

==HISTORIC SPEECHES==

I.—By President **SERGIO OSMEÑA**

on November 23, 1944, over "The Voice of Freedom" after the successful landing of the Yanks in Leyte.

GOVERNMENT OF LAW

Since my return to the Philippines a month ago, it has been my good fortune to meet a number of guerilla leaders. The world will long remember the epic stand of the guerrillas. After the fall of Bataan and Corregidor and the tragic defeat of the Allied armies in Asia, our people found themselves pitted against the might of Japan. Then the guerrilla movement came into being. It was the people's continued fight against the invaders. The guerrillas almost without arms at the beginning, hungry and unclothed, gave battle to the enemy from every nook and corner of the land. For three seemingly interminable years and despite unbelievable hardships, they carried the torch of freedom, confident that America would not fail them and that MacArthur would fulfill his pledge to return.

Our nation is justly proud of the guerrillas and the Philippines Government shall see to it that they are properly rewarded. We have taken the initial step of incorporating all guerrillas recognized by the Military Command into the Philippine Army, with United States Army pay.

But in our praise of the guerrillas we should not be forgetful of the loyal civilian population that was left behind to face the ire of the invader and support the guerrillas. It was not possible for all to evade the enemy: the fate of the immense majority was to bear the manacles of enslavement. Unfortunately, this has given rise to different attitudes and actions in relation to the Japanese rule causing some misunderstandings among our people. This state of affairs has created one of the most serious problems with which our Government is confronted.

We cannot close our eyes to the realities of the Japanese occupation. It is cruel and harsh. An arbitrary government has been imposed on the Filipino people by the sword and the initial misfortune of American and Filipino arms left the majority of eighteen million Filipinos no other recourse but to submit to a despotic regime if they were to survive. Not all public officials could take to the hills to carry on the heroic struggle. Some had to remain in their posts to

maintain a semblance of government, to protect the population from the oppressor to the extent possible by human ingenuity and to comfort the people in their misery. Had their services not been available, the Japanese would either have themselves governed directly and completely or utilized unscrupulous Filipino followers capable of any treason to their people. The result would have been calamitous and the injuries inflicted to our body politic beyond cure.

The problem under consideration must be solved with justice and dignity. Every case should be examined impartially and decided on

© **SPEECHES** are mere words,—but when delivered by the leaders of a nation, they usually decide national destiny, they write history, they indicate trends and paths of national life and national ideals. They are mere words, but in them we can feel the pulsating throb of the country's heart, the theme song of the people. We listen to the speeches and follow the lead of the speechmakers. Your magazine, **The NATION**, intends to furnish you copies of historic speeches wherein you may see, mirrorlike, the life and dreams of our country and people.



The master politician greets the master warrior.

(Courtesy OWI)

its own merits. Persons holding public office during enemy occupation, for the most part, fall within three categories: those prompted by a desire to protect the people, those actuated by fear of enemy reprisals, and those motivated by disloyalty to our government and cause. The motives which caused the retention of the office and conduct while in office, rather than the sole fact of its occupation, ought to be the criterion upon which such persons will be judged.

Those charged with giving aid and comfort to the enemy, whether office holders or private citizens, with being traitors and disloyal to

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the governments of the Philippines and of the United States will be dealt with in accordance with law. But for the common good and our national welfare, I appeal to all the citizens of the Philippines to support their government in meeting its responsibilities by lawful procedures. Persons in possession of information on act of disloyalty to that of the United States should report it to the authorities. But under no circumstances should any person or group take the law into their own hands.

Ours is a constitutional government, ours is a community educated in the norms of a Christian civilization. Due respect for the law, rigid adherence to those principles established in civilized countries, complete obedience to the decisions of the courts—all these involve forms of character and high moral attributes that are the possession of enlightened countries like ours. On the threshold of occupying a sovereign place in the concert of free nations, we must live up to our responsibilities. We must prove our ability to maintain domestic

peace and our capacity to mete out justice. Precisely when the eyes of the civilized world are focused on our country, we cannot allow acts of personal revenge and misguided zeal to cast a reflection on our civilization and our ability to maintain an orderly government. Ours is a government by law; the splendour of its majesty must never be dimmed in our land.

