# European imperialism and Great war

# Europe in International Economy 2017

### **European Imperialism**

- Western countries (UK, FRA, NED, USA) forced its way into untouchable territories (China 1842+1860, Japan 1854+1868);
- Informal empire strong influence (LATAM, Egypt, Ottoman e., Persia);
- Territorial imperium (India, Burma, Java, Africa);
- **Deindustrialization** (China, India, Ottoman e.);

### Table 2–22a. Levels of GDP Per Capita in European Colonial Powers and Former Colonies, 1500–1998 (1990 international dollars)

	1500	1700	1820	1913	1950	1998
Britain	762	1 405	2 121	5 150	6 907	18 714
France	727	986	1 230	3 485	5 270	19 558
Italy	1 100	1 100	1 117	2 564	3 502	17 759
Netherlands	754	2 110	1 821	4 049	5 996	20 224
Portugal	632	854	963	1 244	2 069	12 929
Spain	698	900	1 063	2 255	2 397	14 227
China	600	600	600	552	439	3 117
India	550	550	533	673	619	1 746
Indonesia	565	580	612	904	840	3 070
Brazil	400	460	646	811	1 672	5 459
Mexico	425	568	759	1 732	2 365	6 655
United States	400	527	1257	5 301	9 561	27 331
Ireland <sup>b</sup>	526	715	880	2 736	3 446	18 183

#### India

- **GB India most populous** part of empire, second trade partner (US);
- **EIC** (monopoly in India till 1813; China till 1833; India to GB gov. 1858);
  - Primary concern always to make money for shareholders, not to govern a colony taxing and trading – chief servants extremely wealthy;
  - Bengal (1757 Plassey) tax collection rights, enormous burden on peasants;
- Drain of the annual sums sent to GB by EIC impoverished the country, reduced its savings and investment, government was required to borrow to meet its obligations- enlarged external debt;
  - Indian taxpayers had to meet the cost of the GB army and of its various wars;
- GB brought internal peace, unified the country administratively, established the rule of law;
- Destruction of ancient handicrafts, particularly the production of cotton textiles by import of GB machine-made goods;
  - GB cotton sold to India rose form 800k in 1814 to 1bil yards in 1870;
  - Weavers able to survive by turning to silk good, producing **luxury good**;
  - 1837 cotton imports only 6% of Indian consumption, 10% 1850; transport form the ports still primitive, village craftsmen kept local customers – dual economy persisted for log time;
- Indian exports primary commodities, 1820-30s indigo and opium (indigo declined 1830, opium leading with 33% of exports); other rice, sugar, seeds, tea, later jute;

#### Table 2–30. Comparative Macroeconomic Performance of India and Britain, 1600–1947

	1600	1700	1757	1857	1947
		Per c	apita GDP (1990 int.	dollars)	
India	550	550	540	520	618
United Kingdom	974	1 250	1 424	2 717	6 361
			Population (000)		
India	135 000	165 000	185 000	227 000	414 000
United Kingdom	6 170	8 565	13 180	28 187	49 519
		GD	P (million 1990 int. c	lollars)	
India	74 250	90 750	99 900	118 040	255 852
United Kingdom	6 007	10 709	18 768	76 584	314 969

#### China

- Never turned into colony, hostile to foreign imports (Kanton-tributary system);
- Traditional flow of silver into China to pay for tea, porcelains, silks turned into reverse flow of specie out of china from 1820s;
- Opium smuggled in -> China attempted bloc the trade, war 1830-42;
- GB enforced opening of ports, extraterritorial rights for merchants and cession of Hong-Kong;
  - France and US similar privileges much extended after second opium war treaty of Tientsin 1860;
  - Tea increasingly dominant in China's export;

#### Japan

- Shut itself for centuries (1633) forced to open its territories in the late 1850s treaty of 1866:
  - Not to rise tariffs above 5% while giving foreigners extraterritorial rights;
- Meiji restoration 1868;
  - Liberal reforms (general opinion; men of ability; all classes equal; property rights; 1890 constitutional monarchy); modernization (industry, transportations);
  - Economy was **transformed** with **remarkable speed** form 1870s;



