# FOREIGN CAPITAL AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

A STUDY BASED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

# FOREIGN CAPITAL AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY

A STUDY BASED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF EAST EUROPEAN COUNTRIES BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

bу

V. N. BANDERA

Boston College



Springer-Science+Business Media, B.V. 1964

ISBN 978-94-017-5792-8 DOI 10.1007/978-94-017-6212-0 ISBN 978-94-017-6212-0 (eBook)

Copyright 1964 by Springer Science+Business Media Dordrecht
Originally published by Martinus Nijhoff, The Hague, Netherlands in 1964
All rights reserved, including the right to translate or to
reproduce this book or parts thereof in any form

#### **PREFACE**

The task of rehabilitating the underprivileged countries requires that all resources, foreign capital included, be harnessed for the benefit of mankind. Today, financial transactions across national borders take place at an unprecedented scale, and greater international mobility of capital is often recommended as a means for the attainment of economic stability and development. However, the promise that such mobility will augment the borrowers' capital stock often remains unfulfilled. Thus the essential purpose of international lending – to promote the well-being of the debtor countries by improving their productive capacity – could be subverted.

Since the elimination of economic deprivation is the dominant problem of our time, the crucial test of the effectiveness of external borrowing and lending should be whether these transactions help to increase the capital stock and the productivity of impoverished regions. In view of these objectives, I have endeavored in this study to determine (a) the impact of foreign capital on over-all investment, incomes, and employment; (b) the nature of the interdependence between a country's internal and external balance as they relate to international capital movements; and (c) the appropriateness of national policies purporting to promote economic stability and development with the aid of foreign capital.

This study of a closed chapter in the history of six East European countries was undertaken with the intention of shedding some light on a question with which our century will remain preoccupied: what role can be assigned to international capital movements to promote economic stability and development. Obviously, the advancement of East European economies required a rapid rate of investment. But while their ability to generate capital internally was limited, foreign sources

VI PREFACE

of capital were arid and not dependable. In fact, the already existing debts became an additional burden during the commercial and financial crisis of the early 1930's.

The evidence suggests that not only in the industrial but also in the less developed economies, the objective of maintaining price stability and an equilibrium in the balances of payments conflicts with an urgent need to absorb underemployed resources into production. Passive submission to the vicissitudes of the world-wide business cycle by countries like Poland proved burdensome and unjustified especially since short- and long-term foreign credit was inadequate and unreliable. In contrast, positive monetary and fiscal policies pursued by Estonia, Latvia, and, later, Hungary successfully stimulated investment and tended to maintain full employment of resources.

With regard to the efficiency of resource allocation, a conclusion is reached that investments attributable to foreign capital should be supplemented by intensive domestic investment programs in order to achieve a more balanced pattern of capital allocation.

Unfortunately, even well-intentioned unilateral policies could be subverted by a chaotic international environment. Thus, unreceptiveness to imports and other irresponsible policies in the creditor countries contributed to the balance-of-payments crises in the debtor countries, especially in view of the ever-increasing outpayments of debt services. Indeed, international co-operation might be a most reasonable undertaking of governments which claim to be guardians of their citizens' welfare.

I sincerely hope this monograph will be of value not only to those concerned with the history of East European countries but also to those interested in the broader problem of international capital transfers in our times. International financial problems acquire special significance when viewed from the standpoint of the interests of small "insignificant" countries. Similar to the predicament of most underdeveloped countries today, Eastern Europe between the World Wars found itself on the fringes of the financial and commercial world. Nevertheless, foreign capital assumed a key role in the functioning of these economies since its significance was magnified by the scarcity of real and monetary capital. Given the similarity of conditions in the less developed countries and Eastern Europe, it is clear that current policy thinking can gain by analyzing the inter-war experience and assessing the policies of that time. Unwillingness to seek the lessons of history

PREFACE VII

may cause recurring disappointments for both the debtor and the creditor nations.

