life. At night when you hear a serenade, especially when you are alone and lonesome, when you hear a lovesong, you feel something uplifting and you wake up in the morning almost repeating, humming the song you heard the night before. You must put up something like that to arouse the interest and enthusiasm of the community and the people.

Text books will not be enough. Songs that are of the same pattern all over the Philippines will not be enough, either. You must invent something new – new tunes, new songs – to interest people. Such innovations will make life more pleasant.

As leaders in each community, you should spread light. Go beyond the present horizon. See if you can dig up something which will interest the people and make them follow you as their confirmed leaders. Eighty five thousand teachers constitute a strong force in the frontline for the civic and social welfare of the people.

I am glad you found time to come to Manila before the opening of the next regular school session. The barrio school teacher should be encouraged to come to Manila if only to broaden his outlook, his mental horizon. Teachers should not be made to depend only on what they read. They should see how people fight like tigers and lions in their public debates so that they can impart their impression to their pupils and neighbors when they go back to their respective districts.

Such things are necessary today. The world is getting monotonous. We are not concerned today only with the world struggle for supremacy. We are forgetting many of the little things that make human life worth-while and interesting. Let us give incentive to our population in the outlying districts and infuse more enthusiasm into them so that they may be better prepared to contribute their share in the growth and development of their country, the result of which will be seen in the next two or three years. Many people do not realize the great strides we have made in rebuilding the Philippines and enhancing its name and fame which we now enjoy. Many people have remained ignorant of what is going on in our country. Some of them believe that we are still living in those days when the Spaniards just ordered us about and we obeyed them blindly.

You had better read your history, read the news about the world events and compare them with the march of events in your country. Tell all and sundry that when the Spaniards conquered us we were less than three million ; that when the United States landed on our shores we were only six million. Tell them that when we established the Commonwealth Government we were not more than 16 million, and that now we are 20 million people. Tell them how poor we were then and how dark was our region and show them how advantageous our position is today strategically in commerce, in civilization, in world affairs ; how the Philippines has been elevated to the extent of presiding over the agencies of the United Nations. Tell them how the Philippines is now faring among the powers of the world. We don't have to possess a big standing army like Russia or the United States in order to be heard in the high councils of the world. Tell them that we have assimilated all the types of culture that have been brought to this country – from Europe, from America, from China, Japan, India and Malaya, all of which came here in successive waves, leaving behind sediments of their influence, their culture, their religion, and their civilization as well as their outlook on national life. Describe to them how we have evolved into a new nation, not the old nation of which Rizal dreamt or the nation that Lakandula conceived, but far more progressive and distinguished and enterprising. Not only have been able to keep pace with the world but today we stand as the most civilized nation in this part of the earth.

Let us arouse the interest of our people. Let us awaken their enthusiasm about the epic of our nation and make them proud of their country, the country that God has given us to cherish and develop to the utmost.

My friends, you have the best opportunity to make this country strong, solid and great. Our geographical position is such that we should always get together and pull together. Let us obliterate once for all that sense of regional pride overcome our language difficulty, and coordinate our efforts so that although we speak several dialects yet fundamentally we

are one, one in thought, one in aspiration, one in action, and one in future. (*Applause*)

You have a great task before you. I wish I have the privilege of being reborn so that I might feel anew the tremendous responsibility that faces you and cooperate with you in this new urge to work for the survival of our nation while other nations are being threatened with annihilation. Let me sound a word of warning. If we do not look out, if we do not prepare our people to defend our country to the limit, we, too, may have to follow those nations which one by one have fallen because of the aggressiveness of Soviet propaganda. It is necessary that in each community you inculcate on our people the necessity of pulling together and defending our country against external aggression. Today, as you already know, many parts of our land are being harassed by unprincipled, unpatriotic, dangerous elements who are not only trying to subvert this government but are killing hundreds of innocent children, aged people and even hospital patients in their mad desire to sow discord and confusion and deliver their own people and country to a foreign and ruthless power.

My friends, you must cooperate with the national government in this fight. The forces of our country are not enough. Our means of propaganda are not enough. The government cannot satisfy all the needs of the communities which have never received any benefits from the government before. Something must be done to supplement this deficiency, and that something is your effort, your patriotic interest, your enlightened leadership in your respective communities. We are a young nation but we are old in experience. We are weak physically but we are strong in spirit. We have a great responsibility in this part of the world. Let us maintain that prestige by continued exertion of effort ever to promote the social welfare and elevate our citizenry so that we may be able to vie with the other nations of the world. ●

HUGE TASK AHEAD

Extemporaneous speech before the 10th and 20th BCT's , June 18, 1951

I regret that I was not able to go and meet the members of the Tenth BCT when you returned in triumph to your native land the other day. I would gladly have rushed to greet you because you deserve all the honor, all the distinction, and the deep gratitude of your people for your accomplishments across the seas.

This afternoon, I am taking the opportunity to welcome you back to our shores and at the same time to bid God-speed to those who will soon leave to replace you in the battlefields of Korea. All of us who have remained here have watched your conduct in the battlefields and in your own quarters. We have observed with great pride the way you have comported yourselves. You certainly have added to the name and prestige of the country which sent you to Korea to fight for freedom and democracy.

Korea is a very small country compared to the big nations involved in the current conflict, but the issues that have to be fought in the battlefields of Korea are tremendously important. In fact, the outcome of the conflict will mean either that the world will have permanent peace or permanent enslavement of mankind.

Your contribution to this great conflict is no less important because you came from a small country. The efforts you have exerted, the bravery and heroism you have displayed before the enemy, and the exemplary conduct you have shown in your quarters all redound to the honor and respect for your country. I am very proud of your accomplishments. Your country is very happy to know that you have been able to return with stories of glory when, side by side with the other forces of the world, you fought gallantly for freedom and

democracy. Your country will be eternally grateful to you for your having brought a new and fame to the Philippines. This would not have been possible had you not determined to achieve the role that was expected of you. In that you have surpassed our expectations.

When you left the Philippines, I took occasion to give a few words of parting at Camp Murphy. I did not realize then how great and far-reaching our participation in the conflict would be. We thought we were just complying with our routine duty as a member of the United Nations, to which we have pledged our support and contribution to pursue the war against totalitarianism and communism. We never thought that each drop of blood that you shed on the battlefield of Korea would some day be left to your posterity and your country as heritage, as an eloquent testimony to your courage and your noble mission to fight for liberty and justice not only for your country but also for the world. You certainly did more than we expected. And when you returned in triumph to see and be once more with your mothers and fathers, your sisters and brothers, and your sweethearts, with that air of satisfaction and glory in your face, you raised the prestige of your country.

Everybody cheered with you, everybody was satisfied with you, everybody was happy with you, and all felt grateful to you. Some day, history will write that the boys of the Tenth have not only done something for our country but a great deal for the world. That legacy will have to be preserved. You have shown to us that you went to Korea in fulfilment of a new mission --- the mission which this Republic has pledged to accomplish and through the Tenth has nobly accomplished. When our liberty for the first time was granted on July 4, 1946, people never expected that some day we would cross the seas and contribute to the preservation of liberty and freedom.

Soon your brothers in arms will leave our shores to replace you on the battlefields of Korea. Those who are leaving on the same mission must be imbued with the same love of country, love of liberty, and love of humanity. To the legacy that your brothers have just brought to us from Korea, you who are about to go must add another saga worthy of our forebears, which will further increase the honor and dignity and be as great as those who have preceded you on the battlefields. I have heard that each and every one of you is very eager, enthusiastic, and determined to fight not merely as paid soldiers of the country but as citizens of the world conscious of their mission.

That is our joint mission. If we do not participate in this tremendous issue in Korea; if we do not show determination to maintain peace and order in our vicinity ; if we do not help our neighbors, our associates, and our allies across the seas in the preservation of justice and democracy, our shores will not be safe nor our homes either. As a small country, we need allies and friends who will cooperate with us in protecting our land so that we may

continue to enjoy the privileges of a sovereign, independent, and democratic life.

So you are going to Korea to continue the good work that your brothers have started. I don't know how long the war will last; I don't know how many more men will have to be sent to the Korean battlefields to replenish those who may have returned or perished ; but I do not know that as long as we are a member of the United Nations, as long as we love democracy and freedom and are determined to preserve that freedom in our country, it is the duty of each and every Filipino citizen to contribute his bit so that the Philippines may continue to exist as a sovereign nation. The only way we can do this is to pool our efforts, our resources, our heroism, and our determination.

Those of you who will remain behind will have the same noble mission and the same opportunity to accomplish our task. While our brothers in Korea will be fighting in an open enemy, here in our midst, we will be fighting the same enemy but clad differently, masquerading as a friend or brother and utilizing every means to subvert our institutions and poison our minds in an effort to enslave our people to a foreign power. We who are left behind are faced with greater difficulty because deep down in our hearts we hate to fight our own brothers, the brothers who have aligned themselves wittingly or unwittingly with our sworn enemy. Those who are in Korea can only injure, kill, annihilate, or destroy elements that are not from our own country, men who are not of our own flesh and blood. But you who are here to face men of your own flesh and blood. But bitter though it be, we have responded to the call of duty. We have to steel our nerves, we have to strengthen our souls so as to cope with enemies who are undermining the very foundations of our country and murdering innocent citizens.

When we see brothers fighting brothers on the same issue, the effect on our own conscience as a nation is such that we must stop as soon as possible this campaign of dissidence in our country, this organized effort to subvert your government, this inhuman activity of snuffing out innocent human lives in outlying districts --- people who are defenceless, old men and old women and young children and patients in the hospitals. We must uproot this persistent evil as quickly as possible because we need stability and tranquillity in our country in order to continue and accelerate the great development of our land.

It is necessary to increase our momentum ; it is necessary to show more determination by every means available so that we may be able to accomplish our task of building a strong, peaceful, happy, and enduring nation.

Your country is being stabilized. Thank God the dangerous months of our financial stringency, of our economic debacle. Social unrest and the very depressing economic

atmosphere have passed. We must finish our task as clearly as possible.

Almost a year ago, I suspended the writ of *habeas corpus* in our desire to give no chance for those who are suspected or are actually engaged in the subversive movement to go back to the mountains and renew their body activities. I considered this step necessary because we must bring them to court properly and **we cannot bring them to court in the short period provided by the present law.** The suspension was necessary measure to insure the safety and security of the state. I do not want to go down in history, however, as having curtailed for an indefinite period the enjoyment of the privilege of *habeas corpus*. I for one will not like my name to be linked with those who would deprive the people of their constitutional privileges. If I took that step, it was simply because I considered it absolutely necessary for the peace and security of the state.

I want you who are staying behind to cooperate to the utmost in the early accomplishment of our task of cleaning our country of subversive elements. I want you to do all in your power to restore as soon as possible the normal enjoyment of the privileges of *habeas corpus* and all other constitutional rights involved in our campaign against dissidents. I expect you to accomplish all this soon after the additional ten battalion combat teams have been completely organized and have gone throughout the country and spread themselves in strategic positions.

It devolves upon you, the armed forces of the Philippines, to end the campaign as quickly as possible. There are huge tasks ahead, tasks that this nation must do. We want our country to be developed; we want it to grow in strength, in wealth, and in happiness; we want our resources to be tapped. We want to give our children better opportunities for education and progress; we want to build schools, roads, and bridges for them so that they can go to school without trouble. We want our people to continue working in the fields unafraid.

We have many things to do. We have to build more schools, more factories, more hydroelectric plants, and more irrigation systems. We have to create new industries because as we grow in number we must have the means with which to maintain our increasing population.

We did not establish here a new government in the expectation of continuing to receive aid from outside no matter how close, how faithful, how loyal, and how kind it may be to us as the U.S. is. We do not want to be a liability to any nation, much less to the world. We want to rise and stand on our own feet. We want to paddle our own canoe, build our

own nation, and provide ourselves with every means available to continue our independent and sovereign existence.

All this we must do. We have a huge program of development for our country which will enable it to provide all the needs of our people and yet we cannot make much headway at the present even with the accelerated aid the U.S. is offering us under the ECA program and the offer extended to us by the Import and Export Bank for an additional capital investment with which to develop our country. With all the money that comes from the outside, with all the technical assistance proffered, with all the help extended to us by our friends and allies, we cannot accomplish the huge task we have envisioned unless we fight free from the dangerous elements still decimating defenceless, innocent men, women, and children in our barrios and in isolated districts.

We are going to lose all these opportunities if we allow our misguided brothers to continue with their nefarious activities. It is therefore the supreme duty of every one of you who are staying behind and all of you who are leaving our shores to bring to a successful conclusion this campaign of the subversive elements so that we can restore here a regime of peace, happiness, justice and stability.

My friends, I invite you all to ponder on what I have just said. Those of you who have returned and are to be given a furlough of about thirty days, when you go back home to your provinces or when you see your relatives and friends, tell everybody that you have made great sacrifices and risked your lives not only for them but for the world. If you were able to make that sacrifice for us, they too must make similar sacrifices for peace and order in their own vicinity. *(Applause)*

Give them the proper perspective and example of civic and public duty. You did not go to Korea as mercenary soldiers of an army that had to bribe the United States to give us more assistance for its continued existence. You went to Korea because we were all convinced, you and I, our country and people, that you had to fight for freedom and democracy because that is the only thing that would enable us to survive. *(Applause)*

When you are well rested and you return to public duty, continue telling your brothers in the army about the example, the glory that you have brought to us, and the satisfaction and gratitude of the people, and let them emulate your deeds.

Those leaving in a few moments have the same privilege and opportunity. We expect no less of you. The heritage that these gentlemen have brought to us now lies in your hands. It is for you to keep it, enhance it, or destroy it. If you destroy it, the curse

of your own country will be upon you. If you continue with the same bravery and the same heroism, assert the same conviction, the same love of country and of freedom and democracy, the Philippines will applaud you and will rise in the estimation of the world.

Remember that in this world today, a nation is not respected merely by the number of soldiers that it has in its standing army. Remember that a nation today is not respected merely because it has so many millions in its coffers. Remember that a nation today is not respected merely because it has large colonies or empire. A nation is respected by its moral value and leadership in the world. I want you to preserve that as far as the Philippines is concerned. Thank you very much. ●

UNSEEN HANDS GUIDE OUR DESTINY

This is an entirely new afternoon of our Glorious Day as a nation. As we watched in proud review the massive power of the twin basic supports of the nation---the soldier and the worker---a sense of security crept into our being. We have been made to feel that there is added strength in our sinews. And our hearts beat to one rhythm of faith.

In this beautiful spot, symbolic of our new endeavours, overlooking the hallowed grounds made rich with the holiest memories of heroic deeds and noble acts of freedom, something enchants our soul. Undoubtedly our happy attendance here affirms the validity and vigor of the Republic we established five years ago, and the free institutions that give it substance and force.

We can now tell the world that in the first five years of its life, our Republic has successfully stood the doubts of bystanders and the untruths of its enemies. And the reason lies in the intrinsic integrity of the nation. This integrity has been in many instances misrepresented, but we have shown its indestructibility because it has been built of ample and devoted investment in blood, tears, and treasure of all our generations past.

It is curious that we have been able to testify to the vigor of our Republic close on the heels of recent dogmatic predictions of its rapid deterioration and early collapse. Instead of discouraging us, those dire predictions exercised a potent effect in reinforcing our people's determination to prove the contrary. It simply reveals one peculiarity of our people, that we do not discover our latent reserves of strength and staying power until we are faced with the challenge to survive.

Day by day, we now realize that there is no special virtue in survival for its own sake. Thus, we do not struggle just to survive; we seek to survive for the opportunity to

remain free---free to fulfil our genius as individuals and as a people.

And the fact that we have survived so far makes it pertinent to affirm anew why we should continue to want to do so. An anniversary like this today therefore calls for a fresh statement of our long-run outlook.

We aspire to live not for this age alone, nor by ourselves alone. If we are to retain the freedom that we value and for which we want to survive, we must continually commit ourselves in daily thought and action to the duty of maintaining the healthy exercise of our civil rights and liberties, of upholding the dignity and worth of the human person, of restoring the full sense of community life among individuals, among neighbors, and among nations.

Fortunately, our Republic has won a respected place however modest in the family of nations. It is known always to have responded to its commitments as a responsible member. Because of its sense of community, it has identified its voice with every argument for self-determination of small peoples, for resistance to aggression, for broad human rights. Knowing that there can be no halfway house between slavery and freedom, it has ranged itself on the side of the free world and is contributing its share of the sacrifice to keep it free. This is why our boys are fighting in Korea.

We have no pretensions to impose on our neighbors by claiming any special wisdom. We tell no one how to run his own house; we just see to our own, set it in order, and seek to show thereby the merits of our democratic system in which we hope to grow, developing our potentialities to the limit. We sponsor no hate drives. We organize no smear campaigns. We have always endeavoured to maintain the friendliest understanding and cooperation. We take the chance when we can to form a positive basis for increasing common counsel on problems easier to resolve by common action. This is why we invited our neighbors to the Baguio Conference of 1950.

In desiring to achieve peace for ourselves and with our neighbors, we are resolved to make our social order a direct expression of the peace in our spirit, which we distinguish from mere insensibility and consequent stagnation. This means a continuing effort, a continuing conflict even---but a conflict productive of creative change, or creative peace.

Destiny has thrown us into a special relation with the United States. We can say for today that relation has had something to do, in addition to our own efforts, with the large measure of our recovery from the war, with the security of our freedom and stability of our democratic institutions. There can be no false pride about this fact, nor feeling of

subserviency to a friend who unselfishly recognizes our right to be free and stay free. America and the Philippines have a common objective which we now regard as a mission---to extend the borders of democracy everywhere.

In a shrunken and shrinking world, people have to get used to the fact, not so much of independence, absolute and complete, as of interdependence and mutual assistance that nourishes human dignity and self-respect. And this is why we are a loyal and active member of the United Nations.

We have looked upon the battle of Korea as a struggle for peace, the peace of the world and the peace of mankind. Our world community life can only be maintained in an atmosphere of universal tranquillity; and as long one group of nations disturbs that tranquillity for any motive, economic, military, or ideological, our individual life as a nation will always be menaced.

We long for the day, the arrival of that moment, when once and for all, in the battlefields of Korea, the belligerents may come to an honest understanding---with the interest of peace safeguarded and the unification and liberation of the Korean people assured. We are, therefore, for the immediate cessation of hostilities and the honest settlement of the issues that have made our present world one of turmoil and senseless loss of life, property, and human values.

We want to live a life of substance so that we may be never a liability, but an asset to world prosperity and advancement. This is why we are engaged in total economic mobilization. Our initial efforts are bearing sufficient fruit to show we are on the right path in attacking poverty by organized production. The gradual conquest of poverty, along with more equitable sharing of the fruits of production, strikes at the root of social discontent.

Our efforts for the mobilization of our productive resources will continue to be planned, the state using its main strength to determine indirectly the broad level and conditions of economic activity and to make a success of projects clearly its own responsibility.

In striving to create plenty as a means to root out discontent, we are not merely providing our people with a life of substance and contentment and a guarantee to the preservation of our freedom. We are creating the condition of our country's growth and continuance. A high living standard is, of course, not enough. Man will want more than bread to live by.

The future of a free social order in this country depends on the kind of men it produces. Judging by recent events reflecting social convulsions, there can be no telling whether tyranny may not enter upon this country. The only bar against it is a large breed of resolute men.

It is the greatest challenge and opportunity of our times to continue producing that large resolute breed, by whose consistent practice of democracy our sense of the value of the individual can be kept alive and strong, by whose loyalty to it our relation to our kind can remain square and fruitful and rich.

We are determined that our citizen will not be deprived of their meaningful role in our social order. We are determined to democratize the benefits of our free institutions, lifting those below to the level of prosperous civilized life. Democracy being a process, not a conclusion, we accept our commitments to it as a continuing, endless experience. Thus, our program of action is of long-range, requiring resolute men of vision to carry it to fulfilment.

Democracy has often been taken by its enemies as another name for division. Indeed, a frequent threat to democracy is division. We cannot deny that in our national life we have had and undoubtedly will have moments of disconcerting division.

But it is also the virtue of our order that such moments of division are more apparent than real, and that, in the perilous hour, it is the free consideration of a generous diversity of outlook that best prepares us for decision and united action. We have shown our maturity in this regard.

Wherever democracy is a fighting creed, such diversity of outlook anticipates its most historic resolutions and decisive victories.

And so it is a part of our commitment to democracy that we constantly practice patience and tolerance with its seemingly slow processes arising from differences of opinion, conflicts of individual aspirations, clashes of personal or group motivations.

We want to establish that our unity as a people loyal to democracy and freedom will not be impaired by those diversities and differences. They may seem to obstruct quick action, but in effect they allow a wide margin for a just decision that can command the most ample adhere. What is essential is national discipline, the enlightened obedience to the will of the greater number in contrast to the will of a self-elected few.

We have just witnessed a show of the armed might of our young Republic.

Disciplined and devoted to democracy, these men are gallantly doing their part in our nation-building. They have a leadership today that has strengthened the trust and security of our people. They are building upon a tradition of racial heroism whose loyalty to liberty is finding fresh affirmation wherever it is in extreme peril.

We are proud of their predecessors. We are equally proud of them who now are holding up the standard. Peace is not easily to be restored to our countryside. But it is on the way--because we have these men. Aside from talking the language of force, as best understood by aggressive subverters, they bear a positive mission of peace and production now being fulfilled in new settlements for the landless on our virgin plains.

Certainly, the local atmosphere has cleared because of the efforts of these men. You can now call them your real protectors and defenders. Agriculture, industry, and commerce are receiving the proper incentives because a sense of security pervades the national atmosphere. This condition has even enhanced our credit abroad.

Of course, we cannot attribute to them exclusively the arrival of this new era. No one individual or any particular group of individuals can claim that our nation's recovery and progress since independence are their special work. But they have helped prepare the ground for our national achievement. This is the achievement of our people as a whole by reason, and irrespective of the diversities of outlook and approach which must of necessity be peculiar to a democracy like ours.

What we have heretofore accomplished is the manifestation of that national instinct which has incessantly prodded our people to face dangers, to rebuild our country every time we fall, to feel stronger every time we rise, never discouraged, never dismayed, never despairing of anything. There is an Unseen Hand that subtly guides and directs our national conscience in moments of peril and adversity. We only need to appeal to it in all fervor and sincerity so that it may touch and raise our long-suffering people with its magic wand. That is the secret of our national strength; that is the virtue of Filipino genius; and that is our hope for continued national existence.

Our prayer today must be that we keep up that spirit and the good work. We can do that because we have a Republic that has a living faith in its right to live free and untrammelled. Like the kingdom of God, that faith and democracy lie in our hearts.

My beloved countrymen, again I beseech you: give me your hands that mine may be kept steady. ●

TOWARD AN ENDURING SECURITY

We have witnessed today an act that may be described as the end of the beginning. Here we have set the first milestone on the road towards the enduring security of the Pacific area. I have special reason to rejoice at this moment because it was not so long ago in this same capital, that I took the liberty of proposing the conclusion of a Pacific Security Pact on the initiative of the United States. This is the first fruit of that vision. This is a treaty of mutual defense with unavoidable connotations of military action. Yet it is, in fact, wholly dedicated to peace and to the methods of peace. It means so much to the economic development and happiness of the Filipino people. Here, our two countries pledge themselves anew to the principle of Pacific settlement of disputes enshrined in the charter of the United Nations. Here, we have assumed a formal undertaking to assist each other and to stand together in the face of aggression, in the hope that hereafter we may be able to follow undistracted the fruitful pursuits of peace. We have no aggressive aims against anyone. Our purpose is rather to give notice that a potential aggressor must henceforth take due account of our common purpose and united will to act in self defense. From the history of the Filipino people and of our relations with the United States during the past 50 years, nobody can have the slightest doubt about our devotion to freedom and our readiness to share in its defense. On this solemn occasion, Mr. President, may I convey to you, and through you to the American people, the deepest sentiments of goodwill and friendship from the people of the Philippines. This treaty proclaims the sense of unity of our two peoples, and this is a declaration of historic importance. For we have established our unity of purpose, not on any consideration of race, creed, or equality of power, but solely on the ground of our common faith in freedom. Though humbled by the great significance of this alliance, the Filipino people are nevertheless proud that our young Republic has merited this recognition of its faith and its courage. Mr. President, I bring to witness, at this signing, our faith in democracy and the courage to defend it with all our strength. ●

SPAIN AND THE PHILIPPINES

Before we begin this modest banquet which I ask you to accept as an expression of my heartfelt gratitude for my having been the object of innumerable attentions and courtesies from the Spanish Government as well as from the Spanish people during my brief sojourn in Spain, especially in this enchanting city, I wish to make public acknowledgement of the warm and sincere affection shown me by an entire people, something I have not found in any other part of the world.

