

One Universal Question Regarding Stimson

The public of the Philippines is naturally curious as to the methods Colonel Henry L. Stimson of New York, soon to be inaugurated the Governor General of the Philippine Islands, may choose to adopt for the purpose of carrying on. This curiosity arises from three sources: (1) his sponsorship, which failed, of the parliamentary system for New York at the time of the preparation of her new constitution, (2) the tail-end of his recent article in *Foreign Affairs*, and (3) provisions in the insular organic act making the plan legally possible here. It will be remembered, of course, that Rafael Palma was, under the old fascismo, secretary of the interior and a senator at the same time, and that the insular statutes still contain all the acts respecting the Council of State as well as the Board of Control; that the council shrunk back into a mere cabinet only by the resignation of its members, and that the board now functions in a single member, the governor general, not having been legally made up, but that the governor general does exercise the duties conferred upon the board, which functions in him.

All opinions on this subject are idle, Governor Stimson has not said what he would do. The *Journal* quotes here, for reference only, the germane portion of his *Foreign Affairs* article, together with an extract from Newton D. Baker's famous letter to Harrison, appraising the organic act, which is germane to the same subject.—ED.

"It would be a complete misapprehension of the Philippine situation to think that we can soon appoint or permit the Filipinos to elect a Filipino Governor-General. So long as a connection remains between us and them, the Governor-General's office should be the channel by which our views and our influence and help can be transmitted to our wards in that far-distant region.

"Today it is the work of the office of the Governor-General which stands between the material welfare of the Islands and that racial tendency towards backsliding which produced disaster ten years ago. The present Governor, a man of indefatigable energy, by his veto checks the development of unwise general policies at Manila, but by means of constant visits extends a fatherly guiding influence to the uttermost Islands of the Archipelago. Until the Filipinos have created a live and critical public opinion; until they become general readers of a public spirited press; until their men and women of leisure organize themselves into active charity associations, prison-aid associations and school boards to watch and criticize the functions of government; in the other words, until the Malay population of these Islands develop those basic foundations of self-government which we have developed during the past six or eight hundred years, either this visitatorial American power must continue or progress in the Philippines cease.

"This, however, does not mean that we must retain in our hands all executive power, or keep the Filipinos from the exercise of the vital and educational function of administration. Even today the heads of the Executive Departments are all Filipinos, though appointed by the Governor-General with the consent of the Senate and removable by him. Today, in the absence of any system of responsible party government with clear cut party issues represented by distinct alignment in the Legislature, these department heads are the mere individual selections of the Governor-General and perform their work solely in responsibility to him. But with



Governor General Henry L. Stimson: Yale (and Harvard Law), New York lawyer, "Secwar" for a while under Taft, Wood's friend for twenty years, Coolidge's recent envoy to Nicaragua.

the development of responsible majority and opposition parties in the Legislature such department heads could be selected by the Governor from the dominant party as shown by the general election and could be held to party responsibility in their conduct of administration. In that way responsible cabinet government could

be gradually evolved, including, in time, representation of the cabinet on the floor of the houses. When that is accomplished, the work of administration would be carried on by executive heads of Departments politically responsible to the dominant majority of the Legislature, but performing their work not only under the scrutiny of the opposition party but also under the constant inspection of an American Governor who possesses the ultimate power (not to be used, however, except in case of serious dereliction) of removal. Furthermore, the development of political responsibility would thus be subject to control; it need not be carried to the point of subjecting cabinet tenure to casual fluctuating majorities in the houses; nominations made in accordance with the result of one general election may normally carry over to the next election. Fickle tenure may thus be avoided, yet a hitherto unknown sense of party responsibility may be introduced."

—Stimson in *Foreign Affairs*.

WHAT MCINTYRE SAID FOR BAKER

"The influence of the Governor-General with the legislature under this act should be far greater than it has been in the past, due to his participation in legislation; first, by the comprehensive veto power; second, by preparing a budget; third, by appointment of members of the legislature; fourth, by the possible provision that heads of executive departments shall have seats and voices in the legislature. It is hoped that the Philippine legislature will provide for this. It is thought that the inclusion of men of the class that would be appointed heads of executive departments would materially strengthen the legislature and the executive. If, however, the legislature should fail so to provide and you should deem it necessary or advisable that heads of executive departments should be in the legislature, it is entirely within your power under the act so to have it by selecting good men from the legislature to be heads of executive departments and by appointing, among the two senators and nine representatives to be appointed by you, the heads of executive departments to be members of the legislature. . . . The department feels that this is a great improvement on our form of government and, if you are of that opinion, you will have the opportunity of being the first to inaugurate it under the American government."

The Baker letter, obviously written by General McIntyre, was dated in Washington, August 18, 1916, and Wilson approved the organic act August 29, 1916. Wood described the resulting experiment as "a ghastly fizzle".

Persuaded by the *Journal*, of which he has been an appreciative reader all along, Waiter K. Perrett has returned to the islands from Siam to engage in some plantation enterprise, preferring this field to Siam. He has been living in Bangkok.

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