The dignity and courage of the Filipino people in the face of calamity have elicited the admiration of the world. With a long tradition of peace, the Filipino nevertheless faced war bravely. He died heroically when death was demanded of him by the exigencies of battle. Under the tyranny of the Japanese he toiled to survive. But when the forces of redemption were compelled to rain death on his home and destroy his property in order to dislodge the enemy, he was never heard to complain. He realized that the price of freedom is high and was ready to pay the cost. Today he labors on the wharfs of Tacloban, tills the fields of Leyte and renders war service everywhere without hesitation or regrets, with

tiny.

As a people we have come of age. We must move forward, just and firm but merciful and humane, closely united, animated by the same social aspirations to happiness, bound together as a political State by the wise dispositions of our Constitution and our laws. God helping me, I shall strive to this end.

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The Rev. Mother **DIRECTRESS**

II.—By General of the Army DOUGLAS MacARTHUR
... in turning over the reins of civil government to
Commonwealth President Sergio Osmeña, February 27,
1945, at Malacañan.

CITADEL OF DEMOCRACY IN THE EAST

Mr. PRESIDENT: More than three years have elapsed—years of bitterness, struggle and sacrifice—since I withdrew our forces and installations from this beautiful city that, open and undefended, its churches, monuments and cultural centers might, in accordance with the rules of warfare, be spared the violence of military ravage. The enemy would not have it so, and much that I sought to preserve has been unnecessarily destroyed by his desperate action at bay; but by these ashes he has wantonly fixed the future pattern of his doom.

Then we were but a small force not in vain! God has indeed blessed struggling to stem the advance of our arms! The girded and overwhelming hordes treacherously leashed power of America, supported hurled against us, behind the mask of professed friendship and international good-will. That struggle was who is again free to shape his des-

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eternal gratitude of our people for their victorious accomplishments. They have come as brothers-in-arms enlisted in and dedicated to the sacred cause of restoring our liberties.

The time has come when the world should know that when our forces surrendered in Bataan and Corregidor, resistance to the enemy was taken up by the people itself—resistance which was inarticulate and disorganized at its inception but which grew from day to day and from island to island, until it broke out into an open warfare against the enemy.

The fight against the enemy was truly a people's war because it counted with the wholehearted support of the masses. From the humble peasant to the barrio school teacher, from the volunteer guard to the women's auxiliary service units, from the loyal local official to the barrio folk—each and every one of these contributed his share in the great crusade for liberation.

The guerrillas knew that without the support of the civilian population, they could not survive. Whole towns and villages dared enemy reprisal to oppose the hated invader openly or give assistance to the underground movement. It is thus that the Filipino people drew the ire of the Japanese who has never followed the rules of civilized warfare. And now his conduct towards the civilian population has become more cruel and brutal, embittered as he is by his failure to enlist the support of the people. For this reason, it is imperative that the war against him be prosecuted all over the country relentlessly and with dispatch in order that the people's agony may not be prolonged and precious human life may be salvaged.

As I take over the civil functions of the Commonwealth Government in our country, I cannot but pause in all humility, for guidance and inspiration before the figures of Jose Rizal for his patriotism, Andres Bonifacio for his indomitable courage, Apolinario Mabini for his farsighted statesmanship, and Ma-

niel Quezon for his devotion to the cause of independence.

That no time may be lost in the complete restoration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, the Executive and judicial branches will be reestablished with utmost vigor and dispatch and I now call upon all the duly elected members of our Congress who have remained steadfast in their allegiance to our Government during the period of enemy occupation, to be in readiness to meet in Manila as soon as conditions permit for the reestablishment of the Legislative branch.

I am fully cognizant that problems of great national significance must be faced immediately. The reestablishment of law and order in areas already liberated, the reopening of schools, the reorganization of the government, both national and local, are among the complicated problems that have arisen as a consequence of enemy occupation. Foremost among these problems is that of relief and rehabilitation, the urgency of which cannot be over-emphasized.

This war has not only caused untold misery and suffering to the individual; it has also brought about wanton destruction, economic dislocation and financial bankruptcy to the nation at large. Farms and industries have to be rehabilitated; banks and credit institutions have to be reopened; roads and bridges have to be repaired; schools and hospitals have to be rebuilt; destroyed and damaged properties, both public and private, have either to be rehabilitated or indemnified.

The legitimate claim of the common laborer and of the small farmer who has lost his only work animal and nipa hut must be given preferential attention.