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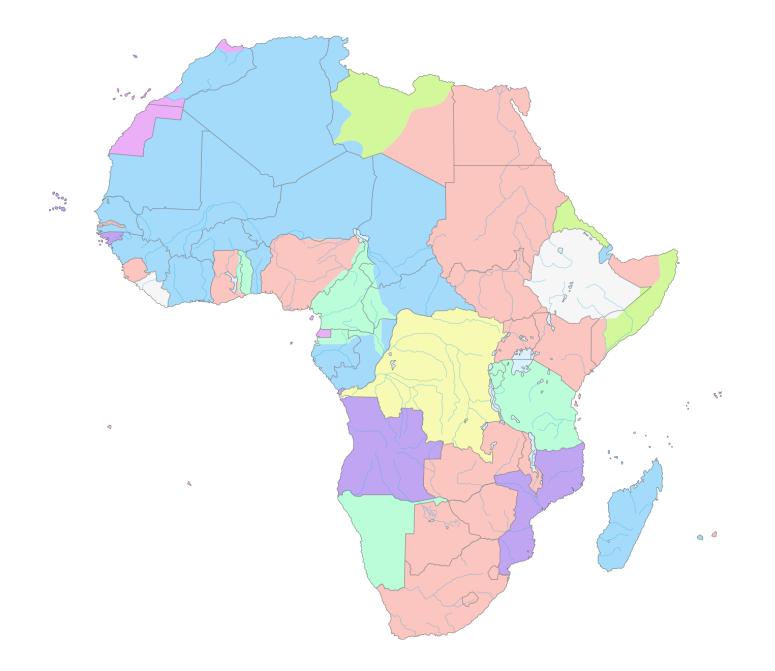


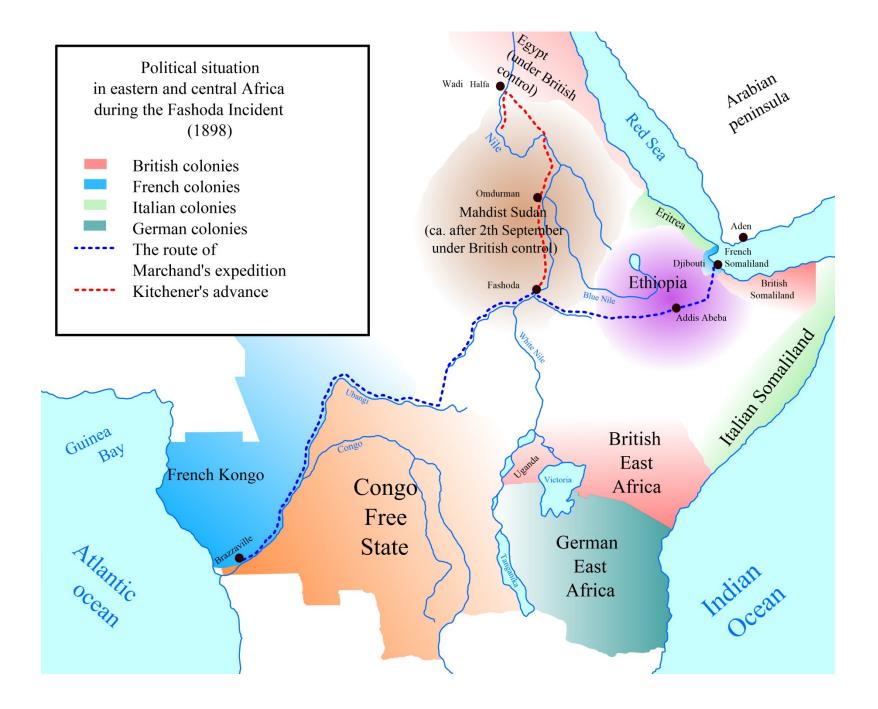
### Egypt

- Mohammed Ali (since 1805, left 1848) attempted to turn Egypt into a modern economy;
  - Extensive irrigation and canal works forced labor;
  - Range of **industrial plants** was set up with European experts; founded schools and colleges sending **students** to Europe;
- Ali forced peasants to sell their crops at a fixed low price reselling abroad to finance his industrial ventures;
- Continued by Ali's successors built roads, railways, steam shipping; Egypt contributed to Suez;
- Most successful was growing of long stapled cotton production increased 8x 1820-1860 (but textile industry failed);
- Despite partial success, **no break through** into modernity;
  - Incomes remained low, the modern sectors remained enclaves;
- Causes: lack of skill, ability among managers and workers, unveiling coerced labor, corruption, costly imported machinery, delayed spare parts, lack of coal;
- 1860s and 1870s serious debt (UK) forced to accept external fiscal control.

