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Dr. Carlos P. Romulo

(Courtesy, The Philippine Herald)

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(See page 4)

Read:

The SEAU: Is It A Beginning?

By J. C. Craig

The Anatomy of Graft And Corruption

By J. G. Planas

Return (A Short Story)

By E. D. Orellana

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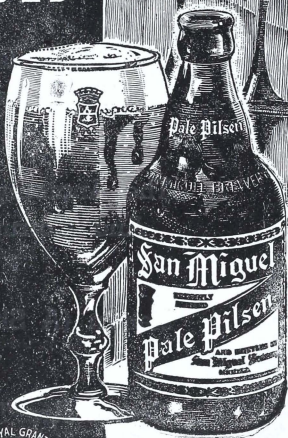
Not Born for Death

By Dr. Carlos P. Romulo

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Business Manager & Secretary-Treasurer

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EDITORIAL

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

Reorganization of the government so as to bring about more efficiency and eliminate the crooks and the grafters is most welcome. In fact the creation of the Fernandez Reorganization Commission and the directive issued by President Quirino to department heads making them responsible for the cleanup of their respective offices have brought a spontaneous favorable reaction from a public which has grown suspicious of every administration move.

That steps so far taken to make the government run more smoothly and at the same time weed it of undesirable elements have not been in the right direction is however very evident. When the Reorganization Commission was formed and given several months to study and recommend measures to streamline the government, it was hoped that no temporary set-up that would tend to confuse rather than clarify governmental positions would be created before its report is submitted and studied. Yet a new executive department has just been created, positions shifted or abolished and mergers effected without proper study.

There is undoubtedly much need for placing all government corporations under the supervision of a ranking official with cabinet rank, perhaps. The government has sunk and is sinking money it can ill afford to lose in these business ventures. Perhaps one of the reasons for losses in government corporations

is the lack of adequate and stricter supervision and coordination in them. But it certainly is waste of effort if not money, to establish an arrangement that may later be junked in the overall reorganization plan, which from all indications, calls for a reduction rather than an increase in executive departments.

Again with the start of the new fiscal year on July 1, many offices by virtue of the operation of the new budget, will be abolished or merged. Hardest hit is the department of foreign affairs where some honest and efficient career men who have sacrificed their time and fortunes have been given the gate simultaneously with others whose activities in connection with their duties have not been altogether becoming of their positions. This rather unhappy situation has destroyed rather than enhanced our precarious prestige abroad, not to say afforded injustice to some career men. There has been an unfortunate mix-up of reorganization for efficiency and reorganization to rid the government of the undesirables. In many cases there has not been any explanation or the explanation has not been enough to leave no room for doubt in the public mind.

But perhaps the most unfortunate thing in this so-called reorganization is the fact that the bigger crooks in the government have not been punished let alone exposed. We have the integrity board to which individuals may file complaints. We have the permanent congressional committee to which an injured public may air its grievances. But before the public will avail itself of the opportunities these bodies offer, there must be the assurance that complainants will be entertained with dispatch and erring officials against whom the public have complaints must be punished if the charges are proven.

In other words, the reorganization should be carried out with sincerity and methodically in accordance with duly accepted principles of good government.

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SEAU: Is It A Beginning?

By J. C. CRAIG

IF the recent seven-nation* gabfest in Baguio achieved anything, this did not exceed that which the conference set out to do at the start. Fanfare and publicity notwithstanding, the average Filipino was unimpressed by the Southeast Asia Union conference; the language of diplomatic double talk lay beyond his ken. At first Juan had a vague idea the Baguio conference was called to lay the groundwork for the timely solution of the problems that currently beset the peoples of Southeast Asia. But the deliberations that lasted five days barely touched those problems; from the standpoint of a truly valid purpose the conference appeared, to the end, a masterpiece of evasion.

After the conference ended, the chairman, Dr. Carlos P. Romulo came down to Manila and told a National Press Club gathering that if there was one thing the conference proved, it was the oneness in the spirit of Asia and the Asians' desire for peace and mutual understanding. The veteran Philippine diplomat who had had the experience of wielding the gavel often at the United Nations, admitted the rather unusual fact that, unlike usual international conferences, the SEAU meet had no prepared agenda. In fact, the nations that sent representatives to the conference were not apprised of the exact nature of the conference, and it goes without saying that no delegate was fully authorized to commit himself or his home government to any specific issue. The SEAU confab amounted to a mere feeler for the purpose of finding out if the seven nations could be brought together. As it did not set out to accomplish anything specific, it did not, it could not achieve any specific results. The broad conclusions grandiloquently aired afterward at luncheons and dinners, many believe, could have been arrived at without resorting to all the stage show and the expense, the meaningless pomp, and without broadcasting the utter emptiness of the whole undertaking. A more down-to-earth approach to the real questions confronting these nations in common would have forged the real bond of mutual interest and understanding. A more scientific and sincere inquiry into the problems that trouble Southeast Asia would have earned the respect of the nations for the country that played host to the conferees.

What are the real problems of Southeast Asia?

The half century finds the teeming regions of once abjectly colonial countries enjoying a measure of political freedom. China has boldly rejected the Kuomintang oligarchy because of its unholy alliance with the Imperialist powers of the West. India, by flexing her intrinsic strength, has shown the proud Englishmen the futility of further foisting English suzerainty over a hardy and populous nation. Burma has attained its independence, and its neighbor, Indo-China, currently seeks to keep the freedom it had won from the Japanese but now threatened by French colonialism. Siam, which had always been anomalously independent, sways away from the old British influence in response to the blandishments of the American dollar. Malaya is in a ferment as it strives to throw off the yoke of foreign rule. Willy Indonesia has successfully played

American cupidity against the old interest of the Dutch in order to bring American pressure and win sovereignty from the Netherlands. The Philippines, once betrayed by the Spaniards to the Americans, finally finds itself politically free but still economically a slave to the whimsies of certain foreign capital interests. The peoples of Southeast Asia are reportedly realizing more and more everyday that it is not as much the political freedom that counts—the pride of having one's flag wave sovereign against its own sky—as the attainment of other freedoms yet to be fought for and won.

