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BY

R. A. HODGSON, B.Com. (Lond.)

ASSISTANT LECTURER IN ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, SOUTHAMPTON



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TO MY MOTHER

PREFACE

This book is intended for the student commencing the study of that side of economics with which it deals, and for the general reader who is sufficiently interested in the problems of international trade and tariffs to seek to understand the main principles involved. It is an introduction which, it is hoped, will enable readers to turn with profit to more advanced and more technical works.

My purpose in writing it was to bring together, and to treat in an elementary fashion, two sides of the study of trade questions which are often separated, I believe, to their mutual detriment. To discuss tariff problems without having a grounding in the theory of international trade is a mere waste of time: but, on the other hand, a grasp of the pure theory of international trade will not enable us to express any but the most general judgment on a particular tariff issue. In a sense, the whole of the case against protection, the whole argument as to the effects of duties, is contained in the first proposition as to the advantage to both parties concerned of exchange arising out of differences in costs of production. But complex appearances hide the simple realities with which the pure theory deals, and therefore it is necessary to expand and elaborate the substance of the first few pages of this book. The questions discussed in Part II are of a different character. but I have tried to deal with them generally, merely illustrating from actual cases. If, in the future, Great Britain is going to follow a definitely protectionist policy, it is desirable, I think, that what is being done shall be fully appreciated by as many people as possible. To desiderate a "scientific tariff"-if that can ever be translated into reality-is not to admit that a tariff is desirable in itself; it is merely to see that, if we are to have a tariff, it shall be so devised as to obtain its objective with the least possible incidental harm.

viii PREFACE

The scheme of this book was thought out some time before the events of last autumn brought these questions into the foreground of public attention. It would, however, have been pedantic to ignore those developments altogether, as of merely momentary concern, and, in consequence, more emphasis is laid on some sides of the problem than was originally intended. But in so far as what has been said about the terms of international trade, and the technique of tariffs, is sound, it is not affected by any change in a country's position or policy, though its practical application may be. Anything written about the gold standard system may shortly be out of date—but a new international regime has yet to be established.

It is impossible to write an introductory book of this kind without owing more than any specific acknowledgment can express to the leading works in the field. Professor T. E. Gregory's Tariffs: A Study in Method is the foundation of all English studies in the subject, and his three smaller books on the gold standard are equally valuable. Professor F. W. Taussig's International Trade is a comprehensive and fundamental treatment of that side; while Fisk and Peirce, International Commercial Policies, gives a wide survey of technical questions. Without these in particular, it is doubtful whether this book could have been written.

R. A. H.

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INTRODUCTION

It is now fairly generally accepted that economics is a method of study, rather than a body of doctrine; and that this method is a specialization in application to economic problems of the mental instruments common to all branches of science. To give a complete and exact description of the method used in the study of economics needs a treatise in itself, 1 and is a task outside the scope of this book; but it is necessary to give the reader who has not encountered it before a preliminary explanation. The method of reasoning to be employed has two sides: the inductive, which broadly means the examination of data with a view to framing a theory that shall account for what we observe, and the deductive, which, broadly, means the working-out of the logical consequences of certain assumptions, subject to whatever conditions we may have to consider in the course of our argument. The inductive method is generally experimental or statistical or historical in process, and has achieved its most signal triumphs, therefore, in the natural sciences; but it cannot be used exclusively in any study. The deductive method is more frequently used in economics simply because it is more appropriate; there are relatively few subjects in which the economist has a sufficient body of proved facts to justify induction. Even where there is an apparent wealth of data, in statistical form as in a country's trade returns, for example, it is usually the case that these have to be used with considerable caution, 2 and cannot be regarded as in themselves

¹ Such a treatise for the general reader is provided by J. M. Keynes' Scope and Method of Political Economy, still of considerable value.

