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為支那特別會計中  
別項ノ合計

第一條 爲替交易調整特別會計ニ於テ支拂上現金ニ不足ヲ生ジタル  
トキハ所管大臣ハ大藏大臣、承認ヲ經テ爲替交易調整特別會計  
對等爲替交易調整法第六條ニ規定スル一時借入金ニ代ヘ貿易資金  
ニ屬スル現金ヲ爲替交易調整特別會計規則第二條、支拂元受高ニ  
總替使用スルコトヲ得  
前項ノ規定ニ依リ總替使用シタル金額ハ該年度内ニ之ヲ返還ス  
ル

第二條 貿易資金ハ昭和二十年法律第五十三號第四條第一項、規定  
ニ依リ之ヲ左ニ稱シ、ニ適用スルコトヲ得  
一 總債  
二 大藏省預金部ヘ、預金  
三 大藏大臣、指定スル者ニ對シテ貸付金(引換)  
第三條 貿易資金ニ屬スル總替使用、保有價格ハ毎年三月三十一日

爲替信用保証

ニ於テ時價ニ準據シテ之ヲ改定スルニ付但シ時價ニ騰エザルモノニ  
付テハ此、限ニ在リ  
第四條 貿易資金ニ屬スル總替使用資產ニシテ減少シ又ハ價格、減損  
生ジタルモノ、アルトキハ爲替交易調整特別會計、載入、收入濟總  
ヨリ歳出、支出濟額ヲ控除シタル剩餘額ヲ以テ之ヲ償却シ尙不足  
アルトキハ資金ヨリ之ヲ償却スル  
第五條 所管大臣ハ毎年歳算年度三月三十一日ニ於ケル貿易資金  
、總替資產明細表ヲ編製シ翌年歳七月三十一日迄ニ之ヲ大藏大臣  
ニ送付スル  
前項、總替資產明細表、様式ハ所管大臣大藏大臣ト協議シテ之ヲ  
定ムル  
第六條 大藏省ハ爲替交易調整特別會計規則第七條ニ規定スル帳簿  
ニ貿易資金、受拂及運用ニ關スル一切、計算ヲ管理スル  
附 則  
本令ハ公布、日ヨリ之ヲ施行ス

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理由  
昭和二十年法律第五十三號（貿易資金設置ニ關スル法律）ノ制定ニ  
伴フ同法ノ施行等ニ關シ必要ナル勅令ヲ制定スルノ要アリテ依ル

全稱ノ七二十三號

後編附外務省相續決定ノ勅題（未定稿）

(三〇一、二九)

大日本帝國政府

- 一 序
- 二 爲替相場決定ノ時期トソノ得失
- 三 世界經濟ノ見通シ
- 四 我國經濟再建ノ意
- 五 爲替相場決定ノ考慮スベキ要件
- 六 爲替相場決定ノ資料的方面
- 七 結 語

第五再四回

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二澤田氏

同日表

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大日本帝國政府

政策ノ確立ヲ不明ナラシメテ居リ、第一ニ賠償ノ條件ト再建産業ノ  
種類ノ不確定ヲ同様ノ結果ヲ得シ、第二ニ賠償ノ取引ハ個別のパー  
タリテ以テ充分處理シ得ルカラデアレ。

大日本帝國政府

一、序  
我國對外爲替相場決定ノ問題  
時期ノ晚イ早イハアルトシテモ我國ノ對外爲替相場ハイノレハ決定  
サレネバナラナイガ、ソノ決定ハ統計ヤ計算ヲ超ヘタ世界經濟ノ見  
識シト、我國經濟再建意志ノ如何ニ懸ツテ居テ数字的表現ハ甚ク困  
難デアル。ソレニモ不拘結露トシテハ爲替相場ハ数字ニ表現セラレ  
ネバナラナイ。

大日本帝國政府

ニ依ツテ一時の技術的ニ解決シ置クヤロシトスル。
世界經濟ノ見込シハ世界政治ノ見込シヤア也。及イ國權ノ世界政治
ノ軸キカラ運轉サレテ居ル我國ニトマテコノ動キヲ適應ニ思フコト
ハ誠ニ困難ヤアル。然レ其後ノ世界政治經濟ニ對スル世界各國ノ努
力ガ國際協調ニ向ケテレハナラバト云フ結果ニ達シテ居ルハ見ル
ノハ願サデハナカラス。

大日本帝國政府

存在スルコトヲ是出シタトハブレトン・ウツツ會議終了ニ繼シテ
時ノ米國商務長官モーゲンソーンノ演説アル。彼ハ更ニ
「モレモ平和ノ世界ニ於テ、且ツ人類ノ合理的ナ國際ヲ實現サセル
生活水準ヲ維持シマツ、完全雇傭ナルモノヲ達成シナケレバナラマ
トスレハ國際貿易ノ復活コソ不可成ノモノデアアル。果シテ是ラバ各
國間ノ通商ガ今一度發育シ得ル基礎條件ハ何デアラカ。第一ニ全
國家ガ自國內ノ經濟問題處理ニ自由ナ行動ヲトキマ、而モ充分立脚
シ得ル如キ國際關係ノ合理的ナ安定基礎ヲナケレバナラナイ。通商
ノ競争的放價、過度ノ關稅障礙、不經濟ナル物々交換取引、多角の
通貨操作、不必要ナル爲替制限、過去ニ於テ各國政府ハ新キ方途ニ
依ツテ爲替ヲ維持シ生活水準ヲ引上げ使トシテ彼ラニ失敗ヲ繰リ返
シタ。一ト述ベテ居ル。



大日本帝國政府

「平價物下格」ト云フ言葉ガ漢字ト書ハレテ居ルガ、少キトモ二  
ツノ異フヲ意味ガマレ。ソノ「一」ハ現在ノ國庫十圓ナリ百圓ナ  
リ。以テ新シイ國庫幣一圓ト交換スルコトデアル。コノ適合債權  
債務ノ額ノ目、物價ト收入ノ對比關係ガ一齊ニ十分ノ一ナリ百分  
ノ一デ均衡ナリト云フハ極端ノ意味ハナク、其時地方ノ登  
化ガマルノミデアル。ソレハ「一」ノ代リニ「兩」ヲ以テシテモ  
同義デアル。只數額ト大キキ數字ノ代リニ簡單ト數字ヲ用アルト  
云フ所ニシテ意味ガマレ。コレニ反シ或モ「一」圓定シ、或ルモノ  
ハ進化スルトスレバコノ平價物下格ニ充分ノ意味ハアル。即チ公  
債トシテ是給トシテノ債務ハ國庫幣固定シ、貨價トシテ日給下格ノ收入  
ハ國庫幣ノ額ヲ新國庫幣以テ入ルト云フ適合ガアレデアル。然シカ、  
ル意味ノ平價物下格ハ適合行ハレルモノトモ、等ヘキレナイ。  
平價物下格ノ「二」意味ハ國庫幣ノ進歩スベキ金ノ量目ノ問題デ  
アル。一圓五圓ガ一圓五十圓トナレバソレハ平價ノ物下格デアル。  
我國ノ如ク事實上永ク金カク騰レテ居テモ、觀念ノ中ニハ一圓五  
圓ガ強クテ居ル。新シイ爲替相場ガ決定スルトスレバ、ソノ範圍

大日本帝國政府

キモテデアル。國內ノ制度ヲ整ヘテ國際經濟社會ヘ一人前ノ輸出シ  
テセテ貨物ト云フ點ニ於テ、明治ノ先、歩イタ途ヲ今一歩歩マ  
ネバナラナイ。コレニハ並々ナラマ努力ト意志ガ必要デアル。  
對外爲替相場ノ決定ガ統計ヤ計算ヲ超ヘタ我國經濟再建意志ノ如何  
ニ懸ツテ居ルト云フノハコトコトデアル。數字トシテ表現セラレ  
爲替相場ガ努力目標デアルト云フノモコノ意味デアル。財政ヲ均衡  
セシメ、通貨ヲ健全ト基礎ニ置ク爲ニハ強イ政治力ト政治意志ヲ必  
要トスル。カ、ル即提ナクシテハ爲替相場ハ徑々ニ決定シ得ルモ  
デハナイ。「ヤツテ見テ悪カツタラ、ヤリ直ス」ト云フ試行誤差ノ  
方法ハ徒ラニ經濟混亂ヲ助長スルノミデアル。昭和初頭ノ金解禁ノ  
經驗ハ我々ニ多クノモヲ教ヘテ居ル。  
爲替相場決定ノ考慮スベキ要件  
爲替相場決定ノ前提ガ世界經濟ノ見送シト我國經濟再建意志ニ懸ツ  
テ居ルコトハ前述ノ如クデアルトシテ、ソノ決定ニ際シ考慮スベキ  
要件ハ何デアラウカ  
○(一)爲替相場ニ用フベキ邦貨單位

