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A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRINCIPAL SPEECHES OF
CARLOS P. ROMULO AT THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

By

David John Mall

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the College of Communication Arts
Michigan State University of Agriculture and
Applied Science in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of Speech

Year 1959

Approved

Donald H. Enoys

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine, criticize and evaluate the principal speeches of Carlos P. Romulo at the Asian-African Conference. In achieving these objectives, the writer attempted to direct attention to all of the pertinent aspects associated with three speeches Romulo delivered at this important international gathering. The three speeches were: 1) an address before the Opening Plenary Session, 2) an address before the Political Committee, and 3) an address before the Closing Plenary Session.

This study was undertaken because Romulo is considered to be an outstanding speaker, and because the Asian-African Conference was considered to be a significant milestone in the history of international diplomacy. Since no prior study of any aspect of Romulo's speaking has as yet been made, it is therefore felt that this study will help to fill a conspicuous void in the accumulated knowledge of public address.

The method used in this study embodied the basic formula of rhetorical criticism, which states that a speech is the result of an interaction of speaker, audience, and occasion. This study, therefore, embraced both historical

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In analyzing the speaker's three principal speeches, the writer utilized classical concepts. Each speech was treated separately in terms of invention (logical, emotional, and ethical proof), arrangement and style. The three separate analyses were each preceded by sections devoted to a proper understanding of the immediate speaking situation, an authentication of available speech texts, and a determination of the speaker's purpose in speaking. Since response is considered the key to oratory, each speech analysis was followed by a section devoted to this facet of the total speaking event.

The material used in this study, which was derived primarily from books, magazines, and newspapers, has been organized into five chapters. Chapter I introduces the problem. Chapter II seeks to provide sufficient background information for a proper understanding of the Asian-African Conference and the Philippine position at the conference.

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Chapter III furnishes a general description of Carlos P. Romulo, the head of the Philippine delegation, as both man and speaker. Chapter IV contains a separate rhetorical analysis of the three principal speeches Romulo delivered at the conference, while Chapter V attempts to draw some pertinent conclusions concerning his overall speaking effectiveness.

The primary conclusions of this study, included in Chapter V and at the end of Chapter IV, were that Romulo's principal speeches are excellent examples of rhetorical craftsmanship, that they were well adapted to himself, his audiences and the general orientation of Philippine foreign policy, that they achieved response, and that they had some influence upon the final outcome of the conference.

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CARLOS P. ROMULO AT THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE**

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer would like to express his sincere gratitude to Dr. Donald H. Ecroyd for directing this study and for being so generous of his guidance and encouragement. For the advice and assistance of Dr. Kenneth G. Hance and Dr. David C. Ralph the writer is also deeply grateful. Additionally and especially, the writer would like to thank Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo whose uncommon eloquence made this study possible.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine, criticize and evaluate the principal speeches of Carlos P. Romulo at the Asian-African Conference. Since the analysis is rhetorical in nature, and since its form is essentially that of a case study, attention must of necessity be directed to all of the pertinent aspects associated with Romulo's principal speeches at this important international gathering. It is, however, not meant to be definitive.

Limitations

The major limitation imposed upon this study, as suggested in the title, is to examine and criticize only the principal speeches delivered by Romulo at the Asian-African Conference. A careful inspection of all the available literature pertaining to the conference, indicates that Romulo's principal speeches were three in number: 1) his address before the opening plenary session,

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- 2) his address before the closing plenary session, and
- 3) his address before the Political Committee. Only these three speeches will be analyzed.

Justification

The justification for this study can be determined by answering two questions: Why study the speeches of Carlos P. Romulo in the first place, and, in the second place, why study his speeches at the Asian-African Conference? These questions can be answered respectively with a brief inspection of Romulo's reputation as a speaker and world figure, and by the historic significance of the conference.

Carlos P. Romulo has been referred to as Asia's most articulate spokesman of democracy in English.¹ An editorial in the Chicago Daily News crystallized this prevailing attitude when it said: "He is probably as trenchant an advocate of a truly democratic Asia as ever kept an audience spellbound."² Noted for his spirited and courageous attacks against Communism within the United Nations,

¹"Romulo, Carlos P. (ena)," Current Biography, ed. Marjorie Dent Candee, 18th ed. (1958), p. 472.

²Chicago Daily News, April 15, 1955, p. 14.

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Romulo was once described by Russia's late Andrei Y. Vishinsky as "this little man with the big, big voice."³ Besides fighting Communism, however, he has also sought to voice the aspirations of millions of voiceless Asians.⁴ Newsweek magazine considers him to be "a sparkling orator" and "a world-renowned voice of Asia."⁵

Romulo's speaking ability has warranted many favorable comments. He has been universally acclaimed the most eloquent speaker to appear on the rostrum of the United Nations.⁶ In fact, the noted radio commentator, H. V. Kaltenborn speaks of him as "the best orator of the General Assembly."⁷ The source of his eloquence was gauged by an editorial appearing in the Indianapolis Star. It said that "he has a unique ability to marry passion with logic."⁸

³"Romulo -- Little Man Who Was There," Newsweek, XXXIV (December 19, 1949), p. 22.

⁴"Romulo, Carlos P. (ena)," loc. cit.

⁵"'Rommy' Goes Out," Newsweek, XXXXII (August 31, 1953), p. 40.

⁶George A. Malcolm, First Malayan Republic (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1951), p. 254.

⁷Ibid., p. 255.

⁸U. S. Congressional Record, 81st Cong., 1st Sess., 1955, CI, Part 13, A3570, quoting from the Indianapolis Star of April 21, 1955.

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Romulo's reputation, however, is not solely confined to the speaker's platform; he has also distinguished himself as a world figure in the following fields: newspaperman, soldier, and statesman. In 1941 a series of articles he wrote predicting Japanese aggression won for him the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished correspondence. During the Second World War in the Pacific he served on the staff of General Douglass MacArthur and by war's end was raised from the rank of major to that of brigadier general. In January of 1949 he received the honor of being elected to the chairmanship of the U. N. General Assembly. He was the first Asian to hold this position.

The reputation Romulo has earned for himself as a world figure has also brought him a large number of decorations from foreign governments as well as from his own government, including the Golden Heart, the highest Philippine decoration. He has received some thirty honorary degrees from colleges and universities across the globe. Among the more recent of many awards presented to him by organizations in the United States are the Phi Beta Kappa Distinguished Service Award (1955) and the Pioneer Medalion of the World Brotherhood (1956).⁹

Looking now at the historic significance of the

⁹"Romulo, Carlos P. (ena)," loc. cit., p. 474.

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Asian-African Conference, it can be said that it was the first inter-continental meeting of colored people in history of mankind.¹⁰ In this one respect, then, it is unique. Many sources have also considered the conference to be an important landmark in the growth of international cooperation.¹¹ The historian Ian Thompson wrote that it "marks one of the greatest and most crucial turning points of modern history."¹² The Christian Century said: "Few events in Asia ever attracted such brilliant representatives of the fourth estate."¹³ The New York Times maintained that "in scope and importance it will rank second in world affairs only to a meeting of the General Assembly of the

¹⁰Alex Jasey, "The Multitude at Bandung," New Statesman and Nation, IL, No. 1259 (April 23, 1955), p. 565.

¹¹While one source wrote that "in history it may come to be ranked with the Congress of Vienna, at which modern European diplomacy was launched" C. Rand, "Our Far-Flung Correspondents," New Yorker, XXXI (June 11, 1955), p. 39, by way of contrast another wrote that "in sheer geographical scope the gathering at Bandoeng makes all the congresses that Europe has held over the centuries look like a neighbourly chat over garden fences" "Council of Asia," Economist, CLXXV (April 16, 1955), p. 179.

¹²Ian Thomson, The Rise of Modern Asia (London: John Murray Ltd, 1957), p. 230. He also said quite poetically: "Bandung was the touch-stone of a new age, the articulation of a new dynamic. Early morning had broken over the east." See Ibid.

¹³Winburn T. Thomas, "Bandung Shows Spirit of Unity," Christian Century, LXXII (May 11, 1955), p. 572.

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United Nations,"¹⁴ while a high U. N. official himself declared that it was "the most important conference of the century."¹⁵

With these factual and testimonial observations in evidence, it is possible to conclude that Carlos F. Romulo has the reputation of an outstanding speaker and world figure, and that when he attended the Asian-African Conference as head of the Philippine delegation, he was attending a meeting of genuine importance. Despite these twin justifications for the present study, however, a survey of the Knower and Auer Indexes in Speech Monographs reveals that no critical investigation dealing with any facet of Romulo's speaking career has as yet been attempted. In view of all these facts, therefore, it would appear to be highly desirable to fill a conspicuous void in the knowledge of public address by examining, criticizing, and evaluating the principal speeches of Carlos F. Romulo at the Asian-African Conference.

¹⁴The New York Times, April 17, 1955, sec. 4, p. 5.

¹⁵"The Chinese Communist Invitation to Talk," New Republic, CXXXII (May 2, 1955), p. 3.

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The information used in this study was not difficult to obtain. A wealth of primary and secondary source material was discovered by consulting such bibliographical sources as library card catalogues, national trade lists, general indexes to periodical literature, and various daily newspapers. Letters to the Philippine Embassy in Washington also led to excellent material.

Because the Asian-African Conference was attended by a large number of journalists, an abundance of periodical literature was written about it, including that which appeared in both magazines and newspapers. In addition, three people who attended the conference subsequently wrote books about it, while others published their observations in sections of books. Several pamphlets, devoted exclusively to the conference, also appeared.

With respect to newspapers, a half-dozen American dailies were consulted as well as a leading Manila daily. An interview with Dr. Frederick Siebert, the Director of the School of Journalism at Michigan State University, suggested that the following American newspapers would probably contain the most extensive and factually objective information about what went on at the

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conference;¹⁶ the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, the Chicago Daily News, the San Francisco Chronicle and The New York Times. To this list were subsequently added the Christian Science Monitor, the Detroit Free Press, and The Manila Times. Since the Manila daily contained the best information both qualitatively and quantitatively, it has been quoted rather extensively throughout this study.¹⁷

Material dealing with Romulo himself was obtained from numerous magazine articles written about him as well as from his official biography. Since the speaker's biography proved to be far from definitive, however, what information it did contain had to be supplemented by his own autobiographical writings and by two short biographical sketches appearing in Current Biography. Wherever possible the greatest reliance was placed upon what Romulo has said of himself.

Regarding speech texts, no outstanding difficulties were encountered. For Romulo's Opening Address, five

¹⁶ Interview with Dr. Frederick Siebert, Director of the School of Journalism, Michigan State University, March, 1959.

¹⁷ The reason for this qualitative and quantitative excellence is quite simple. The Manila Times evidently looked upon Romulo as a 'favorite son'. This is readily observable from the number of 'interpretive' articles devoted exclusively to him, and from the fact that news agency dispatches were obviously utilized discriminately in favor of those which contained the most information about him.

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different copies were obtained; for his speech before the Political Committee, three different copies were obtained; and for his Closing Address, one copy was obtained in addition to some extensive excerpts. Although none of these texts can be said to be completely accurate for varying reasons, it is nevertheless felt that the versions actually used in this analysis most accurately reflect what the speaker said.

In analyzing the speeches themselves, critical concepts were obtained from Thonssen and Baird's Speech Criticism and from Gilman, Aly, and Reid's The Fundamentals of Speaking. The former was used extensively throughout the analysis while the latter was called upon in circumstances requiring a more specialized approach. Both books proved very helpful.

Obstacles

Of the obstacles encountered in this study the two most important were derived from the nature of some of the material used and from the nature of some of the conference proceedings. The first obstacle is partially explained in the following quotation:

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and as a get together. The former had the greater appeal for the Western, and particularly the American journalists. Therefore, any delegate who could be made to seem like an anti-Communist gladiator was apt to be played up, and the element of conflict was probably overemphasized in the picture the world was given of the proceedings.¹⁸

What this comment clearly implies is that since Romulo was considered to be an "anti-Communist gladiator" by the American journalists, his conference activities might not have been given the most objective treatment.

The danger that Romulo did not receive the most dispassionate reporting is further seen in some of the results of a study dealing with the newspaper coverage of the conference.¹⁹ Iqbal Hasan Burney, a journalist who reported the conference for the Associated Press of Pakistan, has made a comparative analysis of the journalistic viewpoint which seven prestige newspapers presented to their readers. These seven newspapers were:

Times of India (Bombay)

Hindu (Madras)

Hindustan Times (New Delhi)

Dawn (Karachi)

¹⁸ C. Rand, loc. cit., p. 62.

¹⁹ Iqbal Hasan Burney, "Newspaper Coverage of the Bandung Conference" (unpublished Master's thesis, Stanford University, June, 1956).

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Although convenience and the factor of availability partially dictated the choice of the newspapers analyzed,²⁰ some of the findings are quite noteworthy.

Burney concluded in his study that The New York Times gave its readers a "more lop-sided "picture of Romulo than any of the other newspapers. "The New York Times," he said, "gives him a tremendous boost, while he is more or less ignored by all the other newspapers."²¹ This conclusion is better understood, however, when it is realized that at the writer's own admission, "six out of the seven newspapers reflected support in their news coverage for the known objectives of their national foreign policies."²² The absence of complimentary news about Romulo in such newspapers as the three published in India is therefore to be expected. India and the Philippines pursue foreign policy objectives that are quite different. The former is a confirmed neutralist, while the second is a staunch

²⁰Ibid., p. 2.

²¹Ibid., p. 71.

²²Ibid., p. 122. The only exception was the Pakistan Times which reportedly subscribes to extra-national leanings.

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supporter of the West. The comparative analysis which Burney makes, therefore, has only limited application to what has been included in this thesis. If the reporting at the conference was "lop-sided", it was not "lop-sided" in just one direction.

Even though Burney's study cannot adversely affect what has been included in this thesis, there is the possibility that some of it might even enhance the quality and reliability of the material used here. He states, for example, that the Asian and African newspaper world was under-represented at the conference and that there was a predominance of European and American newspaper personnel. He also states that the newspapers of Asia and Africa depended largely upon international news agencies for their foreign news²³ and that these news agencies as a rule "try to separate facts from comment."²⁴ In light of these admissions, therefore, it should be pointed out that since American periodical literature has been extensively used in this thesis, the most quantitative source has been utilized. Also, since the greatest possible reliance has been placed upon news agency dispatches, the

²³ibid., p. 19.

²⁴ibid., pp. 121-22.

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most objective source, qualitatively, has been utilized as well.²⁵

The second important obstacle concerns an absence of completely reliable news about what went on in the closed sessions. Since these closed sessions were conducted in secret, reporters were not permitted to cover them. The same study quoted above, however, does not consider this exclusion policy to be such a debilitating factor. Burney says:

When the Conference started, it was discovered that nothing at all could be kept a secret. Newsmen had their 'pet' delegates and would know what was happening inside before a particular session would formally come to an end. News agencies were thus able to keep a sort of running commentary on the proceedings.²⁶

He also states that "most of the delegates were eager to air their respective viewpoints" and that nearly all important delegations had planted their officers to "cultivate the world press." He concludes, therefore, that the conference presented little difficulty to the resourceful newsman.²⁷ Although what went on in these closed sessions

²⁵An attempt has been made to isolate these dispatches in the footnotes by including the author and title of all interpretive articles.

²⁶Ibid., p. 18.

²⁷Ibid.

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has to be pieced together from a number of journalistic sources, it is nevertheless believed that an accurate reconstruction of events has been made in this study.

Method

The function of the rhetorical critic is to describe, analyze, interpret, and evaluate the various aspects of a speaker's ability to discover all the available means of persuasion in a given case. An effort will be made in the following pages to satisfy this function.

The kind of treatment required for a proper rhetorical analysis embodies the basic formula of rhetorical criticism, which states that a speech is the result of an interaction of speaker, audience, and occasion. This study, therefore, will embrace both historical and biographical materials. Specifically, it will consider all those forces and experiences from the speaker's life which are believed to have influenced his speaking at the Asian-African Conference. It will also present an analytical description of the conference itself, including an analysis of the speaker's audience -- its composition and background -- and how that audience viewed the speaker. The general attitudes of the speaker toward both his audience and the

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When analyzing the speaker's three principal speeches, classical concepts will be called into play. Each speech will be treated in terms of invention (logical, emotional, and ethical proof), arrangement, and style. Since response is the key to oratory, this facet of the total speaking situation will also be taken into account.

Organization

The present study has been organized into five chapters of which this introductory chapter is the first. Chapter II seeks to provide sufficient background material for a proper understanding of the Asian-African Conference and the Philippine position at the conference. Chapter III furnishes a general description of Carlos P. Romulo as both man and speaker. Chapter IV contains a separate rhetorical analysis for each of the three speeches Romulo delivered at the conference, while Chapter V attempts to draw some valid conclusions concerning the overall effectiveness of these speeches. The conclusions drawn will be based on the material supplied in the preceding chapters.

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Chapter II

THE BACKGROUND

In order to analyze properly the speaking efforts of Carlos P. Romulo at the Asian-African Conference, it will be necessary to put both the speaker and his speeches in their proper perspective. The present chapter has been written for this purpose; and all pertinent information contained herein has been divided under two general headings: the Asian-African Conference and the Philippine Position at the conference.

The Asian-African Conference

The purpose of this section is to describe in as objective a way as possible the event that occurred at Bandung, Indonesia, between April 18th and 24th, 1955 -- the now famous Asian-African Conference. In achieving this intended purpose the following six elements will be considered: historical genesis, objectives, preparations, attendance, organization, and results.

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Historical Genesis

It would be impossible within the stipulated limits of this thesis to trace the development of the Bandung idea to its original source, for to do so would necessitate a detailed explication of the entire history of European colonialism in Asia and Africa. Rather, it will be the purpose here to consider only those events which will contribute most effectively to an understanding of the reasons why the Asian-African Conference took place.

While the immediate origins of the conference are rooted deeply in the post-war emergence of an independent Asia and Africa,¹ the first tangible expression of a genuine pan-Asian sentiment occurred in August of 1926 when the Asian delegates to the non-official International Conference for Peace declared in a memorandum that Asia must have its rightful place in the consideration of world problems. The memorandum stated in part:

There is one thing which cannot fail to strike anyone who studies the peace movements of Europe. It is the fact...that when European people think of peace they

¹Charles H. Malik, The Problem of Coexistence (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1955), p. 19.

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think of it only in terms of Europe. In the imagination of European thinkers the world seems to be confined to the areas inhabited by European races. The vast continent of Asia, containing as it does some of the most ancient civilizations, and holding the vast majority of the world's population, and Africa, with its particular problems do not come into the picture at all. This we submit with all humility, is a wrong point of view.²

A second link in the chain of events leading up to the Asian-African Conference was added in March of 1947 when representatives from 28 Asian nations and non-self-governing territories met in New Delhi under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs.³ It was at this Asian Relations Conference, as it was called, that the idea of Asian unity first began to take definite shape.⁴ To this conference delegates came to consider some of the manifold problems which all Asia at that time had to face, such as movements for political independence and inequalities resulting from racial discrimination. Pandit Nehru, who was chairman of the conference, crystallized the thoughts

²A. Appadorai, The Bandung Conference (New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1956), p. 1.

³Werner Levi, Free India in Asia (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1952), pp. 36-38, cited by Alfred Crofts and Percy Buchanan, A History of the Far East (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., 1958), p. 512.

⁴Carlos P. Romulo, "The Crucial Battle for Asia," The New York Times Magazine, September 11, 1949, p. 68.

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uppermost in the minds of the delegates when he said:
 "In this crisis in world history Asia will necessarily play a vital role. The countries of Asia can no longer be used as pawns by others; they are bound to have their own policies in world affairs."⁵

The results of this Asian Relations Conference are noteworthy. Significantly, the conference began with a frank discussion of what the delegates adamantly opposed, but it ended with an equally frank discussion of what they essentially avored. After much discussion concerning the failures of the white man in Asia, the delegates turned their attention to a discussion of agricultural output and increased industrialization. They objected to the concept of "Asia for the Asians" and talked instead of friendly cooperation with all nations. Beyond this they also called for additional conferences to be held and a permanent staff to be set up to work upon common economic problems.⁶ In short, the most significant feature of the conference was that the accomplishments were not to be found in concrete actions, but rather in the mutual exchange of ideas between

⁵Carlos P. Romulo, "Asia Must Be Seen Through Asian Eyes," The New York Times Magazine, September 3, 1950, p. 15.

⁶"Asians Meet Africans," New Republic, CXXXII (April 11, 1955), p. 5.

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Asian leaders concerning their future social and economic progress.⁷

A third important landmark in the historical genesis of the Asian-African Conference took place in May of 1950 at Baguio in the Philippines. At this time and place certain South and Southeast Asian countries⁸ recommended that they should consult with each other in order to further the interests of their own regions and to insure that the viewpoint of the peoples they represented were prominently kept in mind.⁹

Reference should also be made at this point in time to the formation of an Arab-Asian bloc in the United Nations as a result of the Korean crisis and in response to a growing demand for international recognition.¹⁰

⁷Two years later, in January of 1949, another important conference took place in New Delhi, but this time some concrete action resulted. The conference referred to brought moral pressure to bear on the just and speedy solution of the Indonesian problem while acting strictly within the framework of the United Nations. See Phillips Talbot (ed.), South Asia in the World Today (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950), p. 158.

⁸The countries present were Ceylon, India, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

⁹Appadorai, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁰Harry N. Howard, "The Arab-Asian States in the United Nations," The Middle East Journal, VII (Summer, 1953), p. 282. Actually, it was only a year after the international organization was founded (in 1947) that the Indian Ambassador to the UN Asaf Ali called together all the Asian-African members in an endeavor to unify their policy over the question of Israel. See Ian Thomson, The Rise of Modern Asia (London: John Murray Ltd., 1957), pp. 216-17.

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Because the principle of a new alignment was being initiated here, this development likewise prefigured the historic meeting of Asian-African nations in the Spring of 1955.¹¹ It has even been suggested that it was because the United Nations had not been permitted to function as a world organisation that the representatives of five-eighths of the human family were induced to assemble at Bandung.¹²

As a result of this common feeling engendered and enhanced by past conferences and by past experience in the U.N., the prime ministers of Burma and Indonesia joined with those of Ceylon, India and Pakistan at Colombo, Ceylon, in April of 1954 to seek a mutual understanding over the struggles then going on in Indo-China.¹³ The delegates involved took a firm stand against the further development of nuclear weapons and in favor of admitting Communist China into the United Nations. At the end of their deliberations the participating countries issued a joint statement mentioning the desirability of holding a full dress meeting of Asian and African nations sometime in the near future. The Prime Minister of Indonesia, Dr.

¹¹Malik, loc. cit.

¹²M. Straight, "Do We Want Asian Unity?", New Republic, CXXXII (April 25, 1955), p. 5-6.

¹³Guy Wint, South Asia, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Pamphlet 500, p. 163, cited by Crofts and Buchanan, loc. cit.

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Ali Sastroamidjojo, was thereupon asked to explore all the possibilities of staging such a conference.¹⁴

These same Colombo Powers reconvened eight months later on December 28, 1954, at Bogor, Indonesia. At this meeting Sir John Kotelawala of Ceylon stated the views of the other members when he said: "I do not think any of us claim the right to speak for Asia, but until such time as Asia can speak for herself, I think we have a duty to see that our views on Asian affairs do not go unheeded." He added, "We should strive to usher in a new era in Asian relations by discarding the harsh word for the gentle one, by replacing suspicion and misunderstanding with trust and confidence."¹⁵ Therefore, in keeping with this commonly held attitude, the five Colombo prime ministers agreed that an Asian-African conference should be inaugurated under their joint sponsorship. (The dates subsequently

¹⁴Most of the sources the writer has consulted seem to consider Dr. Sastroamidjojo as the originator of the conference idea. In fact, Richard Wright calls him "the ideological father of the conference;" see Richard Wright, The Color Curtain (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1956), p. 136. This assertion might be partially based on the fact that in August of 1953, when the struggle in Indo-China was most acute, Dr. Sastroamidjojo had reportedly suggested that it was then time for the countries of Asia and Africa to begin working together in unison. See Thomson, op. cit., p. 220.

¹⁵Homer A. Jack, Bandung (Chicago: Toward Freedom, 1956), p. 1.

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agreed upon were April 18-24, 1955, and the meeting place was to be Bandung, Indonesia, a resort city situated in the mountains of western Java.)

This brief historical sketch then, indicates one of the chief underlying causes for holding the Asian-African Conference, namely the desire on the part of the nations represented, for a larger voice in world affairs. It can be seen that the first significant historical landmark occurred nearly a quarter of a century before the conference actually took place, that the conference was rooted in the post-war emergence of an independent Asia and Africa; and that for varying reasons it was prefigured in the Arab-Asian bloc which formed in the United Nations. It can likewise be seen that when the Colombo Powers met at the capitol of Ceylon in 1954 they were not at all meeting as complete strangers. On the contrary, a series of conferences held over the years had served to instill the idea in the public mind that much benefit could be derived from mutual consultation.

Objectives

Although the five Colombo prime ministers meeting

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in Bagor did not prepare an advanced agenda,¹⁶ the purposes of the proposed Asian-African Conference were nevertheless quite specifically spelled out in their joint communique. As subsequently stated the intended purposes of the conference were:

(a) to promote good will and cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa, to explore and advance their mutual as well as common interests, and to establish and further friendliness and neighborly relations.

(b) to consider social, economic and cultural problems and relations of the countries represented.

(c) to consider problems of special interest to Asian and African peoples, e.g., problems affecting national sovereignty and of racialism and colonialism.

(d) to view the position of Asia and Africa and their peoples in the world today and the contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.¹⁷

More specifically, however, the five prime ministers before leaving Bagor had demanded self-rule for Tunisia and Morocco, supported Indonesia's claim to West Irian, and expressed grave concern over experimental nuclear bomb

¹⁶ Carlos P. Romulo, The Meaning of Bandung (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956), p. 6. Romulo also states here that this lack of a previously drawn up agenda "played...into the hands of the states allied with, or more or less friendly toward the West." More will be said about this when the organization of the conference is considered.

¹⁷ Detroit Free Press, April 17, 1955, p. 4B.

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testing.¹⁸ The solution of these problems also constituted an intended objective of the Asian-African Conference.

Upon first convening at Bandung the above objectives were more firmly crystallized in the form of a seven-point agenda prepared and agreed upon by the conference joint secretariat. As released to the press this agenda included the following items: cultural cooperation; economic cooperation; problems of dependent peoples; human rights and self-determination; use of nuclear energy; weapons of mass destruction; and promotion of world peace and cooperation.¹⁹ It was within this framework that the participating states hoped to gain for themselves a larger share in world affairs.²⁰

Preparations

The Indonesian government made every effort to prove at Bandung that they could arrange, with competence, a major international conference.²¹ The selection of the

¹⁸Carl T. Rowan, The Pitiful and the Proud (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 382.

¹⁹San Francisco Chronicle, April 18, 1955, p. 8.

²⁰An editorial in the Christian Science Monitor observed, "the Bandung conference is being organized around political and philosophical concepts Asians share." See Christian Science Monitor, April 18, 1955, p. 12.

²¹Rowan, op. cit., p. 385.

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conference site was one of the more significant of these efforts.

Bandung, (called the "Paris of Indonesia") is situated in an ancient lake bed, the crater of an extinct volcano, more than 2,000 feet above sea level and about 120 miles south of Djakarta on the island of Java.²² The city is located amidst wooded hills and lovely valleys where the weather is neither too warm nor too cold. It was truly an ideal spot to hold a conference.

When it was finally decided to make this pleasant resort city the site of the Asian-African Conference a heavy responsibility fell upon the three quarters of a million inhabitants. In general, the entire city was cleaned and renovated from top to bottom; and in less than four months Bandung was transformed into an efficient conference headquarters.²³

At a cost of about \$1,500,000, some 20,000 buildings had been painted or whitewashed.²⁴ Some seventeen hotels and numerous residences were requisitioned by the government for the delegates and newspaper personnel.

²²Winburn.T. Thomas, "Bandung Sits on a Volcano," Christian Century, LXXII (April 20, 1955), p. 470.

²³Jack, op. cit., p. 5.

²⁴Rowan, loc. cit.

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Special foods were imported to satisfy the appetites of the visiting dignitaries, and the hotels were given special instructions in preparing their menus.²⁵

The roads to the city were all resurfaced and new mercury arc lamps were installed. Some two hundred automobiles were taken over by the government and put at the disposal of the various delegations. In addition, each delegation was furnished with a military and motor-cycle escort.

Within the city itself, the supply of electricity was augmented to accommodate the increased demand for lighting. Two large buildings, completely redecorated for the occasion, furnished the conference with excellent halls and rooms. One of them, an old Dutch club called "Concordia" was entirely rebuilt to house the plenary sessions and the press facilities.²⁶ The building itself was located near the center of town, and its main hall could easily accommodate 2,000 people. The other building called the Geding Dwi Warna (formerly an Old Dutch civil service building) was situated near the outskirts of town, and it

²⁵Jack, loc. cit.

²⁶This building was subsequently renamed Geding Merdeka (House of Freedom) by President Sukarno of Indonesia a few days before the conference began. Furnishings for the main hall were imported from Europe.

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provided all the rooms necessary for the closed sessions.²⁷

Substantial press facilities were also set up with special cable and radio-telephone links to almost forty countries around the globe. The Indonesian Ministry of Information published a daily conference bulletin; and the Indonesian telecommunications office was also prepared to transmit for the world press and delegations up to 200,000 words of news and official reports each day.²⁸

The conference hall was equipped with the United Nations system of simultaneous translation; and English was made the official language of the conference. During the plenary sessions, however, there were simultaneous translations into both English and French, while any delegate could have translations in any other language if he supplied his own translator.

Before the conference got under way all undesirables were rounded up and taken out of the city for temporary internment. A sizeable detachment of Indonesian soldiers and policemen armed with grenades and submachine guns were stationed throughout the city specifically to

²⁷ Spencer Davis, "Nehru Sets Anti-Red Weapon," The Manila Times, April 9, 1955, p. 16. Where possible the writer will include the author and title of all newspaper articles. The Cold Coast and the South. Nehru considered these exceptions justified in order to give Africa a "more adequate representation." See Detroit Free Press April 17, 1955, p. 43.

²⁸ Ibid.

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keep order,²⁹ and an entire army division was stationed on the outskirts of town to prevent any surprise attack from the Darul Islam, a violent sect of Islamic extremists which threatened to disrupt the conference thereby embarrassing the Indonesian government.³⁰ Fortunately, no indications of rebellion occurred.

Attendance

In analyzing the composition of the membership of the Asian-African Conference certain similarities and differences are easily discernible. Before considering these common and divergent factors, however, it would be well first to consider briefly the general attendance characteristics of the conference.

General Characteristics

A list of the countries invited to attend the conference includes the following independent nations:³¹

²⁹Jack, loc. cit.

³⁰Keyes Beech, "Have-Nots Wlock to Bandung," Chicago Daily News, April 16, 1955, p. 1.

³¹Exceptions to the independence rule were made in the cases of the Gold Coast and the Sudan. Nehru considered these exceptions justified in order to give Africa a "more adequate representation." See Detroit Free Press, April 17, 1955, p. 4B.

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| 1. Afghanistan | 13. Lebanon |
| 2. Cambodia | 14. Liberia |
| 3. Central African Federation ³² | 15. Libya |
| 4. China | 16. Nepal |
| 5. Egypt | 17. Philippines ³³ |
| 6. Ethiopia | 18. Saudi Arabia |
| 7. Gold Coast | 19. Sudan |
| 8. Iran | 20. Syria |
| 9. Japan | 21. Thailand |
| 10. Jordan | 22. Turkey |
| 11. Laos | 23. Vietnam (North) |
| 12. Iraq | 24. Vietnam (South) |
| | 25. Yemen |

These countries plus the five Colombo powers (India, Burma, Ceylon, Pakistan, and Indonesia) constituted the 29 independent states which sent official delegations.³⁴

³²The Central African Federation subsequently turned down its invitation to attend the conference because the head of state had too many problems of a rather pressing nature to attend to at home.

³³Since the countries invited were asked to send foreign and/or prime ministers, the head of the Philippine delegation was raised to cabinet rank without portfolio so that he could participate on a level of equality with the other chief delegates. See Vera Micheles Dean, "Bandung: Acid Test for West and East," Foreign Policy Bulletin, XXXIV (April 15, 1955), p. 119.

³⁴The official delegations totalled some 600 people none of whom were women.

