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Address of Dr. Elbert D. Thomas, High Commissioner of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, at the Graduation Exercises of the University of Hawaii

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In Japanese flower arrangement the controlling positions are TEN, CHI, JIN - heaven, earth, man. The combination of the three makes a whole picture. We are all creatures of TEN, CHI, and JIN. There is some of all three in every man.

In your studies you have learned that you have not a complete answer to heaven, earth, or man. Can you ever have? There are two answers - one flippant - you are still young and, if the expansion of knowledge continues until 1996, when you will be in the position I now occupy (for I graduated in 1906), the TEN, CHI, and JIN of your understanding may be an open book for all to read. If, though, in 1996 you still accept the logic of the concept of progress as we do today, you will be, as we are today, merely on your way to full knowledge. Therefore, faith will be, as it is today, the guiding principle by which thoughtful men live. Your curiosity, urged on by the scientific method, will still be asking - "how and why do things work?"

We have not the meaning of TEN. The riddles of CHI are still unsolved. As to JIN, the only definition of many which has been accepted for all other men, excepting ourselves, is that "man is a biped without feathers." Thus, from the physical standpoint, man and earth, though easier to touch, are no easier to understand. In the realm of ideas all three are difficult.

Every thoughtful person recognizes that eternal questions are all related to either heaven, earth, or man. Some men exist as a dot,

with no ability to move from a stationary spot. Some live the life of a line which permits movements back and forth. Some the life of a plane which allows surface movements in all directions. Others live a life limited by dimensions of a sphere or a cube which permits movements in all directions. Man today has this three-dimensional life, he can move up and down as well as back and forth. The mind that works from reactions gained from three-dimensional movement creates imagination. With imagination, freedom of thought, and the experiences of the three-dimensional world, we may delve into the realm of ideas and develop new theories in regard to heaven, earth, and man. To that task I invite you.

You have been exposed to the learning of the ages. From this exposure you must work out for yourself a philosophy of life. You may think today that all things in your life which are related to TEN are of no consequence - that you are going to be a man among men and win success on the JIN level. If you do this, you will find that meaning will leave your life. For example, you may fall in love, you may marry. Keep love and marriage on a purely man to woman basis, and see how quickly romance, beauty, and sweet memory fade. Do you not see that the glory of man is that he can live in the past and can project himself into the future? Thus he becomes a creature of history and of prophecy. Having said that, we must be on the alert, for we are going to discover what the first man that ever thought discovered - Time. I do not think an earth worm ever thought about time. Mencius did not put it that way, but he is responsible for my having that thought. But, you say, you are a man and you are going to live and die a man. You are going to LIVE and you are going to DIE.

What is life? And what is death? I shall not await an answer. Already you have discovered Time. You remember the past. You are planning your first job. Please note, your mind is not on the present. If you will go to the dictionary and look up the word "religion", you will find that religion is "a bond" or "a tie". Religion, then, is that which binds us to the past and the future. Try as we will, we cannot cast thoughtfulness, memory, and prophecy out of our lives.

Since, then, you have in you the basis of a philosophy and a religion, you must cultivate all experience, all knowledge, not only of your own, but of your fellow men. It is thus that you experience the things of the spirit. And, if your associations are with those who accept the theory of revelation, things of the spirit will have a deep, never-failing characteristic which will perhaps let you glimpse the meaning of eternity. If your associations are with the thoughtful of the earth who base their fundamental premise on reason, you have opened to yourself a library of experience which is inexhaustible. If your philosophy remains solely in the realm of right action and assumes the theory of not being able to know either the past or the future, you have the wisdom of the ages written in books on right behavior. Whether your fundamental be that of revelation, which has produced the Hebraic, Christian, and Mohomedan religions of the Occident, or that of reason from experience, which has produced the basis for many religions of the Orient, or the practical right action schools of the Far East, you have immediate access to the hearts and the souls of the world's great. Thus, wherever you turn, you are bound to be a man of TEM. Heaven will

be with you and your's will be a bigger soul for it all. All of you are as tall as you ever will be. You have gained your physical height. Commencement, therefore, affords the opportunity to grow in heart, soul, and mind. Turn to the religions of the West or to Lao Tzu's Taoism, or to Zoroaster, for the theory of the conflicting spirits. You will find in life there will always be two contending forces which will clash as two electricities - the one will say do this; the other do that. Shakespeare's Launcelot Gobbo in comedy illustrates the struggle and teaches the lesson. Learn to recognize the meaning of these forces and follow the one which will bring the most of heaven in your lives. Study and right action will never drive TEM from your lives.

