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APERTURA DE LA SESION

Se abre la sesion a las 4:25 p.m., ocupando el estrade el President, Hon. Claro M. Recto.

EL PRESIDENTE: Se abre la sesion.

Lease la lista.

EL SECRETARIO, lee la lista de los Delegados.

EL PRESIDENTE: Se declara la presencia de un quorum.

LECTURA Y APROBACION DEL ACTA

Se lee lee el acta correspondiente a la sesion anterior, la cual es aprobada.

EL PRESIDENTE: La Mesa anuncia los siguientes nombramientos de comites:

FOMENTO AGRICOLA

Sres. Ledesma, Sres. Ricohermoso,

Montilla,

Liboro,

Abrigo,

Hernaez,

Guariña,

Ysip,

Leonardo,

Nepomuceno (J.),

Villarama,

Guzman (B.),

Millar,

Gaerlan,

Benitez,

Castillo,

Martinez (R.),

ASUNTOS VARIOS

Sres.
Calleja,
Sres.
Ocampo,
Zurbito,
Alkuino,
Ranjo,
Ricohermoso,
Buslon,
Lizardo,
Beltran,
Caram,
Velasco,
Monrado,
Gumangan,

ESTILO

Sres. Sotto (V.), Sres. Conejero
Ranjo Salazar (V.),
Muñoz,

PRIVILEGIOS

Sres.
Enriquez,
Sres.
Nepomuceno (V.),
Montilla,
Castro,
Sanchez,
Encarnacion,
Ocampo,

Beltran,

Bocar,

Mumar,

INVESTIGACIONES CIENTIFICAS

Sres.

Ortega,

Sres.

Nuere,

Delgado,

Caram,

Villarama,

Montilla,

Barrion,

Chioco,

Mumar,

Dikit,

Pio,

SELECCION DE COMISIONADO RESIDENTE

Sres.

Caram,

Sres.

Enriquez,

Canonoy,

Benitez,

Joven,

Kintanar,

Santos,

Grafilo,

Beltran,

Sevilla,

POLICIA INSULAR

Sres.
Zurbito
Sres.
Zialcita,
Cea,
Salazar (V.),
Borbon,
Montesa,
Villamor,
Jose,
Montaño,
Alonto,
Adduru,

GOBIERNO INTERIOR

Sres.
Melendres,
Sres.
Ramos,
Martinez,
Lesaca,
Buendia,
Nepomuceno (J.),
Guzman,
Salazar (A.),

ESTUDIOS COMPARATIVOS DE**LAS CONSTITUCIONES**

Sres.
Hontiveros,
Sres.

Balili,
Ventura,
Araneta,
Aruego,
Escareal,
Zavalla,
Salumbides,
Ribo,
Abella,
Muñoz,
Carin,
Jumauan,
Abaya,
Abordo,
Flores,

FRANQUICIAS

Sres.
Aruego,
Sres.
Cabarroguis,
Espeleta,
Melendres,
Romero,
Galang,
Sandoval,
Paredes,
Benito,
Mansueto,
Araneta,
Cinco,

Guzman (A.),

Guzman (J.),

Lim,

Quirino (D.),

CUENTAS

Sres.

Millar

Sres

. Marabut,

Cruz (C.),

Cuaderno,

IMPRENTA

Sres.

Conejero,

Sres.

Salumbides,

Abordo,

Guzman (B.),

EL PRESIDENTE: Tiene la palabra el Caballero por Cebu.

SPEECH BY DELEGATE MONCADO OF CEBU

MR. MONCADO: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: Thank you sincerely for the opportunity of addressing you on a subject that is closest to my heart — the Struggle of the Filipinos in America.

I hope you will judge what I may say here today not in terms of literary style but on the merits. That is all I ask. If you accord me that open-minded attitude, I shall be doubly appreciative of this opportunity of talking shop with you.

We are told that the Governor General and the other leaders of our government are seriously considering plans for bringing back a large number of destitute Filipinos from the Pacific Coast. One of the stated purposes of Senate President Quezon's trip to the United States is to look into this problem personally to see what can be done to repatriate those men.