#### **Ottoman Empire**

- Classic example of economy starting out from a level comparable with that of Europe in 1800:
  - Not only failed to keep up, but experienced **decline** and **deindustrialization**;
- Some traditional craft industries survived silk robes, pearl goods, damascene arms, morocco leather, but others – cotton textile – destroyed by European industry;
- Political and economic weaknesses commercial treaty with GB 1838 opened country to foreign imports, limited duties and privileged foreign merchants – exempt from provincial tariffs;
  - 1856 monopoly for coastal traffic granted to foreigners;
  - Incompetent and corrupt administration;
- Contact with Europe encouraged the production of primary goods cotton, tobacco for export;
- From **1854** government forced to take up **foreign loans** 1860 it privileged the foreign run Ottoman bank;
  - By **1869** empire owed 76mil. pounds abroad received only about half very little used on productive enterprises;
  - Growing foreign control over Turkish administration;
- Similar story Persia: forced open by treaty with GB 1841 exports stagnated between 1830-1860.





# First World War

- In a generation, Europe **threw away** a legacy that had taken centuries to accumulate (*Aldcroft*);
- Output and export levels well down on those of 1913, even by mid1920s, markets lost for ever;
- European share of international trade down from 59 to 48% (1913-1920); US more manufactured output than Europe combined;
- Later in period: increasing importance of totalitarian powers USSR and GER (USSR, GER, ITA, JAP increased share in industrial production from 22% to 38% 1929-1938);
- US failed to assert its leadership;
- Problem: longer boarders in Europe as a consequence of establishment of new countries (A-H, RUS empires) -> nationalism and protectionism;



#### **Relative manufacturing shares** (% of world output)

	1913	1929	1938
USA	35,8	43,3	28,7
USSR	5,5	5,0	17,6
GER	15,7	11,1	13,2
UK	14,0	9,4	9,2
FRA	6,4	6,6	4,5
ΙΤΑ	2,7	3,3	2,9
BEL	2,1	1,9	1,3
JAP	1,2	2,5	3,8

# Impact of WWI on European position in IE

- **US** (CAN, AUS, ARG) **production** and sales **grew** during war:
  - commodity and food prices were high; markets were secured (no competition form Europe);
- Farmers expanded production, invested into new technologies -> borrowing; after war restoration of E production... crisis;
- **Non-European countries** (LATAM, Asia):
  - WWI: lost source of imports of manufactured goods from Europe -> industrialized (or imported from US);
- European producers faced new competitors... at the same time was export revenues badly needed;

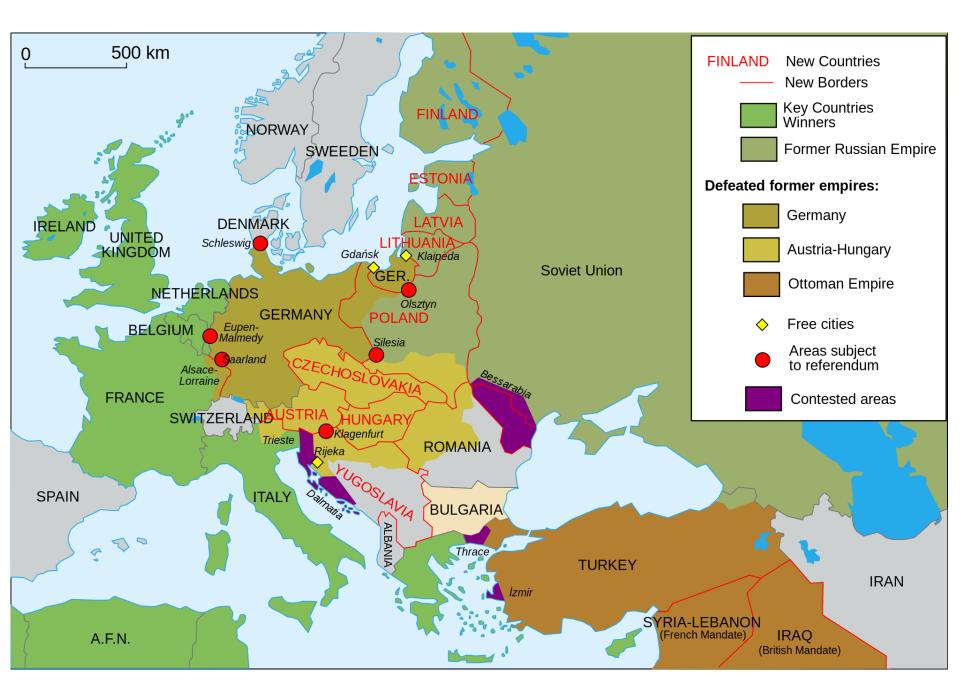
	Aust Hungar		France	e (mill.)	Germa	<b>ny</b> (bill.)	Russia	Russia (mill.)		UK (mill.)	
	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	
1913	3,51	2,99	8,421	6,880	10,751	10,097	1,374	1,520	659,1	525,2	
1914	2,98	2,24	6,402	4,869	8,500	7,400	1,098	956	601,1	430,7	
1915	3,85	1,43	11,036	3,937	7,100	3,100	1,139	402	752,8	384,9	
1916	6,09	1,63	20,640	6,214	8,400	3,800	2,451	577	850,9	506,3	
1917	5,08	1,81	27,554	6,013	7,100	3,500	2,317	464	994,5	527,1	
1918	3,79	1,64	22,306	4,723	7,100	4,700			1,285,3	501,4	
1919			35,799	11,880					1,461,5	798,6	