The long and thick rows of men and women who sallied forth to greet me everywhere with such fervent and spontaneous enthusiasm could come only from a people who love the Philippines, because I know that in entertaining and honouring me beyond measure, Spain is but honouring and entertaining the Filipino people.

From His Excellency the Generalissimo to the humblest man in the street, all Spaniards have shown their fondness open and without reserve for the Philippines and the Filipino people. This has for me a symbolic meaning that is at once vital and patent.

My visit has therefore sealed the lasting friendship of our two countries.

Once more we have contracted a spiritual and moral obligation. The Philippines from the crossroads of the Pacific, and Spain from this zone towards which the eyes of the world are turned today, will undertake a task that will weigh in the scale of international values because they will be two forces that will work in common to maintain universal peace and understanding.

Illustrious Leader: allow me, as a proof of the respect, gratitude, and admiration of the Filipino people, to confer upon you in their name, a citation in recognition of your great personal merits as the august chief and representative of the Spanish nation. ●

WAYS TO SELF-SUFFICIENCY

Rather than send a well and carefully worded message to be read in this occasion, I preferred to come so that with my presence here I would enjoy not only the happiness of being a witness to the transformation of this institution from school to college, but also the privilege of impressing upon the people my personal interest in and determination to follow up the progress of this College. At the same time, I wanted you to know the high objective which inspired me on December 31, 1950, to convert this institution into a college by executive order.

This is not the only step that I took in the first few months of my incumbency in order to show the need of revising our school system with a view to giving more emphasis to vocational education. We have revived and revitalized many of our agricultural schools in different regions. We have converted into regional schools many of the trade schools in the Philippines so as to make it easy for the National Government to concentrate its attention on their development for the good of the country at large. We have converted the normal school into a full-pledge college and, in the preparation of our huge program of economic development and agricultural expansion, we are setting aside big sums of money with which to provide our agricultural institutions with equipment and the supplies that they need, as well as with technical men to enable them to develop faster and more efficiently the agricultural possibilities of our country.

This school, which has been in existence for almost 50 years, has grown from a mere intermediate agricultural school to a college. Its growth represents a consistent and persistent endeavour. I have been quite a close observer of its development and expansion. This is not the first time that I visited this institution. I am not a stranger to this hall. My interest in this school has grown with the years and when I found time to give due recognition to those who organized and built it, I did so with pleasure and on my exclusive responsibility.

There is one unique phase in the teaching method of this College which no other school in the Philippines or abroad can boast of. Those who enrol here learn how to become good farmers and good economists, good administrators and good and patriotic citizens. They have their own government. They follow the rules of their own college administration which forms as good basis for their future success as citizens.

Increasing production, whether agricultural or industrial, does not mean anything to us unless the effort exerted is coordinated with our greater effort to build a substantial, stable and united country. We have agricultural schools scattered everywhere. We have farm settlements established in strategic places. We have a program of general agricultural development which is quite ambitious. But in spite of all these objectives, we shall fail if we do not train our citizenry to produce more, to be better hands in farms and factories, and to assume greater responsibility in coordinating their individual constructive efforts with the efforts of the rest of us who are struggling to make our country a strong, enduring and happy nation.

This is great difference between this agricultural college and other schools in the country. It is this type of College that should be established regionally to serve as centers in each region in creating constructive communities. It is this type of college that contributes to the basic development of our country, bring economic security to our people, and insure to them a life of substance and happiness conducive to the enhancement of our national prestige.

Farming is still the most democratizing activity in our life. It is farming that compels you to bend and bow and stoop to produce. It is not the brain-searching activity that scholars usually develop. It is something that induces us to look down underneath our feet and encourages us to till the rich, fertile soil that God has given us.

Heretofore, we have been known as an agricultural country. But we are exerting every effort to show that we can also industrialize the country. For that purpose, we are establishing basic industries for the furtherance of industrial activities like those mentioned by the Congressman Cases – the Ambuklao project in the Mountain Province designed to supply the territory north with electric current and provide the citizenry not only with light but also with power for new cottage industries which will gradually develop into big ones more responsive to the needs of the country. Thus we shall avoid importing so many articles that are now eating up our dollars. There are other huge and important projects like the Maria Cristina which, perhaps, will be the biggest hydroelectric plant in the Orient and the fertilizer plant being established to produce the necessary element to enrich the soil especially in the north and central Luzon, which is now poor. The fertilizer so produced will

be distributed throughout the country in order to enable the soil to increase its yield.

In our agricultural pursuit, let us try to discover new products. In our experiments, let us develop not only already existing plants and trees but also new plants or new varieties and increase our produce. For this, we need special training.

Heretofore, our agricultural students have been given limited facilities by our schools and institutions because of our limited economic resources. But with the assistance from the United States and also the greater activity among our financiers who now seem to be giving more incentive to agricultural and industrial production, I am sure that provisions can be made for our public and private schools to engage in agricultural experiments on a scientific basis. This is what we immediately need.

Our territory is rich, our potentialities are unlimited; we have all sorts of mines and minerals under our soil; the climate is excellent; our forests are full of trees; and there is unlimited number of men at present eager and determined to explore and exploit these potentialities. But we still lack the technical knowledge to take advantage of all of our potentialities. It is therefore necessary that institutions such as this be helped and encouraged so that they can produce the necessary technical men, the brain, the brawn, and the know-how which we need to convert all our country's potentialities into unlimited sources of wealth.

We may not be able to achieve all this in one generation but we may have a good start. This government has devised a plan which is quite ambitious. We have called it the economic mobilization program. We have been trying to carry it out with our limited means with the assistance of our friends across the seas. However, the effort is consistent, clear, and determined. We have a program economic national action. We are not groping in the dark. If there is one thing our country can be proud of it is the fact that we have found our way to economic development and industrial expansion. In carrying out this ambitious program, we need the concentrated attention, patriotic devotion and unselfish interest of those who are called upon to cooperate in the achievement of our great national objectives for the happiness and security of our people.

My friends, I came not merely to witness this memorable event or to see for myself in what other way the national government can extend assistance for this college. I came also to find out in what manner the government could expand the activities of this College to other regions so that we shall have in each strategic region, institutions or agricultural colleges such as this that can develop agricultural leaders from among our youth to carry out our national policy.

I congratulate the present officers of the College administration for having created here an atmosphere of cooperation, an atmosphere of earnest devotion in the realization of our concrete program of agricultural development. And on this occasion, I cannot forget the founders of this institutions who continuously, consistently and persistently endeavoured to make this college grow to its present status. Let us have more of this spirit of cooperation among our citizens.

We don't have to concentrate our attention in Central Luzon alone. There are other lands available, perhaps more advantageously situated than Muñoz College, especially in the heart of Mindanao, Samar, Palawan, Cagayan Valley, or Mindoro. Let us cast our eyes further and broaden our horizon, and see if we can find other suitable locations for agricultural colleges similar to the Central Luzon Agricultural College. There is an imperative need for training men as agricultural leaders to develop this country. I hope that 20 years hence we shall look back upon this day with pride for having been able to identify ourselves with the promotion of the agricultural progress of our country and for having helped build a college that will endure and give honor to the name and prestige of our republic. ●

REGIME OF STABILITY

I am glad you have been reminded of two instances which perhaps formed the basis of my aspiration to climb higher, to reach what I have reached—the presidency of the Philippines. That *palo cebo* story you still remember. The Zuider Zee story, I think, is worth repeating because it shows how the law of economics operates all over the world.

The Zuider Zee is an inland sea in Holland. It covered a territory of about 30 to 40 thousand square miles, but it was shallow. The Dutch, with their very limited territory, adopted a program of reclaiming that portion of the sea which crossed like an arm over the whole territory of Holland. After years of reclamation work, they were able to transform into farm lands 20 square miles of the Zuider Zee.

Holland needed wheat very badly. So it converted the new land into a wheat farm, but because Holland's population is small and the production of wheat became abundant, the Dutch decided to export their Zuider Zee wheat to Denmark.

Denmark has been noted for hog canning, hog and pork production. To produce more hogs and encourage the canning industry, he needed more and more wheat. Her importation of wheat from Holland so increased and her hog industry became so prosperous that she had more hogs than she could profitably can. So Denmark decided to convert her excess hogs into fertilizers. With plenty of fertilizers to be exported, Denmark found a ready market in Holland. To Holland she exported her fertilizer and Holland used it for the Zuider Zee portion where she produced wheat. Thus a sort of economic cycle was completed. Holland through her Zuider Zee produced for Denmark more wheat with which to increase her production of hogs and Denmark converted her excess of hogs fertilizer and shipped it to Holland, to enable her to increase in turn her wheat harvest in the Zuider Zee plantation.

The Philippines could emulate such example so that what we produce in one region could be utilized in another region and vice versa.

There are many patriots in this country who thought that we were the exclusive authors of the independence law which we obtained in 1934. That is not correct. All those who worked for the approval of the Tydings-McDuffie Law were not the sole architects of the Philippine freedom. That freedom was achieved because of the efforts exerted since if not before the days of Rizal, the days of Bonifacio, the days of Aguinaldo, and the days of Quezon and Osmeña. Rizal was the first to climb our *palo cebo*, followed by Mabini and the rest of us. They could not reach the top of the greasy pole. Nevertheless they were able to remove plenty of the grease. They came down because their time was up. However, they were quickly followed by Aginaldo and the other revolutionary leaders who, too, tried to reach the top. It was easy for them to reach the place where Rizal and Mabini had stopped. They climbed higher and removed more grease, so the rest of us who climbed later were able to reach the top, but always using the same ash to clean the pole as we climbed higher and higher in our patriotic efforts.

All of us have thus climbed the pole of independence one by one until we reached the top. We who belong to this generation are the lucky ones because we succeeded in getting the coin—our independence which was placed on top of the *palo cebo*. Independence was not therefore achieved by one or two generation alone. It is the achievement of all the Filipino people in their continued struggle for freedom and liberty, from the beginning to the present time.

That was my analysis before. It still is my analysis today.

Now, let us come to our time. We are struggling hard today to establish a regime of plenty a regime of substance, a regime of stability, a regime of peace and security, a regime of complete happiness and prosperity for our country. Each of us has his own views as to what he should do in order to attain his objective. Each of us has his own scheme, his own way of approach.

The trouble with us is that when one is on top and is doing things, those who are below and are merely observing, believe that they are better than he. We become very critical of him and express our criticism and our condemnation loudly and often disrespectfully. We should overcome that attitude. We don't seem to realize the harm we are doing to those who have gone ahead of us. We keep accusing them of not doing the proper thing. If and when such detractors reach the same place, perhaps they will realize that we were better prepared than they do things and actually did better. That unfortunately is our political history, a

history which repeats itself oftener than we realize.

When one party is in the power, the other party strives to pull it down in order to have a chance to be on top. When that party is on top, the other party which has fallen will exert the same effort to pull the other down in order to replace or supplant it. So we continue with the *palo cebo*. But by our continuous struggle to achieve ascendancy we have greatly delayed our progress. We go to the extent of advertising our country in a bad light by making derogatory propaganda abroad. That certainly is not in keeping with our growing reputation and the name we have gained in our international relations and in our internal activities. We should all endeavour to make our country stable, strong and peaceful.

My friends, it is good that we get together in an intimate manner because we have to size up and feel the touch of all those who are already in harness to accomplish those things which constitute our high national objectives.

Those who are in power are not men of marble. They are not men with idle brains. They are not men in full of angelic ideas. We are not in heaven. We are not perfect. Come and see us, talk with us, and compare us with those similarly situated. If we are not handsome, consider that others are not Apollos either. If we talk slowly, others perhaps limp. If we drink a little, perhaps other drink a lot more. If occasionally we go astray and seem to be sinning socially, perhaps there are others most vocally critical of us, who are worse.

And it is only in the knowledge of the comparative qualities or virtues of each that you can dra your own conclusions. Don't regard those in the government, those elected by the people, as perfect creatures with perfect ideas. They are as human as the rest of us with possible all the ills that the flesh is heir to.

See us, measure us, examine us and compare us with the rest of the people and you will have a better understanding and better perspective. Talking of the morality, public and private, my friends, I am living on a fishbowl. I can be seen anytime anywhere, and without any obstruction. I have nothing to hide. If there is anything wrong with me, I am not ashamed of it. I am not the author of myself. It is God, my father, my mother. But please compare me with the rest. What do others think of themselves? What do they do? What have they accomplished? Are they perfect? Are they endowed with perfect minds—or are they beyond reproach?

It is only by being closer to the people that one can get a right estimate as to whether in their opinion one is worthy or trust, emulation, and admiration. I welcome this opportunity to be with you because gatherings like this enable you to know me more

intimately. And once you have acquired that intimate or personal knowledge, be always truthful and fair.

We are accessible. Anybody can attack us; anybody can love us if he has any room for such feeling. Nobody will feel hurt if you criticize an official because of his act, but avoid blaming or criticizing the whole institution, the whole government, or the whole party for that. If So and So is a crook, a racketeer, a criminal, tell him what he is and name him. Tell us who he is but don't condemn the whole Liberal or the entire Nacionalista party. The blame is personal or individual, not collective. We are not sanctioning anything wrong or immoral or anything that will reflect on our country. None of us in the government is willing to accept the responsibility, but if there is anybody among us who is trying to pull down the name and prestige of the country, nail him down, and I am going to help you not only to nail him down but also to liquidate him, if necessary, because he has no business dragging down the prestige of the country. *(Applause)*

I make this special reference to the kind of life that we live in this country because it is necessary to have a proper yardstick, to have a practical basis of comparison so as not to set apart one class of people for eulogy or for condemnation. It is necessary to have this understanding because we do not want to distract our population now that we are engaged in promoting our national development, national stability, and internal and external security. It is not right that we should waste so much of our time, so much of the space in our newspapers and magazines, and so much of the time allotted to the radio, on silly things or on things that do not all contribute to the realization of our national objectives.

Of course, it is very hard to be serious all the time. We must inject a little bit of humor, of the common touch, even when commenting on important issues. We do not want to appear solemn, dry and monotonous every time we discuss our important problems. It is good to be light occasionally, but let us not overdo it. Let us not destroy systematically those things that give us prestige and honor as a nation and as a people and promote the highest objectives of our country.

I think the newspapermen are imbued with this ideal. I do not have to remind them of their duties and responsibilities. But it is good for us to remind everybody who has this joint responsibility. Those who have a program to carry out become distracted if they are always faced with petty criticisms, if somebody always pokes them in the ribs. Such acts should not be encouraged. I don't want to discourage the radio, the newspapers or anybody's enterprise; but in the same way that I do not want to discourage them, they must not discourage either, much less make those who have the great responsibility of nation-building the butt of ridicule.

I want to tell you in all earnestness that I am devoting all my time to the promotion of our program, the national policy of our government. I have not even had time for relaxation because my only aspiration now is to accomplish my task within the period or span of my administration. I want you to know that we are in a hurry to establish a regime of stability, a regime of unity, and a regime of prosperity. We should devote our efforts to the attainment of that goal.

There are many things that may distract us on the way and compel us to stop once in a while. But let us not tarry long. Let us move forward to the consecration of those ideals which we all have pledged to realize. *(Applause)*

My friends, if you believe I have this or that defect, come and tell it to me. Don't speculate on that I am doing. Come and ask me. Do not hesitate to come forward and tell me frankly what you think of me, because that is the only way I can see myself as others see me. ●

(Applause)

LET'S PULL TOGETHER

I am happy to be introduced in my own house. *(Laughter)* I did not wait for the committee to come and notify me that I was going to address you with some closing remarks this morning. I met the committee half-way and I will always meet your conference, the body of governors and city mayors, half-way. *(Applause)*

I learned that yesterday you had quite an interesting *intermezzo* in your deliberations. *(Laughter)* it was some spicy interlude in your official discussions. It made your conference more interesting and, perhaps, it wielded great influence in opening wide the eyes of the members of this body.

Although it has never been our intention, at least not mine, to encourage the organization of partisan groups in your midst while you are in conference in Manila, I know you couldn't avoid injecting some partisan topics to enliven your deliberations. As far as I am concerned, you can organize one league of governors and city mayors, one league of Nacionalistas and another for Liberals, or a separate league of mayors exclusively. Nor do I care if any of you wants to be in league with the devil himself. *(Laughter)*

However, I wish to repeat that all executives are supposed to execute the laws and policies of the administration, and there is only one administration. Outside of that you can do as you please: you can go home, you can go to any hotel or restaurant or any public square, and discuss matters close to your hearts political or otherwise and prepare for the

next elections. *(Applause)* But as long as you are here assembled in your official capacity and in an effort to map out the activities of your administrations, I will work with you. *(Applause)*

I have invited you to come to Novaliches precisely with the intention of erasing from your minds any political differences which you might have had in your deliberations. I also invited you to help me plant trees in my farm so that I shall always be able to remember you wherever I go and whenever we meet again. I have prepared one tree for each governor, city mayor, and cabinet member and for friends who have found time to join us this morning so that five or six years hence when these trees begin to bear fruits, we can get together again and help me gather them.

You are in a place where you can forget your worries. As a matter of fact, when I go to the *kiosk* over there and take my breakfast in the morning or philosophize in the afternoon, I become so romantic that I feel like composing verses to the setting sun and the rising moon. I wish, therefore, that your coming here would be a source of pleasant memories and that such pleasant memories would rest upon something accomplished.

I congratulate the governors and the city mayors here assembled. I don't need to repeat what I said at the beginning of your conference, that as executives we have many things to do and in order to accomplish them we must adopt a system of disposing of them so that we don't have to rush things. I have asked the department heads to be with you every day and preside over your daily meetings. The object is to give you an opportunity to clear up whatever doubts you might have and find a way of synchronizing your work with that of the national government for the sake of speed and efficiency.

I hope you have taken advantage if that opportunity and that you are now ready to go home with something definite in your mind. Perhaps you have already noted down in your memorandum book what you will do when you arrive in your respective provinces and cities.

We are beginning the second phase of the administration with a new resolve. The other night I had occasion to summarize that resolve with three C's—concentration, cooperation, coordination. I hope that these three C's will also guide you in your respective activities when you return. It is only by harmonious, expeditious and systematic solution of the problems that confront us, coordinated with those of the national government, that we can accomplish our common task. None of us would discard the possibility or would not welcome the probability of success based upon this coordinated effort on our part. You should take advantage of the opportunity offered you because the national government is

ready, willing and determined to cooperate with you. *(Applause)*

When the separate leagues of governors were organized here I interpreted the act as a part of your partisan stunt,—the desire to cling to your respective parties. I am not asking you to forsake your party affiliations. Everybody has a perfect right to stick to his party if he is convinced that that is the best he can do. But let us pull together and work together as one man in the promotion of the people's interests and of the country's general welfare. *(Applause)*

The problems which you have discussed with the heads of departments during the last three days will find concrete application as you spend more time thinking how you can efficiently discharge your official duties when you return home. The heads of the departments will always be glad to discuss further with you the problems of your respective offices. If you believe you should stay in Manila two or three days more so as to follow up certain cases that will further the objectives that brought you here in connection not only with this conference but also with your program of administration, you may prolong your stay and I will consider it official. *(Applause)*

I want you to feel, however, that when you go home, you will realize that we have been together for a common purpose. You cannot isolate yourselves in your respective jurisdictions. The responsibility is not only joint but solidary. To accomplish your task successfully, each and every one of you must always have in mind that there is a national government cooperating and achieving the same high purpose that inspires your administration.

Let me repeat that I am as much interested in your success as I am in mine. The failure of a Nacionalista provincial board is no less my failure because if you do not succeed simply because you did not receive proper guidance and support, I, too, can be blamed for it. *(Laughter)* I would like to be identified only in your success. As my aspiration is positive, I want you to feel that your duties are positive.

Don't turn your backs on me when I go to your provinces, simply because you are Nacionalistas. I am going to visit several provinces, some dominated by Nacionalistas, such as Samar and Leyte, in the latter, because Governor Bernardo Torres has been elected, I think, largely with the help of the Nacionalistas. Cebu itself has given Governor Sergio Osmeña, Jr., the palm of victory because of the help of Nacionalista stalwarts; Governor Osmeña fought openly the leadership of the Liberals in that province. But, if I go to Samar, Leyte and Cebu, I expect that no party demonstration will be staged before me. I go there as chief executive; I am not going there as the supreme head of the Liberal Party. As chief executive,

I am entitled at least to the courtesy of the officials concerned. I will not countenance party manifestations, demonstrations and wranglings when I visit your respective provinces, and other provinces which I may visit later. Such actions will embarrass some people. I have my own party men in each province. I have friends in each province. I have sympathizers outside of my own party, but I don't want to be placed in a position where I would have to decide which group I should join as I arrive in your province. Please don't place me in that embarrassment.

I will be the first to respect the authority of the Nacionalista or the Liberal governors as I arrive in a given province. I am going there in a helpful spirit and not to promote any political interests. And I want to tell you right now that I am not thinking of 1953 because if I do, I shall be weakening my hand. Since I do not want to weaken my hand during this period, let us forget the lessons of 1953.

This is not a warning. It is but to prepare your minds that if I go to the provinces you must not interpret my visit or inspection as one prompted or inspired by political motives. I will do the same when you come to me. When you come to Manila to discuss your special problems with me, feel free to talk, whether you be a Nacionalista or a Liberal. As chief executive, I am ready to extend the cooperation that you expect from me. This is the only way by which we can discharge our duties with efficiency. I hope this same spirit will always inspire us in our relationship.

So, let us end this conference in a spirit of joint and solidary responsibility as we approach our problems in a common effort to solve them on the basis of mutual cooperation, giving allowance for partisan feelings. This is the only way we can continue our cordial, efficient and harmonious association as respective heads of the national and local governments.

I don't want to take much of your time. I wish your deliberations success. I congratulate those who participated in the debates yesterday for the freedom, aggressiveness and frankness with which they expressed themselves. It is only thus that we can tell who is our friend and who is not, and who is going to cooperate with us.

If you want to cooperate with me, help me. If not, that is your own responsibility. I have no axe to grind. All I want is to concentrate my attention on my duties so that I will be able to finish my task before my term expires. If I can count on your support, your loyal cooperation, I shall be the happiest man as chief executive of this country. I offer you the opportunity to cooperate with me. I want to tell you again that I am not looking for trouble. But if you want trouble, well, I am still young and gay. . . ●

SCIENCE HAS NO LIMIT

I am very happy, ladies and gentlemen, to receive you at the palace instead of my visiting you in open convention. There is a big difference between my visiting you and your visiting me. If I go to you, I must have something to tell you. If you come to me, you are the ones to talk to me and I can listen to you. And it is better that you come to me because I lack the knowledge and preparation to speak at length on the subject with which each and every one of you is especially acquainted or on which you are authority. As a matter of fact, I am placed at a disadvantage, like the poor, unprepared preacher who, in order to save himself from embarrassment, had to tell his people frankly, "Ladies and gentlemen, I don't know much about what you are going to talk about." On my part, I will explain here. I don't know much about technical knowledge or technology either, nor about those industrial sciences in which you have specialized. However, I think we can agree on fundamentals. We can agree that this is an age of industrialization in our country and you have come to the forefront.

Our government has embarked upon a new adventure. Heretofore we have been regarded almost exclusively as an agriculture country. We are now trying our best to tap all the possibilities of securing more income for the government. For that purpose, we are employing all the technical knowledge available in our country to promote industries which appear to be possible of development. So we thought hard and long in our efforts to find new avenues of engaging the technical know-how of our citizenry.

Thus, we adopted in our ambitious program—total economic mobilization—our country's industrialization. This we have begun with the establishment of such basic industries as the hydraulic power in Lumot, in Ambuklao, in Maria Cristina falls, and other places, including strategic regions like Ilocos Norte, where we have another project of harnessing the Gasgas Cascade. Perhaps we shall have to develop other water power in the Visayas and in the Bicol provinces. For the moment we are constructing a steel mill at Mariveles and a shipyard in the same place.

All these have been initiated for the purpose of furnishing our people with light and power with which to develop first our cottage industries and eventually to expand our industrial activities. Mining, metallurgy, and other minerals—all these have been exploited in the past. There is need of engaging our attention to other phases of our industrial life to derive greater income and to utilize the new genius, the new technical knowledge, that our generation can offer.

We have observed of late that wars are no longer fought with sinews and bullets alone. Three or four decades ago the sword and the gun were usually the general weapons. Now, with atomic energy, war is won by scientist, technicians, and technologist, and not by the brave soldiers of yesteryear. The heroes of today are those who are found working in small rooms, analysing, preparing and putting in final shape the most dangerous weapons the world has yet known. In our age, atomic energy and atomic bombs will spell the life and death of nations.