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In addition to these official delegations, a number of unofficial observers also came to plead special causes. North Africa was well represented by spokesmen from Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria who seized every opportunity to berate French policy with respect to their own countries. The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Nadj Amir el Hussein, attended and was made a member of the Yemen delegation. His time was mostly spent in describing the plight of the Arab refugee in Palestine. His Highness the Archbishop of Cyprus, was also readily available to present the idea of freedom for his island from Great Britain. And Congressman Adam Clayton Powell was present in an unofficial capacity to participate in several press conferences designed to paint a favorable picture of America's racial policies. For the most part, however, these and other unofficial observers of less importance worked behind the scenes to accomplish their individual goals.³⁵

As far as the press was concerned, between five and six hundred journalists came from nearly 50 countries around the world. It is reported that the largest single contingent came from the United States which sent approximately 50 press and radio correspondents.³⁶ The British

³⁵James Cameron, "Chou En-lai at the Asian-African Meeting," Reporter, XII (May 19, 1955), p. 13.

³⁶Spencer Davis, "Nehru Sets Anti-Aed Weapon," loc. cit., p. 16.

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press was also said to have sent a sizeable group. These people, taken together, represented a great variety of media ranging from daily newspapers to scholarly journals.³⁷

Similarities

The points of similarity among the member states were the result of a common ethnic and religious background as well as a shared political and economic experience. To begin with, the Asian-African Conference was unmistakably organized around the concept of "race," for it can be seen from the list of the countries represented that no "white" nations were invited. Whether intentional or not the sponsoring countries had drawn a clearly discernible "color line."³⁸ As one writer who attended the conference put it, "The delegates...were there because of a conviction that the problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line."³⁹

³⁷Jack, op. cit., p. 9.

³⁸This so-called "color line" probably did not apply to the Turks and Iranians, "who do not regard themselves as colored." See "Strange Bedfellows," Newsweek, VI (April 11, 1955), p. 53.

³⁹Saunders Redding, "The Meaning of Bandung," American Scholar, XXV (Autumn, 1956), p. 411. The writer believes that it would be generally incorrect to say that the "color line" had been deliberately drawn by the conference planners. Rather he thinks it would be more correct to say that the problem of race was the result of a political, economic and historical coincidence.

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Closely associated with this concept of race was the allied concept of religion. "I began to sense a deep and organic relation...in Bandung between race and religion" stated one observer in a book he later wrote dealing with the conference.⁴⁰ This observer also maintained that the merging of race and religion was the result of attitudes and practices engendered by Western nations which had instilled in the peoples of their former colonies a sense of racial and religious inferiority.⁴¹ In the book's preface, which was written by the famed Swedish Sociologist Gunnar Myrdal, appears the following quotation:

Religion is their cultural heritage, from many thousands of years of living and dying and fearing, and it has molded their institutions and loaded their valuations.⁴² Race is the explosive pressure of their reaction to West European prejudice and discrimination, stored and accumulated under centuries of colonial domination.⁴³

⁴⁰Wright, op. cit., p. 140.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²The truth of this observation was later corroborated by the moral and spiritual sentiments expressed by the heads of delegation during the opening session. Wrote one reporter: "Expressions of religious sentiment and faith have been much more numerous than in comparable meetings of Western nations." A. Doak Barnett, "Religion Steps in at Asia Parley," Chicago Daily News, April 20, 1955, p. 2.

⁴³Wright, op. cit., p. 7.

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Another unifying factor among the delegations at the conference was that they represented nations which had received an independent political status relatively recently (twelve of post-war date) and that they nearly all shared at one time or other a condition of colonial servitude.⁴⁴ In other words, the twenty-nine nations represented at Bandung shared a common abhorrence of imperialism, because they had all arisen in general opposition to Western domination.⁴⁵

In addition, the countries present at Bandung comprised the poorer and less developed nations of the world.⁴⁶ Although the delegates represented about 62 per cent of the world's people, their countries received only about 15 per cent of the world's income.⁴⁷ According to

⁴⁴"Council of Asia," Economist, CLXXV (April 16, 1955), p. 119.

⁴⁵Malik, op. cit., p. 13. It would be possible to assume, therefore, that on questions involving colonies or the treatment of non-self-governing peoples, the conference membership would present a fairly solid front. See Will Maslow, "The Afro-Asian Bloc in the United Nations," Middle Eastern Affairs, VIII (November, 1957), pp. 372-77, for further substantiation.

⁴⁶Romulo, The Meaning of Bandung, op. cit., p. 3.

⁴⁷Ronald Stead, "Asian-African Delegates Put Success Label on Bandung," Christian Science Monitor, April 25, 1955, p. 1.

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the records of the conference secretariat, the nations assembled at Bandung were importing at the time only 18 billion dollars worth of products annually, while the European countries, on the other hand, exclusive of the Soviet bloc and with a much smaller population (300 million), were importing 32 billion.⁴⁸

Differences

If the nations attending the Asian-African Conference held certain things in common, they also reflected some very basic differences. Chief among these differences were divergent political views as well as contrasting social and ethical values. The twenty-nine nations at the conference nominally comprised four distinct orientation blocs: Communist, pro-West, neutralist, and uncommitted. An article in the Manila Times, in turn, broke these blocs down partially by countries as follows:⁴⁹

Communist -	China and North Vietnam
Pro-West -	the SEATO powers (Thailand, Pakistan and the Philippines), and possibly Japan, Cambodia, Laos, South Vietnam, Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Lebanon

⁴⁸ A comparison of exports during the same period of time showed the Bandung countries with a combined total of \$14½ billion and Western European bloc with \$28 billion. See the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 26, 1955, p. 2A.

⁴⁹ The Manila Times, April 6, 1955, pp. 1 and 3.

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Neutralist - India, Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon⁵⁰

Uncommitted - the Arab bloc (Afghanistan, Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria, Jordan and Yemen), plus Liberia, Nepal,⁵¹ Ethiopia and the Gold Coast.

As great as the differences of a political nature might have been, those of a social and ethical nature were possibly even greater. One observer previously quoted couched these differences in the following terms: "They ran the scale from animal worship to ancestor worship; from polygamy to polyandry; from practical classlessness to theoretically rigid caste; from industrial competence to agrarian stagnation."⁵² Another stated: "Mingled together were Catholic and Buddhist from Burma; Hindu, Moslem

⁵⁰Generally, the neutralist powers at the conference pull more weight in Asian-African affairs than those nations committed by alliances and philosophy to the West. See The New York Times, April 17, 1955, sec. IV, p. 5. Specifically, India endeavored to promote her thesis that the more of Asia and Africa remaining neutralist in the Cold War, free from any military alliances, the better would be the chances for maintaining peace. See George McTurman Kahin, The Asian-African Conference (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956), p. 5.

⁵¹It is also significant to note here that of these twenty-nine nations only seven recognized Communist China. "Upset at Bandung," Time, LXV (May 2, 1955), p. 28, more than one third did not belong to the U.N. A. C. Powell, Jr., "Red China Exposed - Not Dominant in Asia," U.S. News & World Report, XXXVIII (April 29, 1955), p. 43, and twenty had received U.S. aid during the previous year. Gordon Walker, "Bandung Corners Spotlight," Christian Science Monitor, April 19, 1955, p. 1.

⁵²Redding, loc. cit., p. 412.

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Linked to the above political, social and ethical differences was the additional fact that many of the countries which came to the conference had particular axes to grind, for nearly every one of the twenty-nine member nations had problems with neighboring countries.⁵⁴ "The deliberations, in fact, disclosed differences deep-seated and passing, involving contested territories and borders, economics, politics and minority groups."⁵⁵ Examples of these problems included Pakistan's differences with India over Kashmir and with Afghanistan over the Pathan tribesmen.⁵⁶ As the London Economist remarked just prior to the convening of the conference: "The sad fact is plain that most of the delegations are coming with expectations so different from each other as to be virtually contradictory."⁵⁷

⁵³Rowan, op. cit., p. 390.

⁵⁴"Bandung Conference," World Today, 11 (June, 1955), p. 236 and St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 17, 1955, p. 23A.

⁵⁵Romulo, The Meaning of Bandung, op. cit., p. 35.

⁵⁶Ronald Stead, "Bandung Flexes New Nationalism", Christian Science Monitor, April 19, 1955, p. 3.

⁵⁷"Council of Asia," Economist, loc. cit. How true this statement eventually became can be seen in a similar idea presented by an eyewitness observer:

"Had there been provision for the recording of votes for and against the proposals considered,

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Organization

As was stated previously, the dates agreed upon by the five sponsoring powers for the holding of the Asian-African Conference were April 18-24, 1955. And, as with most such gatherings of similar size, the preliminary problems of organization and procedure naturally fell into the following main categories: the adoption of an agenda; the establishment of voting regulations; the setting up of committees; and the issuance of communiqués.

The conference agenda, according to the Bagor communiqué, which had been sent to all the participating countries, was to be determined by a plenary session of the conference as its first order of business.⁵⁸ A seven point agenda, as already noted, was agreed upon and constituted the potential scope of the conference committees. These conference committees as set up were three in number --

differences in points of view would have been emphasized and sharpened, and it would probably have been much more difficult to discover common denominators of attitude or to find the basis for compromise."

See Kahin, op. cit., p. 10.

⁵⁸ All of the nations attending were asked to send in any items which they wanted placed on the agenda. Background memoranda and explanatory notes interpreting these items were also requested. See Malik, op. cit., p. 19.

political, economic, and cultural. The most controversial issues were submitted to the Political Committee and the Chiefs-of-Delegation were assigned to it as ex-officio members. Should difficulties happen to arise on a particular question these committees were also empowered to set up subcommittees which, in turn, would consider the matter and then refer it back to the parent body for further discussion and eventual decision.⁵⁹

With respect to voting regulations, it was agreed that there would be no formal voting. Instead, the President or committee chairman were to ascertain whether or not a consensus prevailed, and if a unanimous agreement could not be reached, no decisions were to be taken. With respect to the issuance of communiqués, the conference secretariat was authorized to issue one daily and also one at the end of the conference.

The plenary sessions, (both opening and closing), were open to the public and provided each chief delegate with an opportunity to speak. The closed sessions, in which all the committee work took place, were not open to the public. The reason for this secrecy was that the conference sponsors wished to build a defense against what

⁵⁹Kahin, op. cit., p. 12.

they considered to be the tendency of the press to distort and exaggerate in order to sensationalize.⁶⁰ These closed sessions, however, were tape recorded so that there could be no misunderstandings later on if disputes happened to arise.⁶¹

After two days of 15 minute formal policy statements,⁶² the conference remained in closed sessions until the evening of the final day. Then the delegates met once again in plenary session and those chief delegates who wished were allowed 5 minutes for any closing remarks.⁶³ The work of the conference on the whole was conducted in

⁶⁰Winburn T. Thomas, "Bandung: Was It Key to Future?", Christian Century, LXXII (May 18, 1955), p. 603.

⁶¹Also, the access of the delegates to the conference premises was "closely and effectively" controlled by an elaborate system of passes and badges. See The New York Times, April 20, 1955, p. 9.

⁶²There was a great deal of disagreement among the delegates concerning the necessity for these opening policy statements. In the beginning, Prime Minister Nehru of India, who was anxious to use the relatively unstructured meetings of the British Commonwealth as a pattern for the conference procedure, suggested that no opening statements be made. Although he was originally able to secure the endorsement of twenty-one nations for his proposal, the idea, however, encountered much resistance from a handful of delegations led by Prime Minister Mohammed Ali of Pakistan and Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines and was finally defeated by an overwhelming vote. For additional information see Mahin, op. cit., p. 9, and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 27, 1955, p. 38.

⁶³St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 25, 1955, p. 4A.

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accordance with Western parliamentary rules; and English was made the official language.⁶⁴

Results

A truly objective assessment of the results of the Asian-African Conference would be impossible at this time for two reasons; first, we are too near its initial impact to arrive at any kind of detached estimate; and, second, too little is known about what went on in the closed sessions where the most important matters of the conference reportedly took place.⁶⁵ This situation does not appear to be completely hopeless, however, for while the first reason can be remedied only with the passage of time, the second can be partially remedied by referring to the published final communiqué and by couching our remarks in general terms. It should also be pointed out here that since reporters and news commentators with friends among the delegates had access to the secret meetings,⁶⁶ we can

⁶⁴C. Rand, "Our Far-Flung Correspondents," New Yorker, XXXI (June 11, 1955), p. 39. By securing acceptance of the United Nation's rules of parliamentary procedure, the nations friendly to the West succeeded in steering the deliberations of the conference. See Romulo, The Meaning of Bandung, op. cit., p. 6.

⁶⁵Malik, op. cit., p. 24.

⁶⁶Thomas, "Bandung: Was It Key to Future?", loc. cit.

by piecing together certain bits of information gathered from these sources, determine some of the chief accomplishments of the conference. In the writer's estimation some of the more important results of the conference were the following.

Cultural Committee

In the Cultural Committee the countries involved recommended that cultural exchanges take place among the participating nations especially with respect to artists, writers, and various kinds of publications. The committee also recommended the holding of festivals of art, music, drama, and dancing on an intra-regional basis as well as on occasions of historic or religious significance. For the exchange of information the committee also recommended the establishment of news agencies, and the exchange of cultural broadcasts and documentary films.⁶⁷ An important feature of this exchange of information item was the recommendation that news correspondents be allowed to move freely in all countries attending the conference. In its draft to the conference the committee said: "Governments should encourage the provision of facilities for the entry, movement and the accommodation of correspondents in accordance

⁶⁷"Communique, Final of the Bandung Conference," Current History, June, 1955, pp. 371-75.

with the laws and regulations of each country."⁶⁸

Economic Committee

In the Economic Committee the countries present stressed mutual aid and cooperation. They looked with favor upon the continuance and enlargement of aid from other nations, especially in the field of new capital investment. They likewise recommended the establishment of a special U.N. fund for economic development, and urged the establishment of the International Atomic Energy Agency plus the adequate representation of the Asian and African nations on that body. This committee also recognized the need to stabilize commodity trade and suggested that shipping lines review their freight rates more often and adopt a more "reasonable attitude."⁶⁹ Reports filtering from the closed committee sessions finally indicated that an attempt to censure the U.N. bar on selling strategic goods to Red China was successfully blocked by friends of the West.⁷⁰

Political Committee

In the Political Committee, it is reported, most

⁶⁸The Manila Times, April 24, 1955, p. 5.

⁶⁹St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 26, 1955, p. 2A.

⁷⁰Ibid., April 21, 1955, p. 6A. It was also felt by some that such action would be straying too far into the political field.

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of the verbal clashes of the conference took place. After deciding upon a working agenda the chief delegates finally reduced the outstanding political issues to three categories: 1) questions of human rights and self-determination; 2) problems of dependent peoples; and 3) the question of promoting world peace and cooperation.⁷¹

Under human rights and self-determination the committee discussed such issues as the controversial Palestine dispute. There could be no peace in Western Asia, the Arab delegates declared, unless and until this problem was finally resolved. After prolonged debate the committee contented itself with declaring its support for the rights of the Arab peoples, and with calling for the implementation of pertinent U.N. resolutions.

Under the question of dependent peoples some more serious debate was engendered. It is reported that the delegate from Ceylon, Sir John Kotelawala, raised an issue which had considerable repercussions. In talking about two kinds of colonialism he said: "If we are united in our opposition to colonialism should it not be our duty to declare our opposition to Soviet colonialism as much as to Western imperialism?"⁷² As a result of this line

⁷¹Malik, op. cit., p. 21.

⁷²Jack, op. cit., p. 16.

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of argument a resolution was presented to the committee by certain friends of the West rejecting all types of colonialism "including international doctrines resorting to methods of force, infiltration and subversion."⁷³

A deadlock was thereby produced; and, although this particular phrasing did not find its way into the final conference communiqué the ambiguous phrase "colonialism in all its manifestations" was used instead.

Of the other problems concerned with dependent peoples, the questions of West Irian and the North African colonies of Tunisia, Morocco, and Algeria loomed most prominently in the committee deliberations. In keeping with its attitude toward the freedom of dependent peoples, the conference supported the claims of the aggrieved parties in each of these instances.⁷⁴

The last major area dealt with by the Political Committee involved the promotion of world peace and cooperation. After the chief delegates had discussed several of the manifold facets of this problem, the question of

⁷³The resolution was endorsed by Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Libya, Liberia, the Sudan, and the Philippines.

⁷⁴The question of the Aden protectorate was likewise brought up, for discussion. The Country of Yemen was particularly interested in obtaining it from British rule.

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national security was finally reduced to the need for some kind of mutual deterrence. Three broad solutions were subsequently examined and evaluated. These solutions were: 1) passive resistance, 2) military pacts, and 3) an enlargement of the unaligned area of peace.⁷⁵

In analyzing the outstanding accomplishments of the three committees just mentioned it should be noted that a mere itemization of results fails to tell the whole story. It is also significant to note that frankness and a spirit of compromise were said to be in evidence throughout all committee deliberations. As one delegate explained, "We were able to work toward peaceful conclusions because we were a peaceful conference." In the closed sessions, he stated, whenever feelings began to rise a recess would be called and the delegates would later reconvene and continue working without any ill-will.⁷⁶ Patience and a consideration for the viewpoints of others helped to explain what was achieved. The areas of common purpose were defined and delineated, while concentration was placed primarily upon those things which could be mutually achieved. Finally, it should be noted that the consideration of their

⁷⁵ Appadorai, op. cit., p. 24.

⁷⁶ Winburn T. Thomas, "The Community of the Hurt," Christian Century, LXXII (May 11, 1955), p. 560.

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common problems evoked among the delegates a solidarity of aspiration and a strong sense of unity.⁷⁷ This last idea was summed up by a Filipino delegate who said,

It was a miracle. Twenty-nine nations met and adopted 39 resolutions unanimously. I've never seen anything like it. We never took a vote. Nothing was passed by show of hands. We had no ballots. We just talked until we had explored each other's minds.⁷⁸

The Philippine Position

The purpose of this section is to analyze the most important factors which influenced the position of the Philippine delegation at the Asian-African Conference. This analysis will include a consideration of the Philippine view of the conference and of the conference view of the Philippines. Particular emphasis throughout will also be given to the special role played by the chairman of the Philippine delegation, Carlos P. Romulo. The section will end with a brief analysis of the results of the conference which were favorable to the Philippine position.

⁷⁷Ronald Stead, "Bandung Finale from Backstage," Christian Science Monitor, April 30, 1955, p. 4.

⁷⁸James A. Michener, "Historic Meeting in Indonesia," Reader's Digest, LXVII (August, 1955), p. 79.

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The Philippine View of the Conference

The manner in which the Philippine delegation viewed the Asian-African Conference was influenced in large part by certain preconditioning factors, and these preconditioning factors were, in turn, influenced by the basic orientation of Philippine foreign policy. It would be well, therefore, to consider some of the principles and objectives underlying the conduct of this country's international relations.

Pre-conference Outlook: Philippine Foreign Policy

Without going into lengthy detail here, the writer would like to confine his remarks to the most prominent features of Philippine foreign policy, i.e., to general characteristics and practical applications.

General Characteristics

Under the Philippine Constitution, the Chief-executive is by clear implication the foreign policy spokesman of the nation.⁷⁹ Although the Philippine presidents have not deviated from each other very greatly in the

⁷⁹ Edward W. Mill, "The Philippines in the World Setting," Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review, XX (March, 1955), p. 7. Cited hereafter as PSSHR.

field of international relations, we might limit ourselves only to those official pronouncements made by the president who held office during the time of the conference -- Ramon Magsaysay. Fortunately, until his death, Ramon Magsaysay was considered to be his country's most vocal chief-executive on foreign policy matters. In an article appearing in Foreign Affairs magazine, Magsaysay listed the following trends and tendencies of his country's international relations:

In shaping its foreign policy the Philippines is primarily moved by three considerations; first, national security; second, economic stability; and, third, political and cultural relations with the free world. These considerations are equal to each other in importance and they receive varied attention only because of the difference in urgency and in the time, effort, and financing required for their implementation.⁸⁰

In addition to these stated foreign policy objectives, the Philippines has also endeavored to play an interpretative role between Western and other Far Eastern powers.⁸¹ In this regard Magsaysay can once again be

⁸⁰Ramon Magsaysay, "Roots of Philippine Policy," Foreign Affairs, XXXV (October, 1956), p. 28.

⁸¹Amry Vandenbosch and Richard A. Butwell, Southeast Asia among the World Powers (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), p. 95.

quoted. In an exclusive interview he said:

The Philippines can play such an interpretative role. We are an Oriental nation which has derived many benefits from our western contacts. Our common religious roots contribute greatly to our understanding of the west. This is true nowhere else in Asia today. In a way we feel that we have already played the role on a number of occasions. In recent years, for example, numbers of Asiatic leaders have come to the Philippines. They have learned and liked the idea that the United States of America is no longer here as a colonizer.⁸²

Another chief characteristic of the overall Philippine foreign policy has been its frank anti-communist tendencies. Unlike some Southeast Asian states, the Philippines has adopted an active anti-communist foreign policy.⁸³ In fact, governmental leaders consider communism to be the most serious challenge which the nation has had to face. Magsaysay, for example, stated that his government did not view Communism as just another world force to be satiated with territory and gold; it was rather a vicious international conspiracy designed to overthrow helpless Asian states.⁸⁴ The Philippines,

⁸²"Where the Philippines Stand in Critical Asia," Newsweek, XXXIV (August 2, 1954), p. 38.

⁸³John Kerry King, Southeast Asia in Perspective (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956), p. 49.

⁸⁴Magsaysay, loc. cit., p. 33.

therefore, has constructed a foreign policy designed specifically to curb potential communist aggression.⁸⁵

A final Philippine foreign policy characteristic to be taken up here includes an active participation in the United Nations and a strict adherence to the U.N. Charter. As befits a small country the Philippines finds its best hope for peace in an agency like the United Nations, and as a result has never hesitated to give the international organization its loyal support.⁸⁶ The Philippines has placed much confidence and reliance in the UN and "the record indicates that it has given more support to the United Nations than any other nation in Asia."⁸⁷

Practical Applications

The importance of these stated foreign policy

⁸⁵ Much of the credit for this strong anti-communist attitude can be given to the Catholic Church to which a large majority of the Filipino people belong. See Edward W. Mill, "The Conduct of Philippine Foreign Relations" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1954), p. 215.

⁸⁶ George A. Malcolm, First Malayan Republic (Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1951), p. 254.

⁸⁷ Mill, PSSHR, loc. cit., p. 29. This statement lends credence to an observation made nearly ten years earlier that "...the Philippines, having been privileged to join the United Nations, will undoubtedly make every effort to fulfill her commitments under the United Nations Charter..." See "Philippine Foreign Affairs Training Program," Far Eastern Survey, XV (July 3, 1946), p. 206.

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objectives can be further realized by considering some of their practical applications. Philippine foreign policy objectives have manifested themselves in a number of significant ways three of which are of importance to this study.

1) The quest for national security. National security has always been a prime factor in the thinking of Philippine governmental leaders. This desire to preserve the territorial integrity of the country has been enhanced for several reasons. To begin with, the primary reason is the fact that the Philippine islands are situated in an exposed and threatened sector of the free world.⁸⁸ The over 7,000 islands of the archipelago extend for some 1500 miles from north to south just off the Eastern coast of Asia, and the nearly 10,000 miles of coastline which these islands provide constitutes a defense problem of the first magnitude. Also, bitter memories of Japanese aggression still linger in the islands, and the foreign policy makers are determined not to let this happen again.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the communist advances in China in 1948 and in Indo-china in 1954 awakened the country to the need for adequate defenses.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Mill, FSSHR, loc. cit., p. 33.

⁸⁹ Malcolm, op. cit., p. 272.

⁹⁰ It should likewise be borne in mind that internally the Hukbalahap movement caused a great deal of consternation.

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As a result of this preoccupation with national security the Philippines entered into a mutual defense treaty in the Fall of 1951.⁹¹ The Charter of this treaty, which subsequently came to be known as SEATO, called upon the signatory nations to cooperate in resisting any external armed attack. Each party to the treaty agreed that an armed attack against another member would eo ipso constitute a threat to its own peace and security and "in that event would act in accordance with its constitutional processes." Another significant feature of this defense treaty was its provisions dealing with internal acts of subversion and infiltration. These possibilities were likewise brought within the scope of the charter commitments.⁹²

⁹¹Two years prior to this treaty the Philippines entered into a mutual defense pact with the United States. Both countries pledged their forces to each other in the event of armed attack, but because of the concern which the Filipinos have had for their territorial integrity, many in the islands felt at the time that the terms of the pact did not commit America definitely enough. See Theodore A. Gill, "Home Away from Home," Christian Century, LXXIV (January 23, 1957), p. 107.

⁹²For additional information concerning the Philippine role in SEATO the following books should be consulted: Francis Law, Struggle for Asia (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1955) and Royal Institute of International Affairs, Collective Defense in South East Asia (London: Chiswick Press, 1956).

2) The interest in economic development. Almost every regional conference which the Philippines has attended contains some provisions dealing with economic cooperation. As President Magsaysay pointed out, "we must broaden our economic horizons and develop the material well-being of our people. I believe this can be done by strengthening our existing foreign relationships, and the development of new channels of intercourse."⁹³

In pursuit of the above aim the Philippines has relied upon both multilateral and bilateral economic arrangements. In 1954 the island republic became a member of the Colombo Plan, and for quite some time has been receiving extensive aid from the United States.⁹⁴

3) The desire for improved cultural and political relations with the free world.

(Relations with Asia)

Since achieving independence in 1946 the Philippines has been trying to develop closer relations with neighbors in Asia;⁹⁵ and, in one respect, her participation

⁹³The New York Times, November 16, 1953, p. 11.

⁹⁴"The Philippines -- Foreign Relations," Current Notes on International Affairs, LXVII (1956), p. 821. To date, the total American foreign aid expenditures to the Philippines has run well into the billions.

⁹⁵Mill, (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation), loc. cit., p. 168.

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in the Asian-African Conference could be considered a step in this direction. In fact, it was averred by the head of the Philippine delegation in his first press interview that the main mission of the Philippine delegation at the conference was "to make friends with Asian neighbors."⁹⁶ This frank admission, it will be seen, is based on stated foreign policy objectives of the Philippine government.

A year prior to the Asian-African Conference concern was expressed in the Philippines that Philippine relations with other countries in Asia had not been sufficiently close.⁹⁷ An outgrowth of this concern was an attempt to resurrect the Japanese wartime slogan "Asia for the Asians." The public controversy which this slogan engendered did not quickly subside until President Magsaysay was forced to make a formal statement clarifying his country's foreign policy intentions with respect to Asia. Excerpts from that statement follow:

The Philippine Government stands for the right of self determination and independence of all Asian nations; for closer cultural and economic relations and mutual cooperation with freedom-

⁹⁶The Manila Times, April 17, 1955, p. 2.

⁹⁷"Foreign Policy of the Philippines," Current Notes on International Affairs, XXV (1954), p. 633.

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loving Asian countries as a group and within the framework of the charter of the United Nations; and for the proposition that a return to colonialism, of which the last vestiges are now disappearing from Asia, shall not be tolerated in any form.

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The Filipino people can best serve the cause of freedom and democracy by cooperating actively with other Asian peoples in achievement and maintenance of political independence, economic stability and social justice. We cannot contribute to that cause if we isolate ourselves from other freedom-loving Asian states and are suspected by them of ulterior motives or insincerity in our relations with them. Our Asian policy must, therefore, seek to remove all causes of distrust.⁹⁸

These excerpts indicate the Asian policy of the Philippines during the period of the conference. More will be said in this regard when we analyze the general view of the Philippines held by the other Asian and African states.

(Relations with the United States)

By and large the Philippines has followed what might be termed an American oriented foreign policy. One of the goals of the Philippine governmental leaders has been to maintain close relations with the United States.⁹⁹

⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 634-35.

⁹⁹Vandenbosch and Putwell, op. cit., p. 93. The extent of these relations launched the "great debate" in the evolution of Philippine foreign policy. See Claude A. Buss, The Far East (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955), p. 623.

The current ideological struggle between East and West has confirmed the Filipino people in their desire to stick by the United States at all costs. Magsaysay has said, for example, "Regardless of what the politicians here say in an election campaign don't let anyone tell you that the Filipino people don't know who their real friends are."¹⁰⁰

But while it is true that on any fundamental issue between democracy and totalitarianism the Philippines can be expected to follow a line of policy closely parallel to that of the United States, deviations have nevertheless occurred from the orthodox Washington line.¹⁰¹ In the United Nations, for example, where the Philippines has voted consistently with America on a majority of issues, she has also just as consistently differed with America on various trusteeship questions and on the general question of human rights.¹⁰² This stand, it should be pointed out, is in basic agreement with the position taken by the Afro-Asian bloc, and is prompted, no doubt, by the desire of the Filipinos to see the complete

¹⁰⁰Bruno Shaw, "We Have a Loyal Ally in the Orient -- the Philippines," Saturday Evening Post, CCXXX (September 28, 1957), p. 10.

¹⁰¹Malcolm, op. cit., p. 254.

¹⁰²Howard, loc. cit., p. 286.

independence of all subject peoples.¹⁰³

A classic example of the independent spirit of Philippine foreign policy in the U.N. can be seen in the stand taken on the self-determination question of Tunisia and Morocco. The very presence of this question on the agenda of the U.N. had been a constant source of embarrassment to the United States; and, because of conflicting loyalties, no clear cut position could be taken.¹⁰⁴ When showdown votes finally occurred the American delegation was forced to abstain and, in some cases, actually to vote with the minority. The Philippines, on the other hand, took an active and forthright position from the very start. She consistently took the stand, whenever the question arose, that, contrary to the American view,

¹⁰³ The New York Times, July 5, 1949, p. 18. As far back as 1946, the year of Philippine independence, Carlos P. Romulo declared:

"We of the Philippines know the aspirations and yearnings of the dependent people of the Far East because we are part of their world. We know how they hunger for freedom. We know, too, the fears and the resentments which they have long harbored in their hearts."

See Carlos P. Romulo, "Human Rights as a Condition of Peace in the Far East," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXXXIII (January, 1946), p. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Robert F. Higgs, Politics in the United Nations (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1958), p. 165.

the U.N. General Assembly was fully competent to take constructive part in the negotiations between France and her two North African protectorates. She held, furthermore, that Tunisia and Morocco were sovereign states, that a treaty had been violated by France, and that the problem constituted a present and potential threat to the peace.¹⁰⁵ This is just one example of the independent role played by the Philippines in the United Nations; others could be cited with little difficulty.

Pre-conference Strategy

In addition to following the basic orientation of her foreign policy at Bandung, the Philippine delegation was also given some specific instructions prior to departure. During the week preceding the conference, the Philippine delegation met in Manila with President Mag-saysay, the Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committees of both Houses of the Philippine Congress, and with certain political figures composing the so-called Council of Leaders. The purpose of this meeting was to map out the strategy which the Philippine delegation was to follow. The charges subsequently given were quite simple

¹⁰⁵United Nations, General Assembly, First Committee, The Tunisian Question (A/c. 1/537, Dec. 4, 1952), p. 187 and The Question of Morocco (A/c. 1/547, Dec. 13, 1952), p. 275.

and in no way did they impose upon the delegation an obligation to bring back any concrete accomplishments. Rather, the delegation was simply enjoined to so represent its country as to avoid the pitfalls of commitment on any critical issues.¹⁰⁶ After the conference the chief-delegate stated, "we were given instructions as simple and as historic as those the ancient Romans gave their proconsuls in times of danger: See to it that the Republic comes to no harm."¹⁰⁷

While the Philippine delegation was not put in any policy strait-jacket at Bandung, specific recommendations were nevertheless given. In considering the possibility that the countries at the conference might be asked to renounce their military commitments with the West, for example, the delegation was instructed to reaffirm strongly the purely defensive and non-aggressive character of its obligations. In considering the possibility that the participating nations might be asked to adopt Nehru's "five principles" of coexistence, the delegation was instructed to maintain that although the principles were certainly meritorious on paper, the territory

¹⁰⁶The Manila Times, April 27, 1955, p. 4.