a"The critical faculty should be very alert when statistics are in question; the published heading may be pedantically and officially correct, but it will not contain such a statement as 'every word is used in a technical sense and has a special meaning only known to the officials who made the compilation, the part that is not recorded is more important than that which is, where the facts are not known, an estimate has been made by a method which cannot for departmental reasons be divulged, and the method of computation has been

sufficient basis for a final and comprehensive statement. The result is that the normal approach to the subjects discussed under the heading of International Trade is the well-tried one by which a simple case (not supposed to be a description of any actual circumstances) is stated, and the logical outcome of a hypothetical development argued: as, for instance, where two countries trade with one another on given terms, what would be the effect on these terms of an alteration in the costs of production of one country? One condition after another, requiring a qualification of one step in the argument or another, is then introduced, until our simple imaginary case has become as like the complex reality in which we are interested as we can make it, and our conclusion, therefore, if our arguments have been sound, as near the truth about the real case as possible.

The method has, at least, one practical disadvantage—that the layman is sometimes wearied by the logical processes it involves, and distrustful of the results that are attained through consideration of hypothetical and perhaps unlikely cases. But it must be insisted that, under present conditions, at least, it is the only method that is likely to give us any results of general value in the study of the fundamental problems of international exchange. We have not yet got the statistical material that would be required by the inductive method attempting the same task. 1 And, further, the working out of purely hypothetical cases may provide us with suggestions of practical usefulness as to the situation likely to arise and the policy to adopt if certain circumstances should occur. Extreme cases of a fall in the value of money, for instance, might well have been considered before the War as the mere logical exercises of pure economics, remote from the world of reality; yet had they been exhaustively worked out, the post-war inflation might not have gone to the lengths

modified since the last issue of the numbers,' yet part or all of this is sometimes implied."—Bowley, Official Statistics (Humphrey Milford), p. 11.

¹ See, in this connection, Part II, Verification, of Professor F. W. Taussig's International Trade (Macmillan).

INTRODUCTION

it did in countries where its consequences were not fully realized until a great deal of avoidable social damage had been done. The somewhat formal discipline of the orthodox argument must, therefore, be faced by the student if a clear conception of the elements of international trade is to be obtained.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I desire to express my thanks for permission to quote from the following works: Bowley, Official Statistics: What they Contain and How to Use Them (The World of To-day Series; Humphrey Milford; Oxford University Press); Bastable, ed. Gregory, The Commerce of Nations (Methuen & Co., Ltd.). Taussig, International Trade (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.); Gregory, Tariffs: A Study in Method (Charles Griffin & Co., Ltd.); Andréadès, History of the Bank of England (P. S. King & Son, Ltd.); Report on Économic Conditions in the United States of America, to May, 1931; Report for France for 1925, Department of Overseas Trade (H.M. Stationery Office). Particulars as to tariffs of foreign countries have been drawn from the information given in issues of the Board of Trade Journal (H.M. Stationery Office).

R. A. H.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(A signifies Advanced.)

THE following suggestions for further reading are limited to books, most of which can be found in any good library. There is a vast amount of polemical literature on Free Trade and Protection, the bulk of which is of small interest and value. Important articles are to be found in the files of such periodicals as The Economist (weekly) and Economica (quarterly). Particulars of British and other tariff developments are reported week by week in The Board of Trade Journal, and accounts of the trade and tariff position of foreign countries are given in the Reports issued by the Department of Overseas Trade, at about yearly intervals, separately for each country. The Dominions also issue official year books, which contain statistical and other information as to trade, and (usually) a review of recent tariff history. The statistics of the overseas trade of Great Britain are available in the Monthly Statements of Trade and Navigation, and, in a summarized form, and for periods of fifteen years, in the Statistical Abstract. (See Note at end.)

I. THE THEORY OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

The classics-

Adam Smith, The Wealth of Nations, Book IV.

David Ricardo, Principles of Political Economy, Chapter VI. John Stuart Mill, Principles of Political Economy, Book V.

The development of the orthodox theory of international exchange may be traced through these books.

Modern general treatises-

Cannan, Wealth, Chapter XIV.

Marshall, Money, Credit, and Commerce.

The latter carries the analysis of some problems in the pure theory of international trade much further than do the other works mentioned. Special studies-

Bastable (ed. Gregory), The Commerce of Nations.

I Taussig, International Trade.

