Golden Age, Structural Crisis

Europe in International Economy 2015

Growing productivity and employment

- GB, GER, FRA fully industrialized, with similar living standard and strong export sector -> convergence;
- Fluctuations of the business cycle still detectable but no absolute contractions growth at rates unknown;
- Biggest shock Korean war 1950 less disturbing than feared WE exported military goods to US;
- Participation in the Cold War helped secure full employment and encouraged technology (electronics, jet engines...):
 - WE NATO members spent between ½ and 2/3 of US military expenditures (peace dividend);
- France 1960: nuclear weapons; withdrew from NATO 1966 different path, expanding its exports of arms on basis independent on US technology; valued by third world countries international respect:
 - Anti US character something new suggesting E might develop as an independent political force (Gaulle resigned 1973);

By mid**1950**s **fears** of **depression dispelled** – confidence had grown in the **economic** control **policies** linked to <u>Keynes</u> macro policies – **promoted** by the **US** (*Publ. <-> Priv. Demand + Infl. <-> Growth/Empl.*);

Germany

- German **refugees** flooded **allied zones** (10 mill. 1945):
 - little work in cities, lived on farms labor for lodging;
 - enhanced labor force; when **moved** into **factories** proved **hard-working** and easy to train;
- Existing industrial workers equally cooperative **long hours, low wages**;
 - New industry-wide unions reinforced this attitude encouraging cooperation between employers and the workers;
- Educational system flourished during war (to avoid military service) + high unemployment after war;
- Industrial structure leaned since 1900 towards producer goods:
 - historicaly exported largely to EE;
 - **supplies** of **coal**, **iron**, **steel** Ruhr basin– fitted to produce **cheap producer** goods most of Europe in need;
 - big exports railway engines, transport equipment, machine tools;
 - **imported consumer** goods especially form **SE**;
- High quality created secure markets in Europe, from 1950 exporting outside Europe big reserves of sterling and USD;
 - maintained the value of **DM** with low inflations GER increased exports when GB beginning to struggle with uncompetitive export prices;
 - 1950-1973 export increased annual **12,4%** highest between AIC;
 - living standards overtooking GB 1960;
- GER **unique** product of the war new housing (**urbanism**, **infrastrucute**).



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-B0527-0001-753 Foto: Röhnert | 31. März 1947



France

- Defense of strong Franc between wars on expense of industrial growth -> national perception that France was economically weak and backward;
- Modernization strategy (Germany still feared);
 - Modernization pushed forward by civil servants in cooperation with number of big firms (indicative planing);
- Monnet plan since 1946;
 - control of German coal-producing areas: to redirect the production away from GER industry and into FRA;
 - sought to coordinate basic production and infrastructural investment business+ government + labor representatives in committees;
 - **5 years targets** (investment and workforce training **confidence**);
- Growth proceeded rapidly -> improvements in transport and power networks -> extended scope for industrialization to remote areas;
- Big **surplus** of **labor high birth rate**, transfered from **agriculture**;
- Colonial **empire** with big French **population**: market + export of lifestyle;
- In North Africa oil reserves developed 1950s to compensate lack of coal + nuclear power programe;
- 1960 third industrial power in WE;;

Great Britain

- Less damaged than GER leading European economy;
- In 1945 still more **military bases** worldwide than US + **nuclear** capacity;
- For US major European foothold;
- Problems:
 - BoP: industrial export have to be maximized to secure USD and domestic production expanded to limit imports;
 - At the same time **people** were seen to need **reward** for wartime **efforts** (welfare state);
- **1960** GB **loosing competiveness**, investment held back, firms struggled with **old equipment**;
- Government still aiming at full employment, wages much higher than on continent:
 - Trade unions able to prevent substitution of labor by technology and new capital goods (neither lower wages nor shorter hours);
- Very low growth only 2,9% 1950-55; 2,5% to 1955-1960;
- First industrializer -> moving on to a **stage** of **maturity**:
 - hard manual work no longer optimal;
 - most best careers seen in tertiary sector, industry did no attract people of advanced education;
 - workers not as grateful for job as GER;
- With large home market producers did not need to secure foreign markets -> many products not competitive abroad (Commonwealth – easy and conservative market; vs. EEC+GATT);
- Few fully aware till **1960** living **standards still highest** in E + consumer boom and leisure culture;
- These years of **relative decline reduced** role and **influence of GB.**