¹⁰⁷This is an excerpt from a speech Romulo delivered before the Philippine Columbian Association, April 29, 1955. See The Manila Times, April 30, 1955, p. 12.

they covered had already been adequately covered by the UN Charter, and that the problem involved was not one of recognizing what the necessary bases for peace were, but of sincerity in implementing the requirements for peace.¹⁰⁸ In anticipating the question of colonialism being raised, the delegation was told to stress the fact that imperialism should have no label, but that imperialism in all its forms should be condemned.¹⁰⁹

Apart, however, from the strategy laid out for its delegation by the Philippine government, the chairman, Mr. Romulo, went to the conference with some preconceived notions of his own. He knew, for instance, that the delegation which he headed was likely to be a minority pro-Western voice. He even expected to be outvoted at times, but still he maintained hope that his delegation would be able to exercise enough influence on the proceedings to solidify temporarily the dangerous political and racial tendencies then forming in Asia and Africa.¹¹⁰ The political fallacies he wished to expose were neutralism

¹⁰⁸This, in reality, was the only plausible position which the Philippine delegation could have taken, for if they were to oppose the "five principles", they would be accused of wanting war by some of the other conference members. See Keyes Beech, "Five Principles' Key to Asia Parley," Chicago Daily News, April 16, 1955, p. 14.

¹⁰⁹The Manila Times, April 14, 1955, p. 18.

¹¹⁰Carlos P. Romulo, "Warning to Americans: Watch Bandung," This Week Magazine, April 16, 1955, p. 7.

and communism; and the racial fallacy he wanted to prevent was the possible nurturing of an alliance based on race which could develop, in his words, "into an enormity that would convulse the earth."¹¹¹ During the week prior to his departure Mr. Romulo said, "We have been working hard in recent weeks readying ourselves to answer the Communists, and the neutralists, point by point: to counter their resolutions with constructive resolutions of our own." He further stated that his delegation fully appreciated "the intensity of Asian-African suspicion of the West."¹¹² And later, when the conference was over he summed up the prevailing attitude of the Philippine delegation by saying:

But despite the odds facing the non-communist states at Bandung, the Philippine delegation took the same attitude as that succinctly stated by Bacon in The Advancement of Learning: They are ill discoverers that think there is no land when they see nothing but sea.¹¹³

The Conference View of the Philippines

An analysis of the Philippine position at the

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 29.

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Romulo, The Meaning of Bandung, op. cit., p. 19.

Asian-African Conference would be incomplete without a corresponding examination of the manner in which the Philippines was viewed by the other conference members. This section will, therefore, review briefly some of the general impressions made by the Philippines in her contacts with neighboring Asian states.

It was stated previously that one of the cardinal principles of Philippine foreign policy has been to develop closer relations with her Asian neighbors. Because of various factors, however, only moderate success has been achieved in this direction. For one thing, the Filipinos are not generally popular with Asians. The latter feel that the Filipinos regard themselves as different and, at times, even superior to their neighbors.¹¹⁴

One of the reasons for this prevailing attitude can be traced to the fact that the people of the Philippines are regarded as alienated from their native culture.¹¹⁵ This criticism can be considered in large part true, for historically and even philosophically, the Philippines is the product of a mixed Oriental-Western environment.

¹¹⁴Vandenbosch and Butwell, op. cit., p. 95.

¹¹⁵Ibid.

For over four hundred years the Philippines has been nurtured in the Western tradition, first by Spain and then by the United States. During this period of time a different set of values has been transplanted in the islands. Religiously, the Philippines was Christian while the rest of Asia was not.¹¹⁶ Politically, the Philippines was democratic while the rest of Asia was built on a strong authoritarian base. Factors such as these gave the Filipinos a "Western" way of looking at things, while their Asian neighbors retained an "Oriental" point of view.¹¹⁷

A further reason why the Philippines might have been viewed with some distrust by her Asian neighbors at the Asian-African Conference can be found in the close foreign policy ties she has kept with the United States. The basic similarity between Philippine and American interests in the cold war struggle has given rise to the opinion in Asia that the Philippines is a mere satellite

¹¹⁶ The significance of this fact can be further seen in the assertion by Magsaysay that Philippine culture received its most permanent and universal mark from the Catholic faith. See Magsaysay, loc. cit., p. 30.

¹¹⁷ In this connection Romulo once wrote "Filipinos are not of the Orient." Carlos P. Romulo, My Brother Americans (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1945), p. 19 and "The Filipino is the cosmopolite of the Orient..." Carlos P. Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1943), p. 36.

of the United States with little or no sovereignty of her own.¹¹⁸ This feeling, however, appears to be confined to those countries which are either communist dominated or have strong neutralist tendencies.¹¹⁹ Communist China and neutralist India, for example, prefer to look upon the Philippines as some sort of American puppet.¹²⁰

But if the last mentioned attitude gave the Philippine delegation a decided handicap at the conference, the situation which gave rise to this attitude might have possessed certain compensatory advantages. It is possible to maintain, for instance, that the Philippine Republic also illustrates one of the world's great transitions from colonialism to a full and vigorous independence.¹²¹ As the President of Indonesia publicly acknowledged in the course of a tour he took of the U.S. a year after the conference, Philippine progress was of

¹¹⁸Conrado Benitez, "Nationalism and Bandung," The Manila Times, April 10, 1955, p. 1.

¹¹⁹Vandenbosch and Butwell, op. cit., p. 96.

¹²⁰Mill, PSSHB, loc. cit., p. 24. It is also pertinent to note here that an Indonesian press announcement pictured Komulo as "the Voice of America." See Kowan, op. cit., p. 395.

¹²¹Erwin D. Canham, "Bandung: Study in Diversity," Christian Science Monitor, April 20, 1955, p. 16.

such substance that it constituted an enviable pattern for peoples who had yet to realize the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom.¹²²

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that while the Philippine government was open to the criticism of being an American puppet, this was not necessarily true of the chairman of the Philippine delegation at the conference. Romulo himself never hesitated to differ with the United States on questions of colonialism in the United Nations; and it was for his outspoken attitude on these and similar questions that he was elected to the presidency of the General Assembly in 1949.¹²³ As an editorial in the Manila Times observed, the head of the Philippine delegation was "one who will appear with the cleanest hands as far as colonialism is concerned." This editorial further stated, "No one in Asia..., has been so much in the forefront of all the struggles to end colonialism... Throughout the years, no voice has sounded stronger than his, in the cause of...an honorable place for all nations and all peoples..."¹²⁴

¹²²The New York Times, July 8, 1956, Sec. X, p. 11.

¹²³Ibid., p. 13.

¹²⁴The Manila Times, April 14, 1955, p. 4.

The personal stature and popularity of Romulo, it was the writer's opinion, would have served to tone down any accusations that the Philippines was a colony of the United States and a blind sympathizer of the West, and there are certain facts to substantiate this claim. For one thing, apart from his position in the UN as already noted, (during his Pulitzer prize winning tour of Southeast Asia in 1941,) Romulo brought to the world's attention the political aspirations of many of the leaders whom he met in Bandung.¹²⁵ Also, it has been stated that Romulo knew most of the other chief delegates personally, and that some of them were able to trace their friendship with him as far back as his student days in the United States.¹²⁶ Furthermore, Romulo was looked upon as a leader by some of the other chief delegates. One of his close associates, for example, stated that he was quickly and eagerly sought after by his fellow chief delegates many of whom requested him to lead on several

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶The Manila Times, April 17, 1955, p. 1. In this same article it was reported that because of Romulo's fight for Indonesian independence in 1949, many Indonesian leaders called upon him at his private residence in Bandung and when seen in public he was greeted with cries of "Romulo! Romulo! Romulo!" by the Indonesian people. See Ibid., p. 2.

issues.¹²⁷ The extent of his personal influence can likewise be seen in the results of separate conferences he held with the chief delegates from each country. In two days of behind the scenes work Romulo succeeded in lining up the support of 16 of the 29 participating countries.¹²⁸ All these facts would lead one to believe that the head of the Philippine delegation enjoyed enough popularity and prestige at the conference to offset any unfavorable attitudes which might have been generated toward the country he represented.¹²⁹

In viewing the overall position of the Philippine delegation at the conference, it can be concluded that the chairman of the delegation was faced with no easy assignment. In fact, prior to his departure for Bandung, it was reported that diplomats in Washington considered his assignment to be one of the hardest in

¹²⁷The Manila Times, April 27, 1955, p. 5. This statement was made by the Philippine delegation coordinator, Paul S. Manglapus who was at the time Philippine Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs.

¹²⁸The Manila Times, April 18, 1955, p. 1. Romulo held separate conferences with the chief delegates from each country.

¹²⁹As a result of Romulo's efforts to promote a favorable attitude toward the ideas and interests he represented, he was jestingly nicknamed, along with Prince Wan of Thailand, one of the "mighty mice of Asia." See Chicago Daily News, April 22, 1955, p. 2.

his long career.¹³⁰ The significance of this statement will be seen a little more clearly in the next chapter, but first, the results of the conference which were favorable to the Philippine position must be briefly analyzed.

The Results of the Conference Favorable to the Philippine Position

The Asian-African Conference showed that in Asia and Africa there is a strong pro-democratic alignment.¹³¹ The final lineup on controversial issues, which was revealed in secret debates and declarations on "colonialism" and "world peace" helps to indicate this. A news analyst for the Chicago Daily News summarized the final lineup as follows:

¹³⁰The Manila Times, April 10, 1955, p. 3. The Philippine government must have realized this difficulty somewhat because in order to strengthen the Philippine position at Bandung with respect to the rights of subject peoples, a resolution was unanimously passed in the Senate expressing the sentiment of that body that the right of self-determination included the right of the colonial peoples to decide exclusively by themselves their ability to assume the responsibilities inherent in an independent political status. See The Manila Times, April 14, 1955, p. 1, and April 15, 1955, p. 9.

¹³¹Carlos P. Romulo, "What the Asians Expect of Us," The New York Times Magazine, June 19, 1955, p. 9.

The pro-west group included fifteen countries: Turkey, Pakistan, Iraq, The Philippines, Thailand, Japan, Ceylon, South Vietnam, Iran, Jordan, Libya, Liberia, The Gold Coast, The Sudan and Lebanon.

The other group of fourteen countries included: India, Burma, Indonesia, Afghanistan, Laos, Cambodia, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Egypt, Syria, Ethiopia as well as the Communist states of China and North Vietnam.¹³²

This final lineup is significant in view of the composition of the conference when it first opened. At that time, it will be remembered, the pro-west group numbered only eleven members.

More tangible results of the conference favorable to the Philippine position can be seen in the wording of the final communiqué. Pro-western forces cited as evidence of their strength at the conference numerous clauses in the communiqué.¹³³ Although admittedly ambiguous, or contradictory,¹³⁴ there are two provisions of

¹³²A. Doak Barnett, "Asian Talks End; Here's the Score," Chicago Daily News, April 25, 1955, p. 3.

¹³³The New York Times, April 25, 1955, p. 1.

¹³⁴Having this ambiguity and contradiction in mind, a delegate attending the conference said: 'International being is not a logical unity nor certainly an existential human whole, and reason in it is the servant of partial interest and often of brute or arbitrary force.' See Malik, op. cit., p. 27.

the communiqué in particular which indicate a pro-Western attitude. The first of these provisions deals with colonialism and the second deals with collective defense alliances. In Section "D" under Problems of Dependent Peoples," it was declared by the conference members that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end."¹³⁵ This is, of course, the position dictated to the Philippine delegation by its government in pre-conference strategy sessions. The delegation was instructed to present communism as just another form of colonialism. In section "G" under the "Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Cooperation," it was declared that all participating nations at the conference should have "respect for the right of each nation to defend itself singly or collectively, in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations."¹³⁶ This was also the position which the Philippine delegation

¹³⁵"Communique of the Bandung Conference," Current History, loc. cit., p. 375.

¹³⁶ibid. Almost paradoxically, immediately after this clause alliances for security were also condemned. The communiqué said that all participating nations should abstain from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers, and abstain from exerting pressures on other countries. This was obviously the work of communist and neutralist elements.

was requested to uphold at the conference.¹³⁷

Looking now at the final communiqué in a broader perspective, it will be noted that on almost every page there are references made to various aspects of the United Nations which can be of benefit to the conference members.¹³⁸ This is especially significant in view of the genuine Philippine interest in that organization. In section "C" under Human Rights "the Asian-African Conference declared its full support of the fundamental principles of human rights as set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."¹³⁹ In other sections there are comparable declarations.

It can also be noted in viewing the final communiqué as a complete entity that the word "co-existence"

¹³⁷It is surprising to note that the Philippine delegation upheld this position in the face of what one writer called a 'prevailing mood...against western-organized collective security.' See G. F. Hudson, "Balance Sheet on Bandung," Commentary, IX (June, 1955), p. 567.

¹³⁸Said the St. Louis Post-Dispatch: 'Something much more fundamental than mere verbal agreement emerged from the parley: A common attachment to the United Nations and to doing things by peaceful means.' See St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 22, 1955, quoting an editorial in the Des Moines Register.

¹³⁹"Communique of the Bandung Conference," Current History, loc. cit., p. 373.

is conspicuously absent. Although the five principles of co-existence appear in varying forms through different wording, the word "co-existence" itself does not appear. Since the Philippine foreign policy does not favor the theory of co-existence, this can likewise be interpreted as a victory for the Philippine position.

Apart from any particular wording of the final communiqué, however, there are other indications that the Philippine position at the conference had been vindicated. As one writer stated, "the conference did not result in the formation of the feared neutralist regional bloc,"¹⁴⁰ nor, for that matter, did it openly favor the communist cause. Of these two possibilities which the Philippine delegation intended to prevent the one farthest of attainment was the latter. In this regard it should be stated that a proposal endorsing the membership of Red China into the United Nations was successfully blocked,¹⁴¹ and restated that amidst open criticism the U.N. embargo on trade to Red China was successfully sustained. Both of these results, it will be noted, coincided with Philippine foreign policy interests.

¹⁴⁰This writer also said that the Pro-western Asians succeeded in defending 'the orientation of their foreign policies.' See Vincent S. Kearney, "Echoes from Bandung," America, VIIIC, No. 6 (May 7, 1955), p. 152.

¹⁴¹The Manila Times, April 30, 1955, p. 3.

Summarizing briefly the results of the conference favorable to the Philippine position, if it cannot be said that the Philippine delegation achieved these results singlehandedly, the least that can be said is that many of their points of view ultimately prevailed. With this thought in mind, it is easier to understand the significance of the congratulatory message which President Magsaysay sent to the Philippine delegation at the end of the conference. He said:

Heartiest congratulations to you and members Philippine delegation for brilliant performance at Bandung stop You have upheld highest interest of the Philippines as well as the free world of which we are proudly a part. The entire country joins me in greeting you for job well done.¹⁴²

Let us now turn to an examination of the person whose speaking helped engineer the above accomplishments and who merited the foregoing congratulations.

¹⁴²Vicente J. Guzman, "PJ Mission Due Today," The Manila Times, April 26, 1955, p. 1.

Chapter III

THE MAN AND THE SPEAKER

Before speeches can be fully analyzed from a rhetorical point of view, there must be a previous analysis of the man and the speaker. The present chapter has been written for this purpose.

The Man

A logical precursor to a study of the speaker is a study of the man, for it is in the nature of a philosophical truism that a proper understanding of the former is dependent upon a sufficient knowledge of the latter. The purpose of this section, therefore, is to articulate the study of Romulo the speaker with the most prominent features of Romulo the man. In so doing chief emphasis will be given to those aspects of Romulo's life which should have contributed most to his speaking effectiveness at the Asian-African Conference.

Family Background

Carlos Pena Romulo was born in Manila in the

Philippine Islands on January 14, 1901, to Gregorio and Maria (Pena) Romulo.¹ From Manila the family moved 75 miles north to the small town of Camiling in Tarlac Province, Luzon.² It was here that Romulo spent his earliest childhood years. In his own words, Camiling was "a town of nipa shacks and tin-roofed houses under which the pigs and goats lived. There was little sanitation, few roads, no telephones nor public libraries."³

Not too much is known of Romulo's parents other than the fact that his father was a well-known guerrilla fighter in Tarlac Province during the first days of the American occupation.⁴ As Romulo simply puts it, "then the Americans came, and my father fought them."⁵ The intensity of his father's devotion to his country can be seen in the fact that he was wounded seven times by

¹"Romulo, Carlos P (ena)," Current Biography, ed. Maxine Block, 4th ed. (1944), p. 626. Cited hereafter as Block.

²"Against the Odds," Time, LXI (May 25, 1953), p. 38.

³Carlos P. Romulo, Mother America (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1943), p. XIV.

⁴His father was the first Filipino in Camiling to learn English; he was elected a municipal councilor and later mayor, and eventually became governor of Tarlac Province. See Bloc, loc. cit.

⁵Robert van Gelder, Writers and Writing (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 370.

American bullets. "But he finally surrendered and took his oath of allegiance to America."⁶

One of the earliest recollections Romulo had of his father was that of a man who deeply resented the "blue-eyed devils" camped out in the town park. As a result, Romulo learned at an early age to distrust the Americans; and he resolved to hate them as long as he lived.⁷ Curiously, this animosity remained unchanged even after his father became sincerely reconciled to the American rule. The friendly Americans who eventually came to live at the Romulo household were treated as exceptions -- as being different from the other "foreign devils."⁸

While in intermediate school this animosity found a convenient outlet. The story is told by Romulo that he was able to center part of his resentment toward Americans on the son of an American supervising teacher.

In the intermediate school our American supervising teacher had a son named Charlie... We were the same age and in the same grade, and I chose him to be my rival and representative of all the hated Americans. How I worked that semester! I had

⁶Carlos P. Romulo, "The People of the Philippines," U. S. Office of Education Bulletins, 1945, No. 7, p. 27.

⁷Bloc, loc. cit.

⁸Ibid.

to beat Charlie in every subject. Finally I beat him up physically one afternoon in the school yard, and finished the job by wedging him so firmly in the fork of a camachili tree that his father had to come out of the building and pry him loose. I stood watching small and defiant. I was prepared for anything.⁹

This resentment was brought to a climax several years later while Romulo was a senior in high school. For some reason he had occasion to visit an Army and Navy Club in Manila. He didn't stay long because he promptly learned that people of Filipino ancestry were not wanted. This was evidently a bitter blow to a sensitive young man for he later disclosed the incident to his high school principal, Michael J. O'Malley, who gave him much needed sympathy and understanding.¹⁰ This, and doubtless other incidents, however, were softened by time and experience, till they seemingly form no part of the man today. Romulo now considers Americans and Filipinos to have much in common.¹¹

⁹Carlos P. Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1943), p. 51.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 53.

¹¹Carlos P. Romulo, My Brother Americans (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1945), pp. 3-4. Romulo once referred to America as "my second homeland." See Carlos P. Romulo, I See the Philippines Rise (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1946), p. 10.

Education

Although initially a student in the Philippines, Romulo's education was basically in the American tradition. He considers himself a product of the American public school system and is proud of it.¹² In 1935 while delivering an address before the student body of Notre Dame University from the same platform as President Franklin D. Roosevelt he had occasion to remark that the long distance he had travelled from Camiling to Notre Dame was due to the public school system in the Philippines as introduced by America. "It his success was part of the economic, intellectual, and spiritual progress developed in a foreign country by America."¹³

From all indications Romulo spoke Spanish and his native Tagalog before he learned English; and his subsequent mastery of the latter language began as the result of an incident in his childhood. Among the American soldiers stationed in his hometown was a friendly sergeant who took it upon himself to teach the neighborhood children to read English.¹⁴ He gathered a small

¹²Carlos P. Romulo, "Not Born for Death," National Education Association Journal, XXXIX (April, 1950), p. 251.

¹³Romulo, Mother America, loc. cit.

¹⁴Bloc, loc. cit.

group of Filipino children about him in the town park and regularly taught them from Baldwin's Primer.¹⁵

Romulo was reluctant to attend these lessons at first because of the suspicion toward Americans which was being instilled in him at home. But curiosity and the twitting of his companions that he was too dumb to learn got the best of him and he decided to return. Also, the apples which the friendly sergeant handed out were incentives "a small barefoot boy found impossible to resist."¹⁶ In Romulo's own words, "Sitting at the feet of this big fellow whose name I never knew caught my first childish glimpse of a friendly, fascinating, wise America."¹⁷ Romulo's education, continued later in America, might be said to have begun at that unknown soldier's knee.

Another American soldier to assist in the education of Romulo whom we know more about was a revenue officer named A. V. H. Dalrymple. During his stay in the Romulo house he impressed the young Romulo with stories of great Americans.¹⁸ As a result of this inspiration

¹⁵Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, op. cit., p. 48.

¹⁶Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 185.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Cornelia Spencer, Romulo: Voice of Freedom (New York: John Day Company, 1953), p. 25.

one of his teachers, Mrs. Leo J. Grove, relates that "she saw him lugging armfuls of books from her library to read about Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and the other philosophers of freedom."¹⁹ Romulo liked these stories because in his own mind the heroes mentioned were facsimiles of Filipino patriots and lovers of freedom.²⁰ He pays tribute to the lessons in democracy learned from his American teachers in the following words:

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 freedom 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 all²¹ totalitarian regimentation of the mind.

While his family lived in Tarlac, Romulo attended the Manila High School. Little has been written about his high school days other than the fact that rhetoric was his favorite subject²² and eventually developed into one of his passions.²³ In his senior year he was declared

¹⁹"Who Are the 'Imperialist Warmongers?'" Senior Scholastic, LXIV (April 14, 1954), p. 12.

²⁰Spencer, loc. cit.

²¹Romulo, "Not Born for Death," loc. cit.

²²Spencer, op. cit., p. 27.

²³Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 31.

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29. cit., p.

the winner of an oratorical contest on the subject "My Faith in America."²⁴

Upon graduating from high school Romulo enrolled in the University of the Philippines from which he was graduated with a Bachelor's Degree in 1918. English was his major subject and journalism became one of his main interests.²⁵ These subjects were later continued at Columbia University which he attended under the auspices of the Philippine government.²⁶

The four years Romulo subsequently spent in New York were considered by him to be the happiest in his life and made him feel forever a part of America.²⁷ "Some of my best friendships were made during these years. I learned that the average American is fundamentally fair and always for the underdog... The audiences were always on my side when I competed on the debating team."²⁸ He further states that even in his earliest days he was never

²⁴"Romulo, Carlos P (ena)," Current Biography, ed. Marjorie Dent Candee, 18th ed. (1958), p. 473. Cited hereafter as Candee.

²⁵ibid.

²⁶Bloc, loc. cit., p. 627.

²⁷Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 3.

²⁸Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, op. cit., p. 54.

made to feel an alien in the United States.

There had been no consciousness of race impressed upon me at Columbia, where in classes and on the debating team my fellow students, professors, and audiences had seemed inordinately pleased with the success of a Filipino boy reared in the American tradition. Perhaps because of this they had gone out of their way to be kind. If my speech stumbled and my sense of humor proved difficult for them to understand, this very difference seemed to amuse and delight my American friends and bring us closer together.²⁹

Romulo was graduated from Columbia in 1921; and he considered his graduation day to be one of the two most important days in his entire life.³⁰

Career

Chronologically, Romulo's career up till the time of the Asian-African Conference can be traced through three distinct phases, newspaperman, soldier, and statesman.

Newspaperman

Romulo's interest in journalism started while he was working on his school annual. This interest was

²⁹Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 164.

³⁰The other day was when he first spoke before Congress. See Romulo, I See the Philippines Rise, op. cit., p. 28.

enhanced when he took a job as cub reporter for The Manila Times. His salary was a reported four street car tickets a day.³¹ Mr. Norbert Lyons, then editor of the Philippine paper the Cablens-American, said of Romulo's journalistic talents:

I was very much impressed with his intelligence and unusual ability to use the English language. He was one of the very few Filipino reporters I ever employed whose copy did not necessitate strenuous and back-breaking editing before it was fit for the composing room -- both from the standpoint of language and journalistic treatment. In fact, it was often superior, from these criteria, to the copy submitted by the American staff.³²

In fulfillment of his schoolboy ambitions as cub reporter, Romulo was made assistant editor of the Philippines Herald in 1922 and editor in 1923. He became editor of TVP Publications (Tribune-Vanguardia-Taliba) in 1931, and then for several years he was publisher of the DALL Newspapers, comprising the Debate in Spanish, the Mabuhay in Tagalog, and the Monday Mail and Philippines Herald in English.³³ By the eve of the Japanese invasion Romulo's name had become familiar throughout

³¹Spencer, loc. cit.

³²Ibid., p. 28.

³³Candee, loc. cit.

the islands because of his newspaper work.³⁴

It was just before Pearl Harbor, in September of 1941, that Romulo set out on an extensive tour of the countries in Asia neighboring the Philippines. In his capacity as newspaper editor and publisher he visited all the countries of Southeast Asia "including China, Burma, India, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, and Indonesia."³⁵ As a result of this trip he later wrote a series of forty-five articles which were published in his own newspapers and in the United States by the King Feature Syndicate, and which won for him the Pulitzer Prize "for better understanding between nations."³⁶

The articles he wrote were pessimistic in nature and accurately predicted the successful Japanese invasion of Southeast Asia. Much of the pessimism was based on the pro-Japanese attitude which had been fostered

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Carlos P. Romulo, "The Crucial Battle for Asia", The New York Times Magazine, September 11, 1949, p. 13.

³⁶Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, op. cit., p. 4. The trip itself came about as the result of conversations Romulo had previously held with General Douglas MacArthur in Manila. MacArthur wanted to know how the peoples of Asia were then reacting to Japanese imperialism. He therefore gave letters of introduction to Romulo for all the American military observers in the Far East. See ibid., p. 3.

by the colonial mismanagement of Great Britain, France, and the Netherlands.³⁷ wherever he went he reported a fierce hunger for freedom and a sense of Asian betrayal at the hands of the white man.³⁸ A more candid exposé might easily have been written, for as he later wrote, "I can tell you now that those articles would never have won the Pulitzer Prize if I had told all of my experiences in the Orient. I held back a lot because as a writer I knew hatred is created by incidents."³⁹

Before proceeding to the second phase of Romulo's professional career, it would be well to mention at this point in time two important but more supplementary aspects of his newspaper career -- teaching and authorship. Retracing our steps somewhat it is also significant to note that during the period of his newspaper work Romulo was associated with the teaching profession.⁴⁰ In 1923 he

³⁷Bloc, loc. cit.

³⁸Carlos P. Romulo, "Asia Must be Free," Collier's CXVI (October 20, 1945), p. 12.

³⁹Bloc, loc. cit.

⁴⁰Little is known about this aspect of Romulo's career. His biography and his own autobiographical writings tell almost nothing. The information included here, however, is to point up the speaker's continued close association with the field of written rhetoric.

was appointed assistant professor of English at the University of the Philippines, and in 1924 he became associate professor and acting head of the English department. It is reported that he left the university in 1928 after a year as lecturer in American literature, but retained his association with it as a member of the board of regents from 1929-1945.⁴¹

Romulo's writing career began as an outgrowth of his teaching career. During his period of teaching he wrote two textbooks, Better English (1924) and College Composition (1925), and two other books, Daughters for Sale and Other Plays (1924) and Rizal, A Chronicle Play (1926).⁴² His book writing ceased for over a decade and then began again in 1942 with the publication of the best-selling I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, which is considered now to be a Philippine classic.⁴³ Of this book W. L. White wrote, "Carlos P. Romulo has complete command

⁴¹Candee, loc. cit. It is also reported that in 1928 he brought a debate team to the United States prepared to defend the much discussed issue of independence for the Philippines. See Brooks Quimby, "A Decade of International Debating" (unpublished Master's thesis, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University, 1930), p. 1.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³George A. Malcolm, First Malayan Republic (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1951), p. 431.

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of a clear, vivid English necessary for the telling of a great story... It is a beautiful story, beautifully told."⁴⁴ Katherine Shorey said that it was "simply and quietly written but carrying heavy punch," and she highly recommended it, for "information and viewpoint."⁴⁵

Between the period of I Saw the Fall of the Philippines and the publication of his next best seller, Crusade in Asia (1955), Romulo wrote four other books: Mother America (1943), My Brother Americans (1945), I See the Philippines Rise (1946), and The United (1951). But it was Crusade in Asia which received the highest critical acclaim. Gordon Walker described it as "a truly great achievement and one which could stand closer study amidst confusion of seething Asia,"⁴⁶ while Kirkus considered it "an exciting book."⁴⁷ Romulo's writing career

⁴⁴W. L. White, Review of I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, by Carlos P. Romulo, New York Herald Tribune Books, January 17, 1943, p. 1, cited by Mertice M. James and Dorothy Brown (eds.), Book Review Digest (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1943), pp. 658-59.

⁴⁵Katherine Shorey, Review of I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, by Carlos P. Romulo, Library Journal, LXVII (November 1, 1942), p. 951, cited by James and Brown, ibid.

⁴⁶Gordon Walker, Review of Crusade in Asia, by Carlos P. Romulo, Christian Science Monitor, April 21, 1955, p. 7, cited by Mertice M. James and Dorothy Brown (eds.), Book Review Digest (New York: H. W. Wilson Company, 1956), pp. 776-77.

⁴⁷Review of Crusade in Asia, by Carlos P. Romulo, Bulletin From Virginia Kirkus' Bookshop Service, XLIII, (February 1, 1955), p. 106, cited by James and Brown, ibid.

seems to serve as the adhesive joining his other professional activities, and is mentioned here to indicate his continued close association with the field of rhetoric.⁴⁸

Soldier

The beginning of World War II in the Pacific found Romulo in the role of warrior and this, he states, was as much of a shock to him as "Pearl Harbor was to the United States."⁴⁹ Shortly after the Japanese surprise attack on the Philippines, Romulo was inducted into the U.S. Army as major.⁵⁰ He was thereupon assigned as press aide to the commander-in-chief, General Douglas MacArthur, whom he had known since 1928.⁵¹ In describing his military duties he said:

My work consisted of issuing the press releases to the newspapermen and helping select headlines, in telephone conference with the local editors, that would soothe while they informed the civilian population. I wrote and arranged radio programs calculated to arouse public opinion to an awareness of the dangerous situation of the Philippines. Representative citizens went on the air in

⁴⁸In 1945 Romulo said of his prior books, "In my writings I had played with the gamut of human emotions." See Romulo, "The People of the Philippines," loc. cit., p. 29.

⁴⁹Bloc, loc. cit.

⁵⁰Previously he had been a major in the Philippine Army Reserves.

⁵¹Bloc, loc. cit., p. 628.

these programs. Night and day I was busy in headquarters.⁵²

As a result of his successful efforts Romulo was quickly promoted to lieutenant colonel in March of 1942 and then to full colonel in August of the same year.⁵³ These promotions were "won under fire" as one writer states;⁵⁴ and the statement is essentially true since Romulo spent some fourteen weeks in the thick of battle while on Bataan and Corregidor after the fall of Manila. "He stayed in the hell of Bataan until the last day before surrender, and left only after MacArthur had strictly ordered him to do so."⁵⁵

Romulo, according to the official communiqués, was the last man off Bataan before it fell.⁵⁶ While he was there, however, he continued to serve as executive officer of press and radio as well as a sort of public relations man between the foxholes and headquarters.⁵⁷

⁵²Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, op. cit., p. 44.

⁵³Bloc, loc. cit.

⁵⁴Serge Fliegers, "Carlos Romulo," American Mercury, LXIX (December, 1949), p. 687.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 19.

⁵⁷Bloc, loc. cit.

These positions were held under MacArthur and later under General Jonathan Mainwright when the former was compelled to evacuate to Australia.⁵⁸ During this period "on the Rock" (Corregidor) Romulo was also instrumental in setting up a radio transmitter called the Voice of Freedom from which he regularly broadcast personal messages to his beleaguered people on the mainland. To this activity the Japanese promptly retaliated by putting a price on the originator's head; and from then on Romulo was considered a marked man.⁵⁹

Upon narrowly escaping from Bataan, Romulo rejoined MacArthur in Australia and was soon appointed his aide-de-camp. It was in this capacity that he was sent to the United States in the Summer of 1942 on a military mission that was to last only a few weeks but which was prolonged into a stay of over two years.⁶⁰ On the orders of General MacArthur Romulo was requested to tell the story of Bataan and the fall of the Philippines to the

⁵⁸Romulo, I See the Philippines Rise, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵⁹This was one of the main reasons why Romulo was requested to leave the battle area.

⁶⁰Candee, loc. cit.

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American people.⁶¹ In complying with this directive he put himself in the hands of a lecture agency and set out upon a tour of the United States which ultimately carried him over 89,000 miles and into some 466 American cities.⁶²

When Romulo began his speaking tour he was placed on the inactive rolls of the Army by the War Department;⁶³ and it was not until the invasion of Leyte that he was permitted to resume his active military career. Of his two year stay in America he later wrote:

I had landed in America stripped of everything that had made a lifetime of effort and ambition worthwhile. Since that time there had been very little except hard work and anxiety, sleep-robbing and nerve-racking lecture trips, scribbling down notes on scraps of paper in snatched moments, trying to remember

⁶¹van Gelder, op. cit., p. 366.