That is all very well were it not for the fact that many of these men have married American women. Now, what is to become of these Filipinos with American wives when they get back? These men, as we all know, are without jobs. It is bad enough to have men without jobs, but jobless men with American wives are something else again. Are these women to become a public charge if the government does not take the proper steps toward rehabilitating

these families? In such an eventuality, the coming of the Commonwealth government will get such a black eye that no amount of speech making and other empty gestures of friendship can cover it up in the estimation of the American people. It will be interpreted as a sign of our weakness as a people and our incapacity to maintain a decent independent existence. No, my friends. The Commonwealth, which it is our duty here to safeguard, cannot afford to be so handicapped. We must not start on this great adventure with a millstone around our necks. Something must be done at once to solve this perplexing problem that has been thrust upon us.

As a Member of this Constitutional Convention and as a Filipino who has devoted many years to the preservation of our good name in America, may I just make a suggestion? In order to appreciate the workability of my suggestion, it is necessary to turn back our attention to some ten years ago when there was no organization looking after the welfare of Filipinos in America. Those were dark days for us. We had followed the rainbow to America hoping that we would find the well-known pot of gold there. What fools we were! We not only did not find gold, but the large majority of us were hopelessly getting into debt. Gambling and vice flourished. The Filipinos were getting a reputation as undesirable elements in the communities where they had established themselves.

I was caught in that surging mass of discouraged, lawbreaking men, and came near being swept away with the others. With a few trusted friends, I organized what is known throughout the United States today as the Filipino Federation of America. From a handful of men our membership grew so rapidly that today we have about a million members here and in America.

The Federation was organized with one aim—the preservation of the good name of the Filipinos in America. It was necessary to eliminate those vices that for years had been throttling our countrymen in the States. The Federation promulgated a ban on gambling. Poolroom operators went after us because their business suffered, but we held our ground for gambling remained taboo in our ranks. We built homes for the members, helped them secure jobs. Many Filipinos walked the streets discouraged. They were a straggly lot. They looked toward a future that stretched hopelessly ahead — toward nothing. Today, their heads are erect. They are glad of the name Filipinos.

Our methods have been the target of much undeserved criticism. Our critics are men who do not know and cannot know the facts, because they are afraid to face those facts. We have not chosen to answer their attacks. We are satisfied that of the large number of destitute Filipinos in America who are creating such a problem for the Philippine Government, not one belongs to the Federation. The reason for it is that the Federation takes care of its members in a manner this government should have done — but has failed to do.

Now, in Mindanao we have what is known as the Moncado Colony. We have about 3,000 families there. We have built homes for them and provided them with all the conveniences of civilized life. More important still, we have provided them with those things they have been accustomed to in the States. That is necessary in order to make them contented. And when men are contented they generally do what you expect of them. What is more, you get results.

In the Federation, we have engineers, experts in farming, men skilled in planning and laying out communities. These men preceded the establishment of the Moncado Colony. They made a thorough survey of the place, and when everything was ready, the men were brought here from America. Only a sufficient number came, just as many as can properly be taken care of. Our Federation makes it a point to have a home and lot ready, and work to do, before bringing back a single member from the states. As a result, there is no unemployment in our colony. It seems to me that what has been accomplished in America and here in the Islands could well be duplicated by the government in the case of Filipino families who are to be brought back from America. Certain it is that if they are dumped in Manila and allowed to move about at will, they will become a menace to the community. I am happy

over the effort now being put forth to bring these men back. At a time like the present, we need all the brain power and brawn power that we can muster in laying broadly and surely the foundation for an independent existence. But it would be sheer folly for an independent government to attempt to bring these men back without first making adequate plans for properly directing their energies. I have studied this question from every possible angle and I honestly believe that they should be sent to Mindanao and given work there. The government should get up a revolving fund of say P1,000,000 to be repaid by the colonists out of their labor. The details could be worked out by a committee composed of men familiar with handling land and laborers, men skilled in planning and laying out communities. But make sure of one thing: make your colonists feel that they are not wasting their efforts. Make it possible for them to own their homes and land after a given time.

It will be necessary to segregate those with American wives. This is important. They should be grouped together in a certain designated section of the colony in order to afford them an opportunity to live as nearly as possible in conformity with what they have been used to in the States. This is necessary in order to preserve harmony within the colony itself.

And another thing: the colony should be managed by a man well known for his kindly, paternal attitude toward people in humble circumstances. He must have a thorough knowledge of the mental reaction of the Filipino who has spent several years in America. In short, he must be a man who sympathizes with the problems of the returned Filipino.