Italy

- **Partial modernization** affecting north;
- US main modernizing force (danger of Communism);
- Inability to develop mass markets and exports even in traditional cotton textiles;
- State intervention in industry retained in the interest of directing effort into dollar earning export – cotton first (US designed policies);
- Eventually low production costs and emphasis on consumer goods methods and equipment derived from US; Marshall plan bigger impact than elsevere;
- **Promotion of education**, especially in rural areas;
- Election 1948 -> centrist government -> GOV reduced price controls and regulations form fascist age;
- Transition from Mare Nostra to European integration outstanding formula for progress – example for the modernization of SE;
- GOV encouraged home market products at the same time as boosted exports (fridge, scooters competitive in SE);

Spain, Port, Greece

- **POR colonial** empire, conservative colonial policy;
- **SPA** still under **facist** big national companies most economy held down by small-scale unproductive agriculture;
- **GRE paralyzed** by **civil war** 1947-1949.

	1950–55	1955–60	1960–64	
UK	2.9	2.5	3.1	
France	4.4	4.8	6.0	
Germany	9.1	6.4	5.1	
Italy	6.3	5.4	5.5	

Table 5.2 Annual percentage compound growth rate in GDP 1950–64

Source: Alford (1988, 14).

Table 5.4 Annual average compound growth rate in export volume 1950–73 (per cent per annum)

.

Germany	12.4
Italy	11.7
Austria	10.8
Netherlands	10.3
Belgium	9.4
France	8.2
Switzerland	8.1
Norway	7.3
Sweden	7.0
Denmark	6.9
UK	3.9

Source: Maddison (1989, 67).

Interpretation of European succes (Eichengreen)

- Catch-up was facilitated by solidaristic trade unions, cohesive employers associations, growth-minded governments working together to mobilize savings, finance investment, and stabilize wages at levels consistent with full employment;
- <u>Coordination problem</u> in industrial sector was solved by extra market mechanisms government planning agencies, state holding companies, industrial conglomerates, nationalization;
- Financed by patient banks in long-standing relationships with their industrial clients;
- This codified <u>set of norms</u> + understandings (institutions) inherited from the past (corporativism);
 - Challenges of this period resembled those that had E confronted earlier modern industry had developed later on the continent than in <u>GB</u> and US;
- Prominent <u>role of the state</u>: late-industrializing economies -> initial growth spurt depended as much on assimilating and adapting existing technologies as on pioneering new ones;
- Naturally developed systems of human capital formation emphasizing apprenticeship training and vocational skills as much as university education;

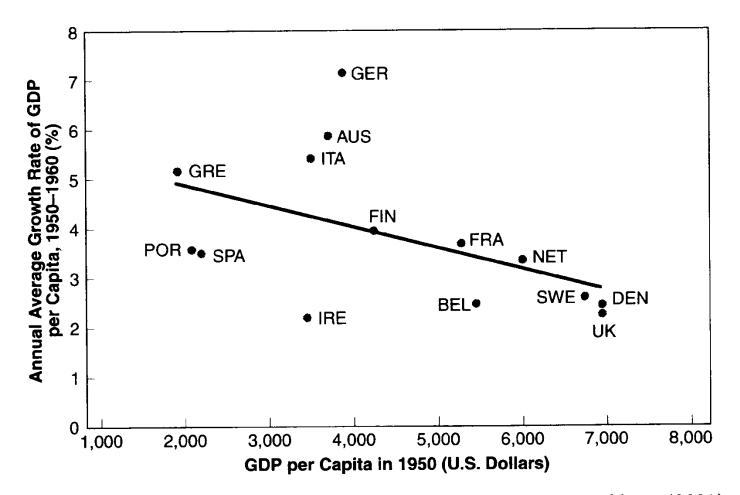


Figure 4.1. The starting point and growth in the 1950s. Source: Maddison (2001). Note: Gross domestic product per capita is expressed in 1990 U.S. dollars.

