

1  
2 MR. SCHULTZE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, members of  
3 the Commission. In five minutes, no jokes. I would like to  
4 concentrate on one point. In the long run, a nation's trade  
5 balance is principally determined not by its trade policies or  
6 those of other countries, but by the relationship between what the  
7 country saves and the amount it wants to invest here at home.  
8 Trade policies are neither responsible for nor can they cure our  
9 current deficit.

10 My point is illustrated by the diagram which I  
11 passed out. I hope you have a copy of it. It's kind of a simple-  
12 minded diagram. Start with the lefthand panel of two bars. A  
13 country's total output is exactly equal to its total income.  
14 National saving is simply that part of a nation's output and  
15 income that it doesn't consume, either publicly or privately.

16 As the second bar shows, the fraction of our  
17 national income and output we do not spend on consumption can be  
18 devoted to two purposes. First, it can be spent for domestic  
19 investment in the form of new housing, new plant and equipment,  
20 public infrastructure. If a country spends on domestic investment  
21 goods exactly what it saves, then the sum of its spending on  
22 consumption and domestic investment will exactly equal its output.

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1 End of story.

2 But now turn to the right panel on the diagram.  
3 Suppose as has been true of the U.S. for many years, that a  
4 country invests at home more of its output in income than it is  
5 willing to save. In the 1980s, the Federal Government ran a big  
6 budget deficit and drove down national saving. Lately, as the  
7 budget deficit has shrunk, private saving has dramatically fallen.

8 With investment exceeding total saving, the people in business  
9 firms of the U.S. have been spending more on public and private  
10 investment and consumption than the country produces.

11 The only way we can do this is to import the  
12 difference. Imports exceed exports, the country necessarily runs  
13 a trade deficit. In the process, it finances the deficit by  
14 borrowing from abroad. America's large deficit in its current  
15 international accounts is a mirror image of the fact that our  
16 country's national saving is so low compared to what we want to  
17 invest at home.

18 Japan has for years been in exactly the same  
19 situation. It saves more than it can profitably invest at home  
20 and runs an export surplus, and in effect, exports the excess.

21 I do not want to suggest that policies and economic  
22 developments that affect our exports or imports cannot alter the

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1 trade balance. Of course they can. But they can do so only to  
2 the extent that they also alter a nation's aggregate saving or  
3 investment. In the long run, apart from short-run fluctuations,  
4 the volume of a nation's investment in saving are set by powerful  
5 forces that are unlikely to be influenced in a major way by  
6 changes in trade policies.

7           There exists a powerful set of mechanisms which  
8 operate to enforce the proposition I just outlined. Let's look at  
9 an example. Imagine that domestic or foreign political pressures  
10 were successful enough to alter the web of practices that tend to  
11 discourage imports of goods into Japan. But also assume there's  
12 no change in the persistent excess of Japanese national saving  
13 relative to its domestic investment opportunities.

14           With import liberalization, imports would initially  
15 tend to expand and the Japan export surplus would shrink. After  
16 an increase in their exports to Japan, foreigners would need to  
17 borrow fewer Japanese yen to finance their shrinking trade deficit  
18 with Japan. There would be fewer dollars and euros looking for  
19 Japanese yen.

20           But Japanese banks and other financial institutions  
21 with the same old excess saving in-flow would still be trying to  
22 find foreign loans and bonds in which to invest. The demand by

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1 the Japanese for dollars, euros, and other currencies, would  
2 quickly begin to exceed the supply of those currencies seeking to  
3 be exchanged into yen. The price of those currencies would be bid  
4 up in terms of yen. The yen would fall in value.

5 Spurred by the lower value of the yen, imports into  
6 Japan would become more expensive. The cost of Japanese exports  
7 to other countries would drop. The initial rise in imports into  
8 Japan would be attenuated, but not reversed. Japanese exports  
9 would rise.

10 The end result of this process would be a lower  
11 value for the Japanese yen, higher Japanese exports, higher  
12 Japanese imports, and an unchanged overall Japanese trade surplus,  
13 even though some rearrangement in bilateral surpluses with  
14 different trading partners might emerge.

15 The reform of Japanese trade practices would not  
16 have altered the overall Japanese trade balance in any major way.

17 But Japan would have more of both exports and imports. Trade  
18 liberalization would have made both Japan and its trading partners  
19 better off.

20 Tongue in cheek, but nevertheless accurately, one  
21 can say the problem with the Japanese economy is that it doesn't  
22 export enough, despite a long history of policies and attitudes

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1 that tended to concentrate effort and resources into favorite  
2 export industries. Indeed, the U.S. exports a larger fraction of  
3 its GDP than does Japan. If Japan reformed its practices and  
4 policies, but still tended to press imports, it would end up  
5 increasing its exports as well as its imports. Consumers in Japan  
6 and elsewhere around the world would be the gainer.

7           Should we worry about the size of the current  
8 deficit? Partly yes, and partly no. On the one hand, the trade  
9 deficit is a symptom that the United States doesn't itself save  
10 anywhere near enough to finance the amount that can profitably be  
11 invested in productive assets here at home. So we have to make up  
12 the shortfall by running trade deficits and borrowing from abroad.

13           The high level of domestic investment boosts  
14 productivity in the growth of U.S. income, but some of that extra  
15 income we don't get to keep because it has to be paid abroad to  
16 service the foreign borrowing. Future generations would be better  
17 off if we saved more and financed our investment directly.

18           On the other hand, given the unfortunate fact that  
19 we do not save very much, then the trade deficit and the  
20 associated in-flow of foreign capital is a blessing. The gain in  
21 future national income from domestic investment is higher than the  
22 interest rates we pay on the money we borrow from abroad. Without

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1 the trade deficit and the foreign capital inflow, we would have to  
2 raise interest rates and cut back domestic investment sharply. We  
3 would have lost more by way of slower income growth than we would  
4 have saved by the reduced cost of debt service.

5 Whether the trade deficit is bad is actually not  
6 the right question. What we need to ask is whether or not we like  
7 the changes in domestic saving and investment which created the  
8 trade deficit. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

9 CHAIRMAN WEIDENBAUM: Thank you, Dr. Schultze. You  
10 have also established the precedent of staying under the time  
11 limit.

12 MR. SCHULTZE: Only by leaving out priceless words  
13 of wisdom.

14 CHAIRMAN WEIDENBAUM: Which we'll incorporate in  
15 the record, as we say in this town.

16 Our second briefer is Professor Jan Kregel, of the  
17 Levy Institute at Bard College, and Adjunct Professor of  
18 International Economics at Johns Hopkins. Professor Kregel.

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