My time does not permit me to go into details. I have merely mentioned and outlined to you what I have proven by experience as an effective way of handling this difficult problem. I have shown you a plan in skeletonized form hoping that you will give it a place in your thoughts. I have given you facts — not political arguments.

In closing, I wish to thank you again for your kind indulgence. Question my judgment, if you will, my skill in presenting my facts, but I beg of you, do not question my sincerity. These Filipinos are as much entitled to our consideration as those who have remained in the Islands. If properly directed, they will prove their mettle in Mindanao, insure our rights to that rich territory which unfortunately is rapidly passing into foreign hands. I ask you to give this problem a place in your patriotic endeavors toward the attainment of our common objectives: the happiness and security of the Philippines of the future.

EL PRESIDENTE: Tiene la palabra el Caballero por Nueva Ecija.

MANIFESTATIONS OF MR. BALTAO

Mr. BALTAO: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

We are now on the eve of our emancipation, the realization of an ideal for which our fathers and forefathers with a few venerable Members of this Body have suffered but most of whom were not able to see the dawn of that freedom. The political question of our country with the ruling nation apparently has now been definitely settled. Upon us the Filipinos alone and not upon other people depends principally the advent of that independent life, and upon the shoulders of this Constitutional Convention depends almost exclusively whether or not that freedom can undergo the test of time, whether or not that liberty will be a solid guaranty of a perpetual union, democracy, prosperity and happiness of our people and our posterity.

Collateral to our political question is our cultural problem referring to our national and official languages. I shall now deal myself with this important national question. Must we or must we not have a common national language? Such is of an imperative necessity. This is the propitious time for a clear and dignified solution of this problem. As time flies, it might become more complicated. On this altar of our union and freedom, lives in the full vitality of manhood were offered willingly and gladly. On this same altar of union and liberty, no blood, no such

great suffering are now needed. It calls only for tolerance, brotherhood, and self-abnegation. I cannot pretend to be a sage on this problem. I cannot pretend even to dream of being among the first advocates of this noble cause. The fight for a common national language is a fight almost as old as the struggle for our freedom.

According to Dr. Herman, a German scientist and professor: "A language is the expression of a nation's soul. Without it no nation would be able to express its deepest thoughts and sentiments. Therefore, if the Filipinos must want to continue as a national unit developing their own specific qualities they shall not abandon their own language.

"All patriotic Filipinos who possess the blood that runs in the veins of their leaders and patriots must struggle to establish their own language if they want to maintain their own individuality as a people and as a race."

Dr. Kitasoto, a Japanese professor and an expert on Japanese language said: "But from the standpoint of the ideal 'nation' it is enough to make me shudder to see that the Filipinos are disregarding their national language." I do not agree, however, that we are disregarding our national language. We, unconsciously, are merely neglecting it.

Mr. Hammon H. Buck, an American educator, has something to say: "If the Filipino people have nothing original and unique to develop by building on a base of their own, if their ultimate development is to be a slavish copy of Western civilization, and if their dialect built up through centuries of use and adaptation are to be relegated to that role of obsolete and forgotten tongues, then they should be resigned to follow what is by all odds the easiest, the most practical and the most profitable course of amalgamation with the United States."

But Mr. Justice Butte, Ex-Secretary of Public Instruction, rightly said: "It is upon the rock of spiritual power and not upon the sand of material wealth that the Philippine Nation must build its house if it is to withstand the checks of the storms which are certain to beat upon it in the years to come."

Dr. Rizal, the greatest Filipino hero and the greatest man of the Malayan race, declared in Tagalog language:

"Ang pagaangkin ng wika ng ibang kaisipan, ang pagsisikap na bihisan ng ibang kaisipan ang sariling pagkunuro, sariling katangian, pagpapasailalim ng utak ng iba ng inyong pagiisip, ay hindi makatutulong sa paglaya kundi lalo pa ngang makapagbabaon sa pagka-alipin. Ang isang bayan ay may sarili niyang wika, tulad rin naman ng pagtataglay ng tao ng kasarinlan sa-mantalang mayroon siyang sariling pagkukuro. Ang wika ay siyang pagiisip ng isang bayan."