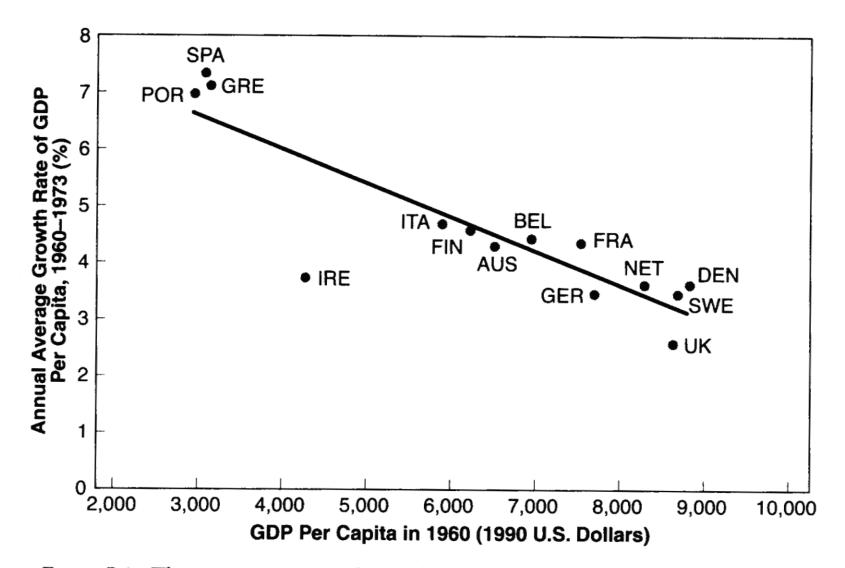


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Decolonization and immigration

- **US advised** to **liberate colonies**; apart of FRA (POR) progress quick;
- Found that can **maintain** economic **links** reluctance weakened;
- FRA colonies as cultural extension of homeland defeat by Germany made case for overseas territories young residents form colonies encouraged to study in France;
- French **empire decolonized 1958** (war in **Indochina lost 1954**; war in **Algeria** which gained independence **1962**);
- Influx of **arab immigrants** hostility among indigenous French;
- Decolonization ex-col. **people allowed** to **live** in their **home country** in Europe;
- Few Europeans crossing iron curtain composition of industrial population towards nonwhite/non-Europeans by the 60s.
- <u>GER</u> sources of labor in EE blocked off began import labor;
 - First drew on SE workers (returning home) few problems of cultural assimilation;
 - 1960s started to draw heavily on Turkey and Iran;
- Moslem workers difficult to absorb third world transplant;
- Most uneducated, unskilled low pay limited them to degraded housing;
- Europe **new racial structure** low paid industrial workers helped sustain E growth, but remained isolated social force.

Year	Total	Percentage	
1954	72 906	0.4	
1960	279 390	1.3	
1965	1 164 364	5.5	
1970	1 838 859	8.5	
1971	2 163 766	10.0	

Table 5.3 Total foreign workers in West Germany, and percentage of the total workforce 1954–71

Source: Sutcliffe (1966, 188).

