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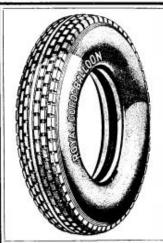
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### Herbert Hoover: America's 31st President

We start in this month with Herbert Hoover of California and the world-at-large as our president for the four-year term fixed by the constitution. Not only does America start in to be governed by the son of her choice, but also, to a remarkable degree, that same world-at-large with which his career has so largely been identified and with which he is so familiar. That world owes Americans and the United States such a big sum of gold money that it is immodest to mention the precise amount (if anyone knows what it is), and a great deal of the mere business of government is involved in carrying this debt along and occasionally getting portions of it paid-usually by refunding. The debt concerns government in all the debtor countries as well as others, as it affects government in the United States. Though little enough was said on this point during the campaign, it is proper for this magazine to suggest that in practice the Hoover administration will belie the radio, and that the foreign debts will be its first and most persistent preoccupation. Many of the other questions, which assumed the aspect of paramount issues, are too controversial seriously to be taken up by the man whom they aided into the Whitehouse: he will bother with them as little as possible, probably with some of them hardly at all.

Until the constitution is amended and the president allotted a six- or eight-year term and no more, the real business of a man once elected is to get himself elected again. Toward this end Mr. Hoover, instead of breaking new and stubborn ground, will plow the fields with which he is familiar, on which he knows something of the crop he may expect. He will therefore endeavor to promote the prosperity of the United States, and of the world which has borrowed its money, by applying his abilities as an economist and engineer to the problems they mutually confront.

Our thirty-first president is the first who is preeminently world-minded; as soon as he knew he was to be president, barring the intervention of Providence (not much thought of nowadays), he got on a goodly ship and had himself taken to the capitals of the republics of Central and South America which are all affected by our major foreign policy, the Monroe doctrine. The stewardship which the United States must exercise over the Americas was uppermost in his mind, not farm relief and prohibition. As to Europe, he is familiar with that. For the present, Mellon, with whom he disagrees,



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emains in his cabinet with the treasury portfolio; but this

3 subject to later adjustment.

However, you will not wish to be wearied with the surnises of a mere neighbor, so let us turn to as good a forecast s has come to general notice, that of E. L. Bogart in the winter number of the Yale Review, under the title, Economic 'roblems Confronting the Next President.

Bogart takes up prohibition as the campaign's leading judible issue. "The country," he says, "must now be prepard to pay for the better enforcement of the law to which Mr. Hoover has pledged himself, and which, it may be assumed, ne will seriously attempt to secure."

With that he concludes, and it's just another way of

aying, "Well, there's nothing like trying."

But he says protection "still remains, after more than one nundred years, the strongest plank in the Republican platorm. It is true, as Gallatin said in 1831, that 'both parties are in favor of a protective tariff,' but the Republicans have ecently found it necessary to outbid their opponents \* \* \* Economic tides unknown in the days of Clay or even McKinley, are now in motion within the country and threaten a breach n the very citadel. American manufacturers have expanded their production beyond domestic needs and are pushing into the markets of Central and South America, of Africa and Asia, and even into the shops of England, France and Germany; these exports must be paid for by equivalent

imports of goods or services. (Italics ours)
"\*\* \* Not merely will an increasing flood of goods, for the payment of principal and interest on \* \* \* debts beat against the Great Wall, but-much more significant-there will be created new economic groups within the United States whose main interest will lie in the expansion of foreign trade and who will seek to make a breach in the

Great Wall from within."

Even the winter congress tackled the tariff, and Bogart's conjecture that it is to become "an even more vital issue than it actually is at the present time" has already become a fact. He doesn't say what Mr. Hoover will do about it, but it will be vitally interesting, out here in these islands, to wait and see.

By the way, as this is written (February 27), Mr. Hoover has not so much as ever mentioned the Philippines. If he does so in his inaugural address an effort will be made to get

it into one of the other pages.