It is with much pleasure that I express my deep gratitude to those who suggested improvements in this study and helped to expedite its completion. The study originated at the University of California, Berkeley, and was aided by a Ford Foundation grant. I shall remain ever grateful to Professors John M. Letiche, Howard S. Ellis, Philip W. Bell, Gregory Grossman, and Tibor Scitovsky, on whom I relied for advice in different phases of my research and writing. My colleague Professor Noel J. J. Farley of Boston College read critically Part III and suggested numerous improvements; Professor Joen E. Greenwood of Wellesley College performed the same service with Part IV. Professor Vlad Thomas of the University of Minnesota helped to improve the style. Also, I acknowledge indebtedness to Boston College for providing certain secretarial services. Lastly, special thanks are due to my wife, Sophia, for her help and encouragement.

Boston College January, 1964 V. N. BANDERA

### CONTENTS

Prejace	v
PART I	
THE SCOPE AND METHOD OF THIS STUDY	1
I. THE BACKGROUND	3
<ol> <li>Capital Scarcity and the Desire to Develop</li> <li>Related Studies</li> </ol>	4 5
II. THE SCOPE OF THIS STUDY	7
<ol> <li>The Meaning of Capital and Capital Movements</li> <li>Central Analytical Issues         <ul> <li>Foreign capital in the stabilization and development efforts</li> <li>Foreign capital and internal-external balances</li> <li>Gains and costs due to international capital transactions</li> </ul> </li> <li>Broad Outline</li> </ol>	7 8 9 9 10
III. THE METHOD	12
<ol> <li>A Note on the Use of Statistics</li> <li>The Analytical Framework</li> </ol>	12
PART II	
FOREIGN CAPITAL AND THE FUNCTIONING OF EAST EUROPEAN ECONOMIES	15
IV. THE CONTRIBUTION OF FOREIGN CAPITAL TO STABILIZATION (1918–25)	18
<ol> <li>Internal Inflations and External Deficits</li> <li>Relief Loans</li> <li>Balancing Capital Movements</li> <li>Stabilization Loans</li> <li>Conclusion: Internal and External Aspects in Monetary Stabilization</li> </ol>	18 19 21 25

X CONTENTS

V.	CAPITAL MOVEMENTS AND LEVELS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY BEFORE THE GREAT DEPRESSION (1925–30)	33
	<ol> <li>Foreign Capital and the Supply of Money</li> <li>a. The issuance of notes</li> <li>b. Demand deposits in the state banks</li> <li>c. Private credit</li> <li>d. Responsiveness of private and state credit networks com-</li> </ol>	33 34 34 38
	pared 2. Position of Czechoslovakia as a Creditor 3. Foreign Capital and Employment under the Revived Gold Standard	39 41 42
VI.	CONSEQUENCES OF THE COLLAPSE OF INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL MARKETS DURING THE GREAT DEPRESSION (1930-39)	44
	<ol> <li>Dimensions of the Decline of Long-Term Capital Flows</li> <li>From Normal to Abnormal Capital Movements</li> <li>Internal Consequences of External Shocks         <ul> <li>Adverse multiplier effects</li> <li>Response via the monetary mechanism</li> </ul> </li> <li>Defensive Policies</li> </ol>	45 46 48 48 51 52
VII.	CONCLUSION: NET GAINS IN A DYNAMIC SETTING	55
	PART III	
	ALLOCATION OF CAPITAL	57
III.	CRITERIA FOR APPRAISING THE EFFICIENCY OF ALLOCATION OF	
	FOREIGN CAPITAL  1. Full Employment and Rational Allocation of Capital Distin-	61
	guished	61
	<ol> <li>Marginal Conditions Prescribed by Theory</li> <li>Evaluation of Empirical Evidence</li> </ol>	61 62
	4. Policy Objectives as Criteria	63
IX.	ALLOCATION OF PUBLIC EXTERNAL LOANS	66
X.	ALLOCATION OF PRIVATE EXTERNAL LOANS	71
XI.	AN APPRAISAL OF ALLOCATION OF FOREIGN CAPITAL	76
	<ol> <li>Overspecialization, Selectiveness, and Monopoly</li> <li>Capital in Relation to Economic Policies</li> <li>Endogenous Investments as Correctives</li> </ol>	76 77 78
XII.	ALLOCATION OF CAPITAL UNDER THE TEST OF RAPIDLY CHANGING	
	ECONOMIC CONDITIONS  1. Burden of the Inherited Structure  2. Presence of Foreign Capital Inconvenient	81 81 84
	3. Interference with the Market Mechanism and New Investments as Correctives	8 <sub>5</sub>