Deceleration

- Late 60s inflation increased partially function of investment cycle but long term factors were at work;
- As **US** and **GB** experienced **slow growth** after war owing to the **completion** of their **industrialization** process **WE** industrialization approaching **completion** by **1970**;
 - Land developed, infrastructure completed workers moving form low to industrial wages;
 - Agriculture formerly subsidized, now overproduction + further productivity gains hard to achieve;
- WE labor shortage cannot be solved by inexperienced non-Europeans;
- Growing **demands** by **organized labor discouraging investment**;
- **Political pressure** form **left** FRA, ITA, GER ;
- Students: aspirations boosted by post-war boom turned against capitalism and liberal democracy late 1960s;
- Opposition to US intervention in Vietnam threatened European confidence in US;
- Student riots in Paris 1968; **post war** WE **consensus under** serious **threat**;
- (OPEC dragged WE towards international cooperation in the energy field...)
- Irony US now too weak to revive WE;



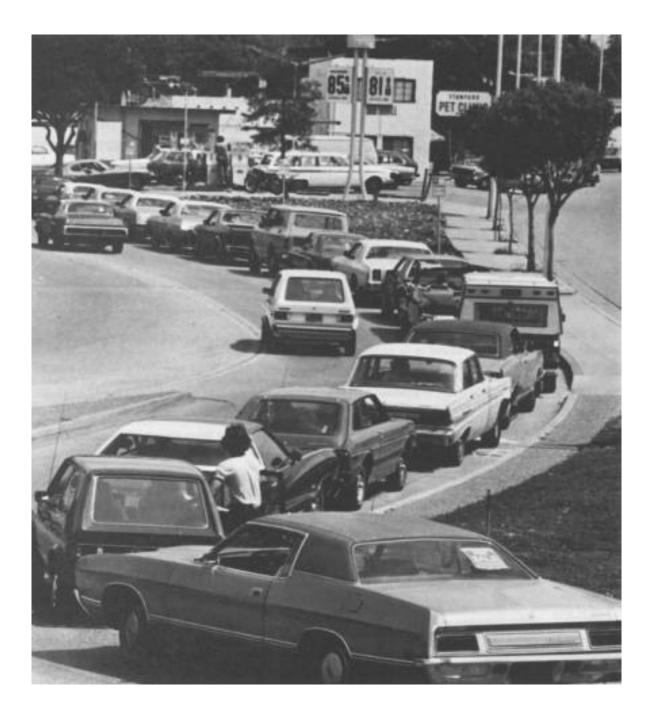
Oil shocks

- **Resource shock 1973-74** exacerbated **already inflationary** environment;
- **Cheapness** of crude **oil** major **factor** of the **boom** 1966 oil supplanted **coal** as most significant energy resource (**except** in **GB**);
- Increasingly from Middle East:
 - Insignificant producer 1939; lions share after WWII Kuwait, SA, Iran, Iraq;
 - **Risks** of overdependence from region driven by antagonisms Arabs vs Jews;
 - Prolonged enclosure of **Suez** 1967-1975, rise of **OPEC since 1960**;
- **Dependence** grew: 1972 2/3 WE energy consumption (France 72,5% primary resources energy petroleum based, Italy 78,6%):
 - Bargain **prices** and **abundant supplies** development of **energy intensive sectors cars**, consumer **durables** and **chemical** products, **fuel** and **heating** in industry;
 - 6.10 1973 war Israel and Arabs OPEC doubled crude oil prices and imposed an oil embargo (Oil Decade 1973-82);
 - Foreign companies exclusive rights through concessions dating from 1920s replaced by national companies;
 - Vienna summit 6.11.1973: EEC backed Arab demand on Israel to withdraw to its pre 1967 boarders;
 - OPEC ministers: **further increase 11,65 USD/barel** (400% increase compared pre crisis 2,59USD);
- **1970s oil prices** increased **10x**, **EEC inflation 17,5%** and remained 13,5% between 1975-78, further up with second oil shock 1979;
- Energy conservation and efficiency became key themes (North Sea, Alaska, North Africa, USSR);

Use	1955	1972	
Coal	75	23	
Petroleum	22	60	
Natural gas	1	9	
Other	2	8	
Produced in Europe	78	35	
Imported from non-Europe, net	22	65	

Table 6.2 Primary sources of energy in western Europe, 1955 and 1972 (%)

Source: Prodi and Clo (1976, 92).