Bogart thinks farm relief probably the most difficult problem confronting Mr. Hoover; "there is not one agricultural industry, as Mr. Hoover pointed out in his acceptance speech, but a dozen industries, each of which may require a different treatment." Discussing this tangled question, the author shows how little susceptible it is of solution; but he thinks the promised farm board will be forthcoming, and efforts made to effect economies in production and marketing (the latter sure to plunge the administration into controversy with powerful vested interests, the former probably leading to renewed overproduction!), and "Mr. Hoover will endeavor to introduce business methods into farming by eliminating waste, standardizing the best methods, reducing costs of production and marketing, and bringing about a better organization of the industry.

Development of inland waterways will be undertaken: a shipway from the Great Lakes to the Atlantic, and from the lakes to the gulf.

Mr. Hoover, in his time, has been a leading patron of the canal systems of Europe and knows by experience their in

portance to agriculture and commerce.

Then comes water power, in the Bogart list, and he thinks it quite as much a problem of political power as of wate power. The first thing to be done is for the Republican to reconcile the divergent groups in their own ranks in congress who respectively favor government and private con struction. This question will be much in the news. We may expect either new government boards or some of the existing ones materially revised.

We began with the foreign debts, and Bogart ends with them as "a problem still comparatively new in the United States, concerning which we are still groping toward a sound policy." In 1910 we owed Europe six billions; we have now paid off that debt, and other countries including Europe now owe us four times that amount! We are also lending at the rate of a billion a year, "enough to pay back to us the interest on existing loans and also add to its (the world's borrowed) capital." But there are offsets; American tourists spend nearly a billion abroad each year (\$770,000 in 1927, and much more now), and \$2,700,000,000 of our imports in 1927 were on the tariff free list. "So it is clear that, in spite of our high protective tariff, certain channels are still open for the reception of goods from abroad. The influence of the tariff in preventu. foreign debtors from meeting their engagements with us has been greatly exaggerated. (Italics ours)

"The real effects are much more subtle and indirect than the mere blocking of the path, and they bear unequally on different countries. Since we admit freely practically only tropical foodstuffs and raw materials, the highly industrialized countries of Western Europe, which must make remittan to us, are compelled to exchange their manufactured go in the tropical regions of the world for the things which we v accept and to send us those things. They, therefore, glut 1. markets to which we wish to send our exports. Since the have debts to pay us they cannot afford to buy of us as large v as they otherwise would, either of manufactures or of ag-

cultural products."

Bogart sees quite as much as we do in this moot question. to engage Mr. Hoover's abilities; and he remarks the fact that the two-thirds rule in the senate has prevented the carryi & out of a constructive foreign policy—on which point 1. Hoover has remarked, "We must not only be just, we must ? respected." "Unless," he says, "there can be constant evidenced among all nations that the lives and property all citizens abroad shall be protected, the foreign trade a economic life of the world will degenerate ' stead of thrive

And Bogart, sizing him up, says: "If the nerve center the Coolidge Administration is the Treasury Department. that of the Hoover Administration will undoubtedly be t Department of State"; and for us, who have seen but recent our governor general depart Manila for Washington, p sumably to assume the state portfolio, that, surely, is a cogent commentary. Bogart sums up. The senate radicals still hold the balance of power; the new congress is dryer than the dying one, the 18th amendment will be enforced more thoroughly; the tariff will go up, without much aid from the tariff commission; farm relief will follow Hoover's ideas or will be vetoed; Boulder Dam may be built by the government, but the inadequate authority of the federal power commission will not be strengthened; "\* \* revision of our own debtfunding agreements may come up for consideration"; budgets may exceed three billions, but taxes won't go up, because money can be withheld from the annual payments on the public debt, now more than three times the minimum requirements. "Prophecy is, however, a dangerous pastime, and it is unwise to pursue it further.'

So we think, too, and noting that Bogart himself didn't get around to mentioning the Philippines, we leave the picture

as he paints it.-W. R.