Six hundred million Orientals have come to know they must continue the struggle—not merely against foreign rulership but against poverty, disease, fear, and backwardness. The struggle has something to do with peeling off the old oppressive systems of land ownership and labor exploitation. Such conditions as uneven distribution of wealth, poor education, one-sided culture, lack of technology, obsolete social customs and outmoded practices must be done away with in order to bring the peoples of Southeast Asia abreast with the advanced "civilized" world. To achieve success in these aims, the peoples of Southeast Asia must know who are their enemies, who are those that conspire to perpetuate these odious conditions that must be destroyed. As long as the true identity of this real enemy remains undetermined, the peoples of the East cannot achieve freedom from fear.

It is an era of changing social systems. The development of social modes of production has shown that old modes of capitalist enterprise are no longer adequate, that they are gone never to come back. Progress has demonstrated that industry must be organized and regulated in order to prevent dislocations and to fit worldwide production to the wants of the world's limited population. No longer can capitalist countries produce too much because the population of the globe can only buy so much; no longer can imperialist nations vie madly with each other for world markets because even these places have been developed and are producing their own commodities. As capitalism grows, the monopolists grow to abnormal proportions, thriving on the carcasses of their weaker competitors. And as wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few, the real struggle is laid bare... that of the conflicting interest between the powerful wealthy minority and the exploited working class majority. In Southeast Asia, this class distinction is even more sharp; the ruling class is allied with the imperialists of the West and is far removed from the exploited class of the peasantry and workers. The wealthy live in palaces; the poor manage to live in unsightly hovels on land they can not even call their own.

The fate of Southeast Asia hangs on the decisiveness of this vast but exploited majority, and two rival camps are vying for its loyalty. Capitalism promises a rose future through extension of technical assistance to backward areas and under the continued tutelage of capital. Communism seeks to introduce a new system wherein production is not made for profit but to satisfy the wants of

* Australia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Pakistan, Philippines, Siam.

the means of production, Communists tell the exploited everyone. As long as the people themselves do not own peoples of Southeast Asia, they will never really be able to obtain all their needs; the capitalist owners will produce commodities more for the purpose of profit than for the purpose of meeting the wants of the people. Capitalism, on the other hand, would warn the people against Communism because of the possible consequences of regimentation. In Southeast Asia, therefore, the problems may be of two kinds—the problems facing the governments and the problems facing the peoples. The governments are concerned, not only with looking after the general interests under its current ideological basis, but also with the preservation of this basis. The peoples are concerned more about their own plight and would, in the end, adopt that ideological basis that assures them a more thorough enjoyment of freedom and economic prosperity.

The particular situation in Southeast Asia places non-Communist if not anti-Communist governments on the defensive against a militant Communist menace. Big and populous China proved no match against this compelling ideology; the once powerful Kuomintang knuckled under the sweep of a people's rebellion under Communist leadership. Indo-China under Communist leadership has almost driven the French colonizers to the sea. Everywhere in Southeast Asia are Communists propagating their new doctrines. They profess to show that democracy operates on a much better way under a new social order that must necessarily require the replacement of the one existing. It is this direct menace to the Southeast Asian governments that is an immediate and paramount problem, but was ignored altogether by the Baguio conference. In its stead the conferees talked of economic and cultural ties notwithstanding the fact that this economy and culture may even demand revision and improvement to be of real benefit to the hard-up population of the entire region.

The background of the SEAU shows that it had more concrete aims in the beginning. As first conceived by the President of the Philippines, it was inspired by the North Atlantic Pact, a mutual defense agreement among Western European nations with the United States against a possible aggressor (Soviet Russian and Communism). When it was discussed by the President and China's visiting Kuomintang chief, Generalissimo Chiang Kaishek, it had the makings of a Pacific Pact for mutual defense against the rapid advance of Communism in the Far East. However, when the United States, in order not to be drawn into an openly belligerent attitude against the Soviet Union, refused to be drawn into an avowedly anti-Communist alliance, the pact idea was abandoned and the aims toned down. It was more or less the consensus of every military observer, anyway, that no defense pact would be practical in the Pacific without American backing. After Britain recognized Communist China, and Commonwealth bloc of nations appeared more lukewarm than ever to the proposal of banding together into a regional alliance which was understood by everyone as practically, if not openly, inviting Communist hostility. As the real motivations of the union frittered away, there remained still one obvious consideration—that of saving face—that the union conference at least see realization. No task was more difficult to perform for even such a world-famous diplomat as Dr. Romulo as the job of "sounding off" several Far East and Pacific nations on the possibility of holding a "union conference" in Baguio. The papers reported the vacillating attitudes of each country; even the official publicity changed the "Pacific" nomenclature to "Southeast Asia" to suit it and make it more acceptable to the Southeast Asian nations. And even when seven countries responded to the call, it was only when there was nothing specific to discuss and no specific commitment to adopt.

And yet, there are a number of problems in common among those that sent representatives to the conference. First, naturally and obviously, is the problem of meeting the Communist threat. Other problems are, say, modernization of agriculture, expansion of industry, the need for investment and finance capital, the need for technological assistance, the need for removing disadvantageous trade barriers, the need for solving unemployment and for bettering labor-management relations, etc. . . . Was it mutual distrust that prevented the conferees from touching on these matters? Was it lack of confidence in their respective ability to pool together their resources? If there was "oneness" in spirit, it was conspicuously unimplemented. The SEAU began as a regional meeting on a broad sense—much like a tea party—and ended that way. It could have been a beginning of a fruitful alliance. What it practically amounts to and might amount to is that it can serve as a willing dummy or framework for a more courageous plan, military perhaps—with the aid of the United States, or of a truly economic and cultural program — with the active give-and-take participation of the member countries.