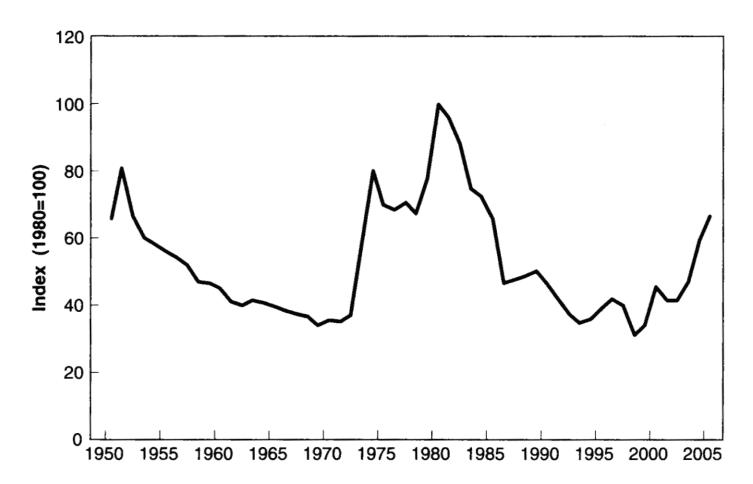


Figure 9.1. Real commodity prices (including oil), 1950–2005. Sources: Layard, Nickell, and Jackman (1991); International Monetary Fund, Primary Commodity Prices (various years).

- Although first oil shock seen as a principal <u>factor</u> in terminating the long boom – preceded by number of worrying developments:
 - **collapse** of **B-W** and return to **free floating** currencies;
 - labor market constraints;
 - exhaustion of catch up effect;
 - **competitive newly industrialized** countries (JAP, Korea, Taiwan, LATAM);
- *Eichengreen*: Oil shocks cannot explain why **growth failed** to **recover** subsequently:
 - no evidence of larger falls in energy intensive industries;
 - real **price of energy not** significantly **higher after** 1985 than before 1973;
- <u>Wages</u> explosion major destabilizing factor:
 - rising income as a norm and expectation labor markets tightened as AGRI reserves depleted, shorter hours, more holidays, higher pay – requests of unions – labor no longer willing to bear the consequences of downturn;
 - Narrowing technological gap Europe US: limited scope for substituting capital for labor – rise in real wages ran ahead of productivity increases – falling profit levels – employers responded by rising prices;

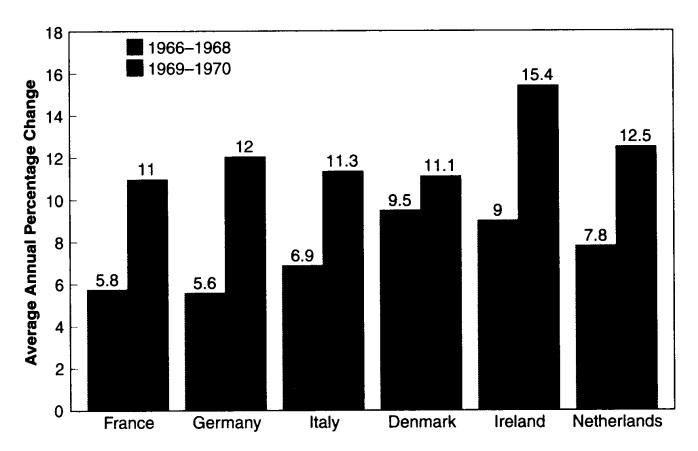


Figure 7.2. Nominal wage changes, 1966–1970. Source: Boltho (1982). Note: Figure shows average annual percentage changes of wages and salaries per employee. For France, figures are based on statistics for 1965–1967 and 1968–1969.