We are close to earth, therefore the problems of CHI should not be difficult. But, the world you face is not a simple one. For the first time in the history of mankind the one world concept has been accepted. When I say for the first time, I am not unmindful of the brotherhood of man and one flesh ideas. When I refer to the first time, I am not forgetful of many world empires or attempts at universality, nor of the various leagues of States tried so many times since its first failure in ancient China, when the League of Contending States was projected. Nor am I unmindful of the League of Nations, functioning as a product of International Law through sovereign State agreements, nor of outright conquest with unity to be accomplished by force. Today we have not only accepted the theory of one world, but we have developed the technique by which it may function. For centuries world unity has been a hope and, in more than one way, a fact, but the political device for making it possible

had never been established. It remained for America to provide the way. To our own country must be given the credit for and the development of the Federal System, which is the key to world organization.

Under the Federal concept, cosmopolitanism is feasible. We can now have one world without destroying languages, cultures, political systems, and sovereignties of various sizes. Many wills, differing opinions, individual freedoms, are protected. Under a Federal System government often finds itself against itself, as is so constantly apparent in the reasoned opinions of our Federal Courts. We think that liberty for the individual is thereby preserved. The great enemy of the American Federal State system is the single-will state with its curb on individual liberty. Throughout history most of mankind have lived as subjects of a single-will state. There are millions still alive who were ruled by Lenin, Horthy, Mussolini, Hitler, and Matsuoka, all single-will advocates. The single-will state still persists, so that in the earth we have two contending theories of Government, making our earth two worlds in fact, but one world in theory. This conflict assumes the aspect of an eternal one.

I mean this literally. As we learn more of the ancient world, we discover how very old this struggle is. We see, too, where the conflict lay. As men put their faith in law, they were freed from arbitrary caprice. That our land was to be one of law and not of men has a new meaning when we examine the idea in the light of one of the earliest struggles between an individual right and a single will. In the ancient world of the Near East, with its code of Hammurabi, and in the ancient world of the Far East,

with its Canon of Shun, we find the beginnings of the struggle for the protection of private individual rights. This marks the beginning of the right to have and to hold, one of our great freedoms. Those peoples, who were influenced by these two great codes, moved on toward the beginnings of the concept of liberty. Through law and the written contract came the right to private property. The great civilization of ancient China kept that mighty empire on a private property basis until the immediate present. The civilizations of Mesopotamia influenced the Hebrew. Hammurabi laid down the rule that a purchase without written receipt was a theft and was punishable by death. Receipt for what? Something which someone owned, private property.

The conflict in thought between the Hebrew and the Egyptian had elements of the conflict today between the single-will states and the democracies. The ancient Hebrews would not tolerate the unrestrained power of the rulers of Egypt. Our various permissible loyalties, such as loyalty to country, loyalty to state, loyalty to community, loyalty to church, loyalty to belief, loyalty to self, in the sense of the ancient Greek "know thyself", and the Elizabethan English "to thine own self be true", are loyalties which have produced American freedom. They are a result of long development. It may seem far fetched to say that in your lives you are faced with the same problem that faced those who accepted Moses and those who followed the Pharaoh. Had not Moses led the children out of Egypt, the concept of social justice could never have developed as it did and the individual's right to life would have remained in the ruler.

After what has been said, the Liberty Bell quotation taken from Leviticus 25:10, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof," may reflect a newly-won individual right. Today's world struggle is significant. Shall there be born a world community governed by law, expressing the will of the people of the world community of states? Or, shall the people of the earth continue to be harassed by the actions of a dictator, acting from caprice, uncurbed by any law but his own? If we lose today's very significant war, every man on earth will lose. The world will remain a place where the caprice of one man rules the people of many nations and where force alone controls nations. The day of mighty causes, allied closely with those for which our Founding Fathers contended, has not passed. They fought to bring liberty to the people of America. We are fighting today to bring liberty to the people of the world. Our task is not less than theirs. Your stake in world progress is as great as faced any graduating class, for the eternal struggle still persists.