A number of comments have been made on the true character of the Baguio meeting. There are those that say the United States was behind the stage show, that Dr. Romulo was guided by instructions from the State Department, that the whole affair was to test the temper of the Southeast Asian countries for a more concrete move later on the open initiative of the United States Government. But these comments, for want of substantiation, must remain under the classification of gossipmongering. In fact, there was no American representative, observer, nor even mere technical adviser at the conference. The comments of the American press were varied although all were unanimous in the opinion that the Southeast Asian nations are not "ready" yet for a mutual defense pact or even a regional alliance. The HERALD TRIBUNE said the conference "pointed the way toward closer integration of policy among Southeast Asian countries . . ." but added that "the idea of a Pacific Union, so widely mooted, is still far from realization. Obviously the independent countries of Southeast Asia are not yet ready for it." Hongkong papers were more sarcastic; the STANDARD said, "as expected, the conference brought no results" while the CHINA MAIL commented on a caustic vein, "a spate of words cannot disguise the fact that the Baguio conference produced nothing but a spate of words."

Perhaps the more biting comments come from many Filipinos themselves, citizens who long since lost faith in the grandiose promises of the government and the broad aims outlined by government leaders. Heard in the street were such remarks as, "it was good publicity for the Philippines, but too expensive" or "it was publicity all right, but publicity for a desperate Quirino administration seeking to recover the lost confidence of the people." And those who said, "how could the good Dr. Romulo have allowed himself to be so used and underrated?"

In spite of the sarcasm and the skepticism, the SEAU meet nevertheless pointed to one prospect — that for the Philippines it can be the beginning of a more assertive leadership. The real situation at present in the Philippines is not dissimilar to that obtaining in other countries of Southeast Asia. An economic if not political anarchy has reigned since the end of world war hostilities. The abnormal dumping of American dollar aid into these countries that were in need more of machinery, technical development rather than borrowed purchasing power only plunged these countries after four years into the most desperate economic crises. The dollars had long since returned to the United States in payment of American gasoline, clothes, foodstuffs, luxuries, automobiles, etc. . . . The abnormal conditions

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The Anatomy of Graft and Corruption

By J. G. PLANAS

A NEW social cancer plagues the Philippines—this is the consensus among the articulate citizenry and the press. A move is afoot among top leaders of the country to combat the disease, but the sons of the old Filipinos, who years not long ago took up arms to rid the land of the old social cancer, are asking themselves the question with searching frankness:

Is it actually possible to rid the country of this social evil?

Like the sinister cancer disease, the social cancer of graft and corruption is doubly sinister; like the cancerous cells that grow to abnormal proportions at the expense of the healthy normal cells of the human body, the plague of graft and corruption thrives upon the cadavers of its victims which are the people. In the manner that mere salves, ointments, drugs and pills are ineffectual against the dread disease, ordinary platitudinous "drives for clean government" and "social rejuvenations" are ineffectual. In fact, ordinary punitive measures are of no avail against the vicious carriers of this social disease; social palliatives like suspensions from positions and social ostracism do not subdue this social evil. In the same manner as the only way to remove the cancer disease is to eradicate or kill the cancerous cells, the cancer of graft and corruption can only be wiped out by eradicating the grafters and corrupt officials from the positions of responsibility and power they undeservedly hold. In fact, they should be placed in a position where they will not be able once again to rise to power. They must be punished and made to pay for their guilt.

In the relatively brief period of political autonomy enjoyed by the Philippines, the epidemic of graft and corruption has gained tremendous proportions and has become rampant. The law-abiding citizen encounters this evil from the lowest to the highest rung of public office in the course of his business. That this evil should be flouted in the face of the long-suffering people is an indication, moralists say, of national decadence. A survey of public opinion, in fact, shows a growing ambiguity in the concept of moral values. What is moral? What is amoral? What is immoral?

The old ideals following a rigid rule of morality appear vacuous in the light of practical experience. Juan is apt to ask himself whether it is still moral for him to fight for his small property against the landgrabbing of a big landholder. Wouldn't it be more practical to give in and take what offer the rich man makes? The big landholder believes it is moral for him to acquire the property of Juan in order to "protect" and consolidate his property. Pedro, the tax collector, asks himself if it is immoral for him to turn in the day's receipts if he takes a slight bribe; after all, high officials are wont to quash cases of big time tax evaders after receiving a sizable "cushaw." Tested in the laboratory of everyday life, the old morality seems to lose its qualities. A new amorality or absence of morals appears to be more practical because its only gauge of moral value is, "What is in it for me?" Official A rakes in a million from a filthy real estate deal; so Juan finds it

more sensible to take in a little on the sly and call everything else square. Wherein lies immorality?

To answer the question of whether it is possible to do away with graft and corruption, it becomes necessary to look into the cause and historical development of this social evil. It becomes necessary to ask, "Is it the product of lax state supervision? Is it the result of the frailty of human nature? Does the social system abet its growth? Is the root economic in nature?" The process of corruption in a public official sets in and develops gradually. An employee finds himself circulating in a social level that demands more expense than his regular income allows. The natural factor of solving his economic problems clashes with the factor of public service and the more pressing and immediate demand of meeting his economic needs wins. As the ardor of public service wanes, the flame of self-aggrandizement grows. The official or employee accepts bigger bribes for bigger breaches of public trust. Once the official hand is begrimed with "grease money" the official conscience seeks no longer to halt the practice but to justify it.

One justification is rationalization. A public official reasons thus: In order to serve the people well, the state must be strong. To make the state strong public officials must have stability. But stability cannot be achieved with the income given by the state. Therefore public officials must seek other ways of stabilizing themselves, particularly in finances, without necessarily resorting to out and out seizure. The official conscience is at peace provided the primary aim of the state is still served.

The second justification is religion in origin. Human nature, says religion, is weak and vitiated by "original sin." Man cannot tread the path of righteousness all by himself without constant divine support.

That this support is often absent may be deduced from the fact that the lot of the transgressor is the lot of many. Because of his "weak" nature man falls occasionally, if not often, into the quagmire of "sin." Thus the very ideals held aloft by the apostles of religion are undermined by the religious tenet that mankind is prone to wickedness. Idealism becomes truly idealism in the sense that it is impractical in the satisfaction of man's material needs.