When the question of allowing the use of Tagalog and of other vernaculars in the debates was brought up on the floor of the House, Delegate Briones then a member of the House of Representatives in a pathetic way expressed himself, "nunca como en esta ocasion se siente con todo el dolor del alma gravitar sobre esta Camara la inmensa tragedia de la raza. La tragedia es por falta de un lenguaje nacional, un lenguaje sacado de los mismos cantares de la raza, hecho de nuestra misma sangre, un lenguaje que fuese al mismo tiempo el de las relaciones comunes y con el que nuestros niños son arullados en nuestros hogares." President Quezon of the Philippine Senate, speaking on the rise of vernaculars in public schools, said "Ademas de eso, esta sobre todo el caracter nacional la instintiva adhesion a lo propio que los niños deben de poseer desde que empiezan a formarse en las aulas."

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: History cannot reveal to us any independent nation which has no national language of her own. There are two or three independent countries which have several languages. But Gentlemen, the languages spoken there are not borrowed languages from other people. They are the same languages spoken by the very same immigrants to those countries, taken with them and were not forgotten by them.

Paragraph 8 of Section 2 of the Tydings-McDuffie Law provides: "Provision shall be made for the establishment

and maintenance of an adequate system of public schools, primarily conducted in the English language." I repeat to you, Gentlemen, the word "primarily". I repeat to you and suggest a great deal specially on the question of the language. The Congress of the United States is wise enough to have left the door open to us. A learned writer said on the United States Constitution: "The Constitution was great in what is expressly said but it was infinitely greater in that which is left to interpretation." It is upon this Constitutional Convention to note that suggestion.

A nation without a language is a man without a soul. He has no character. That nation is bound to be a subject people at all times. One of the greatest defects of some of our countrymen is that they belittle everything at home and are always ready to proclaim the excellence of alien belongings. This is the tragic effect of neglecting our own national language. Gentlemen: According to President Bocobo, it took a Stimson to teach us the beauty of the rigodon, a Steele to discover the word Mabuhay.

Gentlemen: If we mean to command the respect of other people in us, if we mean to show them that we deserve to become a member of the family of nations, if we mean to convince the world that we have and we mean to keep and develop our own Oriental culture; if we mean to demonstrate to them that what we have is not a slavish copy of the Occidental civilization and culture in spite of more than three centuries of foreign domination over us; if we mean to show them that we are a dignified people, with absolute faith in ourselves and in our posterity and that we are not strangers in our country, then, Gentlemen, there is no other alternative for us but to declare and adapt now and forever one of our vernaculars as the national language of our country.

A common national language will cement strongly together the Filipino race. It will make them understand each other, especially the masses. It will help to create among them a strong public opinion, a common interest, a common pride and a common aspiration.

The Gentleman from Batangas, Dr. Jose P. Laurel, once said: "There is no doubt that a common language meaning a common literature, a common inspiration and folklore, embodying and impressing upon each successive generation national traditions and aspirations, is a powerful nation-moulding in influence."

I have the greatest respect and admiration for all that the English language represents but it cannot be a common national language. According to a report on education only 27 1/2% of the school population enrolled in public schools could finish the primary course and only 31/2% could finish the secondary course. After this, a vast majority of the students do not use any more the English language and then we hear them speak a ridiculous language, a disgrace to the language of Shakespeare. English is simply impossible to be our common language. It is very different in every way from any of our vernaculars, just as the sun is from the moon. It is just making a nation of us with occidental culture but with an Oriental heart. It is dancing jazz under the sweet tunes of our kundiman. But teach for example the Tagalog vernacular in any place in the Philippines, and in a couple of months the people therein will learn how to speak the language and will retain it forever. It is because of the great similarity of the different vernaculars in our country; it is because of their same origin, the same characterization, and the same peculiarities. Experience shows that in spite of the impositions, in spite of the laws in our country, in spite of the millions of pesos spent annually for our schools and in spite of the one thousand and one rules and regulations tending to propagate the English language in the Philippines, it has been demonstrated that it can never be used as the common national language among the masses of our people. Neither can the Spanish be a common denomination and the most that the masses of our people could get and only in one or two towns of the whole Philippine Islands is the Chabakano language, an unknown thing among the languages. Dr. Saleeby said: "Rome ruled Western Asia for seven centuries or more, but its language disappeared with the retiring legions."