大日本帝國政府

運籌ヲ保テ、我國ハ米穀ヲ通シテコレヲ他國ニ運搬シ得ルニ云フ見識シテ必要トスルノアリ。又、米穀ニ關シテハ一應肯定シ得ルと思フ。即チ中國モ關印モ暹羅等々米穀米穀ニ運搬シテ考ヘテヨカロウトノ意味アリ。

同爲善相場ノ形式的安定

爲善相場ノ價額ノ如何ヲ問ハズ、一日決定シテ相場ハ安定スルコトヲ必要トスル。安定ト云フノハ實質的ニハ國內ノ匯率水準ト生活水準トニ對スル安定ヲナケレバナラザルアリ。又、米穀ノ一應單ナル付ケト云フ意味ノ安定ヲ問はず。米穀ノ價額ノ形式的安定モ爲善相場ノ決定ニ必要アリ。又、米穀ノ價額ノ決定ガ確實ヲ要スルノアリ。フレトン・ウツツノ精神ヨリ見テモ、亦我經濟ノ健全ヲ再建カラ見テモ試行誤差ノ方法ハ採リ得ザル所アリ。一日決定シタカラニハ守リ抜ク決意ガナケレバナラナイ。

同貿易上ノ立場

我國將來ノ經濟政策ガ、下ノ産業ヲ中心トスルモノカハ現在決定的デハナイ。然シテガラ欲ノラレタ領土ニ膨大ナ人口ヲ養フ爲ニハ食糧、工業原料ノ輸入ト工業製品ノ輸出ヲ行ハネバナラザルト

大日本帝國政府

ニハ必ズ一尙何國カガ發端スル。コレニ適合平穩ハ必ズヤ朝下ケレト感ズルヲアウガ、然シコレハ事應ノ追認デアツテ新メナ意味ハナク、貨幣單位ガ「關」カラ何ニ代ルトモ同價デアツテ相違ハナイ。

從ツテ現狀デハ現在ノ「關」ニ以テ對外爲善相場決定ノ單位ト考ヘベキデアリ。

同爲善相場ノ基準點

爲善相場ノ基準點何國ニ求ムベキカハ一應問題トシテ考慮スベキデアツテ將來ノ市場關係ヲ考ヘレバ中國、關印、佛印、ヒリツビ等ニハ英國等モ考慮スベキデアリ。現狀ニ於テハ米國ニ基準點ト求ムルコトトナラザラウ。米國ニ基準點ト求ムルコトト、單純ニ米穀ニ關シテハ米穀ニ求ムルコトト、ハ同ジデアリ。米穀ニ關シテ、單純ニ米穀ニ求ムルコトトハ關稅匯金等諸國ノ加盟國通貨ノ平穩ノ條ヨリシテ便宜トスル所デアリカ、米國ト、市場關係ニ從テ關稅トスルノハ更ニ廣汎ト考慮カ必要デアリ。即チ現狀デハ米國ガ我國管理ノ主力デアリルコトトハ勿論デアリ。ルガ將來モ我國ニ對シテ米國ノ諸國ガ米國ノ經濟ニ密接ト



大日本帝國政府

國內農業維持ノ立場

ハ明白ナル。更ニ税關ガ關稅上ノ自由權ヲ得ラレカドウカヲ  
モ問題トシテ考ヘル時、國內ノ糧食水準ノ維持ト生活水準ノ向上  
ヲ對ルニ爲テ相續ノ傾頭ハ最大ノ關心事ト云フベキデアアル。糧  
食競争力ト云フ立場ヨリ云ヘバ關稅ノ對外傾斜ハ低イ方ガヨイデ  
アラウ。コレニ依ツテ糧食水準ハ維持シ得ルカモ知レナイ。然シ  
生活水準ノ向上ハ得ラレルトハ限ラナイ。結局ハ我國等國力ノ安  
實トニ終ルノデアアル。要ハ無産ト競争力ヲ爲テ相續ニ欲ツテ得  
ウトセヨトデアアル。

内賠償並ビニ應給輸入ノ立場

大日本帝國政府

外國資本輸入ノ立場

金額(外資)ニヨル賠償負擔ノ可避性ハ現在ノ所少イガ、萬一ニ  
モ金額テノ賠償ガ課セラル、モノトスレバ、賠償ノ對外傾斜ハ高  
イ程有利トシテ自國デアアル。然シコレニ餘リ拘泥スルノハ一時ノ  
損害ヲ脱シントシテ將來ノ禍ヲ種ストトスル。賠償ノ實質買付  
ノ多ノ對外傾斜ノ高カランマシテ望ム、モ亦コレト同様デアアル。  
コレノ段階ニ於テハ出來ルタケ個別的ナ物々交換的方法ニヨツテ處  
理スルノヲ得東トスル。

技術經濟再建ノ爲テ外國資本ノ輸入ヲ希望スル立場

我國經濟再建ノ爲テ外國資本ノ輸入ヲ希望スル立場モアル。コレノ立  
場ニ於テハ爲替相場ノ高下ヨリモ、安定ヲ考慮スルデアラウ。  
然シ資本ハイソレ物資力技術ノ形テ人ツテ來ルデアラウカラテレ  
ハ輸入乃至賠償支拂ノ立場ト同様ニナツテ來ル。  
要スルニ以上ノ考慮事項ノ多クハ爲替相場ガ変動ノ影響ニトツテ取  
ノ端デアアルトシテ論議ヲテ得ル。現在ノ一國一チ米國ノ爲替ニ結  
ビツケル爲ニハ平凡ノ結論ナカラズ、我國ノ生活水準ト米國ノ生活水準  
ノ比較ヨリ他ハナイ。尤モ現在ノ我國ノ生活水準ハ假令ボツダム宜

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大日本帝國政府

實ニ依ツテ許容セラル生活水準が如何ニ低イモノデアツテモ本且  
ツ向上セシノ得ルモノデアアル。  
六、為替相場決定ノ資料的方面  
金價ト相連シテ通貨ノ對外價值ノ決定ニハ、購買力平價説の方法が最  
大ノ手懸キデアアル。然シソノ派ノ形トシテノ實際的商品(例ヘバ  
小麦)ノ價格ノ比較カラ複雜ナ形ノ生活水準ノ比較ニ到ル迄幾多ノ  
段階ガアル。又單純ニ通貨數量説的方法モ考ヘラレル。ハ、關係兩國ノ生活費指數  
或ニ最モ實際的ニ方法トシテ考ヘラレル。ハ、關係兩國ノ生活費指數  
ノ相對的變動ヲ見ルモノデアアル。以下ノ方法ヲ第一トシテ、コレ  
ガ補充的資料ヲ若干例示シテ見ヤウ。  
イ、イレニセヨ變動ノ相對的比較ヲナス時點ガ問題トナルガ始期トシ  
テハ大東亞戰線開始ノ年又ハ八月、ソテ支那事變開始ノ年又ハ八月、ソ  
ノ中間ノ爲替的變化アリシ年又ハ八月等ヲ考ヘ得、終期トシテハ大東  
亞戰線終戰ノ時又ハ對外爲替相場決定ノ時ヲ考ヘ得ラレルガ、茲ニ  
ハ大東亞戰線開始ノ年又ハ八月トソノ終戰後ノ月ヲ一應ノ基準トシテ考  
察スルモノトス。

大日本帝國政府

(一) 生計費ノ比較  
米國ノ生計費指數ハ戰時中四割ノ騰貴ヲ報セラレテ居ルガ勞働團  
体方面デハコノ計算ハ低キニ過ギルト見テ居リ、實際ニ主婦ノ價  
工合ハ十割程度ノ騰貴ヲ蒙ツテ居ルト云フ。コレニ對シ我國ノ生  
計費指數ハ得ラレナイガ家計トシテハ消費單位三乃至四ノ家庭ニ  
於テ戰前六十圓乃至百圓ノモノガ、戰後三百圓乃至五百圓ニ騰貴  
シタコトガ報セラレテ居ル。五倍程度ノ騰貴デアアルガ戰後ノ家計  
内容ノ殆ンドガ食費ニ占メラレテ居テ、衣服等ハ全然購入シテ居  
ナイ略型的家計デアアルコトヲ考慮スレバ、コレ等ヲ含メテ比較  
ルベキ生計費ノ騰貴ハ八倍乃至十倍ト概算シ得ルノデアアル。コノ  
粗雑ニ係數ヲ通シテ見ルト「關」ハ「弗」ニ對シ戰時中戰前ノ比  
價ヨリ更ニ約五分、一ニ下落シタコトニナル。  
(二) 物價ノ比較  
米國ノ物價ハ戰時中モ據ルベキ指數ガアルガ、我國ニハ據ルベキ  
指數ハナイ。發表セラレテ居ルモノハ公定物價中心ノ名目的指數デ  
比較ノ對象トシテハ不適當デアアル。從ツテ物價ヲ考慮スベキデ