The third justification is rooted in the kind of politics prevalent today. A public official's rise to power is accompanied by much expense, effort and many commitments. Once in office, the official thinks of recovering his investment, with profit, and of abiding by his commitments. A prominent politico gave voice to this justification when he made the classic utterance that to the winning party belongs the spoils, meaning jobs, commissions, allotments, junkets, etc. The cost of a political career under the present set-up forces the politician to make hay of the people's wealth while the sun of official tenure shines.

The common justification of official conscience, be this high or low, is economic in origin. Banned from engaging in private lucrative enterprise, the public official finds himself always behind the eight ball because of his poor salary. His personal needs and those of his family prey

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RETURN

(A Short Story)

The possibility of life lies in the forgetting.

J. Middleton Murry

By E. D. ORELLANA

AFTER the child was dead, they were silent and still for a long while. Quietly they looked at its face already grown whitely pale during rush of air, The ruddy light of the wick lamp blue in the lips and the brow.

The man rose rigidly to his feet, and moved toward the farthest window. He sat down upon the clothes chest beneath it and pushed open the sliding shutter noiselessly. The dawnlight flooded into the one room of the hut and in the accompanying rush of air, the ruddy light of the wick lamp upon a table in a corner quivered fitfully. The man breathed deeply into his lungs and gazed outside.

Webs of dew that had gathered in the night on the moist earth below sparkled in the wan light of the morning, and for a moment the man likened them to ornaments of bright beads he had seen of a Sunday in the marketplace in the far village. Then he looked at the brown cornstalks that rose tall above the bamboo fence, bending but slightly with their weight of large ears of the grainfruit, and running in rows for a distance away until they ended where began other stalks severed into short stumps; it was the midst of the harvest season. He hovered with his gaze over the cornfield, taking in the scarecrow-lines with their tatters of red clothing and the trees that fringed the far edge of the clearing, where a bull carabao grazed industriously. Then he followed with his eyes the hillsides sloping ruggedly away, far to a spur that reared blue cones in a cloudlaced sky. He beheld the far blue hills intently.

When he stirred himself it was to turn around in his seat as it were startled. He looked at the woman seated on the floor beside the dead child. She was weeping, but quietly except for the moan he had only a moment ago heard. Her head was bent over her breast which heaved even in her effort to still it, and tears filled her downcast eyes. Her hair hung in dishevel over her shoulders.

The man rose to his feet and stepped a pace near her. She did not move, and he made a movement as if to speak. But instead of being so he turned on his heels and stepped to the door. He unfastened the bar that held the door shut and propped it against the wall, then pulled the shutter slowly open. The room became more light as

the door squeaked in its hinges. He glanced back at the woman, then stepped forward and descended the narrow rickety stairs.

Some time later he came back, stepping up the ladder that led into the kitchen lean-to behind the hut. He stepped lightly across the slit-bamboo floor to the table in the corner, and casting a look at the woman, who was seated still but was now quiet beside the dead child, he reached his hand for the lamp. Then silently as he had come he went back down the ladder into the lean-to, his other hand cupped round the flickering light of the lamp.

Bending under the low roof over his head he started a fire in the clay stove, a spark from the lamplight kindling the dry sticks. The fire soon crackled into life and he placed a pot of water over the stove to boil. He snuffed out the lamplight, and then took down a pot of rice and a plate of roasted fish that hung from the ceiling inside a coil of rattan. The food were the remains of the supper of the evening before. He shook the rice out of the pot onto an empty plate. When the water over the fire began to boil, he brewed coffee well mixed with ground roasted corn. He was soon sipping

(Continued on page 13)

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Report of the WCC

Claims For Personal Injuries And Property

(A Summary)

The intent of Congress to secure a comprehensive view of the total problem of war claims is clearly stated in Section 8 of the War Claims Act. There is ample precedent in international and domestic law for recognition and reparation of war damages but the legislative and administrative approaches in the past have been piecemeal and often confusing, especially for individuals with small claims. Section 8 of the Act marked the first time that a Congress had sought an overall picture of war claims before attempting to legislate for their settlement. This report still does not achieve the goal set by Congress, since the scope of the study was sharply limited by the length of time and number of staff available for the work.

Section 8 of the War Claims Act of 1948 directed the War Claims Commission to inquire into and report on numerous matters involving personal injury and property damage arising out of World War II. The report was submitted to the President on March 31, 1950 and transmitted to the Congress on May 3, 1950.

Aim and Scope

The report of 135 typewritten pages, exclusive of charts and other supplementary material, is a limited survey of the types and categories of World War II claims and a review of existing means for satisfying them. Included are recommendations for appropriate legislative action and suggestions for administrative methods for re-enforcing the recommendations. The Commission recommends giving priority to legislation which would authorize the satisfaction of personal injury and death benefit claims. It also urges that authority be granted to receive and adjudicate claims for real or personal property losses, while evidence is available, although there is no immediate prospect of payment of such claims.

The War Claims Commission takes full responsibility for the recommendations made in the report. However, at least six of the eleven legislative changes recommended had been introduced in some form in the House or Senate, as amendments to the present War Claims Act, before the report was submitted and several before the Commission was organized.

Bases for War Claims

The term "war claims", purposely not defined in the Act, made it necessary for the War Claims Commission to arrive at a working definition broad enough to apply to modern warfare but specific enough to permit reasonable adjudication. The definition adopted recognizes a distinction between "war losses" and "war claims". War claims, therefore, include loss, injury, or damage which would not have occurred except for the existence of a state of war; and, such loss, injury, or damage must be the result of action not normally incident to the conduct of hostilities. United States nationality at the time of the loss, injury or damage, must also be established, with certain exceptions.

As an aftermath of hostilities, war claims are not new. The new elements are the techniques of modern warfare which blur the line between combatants and non-combatants. International law has held as fundamental the distinction between combatants and non-combatants and the obligation to keep non-combatants from harm.

World War II claims have at least two other bases, in addition to the implicit principles known as international common law: international agreements to which the United States is a party, and existing United States domestic law.