Taussig's work is in the straight line of descent from Ricardo and Mill so far as the pure theory goes, but he takes the argument further at some points. Part II, Verification, is an attempt to test out the propositions of Part I with reference to certain important events, such as the effect of the payment by France after 1870 of her indemnity to Germany. Part III deals with international trade under inconvertible paper currency conditions.

2. Monetary Questions.

- (1) The Mechanism of International Settlements: Foreign Exchanges.
 - Withers, The Meaning of Money.

A general introductory textbook, with a good chapter on Bills of Exchange.

Spalding, The Finance of Foreign Trade; Foreign Exchange and Foreign Bills.

Technical studies, dealing with their subjects from the banker's point of view, but containing much interesting material.

Walters, Foreign Exchange and Foreign Debts. -

A general textbook of more theoretical treatment than Mr. Spalding's.

Gregory, Foreign Exchange, Before, During, and after the War. A.

This deals only with the immediate post-war years; it is not easy reading, but constitutes a valuable training in the logic of the subject.

(2) The Gold Standard System.

Gregory, The Return to Gold (1925); The First Year of the Gold Standard (1927) A.; The Gold Standard and its Future (1932).

The second is chiefly a detailed study of the problems arising out of the stabilization of currencies by various nations, including Great Britain. The Return to Gold is an introduction to the nature and working of the gold standard system.

(3) The Balance of Trade.

This subject is treated in most of the general textbooks. A discussion of the British trade position since the War is to be found in Loveday, *Britain and World Trade*.

A specialist study is-

- ▶ Boggs, The International Trade Balance in Theory and Practice. A.
- 3. PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE. Nathan, Free Trade To-day.

A restatement of the Liberal point of view, with a good deal of information about safeguarding (to 1928).

Brooks, This Tariff Question.

An able presentation of the modern case for Protection.

▼ Beveridge and others, Tariffs: the Case Examined.

All the aspects of the contemporary English Protectionist arguments and proposals examined one by one, by a committee of economists under the chairmanship of the Director of the London School of Economics.

Historical studies-

Ashley, Modern Tariff History. A.

A study of the tariff histories of some leading countries.

Fuchs (trans. Archibald), The Trade Policy of Great Britain and Her Colonies Since 1860. (1905.)

Young, Great Britain's Recent Trend Towards Protection.

A readable survey from the American standpoint.

4. TARIFFS.

General textbooks—

I Gregory, Tariffs: a Study in Method. A.

A very elaborate treatment of the technical problems of tariffs. A standard work, indispensable to the serious student. It deals with developments up to 1921.

Fisk and Peirce, International Commercial Policies.

Somewhat similar to *Tariffs*, but covering a wider field in much less detail. Written from the American viewpoint, so the United States bulks large.

Special studies—

Higginson, Tariffs at Work.

A little book on Customs practice, based on pre-war experience.

Taussig, Some Aspects of the Tariff Question.

Essays on the history of various American industries under the tariff.

Viner, Dumping, a Problem in International Trade. A.

A standard work, containing a thorough examination of the whole subject up to 1923.

Greig, The Open-Door and the Mandates System.

The "Balfour" Committee on Industry and Trade,

First Report on "A Survey of Overseas Markets." Contains an attempt to measure the level of duties against British exports. (The last essay in Loveday's Britain and World Trade is a technical discussion of the making of Tariff Level Indices.)

Final Report, Section VIII, on British Customs Policy in Relation to Competitive Power. A useful discussion on tariff policy,

reviewing the McKenna and Safeguarding Duties.

✓ Documentation for the International Economic Conference, 1927. A.

Short treatises on various subjects, mostly prepared by experts, giving much valuable information.

Viner, Memorandum on Dumping.

Trendelenberg, Memorandum on the Legislation of Different States for the Prevention of Dumping, with Special Reference to Exchange Dumping; Customs Nomenclature and Customs Classification.

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Serruys, Commercial Treaties: Tariff Systems and Contractual Methods.

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Gliwic, Export Duties.

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Note. A good elementary handbook to British trade statistics is Bowley, Official Statistics: What they Contain and How to Use Them.

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