#### THE RETIREMENT OF NATIONAL DEBTS

### THE THEORY AND HISTORY SINCE THE WORLD WAR

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# SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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#### PREFACE

THE generally accepted answers to some of the vital questions of public finance are based upon the most popular theories of value and distribution, that is, the neo-classical and marginal productivity theories. Yet many economists would admit that these older value theories are of doubtful validity in some respects, because of the questionable psychology and sociology upon which they are based, and because disequilibrium is frequently a "normal" economic phenomenon. In specific studies of economic questions, other than those of public finance, and in general economic theory. a great deal of attention has been paid in recent years to the weaknesses of value theory. But these weaknesses have not been adequately considered in the field of public finance. If the work of the past is to be carried much further, it would seem that the criticisms of the older value theories must be considered more fully in their bearing on this subject. It is not enough merely to introduce dynamic aspects in the manner of neo-classical theory or to treat briefly the institutions which affect changes in values. Such matters need to be studied much more thoroughly.

In this book I have tried to demonstrate the importance of this need. The study of any one problem in the field of public finance may lose its significance when the student narrows his treatment to the facts and theories within this field alone. Institutional and dynamic considerations must almost invariably cause him to step over the customary boundaries of the subject. The attempt to study adequately one problem in public finance, the effects of debt retirement, leads us into money, banking and international trade as well

as value theory. Indeed, in economics as a whole the introduction of institutional considerations has already done much to bring economics and sociology together. It is possible that in the social sciences the day of rigid specialization is over, and that the problems of social life will henceforth be given a more synthetic treatment.

The most extensive study of the problems of debt retirement is that of the English Committee on National Debt and Taxation, from which I have quoted extensively in this volume. This committee was willing to go into the habits of saving, the distribution of income and changes in the price level in their relations to the public debt, but it did not go far enough. I believe that its work was significant in so far as it takes account of the influence of other divisions of economics than public finance. I believe also that the same statement may be made about this book. I regret that so many questions are raised in it that are not answered. But to answer all these questions requires much more time than the two years of study that I have been able to devote to them.

I should like to acknowledge my debt to Professor Robert Murray Haig, who has sponsored this study and who has given valuable assistance and encouragement at all stages. I owe a great deal also to Professors James W. Angell and Benjamin H. Beckhart for their helpful suggestions relating to the chapters on money and banking and international trade.

WILLIAM WITHERS

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APPENDIX I

Bons de la Dépense Nationale Outstanding, 1913-1928

(millions of francs)

Year	Bons de la Défense Nationale	Bons du Trésor	Total
1913	000	410	410
1914	1,619	116	1,735
1915	6,963	43	7,006
1916	12,574	44	12,618
1917	19,522	30	19,552
1918	22,335	58o	22,915
1919	46,140	1,912	48,052
1920	48,938	1,961	50,899
1921	58,420	1,942	60,362
1922	56,431	2,639	59,070
1923	54,723	2,997	57,720
1924	54,538	1,870	56,408
1925	45,735	2,393	48,128
1926 (Dec. 31)	49,075	230	49,305
1927 "	43,464	20	43,484
1928 **	35,665	364	36,029

Source: Haig, Public Finances of Post-War France, p. 231 (Chappedelaine Report, Budget, 1928, Chambre, p. xxxiii and Experts' Report, 1926, p. 150).

## APPENDIX II UNITED STATES DEBT (In Dollars)

Form of Debt	1919-	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Pre-war Debt and Consols,						
Conversion and Postal						
Savings Bonds	883,463,130	882 540 200		883,840,470	883,670,230	883,703,790
1st Liberty Loan		T 053,549,590	1,952,258,800		1,951,764,200	
and Liberty Loan					3,199,036,800	
and Liberty Loan			3,316,536,550			
3rd Liberty Loan			3,611,560,300		3,407,787,250	
4th Liberty Loan	0,013,907,146	0,394,301,813	6,354,860,350	6,345,383,750	6,328,565,650	0,324,495,550
Total Liberty Loans				15,081,612,550	14,007,153,910	14,377,807,400
Notes: Victory			3,913,780.350			
Loan and Tax Certificates .			2,708,574,451		1,031,418,500	807,513,500
Pittman Act Certificates	255,475,000	259,375,000		74,000,000		
Special Certificates	15,741,000	24,000,000				
War Savings Certificates	910,684,987	827,419,021	694,105,410	]		
Matured Debt	2,144,970				98,172,160	30,241,250
Total_Interest_Bearing	25.075.050.747	24.061.005.361	23,737,352,080	22,711,035,587		
Non Interest Bearing Debt	234,570,522					234,292,740
Total Gross including Debt	-54,57-,5	-0010731349	1		- 10/9-1/-10	
above	26,210,530,269	24 207 018 411	22 812 547 420	22 064 071 722	22 240 687 757	21 251 120 426
Treasury Notes	20,210,330,209	-4,-9/,910,411		2,246,596,350		
Treasury Savings Certifi-		******	311,191,000	2,240,390,330	4,104,193,130	3,733,309,400
cates				670 015 217	237,198,674	472 204 020
Treasury Bonds		• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	679,015,317		
Treasury Donds					763,954,300	763,948,300

APPENDIX II-(Continued)