大日本帝國政府

ク、常識的ニハ土産労働ニ於テハ十倍乃至二十倍ノ購買ト云ヘレテ居ル。

四 生産力ノ比較

國民ノ生活水準ト密接不離ナキモノニ一國ノ生産力ノ水準ガアル。戰爭ノ過程ト直接ノ聯繫ト散離ニ依ツテ我國ノ生産力ハ如何程度下シタデアラウカ。斯カル生産力ノ評價ノ指標ハ得ラレナイデアラウカ、鐵鋼生産能力、綿絲生産能力、貨物輸送能力等鐵鋼ノ指標ノ組合セカテ假リニ我國ノ生産力トモ稱スベキモノガ判定出來ルナラバ、國民生活水準決定ノ補充的資料トナルデアラウカ。

五 國民所得ノ比較

實質的ノ國民所得ノ額ハ國民ノ生活水準ヲ表現スルモノト考ヘルコトガ出來ル。然シカカク實質的國民所得ヲ貨幣的國民所得カラ推算スル爲ニハ物價指數ニヨル補正ヲ必要トスル。又物の所得ヲ直接算出スル爲ニハ多分ニ物價ノ生産力決定ト同様ノ資料ヲ必要トスル。

六 貨幣數額ノ比較

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イアルガ、物價ニモ一額ノ水準ハ配ノラレ、個々ノ資料ノ採集モ可能デハアルガコレヲ指數ニ組立ナルコトハ得難ノ問題デ非常ニ困難デアル。

試ミニ茲デハ物價水準決定ノ一助トシテ、生食物タル米ノ生産原價ヲ利用シテ居ル。米ノ生産原價特ニソノ直接生産原價ノ大部分ヲナスモノハ肥料費ト手間代ヲ特ニ自給肥料ノ多イ場合、大部分ハ勞賃ノ評價デアツテ生計費比較ノ補充トシテハ多少循環的の惧レガアルガ、政策的ノ公正價格ヲ異常ノ高價格ヨリハ意味ガアルト思ハレル。二十年度産米ニ就イテ二、三ノ新聞ノ報導ニヨルト、米ノ生産原價ハ一石當リ四百圓乃至五百圓トナツテ居ル。コノ値頃ハ十五年度乃至十六年度産米ノ生産原價三十五圓乃至四十五圓ノ約十一、二倍ニ相當シテ居ル。從ツテ物價水準モコノ程度ノ騰貴ト見テヨイノデアハナカラウカ。

七 貨幣ノ比較

貨幣ノ指數モ亦、生活水準比較ノ有力ノ補充的資料タリ得ル。然シナガラコレモ物價ノ指數ト同様本邦側ノ正確ノ資料ヲ得ルニ難

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價額シ得十イ物價指數ナ。ナテ、兩國ノ貨幣價值ノ變動ヲ比較スル爲ニ、素材ノ貨幣數量ニ從シテ通貨流通量ノ比較ヲ行フ方法モアラウ。

昭和十六年十二月 昭和二十年終戦時 現在(十月)

米 國 一〇六億弗 二六六億弗(六月) 一

日 本 四七億圓 三〇二億圓 四二〇億圓

コノ方法ニヨレバ現在ノ流通量ヲ以テシテモ國貨ノ貨幣下置ハ戰時中三・五分ノ一ト云フ値デアル。但シ通貨流通量ノ問題ヲ考ヘレバ又別個ノモノトナラウ。

(四) 國債發行高ノ比較

國債發行高乃至ハ國家負債額新額ノ比較モ又幾分ノ資料タリ得マウ。コノ數字ハ得ラレル數字デアリ、ソノ持ツ意味ハ貨幣數量ノ比較ト類似タモノデアラウ。

(五) 個別商品ノ採算

專門業者ニハ永イ經驗カラ來ル鋭イ勘ガアルシ、又ソレ相當ノ採算モアル。コノ意味ヲ將來貿易ノ中心トナルベキ商品ノ個別の採

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(四) 金生産ノ採算

算ヲ開フノモ一ツノ方法デアル。但シ經營經濟的立場カラ採算ハ國民經濟的立場カラ補正シテ考ヘネバナラナイ。總攬業者ガ一考ヘ十圓ヲ引合フト算盤ヲ置イテモ、紡績労働者ニ幾何ノ生活水準ヲ許スカチ検討シナレバナラナイ。

金ノ生産費ヲ貨幣ノ對外價值ノ指標トスルコトハ貨幣論上本來顯例ノ様ヒハアル。ソシテ又我國ノ金ハ多ク國產物デアル點モ考ヘネバナラナイ。又米ノ生産費ノ場合ト同ジク勞賃ノ問題ニ還元スルコトニモナル。然シナガラ爲替相場ノ數字の表現ニ際シテ一應參考トナルモノト考ヘラレル。

七 結 語

進駐軍ハ一考チ假リ二十五圓ト換算シテ居ル。コノ點トハ何ニシテタカ不明デアルガ、余リ見當チ外レテハ居ナイ。感シハ若干コレヨリ國ノ價值ガ低ク二十圓見當デハナイカト思ヘレ。カカル先人感ヲ持ツコト自体ガ危險ナノデアルガ現在ノ時期ニ於テ「國體的ニ國

② E'3.0.0.1-4

THE FIXING OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE RATES

FRANK M. TAMAGNA

This highly controversial subject has not been, so far, systematically treated by any economist. The present paper, prepared under the extreme pressure of wartime conditions, does not purport to give a definite answer to the knotty problem. Its main purpose is to present for discussion and criticism certain theoretical and practical issues involved in the fixing of exchange rates for currencies of liberated and occupied countries and in the current plans for postwar international monetary stabilization.

1. THE APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

The view taken here is that the exchange-rate mechanism is an instrument of monetary policy and that monetary policy is a part of general economic policy. It appears important to determine from the outset the role of the exchange rate in the successive phases of military occupation and economic and political reconstruction which characterize the passage from war to peace. For enemy countries, as well as for most areas occupied by the enemy, the first step is the fixing of exchange rates used by the Allied forces during the course of invasion and military occupation or liberation; this may be defined as the phase of "military occupation," for all purposes an integral part of the war period. With the cessation of hostilities and the gradual contraction of requirements, each country is faced with the problem of adopting exchange policies which facilitate the readjustment of its own economy and of its relations with foreign countries; this may be

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defined as the "transition phase" from war to peace. Finally, with the completion of the process of demobilization of the war economy, problems of economic stabilization become paramount, although many reconstruction and development projects resulting from the war are to be carried over from the transition phase into peacetime. The duration of the three phases depends upon military developments and political factors and may vary greatly from country to country. Economic policies differ from phase to phase, being characterized by different objectives -- inflation control, economic reconstruction, and international stabilization -- aimed at during each successive phase. Obviously, exchange rates cannot give a full answer to the ultimate aims of economic policies, but rates appropriate to the task should be secured.

The determination of a correct exchange rate is a very difficult problem even under normal conditions. Under the impact of war the problem becomes practically insoluble for obvious reasons. First, the maintenance of artificial values for the currencies by exchange control and monopolistic practices makes the theoretical gold content of formally existent exchange rate useless as a basis of comparison between various monetary units. Second, war leads to a suspension or diversion of international trade relations, and this, in turn, removes certain major classes of data which are generally used for the analysis of the international trade position of a country. Third, comparative interest rates and profit expectations are eliminated as factors guiding international capital movements, while the growth of clearing similar other nontransferable balances tends to alter the pre-existing debtor-creditor relations.

Fourth, differences in the rate of inflationary developments in the various countries either the domestic factors upon which the international value of the currency is strictly dependent, such as production costs and the propensity to consume. Fifth, military operations preceding the liberation of friendly nations or the occupation of enemy countries cause widespread destruction, disrupt economic activities, and give rise to dangerous inflationary developments, the extent and duration of which cannot be easily appraised. Sixth, military developments during the war, as well as the political and economic peace terms, are likely to bring about fundamental changes in the productive structure of the country, thereby altering its role in the world commerce. Thus, a country may emerge from the war as a potential importer of foodstuffs which were formerly produced within its boundaries, while conversion of the wartime economy to a peacetime basis may alter the capacity of its export industries and, in turn, the schedule of its requirements of imported raw materials. Last, but not least, alteration of the value of the currency is usually accompanied by political, psychological, and social reactions of various nature; these reactions are likely to be particularly intense in the social upheaval which usually follows a great war.

The complexities involved in the process of fixing exchange rates would seem to call for special study during the preparatory work on any currency plan; it would also seem that the guiding principle for fixing exchange rates should be an integral part of any international monetary agreement. Yet according to the official documents released to the public by the American and British treasuries, it does not appear that the problem was given attention in the preparation of the International Monetary Fund; the proposed plans and the international

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agreement provided for administrative procedures but failed to lay down rules according to which exchange rates could be fixed. The experiences so far had with the fixing of exchange rates in liberated and occupied countries are suggestive of the application of rudimentary practices rather than of a scientific approach to the problem.