Under one system, a man is free as long as his freedom does not interfere with the freedom of another. Under the single-will system, all freedoms, both of mind and action, are surrendered and merged into one single will. Under the American theory, liberty is to be preserved so that the pursuit of happiness may be open to all. Under the single-will theory the pursuit of individual happiness is crushed and mass objectives are to be attained by all doing and thinking alike. The American system develops the individual. The single-will system advances the State by mass action and the destruction of individual freedom. In our times both

systems have evolved in a world that had accepted the Frenchman Condorcet's concept of progress. One progress for the person, the other progress for the State.

No one knows whether America is what she is because the Founding Fathers accepted the concept of progress for the individual, or whether that concept of progress attained universality because of America's and the Founding Fathers' leadership. Is America what she is as a result of the concept of the progress? Or, has the concept of progress persisted because of America? It matters not, the important thing is that you graduates enter active life with both America and the concept of progress for the individual as the dominating influence in your lives. You, individually, may go through life without thinking about either, but to do so takes meaning out of life. That philosophy of CHI, which is part of our thesis today, which will mean most to you, is the meaning of America in the world. You can understand America through a study of her institutions and her men.

One institution of America, which you know well, is the Land Grant College. Your University is part of the Land Grant College System. It represents so well the meaning of America. The law providing for the Land Grant Colleges was passed first in Buchanan's administration. The bill was vetoed by President Buchanan because he thought there was no sanction in our Constitution for the Federal Government's support of Education. The bill was passed again during the Civil War and Lincoln signed it. That marked the beginning of the greatest system of education in the world. You are beneficiaries of Lincoln's statesmanship. Many of you are beneficiaries of what I consider another of the world's great

educational acts, the Soldier Education Bill, which was incorporated in what is commonly called the G. I. Bill of Rights. Since this story may be of interest to you, may I digress long enough to tell it. The Soldier Education Bill had many antecedents. But this is how the bill happened to be written.

While plans were being made for the African campaign and what became the second front in Europe where our boys rushed over the "Utah" and "Omaha" beaches, the estimated losses of our men - which thank heaven did not materialize - were so great, that I told President Roosevelt that both France and England failed in the beginning of the second world war because they had neglected to train new leadership after the losses sustained in the first world war and I asked permission to plan for the training of new leaders to take the place of the boys who would be killed. That marks the beginning of the Soldier Education Bill. That bill will rank with the Land Grant College Act, as one of the outstanding educational acts of history. Think of the millions who have had training under the Soldier Education Bill and what this training will mean to future generations. Following the Soldier Education Bill came what is now called the Science Foundation Act. These acts reflect well American Democracy. American Democracy stands or falls as we train or neglect our citizens.

Another epoch-making activity occurred in the early 1930s. With the rise of the single-will power in Europe and the persecution which inevitably follows where free minds and free souls are crushed, many of the learned of Europe became refugees and sought haven in America. They were welcomed. The learning of these trained minds has borne fruit.

Nearly every branch of knowledge has benefited. The progress in physics comes to the minds of all in this day of the Atom. I will mention one other - the studies of the ancient world - all parts of it - have contributed to a deeper appreciation of the universality of the history in the Old Testament, Chinese Classics, and ancient American records. The graduate of today is not shocked by the mention of world unity through the study of history as he was a generation ago.

That the world does not understand America's zeal for training the average citizen is proved by an experience I had at one of the last international conferences I attended. Since I was it's author, I pointed to the Soldier Education Bill with pride in the assured leadership it would give America and mentioned the fact that millions of leaders were being trained. One splendid old gentleman from one of the tightest little oligarchies in the world spoke to me afterwards and said: "Senator, what are you going to do with all those leaders? Even America cannot absorb that many." American Democracy stands for trained leadership in all activities. America recognizes that mankind needs men, men who can stand alone, men who are free to lead in the activity of their choice.

Before we leave the consideration of CHI, we Americans view the great political and social changes taking place in the world as products of the American Revolution. The theories of the Founding Fathers are not yet universal, but the American Revolution has affected every part of the world. It can be said that our Constitution, the first fruit of the Revolution, is no longer a new form of government, but is actually the mother of nearly all the living written constitutions of today.