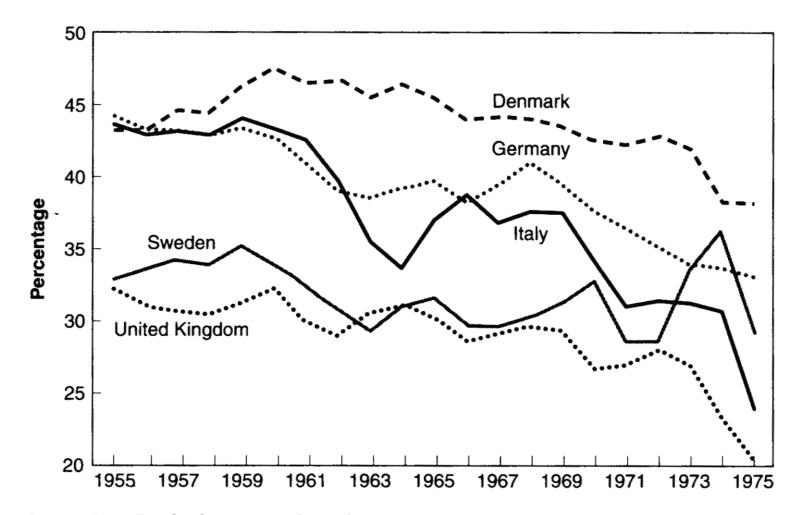


Figure 7.4. Profit shares in selected Western European countries, 1955–1975 (Percentage of national income). Source: Hill (1979).

		1960-	-1975			1975–2000			
Country	у	k	h	tfp	у	k	h	tfþ	
Austria	4.65	7.03	0.50	1.99	2.00	2.58	0.98	0.49	
Belgium	3.88	4.55	0.79	1.85	1.79	1.97	0.72	0.66	
Denmark	2.07	3.21	0.36	0.77	1.74	1.39	0.33	1.06	
Finland	3.70	5.68	1.11	1.08	2.14	2.21	0.98	0.75	
France	3.87	6.09	0.96	1.22	1.67	2.27	0.80	0.39	
Germany	3.45	6.19	1.06	0.69	1.21	0.83	0.72	0.45	
Greece	6.47	9.33	0.71	2.92	1.06	1.03	1.02	0.03	
Ireland	3.68	3.30	0.54	2.23	4.23	3.96	0.86	2.35	
Italy	4.40	5.15	0.78	2.18	2.05	2.01	1.02	0.70	
Netherlands	2.78	4.54	0.83	0.73	1.11	0.99	0.90	0.19	
Norway	2.62	3.00	0.41	1.36	2.21	2.12	0.52	1.16	
Portugal	4.64	5.46	0.61	2.43	2.69	3.63	0.79	0.96	
Spain	6.47	6.30	0.37	4.14	1.28	1.99	1.17	-0.16	
Sweden	2.56	4.43	0.69	0.63	1.15	1.31	0.88	0.13	
United Kingdom	1.96	5.14	0.58	-0.13	1.86	2.05	0.73	0.69	
Memo item: United States	1.81	1.61	0.80	0.74	1.94	2.62	0.53	0.72	

Source: See appendix.

Notes: y = output per worker; k = physical capital per worker; h = human capital per worker; tfp = total factor productivity per worker.