⁶²Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 21. Concerning this lecture tour one magazine wrote that "in one eight-month period, he topped all American riders of the chicken-and-peas circuit by making no fewer than 500 of his spellbinding speeches." "Romulo -- Little Man who Was There," Newsweek, XXXIV (December 19, 1949), p. 25. His lecture manager W. Colyston Leigh remarked that he was "tops in the field" and that he had "outstripped Eleanor Roosevelt in dates." Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 36. Lecture managers in general agreed that he was the most popular visiting lecturer to have appeared in America since Winston Churchill. van Gelder, op. cit., p. 369.

⁶³Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 61.

thousands of faces and thousands of responsibilities large and small. I had worked with one objective always ahead: the hope of getting back to the Pacific and, eventually, back to the Philippines.⁶⁴

In September of 1944 Romulo received the object of his hopes. Having been promoted to the rank of brigadier general, he went back to the Pacific to revive the Voice of Freedom broadcasts which he had directed earlier in the war and to accompany MacArthur on his triumphal march to Manila.⁶⁵

Statesman

Romulo's career as statesman began while he was still in uniform. During his war years in the United States he served as Secretary of Information and Public Relations in President Quezon's war Cabinet in exile, acting Secretary of Public Instruction in President Sergio Osmena's Cabinet, and as Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States, a position which he held until the establishment of the Philippine Republic

⁶⁴Romulo, I See the Philippines Rise, op. cit., p. 25.

⁶⁵During Romulo's active military career he was a recipient of two unit citations for outstanding performance of duty. See Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, op. cit., pp. 90 and 237, for publisher's note. He also received the Purple Heart for bravery ibid., p. 256. and the Silver Star for gallantry in action ibid., p. 309.

in 1946.⁶⁶ Of this last named office he wrote: "No other offer, no other office, could possibly have meant so much to me. In my most fantastic dreams I had never imagined such an honor."⁶⁷

When the Philippines became a sovereign nation Romulo was appointed its permanent delegate to the United Nations with the rank of ambassador. Prior to this appointment he attended the United Nations Conference at San Francisco as head of the Philippine delegation. It was as a spokesman for the international interests of his country, for good relations between East and West, and for the voiceless peoples of Asia and Africa that he distinguished himself at this conference.⁶⁸ Romulo reportedly led the fight for the establishment of the U.N. Trusteeship System against a formidable array of colonial powers spearheaded by Lord Cranborne, the seasoned and astute representative of the United Kingdom.⁶⁹

⁶⁶Candee, loc. cit., p. 474.

⁶⁷Romulo, I See the Philippines Rise, loc. cit.

⁶⁸Shunzo Sakamaki, John A. White, and Arvin Hahn, Asia (St. Louis: Webster Publishing Company, 1953), p. 290.

⁶⁹Spencer, op. cit., p. 225. In connection with this spirited defense, President Hamilton Holt of Rollins College, who was an adviser to President Woodrow Wilson at the Versailles peace conference, said at a

Romulo's U.N. record is noteworthy. In 1948 he chairmanned the Philippine delegation to the First Session of the U.N. General Assembly and in the same year was elected president of the U.N. Conference on Freedom of Information.⁷⁰ A year later he received the honor and distinction of being the first Asian to be elected president of the General Assembly. Romulo reportedly "rushed at the Assembly President's job like a Philippine typhoon."⁷¹ With his gavel he pounded the Assembly through its record 72-item agenda without need for a special session. A long list of accomplishments were made to his

ceremony conferring an honorary doctor of literature degree upon Romulo:

'I heard you at San Francisco... speak with unmatched eloquence for the 600,000,000 inarticulate and dependent peoples of the world... I witnessed your statesmanship force into the final draft of the Charter the adoption of the statement that the backward peoples of the world...had the right to aspire to full independence... You emerged from the conference with a moral grandeur which your imperialist opponents could not fail to recognize.'

(See ibid.)

⁷⁰Candee, loc. cit.

⁷¹"Romulo -- Little man who Was There," News-week, loc. cit., p. 22.

credit;⁷² and one writer said four years later that many delegates considered him to be the best president the Assembly ever had.⁷³

After stepping down from the presidency of the U.N. General Assembly in 1950, Romulo returned to his own country to accept the position of Secretary of Foreign Affairs which had been given him by the Philippine President Elpidio Quirino. The next two years were spent in Manila where he was occupied with fighting the internal Communist menace to his country.⁷⁴ Generally speaking, it has been said that he came to be the best known internationally of the Philippine Secretaries, and that the Philippines has probably had no more dynamic and

⁷²The Fourth Session of the U.N. General Assembly, among other things, voted self-determination for Italy's former African colonies of Libya, Somaliland, and Eritrea; approved a technical assistance program of \$25,000,000 for underdeveloped countries; entrusted the Atomic Energy Commission with exploring every possible means of nuclear control; and exerted leadership on questions such as that to Indonesia. For additional facts see Spencer, op. cit., p. 240.

⁷³Ralph Chapman, "Last Man from Bataan," Senior Scholastic, LXI (January 14, 1953), p. 6.

⁷⁴Candee, loc. cit.

inspirational figure in foreign affairs.⁷⁵

At the beginning of 1952 Romulo returned to the United States with the appointment of Ambassador to Washington in addition to his position as permanent Philippine representative to the United Nations. He did not stay in America long, however, since the following year he resigned from his diplomatic offices in order to oppose Quirino for the presidential nomination of the Liberal Party. This was the first time he had sought an elective position at home,⁷⁶ and in this particular instance his political action no doubt was prompted by a long standing desire to become President of the Philippines.⁷⁷

In terms of his immediate and ultimate objectives (to unseat Quirino and become President of the

⁷⁵Edward W. Mill, "The Conduct of Philippine Foreign Relations" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1954), pp. 144-45. This writer also says, "Romulo has been 'Mr. Foreign Affairs' so far as the Philippines is concerned." Ibid., p. 144. In addition to his work in the U.N. and his role as Philippine Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Romulo also attended some important international gatherings. These included the New Delhi Conference on Indonesia in 1949; the Southeast Asia Conference in 1950 (of which he was president); and the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference in 1951. See Candee, loc. cit.

⁷⁶"Job Hunting," Newsweek, XXXXI (May 25, 1953), p. 52.

⁷⁷Fliegers, loc. cit.

Philippines) Romulo's first venture into politics was unsuccessful. After failing to dislodge Quirino from his position of political power, Romulo thereupon decided to run as a presidential candidate on the ticket of the newly formed Democratic Party. This action was also aborted, however, when political realities forced him to join forces with Ramon Magsaysay during the campaign.⁷⁸ The result of the election was victory for Magsaysay and he became Philippine president elect on the National Party ticket in 1953. In speaking of his decision to join forces with Magsaysay during the election Romulo later said, "a wise captain doesn't take his ship through a storm, but makes a detour. I am making a detour."⁷⁹ How wise this action turned out to be can be seen in the fact that after Magsaysay was elected he sent Romulo back to Washington as his personal representative.⁸⁰

Personality Traits

To provide an accurate picture of Romulo the

⁷⁸Candee, loc. cit.

⁷⁹"Romulo withdraws," Time, LXII (August 31, 1953), p. 23.

⁸⁰This was Romulo's position until the eve of the Asian-African Conference at which time he was raised to Cabinet rank.

man it will be necessary to consider some of his dominant personality traits. Those traits of a specific nature will be dealt with separately. At this point the writer would like to present the general traits necessary for any successful Philippine diplomat.

Taking into account the views of others on the subject and keeping in mind his own personal observations of Philippine diplomacy for eight years, Dr. Edward W. Mill has submitted the following list of qualities desirable in the successful and effective Philippine diplomat: 1) Character -- integrity; 2) Intellectual training and excellence; 3) Readiness to serve -- adaptability; 4) Effective and friendly personality; and 5) Devotion to country and people.⁸¹ Since Romulo could easily be considered a successful and effective diplomat from what we have already observed, it will be assumed that he possesses these qualities in no slight degree. What will be of greater value to us here, however, are manifestations of personality which are peculiar to Romulo. Although the writer has had no opportunity to meet the speaker personally, he nevertheless believes that enough evidence exists to support the existence of the following

⁸¹Mill, op. cit., p. 98.

personality traits -- friendliness, modesty and self-confidence.

Friendliness

The first personality trait Romulo possesses which is worthy of mention is friendliness. A friendly personality is a requirement for any foreign affairs service, "but in the case of the Philippine it is a particularly important requirement."⁸² Since government in the Philippines tends to operate on a more personal basis than elsewhere, "Filipinos prefer their diplomats down to earth." And this means "they must be entirely approachable."⁸³ To be effective, therefore, it is essential that a Filipino diplomat be a warm, friendly person.

Romulo has expressed friendliness in a number of ways. A significant detail about his suite of offices on the United Nations floor of the Empire State Building, for example, is that it is the only one which has a large "welcome" mat placed outside.⁸⁴ It has also been said that his appearance in the delegates lounge of the U.N. "smiling broadly, attracts other delegates, newspapermen, and just plain friends" so that he usually has a sizeable

⁸²Ibid., p. 101.

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Fliegers, loc. cit., p. 689.

crowd around him.⁸⁵ Romulo's friendliness is not restricted to fellow diplomats, however; his geniality encompasses non-diplomats as well. One glimpse of his daily schedule pictured his progress through the Waldorf lobby "a succession of hearty greetings, inquiries about a clerk's sick mother and a bellhop's elusive girl friend, and easy touches for autographs and tickets."⁸⁶ These incidents, taken together, portray a cordial, friendly man.

While most of Romulo's friendliness is probably natural, part of it more than likely stems from the philosophical attitude he has developed toward his small size. Romulo, barely 5' 4" with his shoes on, has been living in what might be called a tall man's world. He has, therefore, had to resign himself philosophically to this fact. The following passages indicate the positive attitude he has formulated and help reveal his basically friendly nature:

We little fellows in life have still another advantage: we usually have a special gift for making friends.

People are less on guard with a little fellow. They feel protective toward us and find it easy to confide in us...

⁸⁵Chapman, loc. cit.

⁸⁶"Romulo -- Little Man Who Was There," News-week, loc. cit.

I suppose people would not warm up to us little fellows if we were curmudgeons. But you rarely find a short statured person who is a sourpuss. Most of us have learned early in life that friendliness is as great an equalizing force as quick wits, a persuasive tongue, or physical prowess.

.....

Short-statured people tend, I believe, to be more "human" and approachable than tall people. They learn as youngsters that they must not take themselves too seriously. If a big man maintains a pompous reserve he is referred to as "dignified." But if a small man tries to act exactly the same way he is called "cocky."⁸⁷

What these personal statements clearly imply is that Romulo himself is a very down-to-earth and engaging person.

Modesty

"The taller the bamboo grows, the lower it bends."

This homespun advice indicates Romulo's next personality trait -- modesty. The advice was given him by his father and has helped to guide him throughout his life.⁸⁸ Later on when he became a newspaper reporter he observed in his contacts with men of all walks of life that "it is always the small man, the mediocre, who is arrogant and conceited, who does not know how to bend. The truly great man

⁸⁷ Carlos P. Romulo, "I'm Glad I'm a Little Guy," American Magazine, CLV (June, 1953), pp. 90-91.

⁸⁸ Carlos P. Romulo, "The Best Advice I Ever Had," Reader's Digest, LXVII (September, 1955), p. 61.

is tolerant, humble and modest."⁸⁹ These words might well have been spoken of Romulo himself.

A strong indication of Romulo's modesty can be found in his own frank admission that he wrote his first successful books in the "first person" against his own will and the Filipino mode of thought. "There are few things I hate more than the use of the personal pronoun. Filipinos as a race are jarred by the word 'I.' The Tagalog dialect, if we use it, prefers the plural usage 'we,' as a more courteous term than 'I.'"⁹⁰

Another and perhaps clearer indication of Romulo's modesty can be seen in his complete absence of pride and conceit when faced with the unmistakable proof that he had been duped by the communists. An article in the American Mercury tells how the Philippine staff at the U.N. was infiltrated by communists and fellow travelers.⁹¹ The writer of the article further states that for a time even Romulo himself was a "shining knight" of the communist fronts until it was learned that he could not be won overtly to the communist point of view. When this

⁸⁹ibid.

⁹⁰Romulo, I See the Philippines Rise, op. cit., p. ix.

⁹¹Edna R. Fluegel, "When the Reds Captured Romulo," American Mercury, LXXXIV (May, 1957), p. 58-62.

fact was disclosed the communists thereupon proceeded with covert means, and were content to have Romulo kept busy and flattered in high policy positions where his anti-communist influence would not be so strong. Romulo learned of this strategy at a time when he was proudest of his fight against the communist conspiracy, but still he publicly admitted that he had been fooled. In the estimation of the writer of the article this frank confession was "unique among world statesmen."⁹²

Self-confidence

The final personality trait to be taken up in this section is Romulo's self-confidence. It might appear upon first notice to be a contradiction to the one previously mentioned, i.e., to Romulo's modesty, yet there appears to be sufficient evidence to conclude that he is basically confident of his own abilities. As he himself explained to one writer: "Every time I had an ambition -- teaching, politics, soldiering, or diplomacy -- I would achieve it within a few years. Then I would have to look for another ambition."⁹³ Although this statement itself has much probative value, it could also be used to help

⁹²Ibid., p. 59.

⁹³Fliegers, loc. cit., p. 686.

support his biographer's claims that "he [Romulo] never doubted his ability once his purpose was settled upon," and that "his very certainty was to make for his success all through his life."⁹⁴

Philosophy

Romulo's personal philosophy, it would appear, from his background and some of his published writings, is primarily conditioned by two elements, 1) his idealism, and 2) his size. To obtain a proper view of his basic outlook, which in turn has influenced his speaking, it will be necessary, therefore, to consider these two elements in detail.

Idealism

Romulo's idealism finds its genesis in his high school days in Manila when, at his own admission, he "had

⁹⁴Spencer, op. cit., p. 49. An indication of this self-confidence as related to the Asian-African Conference can be seen in the following statement Romulo made upon his arrival at Kemajoran Airport in Jakarta. He said: "I took an active part in the formation of the Southeast Asia treaty organization and I am prepared to meet all comers." See The New York Times, April 16, 1955, p. 3. This confirms an earlier statement made in The Manila Times that friends of Romulo did not expect him to be daunted at the conference by either India's Nehru or Red China's Chou. See The Manila Times, April 10, 1955, p. 3.

made political prestige with its resultant powers of voicing public wrongs the subjects of his adolescent dreams."⁹⁵ As a result, all through his public life Romulo seems to have been motivated by an earnest desire to widen the boundaries of human freedom and to help his fellow man.⁹⁶ His desire to preserve human freedom is revealed in a poem he once wrote for the Academy of American Poets dinner. The poem is titled the Voice of Liberty and a short excerpt follows:

Sternly, bold, unfettered men,
By word of tongue or pen,
In terms of truth will speak,
As they have done before,
The faith of Humankind;
While multitudes, unchained and free
Will wave the battle flags and sing
The Hymn of Liberty.⁹⁷

This passage, while proving nothing itself, nevertheless

⁹⁵Romulo, I See the Philippines Rise, op. cit., p. 25.

⁹⁶In 1949 Romulo was invited by President Sukarno to be a special guest of the Indonesian Republic. he was extended this honor in recognition of the services he had rendered to the cause of Indonesian independence. See The Manila Times, April 14, 1955, p. 4.

⁹⁷"Romulo -- Little Man who Was There," News-week, loc. cit., p. 25.

gives one a clearer insight into Romulo's idealistic motivations. Additional evidence of a more tangible nature is contained in the following prose passages:

I have seen man's inhumanity to man in its most hideous aspect, but in the most terrible places I met people who were great and good. I have learned that all men are fundamentally the same and that there is a kinship that race or creed or national ideologies cannot efface.⁹⁸

While this passage merely describes Romulo's idealism, the next supplies a causative factor.

Because I believe in an Almighty who created us in His image, I believe there is a spark of the divine in each of us. I must be colorblind in my racial relationships, as only thus can I appreciate the worth of the individual and be able to love my neighbor as myself.⁹⁹

This passage tells more of the story because it adds the spiritual element.¹⁰⁰

Another facet of Romulo's idealism is the tendency to assume the posture of an ardent nationalist and internationalist. Even though this may appear contradictory,

⁹⁸ Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, op. cit., p. 323.

⁹⁹ Carlos P. Romulo, "If I Were Sixteen Again," Rotarian, 140 (December, 1957), p. 11.

¹⁰⁰ In an article previously cited Romulo said, "Magellan's coming left an indelible imprint upon the Philippines. For with Magellan came the cross. That means a lot." See Romulo, "The People of the Philippines," loc. cit., p. 25.

evidence seemingly existed to support the claim. In fact, some of this evidence is found within the space of a single passage. In giving advice to idealist teenagers, for example, Romulo wrote in one article that "human civilization is the sum total of the contributions of each country to the advancement of mankind. And only by nurturing an intense nationalism can my people contribute its share to human progress."¹⁰¹ He also said in this same article by way of explanation that the nationalism he had in mind was "a nationalism tempered by the knowledge that technology having annihilated distances, the word 'foreigner' has been supplanted by the word 'neighbor'..."¹⁰²

Viewing each element separately again, it is possible to substantiate further Romulo's idealistic duality. His nationalistic assertiveness was made manifest on the eve of the Asian-African Conference. Before boarding a plane in Manila or Bandung, he said with reference to the Philippine delegation that they were going as "Filipinos first, Asians second, and Filipinos always."¹⁰³

¹⁰¹Romulo, "If I were Sixteen Again," Kotarian, loc. cit.

¹⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰³The Manila Times, April 16, 1955, p. 1.

His basic internationalism has been made repeatedly manifest in his attitude toward the merits of the United Nations. In an article in the Rotarian he said:

The United Nations is dedicated to the great although difficult task of harnessing man's good will for peace. It is the most potent organization ever to have dramatized the solidarity of the human race against creed, color, or national pride. No opportunity greater than the common counsel of its 60 sovereign members has presented itself in the interest of the enduring security of mankind.¹⁰⁴

While this idealist combination of nationalism and internationalism might appear contradictory in the same individual, it nevertheless affords a more complete view of the orientation of Romulo's philosophy.

Size

Since Romulo stands barely over five feet with his shoes on, as was noted previously, he has been forced to develop a philosophical attitude toward his short stature. This philosophical attitude, it was also noted, has contributed in some degree to his characteristic friendliness. But beyond this it has additionally contributed to the development of a serene, positive outlook which has often worked to his advantage in dealing with

¹⁰⁴Carlos P. Romulo, "How I would Change the U.N.," Rotarian, LXXVII (October, 1955), p. 24.

his fellow man.¹⁰⁵

The heart of Komulo's healthy philosophical attitude toward his height is the feeling that being underrated in the beginning, which a short person frequently is, can often work to the short person's advantage. This he concludes is preferable to being initially overrated, since much more is expected of a bigger man. When a little fellow does something well, therefore, people become pleasantly surprised and impressed. In their customary way of viewing things the small person's achievement is magnified because of low original expectations.¹⁰⁶ How this philosophy has affected his speaking effectiveness will be seen in the next section when we consider Komulo the speaker.

In addition to the benefits to be derived from a person's short stature, there are also certain obligations according to Komulo. "A little man can express personal opinions with the utmost freedom," he says, while a taller man if he were to utter the same ideas might

¹⁰⁵ Komulo claims that he was helped to develop this philosophy by A. V. H. Dalrymple, the revenue officer who found lodging in his home. He was frequently reminded by this man that one's footage had little to do with personal effectiveness, provided it was not allowed to prey on the mind. See Komulo, "I'm Glad I'm a Little Guy," loc. cit., p. 89.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

find himself in a fight instead of a conversation. Romulo, therefore, concludes that since a "shorty" has a better chance to put his ideas across without using his fists, this gives him an obligation to weigh his words carefully "which, in consequence, makes them more effective."¹⁰⁷

Influences

An aspect of Romulo's life which probably did much toward shaping his career and mode of thought concerns the people who influenced him. From a close inspection of his published writings it is possible to conclude that Romulo was most significantly influenced by two people: his father Gregorio Romulo and the idol of his youth, Manuel L. Quezon. We will now consider briefly the chief characteristics of each of these people.

Gregorio Romulo

It was learned earlier that Romulo's father was a Filipino patriot who took up arms against the United States once it had defeated Spanish authority in the Philippines. An important feature of his father's patriotic

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 92.

attitude was the fact that he refused to lay down his arms until he was reasonably assured that the Philippines would eventually be granted its independence from America. In fact, after his surrender to the American forces Romulo's father is said to have continually stressed the idea that he was cooperating with the new colonial regime only because it had promised his country its independence.¹⁰⁸ This brand of patriotism had some effect upon Romulo for he later wrote in one of his books, "I am a Nationalist first, because from my earliest childhood I was impressed by my father's participation in the Philippine struggle for freedom."¹⁰⁹

Lack of sufficient information prevents a more extensive treatment here of Romulo's father, but judging from the above admission it is possible to conclude that he had no little influence upon his son. The most that can be said at this point is that he helped shape the nationalistic element in Romulo's idealism.

Manuel L. Quezon

While little information is readily available concerning Romulo's father, much more information is at

¹⁰⁸Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

hand concerning the second person who influenced his life, Manuel L. Quezon, the first President of the Philippine Commonwealth. The extent of Quezon's influence can be seen in the following quotation. In further analyzing the causes of his ardent nationalism Romulo writes: "I am a Nationalist because Manuel L. Quezon has been my hero. I have watched his colorful career as our outstanding fighter for Philippine independence with admiration that has kept growing with the years..."¹¹⁰ In view of this assertion it would be well, therefore, to catalog some of the outstanding attributes of Quezon.

This man who impressed Romulo so greatly was born August 19, 1878, in the Philippines and studied law at the University of Santo Tomas in Manila. In his early twenties, as a young revolutionary, he joined the Aguinaldo insurrection against the United States, and later when the Americans were victorious he made peace with the territorial authorities and became a fiscal or public prosecutor. In the latter capacity he made a name for himself throughout the islands.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Walter Yust (ed.), Ten Eventful Years (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1947), III, p. 689.

Quezon's political career was as varied as it was brilliant. He was a member of the Philippine Assembly from 1907 to 1909, and Resident Commissioner to the U.S. from 1909 to 1916. He was elected President of the Philippine Senate in 1916, a position which he held until he was elected first President of the new Philippine Commonwealth in 1935. Quezon's reelection to the last named office in 1941 was by an overwhelming majority.¹¹²

The first time Romulo saw Manuel Quezon was when the latter returned in triumph to Manila in 1916 after he had been instrumental as Resident Commissioner in securing passage of the Jones Act, a statute which set a definite date for Philippine independence. Romulo states that he was very much impressed when he first saw Quezon marching through the Old wall in Manila which had been broken through at one place in honor of his homecoming. "He became my hero in that hour and I admired him as I was never again to admire any living man."¹¹³

What probably impressed Romulo the most were

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Romulo, I See the Philippines Rise, op. cit., p. 26. Romulo further declares that as a schoolboy he copied Quezon's way of wearing his clothes and the ways he danced and spoke. He further states that he had learned by heart every speech Quezon had made on the floor of Congress. See idem.

the personal attributes which contributed greatest to Quezon's political success. It is said that Quezon was indisputably the best orator in the Philippines in any of three languages, English, Spanish, or Tagalog. He possessed considerable charm, executive capacity, and what one writer called a "curious combination of American characteristics, like aggressive practicality, plus a Latin heritage of suppleness and adroit facility in negotiation."¹¹⁴ He loved the poor and got along well with the rich. He was thought of as an outstanding Philippine patriot and a genuine revolutionary. In fact, the writer quoted above states that "the history of the Philippine Islands in the twentieth century and the biography of Manuel Quezon are indisolubly one."¹¹⁵

Romulo speaks very highly of Quezon in all of his early books written during the Second World War; and in one especially strongly indicates that he and Quezon held political views which were much the same. Manuel Quezon sincerely believed in the value of Philippine autonomy and freedom, and, therefore, seized every political opportunity afforded him to hasten the day of Philippine

¹¹⁴John Gunther, Inside Asia (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939), pp. 298-99.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 287.

independence. From the anonymity of his editorial chair Romulo fought behind Quezon all the way. As assistant editor of Quezon's newspaper The Citizen, the first Filipino-English weekly published in the Philippines, Romulo fought for Quezon's principles of collectivism as against the outmoded unipersonal leadership. When Quezon engaged in his controversy with Governor General Leonard Wood he supported him vigorously in his new position as editor of the Philippines Herald. When the controversy arose over the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, which put to the test Quezon's leadership in the Philippines, Romulo again strongly supported him with his growing chain of newspapers. Then when Quezon ran against Aguinaldo for the presidency of the Philippine Commonwealth in 1935 Romulo's newspapers once more stood solidly behind him.¹¹⁶

Although the full extent of Quezon's influence upon Romulo is not completely known, the facts and instances cited should provide an adequate comprehension of the general nature of that influence. This brief overview would seem to indicate that Romulo was most affected by Quezon's dashing personality and republican ideals.

¹¹⁶Romulo, I Saw the Fall of the Philippines, op. cit., pp. 163-64.

Romulo, the man, started from humble beginnings, received an education in the American tradition, and achieved notable distinction as newspaperman, soldier, and statesman. His is a personality flavored largely by friendliness, modesty, and self-confidence, and a philosophy conditioned by his size and his idealism. It can also be seen that Romulo is both a nationalist and internationalist and that he was influenced along these lines by his father and by his boyhood idol, Manuel L. Quezon.

The Speaker

To obtain an accurate picture of Romulo, the speaker, it will be necessary to consider three important aspects of every speaking situation, namely the speaker's method of speech preparation, his appearance, and his delivery. Within this general tripartite framework the writer will attempt to provide some useful insights concerning Romulo's particular speaking performance at the Asian-African Conference. The material contained in this section has been gathered from a variety of sources including the writer's own observations,¹¹⁷ and the

¹¹⁷Romulo was observed in action by the writer

observations of the speaker himself. What follows, therefore, can be considered an assimilation of thought on the subject.

Preparation

In reply to a letter the writer sent to the Philippine Embassy it was learned that Romulo is inclined to use the following procedures in preparing his speeches. As dictated to his personal secretary Romulo's reply reads in part:

1. a. He keeps a speech materials file and also a scrap book.

b. Best sources for supplying ideas and materials for his speeches are: newspapers, magazines, latest books which he chooses from the Saturday Review.

2. a. He prepares an outline and sometimes dictates a complete manuscript or types it himself.

b. He never rehearses his speeches orally. He has no critic. He does not

nearly a year after the Asian-African Conference took place. On March 7, 1956, Romulo delivered a lecture on the University of New Mexico Program series in Carlisle Gymnasium in Albuquerque, New Mexico. He spoke for an hour and a half beginning at 8:15 p.m. on the subject The Asia America Does Not Know. His speech was heard by an audience of about one thousand.

use a speech recorder.¹¹⁸

Answer one above was written in reply to the question "how do you obtain ideas for your speeches," while answer two replied to the question "what steps do you follow in preparing a speech." Since the writer indicated in his letter that he was primarily interested in Romulo's preparation techniques used at the Asian-African Conference, it is assumed that the reply quoted above was made with this interest in mind.

Appearance

As Thonssen and Baird have indicated, in all likelihood an orator's striking appearance can enhance his rhetorical effectiveness, but as they have also stated such striking appearance can never be considered as an infallible guide to this effectiveness.¹¹⁹ Romulo is a short man; yet we noted earlier in this chapter that his shortness possessed for him certain advantages chief among which was the advantage of being initially underrated.

¹¹⁸Letter from H. B. Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Ambassador to the United States, Embassy of the Philippines, Washington, D. C., May 4, 1959.

¹¹⁹Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 441.

To support this theory Romulo cites the following incident from his speaking career.

At the opening session of the United Nations in San Francisco in 1945, the Philippines were invited, even though we were not yet an independent nation. (America had promised us independence for 1946.)

This was the first full-dress international conference the Philippines had been invited to attend. Thus you can see that I headed a very junior, almost token, delegation. In the opening round of speeches my turn came almost last.

I mounted the platform and found I could barely see over the speaker's stand. When there was silence I solemnly uttered this eight-word sentence:

'Let us make this floor the last battlefield.'

There was silence, then applause.

Romulo concludes by saying: "The same words from a tall man might have brought polite applause. But coming from a little fellow from a little country, they had an unexpected effect."¹²⁰

In analyzing the significance of this incident, it appears to the writer that Romulo can take best advantage of his short stature only in contrasting situations, i.e., when the majority of those around him are big men

¹²⁰Romulo, "I'm Glad I'm a Little Guy," loc. cit., p. 90.

from big countries. It is doubtful, therefore, that Romulo could have had this same effect at the Asian-African Conference where he was constantly associating with small men from small countries.

Delivery

Romulo's method of delivery when not from memory is usually extemporaneous. He seldom speaks from notes and never from a complete manuscript.¹²¹ "He was always inspired at the moment when he spoke," writes his biographer. "Inspiration rose from the audience for him, like the aroma of good cooking, whetting the appetite."¹²²

¹²¹Romulo, personal letter, loc. cit.

¹²²Spencer, op. cit., p. 15. Romulo did not rely exclusively upon inspiration for the successful delivery of his speeches; he also considered his introductions to be important.

'Introductions are important to the speaker, as they serve to break the ice and open relations between the audience and himself. After being introduced by hundreds of chairmen and masters of ceremonies I find myself with the greatest respect for those who can "sell" the speaker to his audience with a few introductory words.'

See Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 98-99.

An important characteristic of Romulo's voice while speaking is that it contains a slight but unmistakable accent.¹²³ Concerning one speaking occasion his biographer wrote:

He had spoken English a long time, ever since he was in primary school. Now he spoke smoothly, and although he had a slight accent which he would never entirely lose, he did not have to stop to think.¹²⁴

While this accent evidently constitutes no general communicative barrier for the speaker, there are times when unintelligibility might result. For example, Romulo himself candidly admits:

... My English, under stress, is not all it should be. When I speak at an ordinary rate of speed, or write out my words, I think and speak, I hope, as a man with an American education should. But under excitement I find myself laying the wrong emphasis on the wrong syllable, or even worse.¹²⁵

In addition to his accent, one other peculiarity of Romulo's speaking voice concerns the use of the pause. Because of the physical hardships he endured during the Second World War, he has had difficulty with his

¹²³This accent was observed by the writer when he heard Romulo speak in the Spring of 1956.

¹²⁴Spencer, op. cit., p. 17.

¹²⁵Romulo, My Brother Americans, op. cit., p. 42.

throat while speaking. As a result he is often forced to stop at various points in a speech to drink water; and this, he admits, has embarrassed him greatly. One cause of his embarrassment is the criticism that his slow, deliberate way of drinking is for added effect, "to allow the expectancy of the audience to grow."¹²⁶ To this criticism, however, Komulo replies:

Nothing could be further from the truth. When I stopped, it was because my throat had dried again -- the throat seared on Corregidor, the throat that every specialist I might try, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, would shake his head over hopelessly. Sprays, lubricants, lotions, everything would be tried and nothing would work. Water eased it temporarily so I could talk again.¹²⁷

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 31.

¹²⁷Ibid.

Chapter IV

THE ANALYSIS

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze the three principal speeches of Carlos P. Romulo at the Asian-African Conference. The analysis itself will be preceded by a brief examination of the critical method used, and will be followed by a summary of the major characteristics found.

Method

The critical method used in this analysis will include an examination of each speech in terms of the first three canons of rhetoric. These canons are: invention, arrangement and style.¹ While each canon takes a distinctive view of a speech, it is to be understood

¹In classical terminology these three canons were known as inventio, dispositio, and elocutio, respectively. They were part of a fivefold division of rhetoric which also included memoria or memory and pronuntiatio or delivery. These last two canons will not be dealt with in the present chapter, since they have already been considered in the second section of Chapter III.

that all are complexly interrelated. Something which is considered under one canon might also be properly considered under another. Having stressed their true inseparability, we now turn to a brief view of their special characteristics.

Arrangement

Although arrangement has been traditionally considered the second canon of rhetoric, it will be presented first in this analysis because of the clearer focus it will give to the other two canons. Under the canon of arrangement the organizational structure of the speaker's major ideas will be investigated. It will also be determined how the speaker welds his speech materials into a unified whole, and whether or not there is the emergence of a central unifying theme.