The thoughtful of America have always looked askance at the use of the term "manifest destiny" as an excuse for accomplishing nationalistic ambitions, but American history has reflected a continuous tendency, call it what you will. That tendency has been reflected in two concepts, both having their origin at a banquet held in Philadelphia in 1787 in honor of those who wrote the Constitution. At the banquet two toasts were offered, one "to the Constitution of the United States," an accomplished fact - and another, "to Liberty and Freedom for all Mankind," an American objective. American history reflects a growing reverence for our Constitution and an adherence to the American objective as expressed at the Philadelphia banquet in 1787. The 1951 graduate from every American University takes his place in the world where their lives have wider possibilities, nobler responsibilities, and deeper meaning than the opportunities ever before granted in our history.

How may we proceed to the development of an American ideal that will attract every American boy and girl? Such consideration may even result in an American national cult. The American of today must of necessity be a world citizen, but only in the sense that Washington and Lincoln were world citizens. Why do I mention these two names in developing the thoughts of what it means to be an American? Without the names of Washington and Lincoln no one has thought of laying the base of the American national cult. Why has America definitely given to Washington and to Lincoln these places in our American national cult? Let Theodore Roosevelt answer that question for us. "There have been other men as great", said this strenuous American, "and other men as good, but in all history of mankind there are no other two great men as good as these, and no other two good men as great."

We know from further reading what Roosevelt meant by "good" and "great", for he thought that both Washington and Lincoln possessed all the gentler virtues exhibited by good men who lack strength and all the strong qualities exhibited by the "towering masters of mankind". Two corners of the base of the American national cult will then forever be occupied by Washington and Lincoln - Goodness and Greatness will be the reason for their selection. In the third corner of the base we will at times put the name of the man who fits the occasion of our celebration - sometimes Jefferson, sometimes Hamilton, Franklin, Monroe, Wilson; and by you - in Hawaii - surely McKinley; sometimes Fulton, Edison, Morse, or the Wright Brothers; sometimes Rockefeller, Carnegie, or Ford; sometimes Carver, Burbank, Susan B. Anthony, Robert E. Lee, Emerson, or Whittier; and many others. But since this is an American national cult we are building, the fourth ^{corner}/we will forever leave vacant. That corner we will call the corner of aspiration into which every school boy or girl may project himself. Our base, then, is formed of men and women who were great, good, and who served their fellow men. As an example for CHI we have produced an American world for the thoughtful graduate and advanced for him models of men for his consideration of JIN.

Since America is a land of many freedoms, the American man is an individual of various characteristics, but still quite distinct. He is more a product of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries than he is even of the ages. That statement may seem thoughtless, yet historically it is true. The American concept of liberty, America's development of the individual and America's Dollar Democracy, have

created a type of life in which persons from the whole world have been able to join and within a single generation become wholly American. That phenomenon is in very deed a marvel of the ages. How, then, may we become the most appreciative of what the American man means?

I know pretty well what has made me what I am, as one who appreciates the place of man in American Democracy. I always taught my students in American Government to select a great American and learn all that could be learned about him. I did that myself. I chose Jefferson and I discovered that my interest in Jefferson was a common interest to which every American responded.

Because of my interest in Jefferson, I have written a book on him. I have helped to erect a great national monument to him. I have been named Chairman of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Commission and a Director of the Jefferson Memorial Association, which has raised many hundreds of thousands of dollars, purchased Jefferson's home, Monticello, and presented it to the American people forever. I cite these things to show you that I have an interest in life which will see me without boredom through every leisure hour I may have. Jefferson knew what America meant. Near his dying day he wrote to John Adams, his life-long friend and a many-time strong political enemy, that he and Adams would yet look down from Heaven on America and call the nation they had helped to form blessed. Jefferson has become my inspiration for further endeavor. His spirit can never die. His words, "I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man", will be reflected in the striving of every American for freedom through all time. You choose some great American for study and you will never lack for a source of inspiration.