So that these manifold problems may be faced with promptness and energy, I shall enlist the assistance of all those possessing not only proven ability and loyalty but also the confidence and trust of the people. In Leyte, as a recognition of the guerrillas who so valiantly fought the Japanese, I appointed Col. Ruperto Kangleon as the Acting Governor of that province. Today I have pleasure to announce that, as a tribute to the civilian elements of our country who resisted the enemy with courage and fortitude, I have chosen Governor Tomas Confesor as the ranking member of my Cabinet, appointing him Secretary of the Interior, and in charge of the reorganization of the City of Manila.

Our independence is a settled question. Our five decades of consistent struggles, in peace and war, have come to a definite, successful end. Our government, when in exile, was considered as possessing the attributes of an independent nation. It is a member of the United Nations. We have President Roosevelt's word that when normal conditions have returned, law and order reestablished, and democratic processes restored, our request for the advancement of the date of independence will be granted. I hope this can be accomplished on August 13, 1945, the forty-seventh anniversary of the landing of the Amer-

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HISTORIC SPEECHES

ican forces in Manila. Thus Occupation Day will become Philippine Independence Day.

The gravity of our new problems demands the collective effort of all the people. The government cannot undertake to solve them alone. It needs the support of the people—a united people. More than ever before, now that the rapid advance of our forces is widening its field of action, the government needs a united popular support to enable it to undertake successfully its tremendous tasks. Not by dissension and bickerings, not by resort to violence and lawlessness can we serve the national interest. It would be tragic indeed if at this last stage of our crucial struggle for nationhood, we should fall apart and be divided against ourselves. We have had enough misfortunes and sufferings in this war; we cannot bear anymore. To plunge ourselves into the abyss of disunion would be suicidal.

As the head of your duly consti-

tuted government, I therefore appeal to you, my people, to remain united. I urge you to forget petty political differences, to bury the hatreds and animosities engendered by the struggle, to obey the rule of law, justice and reason, and to remember that we all belong to one common country, our beloved Philippines. United we will continue assisting effectively in the successful prosecution of the war and in the rehabilitation of our country. United we can speedily achieve the full restoration of the constitutional processes of our government, disrupted by the enemy. United and in close cooperation with the United States, we can win for ourselves and our children all the blessings of democracy, freedom and security for which we have sacrificed so much in this titanic struggle against the brutal forces of tyranny and oppression.

SQUARE DEAL FOR THE PRESS

Undersecretary Mendez announced the other day that press representatives will be assigned a room in Malacañan, properly provided with desks, typewriters and other tools of the trade. He also promised regular treats to reporters covering the executive branch of the government.

PENSIONS BILL RECOMMENDED

President Osmeña in a message sent to Congress recommends the enactment of a law granting pensions to families of Filipinos who died in the service of the U.S. Army and Navy, Philippine Scouts, Philippine Army and in other departments of the U.S. government.

VALDEZ, REYES, HERNANDEZ OK'D

The Commission on Appointments has recently approved the appointments of Secretaries Valdez, Hernandez and Reyes.

RE-INVASION OF JAPAN

General B. Valdez who has been placed in charge of the Filipino Division for the invasion of Japan has stated that the coming operations will not be a picnic and that careful selection will be made of those volunteering.

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IV—By President SERGIO OSMEÑA

... On the installation of his cabinet, May 8, 1945

THE NEW PHILIPPINE IDEOLOGY

WE HEREBY REAFFIRM our faith in, and adherence to, the principles of freedom and democracy—a faith and an adherence born in the early days of our Malay history, nurtured by four hundred years of Western contact, consecrated by our revolutionary fathers, invigorated by the teachings of America, ratified in the constitutional processes of our Commonwealth, and now sanctified by the blood of the thousands of Filipino martyrs and heroes of the present war.

We condemn the totalitarian ideology which the enemy has sought to impose on us under a government by self-constituted or God-chosen rulers, and we hereby reaffirm our devotion to the principles of popular sovereignty, of a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

We believe in the superiority of a responsible democracy, peaceful and law-abiding, loyal to its institutions and determined to fight for its way of life, over a degenerate fascism and totalitarianism with its regimented lives, devoid of wills of their own.

We shall reestablish in our country a social and political system which is founded on mutual faith, honesty and confidence and not on suspicion, corruption and fear, and in which government officials and employees are not the

masters of the people but their servants acting as necessary instrumentalities through which the public good and the individual welfare may be advanced and safeguarded.