Method of Study

Besides reviewing the necessary historical background for war claims settlement by the United States Government, for purposes of the report, it was decided to:—

- (1) Analyze and classify representative samples of "war claims" accumulated by the Department of State during World War II;
- (2) Secure further information by means of questionnaires, letters and depositions;
- (3) Review existing local remedies for satisfying war claims by United States nationals by examining a negotiated Treaty of Peace (Italy), an enemy country without such a treaty (Japan), a country with which we were not at war and which was well advanced in the recognition and settlement of war claims (The Netherlands); further, this method permitted study of two European countries (Italy-The Netherlands), an Asiatic country (Japan), and a country with far-flung territories and possessions (The Netherlands).

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ADDRESS

Personal Injury Extensive

The lingering after-effects of malnutrition and maltreatment in enemy prison camps cannot be fully appraised as yet, but the Commission collected case studies and medical opinions which indicate strongly that no prisoner has entirely avoided permanent physical and/or mental injury.

The few thousand personal injury cases studied for the report cannot be considered an adequate sample but approximately 70 percent of those submitted involved persons who were prisoners of war or internees at the time they say they sustained injuries. About 68 percent of the alleged offenses were charged against Japan, about 28 percent against Germany. Nearly 25 percent of these claimants have received other payment, such as workmen's compensation, insurance, veterans' benefits and the like.

Property Loss and Damage

Since proof or notarization was not required, the information received for the report on the valuation of property loss or damage is probably exaggerated. Of the cases studied for the report, 43 percent cited Japan as the offender, 38 percent, Germany. Approximately 29 percent of those alleging loss had made a previous claim through other channels and, of those, about one-third had received some degree of settlement.

Most of the property claims received by the Commission are relatively small, frequently under \$1,000. A few claims allege losses running into millions of dollars.

Recommendations

The Commission's recommendations, presented in both general and specific terms, cover a wide range of considerations. Without going into details, the principal recommendations include:—

- (1) Amending the War Claims Act to authorize payment of personal injury and death claims caused by illegal actions of an enemy arising out of World War II.
- (2) Amending the Act to authorize receiving and evaluating real or personal property claims arising out of World War II.
- (3) Authorizing extension of benefits to military personnel who evaded capture or escaped from enemy prison camps.
- (4) Extending the eligibility of parents to become beneficiaries and removing the dependency clause.
- (5) Extending authorization to cancel obligations owed the Department of State by civilians, based on amounts furnished by the Department to pay repatriation expenses, and to refund amounts which have already been paid by civilians to satisfy such obligations.
- (6) Extending the civilian coverage to include all U.S. civilians who were interned, regardless of the place of capture.

- (7) Equalizing the internee detention benefits payable to adults and children at \$60 a month, instead of the present differential of \$25 for children.
 - (8) Extending eligibility to U.S. citizens who were taken prisoner of war while serving in the Armed Forces.
- (Continued on page 14)



The annual charity bazaar of the Association of Philippine-American Women was held recently at the Philippine Embassy in Washington, D.C., with a fashion show and displays of Philippine handicrafts as outstanding features of the program. The photograph shows three models in dresses they wore at the bazaar (left to right): Miss Gertrude de Castro, a member of the Philippine Embassy secretarial staff in Washington, who is wearing a satin cloth costume; Miss Mary Hamilton O'Neal, daughter of Emmet O'Neal, former U.S. Ambassador to the Philippines, and Mrs. O'Neal, who is displaying a black formal terno with white appliques; and Miss Josephine Manzanillo, a student at Georgetown Visitation Convent in Washington, who is dressed in a costume fashionable among Philippine women during the Spanish era from 1821 to 1898.

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COOPS:

Are They The Answer To Vets' Problems?

By MACARIO T. VICENCIO

THE problems of Filipino war veterans far from being solved, have not been met squarely and adequately. Veterans have found government efforts to aid them tragically wanting despite loud repeated protestation in forums as well as in the press that "everything would be done, nothing would be spared to help improve their lot".

Veterans have realized that what were received in the form of backpay and pensions are fast being spent as the cost of living steadily mounts. With the ominous rumblings of another world cataclysm patently gathering force and momentum, the Filipino war veteran finds himself a most bewildered human being.

The vast majority of these veterans come from the ranks of the workmen. He is either an industrial worker or a farmer, while others with the amount they have received have gone into a little business all their own. Rather than improve the veterans' living condition, the forces of the economic system have so reacted upon him in such a manner as to place him ever at a disadvantage.

Viewed in this light, the veteran may find it well for him to consider seriously the need for organizing with his fellow veterans into cooperatives to stave off prices and of a national economy which, many are agreed, is fast deteriorating.

To define a cooperative is not altogether a simple matter although it is easy to say that to cooperate means to work together. Aside from being too simple, this definition is inadequate; it fails to show the distinctive enterprise. Technically a cooperative has been defined as "that joint action which seeks to obtain for a relatively weak group all or part of the profit and interest which in the ordinary business enterprise are taken by a small and different group." In the cooperative form of organization, the profit goes to the members either as cooperative producers who have pooled their individual capital and labor, or to the members without regard to the capital invested and according to the products they have used. Hence, a cooperative is an organization or a group of people who band themselves together to produce something, to sell something, to buy something for themselves, or to pool their financial resources for credit or loan purposes." When a group of individuals band themselves together to produce something they form what is known as a **producers cooperative**. When a group bands together for the purpose of selling something, they form a **marketing cooperative**. This latter type of cooperative is common among American farmers. A group of individuals uniting pool their resources for loan purposes form a **credit cooperative**. Finally, if a number of people unite for buying or purchasing purposes, we have what is known as a **consumers cooperative**. It is this last type that is held of vital interest to the veterans.

Underlying consumer cooperatives are certain definite principles that must be followed if the cooperatives are to be genuine, well-knit, and successful. Many of these principles are commonly known as the Rochdale principles they were originated and followed by a group of cooperative pioneers at Rochdale, England. The germ of this

movement emerged from the almost inhuman working conditions of the workers in the textile mills of Rochdale almost a century ago. The principles evolved from a strike wherein the workers lost and from their loss they realized that it is only through concerted collective and cooperative action, that they could ever hope to bring about the much-needed reforms. The Rochdale workers organized themselves with objects and plans to make arrangements for the pecuniary benefit and improvement of their domestic conditions. They raised capital to bring into operation their plan. To the present day this has come to be known as the Rochdale plan. The principles and objectives enunciated have been tested and found. What were these objectives?