How, then, to develop the JIN part of our remarks. From Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln we can develop the American ideal of citizenship. From them we can build the American paragon of virtue, each great, good, and noble; each a servant of the people, citizen, and statesman. Washington and Lincoln gave their lives to the service of their fellowmen and Jefferson, who, after finishing two terms as President of the United States, went home only to be asked by his neighbors to become a road supervisor. He took the job and became an example of an American ideal. The citizen who is willing to serve in a little task as well as in a great one marks the true American. These men sought inspiration and received it. Lincoln's most famous words, "This Nation Under God", came to him by inspiration. The notes President Lincoln prepared in his own handwriting and used when he delivered his Gettysburg address did not contain "Under God". "Under God" Lincoln inserted extemporaneously, moved by the inspiration of the occasion.

We have set out our models for the development of the American Philosophy of JIN. How may these models become part of our lives? We probably can not be great, but we can be kind, we can be honest, we can earn a little and spend a little less - thus gaining that meaning of American life which Robert Louis Stevenson taught so well.

Be ambitious to serve, not merely to hold office. If you are ambitious to serve, you will be happy in any task imposed upon you. If you are ambitious for a particular job, you will be unhappy when you do not get it. If you do get it, your ambition may become satisfied in the attainment of the position which may mean an aimless serving.

Analyze well your freedoms. Freedom brings responsibility. Freedom of religion means freedom for religion. Freedom to come and go, to have and to hold, to aspire and to think, means freedom for others to enjoy that which you enjoy. Freedom is to be shared. If you are selfish with freedom, you may lose it for yourself.

You cannot avoid taking part in the eternal struggle that is going on in the world. As I look at this class I see a complexity of blood, color, and nationality; a difference in religion, heritage, culture, and philosophy. But I see a grand unity in it all. I see a devotion to American freedom and a unity in accomplishing American purposes. I read in your attitudes that life in America is good.

From you and from the attitudes of those who are near and dear to you, I see a phase of American Democracy not common to many places. From the example I see here in Hawaii, I am convinced that American Democracy will survive today's great struggle. The force that would destroy democracy in the world is a revitalization of an old force. It is the age-old struggle between the single-will and individual freedom. One means government by dictation, the other, governmental action after free discussion and deliberation. World conquest and control is the slogan of one side; freedom for the individual everywhere is the aim of the other.

As a graduate of an American University, I can hear you say: the things I have learned about HEAVEN have made me thoughtful; the things I have learned about EARTH have added to my responsibility; the things I have learned about MAN makes me proud to be an American. In my heart I know that TEN, CHI, and JIN mean more to me than points in a beautiful floral arrangement.

Over half a century ago, Secretary of State Hay declared that the Mediterranean was the ocean of the past, the Atlantic, the ocean of the present, and the Pacific, the ocean of the future.

In early times, writers of the Near East, the Far East and of Ancient America, all ascribed to a comet or a planet, sometimes personified as a god, the destruction and renewal of life on the earth. If the force of an erratic planet, or the power of a bomb which man may develop himself, shall wipe us all off the earth, we need not contemplate Secretary Hay's prophecy. But if events on this earth move men's interests as the Spanish-American and two world wars have done, we may see Secretary Hay's prediction fulfilled and the interests of all mankind centered in the Pacific. If that day comes, this University and you graduates, as trained American citizens, will find yourselves facing grave responsibilities. To the University goes the great responsibility of making known to the world the meaning of the Pacific, its histories and its civilizations. It, too, must conserve for the world the Pacific's minor cultures, for without this University's aid they may be swallowed in the avalanche of change. This University must make the Pacific world of yesterday an open book of tomorrow. A glorious mission, indeed, for both graduate and the University! You are to lead in giving the people of the entire Pacific the language of liberty and the blessings of soul-growth that will come through freedom. What an opportunity and what a responsibility is yours! Few young men and young women, and few institutions have faced greater responsibilities at any commencement.

Class of 1951, and your great alma Mater, if these were ordinary times and your tasks were to be ordinary ones, I would salute you with Rip Van Winkle's Toast - "May you all live long and prosper". But these are not ordinary times. Your tasks will be extraordinary ones. Therefore, as our forefathers recognized God's blessings on the new order of their day, let us use their words - "ANNUIT COEPTIS NOVUS ORDO SECLORUM" - and translate their acknowledgment of a blessing into a prayer - and utter it in your behalf - "God bless your undertakings in the new order of the world".