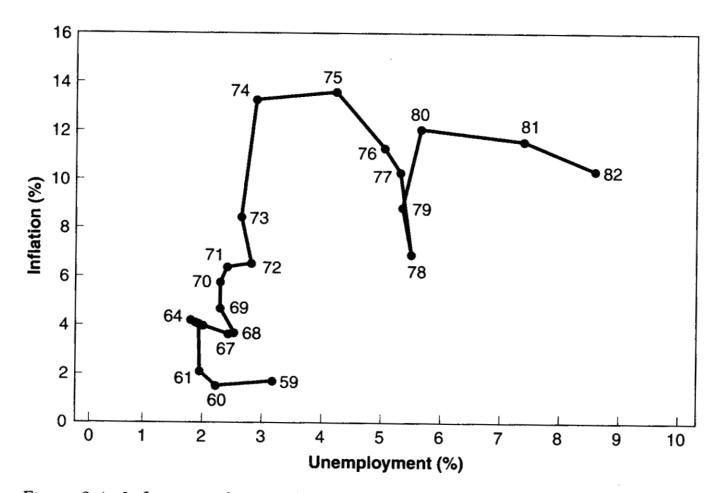


Figure 9.4. Inflation and unemployment in Europe, 1959–1982. Source: Eurostat. Note: Figure shows aggregate statistics for nine European countries: Belgium, Denmark, West Germany, France, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and the United Kingdom.

	Level of Unemployment (per cent of labour force)					nges in con average co	-	
	1950-73	1974-83	1984-93	1994-98	1950–73	1973-83	1983-93	1994–98
Belgium	3.0	8.2	8.8	9.7	2.9	8.1	3.1	1.8
Finland	1.7	4.7	6.9	14.2	5.6	10.5	4.6	1.0
France	2.0	5.7	10.0	12.1	5.0	11.2	3.7	1.5
Germany	2.5	4.1	6.2	9.0	2.7	4.9	2.4	1.7
Italy	5.5	7.2	9.3	11.9	3.9	16.7	6.4	3.5
Netherlands	2.2	7.3	7.3	5.9	4.1	6.5	1.8	2.2
Norway	1.9	2.1	4.1	4.6	4.8	9.7	5.1	2.0
Sweden	1.8	2.3	3.4	9.2	4.7	10.2	6.4	1.5
United Kingdom	2.8	7.0	9.7	8.0	4.6	13.5	5.2	3.0
Ireland	n.a.	8.8	15.6	11.2	4.3	15.7	3.8	2.1
Spain	2.9	9.1	19.4	21.8	4.6	16.4	6.9	3.4
Western Europe								
Average	2.6	6.0	9.2	10.7	4.3	11.2	4.5	2.2
Australia	2.1	5.9	8.5	8.6	4.6	11.3	5.6	2.0
Canada	4.7	8.1	9.7	9.4	2.8	9.4	4.0	1.3
United States	4.6	7.4	6.7	5.3	2.7	8.2	3.8	2.4
Average	3.8	7.1	8.3	7.8	3.4	9.6	4.5	1.9
Japan	1.6	2.1	2.3	3.4	5.2	7.6	1.7	0.6

Table 3–8. Experience of Unemployment and Inflation in Advanced Capitalist Countries, 1950–98

Source: Unemployment 1950–83 from Maddison (1995a), p. 84, updated from OECD, Labour Force Statistics. Consumer Price index 1950–83 from Maddison (1995a), updated from OECD, Economic Outlook, December 1999.

	1951–	1961–	1971–	1981–	1992–				
	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000				
		USA							
GDP growth	3,4	4,2	3,3	3,2	3,6				
Inflation	2,1	2,8	7,9	4,7	2,6				
EU-15									
GDP growth	4,8	4,8	3,0	2,4	2,1				
Inflation	3,6	3,9	10,8	6,7	2,4				

Explanation of Problems of European Economy (*Eichengreen*)

- Just as this inheritance of economic and social <u>institutions</u> contributed to the extraordinarily successful performance of European economy after 1950 – it was equally part of the <u>explanation</u> for European less satisfactory performance in the subsequent 25 years;
- As the early opportunities for <u>catch-up</u> and **convergence** were <u>exhausted</u>, the continent had to find **other ways** of sustaining its growth;
- Had to <u>switch</u> form growth based on brute force <u>capital accumulation</u> and the acquisition of <u>known technologies</u> to growth based on increase in efficiency and internally generated <u>innovation</u>;
- Shift from <u>extensive</u> to <u>intensive growth</u>
 - <u>Extensive</u>: based on capital formation and the existing stock of technological knowledge raising output by putting more people to work at familiar tasks and raising labor productivity by building more factories along the lines of existing factories;
 - <u>Intensive growth</u> through innovation more of the increase in output is accounted for by technical change and less by the growth of factor inputs;
- Europe had no choice but to **switch** to intensive growth **from the 70s** on;