1. The establishment of a store for the sale of provisions and clothing, etc.
2. The building, purchasing or erecting a number of houses for members desiring to assist each other in improving their domestic and social conditions to reside in.
3. The manufacture of such articles as the society may determine upon, the employment of jobless members.
4. The purchase or rent of an estate or states of land which shall be cultivated by the members out of employment or poorly paid.
5. The arrangement of the powers of production, distribution, education and government as soon as practicable, or in other words the establishment of a self-supporting colony of united interests, or assisting of other societies in establishing such colonies.
6. The promotion of sobriety through the opening of a temperance hotel in one of the society's houses, as soon as convenient.

But even with the above principles as a guide to action in the establishment of cooperatives, it must be admitted that the movement has not been able to evolve a clear-cut theory of cooperation. The modern cooperative movement has not produced an authoritative literature of its own. It has not produced great thinkers or teachers. It finds itself inarticulate when it tries to explain itself, and either seeks refuge in an obsolete Utopian phraseology or finds comfort in columns of statistics. This is not for want of inspiration from the past or due to any lack of continuity between the past and the present.

The fundamental principles with which the movement began have remained unchanged today. A need is felt to elaborate and adapt the old principles to current practice and conditions. No attempt to do this has been made; it has been allowed quietly to slip into the background, to remain as a kind of religious fervour among the few. This failure to work out a new and purposeful ideology, capable of influencing action and policy has been in no sense deliberate. It has been one of the penalties of growth. As the scale of operations grew larger, the available energies of the movement were absorbed in business activities. These came to be of importance for their own sake, and

their ultimate meaning tended to be lost. The task of reviving the earlier sense of purpose and of directing it to solve the problems of cooperative development is becoming more and more urgent.

The movement it is held, must beware again of Utopian theorizing; it must have a clear purpose. It must show these principles that distinguish it from an ordinary capitalist enterprise. It must determine the scope of its operations and influence, both in the economic and in the political sphere. It must plan its guide to future expansion and determine forms that will most favor its ends. It is essential, in any attempt to give meaning to co-operation or to envisage its future place in the life of the community, to define its present character and in the process of doing this, to lay bare the general principles which may serve as guideposts when there are further advances to be made or obstacles to be overcome. Hence, the need to bear in mind at all times the basic principles of the cooperative movement as enunciated by the Rochdale pioneers.

Cooperation is in itself a complete system of economic organization, arising out of the direct interest of the associated consumers in the goods and services they require for the satisfaction of their wants. It is different from a system of organization which achieves the satisfaction of wants indirectly and only to the extent to which profits are yielded in the process. It is clear that there must be opposition of interests between the cooperative system which aims at the elimination of profits, and a competing system of supply, the mainspring of which is the profit motive.

The cooperative enterprise differs fundamentally from the ordinary capitalist business. The latter puts the interest of producers in the forefront. All are consumers from the cradle to the grave, though most people it is true, are producers also. But production misses its true purpose unless it is directed to the fullest possible satisfaction of the wants of consumers, and therefore the consumer interest should predominate. Experience shows plainly enough that under the capitalist system, producers may be achieving monopoly of supply, or through selling agreements, raise prices against consumers, or that they may, by the power of advertisement, deliberately persuade consumers that their interest are other than they are. Thus there is a standing temptation to sectional and unjustifiable gain. The cooperative system offers a way of escape from this danger.

With the foregoing, it is possible to deduce another. Cooperation stands for the control by the general body of consumers of those economic activities which are directed to the satisfaction of their wants, and must be opposed to control by sectional interests. The starting point of the cooperative system is the consumer and consumer wants, not the producer and the desire for gain.

Because of the economies inherent in the cooperative system it will be noted that theoretically it must have a continuous capacity for expansion. But farther than this, the larger the body of organized consumers, the greater the benefit which each derives from the system and the greater the capital resources which can be set aside for further expansion. Between different producer interests there must be competition and wasteful friction; this leads to monopoly and the restriction of the gains to fewer people. Cooperation, on the other hand seeks to bring in the largest possible number of consumers to share in the increasing benefit of the common enterprise. Broadly speaking, therefore, if the principles & aims of the cooperative movement were clearly enunciated and were planned and directed along the right lines, it would ultimately supersede a system which operates to the disadvantage of the ordinary consumer.

Pains have been taken to go rather into the above

The Anatomy of Graft...

(Continued from page 6)

on his mind as his pay envelope inevitably fails to meet them. The civic-minded employe, for instance, is sadly aware that in spite of the theoretical equality of opportunity in the present social system, wealth is unevenly distributed, wages are inadequate, unemployment looms forever as a threat and money is being thrown around by the rich folk and the ruling class.

On the other hand, justified or not, the corrupt officials and grafters seem more and more secure in their position. In its mode of handling justice, current society cannot mete swift punishment to the wrongdoer, especially if he is a "big wheel." Petty grafters are also invariably secure because they are protected by these big wheels, or "padrinos." Justice, the observant citizen finds out to his sorrow, is reduced to a poor arm of the state machine, which is itself an instrument under the control of unscrupulous officials and of those interests to whom they are shamelessly beholden.

It appears that under the present environment obtaining, this social cancer of graft and corruption thrives. It thrives so luxuriantly, in fact, that it has come to the notice of observers not only locally but abroad. The social evil has so smeared the prestige of the country that it has dimmed all prospects of getting foreign aid. The U.S. Administration, for instance, is loth to give aid to the Philippines because it finds the normal requisites for giving aid to any foreign country such as clean government, balanced budget, public confidence, absent. The role of the Philippines in the Far East world—to show how democracy works—is becoming a farce to observant Orientals who can see beneath the veneer of high-sounding slogans and the tinsel of official pomp and splendor.

While the disease wracks havoc in the national fabric, actual conditions demand even more its prompt eradication. Already some conscious elements in the top echelons of the government hierarchy have become aware of this urgent necessity for official reform. Some top officials are even now poised to wield the broom to rid the government of corrupt officials. But will the move succeed? Must the will to eradicate graft and corruption come from above, from below or from both sectors of the government? Must it be motivated by ideals? Must it be motivated by practical reasons of self benefit?