Invention

The canon of invention is the most comprehensive canon of rhetoric. Under it will be considered all of the arguments suitable to the speaker's given rhetorical effort. Classical rhetoricians, however, have divided

this canon into three parts corresponding to the three modes of persuasion set down by Aristotle. These modes of persuasion (also called modes of proof) consist either in the moral character of the speaker (ethical proof) or in the production of a certain attitude in the hearer (emotional proof) or in the speech itself by means of real or apparent demonstration (logical proof).² The speaker's invention will be analyzed within the general framework of this tripartite division.

Logical Proof

An analysis of the speaker's logical proof will include an examination of all his rational appeals, or those appeals directed primarily to the reasoning process. In keeping with Aristotle's "conviction that the most important ingredient of a speech is rational demonstration through severe argumentation,"³ appropriate emphasis will be given to this mode of proof.

Emotional Proof

An analysis of the speaker's emotional proof will include an inspection of "all those materials and

²Lane Cooper, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1932), p. 8.

³Lester Thonssen and A. Craig Baird, Speech Criticism (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 331.

devices calculated to put the audience in a frame of mind suitable for the reception of the speaker's ideas."⁴

In this section an attempt will be made to appraise the speaker's ability to link the truth of his case with the emotional nature of his audience.

Ethical Proof

An analysis of the speaker's ethical proof will include an investigation of the most important facets of message credibility. According to Aristotle, a speaker enhances his message credibility most through the impressions he gives of his sagacity, high character, and good will.⁵ The various ramifications of these three facets of ethical proof will be explored at length.

Style

The third canon of rhetoric deals with the manner in which a speaker clothes his thoughts with language. In this section the speaker's style will be analyzed from both a functional and an aesthetic standpoint. An attempt will be made to determine the manner in which he makes his ideas clear and once made clear how he impresses them

⁴Ibid., 358.

⁵Cooper, op. cit., pp. 91-92.

upon his audience.

1

Tomulo's first principal speech was delivered before the Opening Session.

Immediate Setting

The Asian-African Conference formally opened in plenary session on Monday, April 18, 1955. It opened with pageantry, "with cheering throngs in the streets, dramatic comings and goings in speeding cars behind insistent noisy motorcycles," and "a mammoth reception featuring Javanese dances beneath the banyan trees at the Governor's palace."⁶ The inaugural session was called to order at 9:00 am.⁷ in the "white-walled, fluorescent-lit" main hall of the Concordia building.⁸ The scene

⁶David Landman, "The Bandung Compromise," New Republic, CXXXII (May 16, 1955), p. 8.

⁷Charles H. Malik, The Problem of Coexistence (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1955), p. 19. The conference was formally opened by the Indonesian President, Dr. Ahmed Sukarno.

⁸Harold K. Milks, "Iraq Criticizes Communism at Bandung Conference; Many Delegates Applaud," St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 18, 1955, p. 1A. Where possible the author and title of all newspaper articles will be included.

was reportedly a colorful one since the 400 official delegates came dressed in national costumes.⁹

There were the flowing white kofias, the headpieces of the Arabian sheiks; there were the richly dyed yellow, brown, green and blue loose-fitting robes of the stately people of the Gold Coast and the light pastel shades of the longyis (sic), or wraps, worn by the men of Burma. There were also the sheep's-wool hats of the diplomats from Pakistan, the white turbans and white robes of the representatives of Yemen and the stark black and white striped gowns of the Liberians.¹⁰

A view from the gallery or balcony which ran around the rear and the two sides of the hall provided one observer with this picture:

Down below, the place throbbed with color and self-conscious eccentricity, with every sort of robe and veil and tunic, shalwar and lungi (sic), dhoti and burnoose, tarboosh and baffiyeh, and the simple sharkskin splendor of the Beirut business suit; something terribly serious halfway between a political convention and a costume ball.¹¹

From this same vantage point another observer has provided more specific details. He writes:

⁹Ibid. Komulo wore a barong Tagalog which is an openwork Filipino shirt. See C. Rand, "Our Far-flung Correspondents," New Yorker, XXXI (June 11, 1955), p. 42.

¹⁰The New York Times, April 19, 1955, p. 3.

¹¹James Cameron, "Chou En-lai at the Asian-African Meeting," Reporter, XII (May 19, 1955), p. 12.

I went inside and climbed to the gallery of this impressive hall, staring out over this grandiloquent array of personages. There was Mohammed Fadhel Jamali of Iraq, sporting a morning coat; Colonel Nasser of Egypt, looking smooth and virile in a plain khaki uniform; Nehru in a long brown achkan coat, sometimes called a sherwani, with a big red rose at the chest, and white chooridar pyjamas, or pants very much like jodhpurs; Mohammed Ali in a Western suit; U Nu in a plaid longyi and pastel yellow gaung buang; jet-black men from the Gold Coast in flowing robes of bright yellows and greens; other Chinese, dressed like Chou in Sun Yat-sen tunics, gently waving black fans, the Japanese in plain Western suits, waving fancy fans of their own; Krisna Menon in a dhoti and a long cotton overshirt, his gray hair long and wild as he raced from chair to chair, shaking hands; the Saudi Arabians in long black robes with white trim.¹²

In addition to the official delegates representing the nations of Asia and Africa, there were also a handful of Western ambassadors from the United States and Europe sitting as spectators in a specially designated area at the side of the hall. This area was referred to as the "white man's box."¹³ The role of interested on-lookers was further symbolized in a small group of foreign

¹²Carl T. Rowan, The Pitiful and the Proud (New York: Random House, 1956), pp. 389-90. Although not suitable for reproduction here, there is a fairly good wirephoto picture of the rear of the conference hall, showing the above mentioned balcony, in The New York Times. See The New York Times, April 26, 1955, p. 3.

¹³Landman, loc. cit.

newspapermen, a portion of the 500 journalists which reportedly attended the conference.¹⁴ The balance of the nearly 2,000 people at the opening session was provided by guests of the Indonesian government.

After the agenda had been approved by the conference members and announced by the conference chairman, the opening statements began.¹⁵ These speeches, consuming three plenary sessions, started in the afternoon on Monday and continued through Tuesday.¹⁶ The speakers took the platform in alphabetical order for fifteen minute policy statements.¹⁷

From a synopsis of each speech it is possible to conclude that the predominant note throughout the opening session appeared to be one of national pride and racial consciousness. wrote one writer on the second day of the conference: "Every speech at the conference so far has been at least in part a recital of each nation's

¹⁴Keyes Beech, "Colonialism in for kaps at Bandung," Chicago Daily News, April 18, 1955, p. 3.

¹⁵The Manila Times, April 19, 1955, pp. 1-2.

¹⁶Malik, op. cit., p. 21.

¹⁷Although fifteen minutes appears to have been the average time allotted to each speaker, Nomulo is said to have delivered a half-hour speech. See U.S. Congressional Record, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., 1955, Cl, Part 13, A 3568, quoting the Washington Daily News of April 19, 1955. This is probably the actual case since the speech is much too long to have been delivered in a shorter period of time.

attainments in freedom and its dedication to the solidarity of the colored peoples of the world."¹⁸ wrote another writer: "A certain amount of repetitiousness drove home the racial theme with crushing force."¹⁹

"The mood of the first day was one of tranquility and high hope," with the only controversial items advanced by the speaker's being an occasional attack upon the colonial aspect of international communism.²⁰ Iran's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Djafar Abdoh first alluded to this subject; and he was later followed by Mohammed Fadhil Jamali of Iraq who pursued it still further. Tuesday brought additional attacks upon communism by other nations sympathetic to the west.²¹ One of these speakers was Romulo who addressed the conference in the morning of the second day.²² He spoke

¹⁸ Ronald Stead, "Bandung Talks Break Old Barriers," Christian Science Monitor, April 20, 1955, p. 2.

¹⁹ Richard Wright, The Color Curtain (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1956), p. 155.

²⁰ Landman, loc. cit.

²¹ George McFurnan Kahin, The Asian-African Conference (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1956), pp. 12-13.

²² St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 19, 1955, p. 2A.

in the above prevailing atmosphere.²³

Textual Authentication

Before beginning his analysis the writer was obliged to select one of five texts of Romulo's opening address. These texts appeared in the following sources:

- (1) The Manila Times, April 20, 1955, p. 8.
- (2) Institute of Pacific Relations, "Selected Documents of the Bandung Conference." New York, 1955. (mimeographed.), p. 12.²⁴
- (3) Romulo, Carlos P., "The Asian-African Conference," Vital Speeches, LXI (June 1, 1955), p. 1270.
- (4) U.S., Congressional Record, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., 1955, CI, Part 5, 6260.
- (5) Romulo, Carlos P., The Meaning of Bandung. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956, p. 63.

They have been arranged here numerically and in chronological order for purposes of explication. The source containing the text which seems to reflect most accurately what the speaker said is the first mentioned -- The Manila

²³Romulo attached great significance to the opening speeches because he felt that the feelings of the twenty-nine participating nations could be properly gauged through them. See Vicente J. Guzman, "Bandung Confab Starting Today," The Manila Times, April 18, 1955.

²⁴The speech text used in this source was obtained from the Indonesian Mission to the United Nations in New York.

Times. This selection was based upon a combination of interrelated factors including publication dates, internal discrepancies, and the general nature of the speaker's methods of speech preparation and delivery.

Because of the total number of speech texts available, publication dates might help determine which text is the most authentic. The element of time is important mainly because of the possibility for the revision and extension of remarks. A speech text appearing immediately after the actual delivery of the speech would afford the speaker very little time for alterations. Of the five texts mentioned above the one affording the speaker the least opportunity for alteration is the one found in The Manila Times. It was sent by wireless to Manila the very day it was delivered. An introductory notation indicates that it is "the full text of the address by PI Chief Delegate Carlos P. Romulo in the Asian African conference." In all likelihood it was handed directly to the members of the Philippine newspaper delegation without need of any reporting. A consideration of Romulo's methods of speech preparation and delivery would help corroborate this fact. We will review these methods presently, but let us first touch upon the matter of internal discrepancies.

Looking at each of the five texts, a number of significant discrepancies can be noted. To begin with, text (1) contains more actual words than any of the other four texts. Within the body it contains one more paragraph than each of the others, while at the end it contains three more paragraphs than either (2) or (3). Without benefit of these three paragraphs texts (2) and (3) would appear to be both stylistically and organizationally incomplete. The writer would therefore consider them as spurious.

Texts (4) and (5) present more of a problem, the only paragraph missing from them being an internal paragraph which would not necessarily render the speeches incomplete if left out. Doubt can be cast upon their authenticity in other ways, however. For one thing it has been observed as a common practice to revise and extend remarks printed in the Congressional Record.²⁵ Text (5) would also fall heir to this possibility since in all essential respects it is an exact duplication of (4). Additionally, texts (4) and (5) show signs of a conscious attempt to improve punctuation. Both, for example, contain

²⁵Zon Robinson, "Are Speeches in Congress Reported Accurately?", Quarterly Journal of Speech, LVIII (February, 1942), p. 12. Cited by Monssen and Baird, op. cit., pp. 304-05.

commas in appropriate places which are conspicuously missing from text (1). They also do not have commas that according to the laws of grammar are erroneously placed in text (1). These facts would tend to indicate then that texts (4) and (5) were tampered with and are therefore also spurious.

Judging from what has been just noted concerning the factors of time and of internal discrepancies, text (1), the text appearing in The Manila Times, appears to be the most accurate of the five. It is impossible to place complete reliance even upon it, however, because of the nature of the speaker's habits of speech preparation and delivery as noted at the end of the previous chapter. Romulo, it will be remembered, never takes a complete manuscript with him to the platform; he relies rather upon remembering what he has previously written in manuscript form. In the absence of some accurate recording technique or apparatus, therefore, it is impossible to claim that text (1) is "the verbatim version." It can only be stated that it probably reflects what the speaker said better than any of the others. Enough evidence, at least, seems to point in this direction.

Purpose

The general purpose of an opening speech at an international conference is usually to arouse enthusiasm for what is about to occur and to deepen emotion for the causes which brought the nations together. In this sense an opening address is nothing more than a speech to stimulate. More specifically, however, the purpose is also to set forth the fundamental national policy of the individual governments and their general attitudes toward the issues of the day and the issues on the agenda of the conference. As one delegate stated: "In these opening general statements, people define themselves; they introduce themselves politically; they state the ultimate general questions on their minds; they trace the limits within which their national policy functions."²⁶

Romulo's speech contains all of the above characteristics of an opening address in addition to the fact that it also voices a firm resolve to discuss the condition of "man's estate" as frankly and as realistically as possible. He might very well have been stating the underlying purpose of his own speech when he said to the

²⁶ Malik, op. cit., p. 22.

conference members: "We will serve each other if we examine ourselves, if we clarify, as far as we can our choices, our goals -- and our obstacles." Within the framework of his own beliefs and attitudes as well as the general framework provided by the peculiar orientation of his country's foreign policy Komulo constructed his speech. In essence, he wished to show that democracy and not communism was the answer to the common problems besetting the members of the conference.²⁷

Arrangement

In harmony with the Aristotelian tradition,

²⁷It is said that on the opening day Komulo 'seemed to have a smile and a good word for everyone' The New York Times, April 18, 1956, p. 3. , and that he 'stole the show with two dramatic entrances.'

'First, when he entered Gedung Merdeka, hundreds of Indonesians shouted 'Komulo! Komulo!' as they spotted him in the long line of delegates in single file, arranged in alphabetical order in their countries.

'Again he was applauded when he entered the session hall. As he strode in sure step to the podium to also second Sastramidjojo's nomination, he merited more applause from the delegates and newsmen.'

See Vicente J. Guzman, "Opening rites at Bandung are impressive," The Manila Times, April 19, 1956, p. 1.

Komulo's Opening Address has an introduction, a body, and a conclusion. The introduction although quite short exhibits proof that the speaker attempted to place himself on common ground with his listeners and to obtain the proper good will toward both himself and his subject.

Certain passages illustrate this attempt:

We of the Philippines have a profound sense of the great historic events dramatized by this unique gathering... We have watched with proud solidarity the establishment of the other independent nations of a free Asia...

We come as members of one great family long separated from each other...

While the introduction encompassed less than one tenth of the total volume of words, the passages cited indicate that its function was to adapt the speaker and his subject to both the audience and the occasion. Announcement, personal reference, and explanation all served to make this adaptation.

Turning now to the body of the speech, the listener is at once confronted with the core of the speaker's threefold sequence of ideas. These three ideas are 1) that the nations represented at the conference are concerned with the issues of colonialism and political freedom, racial equality, and peaceful economic growth, 2) that the history of the world turns on how these issues

are met and resolved, and 3) that the countries of Asia and Africa must resolve these issues through either democracy or communism. Although these ideas are organized in a variety of standard ways depending upon the point of view taken, the most obvious method utilized is that of distribution. Amulo distributes the bulk of his inventive material in political, social, and economic categories. Each category receives about equal treatment in terms of space, but the speaker suggests that the economic aspect is the most important. It will be noted also that these three distributive elements correspond to the objectives of the conference as outlined by the Colombo sponsors in their Bogor communiqué. This is evidently where the speaker obtained his organizational topoi.

If the structural pattern of the body as a whole were considered without reference to the distributive method just analyzed, it would be seen that the speech develops along the general lines of problem and solution. The speaker's material can be divided according to the logical pattern formulated for any question of policy. First there are statements with proof of the factors involved in the problematic situation. These factors correspond to the organizational topoi already discussed. Next, there is a weighing of all possible solutions

(communism and democracy) which culminates finally in a brief analysis of the solution desired (democracy). Although no democratic program for solving the speaker's problems is spelled out in any great detail, an indirect reference is made to the democratic way of life contained in the Pacific Charter. This deficiency would appear to be an organizational weakness in the problem-solution speech structure.

Romulo devotes about as much time to his conclusion as he did to his introduction; but if it is brief, it is also forceful. The conclusion is motivational in character. Appeal is combined with quotation to enforce the speaker's purpose. After ending the body of his speech with an appeal to Asian nationalism, the speaker concludes the whole of his address by demanding an international approach to the problems then besetting all mankind. He says:

The success of this conference will be measured not only by what we do for ourselves but also by what we do for the entire human community. Large as is the cause of Asia, there is a cause even larger. It is the cause of the human family in a world struggling to liberate itself from the chaos of international anarchy. In short, our cause is the cause of man.

He adapts his concluding sentence to the spiritual orientation of his audience by invoking the deity and by quoting

an appropriate passage from the Sermon on the Mount.

Let us invoke the blessing and the guidance of Almighty God over our deliberations so that this conference may prove to be the radiating center of the divine injunction 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself' and we may help to make the East and West live together as enjoined by our ancient creed 'We are all brothers under the canopy of heaven.'

Now that the three traditional parts of the speech have been considered individually a more comprehensive view of the speaker's arrangement can be taken. Questions remaining unanswered concern the emergence of a central unifying theme, the use of transitions, and the adaptation of the total speech plan to the audience.

To begin with, it can be seen from what was said previously in connection with the speaker's purpose that the emergence of a central unifying theme characterizes the totality of his thought. It was observed that the speaker's purpose was to persuade his audience not to adopt communism once European colonialism had been eliminated from Asia and Africa. Although this warning is never mentioned specifically, it is nevertheless the thread which ties the entire speech together.

In addition to this central theme, it will be noted also that two minor themes arise from time to time throughout the speech. Highlighting the major theme are

the secondary themes of nationalism and internationalism. The speaker attempts throughout his speech to channel the uncontrolled nationalistic aspirations of his audience into what he considers to be the more beneficial area of democratic internationalism. This attitude is a natural manifestation of the speaker's peculiar mode of philosophical idealism witnessed in the last chapter. More will be said about it in the next section when we trace its general development while analyzing the speaker's use of logical proof. We now turn to the more functional question of transitions.

The major and subsidiary parts of Romulo's Opening Address are linked into an organic whole by transitional elements found chiefly in the forms of rhetorical questions and short anticipatory statements. The following examples are typical. Rhetorical questions --

[Between introduction and body]

We in this room are, for our brief moment, a part of this history. How do we see it? How do we understand it?

[Between problem and solution]

What do we want? How do we propose to seek it?

Anticipatory statements --

[Within the first distributive element]

There are at least three things more to be said here about this matter of national political freedom:

[Between the first and second distributive elements]

I have said that besides the issues of colonialism and political freedom, all of us here are concerned with the matter of racial equality.

[Between the second and third distributive elements]

Lastly, I have said that all of us here are concerned with peaceful economic growth.

Looking once more at the organization of the speech as a whole, the basic structural pattern appears to be alternated argument and appeal with Monroe's motivated sequence clearly in evidence. While the arguments are usually arranged didactically -- well over half the paragraphs in the body of the speech begin with a short generalized statement followed by examples and specific instances -- the appeals are arranged in no particular order. In fact, they are at times merely implied rather than stated directly. This is particularly true of the appeal made under the distributive element of peaceful economic growth. It remains implied but stresses the theme of international cooperation in solving the world's economic problems. The political and racial topoi, however, have clearly stated appeals. Romulo, for example,

concludes his discourse on political freedom by saying: "we have to have the imagination and courage to put ourselves in the forefront of the attempt to create a 20th century world based on the true interdependence of peoples." He concludes his discourse on racial equality by saying: "Let us not preserve stupid racial superstitions which belong to the past. Let us work to remove this ugly disease wherever it is rooted, whether it be among western men or among ourselves." In all three instances the appeals are directed to positive goals, i.e., to what "should" be done.

Invention -- Logical Proof

The development of Nomulo's speech, as seen in the foregoing section on arrangement, can be viewed from the standpoint of the reasoning process, i.e., it falls within the general category of problem and solution. In considering his logical proof, therefore, it would be appropriate to have this dispositional framework serve as a functional basis of judgment. What, in other words, were the logical characteristics of the speaker's problem; and did he provide an adequate solution?

Since the development of the speaker's problem

followed the political, racial and economic divisions of his first major idea, it will be necessary to analyze his logic in the same sequential pattern.

1. Political freedom. Under the heading of political freedom Romulo's argument is interwoven with much exposition. He begins by presenting some commonly held facts and beliefs which serve to give his reasoning background and perspective. He states that the majority of the independent nations represented at the conference had won their independence only within the last ten years, that they had won their independence by many different means, and that the achievement of further independence did not depend on western good will or slow access of wisdom and virtue. These factual assertions, which reflect the speaker's understanding of the historic background and composition of his audience, are supported largely by causal relation and specific instance. The causal relations go factually unsupported on two occasions, however, as attested by the following example.

Romulo says:

The United States has at times appeared to us lacking in consistency and vigor in upholding the right of non-self-governing peoples to independence. It has on some issues leaned heavily in favor of colonial powers and has sometimes disheartened us because of its failure to make its actions dovetail with its ideals of equality and freedom.

One would expect Romulo to make such statements in light of the attitude his government has taken toward American intransigence within the United Nations. The U.N. members of the audience would also more than likely be aware of specific instances of this intransigence. This might have been the reason Romulo neglected to use some of them in the form of factual support.

Having attuned his listeners to the necessity for and the desirability of obtaining political independence, Romulo then proceeds to caution them about some of the dangers involved. He points out that national independence is just the beginning of the conquest of real freedom, and that the independence of small or weak nations is at best a precarious and fragile thing. In showing that national independence can be more fiction than fact, Romulo uses four specific examples to prove that national independence can be used as an instrument for a new and different kind of subjection and that national independence is subject to violently different opinions. These examples appear to be well chosen since the speaker singles out two of the conference sponsors for particular mention. He says:

I can recall reading a report of an editorial in Pravda, published in Moscow, which called newly independent India a

puppet of British imperialism. There was a time wheneking newspapers and radio broadcasts were saying similar things about the Republic of Indonesia.

The speaker's argument is strengthened not only logically with the use of these two examples but psychologically as well. Judging from the fact that both India and Indonesia adhere strictly to neutralist principles in the conduct of their foreign affairs, they would be the first to deny that they were "puppets of a foreign power."

After cautioning his audience about some of the dangers of political independence, Romulo thereupon ends this segment of his argumentative exposition with an appeal to historical reality. He asserts that nationalism is a narrow and inadequate instrument for solving Asia's and Africa's manifold problems, and that a true interdependence of peoples must be the inevitable wave of the future. He states that "Western European man today is paying the terrible price" for preserving too long the concept of the nation state. He concludes his argument with an hypothetical syllogism, the only syllogism used in the entire speech. If we of Asia and Africa are to avoid repeating all of Europe's historic errors, the speaker says in so many words, we must achieve a greater coherence and a uniting of regional interests. "We have

to try to avoid repeating all of Europe's historic errors." Therefore, the audience members are left to conclude that they must achieve a greater coherence and a uniting of regional interests.

Throughout this section on colonialism and political freedom the minor themes of nationalism and internationalism repeatedly manifest themselves. The former receives its greatest emphasis when the speaker says that "the age of empire is being helped into oblivion by the aroused will and action of people determined to be masters of their own fate." The latter receives its greatest emphasis in the concluding paragraph which contains the hypothetical syllogism just analyzed.

2. Racial equality. Because racial equality was potentially the most explosive concept with which the speaker dealt, he was compelled to measure his logic accordingly. He began this section of his speech by labeling racial equality as a touchstone, pointing out that, although the systems and manners of racial discrimination had varied, no western colonial regime was free from imposing it upon others. His argumentative technique was largely expositional in which very little clear cut logic could be properly utilized. He described what the doctrine and practice of western racism had accomplished

and then stated that it survived in virulent form only in the Union of South Africa -- an assertion which in turn received further expositional treatment.

As in the first area of controversy, so also in this one does Komulo attempt to caution his audience. After discussing expositionally some of the general ramifications of racism, the speaker then proceeds to remind his auditors that they too must not fall into the same racist trap as the white man. He reasons causally that such a course of action would mean giving up all hope of human freedom for the countries at the conference struggling to be free. He states that racism per se is an outcropping of one of the many human weaknesses which constantly plague mankind; and he cites as an example of this the racial discrimination practiced in India which Mahatma Gandhi devoted so much of his life to eradicate. Such an example was functionally appropriate in that it called to the attention of the conference members a person with whom they were all reasonably familiar and one whom they respected.

The speaker climaxes this section of his speech with an appeal to the authority of the Bible. "Would that we all gave as much time," he said, "to the mote in our own eye as we give to denouncing the beam in the

eye of another." (Matt. 7:3). Here Romulo calls upon his Christian training to provide him with an argument from authority readily conformable to the spiritual nature of his audience.

3. Economic growth. Within the context of peaceful economic growth Romulo again handled his logical materials largely inductively. He disclosed to his audience the facts of their economic backwardness and concluded that this backwardness was "partly due to factors of climate, geography, and the stubborn survival of obsolete cultural patterns." Carrying his causal reasoning one step further, he additionally concluded that the economic backwardness he had just described was also in large measure the result of patterns imposed upon the countries of Asia and Africa by Western colonialism. To the representatives of countries at the conference with long colonial records, this last assertion needed no further proof. It was easily adaptable to the prevailing attitudes noted in the second chapter.

Once this factual groundwork had been laid, the speaker's next step was to reintroduce his minor theme into the discussion. As was the case previously, so here again the idea of interdependence as opposed to extreme nationalism is stressed. Romulo asserts that a purely national economy is an illusion, and that the key to

effective economic growth for the nations represented at the conference is to be found in increasing interdependence. Much of the speaker's reasoning here was an attempt to refute a misconception which he felt resided in the minds of his audience. This misconception resulted from the fear that a policy of economic interdependence would be a crippling disadvantage to the nations of Asia and Africa at this stage of their development. This fear was refuted by the speaker in two ways. First, he suggested negatively that a policy of economic interdependence for the nations of Asia and Africa would mean that these same nations would not have to go through "the equivalent of the decades and centuries of ugly, painful and costly development which occurred in most western countries." Then he suggested positively that the nations in question could make use of the most ultra-modern technologies to transform themselves more rapidly, "to make new and hitherto unforeseen use" of their resources. The underlying premise of his argument was that Asia needs the world and the world needs Asia.

Turning now to an inspection of the solution phase of the problem-solution sequence, we are at once confronted with the problem of choice, the choice between communism and democracy. These are the logical alternatives

which the speaker presents to his audience for solving their political, racial, and economic problems. Drawing upon his own democratic ideals and the democratic orientation of his country's foreign policy, his logical method is to reject the communist alternative. He accomplishes this by suggesting that communism is a ruthless tyranny, that it diminishes "the individual well-being and freedom of millions of people," and that it would merely replace the worst aspects of western colonialism. In addition he asserts that, contrary to the communist philosophers, the communist state does not wither away but becomes inherently expansionist.

Upon discarding communism as a valid solution to the problems facing the nations at the conference, the speaker turns to democracy and finds it acceptable. The principle underlying his acceptance is that since the nations of Asia and Africa want to solve their own problems without any outside interference, the only suitable answer is democracy for it places no restraint upon them. Specifically, what the speaker suggests by way of a concrete program for the implementation of his solution is the adoption of the Pacific Charter by all concerned. He envisages it as enshrining "the dignity of man, his well-being, his security, his progress, his nation's right

to self-determination." No further details than these are given.

Reviewing now the total logical development of the speaker's problem-solution sequence of ideas, certain outstanding characteristics are apparent. To begin with, it has been noted that the speaker relies heavily upon argumentative exposition to present his case. While this kind of exposition has some reasoning value, its complete worth cannot be determined from a purely logical standpoint. Since it does serve to make the speaker's reasoning clearer, however, it can be properly regarded here as a useful substructure of his argument; and, in this sense, its function has been fulfilled.

Also, from what has been previously observed, it can be stated that the chief means of support for the speaker's conclusions are basically inductive. Of these inductive means, specific instance and causal relation appear to predominate with argument from authority being occasionally used. Because of the predominance of argumentative exposition, however, most of the speaker's assertions go unsupported. He assumes that proof will be provided by his listeners, i.e., from their own past experiences, common beliefs, and prevailing attitudes. Judging from the purpose of his speech which was largely

motivational this does not appear to be an unwarranted assumption, for the audience was already convinced of the rightness of its cause. In short, no further proof was needed.

The greatest weakness of Romulo's case lies in his apparent failure to provide an adequate solution to the tripartite problem he presented. Yet this weakness is probably more psychological than logical. It might very well be that the adoption of the Pacific Charter by all concerned would solve their pressing political, racial, and economic problems, but they are given no specific reasons to believe that this can be so. They are told what they must do, but not specifically how to do it. The speaker, in other words, merely points in the direction of a solution, and the listeners are left with no remedy or redress for their grievances.

Invention -- Emotional Proof

In terms of his opening address, some of Romulo's greatest strength derives from his ability to adapt his remarks to prevailing audience attitudes. As a whole, the speech exhibits a careful understanding of both the make-up and the motivations of the audience. It takes

into account the political, racial, and economic status of the listeners, as well as the known prejudices and predispositions which brought them together.

It was observed in Chapter II that the delegates to the Asian-African Conference came from countries where the people they represented were considered to be politically impotent, racially objectionable, and economically backward. Nnamdi acknowledged these characteristics throughout his speech. In his introduction, for example, he said:

All who are represented here are certainly concerned with the issues of (1) colonialism and political freedom, (2) racial equality, and (3) peaceful economic growth. The history of the world in our time turns on the ways in which these issues are met and resolved or not met and not resolved.

Within the body of his speech he said:

The majority of independent nations represented here won their independence only within the last decade.

.....

Racial equality is a touchstone... for most of us assembled here and the peoples we represent.

.....

It is precisely because the billion and a half people of Asia and Africa have begun in our time to strive for a better economic stake in life that most of us are here today.

In discussing these three topics, the speaker is considering what is best calculated to elicit the greatest response from his audience. He therefore shows his ability to adapt material to his listeners.

The emotional nature of Romulo's audience is encompassed by the totality of his thought, for within the tripartite framework mentioned above, the speaker appeals to the wants, needs and desires of his listeners. Such motivating factors as nationalistic self-assertion, social justice, and material well being are directly appealed to. Under the heading of colonialism and political freedom, for example, Romulo appeals to the desire for nationalistic self-assertion.

The handwriting of history is spread on the wall. But not everybody reads it the same way or interprets similarly what he reads there. We know the age of European empire; not all Europeans know that yet. Not all Asians or Africans have been or are still aware that they must make themselves the conscious instruments of historic decision.

.....

It is to be hoped...that this conference will help remind all the western powers that the issue of political independence for subject peoples does not depend on their good-will or slow access of wisdom and virtue. The age of empire is being helped into oblivion by the aroused will and action of people determined to be masters of their own fate.

Under the heading of racial equality Romulo appeals to the desire for social justice.

I do not think in this company I have to labor the full import of this pernicious doctrine and practice. I do not think I have to try to measure the role played by this racism as a driving force in the development of the nationalist movements in our many lands. For many it has made the goal of regaining a status of simple manhood the be-all and end-all of a lifetime of devoted struggle and sacrifice.

Under the heading of peaceful economic growth Romulo appeals to the desire for material well being.

The great masses of our people live in a state of rural poverty. We need to diversify our economies. We need to industrialize in accordance with our resources and needs. We have to win a more balanced place in the market places of the world. We have to do this in a manner that will effectively raise the standard of living of our people.

All of these appeals were directed to the wellsprings of human conduct, and as such they enabled the speaker to link the truth of his ideas with the emotional nature of his audience.

Some of Romulo's appeals, however, are conceived on a higher philosophical plane than those just mentioned. He appeals to a higher level of man's nature, when he calls for forgiveness, magnanimity, and fair play and refers to the dignity of man's estate. In his conclusion

he says:

Let us therefore draw strength not from the hurts of past or present but from our common hopes -- hopes that can come to life in all peoples everywhere. And if the test of that strength should be our ability to forgive then let it be said that we were the giants of our time.

Throughout his speech he refers to the idealistic concept of Francis Bacon -- the dignity of man's estate. "We come as members of one great family long separated from each other," he says. "In this family reunion we are here to talk of man's estate." Because of the emphasis which universal moral values receive in the nations represented at the conference, any appeal to the loftier side of man's nature can be assured of a hearing. The countries of Asia and Africa, it was noted earlier, take great pride in their moral and spiritual heritage.

If the speaker links the truth of his ideas with the emotional nature of his audience, he is aided in so doing by the rhythmic flow of his sentences. Any of the above quoted passages will yield proof for this statement. Also, the speaker's use of figurative language and emotionally toned adjectives help him in his motivational appeals. Again, the above passages exhibit corroborating evidence. When his own language, however, proves emotionally inadequate he calls upon appropriate

language from other quarters. In discussing peaceful economic growth, for example, he pictures a world of economic interdependence as envisioned by the Hindu poet and humanist, Rabindranath Tagore -- a world "not divided into fragments by narrow domestic walls." Such a literary allusion was capable of producing much emotional impact not merely because of what was said but also because of the person quoted. Rabindranath Tagore was the first Asian ever to win the Nobel Prize for Literature.