- <u>Bank-based financial systems</u> had been effective at mobilizing resources for investment by existing enterprises using known technologies – less conductive to growth in a period of heightened technological uncertainty;
 - The role of finance was to take bets on competing technologies something for which <u>financial</u> <u>markets</u> were better adapted;
- Generous <u>employment protections</u> and heavy welfare given labor the security to accept the installation of mass-production technologies – now become an obstacle to growth as new firms seeking to explore the viability of unfamiliar technologies...;
- System of <u>worker co-determination</u>: union representative on big firms supervisory boards ideal for helping labor to verify that owners were investing the profits resulting from wage restraint - but now discouraged bosses form taking the tough measures needed to reconstruct in preparation for adoption of radical new technologies;
- <u>State holding</u> companies that had been engines of investment and technical progress were no longer efficient mechanisms for allocating resources;
 - They were increasingly **captured** by **special interests** and used to **bail out loss**-making firms and prop up declining industries;
- This explains how the average **annual** rate of **growth** GDP/C in **WE** could have **fallen** by **more than half** between the 1950-1973 and the 1973-2000 period.

Table 3-1a. Growth of Per Capita GDP, Population and GDP: World and Major Regions, 1000-1998

(annual average compound growth rates)

	1000-1500 1500-1820	1820-70	1870–1913	1913–50	1950-73	1973-98
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			Pe	r capita GDP			
Western Europe	0.13	0.15	0.95	1.32	0.76	4.08	1.78
Western Offshoots	0.00	0.34	1.42	1.81	1.55	2.44	1.94
Japan	0.03	0.09	0.19	1.48	0.89	8.05	2.34
Asia (excluding Japan)	0.05	0.00	-0.11	0.38	-0.02	2.92	3.54
Latin America	0.01	0.15	0.10	1.81	1.42	2.52	0.99
Eastern Europe & former USSR	0.04	0.10	0.64	1.15	1.50	3.49	-1.10
Africa	-0.01	0.01	0.12	0.64	1.02	2.07	0.01
World	0.05	0.05	0.53	1.30	0.91	2.93	1.33
				Population			
Western Europe	0.16	0.26	0.69	0.77	0.42	0.70	0.32
Western Offshoots	0.07	0.43	2.87	2.07	1.25	1.55	1.02
Japan	0.14	0.22	0.21	0.95	1.31	1.15	0.61
Asia (excluding Japan)	0.09	0.29	0.15	0.55	0.92	2.19	1.86
Latin America	0.09	0.06	1.27	1.64	1.97	2.73	2.01
Eastern Europe & former USSR	0.16	0.34	0.87	1.21	0.34	1.31	0.54
Africa	0.07	0.15	0.40	0.75	1.65	2.33	2.73
World	0.10	0.27	0.40	0.80	0.93	1.92	1.66
				GDP			
Western Europe	0.30	0.41	1.65	2.10	1.19	4.81	2.11
Western Offshoots	0.07	0.78	4.33	3.92	2.81	4.03	2.98
Japan	0.18	0.31	0.41	2.44	2.21	9.29	2.97
Asia (excluding Japan)	0.13	0.29	0.03	0.94	0.90	5.18	5.46
Latin America	0.09	0.21	1.37	3.48	3.43	5.33	3.02
Eastern Europe & former USSR	0.20	0.44	1.52	2.37	1.84	4.84	-0.56
Africa	0.06	0.16	0.52	1.40	2.69	4.45	2.74
World	0.15	0.32	0.93	2.11	1.85	4.91	3.01