Anything artificial cannot stay. English and Spanish are borrowed languages in our country. They cannot penetrate the mind and soul of our masses. English and Spanish are the expressions of Occidental culture. Our

vernaculars are the expressions of all that is deepest and dearest to us. These will have to stay inspite of everything. The jazz music cannot live here for a long time simply because it does not fit into our national character and sentiments. It is not the natural music found within our hearts. We have some of the finest and best traits of human character — politeness, gene-rosity and hospitality and the simplicity and faithful-ness of Filipino women, more so in the face of the gravest adversity. All these stand in bold relief. These are handed to us generation after generation. It is for us to appreciate, keep and develop them for our people and our posterity. We can only do this by using our own language. Foreign languages might destroy completely the Filipino priceless heritage, the best among the best of human patrimony. Any of the greatest and most civilized nations will be proud of them.

But which is the vernacular that we shall declare and adopt as the national language of the Philippine Islands? I admire the gallant Pampango vernacular portraying the gallantry of the Pampango people. I love the noble Visayan vernacular depicting the nobility of character of the people that speak it. I love the chivalrous Mo-hammedan vernacular portraying the Spartan bravery of the Filipino Mohammedan race. I love the elegant Bicolano vernacular, demonstrating the elegance of the Bicolano people. I admire the romantic vernacular of the North representing the romanticism and devotion of the Pangasinan and Ilocano groups. I love and admire each and every one of the other vernaculars in the Philippine Islands because they are spoken by my own bro-thers. But fellow countrymen, allow me to recommend to you—for use as the basis of our national language—the Tagalog language, because it is spoken in the capital of the Philippine Islands, the center of learning, commerce, social life, industry, labor and all different human activi-ties; because it is widely understood from North to South, because the majority of the local literary writ-ings have been written in the Tagalog tongue: because it is so elastic that you can begin with the nouns, with the verbs or with the pronouns and still you can finish the sentence grammatically correct and fluently. According to Dr. Rodriguez of the National Library, Tagalog has the mysteries and obscurities of the Hebrew, the wealth and elegance of Latin, the Artistry and precision of the Greek and the good breeding and courtesy of the Spanish; and because, according to the re-nowned writer Epifanio de los Santos, it received its baptism in the blood of the Filipino Revolution and the official confirmation of the Philippine Republic.

But if in spite of all these we cannot agree upon this vernacular, in the name of our flag impregnated with the tears of our womanhood and the blood of our brothers, I for one, declare: I beg of you to agree to any other native vernacular to be declared and adopted as our own national language, to be a national patrimony of this country that is called the Pearl of the Orient Seas.

Gentlemen: In a few months this Convention will be dissolved and it will pass on to history. Some day some of us might go there, far beyond the reach of human imagination, to follow the footsteps of our precious dead companions. Some day the rest of us will have to follow. I beseech you, fellow countrymen, at this auspicious time to find the solution for this national problem and to write with indelible ink on the glorious pages of our history our own national language, which will be the solid guaranty for the perpetual preservation of the finest and best in us so that when we are already gone, say one hundred years from now, our people and our posterity can look back upon us with gratitude and admiration.

EL PRESIDENTE. Tiene la palabra el Caballero por La Union.

SPEECH OF MB. SOBREPEÑA ON FOUNDATIONS
FOR PHILIPPINE DEMOCRACY

MR. SOBREPEÑA: Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: The Gentleman from La Union has the floor.

MR. SOBREPEÑA: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: We have been indulging in oratory, and that reminds me and perhaps reminds many of you also of one great orator who was addressing a great body of people. He said in a moment of great emotion: "Gentlemen, what we need is religious reform;

what we need is social reform; what we need is economic reform; what we need is educational reform; what we need is spiritual reform; what" Before the orator could finish his passionate plea, someone in the audience shot back to the speaker in a small but audible voice, saying: "What you need is chloroform." I covet your indulgence. I trust, however, that I shall not merit a chloroform.

Every rule presupposes certain axioms. Some things are taken for granted as bases for new plans. Every super structure must have a supporting base. We make new rules, project new plans, build new edifices on some foundations that are weak or false, hence the fond ideas we entertain, the conclusive judgments we make and the glorious hopes we cherish shall all correspondingly prove to be disillusionments.

When we establish a republican form of government, the powers of which reside in the people, we deposit faith in the inherent capacity of the people to sustain it with the strength of their body, mind and spirit. A form of government which draws up its ideas, judgments, plans and hopes for peace and prosperity presupposes the presence of a body politic that is physically strong, mentally alert and morally sound.