### II. THE FIXING OF EXCHANGE RATES IN MILITARY PLANS

The preliminary draft of the American Proposal for a United and Associated Nations Stabilization Fund, released on April 6, 1943, provided that the Fund should fix the rate "at which it would buy and sell one member's currency for another" and added that "the guiding principle in the fixing of such rates shall be stability in exchange rate relationship." The term "stability in exchange rate relationship" offered no real light, being itself an aim to be achieved; moreover, under the conditions set up by the Proposal, it was a meaningless yardstick, as the currencies were to remain rigidly anchored to the initial rates fixed by the Fund. The member countries were called upon "to maintain by appropriate action the exchange rates established by the Fund"; and the changes in rates were to "be considered only when essential to correction of a fundamental disequilibrium and be permitted only with the approval of four-fifths of member votes." These clauses failed to provide for political terms or economic conditions by which the fixing of the initial rates could be guided. Furthermore, the rigidity of the rate structure was such that a country would have been forced to adjust its economy to an incorrect rate, if the Fund failed in the overwhelming task of fixing a correct initial rate.

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The revised draft of the American Proposal, released on July 10, 1943, assumed existing rates of exchange to be generally satisfactory and provided that "for any country which becomes a member prior to the date on which the Fund's operations begin, the rate initially used by the Fund shall be based upon the value of the currency in terms of dollars which prevailed on July 1, 1943." Only in case such rates were "clearly inappropriate" could either the member country or the Fund request that the initial rate be determined "by consultation" between the member-country and the Fund. A similar procedure by consultation was to be applied in the case of those countries which had been occupied by the enemy; under special conditions, these countries could be permitted to fix a provisional rate agreed upon with the Fund. The revised draft also provided that, during the first three years of the Fund's operations, (a) member-countries could change the established rate for their currency by not more than 10 per cent after notice to and upon consultation with the Fund; and (b) further changes in the exchange rate of a member-country which is "clearly inconsistent with the maintenance of a balanced international payments position" for that country should be permitted by a majority of the member votes. Aside from this special procedure for the first three years of the Fund's operations, other changes in exchange rates were to "be considered only when essential to the correction of fundamental disequilibrium of its balance of payments" and to be approved by three-fourths of the member-votes, including the representative of the country concerned. On the whole, the revised draft circumvented the fundamental question of how to fix the initial exchange

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rate and liberalized to some extent the strict clauses of the preliminary draft. It left, however, considerable ambiguity as to the meaning of "fundamental disequilibrium" and as to whether the position of the current accounts only or of both current and capital accounts of the balance of payments of a country were to be taken into consideration for altering the exchange value of its currency.

The provisions of the British Proposals for an International Clearing Union (released on April 7, 1945) with regard to fixing and changing exchange rates were altogether less stringent and expressed in a clearer terminology. Two primary objectives of the plan were stated to be "an orderly and agreed upon method of determining the relative exchange values of national currency units, so that unilateral actions and competitive exchange depreciation are prevented," and "a system possessed of an international stabilizing mechanism by which pressure is exercised on any country whose balance of payments with the rest of the world is departing from equilibrium, so as to prevent movements which must create for its neighbours an equal but opposite want of balance." Member-countries were called upon to "agree among themselves the initial values of their own currencies in terms of bancor." The approval of the Governing Board of the Clearing Union was required for subsequent changes in rates; it was provided, however, that (a) a country should be entitled to reduce the value of its currency by not more than 5 per cent without the consent of the board "if its debit balance to the Union exceeded a quarter of its quota on the average of at least two years"; that (b) the Board could require a reduction in the value of a member's currency as a condition for allowing the member-country to increase its debit balance to a figure in excess of one-half of its quota; and that (c) the board could recommend to a member-country whose credit balances exceeded one-half of its quota on the average of at least a year the appreciation of its local currency in terms of bancor. The British Proposals recognized the close interrelation existing between stability in the domestic economy and stability in the exchange-rate structure and provided for a limited flexibility in exchange rates within a stable rate structure in order to allow adjustments to be made to new conditions without requiring special economic and financial

sacrifices from member-countries. Like the American Proposal, however, they made provision for changes in exchange rates but failed to offer a workable procedure for sixty or more countries to agree among themselves upon the initial rates.

The legalistic approach of the American Proposal and the economic analysis contained in the British Proposals were blended together in more harmonious form in the Joint Statement issued by the monetary experts of "the United and Associated Nations" on April 21, 1944. It would appear that on the subject of fixing exchange rates the British point of view prevailed. The Joint Statement provided that "the par value of a member's currency shall be agreed upon with the Fund when it is admitted to membership" -- no rules, however, were set up as to how the exchange rates of the founding members were to be initially determined. The Fund was required to approve a change in the par value of a currency, if requested by the member-country and considered to be essential to the correction of a fundamental disequilibrium. Considerable flexibility of interpretation was provided to the term "fundamental disequilibrium" by the provision that, in considering a requested change, the Fund should take into account "the extreme uncertainties prevailing at the time the parities of the currencies of the member countries were initially agreed upon." The proposed scheme removed the time limitation on the American Proposal's clause (there limited to the first three years of the Fund's operations) that member-countries could alter the parities of their currencies after merely consulting the Fund, provided the proposed change inclusive of any previous changes since the Fund's establishment would not exceed 10 per cent either above or below the original parity. A clearer step in the direction of greater flexibility was, however, the provision that changes in exchange rates could be sanctioned by a simple majority vote (as in the British Proposals), where as under the American Proposal a three-fourths vote was required.

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These general principles of the Joint Statement have been embodied in the Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund, signed by the United and Associated Nations at Bretton Woods on July 22, 1944. Under the terms of the Agreement, the exchange rates at which the Fund will conduct operations, or "par values," shall be fixed at the levels prevailing on the sixtieth day before the entry into force of the Agreement. Each member-country, however, will be allowed 90 days after the Fund has announced its proximate readiness to begin exchange transactions to notify the Fund that it regards the rate for its currency as "unsatisfactory." During the same period the Fund could raise objections to the rate of any currency if "in its opinion the par value cannot be maintained without causing recourse to the Fund on the part of that member or others on a scale prejudicial to the Fund and to the members." In either case, the Fund and the member-country shall, within a period determined by the Fund, agree upon a suitable par value for that currency; if no accord is reached, the member-country shall be deemed to have withdrawn from the Fund. Special concessions are provided for countries occupied by the enemy -- the ninety-day period may be extended, and, during this extended period the countries in question will be allowed to make changes in the rates of their currencies by agreement with the Fund, and the Fund will be allowed to purchase their currencies under such conditions and in such amounts as it may prescribe. The 10 per cent margin of appreciation or depreciation, which the Joint Statement allowed to member-countries on the par values of their own currency, has been maintained unchanged in the Agreement; the same is true of the rules concerning further changes in exchange rates.

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The Agreement provides for a greater flexibility of exchange rates than any of the preceding proposals but fails to lay down a clear line of policy. For instance, the power attributed to the Fund to object to a rate if it cannot be maintained without recourse to the Fund "on a scale prejudicial to the Fund and to members", as a technical provision obviously intended for the protection of the Fund's resources; on the other hand, it has definite economic implications, as it implies the fixing of a structure of exchange rates which may achieve and maintain a state of equilibrium in the member-countries' balances of payments. Yet, nowhere in the Agreement is this objective clearly stated, nor is there a definite rule to guide the Fund and the member-countries in the determination of such an equilibrium rate.

There appears to be a fundamental difference of viewpoint between the original American Proposal and the final Agreement. Significantly enough, the term "stabilization", which characterized the philosophy and aims of the American Proposal, does not appear in the Agreement; more important, though less conspicuous, is the shift from internal corrective measures to a more liberal use of the exchange-rate mechanism for adjusting disequilibria in a country's balance of payments.

It is entirely understandable that the United States should approach the problem of fixing exchange rates with a preference for greater international control and rigidity, while Great Britain and other countries should tend toward maintaining a considerable degree of national autonomy and flexibility. Flexibility of exchange rates would be of little consequence to economic

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and social readjustment in the United States after the war; on the other hand, a rigid rate structure from the outset would probably upset any policy by Great Britain (as well as most other countries) directed toward achieving full employment while maintaining equilibrium in her balance of payments.