Invention -- Ethical Proof

Nomulo's opening address gives strong support to the Aristotelian dictum that "there is no proof so effective as that of the character." The speaker enhances his ethical appeal through the impressions he gives of his "sagacity, high character, and good will." An analysis of these three ethical elements is therefore in order.

1. *Sagacity.* Nomulo establishes a feeling of intellectual integrity and wisdom by the manner in which he handles certain speech materials. In discussing the explosive issue of racial equality, for example, the speaker is careful to point out the inherent difference between the words "all" and "some." He says

concerning the past racist attitudes of the white man:

Our quarrel with racism is that it substitutes the accident of skin color for judgment of men as men. Counter-racism would have us do the same; to lump white men by their supposed racial grouping and govern our acts and reactions accordingly. It is our task to rise above this noxious nonsense. We have the responsibility to remain aware that this kind of racist attitude has been the practice not of all white men, but only of some...

Once this verbal distinction has been made clear, the speaker then goes on to plead for moderation in dealing with the critical racial problem. "where is the society," he asks, "in which men have not in some manner divided themselves for political, social, and economic purposes by wholly irrational and indefensible categories of status, birth, and...skin color?" The speaker shows his ethical proof here through candid restraint in which he attempts to hold in check the irrational impulses of his audience.

Romulo's sagacity is further enhanced by his tact in handling the delicate subject of communism. Not once in his speech does he mention the word communism directly. Since Romulo's avowed goal at the conference as noted earlier, was to make friends for his country, any blustering or direct attack upon communism would have

been strictly out of place especially in the company of the neutralist states who wished to avoid any controversies of an ideological nature. Two Asian communist states were also present, it must be remembered, and one of them, Communist China, was considered to be the most powerful nation in Asia. The speaker's indirect attacks against communism, therefore, were not only ethically wise but diplomatically wise as well. Since Komulo was playing the conference by ear, accusations had to be made as deftly as possible.

If Komulo reveals his sagacity through intellectual integrity and wisdom as well as through tact and moderation, so also does he manifest it through a broad familiarity with the important interests of the day. He makes particular reference to the issues of the cold war, especially as those issues related to the social and economic problems faced by the conference members.

It could be that Russia's bombs or America's bombs will determine the future shape of the world and the fate of humanity... But I do not think the great decisions will come that way. I think the shape of the world is going to be determined in large measure by the way in which the peoples of Asia and Africa go about the business of transforming their lives and their societies.

By the last sentence the speaker established a grasp of historical perspective -- a perspective which would have

little trouble coinciding with the attitudes of the audience. The representatives of Asia and Africa could not quarrel with this view of history.

2. High character. The speaker's high character is evinced in large part by the way he handles the touchy racial issue. Instead of arousing the passions of his listeners, he warns them against the evils of counter-racism. He calls attention to the fact that racial discrimination per se is merely the outcropping of one of many human weaknesses which constantly plague mankind. "Surely we are entitled to our resentment and rejection of white racism wherever it exists," he says. "But we are also called upon...to acknowledge that in degree we all suffer from the same sin of ignorance and immorality." By referring to racism and counter-racism as immoral, the speaker associates himself with what is virtuous and elevated. In fact, throughout his discussion on racism it can be readily observed that the speaker injects into the minds of his listeners the concept of moral responsibility in the conduct of their relations with themselves and with the rest of the world.

Since the speaker's cause is the cause of democracy, and his opponent is totalitarianism, he bestows praise upon the former and links the latter with what

is not virtuous. He equates democracy with freedom and maintains that freedom is necessary for the countries of Asia and Africa to solve their own problems. Totalitarianism (communism), on the other hand, is equated with enslavement and tyranny; the speaker refers to it as "a new superbarbarism, a new superimperialism, a new superpower."

Romulo focused further attention upon his probability of character by removing unfavorable impressions of the country he represented; and since he symbolized what his country stood for, he also removed unfavorable impressions of himself. It was noted in the second chapter that the Philippines was considered by some of the countries at the conference not to have a completely independent foreign policy, but to be tied to the policies of the United States. Romulo minimized this adverse feeling somewhat by stating that the United States had at times lacked "consistency and vigor in upholding the right of non-self-governing peoples to independence." He referred to the communist satellite countries of North Korea, Poland, Romania and Bulgaria and then asked "I wonder if any of the spokesman of these countries would ever speak as freely in criticism of the bigger country to which they feel friendly or allied as, say, we in the

Philippines speak our minds about the United States?"

By showing his own country's freedom to criticize the United States and then by actual prior criticism of the U.S., the speaker helped minimize an unfavorable attitude toward the country he represented.

Reliance upon his personal experience also helped the speaker enhance his probity of character in the eyes of the audience. When he spoke of democracy in the Philippines, he was speaking about something he himself had experienced; and when he spoke about the defects of the United Nations, he was also speaking from first hand knowledge. Although Romulo makes no direct reference to his personal experience with these two subjects, his audience would nevertheless have been well aware of his qualifications. A mere mention of them was enough to establish an authoritative relationship.

3. Good will. The chief methods used by the speaker to generate good will toward his audience included an identification with the hearers and their problems, plus an approach that was both candid and straightforward. The first of these methods was used throughout the speech but was particularly evident in the introduction and conclusion. In his introduction, for example, the speaker said:

we have...taken our stand firmly behind the struggle of every people to become master of its own fate, to enjoy its own destiny, its own identity, to be responsible for its own acts, to join in the immense tasks of building a new structure of human well-being and free institutions, the task indeed, of changing the face of the world.

This personal identification was reiterated in his conclusion when the speaker said:

The Philippine delegation is here to underscore in this conference that it is the sense of the Filipino people that such right of self-determination includes the right of nations to decide exclusively by themselves their ability to assume the responsibilities inherent in an independent political status.

It will be noted that this last sentiment expresses one of the forces which drew the conference members together, and that it reflects the ideas contained in the resolution passed by the Philippine Senate in order to strengthen the position of the Philippine delegation at the conference.

The speaker's candor and straightforwardness are indicated in the following passage taken from the body of his speech. In speaking of the necessity for each country to safeguard the freedom of its citizens, Romulo said:

but for my part and for my people, may I say plainly that we regard the

struggle for freedom as an unending, constant, unremitting demand upon us, that with all our acknowledged failings, faults, and weaknesses, we are seeking to build in our land a society in which the freedom of our Republic will truly become the freedom of its citizens.

Style

From the standpoint of clearness Roosevelt's style in his Opening Address can be best characterized by simplicity and directness of expression. His sentences are straightforward and tend to create a common feeling between himself and his audience chiefly by means of personalized words and rhetorical questions. Of the former it is possible to find as many as twelve within the space of just a hundred words,²⁸ while the latter can usually be found at transitional points and at places where the restatement of an earlier idea can be made. Toward the end of his address, it will be remembered, the speaker presented two choices to his audience -- totalitarianism or democracy. After stating these choices directly he restated them interrogatively a little later by saying:

²⁸The results of a readability analysis indicate that eight per cent of the speaker's words were personal. See Appendix 11 for additional details.

Do we fight to regain our manhood from western colonial rulers only to surrender it to rulers among ourselves who seize the power to keep us enslaved?

Is it true, can it be true, in this vastly developed 20th century, that national progress must be paid for with the individual well-being and freedom of millions of people? Can we really believe that this price will, in some dim and undefined future time, be redeemed by the well-being and freedom of the as yet unborn?

In addition to the functional appropriateness of these questions which enabled the speaker to adapt his material to the audience, their rhythmic quality makes them aesthetically pleasing as well.

Another indication of Homulo's clarity of expression is to be found in his frequent use of parallel sentence structure.

The fact is that we will need greater world coherence than we have now if we are to thrive. The fact is that the effective mobilization of world capital and resources will be absolutely vital to us in the process of mobilizing our own capital and our own resources. The fact is that these things will depend in great measure on the further course of the conflicts that now govern all world affairs.

With sentences like these beginning the same way, the listener is able to concentrate on thought rather than structure. Such can also be the case with internal parallelism as the following excerpt will testify. "We will

serve each other," the speaker said, "if we examine ourselves, if we state the issues and problems plainly as we see them, if we clarify, as far as we can, our needs, our choices, our goals -- and our obstacles." There are noted parallel clauses and phrases.

Concreteness and specificity of language give further evidence of the speaker's clarity of style. In discussing the problem of racial discrimination he said: "Here was a stigma that could be applied to rich and poor alike, to prince and slave, boss man and working man, landlord and peasant, scholar and ignoramus." Notice should also be paid to the contrasted elements in this passage. This is an example of enantiosis or a figure of speech by which things very different are placed together in order to enhance and set each other off.

From the standpoint of impressiveness, Komulo's Opening Address is characterized by vivid word usage and by emphatic sentence structure. Since his purpose was to persuade his language is at times highly connotative. The speaker relied heavily upon concrete sensory impressions in picturing the road to communist totalitarianism. He said:

This road is open before many of us.
The gateway to it is strewn with sweet-smelling garlands of phrases and promises

and high sentiment. But once you march through it, the gate clangs behind you. The policeman becomes master and your duty thereafter is forever to say aye. Even those who enjoy the role of mastery must always know that this system devours its own.

The descriptive words used here are all highly evocative, for the audience is made to see, smell, hear, and taste action. This passage also indicates the extent of the speaker's ability to call forth strong verbal images in a rhythmic pattern.

A further indication of the speaker's vivid word usage is his conscious use of figurative language in addition to the examples of enantiosis already mentioned, an examination of his Opening Address discloses the following tropes and figures:

Simile. Drawing upon Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" for his raw material, Romulo added a literary flavor to his discussion of western racism. After asserting that the day of western racism was vanishing along with western colonialism, he said that "its survival in any form can only hang like an albatross around the necks of those many people in the West who sincerely seek to build a freer and better world." In addition to crystallizing the force of the speaker's thought in the minds of his audience, this hope was also appropriate

from the standpoint of audience adaptation. Since many of the conference delegates had been educated in the West they would have been familiar with the classics of English literature.

Prolepsis (a figure by which a speaker suggests an objection against what he is advancing, and then returns an answer to it). This is the predominant technique which Romulo uses in discussing the United Nations. He says:

In one sense this conference suggests that for the peoples of Asia and Africa the United Nations has inadequately met the need for establishing common ground for peoples seeking peaceful change and development. But I think we must also say that if the United Nations has been weak and limited in its progress toward these goals, it is because the United Nations is still much more a mirror of the world than an effective instrument for changing it.

The speaker also employs a metaphor (trope) in the last sentence when he pictures the UN as a "mirror."

Asyndeton (a figure occasioned by the omission of conjunctive particles). There are two examples of this:

We are part, all of us, of a time of great transformation, for each of us and for all the people on earth. It is a trying, difficult, dangerous time...

.....

There is no magic wand or automatic

formula to bring about social and economic change. It means that we have to assume our own heavy responsibilities. It means great toil, flexibility, adaptability, intelligence.

Irony. Although this trope was used in varying degrees throughout the speech, the high point of its use came when Komulo was discussing the status of the Eastern European Communist satellites. "I am sure you will forgive my frankness," he said, "but in this land of the ingenious wajang, of the wonderful Indonesian shadow play and puppet shows, I think we ought to say plainly to each other when we think a puppet is a puppet." This extreme use of irony, which bordered almost on sarcasm, would have been readily familiar to the speaker's audience because it employed material from their immediate surroundings.

A second major element contributing to Komulo's impressiveness of discourse is emphatic sentence structure. Strength and variety are the outstanding characteristics of his sentences. To aid in achieving maximum sentence strength both climax and exclamations were used. In obtaining climax the periodic sentence was put to good advantage. "We do not want leadership in our countries subservient to foreign rulers," he said, "be they in London or Paris, The Hague, or Washington, or, we must add,

Moscow." While arguing against counter-racism he exclaimed: "what a triumph this would be for racism if it should come about! How completely we would defeat ourselves and all who have struggled in our countries to be free!"

With respect to variety, Romulo does not restrict himself to just one pattern of sentence structure. In two passages with approximately the same number of words each, for example, he first used two and then seven sentences to express his thought. It will be found also that the relatively long construction is at times linked with the short driving variety to provide sentence contrast. The paragraph from which the exclamatory expressions were quoted above can provide a suitable example. It is here quoted in its entirety.

No less than this can be said. But there is something more too. It is one of our heaviest responsibilities, we of Asia and Africa, not to fall ourselves into the racist trap. We will do this if we let ourselves be drawn insensibly -- or deliberately -- into any kind of counter-racism, if we respond to the white man's prejudice against us as nonwhites with prejudice against whites simply because they are white. What a triumph this would be for racism if it should come about! How completely we would defeat ourselves and all who have struggled in our countries to be free! There is no more dangerous or immoral or absurd idea than the idea of any kind of policy or grouping based on

color or race as such. This would, in the deepest sense, mean giving up all hope of human freedom in our time. I think that over the generations the deepest source of our own confidence in ourselves had to come from the deeply-rooted knowledge that the white man was wrong, that in proclaiming the superiority of his race, qua race, he stamped himself with his own weakness and confirmed all the rest of us in our dogged conviction that we could and would reassert ourselves as men.

Note the steady progression of thought in this paragraph. It builds toward a climax. Such is typical of the speaker's general paragraph development.

Closely associated with sentence variety is the broader concept of amplification. Romulo expresses a basic thought pattern in several different ways depending upon the nature of the thought expressed and its relative importance to the main theme. The speaker, for example, contrasted totalitarianism with democracy in several different ways. At one point in the speech the question is asked: "Is the struggle for national independence the struggle to substitute a local oligarchy for the foreign oligarchy?" Further on this same thought is repeated when the speaker asks again: "Has all the sacrifice, struggle, and devotion, all been, then, for the purpose of replacing foreign tyranny by domestic tyranny?" It will be noted also that the speaker uses a

moderate word to express totalitarian rule in the first example, while in the second, he not only uses a much stronger word, but the original contrasted elements are reversed, i.e., local and foreign become foreign and domestic.

Audience Response

Romulo's Opening Address was played up heavily in the western press;²⁹ and reputable sources indicate that it was well received. Such an objectively responsible newspaper as the Christian Science Monitor said that "all delegations applauded General Romulo's speech except those from Communist China and North Vietnam."³⁰ A reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch reiterated this same observation with an additional clarifying comment. He said:

The loudest ovation of the conference was accorded Romulo when he finished speaking, but he got no recognition from Chou or Nehru.

.....

The coolness with which Nehru and Chou received Romulo's speech seems to be

²⁹C. Rand, loc. cit., p. 62.

³⁰Christian Science Monitor, April 20, 1955, p. 1.

in an agreed pattern. Neither has applauded a speaker who is considered a friend of the west.³¹

The U.S. News & World Report analyzed this applause factor still further by saying: "The Philippine delegate, Carlos R. Romulo, got the loudest cheers of the Conference when he warned delegates 'not to fall into the racist trap.'"³²

On-the-spot comments of an evaluative nature confirm the above audience reactions. A reporter for the New York Times said that Romulo's opening conference speech was "widely regarded as the wisest and most balanced of any delivered."³³ The Chicago Daily News stated that Romulo's speech was "considered by many observers to have been the best of the conference."³⁴ In comparing his speech with some of the others delivered during the opening plenary session, the magazine Reporter said that after Romulo's "unexpected argument of reverse-screen

³¹Robert Dunson, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 19, 1955, p. 2A.

³²"Communists Miss the Boat," U.S. News & World Report, LXXVIII (April 29, 1955), p. 41.

³³William Durkin, The New York Times, April 24, 1955, sec. 4, p. 5.

³⁴Keyes Beech, "Nenru's Prestige Dives as Red Poes Outfox Him," Chicago Daily News, April 22, 1955, p. 2.

liberalism, most of the following polemics were rather flat."³⁵ The Economist of London observed that "General Romulo of the Philippines executed a tour de force by avoiding direct mention of Communism while delivering a blistering attack on one-party rule, control of the press, and police states."³⁶ The magazine Commonweal stated that "at the first session, General Romulo spoke critically, honestly and admirably of the American record in Asia..."³⁷ Combining observation with evaluation, a reporter for the magazine New Yorker said that Romulo's speech was --

a sparkling fourth of July display that, I imagine, owed much to his American schooling in the Philippines. He put his hands over his heart, he spread his arms like an eagle's wings, he spoke in sonorous cadences, but the words made sense, even so.³⁸

After the session in which Romulo delivered his address, a correspondent for The Manila Times reported that "most of the chief delegates crowded around him to

³⁵James Cameron, loc. cit.

³⁶"Bamboo Curtain -- the Bandoeng Conference," Economist, CLXXV (April 23, 1955), p. 273.

³⁷"Bandung and Formosa," Commonweal, LXXI, No. 5 (May 6, 1955), p. 115.

³⁸C. Rand, loc. cit., p. 43.

extend their congratulations." This same observer also stated that the Chief Delegate of the Sudan, who followed Romulo to the platform, devoted practically his entire speech to praising Romulo's address. The Chief Delegate was quoted as saying: "We heard democracy speak to us today with an Asian as its spokesman and its message we will carry with us wherever we go, sure that we can with it counter all blandishments of communist propaganda." Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt was likewise quoted as saying that Romulo's speech should be welcomed by all who believe in democracy as the best defense and most effective offense of the forces of the free world.³⁹

2

Romulo's second principal speech was delivered before the Political Committee.

Immediate Setting -- the Drift of the Debate

Toward the end of the Political Committee deliberations, the question of promoting "world peace and

³⁹Vicente J. Guzman, "Cia Talk Well Taken," The Manila Times, April 20, 1955, p. 9.

cooperation" arose. The Prime Minister of Burma, Mr. U Nu, began the discussion by "calling upon the uncommitted nations to bridge the widening gulf between the world's two power blocs." He suggested that in striving to do this the uncommitted nations should strengthen the United Nations and compensate for any UN deficiencies by adopting the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence.⁴⁰

The representative of Cambodia, Prince Norodom, then followed by observing that even those who had given support to the principle of co-existence, in general mistrusted the Communist states. Therefore, he concluded that the vitality of the concept of co-existence was up to the communists, i.e., it was up to the communists to reassure the rest of the world of their peaceful intentions.⁴¹

Following Prince Norodom, Mohammed Ali of Pakistan introduced his "Seven Pillars of Peace" in which he stressed the right of collective self-defense. The Turkish delegate, Fatin Kustu Zarlu, thereupon strongly supported Pakistan's principle of collective security by arguing that to co-exist, a country must be prepared

⁴⁰Kahin, op. cit., p. 21.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 22.

to defend itself; and for small countries like Turkey this meant collective defense arrangements.⁴² Both Turkey and Pakistan, therefore, in quick succession defended their defense alliances with the West. They held that they had been forced to take defensive action because of the Soviet threat.⁴³

This rapid shift from a neutralist to a Western point of view was halted temporarily by the representative of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, who took the general position that all balances of power should be denounced as relics of the past. In an angry outburst, which was generally conceded to be rather sharp and intemperate, Nehru cried, "To hell with those two blocs! Our ideology is Gandhism!"⁴⁴ He thereupon delivered his first major speech since the conference opened.⁴⁵ The speech was made on Friday, April 22, "the day of the stormiest debate."⁴⁶

Nehru's speech immediately brought forth rejoinders from certain friends of the West including Pakistan,

⁴² Ibid., p. 23.

⁴³ The Manila Times, April 23, 1955, p. 1.

⁴⁴ Landman, loc. cit.

⁴⁵ The Manila Times, April 23, 1955, p. 1.

⁴⁶ Landman, loc. cit.

Turkey, Iraq, Lebanon, and the Philippines. The delegate from Iraq, Fadhil Jamali, asked whether as an alternative to the smaller nations' joining one of the two great blocs India was not prepared to bind them together as a kind of third force so that they could obtain the protection they needed. Malik of Lebanon reportedly called upon Nehru to note that more than half of the countries at the conference were related to each other through the connections each had with one or the other of the two great power blocs. He then asked Nehru if the assembled delegates were to conclude that he (Nehru) knew more about the security of their respective countries than they did.⁴⁷

Into this arena of heated discussion stepped Romulo of the Philippines.⁴⁸ He spoke on Saturday morning in the committee in answer to the speech made by Nehru on the preceeding day. His speech was delivered before Chou En-lai's dramatic appeal, during a debate over a resolution sponsored by Pakistan which would have put the conference on record as favoring collective security

⁴⁷Kahin, op. cit., p. 24.

⁴⁸It is significant to note that Romulo was reported to have turned down a move to make him chairman of the Political Committee. His reason for rejecting the move was that he did not want to be 'immobilized.' In terms of what he finally did, his reason appears to have been justified. See Vicente J. Luzman, The Manila Times, April 18, 1955, p. 6.

pects at the same time it appealed for peace.⁴⁹ It is reported that the speech was delivered extemporaneously and that Romulo reserved the right to speak again.⁵⁰

Textual Authentication

For purposes of analysis the writer was able to locate three copies of Romulo's reply to Nehru. All were found to be basically similar, the majority of the internal discrepancies being in the nature of capitalization and punctuation. The three texts were located in the following places:

- (1) The Manila Times, April 28 and 29, 1955, pp. 13 and 11 respectively.
- (2) U.S., Congressional Record, 84th Cong., 1st Sess., 1955, CI, Part 6, 7312.
- (3) Romulo, Carlos P., The meaning of Bandung, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1956, p. 79.

From an inspection of these three texts the writer concludes that text (1), The Manila Times version, corresponds most closely to what the speaker might have said. Support for this assertion is derived from certain internal

⁴⁹Christian Science Monitor, April 23, 1955, p. 1, and St. Louis Post-Dispatch, April 23, 1955, p. 8A.

⁵⁰The Manila Times, April 24, 1955, p. 14.

deviations.

Text (1) contains essential marks of punctuation that the other two do not. For example, a number of passages have been set off by quotation marks. These quotation marks are necessary in view of the fact that what appears between them is directly quoted material. An illustrative excerpt from The Manila Times follows:

The purely defensive and strictly non-aggressive character of the treaty is written into article I, under which the parties 'undertake to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means...and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations.' Article II refers to methods of developing 'capacity to resist armed attack.' In order to make doubly certain that the treaty is in absolute harmony with the Charter of the United Nations article VI provides that that treaty 'does not effect and shall not be interpreted as affecting the rights and obligations of any of the parties under the Charter of the United Nations or the responsibility of the United Nations for the maintenance of international peace and security.'

Speech texts (2) and (3) do not contain the above quotation marks. One would expect them, however, since the clipsis indicates a direct quotation. The speaker here was referring directly to the Charter of the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. Because of the inclusion of quotation marks, therefore, text (1) represents the

true nature of the speaker's thought. This is no simple case of revision, but of including what was essential.

Further reasoning in support of the validity of the text from The Manila Times can be derived from the nature of what is missing in this text which appears in the other two. Romulo clashes with Nehru directly in all three versions, but his clash appears to be a little more "spirited" in texts (2) and (3), a circumstance which would indicate an attempt to make the speeches read as well as possible. In the last two texts Romulo says: "References have also been made here a while ago by the Prime Minister of India against the Manila Pact." Significantly, the adverbial phrase "a while ago" does not appear in The Manila Times version. This omission is important in view of the fact that Romulo was making direct reference here to statements that had been made by Nehru on the preceding day. He therefore could not properly say "a while ago," since this would give the false impression that he was referring to something that had just been said or that had at least been said on the same day. The phrase was no doubt used in texts (2) and (3) to give the speaker's reply more currency, to give the reader the impression that the speaker was making an immediate reply. Such, however, was not the case.

Additional evidence of "doctoring" occurs near the end of Komulo's speech as reported in texts (2) and (3). In these two versions the speaker allegedly says:

The Manila Pact has also been criticized by Premier Nehru on the grounds that:

1. It diminished the 'climate of peace' that was generated by the Geneva settlement on Indochina;

2. It is contrary to the spirit of the agreements and understanding on non-aggression and noninterference which had been reached between India, China, and Burma; and

3. That it is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations.

Let me answer the Prime Minister of India point for point.

In The Manila Times version, however, the direct mention of Nehru's name in the first sentence is omitted while the entire last sentence does not appear. Here is even stronger evidence of making the speaker's reply sound as impressive as possible, for a thorough reading of Nehru's speech does not disclose the above assertions having been made at all. The Manila Times version is correct then in not attributing these three points to Nehru; he is not given credit here for saying something that he didn't say.

It was stated earlier in this section that all

three copies of Momulo's reply to Nehru were basically similar. While this statement is still true, there is yet one noteworthy exception -- the speaker's concluding paragraph. A comparison of the three different versions discloses this exception. Text (3) --

Let me say to Premier Nehru in conclusion:

The empires of yesterday on which it used to be said the sun never set are departing one by one from Asia. What we fear now is the new empire of communism on which we know the sun never rises. May your India, Sir, never be caught by the encircling gloom!

Text (2) --

Let me say to Premier Nehru in conclusion:

The empires of yesterday on which it used to be said the sun never set, are departing one by one from Asia. What we fear now are the new empires on which we know, the sun never rises. May his India not be caught by the encircling gloom!

Text (1) --

The empires of yesterday on which it used to be said the sun never set are departing one by one from Asia. What we fear now are the new empires on which we know, the sun never rises.

A quick glance at these divergent passages will indicate that those from texts (2) and (1) have become more abbreviated and less impressive. Through three

successive stages the speaker's thoughts have diminished in both vigor and directness. Significantly, this occurrence also coincides with the relative dates of publication. The least adorned was printed first while the most elaborate was printed last. This would tend to indicate fairly strongly that the passages from texts (2) and (3) were reworked by someone prior to publication to make them read better and appear more striking. As can be expected the reworking here also corresponds with the general type of revision already noted; i.e., the direct reference to Nehru in (2) and (3) agree with earlier references made to him in these same texts. This fact again points to text (1) as being the most reliable text. As was the case with Komo's opening address so also with his reply to Nehru the texts found in the Congressional Record and in The Meaning of Bandung are spurious.

Purpose

The major purpose of Komo's speech in the Political Committee was to answer the charges made by Nehru on the previous day. His primary object was to get his audience to believe that what Nehru had said was either wholly false, or at least only conditionally true.

In his introduction Romulo stated his purpose in the following terms:

Mr. Nehru spoke about the danger of coalitions. I do not quarrel with his concern. But I hope I can make him see today the side of small nations so that he may realize that it is not fair for him to say that 'it is humiliating for them to join regional organizations.'

By answering Nehru Romulo also achieved an additional purpose of justifying the anti-communist orientation of his country's foreign policy as manifested in its participation in regional defense alliances.⁵¹

Nehru's speech which Romulo attempted to answer questioned the general wisdom of defense alliances for the nations of Asia and Africa.⁵² The burden of the Pandit's remarks rested upon a threefold thesis; he contended that both communist and anti-communist teachings

⁵¹Said Romulo a week after his reply to Nehru:

We had a most noteworthy antagonist; no less than the Prime Minister of India led the attack in a brilliant, scholarly and convincing speech. It was our duty to defend it, when Mr. Nehru attacked regional alliances in general and pinpointed the Manila Treaty specifically. May I say that the Philippine defense was the only one made of the Manila treaty in the conference.'

See Carlos P. Romulo, "Footnote to Bandung," The Manila Times, April 30, 1955, p. 12.

⁵²For a text of Nehru's speech see Kahin, op. cit., pp. 64-72.

were based on wrong principles, that India was prepared to stand alone in the world power struggle if forced to, and that all ideologies should be forgotten in favor of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.⁵³ Quoting from a resolution presented earlier by U Nu of Burma, Nehru summarized these five principles as follows:

The nations assembled at the Asian-African Conference declare that their relations between themselves, and their approach to the other nations of the world, shall be governed by complete respect for the national sovereignty and integrity of other nations. They will not intervene or interfere in the territory or the internal affairs of each other or of other nations, and will totally refrain from acts or threats of aggression. They recognize the equality of races and of nations, large and small. They will be governed by the desire to promote mutual interest and cooperation, by respect for the fundamental Human rights and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

The Prime Minister of India further contended that "a realistic appreciation of the world situation" would indicate that the world is being led into a war of total destruction. He maintained that military strength was a false standard and that if war was to be avoided, Asia and Africa had to make their views clear about

⁵³ These five principles made their first appearance in the Tibetan agreement signed by India and China in May, 1954.

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aggression and subversion. The unaligned area of peace, he said, should be maintained for proper balance and outlook.

In general, Nehru considered military pacts to have produced insecurity instead of security in the world. In particular, he singled out NATO as "one of the most powerful protectors of colonialism," and he concluded that supporting it while having an anti-colonial attitude was contradictory. Although confining his remarks largely to NATO, the Indian Prime Minister clearly implied that the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization had also inherited most of NATO's chief defects. To belong to any of these treaties, he therefore asserted, was a sign of weakness. A participating nation in Asia or Africa could only be considered a camp follower of one of the two power blocs.

Arrangement

Romulo's speech before the Political Committee develops along fairly strict classical lines. It contains an introduction which enlisted the attention and interest of the listeners; a statement of the case with proof supplied through logical inference; and a conclusion which

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inspired the audience to accept the speaker's ideas. The only departure from the classical pattern occurred in the statement and proof, for rather than state his case all at once and then provide the proof, the speaker chose to alternate statement and proof throughout his speech.

Romulo's introduction served to adjust his speech to the immediate speaking situation. Since he was about to reply to his adversary, his opening remarks were formulated in terms of that adversary.

We just had fresh evidence, if evidence were needed, why he [Nehru] is regarded not only in India but throughout the world as a man of peace. Though he referred often to his own nation, I do not doubt that his concern is extended to all peoples everywhere. Underlying everything that he said is a sensitivity to the human situation. He is eminent as an Indian, distinguished as an Asian and as a member of the human family. For this I salute him.

This introduction effected both respect and a certain degree of conciliation. The speaker was keenly aware of the esteem in which his opponent was held.⁵⁴ Looked at another way, however, it could also be properly interpreted

⁵⁴After the conference Romulo referred to Nehru as a man of 'great experience, mighty convictions, forensic skill, and wealth of moral power.' See Romulo, "Footnote to Bandung," loc. cit.

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as a clever attempt to perpetuate the image that the speaker was pitting himself against a seasoned antagonist. If this image were successfully conveyed, then the speaker's own ethical stature would increase by comparison. Through the implication of his words he could only be considered as a man equal to the occasion.

Homulo's conclusion is brief, for he devotes only eight sentences to it. A combination of summary and appeal serves to enforce his purpose. Without benefit of transition the speaker began his conclusion in the following manner.

To sum up: The Manila Pact is a treaty of collective defense. No aggressive purpose is written into it.

As for the Pacific Charter, we consider this to be a document worthy of the best traditions of any civilized state in the world today, whether Asian or non-Asian. This is the moral basis and justification of the Manila Pact, and we stand on its principles, proud and unflinching, in the sight of our friends and neighbors in free Asia.

To all free Asians we say: 'This is a treaty on which we all can stand together, without vanity or invidiousness, but united in the determination to preserve the peace and freedom of Asia.'

To any potential aggressor or any power that intends aggression we say through this treaty: 'We desire to live in peace with you, but if you attack us, we shall fight back with all our strength.'

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In these four short paragraphs the speaker reviews the major idea in the last third of his speech. Through a manifestation of his own natural self-confidence he leaves his auditors with the impression that the Manila Pact and the Pacific Charter are justified in terms of what they are and of what they can do for the peoples of free Asia. In this respect his concluding words were adapted to both the needs and interests of his audience.

As stated earlier, the body of Romulo's speech alternates statement with proof until his general thesis has been presented. This general thesis was contained in the following three ideas: 1) that the aggressive expansionist nature of international communism is the source of existing world tensions; 2) that the five principles of coexistence cannot cope with this situation; and 3) that the Manila Pact can cope with this situation. These ideas covered the totality of the speaker's thought, including his specific rebuttal of Nehru's arguments. The pattern in which these ideas emerged suggests that the speaker's materials were divided according to the "refutative requirements inherent" in his subject.

Looking at the organizational framework of the speech as a whole, it can be seen that the speaker first discusses the inherent weakness of his opponent's case before answering the objections advanced against his own.

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By implication the debate revolved around the acceptance or rejection of alternate solutions to a common problem or of two features of the status quo. Disjunctively, either the five principles of coexistence or regional defense arrangements could best promote peace in the world. Nehru favored the former idea while Romulo favored the latter. In order for Romulo's thesis to stand, therefore, it was necessary for him first to discard his opponent's alternative. Psychologically the rejection of Nehru's five principles had to precede the establishment of the collective defense principle as the only valid answer to the problem. Romulo was correct then in devoting nearly half of his speech to an attack upon the concept of peaceful coexistence and the other half to arguments in favor of his own thesis.