I believe that faith in the Filipino capacity to establish democratic institutions is not misplaced. Laying modesty aside, we can say that a people from which a Rizal, Mabini, Lopez Jaena and Luna have sprung need not lower itself before any other. A people like that have their potentialities and genius but little manifested as yet. Left alone to determine their own destiny, such as what they are about to enjoy, they shall climb to the heights in the development of human society and individual life that shall win the respect of the world.

But our latent powers as a people and our native genius as a race to support and maintain democratic institutions and make them a blessing to ourselves and to mankind must be properly developed and wisely directed. Every opportunity must be provided for the people's inherent good qualities to express and assert themselves. Every hindering and repressing influence which prevents the free play of their faculties must be cast aside. Every helpful aid to the full growth should be welcome.

In order that the first democracy we are called upon to set up in the Far East shall be enduring and shall be made as the source of untold benefits for our people and posterity, it must be established on firm foundations. It is our privilege and responsibility to lay out the nature of these foundations. Allow me to outline briefly what I believe should be home in mind as we make the plans for the foundation of our national edifice.

First of all we must lay the foundation for a physically strong citizenry. The physical welfare of a people depends largely upon their economic life. This phase of the nation's life has come to take a prominent place in the political economy of every land. Indeed, most governments seem to place much emphasis on this phase of the nation's life as to neglect the other phases. But it is true that the economic welfare of the people is of utmost importance, it is well that in the organization of the committees of this Convention, there are many committees that are to work out the enunciation of principles and the proclamation of plans for redeeming this country and its people from the bondage of poverty.

Poverty is certainly one of the worst enemies of life. Poverty kills little children by denying them proper care and food. Poverty denies to the young people proper recreation and nurtures and sends them early in life to the tubercular sanitarium. Poverty grinds men and women into ceaseless toil, tends their backs untimely and closes their eyes to eternity's sleep before they need depart from the world God has given them. Poignantly has one written:

"O Poverty, 'tis a weary thing, 'tis full of grip and pain,
it boweth down the heart of men and dulls his cunning brain,
It maketh even the little child with heavy sighs complain."

It is needful that the resources which lie fallow in our land must be exploited to supply our people with their needs. It is important that we should, as much as possible, reserve our patrimony for our on going and oncoming children. It is essential that we develop skill and power to bring the plentiful gold that lies just be-neath the poor man's cottage. Let us have the necessary directions in our Constitution to lay the foundation for a wealthier Philippines.

But principles and laws for the exploitation of more wealth are not the only things needed to fight poverty and suffering among our people. In many lands there are numberless people who are distressingly destitute not because there is no sufficient wealth in the nation to provide for their needs but because there are many selfish people who would lie in beds of gold while their fellow men eat the dust of the streets. I suspect that such a situation exists in our country to a greater or less extent. Landlords, money lenders, merchants and industrialists there are, that many a time would pile up pains mercilessly at the expense of their tenants and laborers. That a tenant who works with his wife and children for a landlord only to go deeper and deeper in debt each year is certainly a sign of the existence of something wrong in our economic system. A man who works hard daily throughout the year should at least be able to provide his necessities and those of his family. It is clear that there must be something unjust in a society where the poor man who works hard is not able to provide himself with his barest necessities.

There must also be something anomalous when elective and politically appointed officials live with a standard of life much higher than the average of the people they serve. This becomes obvious when even in a small and dependent country like ours the officials get much bigger salaries than in larger in larger coun-tries where the people are groaning under the heavy load of increasing and increased government taxes. Perhaps some officials do not get as much in the government service as they might outside of it. But whether they do or not the question is a matter of adjustment of the support of the officials or government employees and the ability of the people to maintain it. Where the average of the people leave on bull cart standard, the official should be satisfied with auto calesa standard and not demand the limousine standard.

In stamping out general poverty and suffering among the people with a view to laying the foundation of Philippine democracy on a physically strong citizenry, this anomalous situation should be borne in mind. Principles of fair distribution of wealth and profits and the emphasis on honorific services among our officials must be set forth in our Constitution.