### III. EXCHANGE RATES FOR CURRENCIES OF LIBERATED AND OCCUPIED COUNTRIES.

The International Monetary Fund is designed for a postwar period under normal conditions, although it probably will begin operations before then. During the war, however, exchange rates for currencies of liberated friendly nations and occupied enemy countries are fixed by Allied military authorities following negotiations and arrangements between the interested governments. During this phase the value of a currency can have little or no bearing on the volume and flow of imports and exports, and the determination of an appropriate exchange rate need be governed not by balance-of-payments considerations but rather by internal factors. The ability of liberated and occupied countries to participate in international trade as exporters of goods will have been substantially reduced during the course of the war; on the other hand, in general, the amount of imports will be restricted by the quantity of foreign supplies and the volume of shipping space made available rather than by scarcity of foreign exchange. Imports and exports of goods and international financial transactions will continue to be subject to stringent official control and dictated by military necessity and political considerations. During and immediately after

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the phase of hostilities in a liberated or occupied country, foreign trade proceeds on a basis largely controlled by military authorities, who bring only those products which either are needed by their own forces or are needed to maintain the civilian population at some sort of subsistence level, while a major part of internal transactions consists of sales of goods and services to Allied armies. Furthermore, at the time of liberation or occupation, most countries are likely to be in the grip of inflation as a result of comparatively large sums of cash in the hands of the local population, severe shortages of essential commodities, disruption or destruction of the production and transportation systems, and outlays by military forces.

Elementary considerations of economic policy would suggest that precautions be taken against seriously aggravating inflationary conditions through fixing an unduly low exchange rate for the local currency. Such a rate would have the following main effects; (1) it would expand the cash allowance of the members of the Allied forces in terms of local currency and, therefore, their purchasing power in terms of goods and services in the local market (local expenses by soldiers represent one of the most important inflationary factors in any area where large forces are stationed); (2) it would minimize the resistance of the services of the Allied forces against paying higher wages to local labor and higher prices for local products, as prevailing wages and prices would appear unjustifiably low in terms of dollars or pounds; (3) it would tend to increase the domestic prices of those types of commodities which can be exported to the United Nations and to neutral countries; (4) it would increase the official prices of foodstuffs and relief goods imported into the area which are

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debited to the receiving country and, as far as possible, sold through commercial channels on a cost-plus-transportation basis; and (5) it would have an adverse psychological effect on confidence in the money by the people in general, thus encouraging flight from the local currency into foreign currencies or goods.

The exchange rate applied during the phase of liberation or occupation should be one which appears to be or can be easily explained as fair from an administrative, psychological, and economic point of view. A rate in round numbers, which is not subject to frequent changes, would be most convenient for conversion by soldiers and civilians alike and for purposes of administration by the military authorities. A rate acceptable to the local population would contribute to maintaining whatever confidence might be left in the local currency and would not further encourage, but rather retard, black-market speculation in foreign currencies and goods. In view of the role of the Allied armies as liberating and democratic forces, this consideration is of the utmost importance and would seem to exclude the fixing of any rate suggestive of "exchange profiteering," either by the Allied armies or by local speculators, or by both.

Reasons of convenience rule out flexible rates and exchange manipulations by military or civilian authorities during the course of liberation or occupation and suggest that a rigid rate be set and be maintained in effect by strict exchange control. In practice, the fixing of a convenient rate for the currency of a liberated or occupied country could be guided by an estimate of the depreciation of its domestic purchasing power as related to a pre-war base, compared with the rise of prices which has occurred in the United States, Great Britain, and contiguous countries. The choice of a pre-war base could in practice be restricted to a single year, or to the average of two or three years, of the 1936-39 period. As a rule, official price indices should be used. The fact that official prices are frequently fictitious is not

overlooked;

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overlooked; their use rather implies that every effort ought to be made by military and civilian authorities to maintain, through rationing and price control, as much as possible of the official price structure found to be in existence at the time of liberation or occupation. Black-market prices not only reflect the exceptional shortages of certain goods and the excessive purchasing power in the hands of the public but also contain a risk premium for the seller on account of the illegality of the transaction. They may serve, however, as a warning for correcting those official prices found to be clearly artificial and unreliable. While the difficulties of measuring the relative changes in the purchasing power of various currencies should not be minimized, for the practical purpose envisaged precise measurement is not essential.

If the rate which will meet these requirements cannot be determined precisely, it is better to err on the side of a rate which may involve an overvaluation of the local currency. Such a rate would act as a deterrent of inflationary forces. In fact, considerable overvaluation of the currency may be purposely advised for those areas, such as southeastern Europe and the Far East, where standards of living are low and services and locally produced commodities are comparatively cheap. The selection of a high exchange rate is the most practical and effective method of curbing the inflationary pressure resulting from expenses by members of the Allied armies, and particularly by members of the American forces. It is true that the choice of a high rate would normally make for relatively greater outlays in terms of dollars or pounds on the part of the supply services of the Allied armies. This, however, would make no difference in the case of enemy countries, because the whole outlay is paid for in special military currency or through advances from the local central bank, to be settled eventually through occupation levies and reparations; in the case of friendly countries the cost of liberation may be shared by their own governments through reciprocal lend-lease. In any event, the extra outlay would be small compared with total war costs and should be more than compensated by its beneficial psychological as well as economic effects. Moreover, if an initially low rate gives impetus to inflation, costs

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in dollars or pounds may be in the end as high as, or higher than, if the value of the local currency had been initially set at a high rate.

These considerations militate against a policy of unduly low rates for currencies of foreign countries temporarily occupied by Allied forces. The rates for the French franc and the Italian lira were apparently fixed on the basis of black-market quotations, with no attention given to their possible effects on the economic and social conditions of the countries involved. The rate of 75 francs to the dollar was fixed for North Africa in November, 1942; the rate proved excessively inflationary and was altered to 50 francs to the dollar on February 2, 1943, following remonstrances from French financial and governmental authorities. Punitive considerations may, unconsciously perhaps, have played an important role in fixing the absurdly low rates for the lira in Africa and in Italy. The rates of 480 lire to the pound in the Italian colonies and of 100 lire to the dollar in Italy, by making Italian goods and services available for a comparatively smaller amount of American or British currency, have served the function of a concealed occupation levy. Even this advantage, however, has been short lived, as the impetus given to inflation by the low exchange rate has caused prices to adjust themselves readily to the new value of the lira.

The experience in Italy has indicated that such undervaluation of the local currency represents a most disruptive element in an economy already ravaged by the war. The demand of members of the Allied forces has been directed particularly toward certain kinds of goods and services, the prices of which have advanced sharply and uninterruptedly, while prices of other goods and labor wages have lagged behind and salaries have shown little change. This disorder in the relationships between prices, wages, and salaries has unchained disruptive speculative movements and has affected adversely not only the position of the government bureaucracy, upon which the administrative system depends, but also the strength of the middle class, which

everywhere.

everywhere is the backbone of democracy and of social and political order. It may be said, therefore, that an undue undervaluation of a currency adds seriously to the burdens and difficulties of military government authorities and has social and political repercussions of tremendous intensity and long duration.

#### IV. EXCHANGE RATES DURING TRANSITION

The fixing of a fair rate during the course of liberation or occupation of a country acquires further importance if consideration is given to the fact that such a rate would tend to become the basic yardstick for fixing the postwar value of the local currency. Currency. Currency readjustments after the war are most likely to be on the downward side, inasmuch as the ravages of the war and, in the case of enemy countries, occupation costs and reparations can hardly operate in any other direction than to cause further depreciation of currencies. Any country wanting to reappreciate its currency would be bound to pursue a restrictive monetary policy, which would upset its program of economic reconstruction. In other words, the rate of exchange fixed for a country during the period of liberation or occupation will probably turn out to be the highest value at which its currency could, under the most favorable circumstances, be stabilized after the war. Beyond this point it is impossible, during the period of hostilities in and occupation of any particular country, to determine with any degree of certainty what foreign exchange rate would be best for that country in the postwar period.

At this juncture we might recall the experiences had in the fixing of European exchange rates after the first World War. During and after the war the gold stocks of most European countries had been largely depleted, and the flight of capital had caused exchange resources to be accumulated in private hands rather than in official reserve accounts. Economic conditions in various countries were largely determined by the pressing needs for rehabilitation and reconstruction expenditures and for outlays for reparations and for social and political purposes; this contributed to a situation of, or near to, full employment. Owing to the lack or inefficiency of exchange control mechanisms, and

partly for psychological reasons, rates of exchange depreciated generally during the first part of the twenties. The exchanges of some countries depreciated to such an extent that, at the lowest point, they appeared undervalued, that is they momentarily gave rise to an active balance of payments on current account. Most countries were anxious to avoid or, at any rate, to mitigate the economic depression that frequently follows stabilization, and therefore they chose stabilization levels at the bottom or at a new parity only slightly higher than the lowest rate of exchange. An important element in the decision to stabilize at that level was a desire, on the part of some countries, to maintain certain external markets which they had secured for their exportable goods through the process of currency depreciation. However, stabilization at low rates was frequently followed by monetary expansion and upward readjustments of prices.