And you in the Philippines who have specialized along these lines in preparation for our country's industrialization and for other purposes can use your knowledge, your vision, and your intellect for the future stability of our country. We are scouring the land, going to places heretofore untouched for possible development or exploitation. We know we have enormous potentialities. We usually brag about the unlimited number of our mineral deposits. We have high class materials, all essential to our industrial program. But we have not yet been able to locate entirely our wealth possibilities. Nor do we know exactly how we will utilize them.

In the early stages of her organization Soviet Russia sent out scouters to every nook and corner of her vast territory in order to find out the possibility of producing power for her impending industrialization program. The result of so intensive and extensive a search was the formulation of a general program of industrialization so aggressive and systematic that in five years she emerged as a first class power.

That was the origin of Soviet Russia's five-year plan. Since then she has been

renewing her five-year plan. We don't know what is going on in Russia at present, but everybody believes that she is strong behind the Iron Curtain, so strong, in fact, that she now aspires to dominate the whole world.

We are not that ambitious in our country, but we, too, have the great duty to make the Philippines stronger, wealthier, and better.

Our importing technical men from abroad resulted at a time in a rivalry between the Americans and Italians for the construction of the Maria Cristina Falls power plant. We thought then that only a few Filipinos could dig tunnels and produce electric power from water to falls. Although many of you thought you could do it, you did not possess enough self-confidence and you often wondered whether you could accomplish the work or not.

Fortunately, Mr. Rodriguez showed his capacity, ability, and vision. With grim determination and the great hope and faith in the accomplishment of his task, he has assured me that this year we could inaugurate the Maria Cristina Falls power plant and fertilizer plant.

The same thing has happened at the NASSCO, Mariveles. We thought we would have to import some naval engineers to construct the shipyard there. But we did not. Mr. Abrera and his associates assumed the responsibility and the shipyard is now about to be finished. By the end of this year, I think we can also inaugurate it.

Given the opportunity, I know many of you could develop your technical knowledge, do something extraordinary and practical. It is an encouraging sign to have in our midst people who can transform this country into an industrial center.

In my early study of economics, I came across comments on how Egypt succeeded in extracting electricity from peanut shells, on how she imprisoned the wind in order to secure power to move the industries that she had. Something of that sort, perhaps, could be invented or created by you in time. I want to assure you that the government will give you every opportunity to develop yourselves so as to place you in a position to vie with other technical men in the world. I do not believe the Filipinos are a backward people because they have shown themselves to be the equal of any other people because they have shown themselves to be the equal of any other people in intelligence, in skill and inventiveness.

So, I thank you for visiting me because your presence gives me encouragement to proceed with our industrialization program. I count upon you, and I am happy to

acknowledge your pledge of help should I call on you.

Now, let us think of new things, inventions that will enhance and improve our national life. Even the illiterate farmers in our country farms have already devised means of producing mangoes out of season. They say they utilize smoke to kill the germs that attack mangoes. If we can make mango trees bear fruit twice instead of only once a year and can harvest rice twice instead of only a year, possibly we can also find a way by which a hen would lay twice a day instead of only once.

This, gentlemen, may sound queer today, but science has no limit. We have conquered the sea and the air. We have annihilated distance and space. Pretty soon we will conquer the planets and the sun. With your technical knowledge, preparation and efforts, everything is possible.

So I hope that the Filipino technologists who have gathered here this evening will find a way to utilize their intelligence and their know-how to discover something new for our country. We cannot stay put. We grow every day in wealth and in population. Our population is increasing every year by 300 to 400 thousands. We have to provide our children with all the thousand and one things that a civilized life demands.

Something must therefore be done because we cannot transfer our country, nor extend our territory or our jurisdiction as the big powers are doing in order to have an egress for an excess population. By nature or territory is limited. So we have to utilize all the power that God has given us in order to produce more and more in keeping with our growth.

Gentlemen, you and I have a great responsibility. I hope you will be wide awake, determined and aggressive in your research so that in years to come when we meet again, you can say, "I did something after that talk." I want to check up in a year or two to see if we can do something to promote the welfare and happiness of the people which are yours and mine to serve. ● (Applause)

ISSUES OF GOVERNMENT

I have come from a campaign for unity covering four days of visit to Cebu, Leyte, Samar and Masbate. It gave me a chance to practice public speaking. I have long neglected that phase of our public duty. The Nacionalistas have been allowed to enjoy practically a monopoly of speech-making and lambasting to our discredit.

This morning, I want to give congressmen members of our party the same chance to practice speech-making in Malacañan. I shall not, therefore, take much of your time. You will have all the opportunity to say or denounce whatever you wish just to get it out of your system so that when you leave the palace you will feel fully satisfied.

For the moment, I think it is good that we all realize the necessity of pulling together in view of the grave responsibility we have assumed. The session will open tomorrow. You all know how divided and depleted our ranks are, especially in the Senate, and how disorganized we appear because of recent differences among ourselves. The time has come for us to show again that we are united and that we are ready and determined to discharge every responsibility we have undertaken.

I have only two years more to go, but many of you still have a number of years remaining. I know you do not want to lose the ground you have gained during your incumbency either in the Senate or in the house. So, we must cooperate and acquaint our

constituencies and all the members of our party with what we have done and intend to do.

The senatorial victory of the Nacionalistas does not mean that we have to renounce our responsibility or that we have to turn over this administration to them. We still have our duty, we still have our responsibility, and we still have the privilege and opportunity to accomplish those which we believe we can finish before the end of two years.

I am very much concerned about the realization of a great portion of our program of administration. It is necessary that I call upon you to assist me effectively in carrying out this program so that after two years we shall be prepared to present to the electorate a bill of accomplishments that will form the basis of our aspirations for further enjoyment of the people's confidence in running the affairs of the nation.

Tomorrow, therefore, it is imperative that you remember this great responsibility. It is important that you get together and leave nothing undone in your effort to advance our political position. We must reconcile or adjust our apparent differences which people interpret as a weakness on our part. We must act with more courage and determination, and with a higher sense of duty. This is the only way we can accomplish our task.

When I read my message tomorrow, I will recommend ten measures on which I ask for your early action, especially on the appropriation which we need to provide typhoon sufferers and victims of the Hibok Hibok disaster with immediate relief. I will ask you also to adopt such measures as may be necessary to give further relief to the coconut planters. I observed in my visits to Cebu, Samar, Keyte and Masbate, that many coconut plantations have been so devastated that they will need from three to seven years to recover. Perhaps we may have to revise the assessment of those plantations, such revision to be in force for at least three years so as to afford the people sufficient time to adjust themselves while they may switch to other agricultural and industrial activities. To require them to pay the same rate of taxes when the coconuts are no longer bearing fruit would be unnecessary cruelty.

I hope we shall not have to recommend a new measure. My first impression was that we could authorize the provincial board to make immediate reassessment in the provinces affected and enforce a readjusted assessment for a period of three years as a measure of relief to typhoon sufferers in the coconut region.

I have seen many schools, bridges and municipal buildings blown down in a good number of municipalities. Reconstruction in those places would be almost impossible without any assistance from the national government. These municipalities must be helped. So special appropriations must be provided for them. I will include this in the special appropriation which I am going to recommend as a relief to typhoon sufferers.

You will recall that in 1948 we had as much as four million pesos approved and set aside for relief in case of calamity or disaster, or other emergency. That sum used to be managed by the PACSA, now a part of the Social Welfare Administration. It turns out that there is nothing left.

As you well know, I had to resort to appeals to the public for contributions with which to supplement the amount made available from sweepstakes funds. We need a more substantial sum from charitable people. We need at least P 1,300,000 to cover the difference between what is available from the sweepstakes funds and the total amount to be distributed to the typhoon sufferers and volcano victims. It will thus be necessary to restore the original amount appropriated four years ago in order to provide relief in case of further disaster and calamity.

The reason for reducing the appropriation was the suspicion that the four million pesos was being utilized for electoral purposes. We did use part of the money to hire a number of social workers, inspectors and, in some cases, political leaders in order to accommodate senators and congressmen. However, what we spent for that purpose was quite negligible to justify the reduction of the original sum, especially because of the great benefit that could be derived from it in times of stress.

So I recommend that you consider the necessity of recreating that amount for our reserve in case of calamity. The weather authorities have come to the conclusion that we now have here a regular typhoon belt which easily passes from the southeast, striking Samar, Leyte and other neighbouring provinces. They have discovered that the belt has been widened to include even Northern Mindanao. It sweeps over Cebu, Panay, Palawan and Mindoro, as well as the northern provinces from southern Luzon to Cagayan.

With this climatic condition to be reckoned with, we must have some reserve with which to help the people in case another typhoon may batter our shores in the future. So, let us consider seriously how we could help possible typhoon sufferers.

Other measures I am recommending will be of similar importance to all of us. One of them is the creation of rural credit banks. This is important because we are trying to speed up production. We are encouraging small farmers and tenants to produce more. Such banks will extend credit facilities to them without much red tape in the form sometimes of character loans. Even the most modest Chinese retailer or merchant can now obtain such loans from the Bank of Communications and the Bank of China. This encouragement has been responsible for the flourishing trade of small Chinese retailers. The same thing can be

extended to our farmers and tenants.

The proposed rural credit banks will be distributed in strategic points of the Philippines. They will be directly supervised by the Central Bank and supplied with capital to be taken as initial investment from the counterpart peso fund of the ECA aid so that we shall not have to make a special appropriation to begin with. The counterpart peso fund will be accumulated for equipment and supplies to promote industrial and agricultural expansion and will be sufficient to help organize the initial fund to be created under the proposed bill.

Another bill I consider of importance, and it is, the fruit of my observation, is an amendment to the land law, limiting the area that can be sold or leased to people. According to the investigations that I ordered made, many people who have applied for lands—thousands of hectares of lands – have not cultivated the land. Some of the lands have been abandoned or neglected. Others have become the subject of speculation. A good number of our people are rushing to Mindanao, particularly from the Visayan islands. When they occupy lands there they discover that such lands have already been leased or purchased by some scheming individuals.

We must break these big landholdings. Those absentee landlords are still in Manila, and many of them are your friends. They do not cultivate the lands. They are just waiting for others to sublease them and get something out of nothing. In reality they have not invested anything. All that they do is prove that they own the title and they can dispose of the lands as they please. These lands should be broken in such a manner that the owners should not keep more than they can cultivate. Future applicants should be given only a limited portion so as to leave room for those who want to go to Mindanao. So many people in Luzon are now attracted by the prevailing atmosphere of tranquillity in Mindanao, especially after observing the success attained by the settlers in Capatagan and a great part of Cotabato valley. They go south every day, looking for lands. You will find them squatting on squatters. I think a time will come when serious conflicts will arise in Davao and Cotabato because the men are fighting for the right to cultivate the same lands.

The land law must be amended so that the landless and those who have very little land will have better chance of cultivating those idle lands heretofore made the subject of speculation by some people.

Another bill I want to include in my message is the revision of the minimum wage law. We have encountered great difficulties in enforcing the law because we have not inserted a provision to compel employers to register all their laborers, how much each of

them earns, and how long each of them works.

We have an eight-hour labor law, but it is practically ignored. In the campaign for a more vigorous enforcement of this law, we should take advantage of the opportunity to revise the minimum wage law and the workmen's compensation law, as well as the law on rice tenancy, which has been the source of an endless conflict between the land-owners and tenants in Central Luzon, particularly in Tarlac and Pampanga, because different interpretations are given to the sharing basis which has left many bewildered and confused.

The tenancy law must be clarified so as to avoid further conflict and headache on the part of the government which has to suppress violence and riots resulting from misunderstandings as to the real meaning of the law.

Another bill I have in mind to include is an amendment to the election law. Flying voters must be eliminated. We must do the eliminating ourselves and not let our political adversaries initiate the move.

The most important bill to be considered is the one appropriating funds for the typhoon sufferers. If we are going to give relief to the people at all, we must act immediately before there is hunger or much suffering. We cannot enact laws or carry out legislative program unless we are guided by a spirit of discipline resulting from a deep sense of responsibility to carry out our program of action.

I therefore recommend that you get together in both houses, pull together, assume that responsibility, and see if you can attract other elements to support our stand because it is imperative that we fulfil our commitments to the electorate in a manner that will insure the welfare of our people.

For the time being, if there is, anything that you think ought to be done on my own initiative, let me know it because I want to be in a perfect harmony, and in perfect helpfulness with you. I wish you would show me the same spirit. *(Applause)* ●

BUILDING ON THE CONSTITUTION

I am particularly happy to receive you this afternoon because I see new faces, not only those familiar to me when 17 years ago we drafted the Constitution, but faces that seem to have disappeared from the political firmament for some time.

Last year you honoured me by inviting me to your dinner and asking me to give you the address for that occasion declared by executive order to be Constitution Day every year. This year it is my privilege to honor you. I am exceedingly happy that a great many of those associated with me in the Constitutional Convention are here to recall with me those days when, in all conscientiousness, we prepared the framework of our government.

At that time we did not envisage many of the things that we now consider necessary in order to cope with present exigencies and, perhaps, with future events. Twice we had to amend the Constitution. The later amendment did not refer substantially to the rights and duties of our citizenry. It was an act of special consideration to the citizens of the United States in the disposition and enjoyment of the right to develop and exploit our natural resources and public utilities. The first amendment fundamentally changed our legislative branches as well as the presidential term. We now believe that we may have to introduce another amendment in the sense of reverting to the old system or presenting a

more modified system of government, especially with regard to the election of members of the legislative chambers and the term of the Chief Executive.

But all along we have been quite consistent and conservative in the preservation of that historic document. Seventeen years ago we drafted it but it was in force in our country practically during the last thirteen years only. It has been my luck to contribute my share during almost one-third of the life of the Constitution toward implementing its preservation and making it a live document for the benefit of our people and our country.

We have scattered ourselves into the different branches and activities of the government. Many of us have remained in their professions, others have entered the judiciary, while still others have engaged in business. All along, it has been my luck to remain in the executive department and it is only in this phase of our work—our joint work—that I could recall not with false pride my modest contribution to making the Constitution a truly living document from which our people can derive substantial benefits not only for us but for our children. It has been my luck to execute the laws, to enforce obedience to the Constitution, and to protect the rights of the people and defend them to the utmost.

I may have differences of opinion with the leaders of the government as well as with my colleagues in the Constitutional Convention, a number of them interpreting the Constitution in one way, and I interpreting it in another way. Some may have injected their personal beliefs and convictions when they approved the Constitutions, while others may have entertained divergent views. There is one thing on which all of us have to agree, however, and that is, that that document is only a framework of government, and the framework is not the building itself. It is something we have to build on. We have to construct an edifice with walls, windows, ceiling, roofing, floors and every other thing needed to complete the building. To express it differently, we have to give it flesh and life. We have to make it operate for the ultimate benefit of the people so that they can enjoy their rights and privileges, and not only perform the duties imposed upon them.

It has been my fortune to contribute a great portion to the task of giving flesh and substance to the Constitution. You remember that when we started the work, we were interrupted by a terrible war. When we wanted to resume our work of construction, building and rebuilding this nation, we were all almost in tatters. We were starving and lying prostrate. We had to muster all our energies to awaken in us the courage and determination to rise from our prostration and give vim and vigor to our life as a nation.

The Republic of the Philippines is a new building, a building of our own designing. We all know that we had to bulldoze almost everything and construct new buildings on top of those destroyed or demolished. So our work was not only one of construction and

reconstruction, but also of demolition. All that needed a great deal of effort.

The years from 1945 to the present have not been long enough for the people to construct a new, strong and enduring edifice. We are still in the midst of construction and reconstruction, and are witnessing at the same time the great problems that confront us internally as well as externally. While we are building here, many of our kins are undermining our work; and while we are gaining name and prestige in our country and abroad, some people are exerting their utmost to destroy that name and prestige.

It had been a very great, almost insurmountable task that we had to wrestle with during the last five or six years. My friends, today I recall those trying years with relief. What I want to tell you is that we have managed to pull through. People who were hungry in 1945 are now better fed and better clothed. People who lost their professional activities have resumed them. People who lost their farms have rehabilitated them. And people who lost property have recovered it. Many of them are even wealthier than they were before the war.

We have not only gone through the war, but have so reconstructed the material, the moral, and physical life, that it is now better, perhaps, than it was before the war. All this we have been able to do because we rose determined to reconstruct our country and build a new government and to maintain both strong and enduring.

It is my privilege to welcome you to Malacañan in a spirit of comradeship, guided by no other motive than the spirit of cooperation which steered us through during our labor seventeen years ago. I do hope that our meeting today will give us incentive to go forward hand-in-hand, shoulder to shoulder, pulling together and all bearing the burdens of nationhood.

I am particularly happy that the President of that Convention is here with us this evening. (*Applause*). At this moment, I am reminded of what happened to President Lincoln when his former Secretary of War Stanton, tired, exasperated and angered by the annoyances of his comrades in the National Defense, became short-tempered and sharp-tongued. Aggressive and irascible, he told President Lincoln that he could not stand the continuous annoyances of his comrades in the department. Calmly, President Lincoln asked him, “Who is harassing you?”

“Oh, Major General So and So.”

“Hit him hard . . . write him a nasty letter . . . the worst letter that you can make

. . . make it sharp, strong.” Lincoln advised.

So Stanton prepared a letter. When he finished it he went to President Lincoln and read it aloud to him. At certain points where President Lincoln thought Stanton needed promptings, he interrupted to give him encouragement: “Good. . . That is right.” After the letter was read, President Lincoln asked: “What are you going to do with that letter now?”

Stanton folded the letters, put it in an envelope, and said, “I am going to mail it.”

“Oh, forget it,” Lincoln advised. “You should put it in the stove.”

“What did I write this for?” Stanton inquired, puzzled.

“Well, when I was once angered,” answered Lincoln, “I wrote a similar letter. After reading it aloud to myself, I felt better but I did not mail it. I had to prepare another letter because a letter written in anger has no place in an atmosphere of calmness which the country requires when its prestige is at stake.”

A similar letter was written by Mr. Recto and I was tempted to write another. But I threw the letter into the stove, following Lincoln’s advice.

Mark Twain said, “If you are mad, count four. If you are still mad after that, simply swear. Perhaps you will swear it and forget it.”

I am glad you are here (addressing Mr. Recto). *(Applause)* My friends, it is really encouraging to see each and every one of you here, having the same friendly faces that we used to have when we were together seventeen years ago during the Constitutional Convention.

Our task is not over. We are still building on that Constitution and I do hope you will contribute your bit whether you are in the judiciary, in business, or in whatever activities you are now engaged, to the permanence of the government that we are establishing on the framework of that Constitution. Let us make it such a real work of art what we who are still living, and our children who will follow us will feel justly proud of it. *(Applause)*

DEVELOPMENTAL PROGRAM IN ACTION

I am happy indeed to be with you this afternoon. I was once vice-president of the Agriculture and Industrial Bank, and for all I know the RFC is nothing but an expansion of that bank. All the activities undertaken by the Agricultural-Industrial Bank are the same as those in which the RFC is now engaged.

Of course, the dream of organizing this institution belongs to one of our most illustrious statesmen. This building, therefore, is an architectural symbol of our efforts to reconstruct our country, giving stress to our economic development as the basis of our permanent existence. This is a beautiful realization of a more beautiful dream. President Roxas was rich in vision and intellect. People who dream beautiful dreams do not dream long because if they dream long the castle they build in their mind become smaller every minute that they think of it. Were President Roxas alive today, I know he would still not be satisfied with this building although it is beautifully constructed. There were many things behind the dream not expressed or embodied in this edifice; and they were things of beauty. It is easy to dream but hard to make the dream come true. Under difficult circumstances we have executed my distinguished predecessor’s beautiful dream. It has fallen upon me to realize one of them.

I am reminded of an incident. One morning, I drove through Plaza Goiti sandwiched between President Roxas and Mrs. Roxas. We had just been inaugurated as President and Vice-President of the Republic. We passed through the main thoroughfares up to Dewey Boulevard, conversing. Mrs. Roxas asked her husband, "What are you going to do with all those buildings?" pointing to the Post Office, the Legislative Building, the departments of Finance and Agriculture, and the Manila Hotel. And Roxas answered. "Well, we have plans for the small ones. The bigger ones I will leave to Quirino." (*Applause*)

One of the first things I did when I assumed office was to go over the same territory and make a survey of what could be done to them in order to rehabilitate the bigger buildings.

We now have plans to reconstruct our home industries and revive all the activities that flourished before the war. The most important thing then was to reconstruct the big buildings pointed out by Mrs. Roxas. We had at that time P25 million earmarked for the construction of the capitol at the new capitol site. I saw to it, through the representative of the United States Government in Manila, that part of that amount be diverted to finance the reconstruction of the Finance Building, the Agriculture Building, and the Legislative Building, the rest be spent for the construction of schools and municipal buildings in provinces and municipalities.

The plan was realized and in less than a year after my assumption of office, the Legislative, the Finance, and the Agriculture buildings were reconstructed. That was just the beginning of our huge program of reconstruction. There were many others which we had to reconstruct but we planned also for the financing of their reconstruction.

Heretofore – at least during the last three or four months – we have witnessed the inauguration of new buildings constructed by private entities. I became almost a professional sponsor for so many buildings dedicated to agricultural, commercial and industrial activities. I have considered it one of the best pastimes to go from one new building to another, all devoted to constructive enterprises and be a centrepiece of the inauguration ceremony.

Today, I am proud to have been able to reach this place, recall the difficulties and Agricultural and Industrial Bank had to go through the witness the wonderful achievement of the RFC, the happy realization of the most beautiful dream of a great man. . .

My dear friends, the so – called total economic mobilization program referred to by Placido Mapa has been derided or disparaged, but it is bearing fruit. It may be high-sounding, but it is as great an aspiration as the dream of past thinkers and statesmen that is now being realized.

This year we will begin inaugurating other projects. Tomorrow, I will go to Mariveles and inspect the almost half-completed construction of the shipyards and steel mill being undertaken by the National Development Company. These projects will be inaugurated about the end of the year.

Last year I went to Maria Cristina, Lanao, to see how the hydroelectric power was being harnessed. I was told that by the latter part of 1953 that project, that is, the hydroelectric and the fertilizer projects, will be finished. Pretty soon we shall be inaugurating other projects.

We have made a good beginning. I am sure we shall have as good an ending. We have enough funds to finance the construction of a huge program of hydroelectric power plant in the Mountain Province, the Ambuklao hydroelectric project. We have the \$10 million granted by the Export and Import Bank as well as the funds set aside from our own for the same project. The basic industries will contribute to the development of cottage industries which will distribute as widely as possible material progress.

Other projects are included in this much disparaged total economic mobilization program. I shall not recite them at this moment. However, I want you to observe the trend of events in the nation's activities and check up on what we said in 1948. Perhaps you will fully agree with us that that program was not launched in vain.

My friends, the Philippines has become one of the most progressive and wide-awake countries in this part of the world. People who have come to the Philippines from abroad, whether from the new or the old world, are one in extolling to the skies the efforts we have exerted and the rapidity with which we have been able to rise from our prostration.

I said once, and I want to repeat it today, that we need more encouragement, more cheerfulness, more positive thinking in order to carry out our program of national stability. The RFC is one of the manifestations of our determination to rehabilitate our country. After having developed and financed great industries, our program will be directed to smaller entities to increase our units of production.

Recently, I conceived the idea of creating rural credit banks. Our farmers in the rural districts, although not neglected, have not been able to borrow loans to finance their enterprises. It is necessary that the government establish financial branches in regions of production in order to reach our farmers and promote their industrial activities. Such branches must spread so that they will be able to give financial assistance, at least in the

beginning, in the form of credit loans at least as liberal as those extended by foreign institutions to their nationals. I don't see why we should show such lack of confidence in our own countrymen when foreign institutions are giving liberal loans to and showing confidence in their nationals. Why should we be so strict about giving credit when we see what is happening around us?

Rural banks or credit institutions should be created in order to spread financing benefits, and liberal credit should be extended to productive regions to enable the rural people to secure proper improvement. We are now definitely on an upward trend, despite critics, deprecators and detractors who like to paint a dark future just to fool others if not themselves.

Our life today is much better than before the war. Why should we discourage ourselves? Who is going to encourage us when we need occasionally a pat in the back? Who is going to give us the proper encouragement? We must develop confidence in ourselves and confidence in our future. We must take advantage of the opportunity offered us as we rise in prestige economically, politically and internationally.