Another decidedly important element that must underlie the democracy we are to establish is popular enlightenment. Educated citizenry is basic in all democratic institutions. For this reason every republican government makes provisions for an adequate system of popular education. The Tydings-McDuffie Law in making mandatory provisions obliges us to provide for an adequate system of public instruction. Indeed, it is utterly unthinkable for any nation to establish democratic institutions and not have an enlightened citizenry to sustain them. That would be like erecting massive edifices without providing foundations on which they can stand. Of all the foundations on which we may build the Philippine Commonwealth, this matter of popular education is most important. For the key to the realization of the strength of an individual or of any people lies largely in the development of their mental powers. With minds alert and in constant intercourse with other minds, they are enabled to find ways and means to undergo physical strength and free themselves from fancy, fear and false beliefs and ideas which enslave and strangle their souls.

To lay that foundation we should not comply with the provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Law in letter but should carry out their manifest intent and spirit. There are two or three important points emphasized in the law which I believe all farsighted educators and patriots would stress whether provided or not in the mandatory provision. They are: adequate, popular or public instruction in English.

That we need an adequate system need not be discussed at length. That is known and accepted by all of us. Where all the people have a share in the government, they must all be reached by education to enable them to exercise properly their share in the government. Not only the towns nor the big barrios but the remote places must be provided with facilities for instruction. No children of elementary school age should be denied admission to a government school. If to realize this, the number of subjects taught must be reduced, that should be done. By all means all the children of school age must be reached by the beneficent influence of instruction. Not only must we have an adequate system of schools, but also a system of public schools. We should watch with jealous eyes the competition with our public schools, specially in the elementary, by private schools, sectarian ones. Every sect or church has its own peculiar tenets to exalt. Such tenets are often narrow and divisive. Unless we first ground our people in the things which are common to us all, in the faithfulness to the authorities of our land and in the loyalty to our common country, we shall be planting the seeds of division in our ranks, the fear and obedience to authorities other than those of our government and loyalty to an organization other than our own. This may not now be clearly discerned, but the danger will inevitably present itself to our regret unless we see to it that at least the elementary schools in our country are beyond the competition of sectarian institutions. For the same reason, we should have a more vigilant oversight and direction of the private schools. I have submitted a constitutional precept to this Convention requiring that:

No educational institutions engaged in teaching Filipinos shall be allowed to have more than one third of their faculty or Board of Trustees who are foreigners. Where the head of such an educational institution is a foreigner, there shall be an associate head who is a Filipino citizen and who shall be given important part in the determination of educational policies and objectives.

This might perhaps be better taken up through legislation than made a part of our Constitution but however it may be taken up, the need for such an action is as urgent as it is obvious. The purpose is to give the Filipinos the determination of educational objectives for their people.

I trust I shall not be regarded as a narrow nationalist for advocating this constitutional precept. Carefully and impartially considered, it will be found that there is no narrow nationalism in this proposition at all. Other countries like Mexico and China have embodied in their organic and statutory laws more drastic provisions than this. It would be most improbable for America, England or Spain to have many of their schools headed and manned by Filipinos, Chinese or Indians. But such is the situation in which we find many of our schools, particularly the private institutions of higher learning. Such a step as proposed, or something more radical, which has for its objectives the reasonable Filipinization of our educational institutions, must be undertaken if we are to recapture the lost radiance of Filipino nationalism and realize true Filipino genius. We should by now have sufficient national talent to head and man all our educational institutions, and in our own unhampered way orient the educational aims of our institutions for the building up of our national life. If we advocate the nationalization of the economic factors at work in our country, there should be greater reason for the nationalization of the educational factors. The latter has very much greater influence upon the course of our democracy than the former. We shall not limit the influence of other people's ideas in our intellectual life but such ideas must first pass through the crucible of Filipino thought before they are offered as food to our devouring and unsuspecting people.

And now I come to the next point stressed in the mandatory provisions of our Independence Law regarding our

system of public education. It is with regard to the instruction in the schools being conducted primarily in English. I am aware of the fact that the question of official language is something in which there is perhaps great difference among the members of this Convention. I am, however, one of those who believe that English should be made not simply as the chief medium of instruction in the public schools but also made definitely and immediately the official language of the nation. There is nothing, however, in a proposition like that to affect the dialect which shall be freely used in the home and barrio and to prevent the evolving of a common national language out of them. But a people such as we are, divided by seas, mountains and many diverse dialects, should at once be united by a common language; and in my view of the situation there is nothing that can better solve the problem than English, at least for many years to come. To establish English as the official language will at once eliminate the confusion we now find ourselves, even manifested in this Convention, and thus lay a broad basis for our unity as a people and for our larger intercourse with other people. To waver on this after so many repeated declarations in the statutes of this country that English shall be the official language and after so much money and energy have been and will be spent towards making English our official language is to bring about confusion and disappointment. I expect to give my views on this point more lengthily when the matter of official language is taken up on the floor of this Convention for discussion. But I wish to submit now that English can be made the language of Philippine democracy just as it is the language of English and American democracies. There is no patented language in the world today. English is not at all patented by Britain, Canada, Australia, United States and the various other countries that use it. And if we adopt the language as our official language inasmuch as all indications show that it is acceptable to us, we shall be the gainer.