Form of Debt	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
Pre-war Debt and Consols,						
Conversion and Postal					'	
Savings Bonds	765,316,010	765,860,170	766,549,790	768,132,510	770,207,310	772,544,850
st Liberty Loan	1,951,519,650			1,939,154,150		
and Liberty Loan		3,104,527,800			-,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	-1700.000,000
ard Liberty Loan		2,488,272,450		1,228,848,600		
th Liberty Loan		6,324,471,950		6,294,043,600		6 268 2ET EEG
Total Liberty Loans			11,690,109,250			
Victory Notes	24,203,930,930	23,030,404,300	10201-031-00	3140210401330	0,227,300,430	0,202,003,900
Loan and Tax Certificates	578,685,000	483,279,000	702 005 500	1,252,408,000	7 640 TOO FOO	T 264 254 500
Pittman	370,003,000	403,279,000	702,093,300	1,232,400,000	1,040,199,300	1,204,334,30
Special	ì					
War Savings Certificates	i i					
Matured Debt		0	* 4 ***	45 002 660	<b>70 271 200</b>	
	30,242,930	13,327,800	14,707,235	45,331,660	50,751,399	31,715,370
Total Interest Bearing Debt	20,210,900,251					
Non Interest Bearing Debt				241,263,806		
Total Gross Debt			18,510,174,266			
Treasury Notes			2,019,194,550		2,861,011,500	
Treasury Saving Certificates						
Treasury Bonds	1,811,036,800	2,305,933,900	2,763,735,550	2,790,638,650	3,136,986,600	3,136,986,600
Treasury Bills	1,			[ • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		155,916,000

Source: Compiled from the Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury.

APPENDIX III

DEBT MATURITIES BY YEARS, UNITED STATES
(in Dollars)

	Over 10 years	Matured Debt	I year or less	I to 2 years	2 to 3 years	3 to 5 years	5 to 10 years
1913	,,	1,659,550					
1914	257,756,700	1,552,560				63,945,460	
1915	702,671,750	1,507,260			63,945,460		203,121,880
1916	784,737,230	1,473,100	4,300,000	63,945,460		118,489,900	
1917	2,257,156,784	14,232,230	349,578,192			118,489,900	
81QI	6,850,582,934	20,242,550	1,744,159,500			118,489,900	
1919	14,053,275,251	11,109,370	3,633,804,490			3,586,334,871	3,958,552,769
920	12,436,715,510	6,747,700	4,573,308,000		5,073,784,371	3,781,205,700	
921	12,390,641,710	10,939,620	4,126,844,450	3,913,780,350	642,666,525	159,381,144	3,611,560,300
922	12,381,569,430	25,250,880	4,490,240,681	336,230,834	1,186,107,390	943,099,150	3,473,788,000
923	13,014,160,129	98,172,160	1,393,029,438	1,129,657,762	1,904,020,096	4,676,777,147	
1924	12,912,903,182	30,241,250	2,101,594,499			3,272,113,501	
1925	13,960,840,997	30,242,930	1,920,031,629		3,034,602,471	122,665,975	
1926	14,439,605,620	13,327,800	2,163,599,170	2,506,665,566			
927	11,029,775,460	14,707,235	3,226,581,016	252,933,663	101,007,513	1,528,714,650	2,042,954,280
928	9,749,018,680	45,331,660	2,508,687,926	202,037,708	70,000,000	2,730,048,550	2,097,902,230
929	5,771,441,230	50,751,399	1,653,227,519	15,000,000	154,700,000	2,575,349,500	6,519,263,130
930	5,168,458,220	31,715,370	1,420,270,500	1,626,115,500		764,111,000	6,343,153,000

Source: Compiled from Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury.

#### APPENDIX IV

## DEST RETIREMENT: UNITED STATES (In Thousands of Dollars)

	Total chargeable against ordinary receipts	Surplus	Decrease in general fund balance	Total debt
1916		48,478	*82,261	*33,783
1017		4 853,357	3 897,116	1,750,473
1918	1,134	49.033.254	*447,487	\$9,479,606
1919	8,014	4 13,370,638	333,342	3 13,029,280
1020	78,746	212,475	893,963	1,185,185
1921	427,123	86,723	191,976	321,870
1922	422,695	313,802	277,573	1,014,069
1923	402,850	309,657	98,883	613,674
1924	457,999	505,367	135,528	1,098,894
1025	466,538	250,505	17,576	734,619
1926	487,376	377,768	7,833	872,978
1927	519,554	635,810	* 24,055	1,131,309
1928	540,225	398,828	31,470	907,614
1929	549,604	184,787	61,186	673,205
1930	553,883	183,789	3,105	745,779
Total	4,915,775	19,749,257	160,465	14,993,948

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Increase in net balance.

Source: Annual Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury.

Increase in debts.

d Deficit.

APPENDIX V

## THE AMOUNTS APPLIED TO VARIOUS SINKING FUNDS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

#### (In Pounds)

Sinking Fund	1925	1926	1927	1928
Old Sinking Fund	1		1	1
New Sinking Fund Capital of Terminable An-			60,000,000	1 .
nuities	1,812,922	1,084,840	1,043,497	1,026,841
Funding Loan Sinking Fund Sinking Fund for Victory	2,528,280	2,641,781	1,043,497 2,762,196	2,892,013
Bonds	2,145,039	2,230,837	2,320,059	2,412,867
Loan	i	'	15,099,277	1
Bonds for Death Duties Other Securities so Sur-	7,816,000	6,995,000	8,405,000	12,340,000
rendered	30,262	117,640	190,963	162,400
Balance Available Sinking Fund for 4% Con-			22,317,755	
solidated Loan Depreciation Fund for 4%	••••	••••	••••	9,210,000
War Loan	••••	7,538,843	2,720,344	1,665,725
External Debt		4,953,566	5,140,906	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> No sums fell to the fund because of a deficit.

Source: Great Britain-Finance Accounts.

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