Generally speaking, stabilization during the twenties had been a piecemeal process, carried out by one country after the other in an unco-ordinated manner. The outcome of this process was not a stable and orderly structure of international exchange rates, and stabilization at various levels unchained influences which in the long run defeated the object of stabilization itself. It may be further suggested that in fixing postwar rates not enough attention had been paid to the debit position, which in the long run was to characterize the balance of payments on current account of European countries vis-a-vis the United States. This was not entirely apparent so long as the total balance of payments was maintained in equilibrium by American lending. The new parities broke down in the early thirties under the combined pressure of the American depression, an increased volume of foreign indebtedness, and unsuccessful deflationary efforts pursued by various foreign countries.

#### V. SOME TECHNICAL PROCEDURES FOLLOWED IN FIXING EXCHANGE RATES

The fixing of the value of a currency after the war, when international trade is restored through commercial channels and foreign exchange control can be gradually relaxed, should be guided by considerations different from those used in determining exchange rates during

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the period of liberation or occupation. It is frequently suggested that after the war exchange controls should be abandoned and currencies allowed to find their "natural level." This expression, however, has no meaning in itself, because the "natural" or "equilibrium" level of a currency differs in accordance with the state of business in the world at large. In actual practice there is no simple or unique "natural" or "equilibrium" rate of exchange but a whole series of such rates depending upon relative income levels at home and abroad.

The technical procedures for fixing initial exchange rates are numerous. Unfortunately, while rudimentary devices are in general inadequate to the task of finding the "correct" rates, in most cases the statistical equipment necessary for scientific calculation does not exist.

No special attention should be paid to black-market rates for foreign exchange, which have arisen from the application of foreign exchange controls and wartime restrictions. This statement cannot be stressed sufficiently in view of the fact that the belief is still widespread in some official quarters that black-market rates are representative of the correct value of currencies, as distinct from their artificial "official" rates. Beyond doubt, it is easier to base a rate on a black-market quotation than to ascertain the approximate economic value of a currency. However, under the rigid system of foreign exchange control existing in most countries, black-market rates are entirely unreliable as an indication of the intrinsic value of a currency. Transactions on a black market usually take the form of purchases and sales of bank notes rather than that of bank transfers; the over-all volume of transactions is infinitesimally small, not only relative to the outstanding liquid holdings in the respective currency but also as compared with the volume of foreign trade and international financial transactions of the country concerned. Black-market rates reflect speculative expectations or the frantic desire of trapped men to flee their countries. A few wealthy individuals and politicians can sacrifice large amounts of their own currency in order to acquire a liquid position abroad.

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while for refugees forced to leave their homeland any rate is better than no realization on assets. The governments themselves do not hesitate to use the black market for their own purposes, thus giving a wholly "artificial" tone to that market's rates. Black markets are extremely sensitive to rumors of all kinds and respond violently to any war news. Moderate fluctuations in supply and demand are likely to bring about very considerable changes in rates. Quotations are frequently a matter of personal contacts and ability to bargain, and operations for sizable amounts are usually carried out in complete secrecy. Nobody can properly claim that a few black-market quotations, gathered at random, have any relation to the correct value of currencies. In short, black markets should be disregarded in the fixing of exchange rates not only for the purposes of postwar international stabilization but also in determining the value of currencies during the course of the war.

A method commonly followed by technicians is the "purchasing-power parity," which is based upon the theory that the rate of exchange between two currencies tends to move with the relative changes in the general price levels in each country. This theory, despite its widespread popularity, is subject to many limitations, as it abstracts from the difficulties of compiling and comparing price indices and also from factors other than prices affecting balances of payments and exchange rates. In actual practice its statistical application is a very rough and unreliable criterion for measuring the value of a currency on the basis of the price level in a country as compared with price levels in foreign markets. There are no adequate means for comparing the prices of individual goods or the level of prices in various countries, and, in any event, such comparison would be of little use because of basic differences in quality, location, standards of living, labor efficiency, and consumer preferences. Neither are index numbers very relevant for this purpose, as they are largely the result of promiscuous averaging processes through which

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the characteristics of the component items are diluted.

The technique generally used is to measure changes in the price indices of (rather than the absolute price levels in) two or more countries over a period of years, making allowance for any intervening changes in the exchange rates. The use of indices, however, involves the assumption that in the year from which the comparison is made the exchange rates and the price levels of the countries in question were in a position of equilibrium or that the precise degree of overvaluation or undervaluation of their currencies in terms of relative prices on that date was known. Because of statistical difficulties, the use of this technique is restricted to comparison between two or, at the most, three countries, changes of prices in other countries being purposely omitted. Moreover, different indices yield different results. If internationally traded goods only are taken into account, then the purchasing-power parity theory tends to become a mere truism, since the prices of such goods tend to fluctuate in a similar manner in different markets (with due allowance made for transportation, import and export duties and other nonmonetary factors) and to be proportionate to changes in exchange rates. If, on the other hand, price indices of domestic goods are used, the theory need not be necessarily true at all — in general, there is a considerable lag between the movement of prices of internationally traded goods, which are very sensitive, and the movement of prices of domestic goods, particularly retail prices, which usually show moderate variations because of the combined pressure exerted by legal and institutional forces. The use of general price indices would not yield any better results; the relative importance of international and of domestic goods in any country is influenced by business-cycle factors and varies widely from country with the result that average general indices are hardly representative of underlying economic elements in any country and do not provide adequate standards of comparison between countries.

After

After the war even greater difficulties will arise from the many dislocations caused in the price structure by the suspension of international commercial relations and by government intervention. In practically every country there will exist a dual price system, consisting of official and of black-market prices. In the official market, rationing governs the distribution of goods at fixed prices and prevents monetary expansion from producing its effect; in the black market, prices reflect not only the shortage of specific goods (such as imported goods, durable consumer goods, and other goods the production of which competes with military requirements) and the abundance of liquid purchasing power in the hands of the public but also the risk of detection and punishment. The relative importance of the official versus the black market varies greatly from country to country. In countries with moderate inflation and efficient administrative systems the turnover in the black market represents only an infinitesimal part of the total turnover of goods, while it may become the dominant market in an area directly affected by military hostilities. If reliable statistics for black-market transactions were available, one might be tempted to suggest the introduction of weighted indices of official and black-market prices. From the point of view of postwar stabilization, however, both the official and the black-market prices may be equally unrepresentative, and the re-establishment of a stable and orderly price structure in a country will ultimately depend upon the ability of its productive system to restore an equilibrium between the supply of and demand for goods.

The view that the ability of a country to compete in the international market depends upon its costs of production has brought forward the suggestion that the level of costs should be accepted as the best indication of the correct exchange value of a currency. In practice, the technique for measuring relative costs does not differ from that used for measuring relative purchasing powers and meets with very much the same difficulties and criticisms. For purposes of convenience, money wages are taken as an indication of production costs; for a given year the

Wage

wage levels in two or more countries are assumed to be in equilibrium at the given rate of exchange and relative productive efficiency, and subsequent changes are measured on the basis of wage indices. There is some justification for this method, particularly in view of the fact that the amount paid out as wages generally represents one-half or more of the national income of a country and is, therefore, the main element in the volume of purchasing power in the hands of the public.

It may be very dangerous, however, to rely too much on money wages as representative of costs of production. A comparison between money wages in countries at different stages of economic development (i.e., agricultural versus industrial countries) would be quite useless, while changes in the productive efficiency taking place in various countries over a period of time cannot be statistically measured. In fact, the postwar cost structure may well show a pattern little suited to peacetime requirements. During the course of the war there have been profound relative shifts as between different countries in the rate of man-hour productivity. There has also been a growing divergence between wage level and price level, the rise in the former usually lagging considerably behind the rise in the latter. If the value of foreign currencies vis-a-vis the dollar were to be fixed on the basis of wage indices, the result might be that their rates would be generally higher than those which would be arrived at through the purchasing-power parity method. This would have a deflationary effect in foreign countries upon costs and prices of those marginal activities operating in export fields, with resulting pressure upon the balance of payments on current account. There seems to be little doubt that an appropriate rate of exchange would be one which would permit the restoration of a balance between costs and prices to take place after the war without deflationary pressure or through an upward adjustment of wages rather than a downward movement of prices.

VI.

VI. THE DETERMINATION OF AN  
EQUILIBRIUM RATE

The core of the problem appears to be how to determine the equilibrium rate of a currency; that is, the rate which, under prevailing conditions of national income and flow of foreign investments, achieves and maintains a state of equilibrium in a country's balance of payments. This definition does not postulate mere equality of debits and credits in a country's balance of payments on current account alone, but it implies that the balance on current account be fully "offset" by the balance on long-term capital movements). It is generally admitted that during the phase of transition from war to peace countries would maintain exchange control and adapt gradually to changing conditions those regulations which had been in force before and during the war. There is also a tendency to admit that after the war the movement of short-term funds, the so-called "hot money," should be subject to international supervision and that transactions involving capital transfers should be subject to governmental direction. These principles have been embodied in the agreement of the International Monetary Fund.