On the success or failure of the "drive for clean government" rests the capacity of the government to stem the tide of social unrest. To the observant citizen, for reform to be successful, no one no matter how highly placed must be spared if actually guilty. Proofs must be dug at all costs for this. Justice must be swift and not dilatory. The state laws must be plugged of loopholes. Society must be so tailored beyond the theoretical equality of opportunity there is actual equitable sharing and no citizen suffers from want. Public officials must be made to earn and live commensurate with their status, and the individual citizen must be made to realize he will get nowhere by bringing his way because the official does not need the bribe money. Failing in these, the Herculean task of cleaning the stables of graft and corruption is bound to fail, too. The futility of the movement will invite doubt on the validity of the social system.

Details because of foreknowledge of what is to be expected in the process of organizing a cooperative will help very much the veterans in being able to meet the various problems as they crop up. Discussion on what the movement will eventually bring about has likewise been emphasized to show conclusively that within the present economic system, the much-needed reforms can be realized.

NOT BORN FOR DEATH

By Dr. CARLOS P. ROMULO

America's soldiers who came to the Philippines in 1898 came by force of arms. The country was in the hands of the Filipino revolutionists, who had all but taken the last stronghold of Spanish domination—Manila. The city had been completely surrounded by the revolutionists, and the Spaniards had made overtures for peace.

Then, Admiral Dewey defeated the Spanish armada, in Manila Bay, and the Americans occupied the country against the armed opposition of the Filipinos. Because of America's superior arms, the Filipinos were soon subdued.

In this action and in the Japanese subjugation of the Philippines in 1942, the invaders overcame the Islands by force. But there was this difference:

The Japanese didn't conquer the Filipinos. With all of their heavy occupation forces, they could not cope with the guerrillas. The Americans, on the other hand, did not contend with guerrillas. After winning their battles, the Americans conquered.

How did the Americans conquer? Not by force of superior arms, but by goodwill. After the military victory, American arms lost their meaning.

Then, the real conquest began, the conquest in which human understanding and human faith were implicit. This conquest was predicated on the pledge, since then redeemed, that America had come not to hold a people in subjection, but to help them on the road to self-government and independence.

To his everlasting credit, the first American teacher in the Philippines spread the knowledge and spirit of good fellowship which made possible the friendship between his people and the Filipinos. After the capture of Aguinaldo, the American put down his gun and started a school.

At first, he went out to look for pupils. These were hard to get, and some had actually to be captured. But this was not for long.

After knowing the teacher, the children came to class regularly. Then more came, and more, until the school was crowded and children had to beg for admission. Thus began the American public-school system in the Philippines.

I am a product of that system—and proud of it. Thousands of others feel the same for having come from a school which not only taught them grammar and history and mathematics but also the ways of freedom.

Just two years before the Americans came, the Spanish colonial tyrants had executed the Filipino hero, Jose Rizal, for daring to think like a free

man, without fear. From then on, the Filipinos prized freedom more than anything else; nothing could have stopped them from fighting for it. It was a happy circumstance that the American teacher was right on the scene to let them have that freedom and enjoy it.

We owe it to the American teacher that we are today a democracy conscious of our vital part in the great movement to hold secure the fundamental freedoms of man. He taught us respect for the right of the individual to speak his mind and stand for his liberties. He trained us to be understanding of others' views. Under his code, we learned to abhor all totalitarian regimentation of the mind.

When the first American teacher began his career in the Philippines, we had the pleasant sense that he was not going to hold us prisoners, that he was going to be our friend. He never was exclusive; he constantly mingled with our people.

He played with our children, visited our parents in our homes, joined us in our fiestas, condoled with us in our sorrows. Pretty soon he was a real part of our community, not only as a teacher but also as staunch companion.

Other Americans came to the Philippines to help us make our laws, teach us the science of government, train us in business and economics. But their contribution to our community advancement was nothing compared to what our American teacher taught us about George Washington, Patrick Henry, Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, and about Lexington and Bunker Hill and Valley Forge. Of these and other good and enduring memories, our American loyalty is made.

When Japanese forces occupied the Philippines, the first act of their propaganda corps was to outlaw every vestige of Americanism. The words "United States" were proscribed; every article on which they appeared was banned. Japanese products were introduced. Japanese slogans and songs were forced on the people.

Of course, at bayonet's point, the Filipinos did as told. But inwardly, they laughed. It was all funny to them, being told what to like and what not to like. New labels could not change things.

The would-be conquerors, aided by organized force, were powerless before our ineradicable love of America. This love was formed half a century before, in the hearts of the people. It was planted and nurtured there by the first American teachers. This love was not born for death.—From *NEA Journal*.

RETURN...

(Continued from page 7)

a cup of the steaming black liquid, seated upon a low stool. At intervals he took to his mouth and swallowed rather than chewed a morsel of the cold rice. The fish he left untouched. When his drink had run low in the cup he rose, filled the cup again, and taking the plates of rice and fish on one of which he placed the cup, he stepped up the ladder into the hut.

The woman looked at the food as the man laid the plates and cup upon the floor by her side. "The sun is risen high", he said, nodding his head at the food. She looked away and did not speak.

He repeated his invitation, and without waiting for her response, turned to look at the dead infant at her knees. The blanket that wrapped it was pulled up to its chin and round its ears over the top of its head, covering all but the blue-tinged face. The tiny eyelids were drawn close over its eyes.

The man turned back to the woman and, in a strained voice said, "You lie down when you have eaten." He stooped and took up a basin lying at his feet, sniffing at the strong smell of its content of vinegar and grounded herbs and leaves. With the basin in his arms he moved away back down the ladder into the lean-to.

When he came in again later, ascending by the front stairs, he found the woman seated still as he had left her. Her eyes however, showed no trace of a recent tear. But the food upon the floor seemed scarcely touched, although the cup was almost empty.

He crossed the room to the open window and, seating himself upon the chest beneath it, he said he would bury the dead child that same day.