My friends, these are but the beginning of our national effort. I refer to the heroic efforts of our people when they rose from prostration more determined than ever. This building has been built through such efforts. We must infuse that invincible spirit not only into this organization but into every other constructive pursuit. I want this organization to take advantage of the present favourable trend so that we may see soon the Philippines become beautiful, peaceful, and as strong as any other country on the face of the earth.
(Applause)

And to give you encouragement, I wish to make a pledge that since this institution, instead of just being a service institution, has made profits after rendering its services, I will give it every amount possible provided it will establish more branches in producing regions.
(Applause) Ladies and gentlemen, I thank you. *(Applause)*

INDUSTRIALIZING THE PHILIPPINES

At long last I have been able to collect for my unpaid services as the first agent of the Philippine Manufacturing Co. (*Laughter*) in the sale of Camay soap in the United States in February, 1950. I was still at the time stuck at the Johns Hopkins Hospital when the first box of Camay cakes was sent to me in my room for the purpose of distributing them to my friends at the hospital and to everybody else who had a chance to see me. I thought then that I was being made an unpaid agent of this company. But now, I am collecting.

This box of Camay resented to me this afternoon represents the 49 millionth cake of Camay made. It is not only beautiful, but the girl who presented it is also beautiful. I do appreciate it. It makes me happy to be with you this evening because as I promised when you were about to construct this building I would be very glad to be present, not exactly to inaugurate it officially, but to share in your happiness for having erected here another unit to beautify the city of Manila.

The national government has now spent no less than P60 thousand as I ordered the planting of trees, the cleaning of pavements, and the preparation of the grounds of the grandstand so that visitors will enjoy more the beauty of Luneta. Our aspiration is to make the city more beautiful than it was before the war. It has given us an opportunity to beautify the city, widen its streets, and expand the city limits without much cost. It is gratifying to note that business has thrived in conjunction with the beautification of the city of Manila.

Nobody thought before the war that this country could industrialize. Importers of goods from United States, Europe and elsewhere discouraged us from industrializing this

country. They must have thought they would cease to have customers here if we produced articles to replace or compete with those manufactured in their respective countries. But the war opened our eyes. During the Japanese occupation our people saw the need of utilizing every product that they could lay their hands on in order to provide us with the prime necessities during the darkest days of Japanese occupation. They began to make flour out of cassava. They even made salad out of water lily. They learned how to use the *kangkong*. Even *camote* leaves proved to be a delicious salad then.

Some of my neighbors on Colorado street never tasted *puto* before the war. But during the war, due to lack of bread, they would wake up early in the morning to buy *puto* from the pretty girls who were peddling it. They learned to eat *puto* and to like it. This is one of the many ways we learned in our effort to convert native products as a substitutes for goods imported before the war.

There is a manifest industrial awakening in the country today. We are encouraged not only by the import control but also by the example of our friends across the seas, who are establishing manufacturing units in the Philippines. One of these pioneers is the PMC, which for the last 44 years has been manufacturing soap.

This company has now many competitors in the manufacture of soap. I understand there are no less than 150 soap factories in Manila today. Pretty soon, the cheap Chinese soap that we use for our laundry will disappear because we will produce cheaper and better soap from our own raw materials. I have notices that soap manufacturers at home and in the United States have been placed at a disadvantage by the continued imposition of coconut excise tax in the United States.

I have just come from the coconut region, the Bicol region. I have seen big coconut groves devastated by the three recent typhoons. I was told that it would take seven years to rehabilitate the trees and that in the next three years the owners will be unable to gather fruits. Perhaps it might be more economical for the owners to fell the palms and plant new ones which would bear fruit within five years instead of waiting for another seven years.

Everywhere I went in the Bicol provinces I received representations. They are unanimous in their demand for the abolition of the coconut oil excise tax. I had to send a cable from Legaspi to Ambassador Romulo asking him to appear before the legislative and executive offices of the Federal Government and secure the approval of a bill abolishing the coconut excise tax and, if necessary, to see at the first opportunity President Truman and express to him my personal interest in the matter. General Romulo has reported that he had done the first, but did not say whether he had seen President Truman. However, we will not

stop in our campaign because it means a lot to millions of people who are dependent upon the coconut industry. If the excise tax is not abolished, some factories in the United States may find it necessary to move to the Philippines and manufacture here the soap that they are producing there. I wish this would happen. If I had my own way, if I could only discourage soap manufacturers in the United States from continuing the operation of their factories there, I would have them manufacture all the soap here and export it to the United States, instead of having us import it from that country. (*Applause*). This may eventuate because I understand 80% of the soap ingredients are available in the Philippines. Only caustic soda comes from the United States. Oil and salt we have here in abundance.

We have discovered so many raw materials in our country today that we can industrialize the Philippines such easier than we ever expected. We have now a bottle factory, a fertilizer plant. We have discovered great quantities of raw materials for the manufacture of bottles. We have mounds of silica sand in Palawan and in Ilocos Norte. I saw another in the Bicol region recently in my trip around the bay of Legaspi, between Legaspi and Virac. We have also found raw materials for the manufacture of fertilizers, which are good substitute for sulphur. The pyrite deposits in Antique, I understand, are sufficient to furnish raw materials for the fertilizer plant in Maria Cristina, which will be completed by the end of the year.

With the discovery of so many raw materials and the variety of materials that can be cheaply obtained in our vicinity, plus the incentive of manufacturers for the establishment of factories because of the import controls, and the new enthusiasm that has been permeating the life and soul of our businessmen, I am quite sure the country is no longer in the experimental stage. We are industrializing the Philippines. As soon as the basic industries are completed, we shall be able to furnish all the electric current and power to move them.

Two weeks ago, I went to Mariveles to see the progress of work in the national shipyards. I saw a small generator beside the factory being erected and I asked the engineer, "Will this be enough to mobilize all your units here?" "No," he said. "We expect to get electric power from the Ambuklao." Do you know where Ambuklao is? It is way up in the Mountain province. Imagine how electric current will travel all the way from the Mountain Province down to Mariveles, and mobilize the shipyards there. In the same manner the electric current will travel from the hydroelectric plant in Maria Cristina falls in Lanao to all points of Mindanao and possible Visayas. Imagine what that means to our people and our industries. The electric power to be generated from the Maria Cristina hydroelectric plant with other subsidiaries will be sufficient to mobilize a net of trains to service the whole island of Mindanao and all the necessary communication, transportation of freight and

passengers.

This basic industry we are now establishing in the Philippines will guarantee not only cheap electric current but the availability of all the power that we may need in order to promote the numerous home industries or cottage industries. There is no doubt that if we concentrate our attention on this, if all those who can contribute with their capital and technical knowledge will extend a helping hand so as to enable our people to secure all possible sources of material needed to begin the basic industries we are establishing, within the next two years we shall see our country bustling with whistles of factories erected in strategic places of production.

And this brings me to a point which I think ought to be borne in mind, especially by those who would like to invest their money here. We have a very bad habit of competing with one who has already established a profitable industry. For example, one gentleman, Mr. Marcelo, bought the nail factory of the National Development Company two years ago. When other people saw that the nail factory was profitable, they immediately went into it. Today, we have 30 nail factories in the Philippines. The same thing happens with other industries. Take the taxicab business. One family discovered he could manage to have four or five taxicabs and make money out of the operation. Seeing how it prospered, others followed suit. The result is that we have now so many taxicab companies in operation and competition until the business becomes disastrously unprofitable to the operators.

There must be a method of concentrating our activities in strategic places. The same thing is true of the manufacture of articles. Let us develop our country into productive regions. In Bicol, for instance, we could establish all the factories that will utilize coconut raw products or abaca. The same could be done in Davao. There must be a systematic development of these industries in different regions where the raw materials abound and where there are better advantages. The same thing applies to mining and forestry. We should put all our mills near the places where raw materials can be easily obtained.

This government has to admit that it made a mistake when it established a mill for finished lumber in Batangas when the raw materials come from Agusan or Mindoro. It was a very costly mistake but the government learned a lesson and we should take advantage of that lesson so as not to commit the same mistake. ●

WASH DIRTY LINEN AT HOME

I purposely ran away from in front of the speaker's stand in order not to make one of the ups in public speaking. You remember the three ups, of course – stand up to be seen, speak up to be heard, and shut up to be appreciated. I would have made the first up if I stayed in front of the speaker's stand because of my wonderful height.

I am very happy indeed to be with you this morning. I want to confess that I was longing for this occasion. It would afford me an opportunity to relax. I felt relaxed while witnessing your parade. I enjoyed admiring the beauty and even the graceful dancing of the Baguio delegation. I was pleased to note that there are two presidents among the Jaycees here, President Gonzales and I. *(Laughter)* You don't seem to remember that I, too, am a Jaycee. That is why I stood up and took my seat among the delegation. But knowing that President Gonzales and President Quirino are going to speak at the same time on the same platform we agreed to vie with each other in the preparation of our respective speeches. I prepared a good one. He prepared a better one. In order to avoid comparison as to which speech is better, we swapped speeches. *(Laughter)* He has just read to you my speech *(Laughter)* and I am sorry I forgot his at home. *(Applause)*

Seriously speaking, everything that he has said here reflects the sentiments that would have inspired my speech had I written one. There is not a single word, not even a single comma, that I could strike out from that speech. Probably I could have delivered it with more enthusiasm because the idea, the concept of public duty, and the objective of the Jaycees are my own personal objectives. If I were to speak today on a topic, I would prefer

to begin reading to you as gospel the program I had just read in your magazine. I liked it so much that I am going to use it as my text.

Jaycee is non-partisan, but its members can enter public life. We subscribe to the philosophy that unless you take active interest in the government, you must be prepared to be governed by people not better than ourselves. Being a Jaycee is a natural preparation for public office. In Jaycee, we learn that government must be of laws and not of men, and that service to humanity is the best work of life. No nation can achieve progress unless its leaders are high-minded. Somewhere in this issue is a list of Jaycees who have been elected to public office, thereby giving them an opportunity to show to the people how Jaycees regard public life. We know they will not fail to give a good account of themselves. Everything is correct except the last paragraph. The last paragraph calls attention to the Jaycees who have been elected to public office: a governor in Agusan, a governor in Davao, and a number of mayors, vice mayors and councillors. They forgot that the President of the Philippines was also elected and that he belongs to the Jaycees. (*Applause*)

My friends, it is certainly encouraging to be with you this morning. To hear your president discourse on public duty and you renew your pledge so well recited a moment ago is to impart a new life, new enthusiasm to your organization, and new inspiration and confidence to your government and your people in the high-mindedness of your organization. I have thought of taking advantage of the attitude of the Jaycees ever since you made me an honorary member by utilizing the services of your organization. I succeeded in drawing some but failed to bring in as many as I wanted.

I am reminded of what Alexander the Great once experienced when he wanted to meet Diogenes. In the thirst for power and influence he wanted to cultivate the severe virtues or derive inspiration from the philosophy of this wise man who used a small lantern even at day time in his search for an honest man. Alexander sent for Diogenes perhaps to ask his views on certain matters. Diogenes curtly told the messenger. "Your prince lives in Macedonia. I live in Athens. Macedonia is as far from Athens as Athens is from Macedonia. Why does not your prince come here and see me?" Diogenes said to himself, "Why should I go and pay homage to a man who has conquered the world but has not conquered himself? I have conquered myself. Let him come."

Peeved by the rebuff, Alexander sought an occasion to meet Diogenes and make him account for his rude reply to the ruler of the known world.

So when he finally met Diogenes, Alexander upbraided him for refusing to go to Macedonia. "What do you think of my kingdom and of my rule?" he asked Diogenes.

Diogenes answered, "I have long been wandering, looking with my lantern for an honest man. You are not the man."

"Really," Alexander the Great said to himself, "I must respect the man who has been able to conquer himself; for self-mastery is the greatest conquest."

The Jaycees have apparently conquered themselves. That is why I have been inviting them to see me and give me their counsel. Very few of them have come. I had to invite other people and other organizations. I was able to take advantage of the offer of the Lions to serve the government with me, although only to a limited extent. These two organizations are the best civic organizations we have today to propagate high-minded ideas of government. This they have done not only in the Philippines but also in the United States, in Europe, and elsewhere.

I remember the days when the Jaycees went to the United States, travelling from city to city, delivering speeches, and picturing to the American people the problems of the country and the advantages which we had gained in our democratic way of life. They appealed to the American people and the American government for a more benign consideration of our problems, saying that allowance must be given for our infant democracy.

They were quite apologetic regarding our stride in government matters, especially in the solution of economic problems, but they invited all elements in the United States to help our country. Those gentlemen played the role of ambassadors. There was only one exception I could take. Some of them made no attempt to conceal certain mistakes committed by the government, mistakes which could well be corrected by us here without bringing them to the attention of even our intimate friends abroad

When a man travels and he cannot put all the good things in his baggage, he should select only the best that he can carry with him. He should leave behind the dirty linen, because there is no use exhibiting it abroad. When you have your own problems at home it is almost odious for you to go other houses and tell them about your trouble because they too have their own trouble. Keep it for yourself and don't advertise.

This is one recommendation I would like to make to the Jaycees going abroad. Take with you the best that you can: our ideas, our civilization, our culture, our agricultural development, our industrial pursuits, our practice of democracy, the excellent record we have made in reconstruction and rehabilitation, the great objective that this government is following, and the one thousand and one things that make the peoples abroad admire

the Philippines today. Take all these excellent qualities with you but leave behind the dirty linen for we at home can do the washing ourselves. *(Applause)* Let us not advertise the unpleasant things that happen in our intimate family and say that Juan de la Cruz is a crook. Call his attention if you will. If you are interested in straightening him up, tell him so, but don't advertise his shortcomings every time because whether we like it or not what we say is broadcast. It is transmitted by radio, by magazines, by articles, by conversation. In our unguarded moments, we often repeat what we hear about the ills, and even the sins of our neighbors. We should not advertise them. Why don't we imitate what the barbers put in their shingles? "If we please you, don't tell us; tell it to others."

It is a very simple philosophy which we can well adopt to maintain the name and prestige of our government and our people. There is not a single nation today, especially in the whole democratic world that does not recognize, admire, and love us because of our unceasing effort to make our country great and strong. Despite the fact that we have been so long prostrated, we have been able to rise and gain a new name and fame in the whole world. Why besmirch that name when we should take pride in it?

As politicians, in our race or struggle for power, we sometime discard our opponents. In our eagerness to reach the goal, we, jockeys, sometimes whip the horse of the other fellow or push the head of the horse that is going ahead of us. That's in the game during the race. But let us not make the race last throughout life or for an indefinite period. Once the race is won, the winning jockey receives flowers and waits for another race. Those who lost can participate in the next race. If they win, well and good. If they lose, they should be noble enough, decent enough and humble enough to admit their defeat and not howl and keep on howling. They should be the good boxer who shakes the hands of the winner and prepares for another bout. That is how we should play the game. That is one of the wonderful qualities that I have discovered in you, Jaycees and Lions. In your public life you have shown such broadmindedness, such patriotism, such earnestness to serve your country that you have been able to ignore the little differences that those who run for power in the government magnify. For that you deserve commendation.

There is no time for us now to dicker among ourselves regarding the role that each one should play. The time calls for national solidarity especially because of the menace that endangers the whole world. Already, it is so near that we feel the heat of the flames from across the seas. We are only within three hours striking distance from the mainland of China. We are about eight hours distance from the bombing stations of Russia.

You, Jaycees and lions, are the new elements in shaping public opinion in the Philippines. I have taken keen interest in your activities and I am proud of your work

in helping the public. From the steps you have taken, I know that you are in the right direction. You are not only talking, delivering speeches here and there; you are also setting an example to be emulated by others. You are in the most advantageous position to lead your country. As is well said by your president, you come to give us strength. You are going to be successors of the present regime and must cultivate all the virtues necessary to make this country stronger, more unified and more enduring. You have been leading the youth. Tomorrow, you will be the leaders.

I am glad to hear repeated several times that your organization is non-partisan. If it is non-partisan, it must not hate any party leader. Do not entertain any prejudice against the Liberal Party, the Nacionalista Party, or any other party. Follow the path you have chosen. Don't mind the barking, you will never be able to reach your goal.

I want to encourage each and every one of you in your respective callings. If you are engaged in the industrial or agricultural development of our country, if you are interested in banking or insurance, follow your choice honestly, determinedly, because that is the only way we can build up our country today. Our territory is small; our population, limited. We must intensify our activities to develop our country, supplementing our lack of territory, of men and of means, with greater effort and enthusiasm.

I am not speaking idly of the economic development of the country. I have visited provinces and municipalities throughout the Philippines. Everywhere I have preached the gospel of economic preparedness.

You, who are now specializing in this line of activity will assume tomorrow the great responsibility that we are shouldering today. We have built roads, bridges, hospitals, ports, irrigation systems; we are building fertilizer and hydroelectric plants. We are exerting our utmost to rush our economic development and provide our people with the means to raise their standards of living. We have shown patriotism in the darkest hour of our history. We have shown to the whole world that no matter what influence may be exerted to disintegrate our people, so long as we have the faith in our own future, our own strength, and in our own capacity to govern ourselves, and as long as God presides over the destiny of the country, we will never perish. *(Applause)*

We want to develop industries. We want to dig our mines, all the mineral deposits we have. We want to exploit the great advantages we have as strategic distributing centers of commerce and communications in this part of the globe. We want to exploit every possibility in the air and underneath our soil.

We want to mobilize everything and awaken everybody. If I had the power to knit the people into one single purpose in order to establish a strong and enduring republic, I would gladly do so. Unfortunately, the only means I have is persuasion. In this I must ask you to help me persuade our people.

My friends, the time has come for us all to unite because the danger is near. I am not a war-monger, but I know that the whole world is preparing for another debacle. The peoples of Europe are organizing themselves into the North Atlantic Pact in order to defend themselves jointly in case of aggression. Outside Europe the people are also preparing for the same danger. And are we not presently surrounded by countries tottering under the rush of communism? When the United States herself, one of the most peaceful and powerful nations of the world has declared a state of emergency and appropriated 85 billion, the biggest appropriation in history; when everybody in New York, Los Angeles, and Washington, and throughout the United States is making preparations for air-raid shelters, and even practices air-raids, why should we not also prepare so that we may be strong enough to ward off any aggression if it comes at all? *(Applause)* People talked about my motives in presenting these facts. The truth is that once in a while some men are guilty of suspecting that I am doing this for political reasons. What political motive could I have to warn the people that they be prepared? Nothing. All I want is to be able to deliver this country to the next administration in a peaceful manner with the people happier and more prosperous than when I assumed the reins of government. *(Applause)*

Emergency powers. I don't need emergency powers. The emergency powers given by the congress are limited, but the emergency powers that are provided in the Constitution are unlimited. In case of actual war, I don't need emergency powers. All I have got to do is declare martial law and I have all the powers that I need to defend this country against aggression. So I am not interested in emergency powers. If they grant them, well and good. If they don't, well and good, too. My only concern is to make each and every one of you and your children ready and prepared for any emergency in case such eventuality arises.

And, my friends, I am not talking through my hat. You have already experienced the vicissitudes of war – death, hunger, oppression, pestilence, cruelty. So you be prepared. You must provide all the means to make yourselves stronger. Dig up from your backyard the food that you may need for the maintenance of your family. Don't let any piece of public land lie idle. Take every opportunity to prepare, to grow flesh and blood and sinews and strengthen our souls in an effort to solidify our country and prepare it for any eventuality. ●

A TOAST TO MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Again we are gathered at this festive hall to celebrate important event in the life of our Nation.

About this time on December 20, 1933, I had the honor and distinction of sitting to the left of the distinguished gentleman at the White House. At that moment he pledged to support our campaign for independence in the United States. That was after our people had rejected the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act and President Quezon and the rest of the mission, of which I was a member, had proceeded to the United States to secure a better independence law.

On March 24, the following year, I again had the good fortune of standing behind the same distinguished gentleman when he signed at the White House the Tydings-McDuffie Law granting complete and absolute independence to the Philippines. By a fluke of fortune, on this day as I preside over the destiny of this country, I find myself to the left of a person who is no less distinguished and whose role in the world is now recognized as one determining factor guiding the fate of humanity. *(Applause)*

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, perhaps you don't know it but aside from your own distinguished personality in world leadership in democracy and humanity you are loved and

admired by the people of the Philippines as the depository of the affection and confidence of President Roosevelt. Our people would like to lavish the same love and confidence on you and the American people in general.

You are not merely supplementing or complementing the vision and conviction of President Roosevelt in establishing here a democracy that would serve as a model in this part of the globe. You have a distinct personality; and your presence here today has heightened our love and admiration for President Roosevelt.

We have suffered, especially in the last five or six years. We went through all kinds of vicissitudes not only in reconstructing and rehabilitating this country, but also in stabilizing it so that it can cope with any situation and preserve the institution which was the object of President Roosevelt's concern.

We long to have somebody to give us encouragement, to reinforce our determination to make more lasting the principles of democracy established here under the Tydings-McDuffie Law. President Roosevelt did not live long enough to witness the success of our venture in democracy and freedom on our soil, but you arrived today and, in your brief stay, I am sure you will receive the greatest acclamation of our people, their sincerest token of affection to you and the United States as a result of the boon of liberty you gave us.

You have come therefore, to rekindle in us the spark of enthusiasm, widening the horizon and giving us new hopes for the preservation of national security which you and your husband helped to build. *(Applause)* I know that after an hour or so you will be asked to say something to the people. I may not have the privilege to be with you but I will hear you over the radio. May I ask the ladies and gentlemen gathered here to rise with me and join me in a toast for the pleasant stay of Mrs. Roosevelt here, hoping that it will be of great positive and enduring results in the promotion of mutual friendship and loyalty and security of our two peoples. ●

SUCCESS IS MEASURED BY ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Until half-past one this morning, I was trying to marshal in my mind the facts that should be presented to you at this meeting. But after hearing the joint committee who came to notify me that Congress had adjourned without having passed such important measures as those providing for the continuance of the normal functions of government, I confess I spent a sleepless night. I must have gone to bed and gotten up three times. The last time was about 5:30. The non-passage of the budget, the public works bill, and other measures that should lay the basis for further important action in the implementation of our program of national action, has worried me very much.

I forgot everything I was going to say today when I heard how some of my colleagues in the party expressed themselves regarding the previous elections. I think we have to face the issue squarely and make a sort of self-analysis in an effort to find a way to extricate ourselves from the different problems of party discipline, party authority and party responsibility.

The Speaker has well indicated the sources of our force, real and potential. He has pointed out not only our numerical superiority in the government, but also the effective organization, influence, and power that our party wields at present in spite of our having

suffered a setback in the last elections. We must realize, however, that the success of the party and, in the final analysis, its influence and strength do not reside merely in the power it wields, in the influence it exerts, and in the numerical superiority it commands. It should be measured by its accomplishments and the success of its administration. Let us not belittle the great accomplishments of our party since we established the Republic on July 4, 1946.

We inaugurated and laid the foundation of our Republic now normally marching toward progress, security and permanence. Were we to enumerate the accomplishments of our party and administration since the foundation of the Republic, we would be amazed, even astounded, by the great record. This is the reason why people abroad have not hesitated to acknowledge that, unlike other countries which have been devastated by the last world conflict and despite fearful odds our country has risen as a stable government. Today, the whole world looks upon us with respect and admiration.

We have solved many of the great problems that embarrassed the administration since the time of the governors-general. We have settled many of the important, perplexing questions which could not be solved during the tomes of Presidents Quezon, Osmeña, and Roxas. One important reason is that the circumstances then did not favour the consideration of such problems. We have faced them squarely and have found their solutions. One such problem was the recurrent school crisis. There is no longer any rice crisis. There may be rice shortage but no crisis. You can always find rice to buy if you have the money. Rice in those days, even if one had to give all one's possessions in exchange for it, could not be obtained.

The backpay law. That was one of the most challenging problems that confronted the government. We have solved it.

Our economic development is now the envy of many nations. We have organized all forces, all agencies of the government with our limited means, to chart the program of national action which has begun to bear fruit. Two years hence, in fact, beginning next June, we will start a chain of inauguration of big irrigation systems, hydraulic plants, shipyards, fertilizer plants, cement plants, and all basic industries. We must needs mobilize all our natural resources in order to support as many of them as possible.

You realize the great stride we have made towards economic stability. These are records that the people know could not have been achieved without some guiding influence, some vision, and some determination emanating from our group. This success cannot be attributed to any particular individual.

We began planning early and even without the means to carry our plans out.

We took pains to face facts, analyse them and prepare a complete program to insure our economic progress.

Another problem we have tackled with success is the dissident movement. Our success has merited acknowledgement from no less an authority than President Truman. We are not very proud of our achievement in this regard because the work is not yet complete. But the peace and order problem in the Philippines is now an accomplished fact so far as its fundamental cause is concerned. We have smashed the *politburo*. Its members have been sentenced for varying periods of imprisonment because they were senseless and irresponsible enough to attempt to overthrow this government. There can be no dispute that the peace and order situation has very much improved since liberation.