Organizationally, there are two factors which adversely affected the speaker's continuity of thought. The first of the factors is the lack of a central unifying theme. Instant intelligibility of the speaker's case was hampered by a failure to designate specifically the steps to be taken in establishing that case. Romulo disrupted his speech unity by failing to disclose the basic framework which his arguments were to assume. The second factor was the absence of adequate transitions. While

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transitional elements do exist in the first half of the speech, they are noticeably absent from the second half. As a result the speaker changes thought patterns without any prior warning, and his audience is not adequately prepared for what is to follow.

The first half of Romulo's speech, however, does contain suitable transitional elements. These were found on two occasions in the form of rhetorical questions and on one occasion in the form of a topic sentence. After stating the general position of his country with respect to the five principles, the speaker posed the following question: "Why cannot the Communist nations participate in this area of peaceful coexistence -- or more specifically, why is it that only the Communists are unable to participate?" Before actually presenting the five principles as a topic for discussion, he asked: "What are the principles embodied in the five principles?" Then turning to a second aspect of the five principles, after having discussed the first, he stated: "Another of these principles calls for 'mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs.'"

In adapting his speech plan to the audience Romulo used the general form of argument and appeal. Both were alternated throughout the speech, but since

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the speaker's purpose could best be attained argumentatively, greater emphasis was given to this facet. While most of the appeals were implied rather than stated directly, those which were directly stated stood out noticeably from the surrounding material. This was particularly true after the speaker finished discussing the facts surrounding the aggressive expansionist nature of international communism. In marked contrast to what had gone before, he said:

These are the basic facts that must necessarily influence all the free world thinking at this time.

Let not Asia repeat Europe's tragic error in refusing to believe the brazen program of conquest openly revealed by Hitler in his book 'Mein Kampf.'

By and large the adaptive technique used by the speaker was well suited to the audience he faced, for it aided him to convince those who might have been indifferent (most of the audience) and to move those who were otherwise convinced.

In looking at the total organizational framework of the speech once again, a final observation needs to be made. The smaller units of Romulo's speech are developed haphazardly. It will be noted that this is especially true toward the last of the speech where the

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speaker answers the objections raised by Nehru against the Manila Pact. Here for no apparent organizational reason the speaker chose to divide his refutation into two distinct parts, one containing two points and the other containing three. In fact, the first point in each section could have been properly considered under a single heading.

Invention -- Logical Proof

It was noted in the preceding section on arrangement that the organizational framework of Romulo's reply to Nehru was divided into two parts; i.e., the speaker spent half of his time attacking his opponent's position and the other half defending his own. An analysis of the logic used by the speaker, therefore, can best be made in terms of its offensive and defensive characteristics. Now, in other words, did Romulo logically attack his opponent's case and logically defend his own? An attempt will be made to answer these two questions.

1. Offensive characteristics. The first extensive argument Romulo developed dealt with the merits of peaceful coexistence had to be accepted in order to prevent the outbreak of another world war. Romulo replied

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to this line of reasoning by stating that coexistence as a concept was nothing new to the free world, that the benefits of coexistence had been long enjoyed, and that within the free world community diverse economic, political and social systems had practiced cooperation without resorting "to force as an instrument of policy." Without mentioning any direct evidence in support of these generalizations, the speaker moved on to a consideration of two inherent weaknesses of the five principles.

Before launching this attack upon the five principles, however, Romulo first provided his audience with some argumentative exposition in support of his major thesis that the source of existing world tensions was the aggressive expansionism of international communism. His argument was that this aggressive expansionism was a basic communist policy doctrine and that the non-communist world could only look upon a communist neighbor as "an active and continuing aggressor." Anyone as personally familiar with the world communist movement and with the classics of communist literature as Romulo was, would have immediately realized the significance of his proof. He asserted that the doctrine "which Communists proclaim as the wellspring of its (sic) overall

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program, is based upon the premise that communist states cannot exist indefinitely alongside non-Communist states. That there must be ultimate decision culminating in world revolution and world-wide communism." He supported this assertion by referring to it as both a philosophical and working principle of international communism. The validity of these claims was left up to the practical knowledge of the audience.

Having established this logical groundwork, Romulo once again took up the question of the five principles. He first stated in accordance with a governmental directive previously noted that to insure the establishment and application of such principles, the League of Nations and the United Nations had been formed. He then discussed the inherent weaknesses of two of these principles by subsuming what he had just said about the nature of international communism. The two principles he discussed were the provisions covering mutual non-aggression and mutual non-interference in a country's internal affairs. In general, he contended that these two principles failed to appreciate what international communism really was.

In considering the principle of mutual non-aggression, Romulo referred to the communist aggression

in Korea. He declared through implication that if the principle of non-aggression sanctioned the aggression against Korea that it would therefore sanction aggression against any other country. He reminded his audience that the invading communist forces were actually guilty of aggression. Recollecting first that a five-power United Nations commission found that the initial attack was launched from the north instead of the south, he reasoned from effect to cause that this finding was also "indicated by the fact that the attack immediately carried deep into the Republic of Korea on the strength of the surprise achieved." He further recollected that fifty nations subsequently judged who was guilty of aggression in Korea. These two statements of fact served as the indirect support for his implied declaration.

After substantiating his first objection to the five principles, Romulo turned immediately to his second objection -- that dealing with mutual non-interference in a country's internal affairs or with cases of subversion. The burden of the speaker's proof revolved around his general argument that revolutionary bands could be "directed and provisioned from the outside under the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs

of other nations." He stated in reply to Chou En-lai's assertion that revolution could not be exported that "it is not enough to be told that Communist conspiracies directed against the represented Asian governments are all purely indigenous movements with no outside connections." The reasoning leading up to these inductive conclusions is noteworthy.

Starting again with argumentative exposition, Romulo attempted to show the main subversive features of the international communist conspiracy. He pointed to the Cominform and Comintern; and, arguing from the single example of Yugoslavia, he concluded that "the resistance of a small state to intervention in its internal affairs cannot be tolerated, if it is the Soviet Union or Communist China that is doing the intervening." Once this conclusion had been made, the speaker directed his attention to Asia, and sketched in the picture of communist subversion in this continent. His reasoning here assumed a variety of inductive forms including specific instance, argument from authority, and causal relation.

In considering the strategy used by communists in subverting Asian governments, Romulo referred specifically to the liaison bureau of the World Federation of Trade Unions. He quoted from Louis Baillant, the

secretary of the WFTU, and from Liu Shao-chi, who was at that time the leading theoretician of Communist China. An inspection of the testimony quoted from the first of these two authorities, however, revealed an important weakness, since it apparently didn't help prove what it was intended to prove. The speaker quoted Saillant as saying:

In India, in Burma, in Ceylon, in Pakistan, in Iran, and in Japan, the democratic trade unions communist elements may well have to face a worse situation even than now; their leaders and active members may have to suffer from an intensification of the terrorist measures taken against them. They should find in their very development of their fight for the worker's claims efficient means enabling them to maintain their links with the working masses communist elements .

From the particular wording of this passage the speaker concluded that the general statement was "purely an incitement to Asian communists to join forces in a revolt against the representative governments of Asian states." The important factor of intellegibility would appear to militate strongly against such a conclusion, however.

If the wording of the first quotation was obscure, the wording of the second was not. Romulo quoted Liu Shao-chi as saying: "Armed struggle can, and must, be the main form in the people's liberation struggles

in many colonial and semicolonial countries." This quotation provided the speaker with a factual basis for drawing two cause to effect relationships. He pointed to insurrections in India and Indonesia as manifestations of the communist subversive design. Liu's statement, therefore, represented an axiom of communist theory which had produced the stipulated uprisings. The lines of the speaker's causal relationship were clearly drawn.

2. Defensive characteristics. The bitterest and most devastating attack Nehru made against the Manila defense alliance was by implication. He stated that it was "humiliating" for any self-respecting nation in Asia or Africa to belong to regional groupings. Romulo's reply occurred at two points in his speech. His strongest and most spirited reply was presented just after his introduction. Reasoning analogically he brought up the question of Kashmir, a sore spot in the relations between India and Pakistan. The correlation he attempted to draw here was between the purpose of the Manila treaty and the purpose of the armaments race over this disputed territory. He contended that similar principles were involved that the desirability if not necessity to defend oneself against possible armed attack existed in both cases. The tacit function of each was not aggression but national defense.

Romulo obtained added strength for this analogy by reasoning a fortiori. He advanced the example of Mahatma Gandhi who "didn't hesitate a moment," he asserted, in supporting Mr. Nehru's decision to send Indian troops to the Kashmir. By implication he concluded that if such a saintly man should adopt the principle of collective security, then all the more reason for the members of SEATO to do so. The Asian countries which belonged to this collective security arrangement were not as large or as powerful as India, and yet they faced a more determined enemy in the form of international communism. By subtly turning the tables on his opponent Romulo's logic was inexorable. If India was correct in defending herself against Pakistan, then the nations of SEATO were also correct in defending themselves against communism.

The second reply Romulo made to Nehru's attack occurred immediately after the aforementioned discourse on the five principles. This time, however, the speaker used straight refutation to accomplish his purpose. He stated the point at issue and then presented a brief summary of the main features of the charter and treaty. By emphasizing the positive features of these documents the speaker implied, rather than stated directly, that

it was not "humiliating" to belong to the Manila Pact.

The articles of the charter Romulo quoted stressed those things in which his audience would be mainly interested. The article receiving the most extended and emphatic treatment was that dealing with cases of aggression and subversion; it was considered to be "the crucial provision of the treaty." The unique feature of the article was stated in the following terms:

This is probably the first treaty of its kind to refer specifically to the danger posed by subversion. But it is an innovation which has been directly called for by the new techniques which Communist imperialism has increasingly employed in many parts of the world.

No attempt was made to contrast this advantage of the speaker's case with the corresponding disadvantage of his opponent's case. Since the association was apparently left up to the audience, this was a major weakness in the speaker's rebuttative technique.

Having answered the most persistent issue raised by Nehru it was Romulo's next task to reply to certain implied arguments advanced by his opponent. The first of these was that the Manila Pact had made more difficult the relaxation of international tension. Since Nehru had not made this argument perfectly clear in his speech, it was a recast version to which Romulo was forced to

reply.⁵⁵ Refuting his opponent's argument directly, the speaker said that on the contrary the treaty "was intended to halt the build up of tension in Southeast Asia resulting from the Communist moves in the Indo-Chinese states." His argument was that had not the treaty been formed when it was, the communists would have been certain to heighten the atmosphere of danger in the area. Although this argument was couched in terms of probability, it nevertheless appeared to be justified in terms of the background material about communism which the speaker had earlier provided. The assumption underlying the validity of the argument was that a hesitancy to defend one's territorial integrity in Southeast Asia would be interpreted by the communists as a sign of weakness, while a determination on the other hand would be interpreted as a sign of strength.

The second implied argument which Romulo answered was recast to indicate that his opponent considered the Manila Pact to be "a plan for perpetuating colonialism and suppressing the national liberation movement in

⁵⁵ Nehru's original argument regarding the relaxation of international tensions was stated as follows. '... Every pact has brought insecurity and not security to the countries which have entered into them. They have brought the danger of atomic bombs and the rest of it nearer to them than would have been the case otherwise.' See Kahin, op. cit., p. 68.

Southeast Asia."⁵⁶ Romulo's refutation to this charge amounted to a straight denial. He contented himself with merely saying that the charter and treaty could "give no comfort" to those who believed that colonialism could be maintained in the modern world. Since the speaker failed to give proper cause for his denial, denial per se, contained little if any probative value. The only idea working at all to his advantage here was his parting comment that "both the Manila Pact and the Pacific Charter rule out the doctrine that the dying colonial imperialism in Asia would be replaced by the newer and even more dangerous species of Communist imperialism." But in view of the fact that this idea was tangential to the main issue, the opponent's argument went essentially unanswered.

Turning now to the last portion of Romulo's defense, it will be first necessary to point out that two of the three arguments presented for refutation were

⁵⁶ In reality Romulo gave his opponent credit for a more clearly stated argument. Nehru in his speech had only referred to NATO as a protector of colonialism. The only statement he made in associating NATO with SEATO, and therefore with all its alleged defects, was when he said immediately before his attack upon NATO that it "NATO has gone far away from the Atlantic and has reached other Oceans and seas..." This reference could only mean SEATO. See Kanin, ibid.

definitely not mentioned by Nehru in his speech.⁵⁷ These two arguments as subsequently stated by Romulo were that the Manila Pact was "contrary to the spirit of the agreements and understanding on nonaggression and noninterference which had been reached between India, China, and Burma" and that it was "contrary to the Charter of the United Nations." There is some evidence to indicate, however, that the third of these arguments was mentioned in a roundabout way by his opponent. This evidence rests upon the close similarity in thought between it and an argument previously analyzed. The doubtful argument in question was that the Manila Pact had "diminished the 'climate of peace' that was generated by the Geneva settlement on Indochina." It will be noted that it is quite similar to the accusation Nehru had made earlier concerning the Manila Pact and the relaxation of international tension. In fact, it might even be considered as a logical extension of that accusation. For purposes of analysis, however, this duplicated argument will be considered as a separate entity.

⁵⁷This is true of course only in terms of Nehru's speech. The points could very well have been made by Nehru in an impromptu manner any time prior to Romulo's speech. A free exchange of points of view took place throughout the deliberations of the Political Committee.

Taking up Komulo's replies in the order of their presentation, the first to be analyzed is the doubtful one just mentioned. The speaker, in answering Nehru's objection here used the same type of logic noted earlier under the similar argument of international tension. He said by way of implication that an alliance like SEATO, which threatened instant retaliation in the event of an armed attack upon a member state, would make a potential communist aggressor think twice before risking inevitable counter-measures. He concluded, therefore, that such an alliance would "serve to reinforce rather than weaken the climate of peace emanating from Geneva."

The second reply Komulo made was in answer to the charge that the Manila Pact was contrary to the spirit of the agreements on nonaggression and noninterference reached between India, China, and Burma. An implied demand for more proof constituted the speaker's chief form of refutation. He stated that he failed to see in what way the Manila Pact could be said to be inconsistent with such agreements. A secondary method of refutation included the reasoning that since the agreements under discussion would not prevent a nation from defending itself in the event that it were attacked, this very lack of prevention would be consistent with function of the Manila Pact which

was self-defense. In answering his opponent, therefore, Romulo merely reversed the point of view. He did not refute Nehru's argument directly.

From the standpoint of conclusiveness of proof Romulo's third reply to Nehru showed the best piece of refutation. In answer to the charge that the Manila Pact was contrary to the Charter of the United Nations, the speaker reduced the contested issue to its lowest logical denominators. He said that "by a somewhat involved series of arguments" the Manila Pact was believed to be a defensive system which was "neither collective nor regional." This clarification provided the listeners with only the essentials of the issue. Then drawing upon his knowledge of the U.N. Charter and the Manila Treaty he compared article 103 of the former with article VI of the latter to show that there was no contradiction. His reasoning therefore had the weight of documentary evidence.

Returning now to the questions posed at the beginning of this section concerning the offensive and defensive characteristics of Romulo's logic, the analysis just completed has supplied the following brief answers. First, the logic used by the speaker in his attack upon his opponent's case was largely inductive. Specific instance, causal relation, and argument from authority were

his chief forms of support. Furthermore, in showing that Nehru's constructive thesis was unworkable, Komulo relied upon a strong expositional framework. Large sections of his speech were devoted to the establishment of a logical substructure for his argument rather than to the argument itself. Under the circumstances, however, this was seen to have been wholly necessary. Second, the favorite technique used by the speaker to defend his own case was straight refutation. Except for the direct clash in the last argument refuted, Komulo either denied the validity of his opponent's accusations or attacked them only indirectly. The major weaknesses of his defense were twofold. Although refuting what he considered to be the most dangerous features of Nehru's attack, he divided his strongest argument and failed to compare and contrast the advantages of the Manila Pact with the disadvantages of the five principles of coexistence. While the second of these weaknesses might not have detracted as much from the logical nature of the speech as did the first, its remedy would have added greatly to the total effectiveness of the speaker's refutation.

Invention -- Emotional Proof

Although Komulo's chief mode of proof in this

speech is logical, underlying the structure of his reasoning are numerous emotional appeals. The fundamental appeal made is directed to the need for national security. Very few members of the Political Committee could quarrel with this concern, except perhaps the neutralist and communist minorities. Komulo was fully aware of the emotional composition of his audience when he said:

I speak, Sir, for a small country, like many other countries around this table, that cannot boast of the size of India. I cannot say, as did the Prime Minister of India, conscious of his country's power, that 'even if the whole world went to war, India would stand alone and refuse to fight.' I cannot defy the whole world, Sir, conscious of my country's limitations. How few, indeed, are the nations here who can be like India!

with this three sentence paragraph the speaker showed the leaders of the small countries why it was necessary for them to be concerned about the problem of national security. Their size dictated their concern and compelled them to listen to what the speaker had to say. Komulo's appeal, therefore, was linked to an important audience interest.

woven tightly within the fabric of Komulo's emotional appeals were numerous strands of logical proof. In fact, so closely are logic and emotion related that

it is difficult at times to distinguish between them. Anger and indignation were both present in the following examples the speaker gave of communist subversion. After quoting a prediction of subversion made by the communist theoretician, Liu Shao-chi, Komulo provided his audience with two emotionally charged examples of how this prediction had been put into practice. He said:

It was about us, about most of us here, that Liu Shao-chi was talking. And when he spoke of 'liberation struggles' he meant struggles not against European colonial regimes, but nationalist Asian governments. For Liu Shao-chi spoke only two months after the Indonesian Communists under the direction of the Soviet-trained agent, Muso, violently and treacherously attacked the Republic of Indonesia which was then, with resources already unequal to the task, standing up to the forces of Dutch imperialism. When Liu Shao-chi spoke of the 'liberation struggle' it was little more than a year after the Communists in Hyderabad rose against the Government of India and the national leadership that had won the country its independence.

These examples were well chosen in terms of the emotions they aroused. Knowing that Komulo fought openly for Indonesian independence within the United Nations, the significance of the first example is better appreciated. He was in a position to gather the facts first hand. Knowing also that his opponent represented the country

designated in the second example, it is likewise better appreciated. In both instances the speaker associated his material with the emotional make-up of his audience. Hatred and resentment on the part of those immediately concerned were the natural by-products of such associations.

From an appeal to the powerfully motivating passions just mentioned, the speaker turned immediately to an appeal for sympathy and understanding. By way of emotional contrast he said:

Liu Shao-chi was, in fact, taking note that under the cover and through the agency of local Communist forces, the Soviet Union and Communist China were waging war against free Asia. Many of my fellow countrymen have fallen in that war, shot to death by raiding Communist gangs, ambushed in the wooded hills. Thousands of true nationals of Indonesia, India, Burma, and Malaya have also died. They well merit our sorrowful remembrance.

Homulo was touching here upon equally powerful sources of human emotion; and, as in the previous passage, he is aided in his pathetic appeal by vivid imagery, descriptive adjectives, and rhythmic sentence patterns. Additionally, the emotionally toned facts he related were well adapted to his own experiences and to the audience he faced.

Invention -- Ethical Proof

An analysis of Komulo's reply to Nehru from the standpoint of ethical proof discloses abundant evidence of the speaker's "sagacity, high character, and good will." We will now look at some of this evidence in detail.

1. Sagacity. Komulo conveys an impression of sagacity largely through common sense, a broad familiarity with the interests of the day, and general intellectual tone. His knowledge of the international communist movement is both intimate and discerning. He refers to the Asian Trade Union Conference of November, 1949, and to the communist declaration of purpose which that conference inspired. He evinces knowledge of the Comintern and Cominform as well as the "manuals of organization and procedure issued by ranking Communist Party members throughout the world." The effect of communism in the several countries of South and Southeast also comes within his intellectual purview.

Komulo's common sense becomes evident whenever he wishes to express a thought beyond the pale of strict logical development. In connection with his treatment of the five principles of coexistence and their apparent

failure to stop communist aggression he asked:

If it is persisted that the attack launched without warning and without provocation upon the Republic of Korea and its subsequent invasion were consistent with the principle of non-aggression, then what does the principle mean? If the principle of non-aggression will sanction the aggression against Korea, then will it not sanction aggression against any other country?

The answer to these and to related questions was left up to common sense.

Throughout his reply to Nehru there is transmitted a general intellectual tone by the speaker. Romulo's speech contains language which subtly projects intellectual integrity and wisdom. His language is both accurate and objective. Rarely will one find a statement couched in the terms of an absolute. Qualifying adjectives like "fairly" or "probably" are used in place of "completely" or "unmistakably". In short, there is a significant absence of exaggeration in what the speaker says. If he is not entirely sure of what he is about to say he will select words which will take him only so far as the truth will allow.

2. High character. Romulo emphasizes his probity of character by making his audience look with disdain and disfavor upon his opponent and what he advocates

By associating his own case with what is virtuous and elevated the speaker, however, does just the opposite with himself. In addition, he also attempts to remove those unfavorable reflections upon his case which had been previously made by his opponent.

In the beginning of his speech Romulo made a conscious attempt to diminish his opponent's ethical stature. After praising Nehru for his outstanding personal qualities, the speaker quickly reversed ground by saying: "However, I would have wished he spoke with the same serenity that he spoke in New Delhi in 1947, and I would have much preferred to have heard him here with less heat, less passion, and less dogma." Immediately, the speaker established an ethical contrast between himself and his opponent. He left his audience with the impression that even though Nehru had failed to display a sense of good taste and proceed with tact and moderation, he was nevertheless prepared to do so.

Romulo cast further reflections upon his opponent's integrity by charging him with being unfair and prejudiced in dealing with the Manila pact and with those who belonged to regional defense alliances. He was perfectly justified in doing so since Nehru had employed some rather harsh language in his speech. Those who belonged

to military pacts were called "hangers-on" and "camp-followers" who had degraded themselves and lost their individuality. By comparison Romulo's remarks were administered with more tact and consideration.

The strongest method the speaker used to belittle his opponent was through a sarcastic attack upon what his opponent advocated for adoption, namely the five principles of peaceful coexistence. After proving that the communists had been the actual aggressors in Korea, Romulo concluded by saying:

If the invaders nevertheless continue to take the position they have in the past, that they were guiltless in Korea, that it was the Republic of Korea that initiated the war and that those defending the Republic were the aggressors, then we are forced to conclude that in such lexicon 'non-aggression' means calculated assault upon a free nation by aggressive military forces while 'aggression' describes the action of those coming to the assistance of the victim. We shall then have a clearer idea of what to expect under the five principles.

This example of mild sarcasm, while minimizing the integrity of his opponent's case, also clothed the speaker's own thought in a certain degree of rationality, which in turn enhanced his impression of sagacity. This is part of the "intellectual tone" previously described. Other examples included the use of intellectually disparaging words like "so-called." On two occasions Romulo

used this disdainful pejorative in referring to the objections Nehru had raised against the Manila Pact.

But if Romulo made his audience look with disfavor upon his opponent, he also made them look with favor upon what he himself was advocating. He does this by attempting to remove any damaging impressions left by his opponent. While Nehru disparaged the Manila Pact, Romulo bestowed tempered praise upon it. He reviewed the terms of the charter and the treaty and stressed their positive character. Of the preamble he said:

Among the principles heavily underscored are those referring to equal rights and self-determination of peoples, individual liberty and the rule of law, the promotion of economic well-being, collective defense for the preservation of peace and security, and united action against aggression.

These were features with which Romulo was associating himself worthy of respect. The mere mention of them served not only to refute his opponent's prior claim but also to increase his own ethical stature.

3. Good will. Romulo's opening sentence carried with it an important ethical stroke. "Mr. Chairman:" he said, "I did not intend to speak on this subject to preserve the concord and harmony of this conference that has so far prevailed until the Prime Minister of India

spoke, as he always speaks, with great impact on all those who are privileged to hear him." Here the audience was given an indication of the speaker's good will, for he states that he had refused to speak earlier in order to preserve the concord and harmony of the conference. This benevolent attitude was in keeping with the original intention of the conference sponsors which was to avoid disputes over controversial matters which would tend to lead to fundamental differences of opinion. In one respect, therefore, Komulo's entry into the debate was made to appear as the judicious action of a reluctant gladiator who had restrained himself until finally provoked to battle.

Throughout his speech Komulo reveals his good will by proceeding with candor and straightforwardness. This is especially noticeable in the first part of his speech when he took up the analogy of Kashmir to show why countries were naturally prone to expend vast energies in protecting themselves against possible enemy aggression.

Why has my country joined a regional grouping? The answer is exactly the same as the answer each one of you would give me if I asked you, why are you putting so much of your wealth and your energies into preparing for war? Let us be realistic and not starryeyed visionaries dreaming Utopian dreams.

What the speaker is urging here is that the members of his audience should be honest with themselves. Such an attitude by its very nature calls for a candid and straightforward approach. It was a token of the speaker's good will.

Style

Romulo's style is functionally adequate for the type of speaking involved. The committee meetings presented an atmosphere of modified informality which was in keeping with the intentions of the conference sponsors. As a result the speaker's language becomes less formal. His sentences are longer⁵⁸ and more loosely constructed. Some of them, in fact, contain extemporaneous after-thoughts. An example of this informality can be seen in the following sentence eulogizing Mahatma Gandhi:

Even Mahatma Gandhi, that great Indian leader to whose memory I ask you to join me in turning our reverential thoughts today, in the early days of partition, didn't hesitate a moment in supporting the Prime Minister's decision to send troops to the Kashmir not for

⁵⁸The results of a readability analysis indicate that, on the average, Romulo's speech contains twenty-five words per sentence. For a proper understanding of what this signifies, see Appendix II.

the purpose of waging war -- he was a saintly man -- but for the purpose of preventing one by making the presence of those troops as vivid as possible.

Attention should be directed to the contraction "didn't" which is used. Such colloquial English was not out of place in terms of the informal nature of the speaking situation.

The speaker's language is not only consistent with the occasion, it is also consistent with himself. Komulo's background undoubtedly prompted him to use such words as "dogma," "imprimatur," and "schism." These words have a special significance in terms of his religious background. The literature of Catholicism places an almost individual claim upon them. This does not mean, however, that they would not be understood by the other chief delegates. Being well educated men, they would be reasonably acquainted with the major religious institutions of the world.

If Komulo's language is appropriate there are many indications that it is also clear and direct. Even though he deals with an abstract subject, his language is nonetheless concrete and specific. When he refers to the tactics used by the communists to overthrow helpless Asian governments he mentions the "very specifics of subversion, infiltration," and "sabotage." When he

refers to the Soviet Union's instruments of interfering with the internal affairs of other nations, he speaks of them as the "Comintern" and "Cominform." When he refers to the Geneva settlement on Indochina, he mentions it in terms of "free Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia." When he refers to the person who directed the violent and treacherous attack against the Republic of Indonesia, he speaks of him as the "Soviet-trained agent, Muso."

Another indication of the speaker's desire to communicate his thoughts distinctly, is to be found in the brief explanations he sometimes gives of those organizations and ideas which might not have been immediately understood by his audience. This attempt at clarification is especially true of those parts of the speech dealing specifically with the "PTU and the Manila Pact. Whenever there is the possibility or likelihood that a concept might not be properly understood, the speaker will, as a rule, provide some suitable statement of explanation.

Romulo achieves directness largely through the frequent use of rhetorical questions. Although these interrogatives are commonly employed throughout the speech, over half of them are concentrated in one particular section. Repetitive audience questions were liberally used to advance the speaker's thesis that the communists

couldn't be trusted to live up to the intentions of the five principles of coexistence. He asks:

Are we entirely sure in our own minds what is intended by those who declare adherence to these principles? Are we assured that there will be no further cases of aggression such as that of which the Republic of Korea was the victim? This seems to us to be the all-important question. Who is willing to give this assurance? Is it too much to ask that some restitution be made for the invasion and present occupation of North Korea by bringing home invading forces and letting the Korean people choose their own government under United Nations observation, free at last of interference in their internal affairs? These, it seems to us, are important tests of the five principles' intentions.

From the standpoint of both style and invention these questions served a dual function; they enhanced the speaker's directness while at the same time furthering the analysis of his opponent's case.

It will be noted also in the above passage that there are numerous personalized words. In fact, nearly ten per cent of the total number of words can be classified as personal. While this is twice the average percentage for the speech as a whole,⁵⁹ it nevertheless helps to indicate another of the factors involved in the speaker's directness. By using words which apply directly to

⁵⁹This conclusion is the result of a readability analysis. See Appendix II for additional information.

his audience Romulo is able to communicate his thoughts more effectively. Personal identification with his thoughts gives the listeners a feeling of shared responsibility.

Turning now to the matter of impressiveness, the stylistic embellishments of Romulo's speech are few but significant. In keeping with the aura of rationality which pervaded the speaking situation, his sentences contain strength but only in a subdued degree. What emphasis that is attained is in the form of balanced antithesis, asseveration, exclamatory and hortatory expression, and the repetition of key words and phrases.

Antithesis. In pointing out the similarity between the objective of the United Nations in repelling aggression and the defensive features of the Manila Pact, Romulo stated antithetically: "The Manila Pact would be void if it went beyond this objective, and it would be useless if it fell short of it." This deft turn of phrase helped crystallize the speaker's thought by reducing it to the limits of a single sentence.

Asseveration. An important article in the Manila Treaty was introduced in the following positive manner: "Article IV is the crucial provision of the treaty." Two paragraphs later the speaker said: "This is probably the first treaty of its kind to refer specifically to

the danger posed by subversion." By means of this emphatic device Romulo was better able to enlist the attention of his audience.

Exclamatory and hortatory expressions. The following examples are indicative:

How few, indeed, are the nations here who can be like India!

.....

Let not Asia repeat Europe's tragic error in refusing to believe the brazen program of conquest openly revealed by Hitler in his book "Mein Kampf."

By them the speaker emphasized the urgency of his thought.

Repetition of key words and phrases. Having praised Nehru of India, Romulo referred to Mohammed Ali of Pakistan by saying: "I believe that Mr. Ali is no less a great statesman, no less devoted to peace -- peace between India and Pakistan, peace in our continent, and peace in the world." Having expressed sympathy for the victims of raiding Communist gangs, Romulo advocated equal sympathy for those who killed them by saying:

But we should also not withhold our sympathy from those who killed them, for their misled brothers who had been persuaded to believe that the way to peace is through bloodshed, that the way to justice is through murder, that the way to freedom is through tyranny, that the way to plenty for the people is through the confiscation of all they own by the state.

In the first of these examples it is significant to note that the speaker achieves climax by advancing through three successive geographic stages, the country, the continent, the world. In the second example added emphasis is gained through placing contrasted elements together so that they mutually set each other off.

Viewing Romulo's style from the standpoint of figurative embellishment, it is clearly evident that he relies very little upon connotative language. Since the speaker's primary aim is to engage successfully in intellectual combat with his opponent, he is compelled to rely primarily upon denotative language. Four times, however, he does embellish his style with alliteration and/or assonance. He speaks of the "candid and continuing" definition of Communist foreign policy, of the communist "schism with socialism," of the "dramatic disavowal" of the Manila Pact and the Pacific Charter, and of standing together with the other alliance members without "vanity or invidiousness." These examples of alliteration were spaced throughout the speech and helped to break up the denotative monotony of the speaker's language. The only other examples of stylistic embellishment occurred when the speaker described his countryman as being "ambushed in the wooded hills" and the communist military success

in Southeast Asia as "feeding upon itself."

Audience response

The information filtering from the closed meetings of the Political Committee concerning the effectiveness of Romulo's reply to Nehru was sparse but revealing. A United Press dispatch of April 23, for example, stated that after Romulo delivered his speech, the Prime Minister of India apologized for the "strong words he used... in attacking the Philippines and other Asian and African nations with military alliances."⁶⁰ The dispatch said in part:

Nehru's apology came after Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, unofficial spokesman for the West at the 29-nation Asian-African conference, delivered a scathing speech against communism which he described as a 20th century version of 18th century empires.⁶¹

In addition, another (UP) dispatch of a later date quoted Romulo himself as saying that the Asian-African conference was a "big success" in which he silenced all opposition to the SEATO pact. "After I had defended the SEATO pact and explained its implications," he said, "there

⁶⁰ The Manila Times, April 24, 1955, p. 14.