We denounce the barbarous doctrine of collective responsibility for individual acts under which thousands of innocent men and women have met their death.

We stand for the individual liberties, guaranteed by our Constitution, for the right of every man and woman to enjoy life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We reject the theory of the existence of chosen or superior races; we hold to the self-evident truth that no particular race has a monopoly on the capacity for progress and self-government.

We believe in the universality of culture, and we shall seek the

implements of progress in whatever source they may be found.

We reaffirm our faith in the principle of Philippine-American collaboration, its workability having been successfully tested both in peace and in war. This principle has been responsible for the unparalleled progress of our country during the last 46 years. It is a guarantee for the permanence of Christian civilization in the Orient.

We reiterate our adherence to the Atlantic Charter signed by the United Nations, of which we are a member; for in that document they expressed their desire to effect no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed will of the people concerned, and "to respect the right of all people to choose the form of government under which they will live."

We believe in the efficacy of the principle of collective security as a guarantee of world peace and the best assurance of the settlement of international disputes not by the arbitrament of arms but by the processes of peace and justice. The legislation providing for the use, after the independence of the Philippines, by the United States of naval and air bases here for the mutual protection of the Philippines and the United States is a concrete example of the application of this principle. It is a mutual agreement designed not only for the protection of both nations but as a contribution to the peace of the Pacific region and the collective security of the nations of the world.

We stand for a new world free from want and fear, provided with greater safeguards for lasting peace and offering ample opportunities for friendly negotiations and judicial adjudication of international disputes and the self-development of nations. We are ready to take part, in close association with the United States, in any international pact based on justice and directed toward the organization and preservation of the peace of the world.

IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

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V—By Senate President MANUEL A. ROXAS

on the occasion of his inauguration as senate President.

"WITH MALICE TOWARDS NONE"

Gentlemen of the Senate:

I consider it a high honor to have been elected by you President of the Senate. I can best prove my appreciation by assuring you that as your chosen leader I shall endeavor to make this chamber a truly deliberative body where every member shall have a fair and ample opportunity to discuss freely and without hindrance all questions of public interest and to initiate and uphold such measures as will truly promote the people's welfare.

The problems confronting the Philippines are vast and vital, and they are urgent. It is not within our power to solve these problems by the independent action of this body. The collaboration of all the coordinate departments of the government is required. The executive will have our unstinted and willing cooperation in everything that will secure the maximum efforts for the successful prosecution of the war against Japan, the reestablishment of peace and tranquility among our people, the resumption of constitutional processes and a regime of law, and the speedy rehabilitation of our national economy. That is our bounded duty and we will not be found wanting. The nation's freedom and welfare should be our paramount concern. Neither self-interest nor partisan motives should be allowed to obstruct or delay their achievement. We are fighting this war for liberty, justice and democracy. We can not, we must not risk these great ideals in the turmoil of partisan politics. We would be unfaithful to the memory

of the brave men, Americans and Filipinos, who have died in the battlefields or in the torture chambers of the Japanese. Kempí Tai that those ideals might be preserved, were our government to follow a course which will justify our people to level against us the accusation that we had won the war but lost the cause we had been fighting for.

More than three years have passed since the last legislative assembly elected by the free votes of the people met on Philippine soil. Those three long years shall linger in our memory as the darkest of our lives. They were three long years of suffering, privation, bloody battles, terror and torture, and the suppression of our most cherished liberties. They were years when Filipino patriotism was put to the severest tests, but we proved the solidity of our loyalties. We stood those tests because our love for liberty is unquenchable, because our faith in democracy is firm and adamant, because our confidence in the valor and gallantry of the fight-

ing forces of the United States and the Philippines could not be shaken either by the malicious propaganda of the hated enemy or the threats, tortures and wholesale murders of a savage soldiery. Only those who remained in the Philippines and have seen and shared the sufferings and the brutalities inflicted upon the masses of our population can testify to the valor and patriotism and loyalty of the men, women and children of the Philippines. The Filipinos remained loyal throughout the darkest hours and fought back. We fought back everywhere and everyone fought back. We fought back in the hills, and in the towns and cities; we fought back as guerrilla groups, as farmerism factory workers, public officials and employees, and from the ordinary walks of civilian life.