With these accomplishments as the basis for our bid for the people's further extension to us of the privilege of directing the affairs of the state, I am sure if we properly acquaint our people with what we have done for them, we shall have no need for many speeches. Perhaps what we need will be some lantern-slides, films, pamphlets and some products that we are now turning out from the basic industries that we have established throughout the country. These are the things that the people understand.

When you go from province to province, from city to city, from municipality to municipality, from barrio, you will notice the great change in the life of our people, the change of attitude towards their government. There is now a feeling of security among them. Our people are intelligent, they are not as ignorant as some believe. They are simple because they are not, especially those in the outlying districts, so well-dressed as we are. Even the Igorots, the Kiangans, and the Mangyans living in the mountains, now understand that we are doing better than before the war and they come down to cooperate with us and feel as an integral part of the nation.

These are positive facts which should strengthen us in our bid for the further enjoyment of the people's confidence. We lost some of our power and influence during the last two elections. Why? Because as Congressman Cases has well said, we **thought** we were so powerful that we could afford the luxury of fighting among ourselves. In the La Union, for instance, three Liberal candidates fought only one Nacionalista. All three came to us, the Speaker and myself. Each one said, "Oh, we are going to win. Never mind." What happened? The three of them were licked.

That spirit was rampant throughout the country in the last election. In 1949, my majority was not 250,000. It was half a million, and yet there was division in the party.

Mr. Avelino and I were at loggerheads. But in 1951 there were many provinces with two or three candidates fighting each other against only one Nacionalista. There were some crosscurrents of ambition as Congressman Clarin has well manifested, and I like his logic. *(Laughter)*

Perhaps it is good to remember all these things because this gives us an opportunity to revise our attitude, reassess our strength, and make a proper approach to the future. We should no longer live on our past. We should live on our present. To live on the past is to move backward. The past is only an indication of how far we can go, or how deep we can go down if we do not learn our lesson.

We should look ahead. There are new problems, new facts, new circumstances that we have to face. And if you are going to apply your experience only to the present situation which is already pregnant with so many peculiar and unique circumstances, you cannot go much farther.

So my friends, let us face the issue in the coming election. I am mighty glad that the Speaker has expressed unequivocally his willingness to be soldier, if it is necessary for the unity of the party. *(Applause)* commenting on Congressman Clarin's appeal to me, I am willing and ready to wash your feet. *(Applause)* But when I am washing those feet, please see to it that they don't kick me. *(Laughter and long applause)*

There is really reason for us to be happy and to be confident of the future. Let us not look at things now from the point of view of people who are defeated or frustrated. We must, in the same manner as the country has risen, redouble our enthusiasm, gather more force, focus our attention and see if we can be more attached to one another, place our cards on the table and play the game face up. *(Applause)*

My friends, I am glad that each and everyone of you has had a chance to get out of his system what he has been keeping there for a long, long time. Let us now purge ourselves of the sins, mistakes, or faults that we have committed. Let us not begrudge our contribution to the strength of the party. We assumed a great responsibility when we established this government. We are still in the midst of the execution of our program of action and we would like to present to our people an intelligent and complete balance sheet showing the success, achievements and glory of this party so that those who have contributed to this – you and I who are giving our lives and strength to this party – may go down in history as having been the benefactors of our country and people. That is the ambition of every public man. Ambition, in that sense, is very sound. Personal ambition can be drowned if we know how to be a little bit self-effacing and self-sacrificing. As for me, I want to tell you right now and I repeat what I have always said, that I have nothing to vindicate, no loss to recover.

My prestige has not deteriorated, so I need not fight for its vindication. I have reached the pinnacle of my political career. I expect nothing more from my people. I have been able to render service for almost about six years during the most troubled period of our national history. Personally, I am satisfied. But if I am still needed, why not sacrifice my life? *(Long applause)* But remember, I have no worldly possession but my name. I am a poor man. Please do not rob me of the opportunity to keep and honor that well-earned name and prestige because it is the only heritage that I can bequeath to my children and to my people. However, I have no personal ambition to pursue, but if that personal sacrifice is needed at the altar of public service, it is up to you and not to me. ●

(Applause)

GOVERNMENT IS A JOINT RESPONSIBILITY

I appreciate your calling on me because whether you like it or not, we have a common responsibility. I have always considered the General Auditing Office as a real, independent office. Our Constitution created it to pass upon all accounts of the government without fear or favour.

The auditors ought therefore to be partners of the executive. In our effort to clean the government, the public is led to believe that if any irregularity in the form of crookedness, graft, or corruption is committed or if anybody is caught helping himself instead of helping the people, the chief executive must be blamed for the negligence. In other words, I am held responsible for every minor misconduct in office. And more often than not, these misconducts, committed by public officials are traceable to money matters.

Charges of graft and corruption are rampant not only in the newspapers but also in public squares, in the chambers of our Congress, in the streets and occasionally even in private homes. There is more talk about graft and corruption than what really exists. It has been multiplied, magnified, exaggerated, distorted, and has so spread outside that many peoples who do not understand the situation in the Philippines now regard our government as a government of grafters and corrupt officials.

That, of course, is derogatory to our names. We have exerted every effort to show

that we do not belong to that type of people. Certainly we can compare favourably with the most advanced democratic countries. The much publicized propaganda about misconduct in office has come especially from our own political adversaries who do not seem to realize that their campaign will affect the good name and prestige of the nation. They are merely looking at the immediate advantage they would derive.

This is a general ailment among our politicians which we must eradicate. This negative thinking is doing us great harm. We are always looking at the liability side, and never at the asset side. When there is no cash in corporation, they say the corruption is broke. They do not consider the assets, the invisible items, the great advantages, the contentment and happiness that the corporation has rendered to the people, its main object being service and not profit. And that is the nature of government corporations. Many a time we consider them as profit-making ventures when in fact they are not and if they cannot show cash or profits, we say they are useless.

In the other branches of the government we do not have any investment except the salary of the officials and the integrity and efficiency expected of them. And, if one is caught committing any irregularity, we do not look upon the quality of service rendered to the people. We focus our attention only on the irregularity committed and no matter how insignificant it is, we brand the entire branch as an office of grafters and corrupt officials.

This attitude must be changed and the only way to change it is for you and me, you in the Auditing Office and I in the executive department, to act quickly. You must be quick to report in the same manner that I am quick to order prosecution and punishment of the culprit. In that way we do not allow the feeling of suspicion and distrust in the government to develop. Let us see you auditors catch those who help themselves instead of helping the government. We have been reading in the newspapers about investigations regarding the misconduct of some provincial treasurers or minor officials having to do with the handling of funds and property in cities and municipalities, and the chief defense these officials put up is that the auditor has passed upon the account – so why should they be blamed? So if the auditor has just pre-audited or approved an account, however crooked it may have been in the beginning even if it was discovered afterwards as irregular, they always rely on the judgement of the auditor. That assurance of infallibility remains in the minds of the people. And yet, when you want to utilize it in court in order to prosecute some official who has relied on the infallible judgement of the auditor, the official goes to jail and the auditor goes scot free. In such cases the auditor and the official should be prosecuted. They have joint responsibility and should have joint and solidary punishment so that other officials will conduct themselves properly in accordance with law and the moral of public service.

I am glad you have come and given me this opportunity to meet you personally. I have been going from province to province, from city to city, and from municipality to municipality, but I have never had the pleasure of conversing with you intimately. I believe there should be closer relation between your office and mine, in our joint efforts to establish here a name, the name of the administration as an administration of officials clean in conscience and clean in record. We have to battle against that thing for a long time. Those who have been casting a slur on the government of the Republic, making denunciations based only on mere suspicion should first consider the responsibility of each official connected with any irregularity before broadcasting their charges to the four winds.

For their part, auditors should be very careful in not exposing themselves as tools of those diffing the dirt of the government. There are so many scavengers today who live on that dirt by making themselves appear before the public as if they were angels and models of public morality, as if they were champions of cleanliness and infallible prophets. What makes it worse is that you are feeding them with incomplete facts taken from some offices. I know these scavengers approach your office and my office for data. If you give them the data piecemeal, they swallow everything and use the information to besmirch the name of this or that person or this and that office. They will make mountains out of molehills.

Don't allow yourselves to be a party to such iniquity. Let us be more prudent. Let us be more circumspect. Let us be more careful in handling the accounts in each office of the government so as not to be used as tools by those who are just searching for muck with which to defile many of the great things the government has done. Let us picture the positive side, the asset side of our account in our balance sheet. Let us give more prominence and importance to what this government has accomplished. ●

PACIFIC SECURITY AND PEACE

Since July 4, 1946, the main concern and constant pre-occupation of our people has been to secure our political stability, our economic welfare, and our external security in the order I have just mentioned.

Naturally, our first step was to insure our political stability. In thus preparing our government and our people for a life of internal security our first endeavour was to do away with the dissident elements and at the same time inspire the confidence of our people in the new government we established. It took us long, strenuous efforts to do this. But, thank God, it is pleasant to observe, not without pride, that we have been able to secure that stability in our country, at least during the past two years.

Our next concern after that was to establish our economic security. Taking advantage of my presence in the United States in 1950, I discussed our economic development with President Truman and he graciously consented to send here a body of technical experts to make a general survey and study of economic conditions and future expansion of our agricultural and industrial development. The purpose was to gather sufficient data upon which to base a program of action of the American and Filipino peoples and especially on the part of investors so that they would have a basis for assurance of the security of their investments.

The Bell Mission Report was the basis of a program of economic development jointly sponsored by the United States and the Philippines. As a result, the United States

made available to us, financial assistance amounting to 250 million dollars with which to finance in cooperation with us our economic program. The preparation for this program culminated in the Quirino-Foster Agreement signed in Baguio in 1950. The immediate implementation of this agreement has inspired in the Filipino people a greater determination to carry out our economic program envisaged in that agreement. It has greatly fostered the reawakening of our people to the industrial pursuit of our country. We have thus been able in the past few months to implement our program of national action. This will bear fruit in the very immediate future.

Beginning next year there will be a chain of inaugurations of important projects, such as the fertilizer plant at Maria Cristina, the Maria Cristina Hydroelectric Plant, the National Shipyard in Mariveles, and later on the Steel Mill in Bataan as well as another one near the fertilizer plant in Lanao. The great industrial project, a basic industry which we consider necessary to our development in Luzon, the Ambukalo Project, is under construction.

Although these projects have not yet received substantial aid from the United States for their construction and eventual operation as we have utilized our own money for that purpose, the proffer of assistance on the part of the United States to give us equipment especially for the Ambukalo and other projects which we are now preparing to construct, has afforded our people a sense of economic security which I know will inspire them to exert greater efforts to carry out our program within a period of five years as envisaged in that Quirino-Foster Agreement.

Therefore, only one phase of our national program remains and that is external security. I made a special trip to the United States in August of last year, almost exactly a year ago today to witness the signing of this pact whose instruments of ratifications we have just exchanged. When I witnessed the signing of this pact I made a paradoxical statement to the effect that “that was the end and the beginning” because we simply formalized in that pact our special arrangement for the defense, protection and security of the Philippine in our previous covenants such as the Military Assistance Pact, the Military Bases Agreement and other subsidiary arrangements such as the establish here of the JUSMAG to help us supervise our program of preparedness in order to strengthen the Philippines so that it will be considered a worthwhile ally of the United States.

The pact we signed with the United States at that time was as I have just described “the end and the beginning.” Up to that time, or more correctly up to the time of the exchange of ratifications of this pact, all our program of cooperation for military defense and preparedness and the security of the Pacific had only been based upon agreements

previous to our independence and shortly thereafter. It was not a long-range program then. The covenant whose instruments of ratifications have just been exchanged is therefore not only as described by President Truman the “formal expression of something that already exist – to the firm relationship of brotherhood that binds our countries together.”

It is, in truth and in fact, and as is well stated in the preamble of the Mutual Defense Pact, an admission that the United States and the Philippines entered into it “desiring further to strengthen their present joint efforts for collective defense for the preservation of peace and security pending the development of a more comprehensive system of regional security in the Pacific Area.” And, as is well concluded by President Truman that act, or this pact, “is a strong step toward security and peace in the Pacific.” So, at this moment, as we exchange ratifications of this treaty, we feel that our national program of action tending to stabilize our country, insure economic security and, at the same time, establish our relationship with the United States with a view to our external security, we not only have gone further by envisaging the external security, we not only have gone further by envisaging the external security of the Philippines but also have taken a step – a decided step – to make this region safe from aggression.

With these circumstances surrounding the exchange of ratifications, Mr. Ambassador, I wish to give assurances through you to the government of the United States especially President Truman, that we are happy and gratified to come to this conclusion. That feeling of security of this country, economic as well as military and external, will boost, not only the future of this country, but the prestige and honor and dignity of the United States. And I express a great hope that you will follow through and realize our ambition to establish here a regional security for the Pacific. ● (Applause)

WHAT “CHECKS AND BALANCES” SHOULD MEAN

I am going to say just a few words of explanation because tonight we are resuming the beautiful tradition established by my predecessors. This was suspended in 1947, for various reasons, one of which was financial.

When I assumed the Office of President in 1948, we were confronted with a very keen financial stringency. I did not want the people to feel that because they needed our funds more for urgent and essential expenses, the administration was spending a portion of the money then available, for the entertainment of friends and public officials who, in accordance with past practices, were entitled to a yearly entertainment, such as leaders of the legislative and judicial departments.

I therefore adopted the policy of financial austerity and have been following it up.

Incidentally, there were pending cases in the Supreme Court requiring an interpretation of the prerogatives of the Chief Executive, and I did not want the people to feel that I was trying to influence its decision on the emergency powers of the President.

In 1950, our financial position became worse. It extended as far as the latter part of 1951 when it was freely predicted that by the end of September of that year, the government would collapse for lack of funds. Under those circumstances, I could not well resume this beautiful tradition. First, there was the question of economy or retrenchment, and second, there was the question of official delicacy.

This year, I feel that we are stabilizing the functions of our government. There had been quite a reaction in the jealous exercise of prerogatives immediately after our independence, a reaction that compelled us to establish precedents. Each department showed eagerness to find out its respective jurisdiction. Each wanted to know not how far it could go or should go, but how far it could check the other departments under the theory

of checks and balances provided by the Constitution. There was a tendency to restrict rather than allow the normal functioning of the government following a liberal interpretation. There was thus a race among the three departments as to which of them would first establish precedents with regard to its jurisdiction.

Fortunately, during the last two years, by periodic pronouncements of the Supreme Court and the precedents established not only in the executive but also in the legislative departments, we are beginning to adjust ourselves and normalize our relations. The so-called doctrine of checks and balances contained in the Constitution of the United States and borrowed by us has operated to restrict rather than liberalize the interpretation of our laws in such a manner that each department could act more freely in keeping with our desire to hasten our political and economic development.

In the past few months, I have observed that we all are beginning to realize that the interpretations of the prerogatives of each department should be less restrictive and more permissive for the general development of the functions of each department. There is a feeling abroad today that instead of following a negative interpretation of the traditional theory of checks and balances established by the United States when it needed precedents for its new democracy, the tendency in the Philippines is to regard the three constitutional departments as co-equal and integrated parts of the Ship of State – the Executive Department as the helm of the ship, the Supreme Court as the ballast of the ship, and the Legislative Department as the propeller – coordinating but not checking each other unnecessarily as we sail to our destination.

This attitude is more in keeping with what we desire to do in our country in order to lose no time in our eagerness to develop our land and make it as stable as possible without the least delay.

I am happy to have been able to resume this beautiful tradition tonight. It is with the greatest satisfaction that I note that at long last we are adjusting ourselves to the new exigencies of the nation. Realizing these three essential roles of our respective departments – the helm, the ballast and the propeller – I have great hope that henceforth we shall continue to function in a coordinated and harmonious way in order to achieve results for the benefit of our nation and the happiness of our people.

I welcome you, Mr. Chief Justice, and all the members of the judiciary here present, to this banquet. I hope we shall be able to continue this tradition periodically in an atmosphere of the greatest cordiality. ●

LEGISLATIVE ABUSE OF POWER

I am going to take up tonight a momentous issue of our time in our development as a young democracy. There is considerable excitement over the militant temper which one of the three co-equal branches of our government, the Legislative – I mean the Senate – is exhibiting during these days. Such temper has assumed the form of a series of encroachments upon the Executive Department.

Last week, a Senate committee issued a subpoena to compel the appearance before it of the President of the Philippine National Bank. He was ordered to bring along with him documents and information which by law can only be furnished or revealed to the President of the Philippines or the Secretary of Finance. Simultaneously, a similar subpoena was also issued by another Senate committee to the Governor of the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation compelling him to appear before the said committee for the same purpose.

The other day warrants of arrest were issued by no less than the President of the Senate to compel the appearance of witnesses before the so-called Blue Ribbon Committee to testify on an anonymous complaint filed with the General Manager of the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office. A carbon copy of the anonymous letter, it seems, was sent to the committee.

The charges were purely administrative in nature. They affected only the official conduct of some members of the personnel of the Sweepstakes Office. They had absolutely

nothing to do with specific legislative measures under the consideration by the committee. The subpoena clearly stated that the committee was conducting an investigation “of administrative charges filed against Mr. Bernardo P. Garcia, Chief of the Administrative Division; Mr. Manuel Collas, Assistant Chief of the Administrative Division; and Mr. Juan Natividad, Personnel Clerk, all of the Philippine Charity Sweepstakes Office,” and that the witnesses were “to testify in the investigation of the administrative charges against the same respondents.” Later, the subpoena recited that these administrative charges consisted of violation of the civil service rules, of immorality, of nepotism, etc.

Despite the fact that, by presidential direction, the investigation of the charges was being conducted by the Executive Secretary – a member of the Cabinet – as the office concerned is under the direct supervision of the President, and that the committee was requested not to interfere in such investigation for the moment, the Senate President sent 15 men to the Sweepstakes Office to place the subpoenaed witnesses under Senate custody, and to take them before the Blue Ribbon Committee to testify on the same anonymous charges.

Another Senate committee, the Army and Navy Committee, was reported planning to seek explanation from a judge of first instance why he investigated a criminal complaint filed against a member of the Senate at an unholy hour. The “invitation” was going to be sent after the information had been duly filed in his court and an order of arrest had been issued thereunder. In other words, while the case was already *subjudice*.

These facts show an evident attempt to arrogate legislative authority not only over the Executive Department, but even over the Judicial Department. This situation is not only terroristic and harassing but manifests a dangerous tendency to abuse the legislative power of investigation.

Placed above the personalities that happen to be involved at the moment by reason of their position, and under ordinary circumstances, the issue created would be a healthy development in our national experience of freedom. For, viewing the subject from the constructive angle, we should be able to derive what lesson, what benefit, we can from the torments and difficulties that are ours today because of a seeming disintegrative struggle for supremacy at least between the legislative and executive departments in the exercise of constitutional prerogatives.

But we should be appropriately and adequately warned of the dangers and difficulties that we unnecessarily invite and that may prove costly to us. Besides, the present legislative fever is blurring the mind and vision of otherwise great intellects. In thus renders

them incapable of attending to the very important job at hand: namely, the economic development of our country to bring the good life to our people in increasing proportion, to generate that goodwill, faith and confidence that make for increased power and stability, and to perfect the security we need in which to fulfil our highest individual and collective potentialities.

While the Executive Department is busy cleaning the government of undesirables, continuing unabated the investigation of any anomaly, irregularity or dereliction of duty brought to its attention, Senate legislative committees are bent on duplicating the work of investigation. Quite often they conduct simultaneously the same investigation to the great confusion not only of officials and employees of the government but also of the public.

What happened at the beginning to be an attempt to exercise legislative powers in the guise of great concern in the preparation of prospective legislation now becomes a direct threat to cow public officials and employees to submit to investigations conducted even by the committees not authorized to function during recess. By the arrogant and terroristic procedure employed, and considering the precedent in the case of Arnault who is still languishing in jail and for an indefinite period, there is now an obvious design to establish not merely legislative primacy but the sheerest despotism and tyranny.

It seems ridiculous that tyranny should now originate from a legislative chamber. As the highest representative of the Executive power, I have on some occasions been painted as wielding dictatorial powers. I confess that I have never tolerated any abuse of power in the execution of the laws and in the administration of justice. I have been stern in the application of the law equally to the rich and the poor, the high and the low, irrespective of whether the person affected is my friend or partyman or not. The whole world knows this, and as long as I am here, at the head of this nation, I will continue with this policy no matter who is going to be hurt or affected by my stern decision to apply the rules of law and justice impartially. But I have yet to bow to new despots – this handful of new senatorial tyrants.

More often than not, these Senate investigations are nothing more than fishing or exploratory expeditions to find cause for the creation of new electoral issues against the administration. If the result of such investigation regarding the conduct of officials and employees in the Executive Department is after all the recommend administrative or judicial action against them – for they cannot go farther – it seems superfluous not to say wasteful, as the time could well be devoted to constructive legislation. This is especially so in cases where the executive or judicial department is already conducting its investigations on the same subject matter and on the same officials under its own jurisdiction and supervision.

The practice is becoming vicious, to say the least. There is a systematic attempt, for example, to pressure if not to besmear the Army, to weaken the people's confidence in it, and to demoralize its personnel – thus affecting its fighting spirit and efficiency in its battle against all kinds of crime and dissidence. Nothing could better enhance the morale of the Communists.

Those who are unwittingly engaged in this pastime as well as those who are systematically and falsely picturing a deterioration of the government and are now conjuring a desperate situation for the people are perforce active agents of the deliberate subverters of this government.

I cannot believe that most of them are unknowingly indulging in this practice. They may be only looking towards the elections of 1953. But actually they are destroying the democracy that we have at such great pains determined to establish. Watch out for them. There must be a limit to this over-bearing and – shall I say? – presumptuous zeal of some of our legislative officials.

The greatest demoralizing result is not merely the terrorism generated by investigating committee. There is also a great amount of sterile work required of public officials concerned in the preparation of reports, documents, analyses, innumerable sets of papers, etc., which rival committees simultaneously require from many offices and corporations of the government. Of course there is no effort to conceal facts and figures that would guide them in their legislative labor, and I will not close my doors to any inquiry to this effect. It is my sworn duty to open the whole government records to the people and especially to the zealous guards of the public interests, if they only make the proper requests and even demands.

Have not members of the Cabinet and subordinate officials been appearing before legislative committees to furnish the information needed in aid of legislation? But in most of the cases I have just mentioned, especially where a Senate committee for instance required the submission to it of the complete record of all past investigations during this administration, the Roxas administration, or the Osmeña administration, conducted in all the government-controlled corporations, the extra work required acquires tremendous proportions, robbing many offices of the necessary time to attend to the normal, not to say urgent, functions of government. All this demands extra personnel, extra time, extra effort, extra energy, and sometimes extra molestations. All for what? To dig up administrative records against people whom they want to go after before the next elections.

This legislative rampage deserves the serious study and discipline of our people.

They are being deprived of the normal services of public servants elected to serve them. They miss the constructive attention of our legislators who squander their valuable time and opportunity for serving their constituencies in the vain pursuit of non-legislative activities, almost purely political and partisan in nature.

The use or enforcement of this new pattern of public service, if unrestrained, will destroy the fundamental principles of our constituted government on the separation of powers. It does not only lead to confusion but foments disorganization and even disorder, as senate committee members are attempting to do in the Executive Office, ordering the arrest of more people. I just learned this afternoon that they issued additional warrants of arrest to compel others to testify before the Blue Ribbon Committee although we have requested that committee to suspend action because not only the Executive Secretary but I personally have taken charge of the task of conducting an investigation affecting an office under my direct supervision. Such attempt takes on tragic dimensions when it is merely designed to meet the immediate exigencies of the next elections. In the midst of an atmosphere that should be for concentrated national construction, the pre occupation with this type of politics does not only divert but arrest the upward trend of our general economic development. We are at the height of execution of our important projects to accelerate agricultural development and expansion as well as the establishment of our basic industries. We have a concrete and complete program of action to carry out within a prescribed period and have carefully laid out the schedule.

Because of this, the administration is determined not to be harassed or distracted in our honest efforts by the unpatriotic attempt of those who merely desire to pull down for electoral purposes the name of the administration or what it stands for in its various accomplishments towards economic stability and internal and external security.

Our people are fed up with the continuous and nauseating harassment of the administration. The time has come to expose the wrecking crew with their own grandiose, vociferous, but empty gestures.

What have they contributed to the present enviable progress of the country? Words, words, more words! Plain demagoguery and humbug unsustained by positive accomplishment.

What have they done to help create opportunities for employment, to encourage the promotion of industries, to increase labor wage, and to promote the social welfare? What have they done to help stabilize prices and lower the cost of living? What have they done to help increase production, especially foodstuffs outside of what they might want to

produce for themselves, their families or their friends, and relieve the people of hunger and starvation?