I do not share the idea that language is the soul of a nation. If Rizal ever said that, he said it only figuratively. A man possesses a soul apart from his speech. A nation has something more substantial than its language. Language is only a symbol, a means by which one may express the yearnings and hopes of his being. A smile, a gesture or an attitude may be sufficient at times to express what he has in his soul. An individual or nation may express the sorrows or joys, the fears and hopes of his soul in any language. Nationalist India expressed them in English; and Nationalist Mexico, in Spanish. I submit that when for only thirty years we have such a command and widespread knowledge of English as we have which has never been attained in Spanish in 300 years, it becomes clear that it is part of wisdom for us to adopt it as for official language. I am confident that we shall in a few more years be able to express the reverberations of our individual or national soul freely, naturally, effectively and beautifully in this language.

The third element I wish to point out and dwell on briefly before I conclude, as a foundation for Philippine democracy, is sound moral philosophy and stable moral conduct. No type of government other than democracy demands a more widespread acceptance of ethical principles and consistent practice of integrity. It is said that no people can rise in morality and spirituality higher than their moral and spiritual leader. In a democracy where the choice of its leaders is not imposed upon as is often the case in religion, the converse is true — no leaders of a republic can be higher in their ethical principles and life than the people who elevate them. Democratic institutions demand the leadership of men who are just, honest, and dependable. The absence of such type of men to guide the affairs of democratic institutions is to bring chaos, disappointment and ruin. What we need to guide the destiny of a democratic nation, especially our country at a time when our very last resources shall be put to the severest test, are

"Men of strong minds, greater hearts, true
faith, ready hands;
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
Men whom the lust of office cannot kill;
Men who have convictions and will;

Men who love honor and cannot lie."

We shall have such men elevated to positions of authority and power in our government if we have a people who love and appreciate these great qualities of the human spirits.

For this reason, we should include a precept in our Constitution and, better still, saturate the Constitution we formulate with provisions, phrases and words that will give it a ring of moral earnestness.

We should provide for a strong department of civil service that will maintain the principle of merit and not party affiliation or social standing as the basis of employment and promotion. We should provide for the best possible method of making the judiciary independent of politics. We should make it forever impossible for officials of the government to have any pecuniary interest in enterprises with which they, in their capacity as officials, have anything to do. We should provide for the strictest measures of preventing or disciplining officials from abusing their power and for an effective procedure of impeaching unworthy officials. All these will serve to impress upon our people of the nation's high demands for integrity and will help them to appreciate the highest ethical standards and to require these standards to be the shining qualities of the man they elevate power.

(Estando el Sr. Sobrepena en el uso de la palabra, el Presidente cedio la presidencia al Primer Vicepresidente, Sr. Montinola.)

These, in my humble opinion, are the needed foundations for Philippine democracy. We can do much to lay these foundations in the Constitution we frame. We shall perhaps differ in details, but I am certain that we are all one in the conviction that for our Philippine democracy to long endure we must found it on a citizenry that is physically strong, mentally alert and morally sound. Our objective then in formulating the Constitution should be not merely to set up a new government but to establish a people on the principles of fairness, knowledge and moral integrity, with a view to advancing the people's strength of body, mind and spirit. In building our Philippine democracy let us establish it on the "righteousness which exalteth a nation," to the end that we shall realize for ourselves a human society where there would be no economic oppression, no neglected children, no uneducated manhood, no cheerless old age, no sectional or racial hatred, no dishonesty and no false standards of ethical judgment—a society where the best in human life and the grandest in human spirit shall have their fullest development and find their freest expression.

LEVANTAMIENTO DE LA SESION

EL PRIMER VICEPRESIDENTE: Si no hay objecion, se levanta la sesion hasta manana a las cuatro de la tarde. (No hubo objecion.)

Eran las 6:05 p.m.

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