Neither the purchasing-power parity theory nor the relative cost technique can provide the elements necessary for determining an equilibrium rate. The determination of such a rate for a currency is dependent upon an estimate of the balance of payments position of the country in question, related to the prospective level of its national income and volume of net international long-term capital imports or exports. In fact, there is no abstract nor absolute equilibrium rate, as changes in national income and flow of investments--such as may be brought about through fiscal and social policies--result in changes in the balance of payments and, hence, in the rate which would provide

equilibrium

equilibrium in the current supply of and demand for foreign currencies. The choice of an equilibrium rate should be related to the prospective exports and imports of goods and services, and the chosen rate should be as to promote current income from exports in the amount necessary to cover prospective payments due to foreign countries, all wances being made for the debit or credit position on long-term capital account. Consideration should be given to the fact that the demand and supply elasticities for international goods at different levels of national income vary widely from country to country and that changes in the exchange rates affect directly the cost and price structure of internationally traded goods and services and, hence, of domestic goods and services also. Last, but not least, an appropriate equilibrium rate should be one which could command, as far as possible, the confidence of the people--a rate clearly recognized by the public as fair--as only such a rate could provide the setting for the gradual relaxation of direct controls. No general rule is possible here, as different people react to a prospective exchange rate with different intensity.

It is freely admitted that these definitions do not provide a good-for-all formula and do not facilitate a statistical calculation of postwar exchange rates. In fact, in most countries the statistical equipment for such a calculation does not exist. Moreover, no country can, by itself and without reference to other countries, determine the prospective quantum of its foreign trade and its foreign investment position. This is particularly true of small and undeveloped countries, which individually play a rather inconspicuous role in world trade but the national income of which is largely dependent upon their export of goods and imports of capital.

Obviously,



Obviously, none of them can approach intelligently its own problem of stabilization without relation to the prospective imports of goods and exports of capital of one or of a few leading industrial countries. It would appear essential, therefore, for the major countries, commanding the bulk of international trade to concentrate on their own postwar domestic planning and on the stabilization of their own currencies at a given level of national income and volume of foreign investments; the lesser countries could then adjust without any great difficulty the value of their own currencies to that of the principal currencies.

In fact, sufficient attention has not been paid to the intimate and indissoluble connections existing between domestic and foreign economic policies and, in particular, to the fact that the quantum of international trade is determined by the domestic policies of a few countries. In a broad sense, what will happen to the world currencies in the next ten years will depend pretty much on what will happen to internal economic conditions in the United States and the British Commonwealth, and that is anyone's guess. A high level of employment in and a flow of foreign investments from these parts of the world would unquestionably facilitate the task of the lesser countries in achieving and maintaining exchange stability; inversely, a low level of employment and lack of foreign investments would critically hamper any national or international program of stabilization of the lesser currencies on a free exchange basis.

The postwar picture is as yet, and will probably remain for a considerable while longer, unclarified, and any exchange rate that is established during the course of the war or immediately afterward must be considered at best a provisional one. During this period the only practical way of preventing grave monetary disequilibria would seem to be for the leading countries to endeavor to achieve and maintain stable exchange rates among their currencies,

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while admitting the need for a flexible system and, so far as necessary, for frequent adjustments in exchange rates of lesser currencies. While the maintenance of conditions favorable to monetary stability will demand close and continuous co-operation among the leading countries, broader latitude may be permitted to smaller countries. International co-operation in the conduct of exchange policies by the lesser countries presents unquestionable advantages as compared with competitive practices, and it would be most desirable that these countries abide in the management of the rates of their currencies by agreed rules within the framework of an international organization. It may be noted, however, that the success of an exchange-rate management unquestionable requires a secrecy, which can be achieved only through swift action by a single country or a restricted number of countries, and that small changes (such as the 10 per cent free margin allowed to member-countries in the agreement for the International Monetary Fund) are ineffective as a corrective measure and may result in effects opposite to those desired. The responsibility of the leading countries will be very great, as, short of a clear definition of their economic policies and aims and of the extent to which they would stand ready to provide financial assistance to the rest of the world, the lesser countries would have to proceed necessarily by methods of trial and error in their own monetary conduct. The fact should be emphasized that, in the immediate postwar period, a stable rate structure will hardly be attained unless the minimum requirements for relief goods, reconstruction, and working capital of each country will be satisfied; otherwise the tendency of the various countries to satisfy those requirements through competitive exchange depreciation might become irresistible.

A

A unilateral exchange policy, if pursued with little regard to the interests of other countries, may be countered by competitive currency depreciation by other countries, with harmful effects on the development of world trade generally. The golden rule may be said to be, in the long run, for each country to endeavor to maintain a high level of employment, if necessary by stimulating capital outlays, and for all countries to co-operate in maintaining the rates for their currencies at the equilibrium level. Should a country with an active balance of trade attempt to raise its employment position by a currency depreciation, its action would be detrimental to, and therefore correctly countered by, competitive countries. On the other hand, exchange depreciation would be relatively less injurious to the rest of the world if adopted with a view to counteracting a fall in employment resulting from a contraction of exports, as it would tend to re-establish the pre-existing position of the country vis-a-vis other countries in the field of foreign trade. Unquestionably, any policy designed to redress a passive balance is a depressive influence on the outer world, but a policy directed to restoring the balance by internal deflation and foreign trade restrictions would aggravate the employment position inside the country and adversely affect the exports of other countries. On the other hand, exchange depreciation, by securing an equilibrium at a higher level of employment and foreign trade in one country, would exercise an expanding influence in the level of economic activity in other countries. It may be said, therefore, that the maintenance of a high level of employment and imports by any one country--and most particularly by the leading industrial and trading countries--will benefit the rest of the world and represent a fundamental contribution to exchange-rate stability.

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Of course, there is no guaranty whatever that an equilibrium rate, once arrived at by international co-operation or by trial and error during the transition from war to peace, could be maintained unaltered thereafter. The same may well be said, and probably with more reason, for any other rate arrived at through the mere application of the purchasing-power or other statistical formulas. The equilibrium rate is both a determinant and a result of a workable relationship between the various elements of the national income and international financial position (employment, prices, costs, foreign trade, foreign investment, etc.) of various countries. From many points of view it would be preferable if, in the event of minor maladjustments, the necessary correction can be made by adaptation of other elements, particularly by a readjustment of the cost and price structure, leaving the exchange rate unchanged. These, however, are counsels of perfection, and monetary authorities have no means to give effect by themselves to a policy of general economic adjustments.

VII. EXCHANGE RATES AND EXCHANGE RESERVES

It may be noted that the holding by any country of large reserves of means of international payment, such as gold and free foreign exchange, has not been given special consideration in connection with the fixing of the exchange rate of its currency. In the immediate postwar period much of these reserves may be dissipated to pay for imports necessary for rehabilitation and reconstruction; from this point of view, they stand to cover prospective nonrecurrent imports rather than to serve as a buffer for current deficits on trade

and

and service accounts. In frequent cases these reserves cover liabilities of equivalent or even greater amount due by the country itself to other countries. A country with a net excess of exchange resources would be in a position to finance a passive balance of payments on current account for a certain but not unlimited time; its excess of imports during the transition period would represent a stimulating factor abroad, and its release of gold or foreign exchange would make for greater liquidity in the world as a whole. It is true that the possession of large reserves makes for greater confidence in the management of its monetary policy and a stronger bargaining power vis-a-vis other countries; all this would unquestionably help a country in over-coming the difficulties of the transition from war to peace.

In the long run, a minimum reserve of means of international payments is a *sine qua non* for the stability of any currency, and countries whose reserves have been depleted during the war should be offered the possibility of an active balance during the transition phase, so that they may accumulate again some gold and foreign currencies. This may be accomplished partly by an undervaluation of the currencies of the countries in question and partly by a system of international credits, either in the form of "line of credit" as provided for in the agreement for the International Monetary Fund or in the form of loans granted at the time of stabilization and to be amortized currently in later years. How large the "minimum reserve" should be can be decided not in general terms but only country by country, having particular regard to the seasonal and cyclical peaks of its balance of payments.

It may be concluded that the existence of a reserve of gold and free foreign exchange is likely to play an important role

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in the success of any monetary policy and a decisive role in the transition from foreign exchange control to a free exchange system. It would not, however, provide a useful guide for establishing a stable rate structure of a free exchange basis for the postwar era. This should be related to the national income and foreign investment policies of the leading industrial countries, particularly of the United States, and would depend upon the various countries being able to maintain their balance of payments in equilibrium without recourse to gold or short-term capital movements.