What have they done to help stabilize our currency, improve our general economy, and insure our internal peace and promote our external security?

What have they done to protect the defenceless people who are the victims of huk depredations, of Communist subversion, of mass murders and kidnappings, of rape and the killing of children and patients in the hospitals?

What is their contribution to add luster to the present prestige of the Republic in the eyes of our friends and allies abroad? They have consistently obstructed all the measures of the administration to this end, offering themselves instead as champions and protectors of those who seek to overthrow the government. That is their accomplishment.

This noon their official representatives in the Council of State and in the National Security Council even refused without valid justification to attend the joint meeting of these highest councils of the government where they should have participated in the discussion of important foreign and national security policies. This is the body before which they should have appeared because they are officially compelled by law to appear and participate in the discussion of high policies of state. They shied away. Now, I have learned that they are going to constitute their own council of state or their own security council to tackle the very problems that we discussed this noon.

Is this the way they are going to build or help build the nation that they swore under the Constitution to protect and defend? Don't they recognize the existence of this government and its instrumentalities/ they will answer us with a sarcastic sneer, as has become their habit, and blandly attribute to their indiscriminate criticism the accomplishments of the administration. The time does not permit me to enumerate them now. Our people, thank God, are now sufficiently enlightened, they cannot easily be inveigled into swallowing their preposterous pretensions.

My fellow countrymen, the need of the country today is the creation of a more sensible and sober atmosphere in which issues of great national import could be calmly, intelligently and dispassionately discussed. We must do away with this systematic and malicious distortion of facts, this loud, negative, bitter, and often insolent talk that merely befuddles and poisons the mind of our citizenry. With their continuous vituperation, deliberate and careless spitting in the air, they do not expose themselves but also their country. Our disgruntled and frustrated detractors are short-selling our, and their own

country.

And for what? All for the elections of 1953.

Our people certainly entitled to a more honest deal, a more decent and ennobling atmosphere, a climate that is clearer and more congenial, more edifying, free from the disintegrating influence of those who would sacrifice the people's interests and the government's prestige to secure a temporary political advantage.

Our political maturity is again being tested. Fellow citizens, my good people, we must, for I know we can, stand the test. Thank you and good night. ●

NEED FOR COMMON UNDERSTANDING

I was mighty glad to hear that you wanted to call on me in order to size me up at close range. Personally, I also wanted you to have the opportunity because some of you who have only read my name or seen my pictures in the papers may have been led to believe that I am what I have been represented in the newspapers or articles by critics who, more often than not, are always lambasting the administration or me to such an extent that in many instances they have developed Quirino-phobia.

I am glad of the opportunity to be thus scrutinized by you. So I welcome you, especially those who had not seen me before. Now you can say, "Well, I have seen Quirino. His handshake is not so warm but at least it does not stink." I am particularly glad to meet the Japanese delegates because I think they should understand us better.

There is a new synonym of peace and that is understanding. Understanding develops into friendships. When friendship is formed the effect is even greater than a formal treaty. In a formal treaty, people only make an effort to clarify their relations. If they are friends, they define their friendship – to what extent they should see each other eye to eye. Genuine friendship or understanding among nations and among peoples is more permanent than a mere scrap of paper signed in ink. The spoken word among men of honor is more sacred than words written on paper and signed in ink, especially when they are not meant to be carried out.

What we need most is closer friendship, better understanding and firmer attachment. We cannot transfer the Philippines to the Atlantic Ocean, to the Indian Ocean, or to the Black Sea. Neither can Japan be transferred to the North Sea or the South Pole. God decreed that we be neighbors. We have had some misunderstandings in the past as a result of which we sacrificed lives and property, and feelings of hatred and distrust were engendered;

but neither the Japanese nor the Filipinos would like to bequeath to their children such feelings of bitterness and resentment. So, as we don't want our children to inherit the hate that had been caused by our recent sufferings at the hands of the Japanese, the Japanese people would not like either to transmit to their children the feeling of aggressiveness or cruelty to which we had been subjected in the recent past.

To avoid all that, we who are responsible for the present and the future, since our leaders on both sides of the China Sea have not found occasion to meet and avoid any misunderstanding, we whose responsibility is not only for the present generation but also for the coming generation; we who are now planning our future national action in keeping with our respective national aspirations, must broaden our views, expand our hearts and open our souls to one another and see if we cannot avoid future unhappy events.

Personally, were I to consider that my wife and my three children were all killed by Japanese machine-guns, I would swallow the Japanese allies now; but I am not living in the world alone. I have my remaining children and their children to follow. I am not going to allow them to inherit feelings of revenge nor will I allow anybody to block any understanding that will make our two peoples happy and will enable us to solve our common problems on a better basis than we have so far discovered.

Japan and the Philippines have signed with the United States two separate mutual defense treaties. We initiated a series of treaties in Washington in August of 1951. When Japan later on signed a similar treaty with the United States, it was with the idea that we would place ourselves in direct contact with the United States – Japan in the north, the Philippines in the south, and Australia and New Zealand in the southeast – so that at a given moment when it is necessary for us to get together and see what can be done to guarantee our safety, this region – the United States to serve as the connecting link – will form a chain of regional understanding in this part of the world.

When I initiated that move in Washington, my intention was simply to form a Pacific Union. My idea then of a Pacific Union had nothing to do with any military alliance or any understanding based on armed defense of our country. All I wanted was to bring together all the countries in this part of the Pacific basin and see how we could protect our common interests. It was a way of inviting neighbors to come and contemplate the real danger as we were then seeing the flames of Communism raging in North China. The object was to prepare ourselves for any eventuality in the future.

We did not have any definite plan at that time. All that we wanted was a chance to bring together all the neighboring nations and consider our respective dangers and regional

security as we were facing a world movement threatening to engulf the whole universe in an international conflagration.

If we have failed to get together, adjust our interest and define our attitude due to persistent mutual suspicions or because we are not yet prepared, you, the young men and leader, deserve to be congratulated for having started this movement which is conducive to the same end.

All over the world today great leaders of states, generals and strategists are breaking their heads to find a solution to the world conflict. But whatever you are going to agree on here, assuming that you are going to agree on something, I am quite sure this conference will be fruitful and that it will require the utilization of the youth today to realize the problem of international action. We – I still consider myself young as I am only old in years – we should not allow ourselves to be mere instruments, mere soldiers, to carry arms and ammunition to fight the macabre plans of nations and countries which are resolved at all costs to realize their ambition for military aggrandizement and eventual mastery of the world.

After all, we of the present generation should assume the responsibility of stabilizing our own life so that we, too, could carry out what is assigned to us – to make our respective nations stable and to insure the peace of the world.

The all-important object, therefore, of your conference is to have the youth of the land of each country, especially those among us here who are immediately threatened by communist aggression, invasion or destruction, get together and prepare our minds, our hearts and our souls for a common understanding, so that if the rulers, the powers that be fail, we can cushion at least with our feeling of brotherhood, cultural ties and intimate relations, those hates that are now being engendered by the conflict of two world ideologies which may engulf the whole world.

It is, therefore, necessary for you to cultivate a feeling of frankness, an attitude of open-mindedness. Each and everyone of you will be proud of his own native culture. The world today is divided into communities. We are developing now world regional communities. There is no sense reliving those days when Japan enclosed herself within her territory, proud of her culture which was predominant in the region, because she was able to strengthen her institution and had a strong army to assert her authority. Japan cannot be alone, much less can the Philippines. Neither can Indonesia with her teeming millions, nor Thailand. The countries around us cannot stand alone against the onward rush of communism. We have to organize our own regional community. The sooner we start it

the better for us.

I don't know if anything will happen in the near future, but I do sense that something will manifest itself. An overt act of aggression will stir up the long-smouldering hatred in Korea, backed by force. When that time comes we must be prepared – Japan and the Philippines. And you, therefore, as agents or instruments to bring about what other men have failed to accomplish can at least cushion that lack of understanding and the impact of an armed conflict which impends if nations do not reach an agreement in Korea or elsewhere.

Mere membership in the United Nations is going to be meaningless unless we, especially our neighbors, cultivate that feeling of neighbourliness, mutual interest, and promote prosperity and happiness. My friends, as far as that is concerned, I belong to your group and you can count on me. ●

(Applause)

COUNTRY ABOVE ALL

I don't know what advice to give you before we take our lunch. I was afraid that if I spoke after everybody had spoken, there would be nothing left for me, considering that there are so many speakers, and they are all in a talking mood. I want to make a few remarks, however, before you proceed with your deliberations not only to welcome the idea of this conference which I initiated, but also to lay the ground properly and adequately for the orderly conduct of this convention in accordance with the principles which I believe ought to guide us in the discussion of party matters.

When we held our conference last year, we reviewed and freely expressed our views on matters which cause our last electoral debacle. Today, I don't believe it necessary to bring them up again as they may create only more confusion, more dissension, and perhaps more intrigue.

I thought the time had come for us to have a huddle like a team that has suffered a setback. It is necessary that as members we get together and try a new strategy in playing the next game. Politics is a game and we, as members of the team, ought to know our respective roles. None of us should play his role alone.

When we were given the people's mandate to run their affairs beginning with the elections of 1946, we assumed a great responsibility. We were imbued with the fundamental idea of reconstructing this country, of building a new republic. The country that we are now constructing is no longer the country that we thought we were going to rehabilitate in 1946. We have gone farther. In the realization of our dreams we became so ambitious that we ceased to depend upon our own collective or party efforts.

We have been caught, however, in a network of confusion and intrigues. Perhaps we have been influenced by our political adversaries who are desirous of dividing our

party and creating personal interests in conflict with the collective ones, in order to gain a foothold and strengthen their organization while weakening us. We have been dragged into an internal strife that is very hard to heal immediately. It is now necessary to revert to the old fundamental objectives of our party, and remember our serious commitments to the people. Only thus can we maintain our party's prestige and continue its beneficial service to our people.

Every time we talk about rehabilitation and reconstruction, we forget that in building, in continuing what we built before the war, we began our work from scratch. Remember 1945. We started from 1945. And what we did we have then? Devastation, ruins, ashes, the stench of the dead and the morbid news of our sufferings and vicissitudes. That was what we had when we started to hold the reins of government in 1946.

And every time we speak of the present progress of this country we make comparisons between 1941 and after the war. The comparisons should be between 1945 and today. If we view the country in that light, you will realize that we have taken wonderful strides that have been recognized by the countries all over the world, countries that have admired us, respected us, loved us and highly esteemed us. The country that we have built is a new country, a new people, with new ideas, new ambitions, new fame, new dignity and new honor.

When we organized our party, we never thought who was going to lead the country – Roxas, Quirino, Lopez, Perez or somebody else. We only thought that the country must be rehabilitated, that it must rise from its prostrations and see that the people are taken care of and strengthened, so that we may survive our independence. That was our commitment. Personalities became incidental. We thought of General Roxas at that time because we considered him the best jockey in our race for power and for opportunity to run this country and deliver it to the next generation in a better, stronger, and more enduring state. And when President Roxas left us, it was my turn to step in his place. But we never thought when we organized the party that after Roxas, Quirino, would come, or that after Quirino, Perez, Lopez, Paredes, or Magsaysay, would follow.

We forget the politics is something like a horse-race. We must have a racetrack, we must know the weather, the atmosphere. We must not place everything upon the jockey alone. No matter how good he is, if the horse is not good, how can we win the race? It is this fundamental objective that I want to picture to you now and consider our horse. What is our horse? And who is going to be the jockey? Our horse is the success of the administration. Did it succeed? If we succeeded in the administration, then we have a good horse to ride to victory.

There is no use talking too much, resorting to internecine war, destroying ourselves mutually and delaying or curtailing our activities which have been directed to such fruitful and tangible results that they are now the pride of this party and I hope our people when they come to realize what those great achievements are.

My friends, we have achieved, relatively speaking, economic security. So have we achieved external security. We have laid the foundation of a republic that can last for an indefinite period of time. We have so organized our institutions that we can use them as the basis of national action. It is a strange phenomenon that our internal security is not so stable as our external security. Our external security now is very much better than before the war. We have been able to enter into pacts, and understandings and alliances with countries that can help us defend our country in case of aggression.

The security pact we signed in Washington in 1951 and our understanding with neighbors who signed similar pacts with the United States constitute a network of defences in this region designed to insure our external security. True, we are not enough to defend ourselves; but we have friends and allies who can help depend us. If we did not enter into these pacts, if we didn't have these understandings and military assistance, if we didn't have commitments with other countries powerful and strong enough to ward off aggression in this part of the world, we would be helpless as a republic no matter how strong and happy we are internally. Through such pacts we have been able to insure our security from external aggression.

We have new agencies spreading the country, taking care of the welfare of our people. It is not only the PACSA, but also the PRRM and other agencies that are now activating and implementing our program of social amelioration in every corner of the archipelago, with sufficient money, sufficient technical assistance and, what is more, sufficient enthusiasm, which we never had before, to promote the welfare of the common *tao* and make him feel part and parcel of this nation. Our concern for the masses has won for us the growing confidence of our people in the government, despite those merciless, irresponsible and utterly malicious talks over the radio trying to disparage and belittle the advances we have made in this direction.

We have laid the foundation of a substantial economic life that is the envy of many of our neighbors. People are coming here to observe how we are conducting ourselves. These new countries in the Orient that come here ask, How did you do this? How did you develop this? How do you provide your people with such facilities to live in civilized way? These things are our own accomplishments, my friends.

These are accomplishments of the administration: the program of industrialization and the program of agricultural extension, both envisaged in the total economic mobilization program which we have so ambitiously adopted as the watchword of our administration; and, as is well said by the Speaker, they are only the beginning. We are going to inaugurate many of these enterprises and basic industries. We will soon inaugurate some of these basic industries with which to provide our people with the beginnings of a program of industrialization which we hope will bring us success.

But, my friends, while we are engaged in this serious work of laying the solid foundation of our new government and while we have already accomplished much, we lose ourselves in mutual recriminations, in internal squabbles, in political or partisan or sectional differences that are distracting us and allowing the Opposition to capitalize on them. They are small differences – not fundamental ones. In Cebu, for instance, Osmeña would like to dominate the province. Cuenco objects. In Leyte, Torres says, “Well, we are Quirinistas. We should lead the policy of the administration because we won in the last election.” Ribo, the Avelinista, says, “No, we have already combined ourselves. Let us get together, pull together.” In Pampanga, we have two rival colossi – David and Baluyut. What shall we do? Their differences are not fundamental. Party principle or questions are not involved. They revolve around leadership. They are jockeying for influence, for power, in order to win recognition as the leader of the province and eventually of the nation.

These are typical differences among us which I know we can reconcile if we just consider our responsibility to the people and to our country whose cause we have espoused ever since we organized the Liberal party. *(Applause)* Many people believe that the country will be better run by perhaps a man other than Quirino. If that is your choice, I am ready, my friends. All you have got to do is tell me to get out. I will resign. But do not tell me that you cannot stay any longer because you are sick, because you have displeased So and So, because people in Cebu or in Leyte don't support you any more, or that our people have been suddenly disgusted because you have done nothing for them. All these are incidentals in a man's public life. However, if I am going to be sacrificed at the altar of those differences, credit it to my bad luck. But for God's sake, do not say that as a member of the party or as head of it, I have not always done my best to promote the general interests of the country. *(Long applause)*. I challenge anybody that I have not been able to succeed during my administration in making this country respected and honoured throughout the world. *(Applause)*

Don't just cheapen me in the eyes of the people simply because you have not been pleased in your respective provinces and localities, or in your individual desires. You would be giving more importance to human frailties than to our fundamental loyalty to the party,

to the people and to the Republic.

I have spoken thus because I fell deeply in my heart. I am telling you this in all sincerity because I have observed that some of you don't seem to appreciate the honest and humble efforts that I have been exerting. Many of you seem to think that I am a fallen tree and hence you can make what they call in Spanish *leña* of a man who has sacrificed his heart for the good of the country and for you. I am nothing but a mere incident in this administration. I shall not say that I am a model of efficiency, of honesty, of integrity, of decency, and of honor, but I am willing to submit myself to a test any time that you want to test me on that score.

As I said in the beginning, you are jockeying for positions. If the party wants to win this time, if the party wants to succeed in the coming elections, if the party wants to continue its program of building this country, a task which we have so successfully begun as recognized not only by us but by peoples abroad, let us summon all our selflessness, or love of your personal dignity and prestige alone. There is a party, there is a principle, there is a government, there is a Republic that we are fighting for. Let us all submit to those principles and forget ourselves for the time being during our deliberations. *(Long applause)*.

WHO OUGHT TO LEAD?

I want to thank you, Mr. President, for your inspiring speech of introduction. You have also overwhelmed me with your expressions of recognition of what I have been able to accomplish during my term that I am at a loss to know how to begin this afternoon.

We are living at a time when long speeches are not in order. We have graduated, in fact, from kilometric and tedious dissertations in the course of which we often found ourselves lost in the maze of our vague constructions.

What impressed me most on my arrival here is the astonishing growth of this great university. I am proud to have acted as a co-sponsor in the blessing of this building and this institution. Since then I have considered myself the *padrino* of this university. My concern in its growth and development is therefore natural. In two or three years, I have seen it grow in enrolment, in prestige and in importance to the nation. It is now one of the leading institutions of learning in the Far East. It bespeaks the wisdom and foresight of those who founded it. I am sure the contribution it is making will long be remembered in the history of our nation.

You challenge me, Mr. President, to speak on very important and delicate topics of the day. I am afraid it will not be possible for me to pick up the gauntlet because my personal career as a public man is involved. I feel like a prisoner enclosed in a circle and compelled to tread a slippery floor of embers.

The two delicate questions which you propounded to me and on which I believe you expect me to dwell refer to my re-election and the burning issue of religious instruction in the public schools. I will have to summon all my calmness and composure, my prudence and self-control, to speak objectively on them.

On this issue of election of the persons who are to hold the reins of government, I would like to invite you to consider the position of this country first and then determine the qualities of the man who should lead it. The question is not who wants to lead but who is needed to lead.

In the different epochs of our development as a people and as a nation, several types of men have been called upon to face the country's problems. Let us begin with the first epoch, the epoch of idealism and nationalism. Our prime consideration then was our people's real ideal: what kind of men should lead us and what principles should guide them? Such questions suggested themselves. In that period, the most logical leaders were Burgos, Rizal, Del Pilar, Lopez-Jaena, and others.

The second epoch was the epoch of implementation of our nationalism. It was a revolutionary epoch. It claimed among its leaders Bonifacio, Aguinaldo, Mabini, and others. They were responsible for the establishment of the short-lived first Republic at Malolos.

The third epoch covered the whole period of American occupation. It was characterized by our relentless struggle for freedom. That was the epoch of Quezon, Osmeña and other members of this generation, some of whom are still with us while others have already gone like Roxas and Abad Santos. Among those living, I must mention some of my friends: Bocobo, Romulo and you, Mr. President, and – shall I add? – myself.

The next epoch represented a dark period in our history. I don't know if that epoch is worth remembering. We are just emerging from its shadow as we enter upon the threshold of a new era, the industrial era, an era of rehabilitation and reconstruction and development. It is an epoch beset with so many complex problems – problems of world readjustment, of a world threatened by communism, and of survival. Such problems we must solve if we are to preserve our country and deliver it to the next generation free, happy and prosperous. The present epoch concerns us most because we are living in it and are taking active part in the drama that is unfolding before us.

The question, therefore, is, "Who is going to lead our country? Will it be the type of Rizal? Will it be the type of Aguinaldo? Will it be the type of Quezon? Will it be the type

of Osmeña or will it be the type of Roxas? Or should it be another type, one who combines quality, experience of modern trends, and knowledge of present conditions, with a broad background and outlook?”

So the question is not who wants to lead this country, but who ought to lead it?

My friends of the University of the East, you have entered upon an educational career at a time when our land needs most your brain and brawn, when we need you to help build our country with your constructive contribution.

You no longer have to recite in your classrooms meaningless words which yesterday sounded eloquent and impressive. Gone are the days when we preferred to read novels, poetry and philosophy in order to exhibit our versatility. These are days of deeds and not of words, days when we must find out in purely mathematical equations what we should do to meet our pressing problems. We are faced with facts, not with theories.

We have made tremendous headway in our program of national action. We have so solved our problems that we can point out with pride the tangible results of our activities.

Many people still compare the progress we attained before 1941 and our present progress, as if there had been no intervening period between 1941 and 1953. They forget that when this government was re-established in 1945 as a commonwealth government, we really had nothing. We were practically foodless and shelter less. Our rice farms were devastated, our industries disrupted, our economy in general was so destroyed that it needed supernatural efforts to reconstruct it.

Many of us still remember those days when our countrymen used to go from one street corner to another begging for alms, expecting American soldiers to throw them even the stubs of their cigarettes or a piece of chocolate or bread. They were reminiscent of the dark and cruel days of Japanese occupation. It was shortly after liberation that we started. Not till then did we begin to show new determination, new enthusiasm, new vision, and new genius, all of which are manifested in the great success we have achieved in the administration of our country's affairs.

Today, our production is much bigger than before the war. So is our international commerce and foreign trade. And so is our income. When we reconstituted our Commonwealth Government, we had in our coffers only P1, 800,000. By June, 1952 we had more than P611 million in our treasury.

I shall not compare our standards of living in 1945 and in 1953. I may say, however, that our standard of living today is higher than before 1945. And the strange thing about it is that prices have gone down. Our peso's position has been maintained. It is still one of the most stable currencies in the world. And the name and prestige of our Republic – I invite you to hear them from the lips not of our detractors but of friends who are with us in this country and of those who have learned and read about our present strides in our international association. Not only have we rehabilitated our country, but have done farther. We have built an entirely new country, an entirely new people with a different and broader outlook, people who are resolved to make our land greater, stronger and happier.

We must not lose, therefore, the momentum in the national upsurge of our development and aspiration. To maintain that momentum we must consider carefully who is going to lead our country today. I shall revert to my old observation, Mr. President. It is a question of whether I am needed. That question only the people can answer on the basis of achievement, experience, and determination.

There is one phase of our national position that must not be minimized. That is our security as a nation. We have made notable advances in our work of rendering our country economically and politically stable, but we all know that we are again being threatened with disruption, if we fail to preserve those institutions which we have established, the democratic processes which we have discovered to be the real source of our strength and happiness.

Communism is rampant throughout the world today. It is extending its tentacles in our country. In our very midst we feel its malignant influence. We see the havoc being wrought in the country-sides by those who conspire to sow fear and confusion and pave the way for the delivery of our country to foreign power. What is happening in our country, Mr. President, is not a civil war. It is not like the Civil War in the United States, when the South wanted to secede from the North and establish its own government side by side with the free North. Our trouble is caused and inspired by an outsider. Communism in the Philippines is not merely the desire to subvert the government in order to acquire power. It is not merely the desire to run the government but to have it run upon the dictates and orders of an outside power. This is the great difference between the Civil War in the United States and the war that our own forces are waging against those operating in the mountain fastnesses and ravines in different areas of the Philippines.

There is need, therefore, for a firm, determined hand to repel all these movements designed to overthrow our government and deliver it to an alien master. Thus, we need men who are resolved to fight communism to the last ditch, and not men who help communist

fight for their acquittal when they are charged with reason and for their release when they are confined in the stockade. So for the effective, prolonged and reliable leadership of this nation, the choice is between one who can continue building this nation and openly thwarting every effort to overthrow the government and one who is willing to deliver our nation to another power. *(Applause)*

That is my answer to the question of whether I should run for reelection or not. *(Applause)* You have to approach the matter in an objective and impartial manner so as to arrive at a wise decision.

You suggest that we touch on the question of religious instruction in the public schools. It is my sworn duty to execute the laws and the Constitution of the Philippines. I cannot go beyond the words and spirit of our fundamental law. Irrespective of my personal feelings, I stand above the religious conflict that threatened our country. The question must be settled in the calmest and most prudent manner. Our Constitution provides for optional religious instruction. That provision must be enforced. It must be implemented.

I have already issued directives in addition to the circulars of the Bureau of Education, implementing this Constitutional mandate. A convenient hour for the teaching of religion in public schools should be fixed in order to carry out the spirit of the Constitution. A convenient hour to me is an hour when students can really and physically attend. And that convenient time cannot be determined by the pupils alone. The wishes of their parents must be considered as well.

So, I have given instructions that in every public school where religion is to be taught, the representatives of the Bureau of Education, the parents and the children get together and decide what is the most convenient time for the teaching of religion. Such conferences, I am sure, will result in a common understanding.