He turned toward the woman, but she seemed not to have heard him speak. He looked quietly at her for a moment, then continued, his hands gripping his knees:

"The priest—the village, it will take two days . . ."

She looked up at him, but instantly removed her eyes. After a silence, he went on:

"I'll bury him now—in the hills yonder." He turned himself and looked out of the window, to the distant hills that in the early morning he had from the same place regarded with keen intent.

She raised herself, and her eyes followed his own out through the window. For a while they were silent as they gazed at the hills beyond.

Then she spoke, her head nodding slowly, her eyes holding the hills in their rapt gaze:

"Yes, Magno, you bury him, now."

He turned to her a face alight as with triumph. There was a tremor in his voice as he said he would build the coffin at once. He rose to his feet

and silently but quickly walked to the door and descended the creaky stairs.

An hour had not wholly passed when he came up the stairs with his accomplished task in his hands. It was a rectangular affair, of a light unshaven wood, the longer sides broader by a wide margin at the upper ends than the smaller, so as to hold secure a flat lid. It looked much like a chest for keeping in small farm or carpentry tools. But the woman only looked at it silently, with uncritical appraisal, as the man proceeded without a word to place the dead child in it.

She came forward to assist him. She seemed in complete possession of herself now, and her hair, so undone before, she had confined into a neat knot. Her eyes shone with a certain alertness. A quiet solemnity possessed them both as they bent over the dead child inside the coffin. As they wedged in the folds of the blanket and of the small mat that swathed it between its sides and those of the coffin, the man said he would have to start at once, he would not delay a moment longer. "You will have to stay of course", he added, looking solicitously at the woman.

She nodded her head quietly.

After a pause, she said he should take something to eat before he started. "Surely", she pleaded almost, "you are hungry. And you are going far."

He replied he was not hungry, he had just eaten. With a gesture of his hand, he said he felt quite strong to make the journey on foot.

"But, you will not go without the bull?" her voice was faint with admonition.

He shook his head: "The way is trackless, it will take better time traveling alone."

The woman did not pursue herself. After a while however, as the man fitted the lid of the coffin on its top, she insisted again on his taking food before he went. She said she would have their noon-day meal cooked in a little time; the hour indeed was approaching midday. He protested once more, but she seemed beside herself to win over his protest, ready, even to prolong the argument. He was constrained to spare her the necessity of cooking a hurried meal and he sat down on a stool at the table and fork in almost without chewing, what was left of the food they had eaten of earlier in the day.

There was a clear sky and a stillness in the air and the midday sunlight beat intensely on the ground outside, when the man started to go. As he raised the coffin, round which he had wound a piece of rope, onto his shoulder, the woman said he should not be benighted . . .

He nodded his head as in assurance.

She followed him down the stairs and stood beside it as he went forward on his way, without bidding a word of farewell. She watched him si-

lently stride on, his head bent slightly away from the coffin on his shoulder, a stout pick gripped in his free arm. She stood still watching him until he was at last swallowed in the blue in the distance. After a while, she turned and went up the stairs into the hut, and seated herself at the open window.

It was well late in the afternoon when he reached the end of his journey. He laid down the coffin beneath the shade of a tree, and after resting for a minute, went forth to search for a spot in which to dig the grave. It was not long before he came to a level space where the grass grew lush and tall and thick.

He began immediately to dig with the pick. His limbs were stiff and after the long trek, but he struck the earth hard underneath the dense deceptive growth and soft upper layer with swift, measured might. Soon he found himself deep in his breast in a hole large as to allow his body to turn freely in a circle.

He clambered out of the hole, casting the pick to one side, and went forth to fetch the coffin. Back at the hole with the coffin, he circled circled the rope he had brought along thrice round the coffin. In this fashion he lowered it gently into the grave. The end of the rope in his hands he threw in after the coffin.

Perspiration broded his forehead and trickled over his eyes. He paused to wipe it away with his hand. His breath came fast. He waited until he breathed easier, and blew upon his sweating chest.

At last he filled the grave with the loose earth, shoving it with his hands and feet. He squatted himself down even the better to do so, in large lump masses. Then he picked up the clods that remained and which had eluded his search. The mound piled high. This he stamped to level with his feet and the pick.

Finally, he gathered the grass that he had dug up and tossed to one side, and carefully placed them over everywhere the earth showed sign of the grave, as if the earth has never been before disturbed.

The sun was in the horizon in a magnificent crimson flame. He rose and flung the pick onto his shoulder. His legs swung wider, even faster now than he did before when he came. Soon the cool twilight breezes fanned his face and arms and night came on with the promise of starlight.

"I am glad you are back", the woman welcomed him as he mounted the stairs of the hut.

He smiled at her in return.

SEAU: Is It A Beginning...

(Continued from page 5)

produced a new class of *nouveaux riches* from a motley crowd of former racketeers and political opportunists. As their success and towered mansions rose, the slums increased and the mass of the people were subjected more and more

to their ruthlessness. The new ruling class of plunderers fawned upon the cupidity of foreign interests to win them as an ally in further stabilizing their usurpation of power and authority. But as the oppressiveness of this class increased, the corresponding decadence set in and those very powers it once courted turned away from it. Even imperialist interests that gladly used it as a willing tool before, now think of discarding it for another set that still retains some confidence of the people.

It is in playing a leading role in ridding the Southeast Asian countries of these unworthy elements, it is in leading the move for a more sincere attention to the wants and human interests of the Southeast Asian masses, it is in showing the courage that a Southeast Asian nation is capable of in the face of both internal and external threats that the Philippines can truly demonstrate dynamic leadership and show that the SEAU, barren as it was, can be an auspicious beginning.

Report Of The ...

(Continued from page 8)

Forces of an Allied Nation.

- (9) Authorization to reopen for one year the date for filing claims for personal property lost by military personnel under the Military Personnel Claim Act of 1945.

Among the other recommendations was one that the Veterans Administration make scientific studies of former prisoners of war to determine the degree of permanent health damage incurred as a result of malnutrition and injuries sustained during imprisonment. It is believed that the findings would be applicable also to civilian internees, although in different degree.

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