CONTENTS XI

#### PART IV

	FOREIGN CAPITAL AND EXTERNAL BALANCES	87
	ECONOMIC ADJUSTMENTS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF EXTERNAL BALANCES  1. The Changing Volume and Composition of Trade 2. Effectiveness of Price-Income Policies 3. The Marginal Propensity to Import and the Business Cycle 4. The Creditor's Case 5. External Balances from the Standpoint of the Transfer Process	91 91 96 99 101
XIV.	CAPITAL MOVEMENTS AND EXCHANGE STABILITY	104
	<ol> <li>Significance of Capital Movements in the Exchange Markets</li> <li>The Failing Financial System</li> </ol>	104 105
XV.	PROBLEMS OF DEBT SERVICING	111
	1. Debt Services in the Balances of Payments	111
	2. Preventive Policies	114
	<ol> <li>Terms of Trade and the Burden of Debt</li> <li>The changing terms under fixed exchanges</li> </ol>	116
	b. Devaluations and the terms of trade	118
	4. New Ways to Deal with Uncollectable Debts	120
	PART V	
	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	123
XVI.	HISTORICAL SUMMARY AND ANALYTICAL CONCLUSIONS	126
	1. International Problems as Seen by Small Countries	126
	2. A Chronological Review	127
	a. Borrowing connected with World War I and postwar	T.0.
	stabilization b. Normalized capital movements after stabilizations	127 128
	c. The disruption of capital flows, and post-crisis international	120
	credits 3. Economic Policies and the Net Gains from Engaging in Inter-	128
	national Capital Transactions	129
	a. Importance of secondary repercussions	130
	<ul><li>b. Importance of external balance</li><li>c. Importance of economic policy</li></ul>	132
	4. A Note on Economic Theories Relating to International Capital	134
	Movements	136
XVII	. SOME BROADER ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCE	138
	1. The Non-Economic Ramifications of the Problem	138
	2. Internal Political Milieu and Capital Accumulation	139
	3. International Conflict Versus Cooperation	141
Biblio	graphy	145
Index	•	151

## LIST OF TABLES

1.	Export-import value Ratios ( $\Lambda/M\%$ ), 1919–1924	19
II.	Value and Sources of Finance of Relief Deliveries	20
III.	International Capital Movements in 000,000 Dollars	22
IV.	League of Nations Reconstruction Loans to Estonia and Hungary, and External Bond Issues of Poland	27
V.	Gold and Foreign Assets Reserves, Central Bank Discount Rates, and Market Discount Rates, 1924–1938	36
VI.	Domestic and Foreign Capital in the Joint-Stock Banks of Latvia, 1926	39
VII.	Indices of Average Annual Industrial Production, 1929–1938 (1929 = 100)	<b>4</b> 9
VIII.	Changes in the Levels of Long-Term Capital Inflows, and their Impact on National Incomes	50
IX.	Commercial Bank Deposits	52
X.	Public External Indebtedness of East European Countries, and Estimated Fractions Spent for Productive	67
37.7	Purposes	07
XI.	Private External Indebtedness of East European Countries	72
XII.	Foreign Capital in Latvian Joint-Stock Companies	73
XIII.	Foreign Capital in Polish Joint-Stock Companies, 1 January, 1933	74
XIV.	Estimates of National Incomes for the Years 1929 and 1933	82

4-	•	_ +
v	т	17

#### LIST OF TABLES

XV.	Values of Imports, Exports, and Trade Balances,	
	1925–1938	93
XVI.	Composition of Imports and Exports by Classes	94
XVII.	Flexibility of Wholesale Prices in Eastern Europe during the Depression	98
XVIII.	Outpayment of Interest, Dividends, and Amortization on Foreign Capital, 1923–29	113
XIX.	Net Payments of Interest, Dividends, and Amortization on Foreign Capital, 1927–37	113