We must teach our children, no matter what religions or religious tenets and moral principles their parents profess. If the Moros want to continue with their Koran, they may do so; but those who are Christians, those who need a need moral regeneration, ought to welcome the opportunity to prepare their youth for a more orderly life in the family, in the community and in the nation. Nowadays, we often speak in a disparaging manner, even using nasty words sometimes in the discussion of important problems affecting the nation and the family. We need therefore not only mental but also spiritual prophylactic to cleanse our mouths and our souls. We need to be guided by moral principles which can be taught only by embracing religious beliefs that are most in consonance with our conscience. So, in implementing that part of the Constitution providing for optional religious instruction, I

expect the Department of Education to come to an agreement with those who want to have religion thought in the schools regarding the convenient time for that purpose. I am one of those who believe that it is necessary to go back to the days when we worshipped God, respected our parents, and the traditional practices which made us responsible, peaceful, and law-abiding.

There has already been too much unchristian feeling among us. Something fundamental in our intellects, in our soul, something that will redirect our spirit to more elevating levels must be affected. This we can do only by installing into our people's minds the teaching of God and the sacrifices of Jesus. So the problem must be approached in a dispassionate manner in order not to divide our country unnecessary into two camps – those who want and those who do not want religion taught in schools. I think all of us want to be taught how to be good citizens and Christians. On that point there should be no disagreement.

Now, Mr. President, I don't know how long I was expected to speak this afternoon, but before leaving this quadrangle I should like to impart a message which comes freely and directly from the bottom of my heart.

Today, we face not only those problems mentioned by you and by me. There are greater, more far-reaching problems that affect the continued existence of our nation. We have barely begun to stand on our own feet. We have barely laid the foundations of our new republic. We have barely inaugurated the first numbers of our program of national action – and there is yet much to do to enable us to fulfil our mission. What we need today is for our people to concentrate on the national objectives, and not to distract them into petty political or partisan fights. Only thus can we establish a firm and enduring republic.

I would, therefore, appeal to you as leaders of this institution and to the great body of students of your university to concentrate on constructive pursuits, the things for which this university was founded. I know the great constructive work you are doing to make this situation a useful force for the strength, power and stability of our government and people. I would, therefore, ask you and the faculty members, to canalize your efforts and your thoughts in such a manner that you will be able to contribute your bit not only in the halls of this university but in your farms, in your *barrios*, in the factories; in short, in every constructive pursuit in which you may be engaged. Thus you will help provide an ample and strong foundation for our new government.

Heretofore, we have been paying much attention to organizing big institutions in the *poblaciones* – clubs here, universities there, factories here, industries and establishments

there. The day has come for us to spread out and reach the outlying districts so that the mass of our people may also become beneficiaries of the advantages and privileges of the civilized life that we enjoy. I invite each and every one of you to do some pioneering work. Let us go out and see what lands are still unoccupied, mines undug, and potentialities still untapped. This big body of students – millions of students in universities and colleges public and private – if properly organized, not for rallies and demonstrations, but for constructive work, could be an effective means of mobilizing all our resources to make our country stable, strong, and prosperous.

I invite you all, I repeat, to spread throughout the country. Let us not concentrate in one town or city alone. Manila is already overcrowded. Let us populate our country methodically, systematically and earnestly. Let us cultivate lands that are idle. Let us find ways and means of cooperating in the program of developing this country now that the government is in a position to contribute even initial capital to open up lands, farms, and help develop our cottage industries.

Rural banks are being established everywhere. The ACCFA provides means with which to organize cooperative associations and finance our cooperative activities in outlying districts. Lands we have. Financial help from the government is now being made available. The whole national attention is centered on the development of every nook and corner of the Philippines.

It rests with you, therefore, to brace up and find your logical place in this national movement, in our program of economic progress and advancement. I am not asking you to be all farmers, to be all merchants. I am not even asking you to neglect your respective careers. But there is always a time to be devoted to productive or creative purposes. Let me extend my hand to you. Let me open to you the lands and the opportunity and the financial help of the government so that you can help me, help the government and the county to make the Philippines, the new Philippines, a mighty bulwark for the continued enjoyment of the liberty and freedom that we now have. Thank you very much. ●

(Applause)

FOR A CONSTRUCTIVE LEADERSHIP

I appeared before you almost four years ago on this very spot, and almost at the same time, to address reunion as big and distinguished as this on the occasion of the conferment of the degree of doctor of laws, honoris causa, on my humble person.

This may be the last time I appear before you (*Applause*) as President of the Philippines (*Applause*) unless Mr. Salas changes his mind. (*Laughter*).

Certainly, I feel much younger now than at that time. The solemnity of that occasion as compared with the intimate feeling of the present reunion is the cause of the change. In the past few years I have discovered something that will make one feel young and stay young. It is the secret of renewal. If you are going to say or contemplate the same thing or develop the same theme or thought for a long time, you get bored, you get worn out, you outgrow your age, and become eventually much older. I think I have learned something from my physician, Dr. Agerico Sison, who differentiated between senescence and senility. Senescence, he said – and he is an authority on that because he attended the congress of doctors and scientists who devote their time to the study of problems of old age in the United States a year or two ago – senescence is the normal ripening of one's age without any effect upon the state of mind or feeling of the individual, thus, although he becomes older in age, he remains young in thought, in feeling, in outlook.

Senility, on the other hand, is a process through which many people who grow older accelerate their age by worrying, by too much thinking, and by concentrating too deeply on things that are immutable, resulting quite often in raising grey hair. Sometimes, their heads become devastated.

I see different heads this afternoon, indicating the different processes through which a person becomes older in age either through senescence or through senility. Thank God, by continuous contemplation of the beauties of nature, by the change of atmosphere,

panorama, and environment, I have experienced a continuous renewal of feeling. My outlook has thus steadily become much fresher when I am with young men and more sober when I am with old men. So, my age is resilient – older with people, and younger, much younger with young people, depending upon the nature of the association and whether I derive from it worry or inspiration.

My friends, I came here four years ago to launch a new Filipino ideology, an ideology based upon the necessity of providing our people with a life of substance and contentment in an age of increasing threat coming from a dangerous ideology that is now feeding the mind and soul of the world, and disturbing our democratic life everywhere. That ideology has been tested during the last four years.

When I appeared before you to launch that new Filipino ideology, I took great care to couch it in a language adequately descriptive of the new trend. Since then it has been my duty and my responsibility and earnest determination to implement that ideology in order to show its validity and effectiveness. I would have preferred to speak of the accomplishments of this administration in pursuance of that ideology, but I know it will be tiresome, if not boresome, because in presenting facts and figures in support of such accomplishments, I would have to repeat what you already know. So I decided to send Dr. Tan this morning copies of my state-of-the-nation message to Congress at the opening of its present regular session. The message contains facts, figures, circumstances and conclusions that show how we have implemented our ideology during the last four years. My intention was to economize time and effort and clarify the meaning and far-reaching effects of our activities in connection with the implementation of that ideology.

With such a background, I hope you will be able to see the great strides we have taken in the past four years. It may be necessary to refer occasionally to the facts and circumstances contained in that message for further clarification, but for the time being, I want to draw your attention to the three problems submitted to me this afternoon, before I take up portions of that I intended to discuss with you in connection with our national problems, particularly with the implementation of the total economic mobilization program we then inaugurated.

Yes, we need a big assembly hall. I had that in mind when I decided to transfer the University from Ermita to this place in the face of the uproarious opposition of parents who were afraid for the safety of their children – because this site was then absolutely insecure due to the presence of kidnappers, murderers, hold uppers, and all kinds of wrong-doers. But I envisioned something for the normal growth and development of this University. I said then and again I say it now, that an institution is like a plant. If you leave it in a garden

pot, it will never grow. It will be dwarfed because of the limited space. If you want it to grow, you must place it where there is more room for growth, more freedom for expansion and more light. That, to my mind, is what a university needs. So I decided to transfer the site on my own responsibility in order that this great institution may continue to grow and expand in response to the vision of President Quezon who chose this spot as the site of the University of the Philippines. I think I made no mistake. I have visited the sites of many universities not only in the new but also in the old world. In Madrid, I saw under construction two years ago what the Spaniards call “Ciudad Universitaria.” This site in Diliman is the “Ciudad Universitaria” of the Philippines.

And, for your satisfaction, especially the members of the faculty, I came personally to announce that I am going to transfer to you right now the 48 or 50 buildings turned over to us and formerly occupied by the AGRD, for the use of the members of the faculty and for such other useful purposes as the Board of Regents may wish. *(Applause)* And to insure the orderly growth of the university, in conformity with the plan of expansion as originally envisioned, I am going to reserve the right to select one or two of the buildings to house myself and my personnel so that I can work with you if I have to in this compound. *(Applause)* With that one condition, I am now going to ask the Secretary of Public Works who is here with us to turn over to you as of this date this group of buildings for the use of the University of the Philippines. *(Applause)*

Assembly hall It is not as easy as wishing to have it. You need money. You need an appropriation. I don't believe we can obtain that through voluntary contributions. The only source of appropriation is Congress. You all know how Congress is treating me when it comes to appropriations – it is always jealous, always afraid that I might use the money to enhance my political interests or the interests of my followers. The opposition even refused to approve the executive orders for immediate relief to typhoon areas in the Bicol and Eastern Visayas; and yet, you all know as God knows that my sole purpose was to give immediate relief to hundreds of thousands of sufferers in the typhoon-stricken areas.

So the money can be realized only with the assistance of the Legislature. I shall attempt to knock on the door of our Congress. I hope to succeed if this big body of students and faculty members of the university and our people insist on the necessity of giving additional appropriations to the University of the Philippines so that this institution may continue to carry the name and prestige of the Republic of the Philippines. It must be given all the funds necessary *(Applause)* for its growth and development. If this were not a government institution, it would be different. But it is a government institution supported by the people, financed from the taxes of the people, and represents the people's highest institution of learning. If this is going to be surpassed by similar institutions it will be a

reflection on the honor and dignity of our government and people.

Facilities must therefore be provided to make this institution bigger, stronger, and more beautiful than any other in the land. As long as I am here and I can do something for this institution, it shall be my earnest endeavour to promote the interests of this university so that my name will be linked with its progress and advancement. *(Applause)*

Salaries of the faculty . . . Yes, I believe in standardizing the salary of the members of the faculty of the University of the Philippines. But there, again, we need to knock at the door of Congress. If a special bill is going to be introduced in the House of Representatives and we can successfully campaign together to push its approval, you can consider the bill as signed. *(Applause)*

I now come to the program of land distribution, settlement, cultivation and improvement in accordance with what we envisaged in our total economic mobilization program launched four years ago. We have expanded in all directions in our agricultural, industrial, commercial and financial development. There is not a single institution connected with this activity that has not received the attention of the national government. In every instance we have employed all the necessary means to promote the advancement and development of this activity during our administration.

You must have noticed the great number of hectares of public land we have opened for cultivation, the great number of hectares we have purchased from big landed estates for distribution to the landless, the great number of irrigation systems opened throughout the country, and the great number of industries we have established. Up to last December 31, no less than 165 tax-exempt new industries were registered, industries that never operated in the Philippines before, some of them manufacturing nails, bottles, plastics, chemicals, and all sorts of products which we used to import from abroad. Basic industries have likewise been established in strategic points. We have a big hydro-electric plant in Lanao which will be inaugurated in May, a fertilizer plant in the vicinity of Iligan, a steel mill scheduled to be inaugurated in September, and the National Shipyards, the biggest of its kind in the Orient, which will be inaugurated at the end of this month at Mariveles, Bataan, and the cement factory which we shall inaugurate during the latter part of this year in Bacnotan, La Union. There is also the Ambukalo hydroelectric plant now under construction in the Mountain Province, to be completed within a year or two. All these are evidences that we are making gigantic strides with our total economic mobilization program launched in this very place four years ago.

We want to spread not only vertically and horizontally but also pyramidally in

our economic development so that we can lay a stable foundation of our economic and political stability, and internal and external security. We have to utilize our natural resources, especially public lands which we have by the thousands of hectares scattered all over the country.

It is because of this new policy of land for the landless and homes for the homeless that we are accelerating the completion of our program as much as possible.

The recent selection of 35,000 hectares of land in Rizal between Montalban and Santa Maria, in Laguna, for the purpose of establishing a pilot model plant for the development of public lands is motivated by our desire to show to our people, especially those in Central Luzon and the other thickly populated areas where there is so much dissident action and dissident thinking that all along we have been doing constructive work for the masses. With the plan of reserving more than 30,000 hectares of land in Rizal for settlement and development, we expect to solve seven problems all at once.

By opening a road between Montalban and Sta. Maria, Laguna, we afford the people opportunity for employment and to secure the daily wherewithal to maintain and sustain their respective families. We open on both sides of the road which is going to be a national highway, six kilometers deep of land to be divided into lots for settlement and we hope thereby to distribute the settlers in a manner to avoid speculation and at the same time populate them with people who are in earnest to build their homes where they can raise their families in new communities. By populating these 35,000 hectares of land with carefully selected settlers, we expect to constitute these new communities with a new outlook, and new productive agencies for the nation. Thus, we accelerate production at the same time, and in order to accelerate production and farming facilities and industrial activities in the vicinity, we intend to divert the water from Montalban toward the south as far as Santa Maria, in order to irrigate the land we have opened. We therefore have to establish an irrigation system. But in establishing an irrigation system, we will have to impound the water from Montalban and somewhere between Montalban and Santa Maria. With the water thus impounded we will create a hydroelectric power with which to produce electric power needed to promote cottage industries and perhaps more important industries.

So, in irrigating the land, we impound the water that rushes to Manila during the flood season. We thus avoid floods in the city of Manila, and so solve the city's recurrent flood problem. And in settling the case of those people who choose to go to the areas where they will make homes and new communities, we are going to drive the dissident elements who have converted this area into dissident headquarters. We thereby solve the social problem – maintaining peace and order with productive citizens who will settle down.

So we have these seven objectives – open new roads to provide facilities for communication and marketing and another opportunity for a better exchange of products; irrigation system, acceleration of production, the hydroelectric system, flood control for the city of Manila, and social problems to be solved by settling in that region now elements with the constructive outlook and ambitions and aspirations.

It was with the idea of contributing to the solution of these complex problems now confronting the nation that I invited the students of this university and other universities to organize themselves into a corporation so that they may have a personality to deal with the government.

I want to remind you that not more than three years ago we signed a contract with the Marsman Company giving that company 7,500 hectares to cultivate from the public lands in Mindanao where they wanted to produce ramie and accelerate the development of the ramie industry. If we can do that for a new corporation, we can do no less for the student corporation whose enthusiasm, inspiration and new outlook I want to take advantage of in order to accelerate production because that is in consonance with our total economic mobilization program. *(Applause)*

My friends, it is time that our student population thought more of responsibilities as we of the older generation recede from the scene. It is not so easy for you to step into our shoes immediately. You need to be trained, you need to have experience, you need to know how to understand the problems of the day, and the problems of the day are not political. They are not military either. They are not partisan. They are purely economic. Economic development is the secret of the continued existence of the republic and if you are going to neglect that, you are going to neglect the future in which you will realize your ambitions to succeed us and govern this country. *(Applause)*

I am therefore giving you this opportunity not merely to distract you from some external element not akin to your activities in the university or other institutions, not merely to redirect you to more constructive efforts, but principally to train you for the great responsibility that you will have to assume in the near future.

My friends, what our country needs are people who build, not people who destroy; people who will contribute their brains and their brawns to the continued solidification of the national edifice we have just erected. We are living in a period of world readjustment. The need of the hour is not only the solution of local problems but also the solution of problems affecting other nations. In other words, the problems confronting us are both national and international. Peoples get together today in common consultations, organizing themselves

into blocs or groups of nations in order to promote and safeguard mutual interests.

The Philippines is known as the leading cultural country in this part of the world. So we must be alert, internationally-minded, and determined. We need somebody to lead this country in the world readjustment so that we can take our place as an honourable member of the family of nations. That is why I want to prepare the youth of today. Let us not divide ourselves in petty, political or partisan organizations. Let us not use the young people merely for rallies and demonstrations in order to manifest their sympathies with one or another organization.

My friends, I came to visit you because I don't want you to drift along lines that will distract you in the same way that I would not like to be carried away from this my Alma Mater. Nor would I like you to drift away from the high objectives of our new republic. *(Applause)* I have chosen my Alma Mater as the place where to announce the new policies of my administration. May it continue to be the logical place for new incentives, new enthusiasms and new demonstration of our responsibilities as builders of this new nation.

I want to disabuse your minds regarding the state of the nation. It has become the policy of the opposition to bark, to disparage, and to set at naught the constructive efforts of the administration. The object is to impair credit of this administration because of rivalry and the lust for power. That is the natural course of events – those who are out would like to come in at all costs and those who are in would like to continue the program of achievements especially if they can show positive results and accomplishments for the benefit and welfare of the people.

But there is already so much nauseating talk about the failure of the administration. There is even such irresponsible talk as that this administration has done nothing but rob the people of their wealth and their freedom. Who says that? No less than the man I defeated in the last elections of 1949. *(Applause)* How can I rob him of his freedom when I was the one who granted him amnesty while he was facing charges for treason? It was precisely that amnesty that enabled him to regain his freedom. And how can I rob him of his wealth when he himself after August 17, 1945, after signing the proclamation that he was no longer president of the puppet republic under the Japanese, he collected his salary from August 18 to December 31 of that year without authority of law either in Japan or in the Philippines?

How could I rob him of his wealth when since that time he has increased his wealth and I have just discovered that he has not even paid his income tax or his war profits tax on that increase of his wealth? Irresponsible talks like his are destroying the people's confidence in the government. The trouble is that he does not particularize. If he only said,

“Quirino has robbed the people of the wealth of the country,” then I could defend myself. But when he says this administration has robbed the people of its wealth, it becomes an indictment against the government and against the administration, a seditious conclusion. You had better look out and watch him.

At this time when there is such keen competition to talk and outtalk others in an effort to win public confidence, I don't want you, my friends of this university, to be poisoned in your minds, and the best thing for you is to beware lest you be misled.

Let us follow avenues of constructive effort – I am going to give you the opportunity to do so. I came here for that purpose, and if there is anything I can do to further promote your high objectives and insure the success of your careers as future leaders of this country, I will gladly do so. If there is anything I can do to solidify the young, growing population who will rule the country tomorrow, I am here to help you and determined to follow you wherever you go. *(Applause)*

I repeat, the kind of leadership we need today is leadership that will construct, leadership that will build, leadership that has experience in the international affairs, appreciated by the outside world, leadership that can make friends with nations, and leadership that can be proud of the culture and civilization of this country, and one who has built the name and prestige of this nation. ●

(Applause)

A SEED-BED OF INFLUENCE

I welcome you all to the Malacañan Palace. This ceremonial hall has witnessed in the last five or six years different reunions. Representatives of peoples from across the seas, who have held conventions in Manila and elsewhere on topic more or less international in character, have assembled here at one time or another. But this is the first group to honor this hall with such a respectable number of renowned scientists from all over the globe. I want to assure you that with your presence you are making history in the Philippines.

Since President Quezon's time, we have been wishing the Pacific Science Congress to hold its meeting in the Philippines if only to draw world attention to this area. For fortunately or unfortunately, it has always been regarded as an under-developed region. We have considered it necessary to open the eyes of the world to the many things which properly developed would contribute in no small measure to the welfare of mankind.

It was 1933 when we were still under the American regime that we passed a special act creating the National Research Council. From time to time, we have changed the members of the charter, but the council itself has remained unchanged, coordinating all the research work in this country and cooperating more or less actively with the research work done abroad, all for the purpose of widening and expanding our scientific knowledge.

The momentum that the National Research Council had generated toward research and process the past few decades has been interrupted; nevertheless, the council

has continued quietly to coordinate the manifold activities of all the various research bodies created to do some special work.

The results of your deliberations may not be readily realized, but even now it is patently clear that your mere coming here has filled our scientists with new enthusiasm, new interest and new determination to continue with their research work and contribute in a larger measure to the general welfare of our people as was envisaged in the organic act of our National Research Council, and to the advancement of the applied sciences throughout the world.

Ours is a new country. Of late, we have been able to discover many of the potentialities which have been lying dormant within our confines, waiting for the talent, the scientific know-how to exploit and develop them to our benefit and advantage.

Going over your program of activities, I notice that you have covered practically all the subject-matter known to science, with particular attention to pre-historic conquests. You have unearthed many things not only from the known past but also from sources which we never had the occasion to analyse before. You have thus made our people realize more than ever the tremendous importance of applied science in our growth and development.

Personally, I am happy that you have convened during my incumbency because in after-years when our growth and development are traced and retraced, and the efforts of our scientists in collaboration with yours have borne fruit, our people will be pleased to learn that we were somewhat identified with your work and that it was upon my invitation that you came here and achieved things of benefit to our respective regions and – why not say it? – to the world.

You have come from different countries abroad. Perhaps you have found in the Philippines a unique type of people, a people known to be hospitable, resilient in character, and responsive in every way to the kind of work in which you are engaged. That is why one could say that the Philippines has been developed so far by international collaboration.

Some time ago, I read a book entitled *The Sea Around us*. For the moment, I don't recall the lady author's name, but I found her work most interesting. She dwelt extensively on the Sargasso Sea. She discovered how the gulf current in Mexico goes up north from the Gulf of Mexico to Massachusetts and thence across the Atlantic to England, France, Spain, and all around, until it has made a complete circle, creating a vacuum in the middle somewhere west of the Azores. That space she calls the vacuum space of the Sargasso Sea. Many ships, she says, have avoided crossing that spot because of the risk involved. The

current, according to her, gathers the flora and fauna in the circle around the Atlantic, creating in the middle many unique specimens.

Well, as far as we are concerned, the Philippines is another Sargasso Sea. The country, to be sure, is not a sea, nor is it at sea. But placed as we are at the crossroads, varied influences have reached our shores from India, from Arabia, from South-east Asia and North Asia, as well as from the Old Continent and the New Continent. Their peoples have come here in successive waves and with different objectives, some guided by the spirit of adventure, discovery and conquest, others actuated by material motives. That was when colonization was in flower.

Those countries which have sent their representatives here have left on our shores a rich deposit or sediments of their influence in religion, in customs, and in government. Such sediments have helped us build our country little by little. Although we have succeeded in keeping, as it were, the soul and basic characteristics of our race, yet we have been able to utilize in the building of our new nation those foreign influences that in the course of years permeated among our people. It is precisely because of this rare meeting and blending of spirit of the East and the spirit of the West in the Philippines that it would make an interesting study why we are considered unique in the Orient.

I really think it would be a good idea for you to study the Filipino people of today because they are quite different from their neighbors. This is not by way of criticism but in a spirit of pride because through continuous association and contact we have been able to accumulate all the desirable influences that have lent a sort of distinction to our people and develop their linguistic aptitude which has enabled them to acquire a number of foreign languages, to say nothing of words now found on our vocabulary. Thus in our Constitutional Convention we had to strike a compromise by adopting English and Spanish as our national and official languages, the first of which is now spoken all over the country.

The tendency of people who have been liberated after conquest or colonization has been a return to nationalism. Perhaps we shall do the same, but in the meantime and for our own practical purposes, we have buried our tribal troubles and differences and have secured a common ground of understanding, never caring what language we should use so long as we can preserve the Filipino fundamental characteristics which distinguish us from peoples of other countries; that is, our hospitality, resiliency, responsiveness, and readiness to cooperate with everybody in the world.

You have thus come at a time when we need your encouragement in order to continue forming a new people more receptive and adjustable to world conditions and more

easily adapted to circumstances, without forgetting the essential characteristics of our soul as a people and our love of country. I do hope that with your presence in the Philippines you have injected into our body politic something that will remain there to be developed, something that will make us more ready to cooperate to the full in the peaceful solution of world problems, in readjustment and development, which is the common aspiration of all of us.

I refuse to be classified as belonging to undeveloped areas or undeveloped people. We are not a backward people. With our knowledge of science, our readiness, our determination and our experience, there is no just or valid reason for classifying us as backward people belonging to undeveloped areas or regions.

May I express the most earnest hope that you have come here to assure us of your cooperation in collective enlightenment and in the successful application of all the results of your researches for the promotion of the welfare and happiness of the people you have visited, who, I am sure, will hold you high in wisdom. I thank you for your call. ●

ON THE STATE OF THE NATION

I wish to express my gratitude . . . for the concurrent resolution passed by both Houses, inviting me to address this last session of the Second Congress . . .

It is gratifying to report . . . that our Government has buckled down manfully to speed the restoration and improvement of our internal and external security, our finances, our essential public services, and our badly damaged economy.

Owing to the marked improvement in the state of law and order, our people have been able to concentrate their attention on the development of the farms, industrial activities, and other productive ventures.

Our external security has been greatly enhanced by a mutual defense treaty with the United States and by the accelerated implementation of our military assistance pact with her, as well as by the clarification and strengthening of our common defense efforts of long standing.