	Argentina		Aust	tralia	Canada		South Africa		US	
	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export
1913	1,128	1,180	72,5	76,8	619	455	40	28	1,854	2,538
1914	733	916			456	461	34	18	1,924	2,420
1915	694	1,323	58,2	57,9	508	779	30	15	1,703	2,820
1916	832	1,302	70,0	64,1	846	1,179	38	24	2,424	5,554
1917	864	1,250	69,1	86,3	964	1,586	34	29	3,005	6,318
1918	1,138	1,822	55,3	75,1	920	1,269	47	51	3,993	8,159
1919	1,490	2,343	86,3	107,0	941	1,290	47	51	3,993	8,159

	India		Jap	Japan		China		Indochina		Indonesia	
	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	Import	Export	
1913	2,022	2,574	795	716	888	628	306	645	464	671	
1914	1,550	1,907	671	671	887	555	266	332	412	674	
1915	1,487	2,082	636	793	708	653	224	345	390	770	
1916	1,710	2,570	879	1,234	805	751	335	391	419	895	
1917	1,774	2,572	1,201	1,752	856	721	374	430	385	778	
1918	2,018	2,690	1,902	2,159	865	757	363	455	556	676	
1919	2,371	3,503	2,501	2,379	1,008	983	751	1,051	740	2,146	

# **The Politics of Peace**

- New geographical configuration attempt to ring-fence Germany + W. Wilson: support for national self-determination;
- Collapse of empires: **Austro-Hungarian**, Russian, Ottoman;
  - **Third** of the inhabitants of Eastern Europe **stateless**;
  - Few regarded the settlement as final;
  - States in East weak in every sense;
- **Peace** settlement for **Germany cause** for resentment and **revenge**;
- War guilt clause Article 231 of the Treaty of Versailles;
- Disastrous outcome of Paris peace Conference (Versailles treaty) for Germany:
  - Loss of 13% land, 10% citizens, 75% ore, 25% coal reserves;
    - colonies were occupied, foreign investments confiscated -> how to import raw materials (to produce to pay reparations) without hard currency?
  - Drastic reparations (33 bil. USD=200% GDP);
  - Occupation of the **Ruhr** 1923-25 by France;
  - Rampart **inflation** 1:4,2 in 1914 1:4,2 quintillion in 1923;
  - **1923 real GDP on 50%** of 1913...**US** starts to **lend** to GER
  - (Dawes plan 1924, Young plan 1929 -> 1988);
- Locarno 1925 GER refused to guarantee her eastern borders;



# **Reparations** problem

- During war US lend to GB, FRA, BEL and others app 12bil. USD

   insisted on repayment (part of US isolationism);
- GB and especially FRA planned to raise money through reparations extracted from GER – unrealistic (FRA occupying the Ruhr area) – paid at most 25%;
- **Peace settlement** failed to make adequate **provision** for the economic **reconstruction** of Europe;

### CEE (DCs) Debt Problems

- CEE relied on world markets for the sale of their primary products + depended on imported capital for development;
  - Late 1920s: western markets were less open and the terms of trade were turning against primary producers (1925-1929 prices of agri.prod. 30% down, stockpiles rose by 75%);