⁶¹ Ibid.

was no more attack on the treaty from any quarter."⁶²

Generally speaking, what seemed to have affected the conference delegates most in Romulo's speech was the explanation he gave of the subversion and infiltration provisions of the Manila Treaty, and also his direct rebuttal of the main points of Nehru's speech.⁶³ Of this direct rebuttal The Times of Karachi in its editorial of April 26, 1955, said: "He (Nehru) scored little by his attack on defense treaties... Mr. Romulo of the Philippines cast kashmir in his teeth and silenced him effectively."⁶⁴

The spirited attack upon communist imperialism, of which Romulo was probably the most consistently vocal element, put Chou En-lai of China "on the defensive" said an editorial in the Detroit Free Press.

Chou had no chance to make his big speech before representatives of Iraq, Iran, Thailand, Pakistan, S. Vietnam and the Philippines explained what imperialism actually means in the world today and pointed to whom the free nations have to fear.⁶⁵

⁶²The Manila Times, April 26, 1955, p. 1.

⁶³Vicente J. Guzman, "A-A Confab Ends Tonight," The Manila Times, April 24, 1955, p. 14.

⁶⁴This information was supplied in a letter from S. M. Haq, Press Attaché, Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D.C., March 17, 1959.

⁶⁵Detroit Free Press, April 21, 1955, p. 8.

If such can be said about the friends of the west in general, it can certainly be said about Romulo in particular who spoke just before Chou in the Political Committee and who was the acknowledged spokesman of the West.

2

Romulo's third principal speech was delivered before the Closing Session.

Immediate Setting

The ceremony accompanying the closing plenary session of the Asian-African Conference was said to have been as impressive as that of the opening plenary session.⁶⁶ One correspondent wrote: "If western families had been watching the finale on sitting room viewing screens, they would have noticed times when the conference somewhat resembled a revivalist meeting."⁶⁷ His observation would

⁶⁶ Vicente J. Guzman, "PI Mission Due Tomorrow," The Manila Times, April 25, 1955, p. 1.

⁶⁷ Ronald Stead, "Asian-African Delegates Put Success Label on Bandung," Christian Science Monitor, April 25, 1955, p. 1.

tend to indicate that the same color and pageantry of the opening session must also have attended the closing session.

The final plenary session did not begin until well after dark on Sunday, April 24, 1955, the last day of the conference. Previously, the remaining daylight hours had been spent in formulating the resolutions which would be incorporated in the final communiqué.⁶⁸ Once these resolutions had been read aloud, the chief delegates from each country mounted the podium alphabetically to make five minute valedictory speeches.⁶⁹

Textual Authentication

The text used in this analysis was obtained from the Philippine Embassy.⁷⁰ In the absence of any other complete text it will be assumed that it reflects fairly accurately what the speaker actually said. This assumption has some corroborating evidence in its favor, however, for in an issue of the Manila Times there are

⁶⁸C. Rand, loc. cit., p. 73.

⁶⁹ibid.

⁷⁰See Appendix III for a reproduced version.

quoted several rather extensive excerpts.⁷¹ Nearly a fifth of the speech has been reproduced in a United Press release and a careful inspection indicates that with one exception there is word for word agreement with the embassy copy. The one exception is noteworthy.

According to the embassy text Komulo said toward the beginning of his closing address: "We should like history to say that our freedoms were more than merely celebrated at Bandung; they were made solid and given the substance of growth." In a corresponding excerpt from the Manila Times, however, the word "our" is omitted and the word "celebrated" becomes "half-rate."⁷² While both versions make sense, the writer nevertheless believes that a preponderance of intellegibility rests in favor of the embassy version; it appears to fit in more unobtrusively with the ideas conveyed in the sentence. A plausible explanation for the divergence is that there was a careless error in transcription. If not heard distinctly, or if spoken rapidly, both words would tend to sound alike.

⁷¹See The Manila Times, April 25, 1955, pp. 1 and 2.

⁷²Ibid., p. 1.

Purpose

The general purpose of a closing address is that of any farewell speech: it is to express public appreciation for services rendered whether by an individual or by an organization. Additionally, the purpose is to praise those particular accomplishments of the individual or the organization which are worthy of tribute. In terms of the Asian-African Conference one would also expect a closing statement to emphasize the importance of the gathering and to arouse a deeper devotion to the cause it represented.

The specific purpose of Homulo's closing address was indicated in his initial sentence; it was to survey the accomplishments of the conference with pride and humility. A secondary purpose as stated in the middle of the speech was to review the commitments made by the conference members in order to ascertain what would be expected of them in the future.

Arrangement

Although somewhat difficult at first to ascertain, Homulo's closing speech nevertheless contains the

traditional rhetorical structure; i.e., it has an introduction, a body, and a conclusion. The ideas contained in it are threefold: 1) that the achievements made at the conference can only be assessed by history; 2) that the conference had committed itself to a higher allegiance and to patience; and 3) that congratulations should be given to the host government, Indonesia, and to the host countries, the Colombo powers.

In his introduction, which is quite brief, Romulo refers to the occasion of departure with a simple statement of fact. "We survey our work in Bandung with pride and humility." He thereupon channels his audience into the proper attitude of departure by saying anecdotally, "But let us not be like the Bishop who told his friends: 'Have you heard? I am writing a book on humility.'" With these few lines the speaker related his first major idea to his audience and to the central motif of that part of the conference -- the occasion of departure. The reference to an ecclesiastical official was appropriate because of the religious nature of the audience; and it is better appreciated with the knowledge that the speaker is himself a Christian.

After expressing his third major idea, Romulo ends his farewell statement with a short salutation in

in his native Filipino language: "Paalam N Sa Inyong Lahat!" or "God be with you all!" The speaker adjusts his thought to the spiritual orientation of his audience with an appropriate reference to the Deity. Both introduction and conclusion, therefore, maintain a unity of spiritual expression.

Turning now to the body of the speech, it is difficult to determine where it actually begins or ends because of the absence of transitions. The three parts of the speech appear to be fused together, for they glide into each other without benefit of separating units. This situation is what apparently makes difficult the ascertainment of three discreet elements. Structurally, however, the body of the speech is developed historically. From the time sequence of the ideas presented it can be determined that the speaker progresses from past to future. He first discusses what the conference had accomplished from an historical perspective, and he then considered what remained to be done in terms of commitments. In this sense, the speaker advanced his position from what took place in the past to what should take place in the future. He thereupon returned to the present to congratulate his hosts.

No generalizations can be drawn from the use

of transitional elements within the body of the speech since only one was used. At the point where the speaker endeavored to pass from past accomplishment to future commitments he employed a rhetorical question. Romulo said:

We belong to the community of hurt, heartbreak, and deferred hopes. But even in the act of observing our release, it becomes important to say what we ourselves propose to do by way of maintaining these freedoms and fulfilling those hopes.

What are the commitments made at Bandung?

Invention -- Logical Proof

In keeping with the motivational nature of a closing address, Romulo's speech before the final plenary session contains few examples of rigid logical development. In fact, argument from authority is the only logical instrument clearly in evidence. Midway in his speech Romulo called upon the expert testimony of Mahatma Gandhi as chief support for the assertion that the nations represented at the conference must be willing to contribute positive values of sacrifice in order to create a vital peace. The Mahatma was quoted as saying: "How much we put of ourselves into a common purpose will determine

whether that purpose will be fulfilled." Testimony such as this would have been well received by the audience because it came from a source which was considered to be both competent and reliable with no disqualifying prejudice.

Since Komulo voiced common feelings throughout his speech, the three major ideas he expressed would have received ready acceptance. Under his first major idea the speaker appealed to historical judgment. Although a complete functional appraisal of the logic of this idea would be difficult if not altogether impossible at the present time for obvious reasons, a limited functional appraisal of it might still be justified. There can be partial agreement, for example, with the statement of the speaker that "men from twenty-nine nations came together at a time when the pulse beat of the world was erratic and dangerously fast." The tensions then and still now existing over the Indochinese peninsula and the Taiwan Strait would help bear this out. Also, there can be partial agreement but only in a very restricted sense, with the speaker's assertion that because of the conference, "the health and vitality of the human community showed marked improvement." What was learned in Chapter 11 about the results of the conference might give this

assertion limited functional integrity. Beyond these partial agreements, however, the thought must be held in common with the speaker that "what happens in the months and years ahead will determine whether the mood created at Bandung was momentary and misleading or whether it was strong and clean and vibrant."

In terms of the background material provided, ideas two and three are likewise functionally valid. It can be seen in the purpose and results of the conference that, as the speaker said, participating members had committed themselves to the cause of a world seeking both peace and freedom. It can also be seen in the arrangements made by the conference host that a depth of planning had gone into the complicated problem of providing for full press facilities. These are the most significant of the functional observations which can be made.

Invention -- Emotional Proof

The appeals Komulo makes in this speech are consistent with the nature of the occasion. He appeals to a sense of satisfaction and of group accomplishment. He also appeals to a "higher allegiance" and to the beneficial effects of group cohesiveness. "We have recognized,

he said, "that our allegiance is not merely to our own nations or to each other as Asians and Africans; our first allegiance is to the human community." The strongest appeal he makes, however, is directed to a sense of personal dedication and self-sacrifice. "It is not what we refrain from doing that will create a vital peace. It is what we freely give, how much each of us is willing to sacrifice, and what positive values we contribute that will determine whether the vision we see here at Bandung can be brought to life."

Methodologically, Romulo was aided in his arousal of human emotion by a slight touch of humor and by rhythmic sentence patterns and emotionally toned words. In his introduction he takes advantage of the lightened nature of the departing occasion with a functionally appropriate anecdote. Since the delegates had completed their work and had thus been released from the cares of the conference, they would be in a better mood to appreciate such an anecdote. The speaker also garbs his thoughts in the language of the emotions. Rhythmic sentence patterns and emotionally toned words are both consciously employed. "We belong to the community of hurt, heart-break, and deferred hopes," he said. "But even in the act of obtaining our release, it becomes important to

say what we ourselves propose to do by way of maintaining these freedoms and fulfilling those hopes."

Invention -- Ethical Proof

Romulo's use of ethical proof is best characterized in this speech by the indications he gives of his good will and probity of character. He showers tempered praise upon his audience by commending the assembled delegates for having committed themselves to patience and for being animated by a recognition of high purpose. Of the commitment to patience he said: "We have not been deflated by petty behavior nor have we allowed ourselves to become paralyzed by fatigue." Of the recognition of high purpose he said: "I have been impressed, deeply impressed, with the sincere attempt of all present to create not a lasting organization but a lasting effect. And when I say all I mean all. I have never seen a group of men so finely animated by recognition of high purpose." Such tempered praise went beyond the obligations of mere formality. A review of the pertinent background material will indicate that it had meaning in terms of what was actually accomplished at the conference.

The speaker's probity of character is exemplified

throughout his speech. A feeling of genuine sincerity is conveyed by the emphatic sentence in the middle of the last quoted passage. Here the speaker creates the impression of being completely sincere in what he says. Furthermore, his repeated references to such elevated and respected concepts as "moral strength," "positive values," "hopes," "freedom," and "sacrifice" all served to enhance his high character through the process of association. The speaker's frequent idealistic utterances contained much ethical appeal since he was associating himself with what was virtuous and looked upon with favor.

Style

Stylistically, Romulo's Closing Address possesses characteristics which make it clear, direct, and impressive. The clarity of his style is indicated primarily by the use of an admonitory illustration and by parallel sentence structure. In the beginning of his speech the brief anecdote which was employed helped to give the speaker's thought instant intelligibility. This was likewise true with the parallel sentence pattern which emerged shortly thereafter. Except for one slight variation Romulo began four consecutive sentences with the statement

"We should all like history to say..." These parallel sentences helped facilitate the communication of the thoughts within them.

Homulo's directness is indicated by the number of times he used personalized words. Fully one quarter of the total number of sentences begin with the personal pronoun "we," while many others contain this same pronoun within the first five words. Of the total number of words used approximately 10% of them can be classified as personal.⁷³ The great majority of these words display the speaker's conscious attempt to share his observations and conclusions with his listeners.

From the standpoint of impressiveness, Homulo's style is enhanced chiefly by the use of figurative language. He employs personification when he refers to the "pulse beat of the world" being erratic and dangerously fast. He uses polysyndeton when he speaks of the mood created at Bandung as being either "momentary and misleading" or "strong and clean and vibrant." This last figure, preceded by a brief attempt at alliteration also noted, added strength and vigor to the speaker's thought.

⁷³This conclusion is the result of a readability analysis. See Appendix II for additional data.

Audience Response

Information concerning the effect of Romulo's closing speech is both slim and contradictory, in addition to the fact that half of it must be obtained indirectly. An article in the Christian Century, for example, states that "in his closing address the spokesman for Liberia won applause almost equal to that for Nehru and Romulo."⁷⁴ This admission would tend to indicate, in a roundabout way, that Romulo's speech was well received. A correspondent for the New Yorker casts some doubt upon this observation, however, since it was his opinion that those who spoke after Nehru (this would include Romulo because the delegates spoke in alphabetical order) "didn't hold the audience well, and everyone seemed glad when the meeting was over."⁷⁵ The effect of Romulo's speech, therefore, is open to speculation.

Summary

An attempt will be made in the next few pages

⁷⁴Winburn T. Thomas, "Bandung: Was It Key to Future?" Christian Century, LXXII (May 18, 1955), p. 602.

⁷⁵C. Rand, loc. cit.

to pick out some of the more common and persistent rhetorical elements of Romulo's principal speeches. Significant differences will also be considered.

Arrangement

Generalizing some of the observations made in the preceding sections on arrangement, it can be stated, first of all, that Romulo's speeches show a versatility of structural development. In his opening address the distributive method of arrangement was employed, in his address before the Political Committee the logical method was used, and in his closing address the historical method. Judging from the nature of the subject matter in the three speeches, the most appropriate form of arrangement was utilized in each case.

Organizationally, each of Romulo's principal speeches contains an introduction, a body, and a conclusion. The introductions and conclusions were all quite brief, especially those in the closing address. With his introductions, the speaker created good will between himself and his audience, and adapted his subjects to both the audience and the occasions. With his conclusions, he added vigor to his thought. In the conclusions

of both opening and closing addresses a reference was made to the deity, which created a sense of spiritual strength.

Concerning transitions, it can be said that the rhetorical question was used more than any other device, although short anticipatory statements were also employed. In fact, it may even be stated that the rhetorical question appeared to be the speaker's favorite form of transition, since the only transition used in his closing address was a rhetorical question.

Using all three speeches as a basis for judgment, the greatest weakness of Romulo's arrangement is to be found in the failure of a central unifying theme to emerge except in the Opening Address. This weakness was especially noticeable in the address before the Political Committee because the speaker shifted his point of focus so many times in refuting his opponent's arguments. It was not so noticeable, however, in the Closing Address because the speech itself was so short.

Invention

From the standpoint of invention, Romulo's principal speeches show a conscious attempt to utilize all of

the classical modes of persuasion -- logical, emotional, and ethical proof.

Logical Proof

The ideas expressed by Romulo fully correspond with the orientation of Philippine foreign policy, and with the position the Philippine delegation was expected to uphold at the conference. In his opening address the speaker exposed the evils of communism. In his address before the Political Committee he refuted the fallacy of coexistence and defended the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization against attack. In his closing address he reiterated the desire of the Philippine government to associate itself in a constructive way with the problems of Asia and Africa.

Throughout his speeches, Romulo relied upon a strong framework of expositional argument to establish his major ideas. While in many cases he did not adhere to a rigid logical development, the logic he did use was largely inductive. Examples and causal relations were the predominant inductive forms of support, with argument from authority being occasionally used. Of all the inductive proof supplied by the speaker it is significant to note that in each speech the example or testimony of

Mahatma Gandhi was used. By and large, however, evidence was used sparingly and many of the speaker's generalizations went either unsupported or found their factual validity within the minds of the audience.

Emotional Proof

In each of his principal speeches Romulo adapted his material to the emotional nature of his audience. He appealed to the needs and desires of his listeners. He appealed to their desire for national self-assertion, their need for national security, and their desire for social justice and material well-being. The adaptive technique used in nearly every appeal was to be found in sentences that were rhythmic and language that was vivid and emotionally toned.

Ethical Proof

Romulo's principal speeches give abundant proof of his sagacity, high character and good will. In his opening address and his address before the Political Committee he gave his audiences the impression that he was familiar with contemporary problems by discussing the implications of the international communist movement. In his opening and closing addresses he linked himself with what was good and honorable by appealing to such

respected concepts as "freedom" and "moral strength." In all of his speeches he advanced his ideas candidly and straightforwardly, and showed a benevolent attitude by linking himself with his hearers and their problems.

Style

Common stylistic elements existed in all three of Romulo's speeches. In attempting to make his ideas clear he used parallel sentence structure. He achieved directness through the liberal use of personalized words. His ideas were impressed upon his hearers with language that was figurative and highly connotative.

The speaker enhanced his style by persistently using other stylistic elements as well. A persistent use was made of rhetorical questions, for example, which helped to restate and amplify the speaker's thoughts. hortatory and exclamatory expressions as well as climax and the repetition of key words and phrases were persistently used also, in achieving force.

Evidence indicates that the speaker's style was well suited to his audience and his subject matter. The variation in his sentence structure is an important case in point. It was noted that in his address before

the Political Committee, his sentences became longer and less formal than in his other two addresses. The increased length is attested to by the results of a readability analysis, while the informality is seen in the use of contractions and internal extemporized remarks. Both of these variations were well suited to the informal nature of the occasion and to the abstract nature of the subject matter.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

While the final evaluation of Romulo's speaking effectiveness at the Asian-African Conference must await the broader view of historic perspective, certain conclusions can be made at this time. It can be stated, first of all, that Romulo's speeches are excellent examples of rhetorical craftsmanship. The technical virtues brought out in the preceding chapter should give strong support to this assertion. Although structural and compositional imperfections were observed, they were neither serious nor many. Romulo's speeches are, in short, good rhetoric.

Also, it can be stated that, within limits, Romulo's speaking produced some tangible results. To begin with, the immediate reaction to his speeches was quite favorable. His opening and closing addresses were accorded some of the loudest applause, while his address before the Political Committee drew a significant apology from his opponent. What certain audience members said of his speeches after they had been delivered is likewise

indicative of their immediate success.

Another tangible result which Komulo's speeches might have helped produce concerns a possible change in audience attitudes. It was noted at the end of Chapter 11 that the Asian-African Conference showed a strong democratic alignment, and that as a result of secret debates and declarations on "colonialism" and "world peace" the pro-Western group of countries numbered some fifteen members. This alignment is quite significant in view of the fact that when the conference started only eleven members could be properly associated with the pro-Western group. Since Komulo spoke on these issues, since his speeches were capable of influencing this change, from what was just noted in terms favorable audience response, and since he was looked upon as a leader of the pro-Western forces at the conference, it is quite possible that his speeches did help to effect this change.

Turning now to the final conference communiqué, it is possible to note another area which might have been influenced by Komulo's persuasiveness. An inspection of the final communiqué at the end of Chapter 11 disclosed that colonialism in all of its manifestations had been condemned by all the conference members and that collective defense alliances had been justified. These two ideas, it will be noted, coincide exactly with the position

the Philippine delegation was sworn to uphold at the conference, and they were explicitly stated by the head of the Philippine delegation in his opening address and in his address before the Political Committee. While no definite causal relation can be drawn between the appearance of these two ideas in the final communiqué and Romulo's persuasiveness, the least that can be said is that the speaker's position was vindicated.

A further inspection of the final communiqué discloses additional manifestations of the Philippine position as expressed in Romulo's speeches. Frequent and favorable mention was made of the United Nations. Romulo extolled and defended the United Nations in both his opening address and his address before the Political Committee. Also, no specific mention was made of the theory of "coexistence" in the final communiqué. Romulo, it will be noted, vigorously attacked this theory in his reply to Prime Minister Nehru. While the presence and absence of these two concepts might not have been directly influenced by Romulo's speaking, it can again be said that his position was vindicated.

Apart from the final communiqué, however, perhaps the greatest single fact attesting to Romulo's rhetorical effectiveness is to be seen in the achievement

of his purpose in attending the conference. In Romulo's own words, as stated at the end of Chapter II, he wished to expose the fallacies of communism and neutralism. An indication of his success in exposing these two fallacies through his speaking, is evidenced in the clearly observable fact that to this day neither the communist nor the neutralist block in Asia has grown. As the historians Crofts and Buchanan have so clearly pointed out, "Romulo's eloquence at Bandung helped to offset the persuasions of Chou En-lai, and Pandit Nehru's neutralism."¹

Summing up Romulo's influence on the foregoing results, the writer feels it would be unwise if not wholly incorrect to say that Romulo's speaking was the determining factor in each instance. Such a conclusion is far removed from the writer's intentions. All that can or should be said is that Romulo's speaking was capable of helping to produce the foregoing results. It should be carefully borne in mind that since the Asian-African Conference was a dynamic social situation no one factor by itself can be thought of as completely causative. Romulo's speaking was only one of many determinants of change.

¹Alfred Crofts and Percy Buchanan, A History of the Far East (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc., 1958), p. 514.

In final summary then, it can be concluded that Romulo's principal speeches at the Asian-African Conference fully reflected the aims of Philippine foreign policy. They were conformable to the speaker's audiences because they elicited an early and favorable response. In terms of designated purposes all that Romulo could hope for was a clearer understanding of his ideas and a possible change in audience attitudes. This understanding and change he helped to achieve by influencing the alteration of politically oriented alignments, by vindicating his position through the wording of the final communiqué, and by offsetting the blandishments of communism and neutralism through an exposé of their dangerous tendencies. No more than this can be said, no more than this should be said.

APPENDIX I

February 3, 1959

Division of Information
Embassy of Pakistan
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

My graduate research project here at Michigan State University is to analyze the speeches delivered by the Honorable Carlos P. Romulo of the Philippines at the Asian-African Conference which was held in Bandung, Indonesia, April 18-24, 1955. One important aspect of this study concerns Romulo as a man and as a public speaker. A second important aspect deals with judgments of his speaking effectiveness.

In connection with these, I am writing to ask whether or not you can make available to me any representative press comments which might have been made in your country immediately prior to, during, and/or after the Conference concerning the role of Romulo and his speeches.

If these materials can be loaned to me, I would make certain that they were well taken care of and promptly returned. If they cannot be loaned, I would appreciate knowing what you might have available for typing or microfilming.

Thank you for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,

David J. Mall

Embassy of Pakistan
Washington, D.C.

Inf/830/59

February 12, 1959

Mr. David J. Mall
College of Communication Arts
Department of Speech
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Dear Mr. Mall:

Thank you very much for your letter asking us to make available for you the representative press comments which might have been made by the Press in Pakistan on H. E. Carlos P. Romulo's speeches at the Afro-Asian Conference held in Bandung. We have forwarded your letter to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, for favor of help. I am sure they will do their best to help you in this project. If, however, there is anything else that we can do for you, please do not hesitate to call on us again.

Sincerely yours,

S. M. Haq
Press Attache

hm/roa.

Embassy of Pakistan
Washington, D.C.

Inf/830/59

March 17, 1959

Dear Mr. Mall:

Further to my letter No. Inf 830/59 dated February 12, 1959, I have been informed by the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, Government of Pakistan, Karachi, that the only comment which appeared in the Pakistan press on His Excellency Carlos P. Romulo's speeches delivered in Bandung was that in "The Times of Karachi."

The Times of Karachi in its editorial of April 26, 1955, said: "He (Pandit Nehru) scored little by his attack on defense treaties clash with Mr. Mohammed Ali and subsequent apology. Mr. Romulo of Philippines cast Kashmir in his teeth and silenced him effectively."

Yours sincerely,

S. M. Haq
Press Attache

Mr. David J. Mall
College of Communication Arts
Department of Speech
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

April 27, 1959

His Excellency, Carlos P. Romulo,
the Philippine Ambassador to the United States
Embassy of the Philippines
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

I have just completed my preliminary library research and am about to begin writing a graduate thesis dealing with your speaking efforts at the Asian-African Conference of April 18-24, 1955. My investigation will be incomplete, however, without some first hand knowledge of your methods of speech preparation and delivery. As a result, I am writing this letter to you personally in hopes that I can obtain this valuable information.

If you could find time in your busy schedule to answer any or all of the following questions, I would be extremely grateful:

1. How do you obtain ideas for your speeches?
 - a. Do you keep a speech materials file or scrapbook?
 - b. What sources have you found best for supplying ideas and materials for your speeches?
2. What steps do you follow in preparing a speech?
 - a. Do you prepare an outline or a complete manuscript?
 - b. Do you rehearse your speeches orally? Do you have anyone who acts as a critic? Do you ever use a speech recorder in your speech preparation?
3. How do you deliver your speeches?
 - a. Do you prefer to speak from notes? from a complete manuscript? from memory?
 - b. Do you extemporize as you go along?

Because I am primarily interested in the preparation techniques used in your speeches at the Asian-

African Conference, if you can answer these questions in terms of these specific occasions, I would be deeply grateful. If this is not possible, answers in general would be very helpful.

Thank you for your help and your interest.

Sincerely,

David J. Mall

Embassy of the Philippines
Washington, D.C.

May 4, 1959

Dear Mr. Mall:

This is in reply to your letter addressed to Ambassador Carlos P. Romulo and he has dictated the following in reply to your questions:

1. a. He keeps a speech materials file and also a scrap book.
b. Best sources for supplying ideas and materials for his speeches are: newspapers, magazines, latest books which he chooses from the Saturday Review.
2. a. He prepares an outline and sometimes dictates a complete manuscript or types it himself.
b. He never rehearses his speeches orally. He has no critic. He does not use a speech recorder.
3. a. He seldom speaks from notes, never from a complete manuscript, mostly from memory.
b. He generally extemporizes as he goes along.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Iluminada Panlilio
Secretary to the Ambassador

Mr. David J. Mall
Department of Speech
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

APPENDIX II

A READABILITY ANALYSIS OF THE PRINCIPAL SPEECHES OF CARLOS F. ROMULO AT THE ASIAN-AFRICAN CONFERENCE

Purpose

The purpose of this content analysis was to apply, within limits, the Flesch readability formula to the principal speeches of Carlos F. Romulo at the Asian-African Conference.¹ The speeches analyzed were three in number: his addresses before the opening and closing sessions and his address before the Political Committee.

Materials

The materials used in this analysis include samples of Romulo's Opening Address and his address before the Political Committee as well as the complete text of his Closing Address.²

¹The readability formula used in this analysis was adapted from the formula contained in: Rudolf Flesch, How to Test Readability (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951).

²The complete text of Romulo's closing address has been included in Appendix III.

Procedure

A. Opening Address and Address Before the Political Committee

Seven samples were selected from each speech in strictly numerical order.³ These samples were exactly 100 words in length.

Step 1: The average sentence length was determined by counting the number of sentences in each sample,⁴ then adding the number of sentences in all samples and dividing the number of words in all samples (700) by the total number of sentences. The average word length in syllables per one hundred words was determined by counting the total number of syllables in all samples and then dividing by the number of samples.

From the results of these calculations a reading ease score was determined in the following manner:

- a) the average sentence length was multiplied by 1.015,
- b) the number of syllables per one hundred words was

³In the Opening Address every sixth paragraph was selected; in the Address before the Political Committee every seventh paragraph was selected.

⁴See Flesch, op. cit., p. 3, for complete details concerning the selection of sentences.

multiplied by .846, and c) the two products were added together and subtracted from 206.835.

Step 2: The percentage of personal words was determined by counting the personal words in each sample and then dividing the total number of personal words in all samples by the number of samples.⁵

B. Closing Address

Step 1: The average sentence length was determined by counting all the words and all the sentences and then dividing the total number of words by the total number of sentences. The average word length in syllables per one hundred words was determined by counting all the syllables and then dividing the total number of syllables by the total number of words and multiplying the quotient by one hundred.

From the results of these calculations a reading ease score was determined in the same way as in Step 1 above.

Results

The results are best indicated graphically as

⁵See *ibid.*, pp. 6-7 for complete details concerning the selection of personal words.

follows:

Opening Address

700 words	21 words per sentence	56 personal words
34 sentences	151 syllables per	8% personal words
	100 words	

Reading Ease Score: 58

Political Committee Address

700 words	25 words per sentence	39 personal words
28 sentences	178 syllables per	5½% personal words
	100 words	

Reading Ease Score: 31

Closing Address

836 words	18 words per sentence	81 personal words
47 sentences	120 syllables per	10% personal words
	100 words	

Reading Ease Score: 62

Domulo's reading ease scores can be interpreted in the following table:

Interpretation Table
for
Reading Ease Score⁶

Reading Ease Score	Description of Style	Typical Magazine	Syllables per 100 words	Average Sentence Length
90-100	Very Easy	Comics	123	8
80 90	Easy	Pulp fiction	131	11
70 80	Fairly Easy	Click fiction	139	14
60 70	Standard	Digests, <u>Time</u> Mass non-fic- tion	147	17
50 60	Fairly Dif- ficult	Harper's - Atlantic	155	21
30 50	Difficult	Academic, Scholarly	167	25
0 30	Very Diffi- cult	Scientific, Professional	192	29

⁶This is a complete reproduction of the table appearing in Flesch's book. See ibid.

APPENDIX III

CLOSING ADDRESS

Complete

Text

we survey our work in Bandung with pride and humility. But let us not be like the Bishop who told his friends: "Have you heard? I am writing a book on humility. And let me tell you something - it is the last word on humility."

It is not for us to assess our achievements at Bandung. Only history can make that pronouncement. We should all like history to say that men from twenty-nine nations came together at a time when the pulse beat of the world was erratic and dangerously fast, and that as a result of what we did, the health and vitality of the human community showed marked improvement.

We should all like history to say that though we did not provide the design for a perfect world, we did define the basis for hope.

We should all like history to say that we not only observed the newly won freedom of half the world's peoples but that we pooled our moral strength to help those who were not yet free to join this noble station.

We should like history to say that our freedoms

were more than merely celebrated at Bandung; they were made solid and given the substance of growth.

But we cannot in truth expect history to say all this because the work at Bandung has only begun. The real work and the real achievements of the Conference are ahead of us. What happens in the months and years ahead will determine whether the mood created at Bandung was momentary and misleading or whether it was strong and clean and vibrant.

What we have done here, in effect, was to define our own commitments. We share, generally speaking, a common historical experience. We belong to the community of hurt, heartbreak, and deferred hopes. But even in the act of observing our release, it becomes important to say what we ourselves propose to do by way of maintaining these freedoms and fulfilling those hopes.

What are the commitments made at Bandung? I believe that we have committed ourselves, first of all, to a higher allegiance. We have recognized that our allegiance is not merely to our own nations or to each other as Asians and Africans; our first allegiance is to the human community. We have committed ourselves to something more important than to the accident of geography. We have committed ourselves to the cause of a world seeking

both peace and freedom, for one is meaningless without the other.

And here, let me say that if the peace of the world is going to depend on concessions or mere abstentions, it will not be real. It is not what we refrain from doing that will create a vital peace. It is what we freely give, how much each of us is willing to sacrifice, and what positive values we contribute that will determine whether the vision we see here at Bandung can be brought to life. And let me refer once again to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi who belongs not to India alone but to the world: "How much we put of ourselves into a common purpose will determine whether that purpose will be fulfilled."

We have also committed ourselves to patience. Here at this Conference we have seen how, time and again, understanding could be reached if full allowance were made for the vagaries of human personality. We have not been defeated by petty behavior nor have we allowed ourselves to become paralyzed by fatigue.

And patience is related to the art of persuasion. No one can say that such an art by itself can demolish fundamental differences, but certainly no issue can be settled without it.

I have been impressed, deeply impressed, with the sincere attempt of all present to create not a lasting organization but a lasting effect. And when I say all I mean all. I have never seen a group of men so finely animated by recognition of high purpose.

Now that we are leaving, let me express first of all the congratulations of the Philippine Delegation to our host, the Government of Indonesia. The arrangements made for this conference showed imagination, care, and efficiency of the highest order. I have also been asked by a considerable number of press correspondents to make a public expression of their own gratitude to the Government of Indonesia and to say that they have nothing but the highest admiration for the depth of planning that has gone into the amazingly complicated problem of arranging for full press facilities.

To the host countries, the Colombo powers, the Philippine Delegation desires to extend its thanks. Their conception of this project is one of the great achievements of our time.

Tomorrow the Philippine Delegation returns to the Philippines. We return with strong and important memories. These memories will gain in vitality within the years.

May I say farewell to you in our Filipino language which is also a salutation: PAALAM N SA INYONG LAHAT!

God be with you all!

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