Our finances have been bolstered. Our National Government revenue jumped from P316,302,246.09 in 1949 to P611,460,943.82 in 1952, with the purchasing power of our peso maintained and its value recognized as one of the most stable in the world.

Our national economy has been so improved that the national income has increased from P4 billion to over P7 billion in 1952.

We have raised the salary standard, stabilized the status, and liberalized the privileges of the rank and file of the personnel of the National Government, especially the teachers, the nurses, the enlisted men in the Army, and the low-salaried employees, providing adequate pension and retirement systems for them.

Our essential public services have been progressively improved and

expanded, spreading throughout the country the benefits of health, education, and social welfare for our people to enjoy. Our death rate has been reduced; our birth rate, increased. The hardy perennial problems of inadequate school space and inadequate rice supply have become things of the past. And what is more, prices have gone down, living standards have been raised, and the lot of the common man, especially the labourer, has been greatly improved.

Our foreign relations have grown and so developed that one of the sources of our strength is in the sympathy and high regard of our friends across the seas.

All these have placed us in a firmer and sounder position, increased our international credit, and enhanced our name and prestige abroad.

I shall endeavour to make a more detailed but cursory review of how we have attained these accomplishments.

The task of advancing our internal security has been closely tied up with the problem of solving the threat of dissident terrorism and violence and of pacifying age-long social discontent. Therefore, we have sought the armed dissident elements in the open field, broken up their potential for organized disorder, and given them opportunity to return to peace and production. We adopted a bold ambitious program of social amelioration, mobilizing all our resources in an effort to provide a life of substance and contentment to the less fortunate, and cushioning the harsh effects of force with the reward of a home and farm not only to the dissidents who were vanquished or who voluntarily surrendered and who promised to return to the ways of peace, but also to the so-called landless and homeless among our population. And our watchword has since been **“land for the landless, home for the homeless.”**

As a result, the Huks, who form the armed forces of the local Communists, are now driven to the mountain fastnesses and isolated hideouts hardly able to gather the remnants of their politburo which has been broken since more than a year ago. Discouraged and disillusioned, their followers are now daily surrendering, many of them starting a new life in settlements prepared for them, in the EDCOR under the Army, and in the mass settlement project under the LASEDECO.

We have invigorated the LASEDECO. Until December last, it had already distributed to landless settlers 11,728 farm lots of from 8 to 2 hectares each, covering a total area of 120,000 hectares, besides allocating 11,308 home lots. These settlers are now farming their own land in Cotabato, Bukidnon, Isabela, and Palawan. They have hospitals,

dispensaries, and tractor pools. They produce annually approximately 2.5 million cavans of palay, in addition to secondary crops like corn, mungo, and peanuts. . .

These settlers come from areas where tenancy has long existed. To bring the benefits of land distribution and settlement closer to troubled areas and to meet the reluctance of tenants to move far away from their old homes, I have reserved for the purpose 25,475 hectares in Rizal, 3,763.60 hectares in Nueva Ecija and Tarlac, 20,000 hectares in Isabela, in addition to over 30,000 hectares at Malig, already distributed and settled. . .

Two hundred forty-nine thousand hectares have been surveyed and distributed to 16,000 settler families. To protect small farmers from land grabbers or speculators, I have issued an executive order reserving for occupation in lots not in excess of 10 hectares each all public lands within six kilometres from all highways, being or to be constructed in Mindanao and other provinces under the PHILCUSA-MSA highway development program.

In Mindanao alone this program covers a network of highways connecting most of the important provinces . . . and traversing rich agricultural lands. The total combined length of these highways is approximately 560 kilometers. This will make available for occupation over 650,000 hectares of land.

These public land distribution and settlement program supplement the landed estate purchase program. The Government has purchased since 1947 for resale to tenants 25 landed estates with a total area of 44,000 hectares costing over P18 million. Of this amount P14 million still remains unpaid. . .

We have accelerated the construction of homes for the low salaried employees and the laborers. In Quezon City the People's Homesite and Housing Corporation is now operating 2,116 low-cost houses and is completing the construction of 4,550 other low-cost units. We have even provided a big-sized Labor Hospital for this sector.

We have also attracted private entities in the construction of low-cost houses for the lower middle class. Already the Philippine-American Insurance Company has constructed 50 of this type of houses in the City of Iloilo, another 50 in the City of Baguio, and is now commencing the construction of 600 new units in Quezon City. A plan is afoot to construct similar houses in Tacloban and Legaspi and other centers of population.

Our program of slum clearance is being implemented with the construction of low-cost houses for squatter and low-income families, one in Pandacan, Manila, and

another in Bago-Bantay, Quezon City. The former will house 480 families and the latter will have facilities for 800 families . . .

At no other comparable period has the workingman achieved greater gains for himself and his co-workers than during the past two or three years. These include: (1) raising his wage standard; (2) promotion of his safety against industrial injury and disease; (3) protection of employees sustaining injury or meeting death in line of duty; (4) improvement of working conditions of women and children; (5) expansion of national employment programs leading towards greater and more stabilized employment; (6) protection of prospective workers from illicit activities of employment agencies; (7) protection of workers against irresponsible union leadership; and (8) raising labor standards in general . . .

Public health has remained at high level despite fires . . . Better sanitation has been achieved . . . Stricter supervision over public eating places, markets, and slaughter houses has been enforced. Schools, industrial plants, and commercial houses have been subjected to systematic medical inspection. Immunization of the population against epidemic diseases has advanced where it is now willingly sought by everyone, young and old, rich and poor, healthy and infirm alike. We have spread the benefits of artesian well and sanitary facilities to more sectors, and have established an increasing number of hospitals, puericulture centers, charity clinics, and dispensaries.

The recurring school crisis in past administrations has been met since three years ago. Last year we took the last step in this direction . . . We have maintained our world position as the country with the second highest ratio of school enrolment to total population. We are surpassed in this respect only by the United States . . .

We have exerted every effort this past year to maintain and add to our system of highways and bridges and of other means of communications. Nearly 29,000 kilometers of roads and over 9,000 bridges are now being maintained and kept open to motor vehicle traffic . . .

Nearly 500 wire-telegraph offices, 180 radio-telegraph stations, and over 1,160 postal offices now keep our population centers in close contact.

Related to our agricultural development program is our increasing endeavour to construct new irrigation systems. The Burgos Irrigation Project in Zambales, completed last August, waters approximately 6,000 hectares. Five other irrigation projects in the provinces of Quezon, Davao, Leyte, Ilocos Norte, and Nueva Ecija should be completed and harnessed this year. The construction of the P7,500,000 Jalaur irrigation projects in

Iloilo to serve no less than 15,000 hectares is starting next month. We now have 27 national irrigation systems servicing over 117,000 hectares of rice lands in Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, La Union, Pangasinan, Tarlac, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga, Bataan, Bulacan, Laguna, Quezon, Camarines Sur, Albay, Leyte, Iloilo, Antique, and Zambales.

Sixteen river control projects were completed last year and 35 more are now in varying stages of construction.

The level of agricultural production for domestic consumption and for export continues to rise. This year we will be producing enough rice for our own needs. In other food items, such as fish and poultry, production is expanding. Sugar output for the 1953-1953 crop year will not only fill the Philippine quota in the United States for the first time since liberation and our own domestic requirements, but also leave a surplus for other markets. . .

Most significant has been the rise of new industries and a corresponding increase in industrial production. In two years and a half, we have established such important new industries as jute, iron and steel, textiles, chemicals, glass, nail, incandescent bulbs, toilet soap, rubber tires, plywood, bond and wrapping paper, asbestos, plastics, musical instruments, kettles, tableware, pencils, chalk, etc. up to November 15 last, 165 new tax-exempt factories had begun manufacturing articles formerly imported. . .

From February 1 to April 30 this year, we shall have the first Philippines International Fair. Besides the display of Philippine products together with those of the participating nations to promote word trade, the Fair will also show the agricultural, commercial, and cultural progress of the country as well as the recent advance that we have made in our industrial development.

Greater efforts have been exerted on the whole towards increased Filipino participation in domestic trade. The capital structure of the corporations and partnerships registered during the first eleven months of the year shows that our nationals led in both fields, especially with regard to investment of small merchants. . .

There is need for readjusting our foreign trade. We must redirect our productive potential towards agricultural development for self-sufficiency in the prime needs of our people, and towards industrial development based on the utilization of local raw materials. But unless our own countrymen ready and willing to invest in processing, are given adequate protection, they cannot survive in competition with foreign manufacturers. To rise above subsistence level, and to achieve a standard of living to which we are entitled, we cannot

afford to remain permanent suppliers of raw materials for industrial powers and permanent importers of processed consumer goods. It is time to readjust our trade and tariff policies to suit present conditions and to make them more effective instruments of our economic development. I propose the creation of a Tariff Commission to study the present tariff rates carefully and in detail. . .

Much of the implementation of our economic development plans is entrusted to the corporations owned or controlled by the Government. Taken together, the operations of these corporations, except those of the Central Bank, the Philippine National Bank, and the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation, netted during the fiscal year 1952 a profit of P4,000,000 from a total income of P208,000,000. The three financial institutions made total profits of P24,933,202.43. . .

This year other important basic industries will begin operations. The two principal projects of the National Shipyards and Steel Corporation will be completed – the Mariveles shipyards in March, and the Iligan steel mills in September.

The Cebu Portland Cement Company with its present annual output of six million bags, together with the output of two privately-owned plants, does not fully meet local demand. A new plant of three million-bag capacity is, therefore, under construction in Bacnotan, La Union.

The National Power Corporation's Maria Cristina hydroelectric and fertilizer plant projects will begin operations this May. The Ambuklao project is 15 per cent completed and the transmission lines to Manila are under installation. This project is estimated to cost P101,000,000, of which P61,000,000 has been furnished by our Government and \$20,000,000 by loan from the United States Export and Import Bank. When completed to Pangasinan, Nueva Ecija, Tarlac, Pampanga, Bulacan, Bataan, and Manila. Its reservoir will also supply irrigation water to approximately 40,000 hectares of rice land in Northern and Central Luzon.

The three financial institutions of the Government, the Central Bank, the Philippine National Bank, and the Rehabilitation Finance Corporation have continued the admirable partnership they have virtually established in meeting the credit requirements of Philippine agriculture and industry. Today, there is hardly any commercial, agricultural, or industrial activity of national economic importance which has not been assisted by one or all of these corporations. . .

New arrangements have been made to provide facilities for the financing of

industrial development and to meet particularly the credit needs of small merchants and farmers. First, a special trust fund of P10,000,000 has been set up for the special account of the counterpart fund to guarantee a large share of the risk to be assumed by banking institutions granting industrial loans. Second, a plan has also been adopted whereby loans may be granted to Philippine financial institutions by the Central Bank on behalf of the Export and Import Bank from a fund of \$5,000,000 that the latter institution has made available as loan for financing small productive enterprises in the Philippines. Third, rural banks are fast being established in various localities under the supervision of the Central bank and with governmental capital assistance up to 50 per cent of their own paid-up capital out of an allocation of P2,000,000 from the counterpart fund. Lastly, the Agricultural Credit and Cooperative Financing Administration has been established to deal exclusively and directly with one of the most serious difficulties from which the small farmer has from time immemorial suffered; namely, the procurement and marketing credit. For this purpose it has received a contribution of P2,000,000 from the counterpart fund.

These last two projects of loan assistance to the small farmers in line with their programs of mutual economic assistance have been facilitated under MSA-PHILCUSA auspices. But they are but a few of the several projects to which the MSA and PHILCUSA have addressed themselves.

It is meet to note here the history of the Philippine-American Mutual Assistance Program. Upon my representations to President Truman in January, 1950, the Bell Mission was sent to the Philippines in July of the same year. Shortly after the Bell Mission Report in October of that year, Mr. William Foster came to the Philippines as the personal representative of President Truman to conclude with our Government a preliminary agreement known as the Quirino-Foster Agreement of November 14, 1950, providing the basis on which the United States would grant aid to the Philippines in the amount of \$250,000,000. . .

Let us not forget that, even before the inception of the United States aid program, we had already started our own program of economic development using for that purpose the P200 million which was loaned by the Central Bank to the government. . .

Let us now look at our national finances as they bear upon our economy.

Two years ago, we elected for ourselves a goal in the field of fiscal policy which many countries far more favoured than us in resources, technical equipment, and manpower have considered unattainable in this age. I am proud to report that in the fiscal year which ended last June 30, we achieved our post war objective of a balanced budget and were able to match expenditures with revenues. . .

The past fiscal year saw a substantial decrease in the public debt to ₱132,972,858.52. from a figure of ₱927,327,684.44, at which it stood on June 30, 1951, the public debt has gone down to ₱794,354,825.92 as of June 30, 1952.

We have complied with the amortization requirements of the loans secured from the U.S. Treasury and from the U.S. Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Treasury notes and treasury bills are being retired on their due dates, and we have not found it necessary to increase the flotation of such issues. In accordance with the provisions of Republic Act No. 800 which amended portions of the Backpay Law, partial redemption of backpay certificates is proceeding apace. About ₱10 million has already been disbursed in the fulfilment of our commitment to loyal deserving employees of the Government.

Largely as a result of our success in maintaining domestic stability in the economy, the problem of marinating external stability has been greatly minimized. . . International reserves could have been depleted to a point where it could have been difficult to import not only vital raw materials and supplies for our industries but even many of the essentials of life. Fortunately, a reduction in imports by ₱72 million below that of the 1951 level and a moderate rise in United States expenditures in this country served to offset the big drop in export receipts. It was thus that international reserves have been maintained at a level that is adequate, barring unforeseen world developments and provided that we continue to observe sound fiscal and monetary policies. . .

In the last twelve months, the Philippines concluded treaties of friendship with Cuba and with the Dominican Republic. It also signed 14 other agreements, three of which were on civil aviation for the extension of our air routes to various countries, and eight with United Nations Agencies providing for various forms of technical assistance to the Philippines. . .

On order to place our Foreign Service strictly on the merit system and thereby insure its efficiency and effectiveness, I signed Republic Act No. 708, otherwise known as the Foreign Service Act of the Philippines. The placing of diplomatic and consular personnel on a career basis with strict eligibility requirements is expected to bring about still higher performance standards among our foreign service personnel.

Let me take up with you once more our position in connection with the Japanese Peace Treaty. The Senate did not act on the peace treaty during its last session. Technically, therefore, we are still at war with that country. Our failure to normalize and stabilize our relations with Japan has stood in the way of the consolidation and strengthening of the defense of our region against the common danger that threatens the countries that comprise it.

From the economic point of view, the uncertainty of our relations with the former enemy has not served our interest. We must stabilize these relations to take advantage among other things of our favourable balance of trade with that country, and determine how we can strengthen our national economy by taking advantage of proffers of Japanese industrial technical assistance.

To reach an early agreement on the reparations question, which is the only factor responsible for the non-ratification of the peace treaty by the Senate, the Japanese Government sent two special missions to the Philippines. I am confident that as a result of our negotiations with them and our direct dealings with the Japanese Government through our mission in Tokyo, we have made progress towards an early settlement of the reparations problem.

Our government has dedicated itself to the cultivation and fostering of amicable relation with the other peoples of the world, to active participation in the efforts of the United Nations to promote human welfare and maintain world security and peace. We have urged the formation of a system for the common development and dense of the countries of our region. The past year witnessed a perceptible and significant attitude of the responsible powers towards the development of this objective. It is my hope that, in the months to come, it may be possible for the various governments concerned to meet together and work out the basic principles of this project.

I have given you a picture of the important developments during the last three years of our administration. With pardonable pride I can say that they can stand comparison with the record of progress of our nation in any period of our history.

In the face of apparently insurmountable difficulties, in an atmosphere of keen partisanship, aggravated by the confusion, insurgency, and fears fomented by a new world ideology ruthlessly seeking to destroy the very foundations of democratic institutions the world over, we have shown strength of character as a people.

We have been able to put our heads together on matters calling for the highest type of statesmanship. We have achieved what in due course may be characterized as heroic against a backdrop of long and painful vicissitudes. We have established during our time a government stable in its finances and political institutions, rich in promise of yet greater deeds.

But this is a continuing process. It should leave us no time and excuse for complacency. We should and can surpass our past accomplishments and, cooperating with

one another, solve many of our long standing ills in our time and generation.

Great opportunities are before us, never before presented in the different epochs of our history. With our record of accomplishment, I know we can achieve better things yet. We can continue balancing our budget, prevent the recurrence of any school, or rice crisis, increase the public revenues and the national income in great measure. We can produce more consumption and export goods and manufacture the products which we have heretofore been importing. We can steadily improve our standards of living, assure greater prosperity, satisfaction, and happiness to the masses of the people, individually and collectively. We can attain greater honors by more heroic action in foreign battlefields. We can gain more respect from our friends and allies abroad. We can even say that, in our time, we can write in letters of gold the name of the Republic of the Philippines for our children to cherish.

But all this would be set at naught, will have no meaning, and our efforts will be in vain, if we do not employ care and vigilance in the preservation of what we hold dear in our heart and soul as a people. For, in our very midst, there are influences not only undermining our stability as a nation but actually destroying the very principles upon which our nation has been founded—our freedom, our democratic institutions, and the way of life we have discovered to be the real source of our happiness.

These destructive influences are active. They always speak of blood baths and revolution. They are determined to overthrow the government and, turning their back on the noble sacrifices of our heroes and martyrs, are bent on delivering us to a new power which will ultimately enslave us and our children.

We must stand united to fight them and those who fight for them, if we are to survive as a nation and deliver our precious heritage to the succeeding generations.

We must not be deluded by temporary or personal advantage into allowing these enemies of our freedom and happiness to avail themselves of the confused, precarious atmosphere where they expect to thrive at the cost of our future.

We must give no quarter to them in the open field, in the mountain fastnesses, in the courts, in the press, and even over the radio. Before they destroy us, let us face them and conquer them, face them fraternally if they come to reason and to the folds of the law, and face them as our worst enemy in time of national peril, if they don't. ●

A HERITAGE OF POSITIVE FACTS

Sixty-two months ago I inaugurated this monthly radio chat with you. I was inspired by the desire to give a periodic account of important developments under my stewardship of the affairs of the nation. I looked upon it as an opportunity to express my views and reactions on current issues and problems occupying the attention of our people both here and abroad. I have not missed a single month to chat with you under any circumstance or state of health wherever I found myself in our own country or on foreign soil. As I am about to relinquish my office, this is, therefore, my last monthly radio chat with you. So I now bid the nation Godspeed.

It is in our democratic process to effect a periodic and orderly revision of stewardship according to the need and spirit of the times. We are proud that our nation has the freedom and vigor to sustain this process. And our readiness to accept the popular verdict in a wholesome cooperative spirit duty and mutual respect strengthens the national character.

In the burst of faith with which the new administration is poised to star, we may take some precaution with the thought that the millennium is at the next corner. It is still true that Rome was not built in a day, however much modern science can help telescope human progress. It is still true that, in the perspective of the Good Book, a thousand years are as one day. and however much we belittle the past to exaggerate the future or brighten the past to dim the future, or, worse still, damn the past as an excuse for the failure of the future, we can still do with the residuum of wisdom patiently to be gathered from what has gone before.

It was the task of the administration now drawing to a close to restore a nation from the shambles of a world war, laying out at the same time the broad foundations on which a lasting superstructure must rest. It is unwitting tribute to the vision and energy with

which this task was accomplished that our people are now at the crest of a new strength and confidence in facing our nation's future. This administration is handing on a heritage of positive facts, not of chronic fears.

That it has charged the national spirit with the buoyancy and courage of youth is but a manifestation of the people's restlessness and eagerness to take bold measures calculated to cope with age-old problems. Thus, the very scope of national recovery in eight years under its direction has generated a wholesome, youthful impatience that will do well, however, to reckon with popular habits, inertia and capability at a given time.

Progress achieves lasting value and vigor when it comes of vision, energy and care and of a people's moral and material readiness for it. Their welfare is not a gift from any one; it is the painstaking work of everybody. There is no miracle comparable to the creation of honest labor, human or heavenly.

I feel that what we have done in re-establishing peace and order, in restoring farms and opening new ones to production, in giving land to the landless and homes to the homeless, in raising food and purchasing power to sufficiency levels, in bolstering and balancing government finances, in creating the sinews of industrialization, in preparing for our external security and in facing up to a positive role in the free world against the threat of communism—all this, I say, in so far as we have counted with the cooperation of our people in understanding, labor and sacrifice, has given our successor a broad base on which to proceed to farther and greater goals.

We are not anchored nor must we live on our past. But we have a native proverb to the effect that nobody gets anywhere who fails to recognize what and where he came from. This is a simple but sharp affirmation of the ageless validity of the principle of continuity.

This must hold true for our young Republic to which all belong and which belongs to us all. We come this way but once; so is our privilege to give our share in strengthening it for ourselves as for our prosperity. We build on what has been accomplished. We work with only what materials we have. False pride in initiative is not spoken of the patriotic soul. And as we proceed, it is important that we do not lose a healthy sense of relation with God and His will, especially our dependence upon His grace and guidance.

Our Republic has been ushered in an atmosphere of new internationalism which has divided the world into two camps: Democracy and Communism. We chose to be in the first. We, therefore, had to develop our country in keeping with that atmosphere and our decision. Realizing that we do not live for ourselves and by ourselves alone, and that we

are part here of a regional neighbourhood and community extending beyond its borders, we considered the measure of our value and usefulness in that neighbourhood and in the free world to depend on the consistency and success with which we cope with our domestic problems compatible with our free heroic heritage. Likewise and no less, we considered the preservation of our national integrity above and against outside pressures, well-meaning or otherwise, which are inimical to that heritage. For if we are true to ourselves as a nation, we cannot be false to any neighbor people.

By a fluke of destiny we have developed a special relation with the West, particularly the United States of America. This relation has created its own problems. We are not indifferent to its advantages. In fact we have always been appreciative and have greatly enjoyed the fruits of that relationship. It has enriched our culture and strengthened the national fabric. But over and above such advantages must remain the primacy of our nation's integrity. We should never again be, in form or in essence, a dependency of any foreign power. This determines our usefulness to ourselves, to our neighbors and to the free world.

We have always believed that our relation to our immediate neighbors in this part of our world is a broad field for unlimited exploration and cultivation. Geographic propinquity and ethnic affinity virtually impose an opportunity to strengthen mutual knowledge, understanding and cooperation beyond the call of drinking toasts. So we considered it to be a first duty with us now to be at home to, and with, our next door neighbors. This has been centuries in coming. It does not stand to reason that we can achieve it overnight. But we should be happy to help hasten the move forward.

We can take some pride in the fact that, in recent emergencies requiring cooperation conducive to the general welfare and as against a common peril, we have not only indicated but fulfilled our disposition to share the flower of our manhood in sacrifice.

We have just heard announced in the clearest terms possible before the United Nations the fearsome prospect facing mankind and the alternative to more constructive collaboration in an atomic epoch. Men must choose. Our choice of course must lie in a way of living within the context of freedom, interdependence and cooperation.

Our country cannot presume to undertake the salvation of Asia and the world. But it can attend to its own development and arrest the growing apprehension of personal insecurity as an aftermath of past political conflicts, in order to reduce its internal tensions on which Communism thrives. By the same token however modest, it can help clear the way to a happy relief of the tensions that now tend to panic the world into the abyss.

On the eve of a change of administration in this country, amid conflicting anticipations divided between fearing a world Armageddon and expecting the millennium from January first on, I yield to the notion that our country and the world will be here for sometime yet, irrespective of what we do or fail to do. Both will survive us. And there will be no lack of problems to challenge the best minds of the generations to come.

This we know: The world is crying to be saved. Many more, inspired by the authentic Savior, will arise to take up the cue. I dare say they shall, in varying fashion, do credit to mankind and its Creator—in proportion to the integrity of their impulse, reason and method.

On this hopeful note, which is simply a variation on the spirit and theme of the holiday season, I now beg, beloved countrymen, to take my leave. In endeavouring to serve your interests, I have given you the best that is in me; at this hour may I add the kindest of my thoughts.

God guide the new administration and preserve our Republic. ●



With his demonstrated enthusiasm and determination to succeed with his people in the face of appalling and seemingly insuperable obstacles, Quirino can truly and justly say that he, too, has sown the seeds – the richer seeds of democracy, culture, and progress – and has left others to reap. He has left them to reap the fruits of his labors and his courage as head of the land he has always loved with fervor and undivided devotion.

There is every reason to believe that some day when the fury of current partisanship subsides and becomes an eternal part of that vast silence where “the wings of music close,” Quirino, too, will grow greater in stature as the leader and statesman who piloted the Ship of State when the seas were most stormy and perilous, and brought it safe to port with enhanced prestige and matchless gallantry.

J. Collas