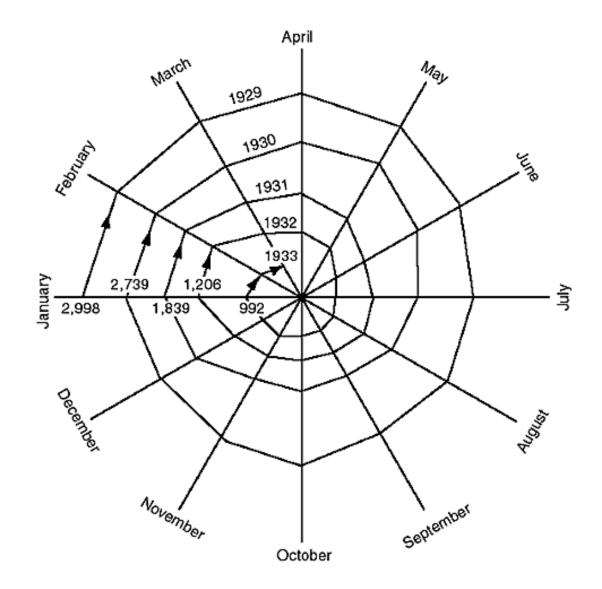
### Indebtedness

- **CEE** relied heavily on **capital imports** to balance external accounts;
  - HUN, POL, BUL, YUG half of inflows to cover trade deficit, most of rest to cover foreign debt;
  - By **1929** inflows **barely sufficient** to cover **interest** payments and dividends;
  - **Germany: heavy debtor** complicated by **reparation** payments;
- War debts + reparations + weakening commodity prices + trade deficits + ...suction of funds back to NY as a result of the US stock market boom -> USD shortage;
  - US cutback of lending 1928 (tightening of monetary policy to control the stock market boom), capital inflows to East Europe stopped, to GER halved;
  - Germany inflationary experience Reichsbank following a tight monetary policy when the depression set system fell apart;

### **Great depression**

- World slowing down only US stock exchange grew (black Thursday and Tuesday 24-29 October 1929);
- US contributed to the spread of panic (1922 Fordney-McCumber tariff) 1930
   <u>Smoot-Hawley tariff</u> (attempt to protect US farmers);
  - when the **Creditanstalt** of Austria fell in **1931**, the global deficiencies of economic nationalism became apparent:
    - U.S. imports decreased by 66% from US\$4.4 billion (1929) to US\$1.5 billion (1933), and exports decreased 61% from US\$5.4 billion to US\$2.1 billion;
    - U.S. imports from Europe decreased from a 1929 high of \$1,334 million to just \$390 million during 1932, while U.S. exports to Europe decreased from \$2,341 million in 1929 to \$784 million in 1932;
- Overall, world trade decreased by some 66% between 1929 and 1934 (33% in real terms);

#### THE KINDLEBERGER SPIRAL



Charles Kindleberger, "The World in Depression."

# **Disintegration of world trade**

- Indebted countries didn't have sufficient access to markets and therefore to USD earnings;
  - raised tariffs: to earn USD + to limit imports to stop spending USD;
  - had to export (to earn USD) -> currency devaluation;
  - All countries: excessive **NTBs** are introduced (import licenses, TBTs, sanitary regulations, capital controls, monopolies for foreign trade);
  - in turn DCs don't have market access for their export commodities and without export earnings cannot buy AICs' exports (colonial goods exporters were hard hit);
  - **<u>Deflation</u>** economic crisis role of **labor unions**;
  - Fundamental limitation of immigration into US;

#### Results

- **1932:** world **industrial output** decreased to **64%** of **1929;**
- 1938 trade between AICs was still lower than in 1913;
- isolationism, mercantilism, unilateralism...
- unemployment peaks 1932: GB 17,2%, GER 15,3%;
- US 1929-1933: -30% GDP, -90% investment, -50% industrial output, unemployment 25,2%;

Norman Davies (1996):

"The effects of the Depression were psychological and political as well as purely economic. Everyone from banker to bellboy was perplexed. The **Great War** had brought death and destruction; but it had also brought a purpose to life and full employment. **Peace** appeared to bring neither. There were men who said life amidst the danger and comradeship of the trenches was preferable to life on the dole."

	Imports f	rom bloc	Exports to bloc		
	1929	1938	1929	1938	
UK: Empire UK: Other sterling bloc	30 12	42 13	44 7	50 12	
France: Empire	12	27	19	27	
Italy: Colonies and Ethiopia	0.5	2	2	23	
Japan: Korea, Formosa, Kwantung, Manchuria	20	41	24	55	
Germany: Balkans Germany: Latin America	4.5 12	12 16	5 8	13 11.5	

Table 4.3 Great power trade blocs (as % of the core country trade)

Source: Derived from Hillman (1952, 486).