It is not so difficult to follow the surging march of a victorious army sweeping forward with irresistible force to overwhelm a retreating foe, but it requires moral stamina, the finest steel in men's hearts to continue resisting the terrors and brutalities of an inhuman enemy for three long years, sustained only by the confidence that someday sometime the forces of liberation would sweep the country to help the people regain their homeland and drive away the ruthless invader. When the history of those stirring days is written, the pages will appear drenched in blood and tears, but upon them will appear in letters of living light the unsurpassed heroism of thousands of Filipinos who suffered or died that race might survive and that our nation might again be free. Those pages will recount the most inspiring again epic of mass resistance in our annals and many generations will read them with pride and gratitude as proof to posterity that our nation is fit to live because her people are unafraid to die in defense of their liberties.

The destruction which the war has wrought on our land has been great and widespread. There is hardly a hamlet in the Philippines that has not been laid waste by the enemy. Our fairest cities have been razed to the ground; our homes and factories are in ashes; our farms have been devastated; nothing is left of our commerce, our ships, our communication and land transportation systems. Our national economy has been disrupted and disorganized and our productive system severely damaged. We can expect only a meager portion of our normal revenues before the war and our national production income is less than 20% of the prewar level. This situation creates social and economic problems which challenge the vision and statesmanship of our

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government and our people. Our only hope for an early recovery is in the speedy grant of the aid for our rehabilitation so generously proffered by the United States and for which we should be deeply thankful. But it is upon ourselves that we should depend chiefly for the solution of some of our most pressing problems. It is upon ourselves, upon our willingness and eagerness to work and bring back productive enterprise that we can rely most for immediate relief. And this we could do even while we are still fighting this war, even while our sons are at the front and in the trenches bravely assisting the American forces in the effort to complete the liberation of our country and achieve final victory over Japan. We must put our farms into production, open the doors of credit, canalize capital into productive activities, revive our commerce, re-establish our transportation and communication systems, rebuild our factories, stabilize our currency, solve our fiscal problems and create opportunities for labor. We must correlate wages with actual living costs, prevent inflation and restore confidence of the people in their government.

With the inauguration of the of the Philippines, we are taking one of the most significant steps towards the reestablishment of a constitutional government. But that is not enough. We must reestablish constitutional processes; we must maintain and enforce a regime of law; we must set up and uphold justice for all. Everyone should be entitled to invoke the guarantees of our constitution and our laws. In that way alone shall we be able to bring back peace to the hearts of our people and contentment and happiness for our countrymen.

I invite your attention to these problems. I urge upon you the duty of approaching them "with malice towards none", with a firm desire to do what is right and just, with a determination to place the interests of our country uppermost in our minds. Our people have suffered too much to allow ourselves the temptation of deviating from this path to which their self-interest and patriotism beckon us. For my part, I assure you, I shall follow that course no matter the cost, and may my people forget me if I fail them in this supreme hour.

A Visit to An Advertiser

Like our sister publication, *The Observer*, we organized a staff of check-up inspectors on the advertisers of *The Nation*. BOB'S CAMERA PORTRAIT was our first place visited.

We found Mr. Razon, photographer par excellence, quite busy with a number of customers. There were doughboys, gobs, WACS, and some of Manila's "400" with whom we had a nodding acquaintance. It was sometime before Mr. Razon reached our turn.

"Photograph?" he addressed us. "Is it a portraiture or a view you want?"

We laughed. We're from *The Nation*," we said.

"Oh!" he said. "Want to look around? We can talk as I work."

We followed him around as he served customer after customer. His phototechnic seemed strange to us, but the results produced were like those of Hollywood portraits.

"Have ever been in Hollywood? They'd appreciate your spectacular method there."

He smiled very disarmingly. "My method was threshed out of personal experiments for years, but mostly patterned, of course, after Hollywood processes."

There was a touch distinctly personal and different in the Razon technique of photoportraiture. We were very much intrigued, and as if carried by a strong current, we found ourselves in front of a camera with Mr. Razon peering at us from behind it.

"Will it be good?" we asked.

The artistic temperament in Bob Razon seemed to be up a moment, but his good nature got the better of him. "Many of these GI's and WAC's and Manila's 400 have come back three or four times for more art and glamour in their poses."

That's a fact. We would come back and come back and come back for more of anything we like very much. It seems that Bob's portraits are well liked. (Advt.)

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