FEDERAL RESERVE BANK OF NEW YORK

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現在の日本の所謂公定価格体系の矛盾は  
 貿易面を通じて近い将来に解決を要請  
 せられるものと考えられるが、現に昨日  
 此會議でも問題とあり、居り、多分  
 大蔵省主計局の自米価格換算表に参  
 考の爲の一覽を造ります。この問題は  
 大蔵省にも協理に、今後も研究を進  
 めるが、今日迄の状況を各品目毎に  
 凹凸甚だしく、鱈目の近頃は専ら結論  
 もあらず、

外務省

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主要物資日米物価比較表

昭和二十六年八月 財政調査室資料

品名	単位	日本(円)	米(円)	1斗=円	備考
小麦	斗	1,533.00	74.75	20.51	日付官国販売価格 米1斗No.2品
大豆	"	1,993.00	310.00	6.93	日付消費費価格
厚鈴		1,230.00	88.00	14.55	日付消費費価格
小麦粉		1,868.00	75.00	24.91	日付官国販売価格
玉ねぎ		2.13	0.154	13.83	卸売価格
牛肉		66.67	0.95	70.18	米1斗肉値
豚肉		66.67	0.73	91.33	米1斗肉値
かんづ		6.67	0.57	11.70	日付丸の卸価格
干し		3.47	0.49	7.09	日付丸の卸価格 米1斗
5斗缶詰	個	4.70	0.31	15.16	日付1斗2斗税抜 米1斗量3斗(赤印)
鶏卵	10ヶ	25.00	0.40	62.50	消費費価格
茶	封込	28.30	0.40	25.75	日付二斗税抜 米1斗No.2
砂糖	斗	1.97	0.121	16.28	日付分密月糖税抜卸
バター	封込	45.70	0.46	99.33	日付無塩バター税抜卸
食塩	斗	970.00	23.7	40.95	日付日産政府売価価格
石灰	斗	150.00	3.30	41.67	日付日産卸売平均価格 米1斗青灰平均
自動車揮発油	ガロン				米1斗
硫酸	斗	465.00	16.50	28.13	日付60%
苛性ソーダ	"	7000.00	44.10	156.72	日付95%モノ販売者価格
糸	封込	132.68	8.00	16.71	日付AAA平定価格(製造業者)
糸	"	119.79	0.2		日付3合換卸
糸	"	119.79	0.32	38.09	米1斗2斗No.22S
木材	1000 立方尺	1,014.00	66.22	18.62	日付製材板条着松材 米1斗No.25(南卸板)

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貨金	一日	18.00	A.80	20.9 (17.02)	石炭平均
金	瓦	17.00	35.00	15.00	
銀	斤	310.00	0.7075	14.09	米品付組育
電氣銅	斤	2000.00	1.1775	22.55	
鉛	"	700.00	0.065	4.895	米品付粗育
亜鉛	"	700.00	0.0925	3.845	米品付セトル又
					日本品付厚底亜鉛
カンチエニ	"	1300.00	15.839	37.25	日本品付品位.85%
錫	"	2900.00	0.52	52.30	米品付バーリカネ
鉄	"	2600.00	26.00	72.22	米品付ヒツツハロー
カンチエニ	"	13000.00	15.844	37.25	
鉛	"	45000.00	1.25	16.66	
コバルト	斤	500.00	1.50	15.00	米品付.97-.99%
ニッケル	斤	100000.00	0.35	12.90	日本品付.97%以上
銅	斤	140.00	0.15	42.33	米品付.99%
鉛	"	4400.00	76.01	5.890	
亜鉛	"	2300.00	55.28	42.59	
鉄	"	150.00	4.70	32.50	
モリブデン	"	53.100	0.45	5.945	
マンガン	"	611.00	0.85	15.20	
フェロマンガン	"	4940.00	135.00	37.20	
シリコン	"	3750.00	133.00	2.860	
フェロシリコン	"	3445.00	207.35	42.15	
フェロクロム	"	4050.00	18.28	21.70	
フェロモリブデン	"	16590.00	1.383.20	12.18	
フェロマンガン	"	12640.00	3.192.00	35.70	

満考

日本価格の特示下り外本年三月  
施行の新統制に依る消費者価格とあり  
又米価は小麦より賃金より概ね  
昨年十二月頃の「三ヤリナル」オア「コムニス」  
減額品欄に依り「金」より「左ロ」タニグステニ  
「下」なる本年三月号に「エニ」ジリアリニグ  
マイニグ「三ヤリナル」に依る

外務省

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輸出入価額推定資料の関する件

(財政調査室昭二一八三〇)

六月二十六日の対日理事會に於て司令部経済科学局輸出入課長「フレミング」氏は占領開始より本年五月末日迄の日本貿易推定と并單位で報告したるがこれと貿易片側の資料による円受拂推定額とを合算すると次の如き結果となる

輸出入実績概算額 (終戦後五月末日迄)

品別	輸 出	輸 入
英 聯 邦	(司) 一〇、二六千円 (貿) 二八、三七一十千円 (内 額) 二七、六五五円	五、五千円 四一、八千円 七、六〇円
中 國	(貿) 三三、五四七千円 (内 額) 四三、七九円	外 務 省 三九、六〇千円 二、四三三円
朝 鮮	(貿) 一四、八五八千円 (内 額) 一九、〇三円	三、六千円 一、八〇千円 二、四四四円
蘇 聯	(貿) 三、五三三円 (内 額) 一、五三四円	
米 子	(司) 四、八五八千円 (貿) 一四、四七一六千円 (内 額) 三、四五五円	二、六一〇千円 三〇、七〇三円 一〇、七五五円
合 計	三、五五、五〇三、千円 六、九〇円	三、二一、七六一、千円 二、一五五円



(備考)

一 (司)は司令部発表単位額(貿)は貿易額  
推定り内受拂額である

二 司令部発表り非表示の推定基礎は不明であるが  
輸入は積出地 輸出は仕向地に於ける価格であるが  
(一部新聞の説は)或は米子市場価格に引直して  
算出たものと見られる

三 貿易額推定の内表示価額中 輸出は概算額  
であり 輸入はツツは各物資別に貿易資金  
より売却価格(推定価格を含む)を基準として  
算出する

四 輸出中

英聯邦(香港)は石炭のみである

内表示 晒当り 二〇〇円

(製産者価額に該当日炭卸売価格三〇〇円)

外務省

非表示 一〇〇円

蘇聯邦は蚕種のみである

内表示 晒当り 七〇〇円

非表示 晒当り 四五円

米子は生糸のみである

内表示 一俵当り 四六〇円 封込当り 三四七円

非表示 (百斤当り) 一三三〇円 一〇〇五円

(参考)

本邦税関(の)最近の平均申告は(晒価額)は  
一俵(百斤)当五三〇円又は今春米子政府の  
手持生糸売出の時の平均値は封込当り一七円  
九〇仙であったが一月一日開始の日本生糸の  
一回入札の結果は未だ発表されぬが上物一封込  
八年前後と見られる

五 輸入中

輸入  
輸入  
輸入

輸出価格推定基礎

甲子朝鮮は塩のみである

(甲子若干の燐礫石を含む)

丙表示

丙当り

三二〇円

甲表示

甲子当り

一五二七円

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品別	数量	単価	価額
英聯邦名産品	四一八七	一〇〇円	四一八七円
中子塩	一〇七四八	三二〇円	三九二七六円
朝鮮塩	二三八一	三二〇円	八八〇円
米	四七〇六一	一五三	七二〇〇三
小麦	二六二二六	一七九	四六九四四
碎小麦	一六八	一〇〇円	一六八
厚鈴薯	七二二	一三	一〇〇
豆類	六二	一七五	一一
碎玉蜀黍	二二五	一〇〇円	二二五
小麦粉	六四五六	八九	五八七
去詰其他	二五〇八九	三〇〇円	七五二六七
砂糖	二四	一二六	三
石油	一〇一〇四	六七〇	六七六七二
燐礫石	一七三四〇	三〇〇	五二九二
計			二八〇、一〇三
總計			三二一、一八一、一〇四

外務省

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貿易の発展に於ける日本の地位

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一、現在日本における外國船又は外國人相手で  
 二、O.S.S.は貿易の廳の許管口ばかり、實際  
 三、船舶関係は現在國內にニテハ、横浜及  
 四、實際の支拂は、小切手又は外國貿易の支拂  
 証(傳票)の外貨は一應弗建の本証に引換え  
 られる)で行はれ、右は貿易の總經理局と  
 終て National City Bank の指定口座に  
 入らる。貿易の資金となす。所估産  
 の經費は一切貿易の行におき、賄はれる。  
 又、本件は、G.H. & Co. 側當局は E.S.S. の Trade  
 Agents Division で場計は、G.H. & Co. の内  
 にあり、T.J. Division の Chief to Mr. R. Kennedy  
 である。  
 六、事業内容は、明治産へ照會せられたい  
 なり、本人か自己の許有する外貨として  
 事業を經營したりなり、E.S.S. の Foreign  
 Investment Committee に申請、その審査を経て  
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連絡調整中央事務局

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