Export Demand for U.S. Cotton:

Implications of Structural Changes_ in the World Cotton Economy

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Foreword

Research for this study was conducted in part under Southern Regional Research Project SM-14, "Multiple Pricing Plans for Marketing Southern Agricultural Commodities." It is directed specifically toward objective 3 of SM-14 which is to "determine the general competitive structure in primary foreign markets for each of the major exportable farm commodities, including institutional barriers to trade."

This report is based largely on material originally reported in a Ph.D. dissertation entitled "An Economic-Statistical Analysis of the Foreign Demand for American Cotton," submitted by the author to the Department of Agricultural Economics, University of California, Berkeley, 1961. Where appropriate, the data appearing in the dissertation have been revised and up-dated.

Export Demand for United States Cotton: Implications of Structural Changes in the World Cotton Economy

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For many years the United States has been the world's leading exporter of raw cotton and has depended upon foreign markets to absorb a substantial portion of the annual crop. During the past three decades, however, dramatic changes of far-reaching importance have occurred in the structure of the world cotton market and the institutional environment within which market forces operate.

As a reflection of the developments in the world cotton economy, sources of supply and centers of mill demand have decentralized, world exports of raw cotton have failed to keep pace with the rapid expansion of foreign production and consumption in the post-war period, foreign mill consumption has declined relative to production of man-made fibers, and the relative importance of the United States in foreign cotton markets has declined substantially.

The basic reasons for these developments are many, complex and interrelated. There is disagreement concerning the relative importance of the various factors involved. But whatever the causes of the developments, the present structure of the world cotton economy is of major importance to the U. S. cotton industry. It has great significance for the outlook for American cotton in foreign markets and the potential impact of U. S. governmental cotton programs on the volume of U. S. exports of cotton. A knowledge of the structural characteristics of the world cotton economy is required for any appraisal of two-price plans for cotton.

In view of the foregoing considerations, the study reported herein was made to analyze the pattern of world cotton production, consumption, and trade in relation to the export demand for U. S. cotton. Specifically, objectives of this study were:

1. To analyze relations among selected "key" elements of market

structure, cotton policies of foreign governments, and the demand for U. S. exports.

2. To describe and analyze broad economic trends in the foreign cotton economy that appear to be important determinants of the volume of U. S. exports.

3. To describe and analyze the changing pattern of world production, consumption and trade in raw cotton.

The sections of the report dealing with objectives 2 and 3 are largely descriptive, but an attempt has been made to approach the description from an analytical point of view permitting a limited but meaningful casual or theoretical analysis.

Analytical Framework and Theoretical Analysis

The theoretical association among the characteristics of demand for U. S. exports, foreign governmental cotton policies and the structure of the export market are systematically analyzed in this section. The first step in such inquiry is to present an analytical framework which provides a selected set of implied hypotheses regarding association among export demand characteristics, structural attributes of the export market and specific governmental policies. The second step involves the theoretical development and elaboration of selected hypotheses implied by the model.

The Analytical Framework

Major interest is centered on the level and elasticity of the demand function for U. S. exports and changes in these characteristics over time. For use in this study, the demand for exports from the United States is defined to be the difference between total foreign mill demand for all growths of cotton and the total supply of cotton from all foreign countries, each in a schedule or functional sense. Exports from the United States may exceed or fall short of the gap between foreign mill consumption and production in any single year or a small number of years by building up or working down foreign inventories of raw cotton. Over a period of several years, however, U. S. exports must be substantially equal to the spread between foreign consumption and production. Consequently, the demand for U. S. exports as conceived here refers to a period of years sufficiently long so that annual variations in foreign stocks of raw cotton can be disregarded. For practical purposes three to five years would probably be a sufficiently long time interval. Since there are many countries that either produce or consume raw cotton or both, the total foreign demand and supply functions are obtained by aggregating the demand and supply functions of individual countries.

Algebraically, the export demand function can be written as

$$Q_{e} = \sum_{j=1}^{M} Q_{dj} - \sum_{k=1}^{M} Q_{sk}, \qquad (1)$$

where Q_e is the demand for exports from the United States as a function of the export price (P_e), Q_{dj} is the demand for mill consumption of all growths of cotton in country j as a function of the local price expressed in U. S. currency (P_{dj}), and Q_{sk} is the supply of all cotton in country k with respect to the local price expressed in U. S. currency (P_{sk}). It is assumed that local prices confronting demanders and supplies in foreign countries are functions of the U. S. export price, i. e., $P_{dj} = f_j$ (P_e) and $P_{sk} = f_k$ (P_e).

The elasticity of export demand with respect to the export price derived from equation (1) is given by

$$E_{e} = \sum_{j=l}^{M} E_{dj} \frac{Q_{dj}}{Q_{e}} \frac{m}{\lambda_{dj}} - \sum_{k=l}^{M} E_{sk} \frac{Q_{sk}}{Q_{e}} \lambda_{sk} \quad (2)$$

where E_e is the elasticity of demand for U. S. exports with respect to the export price; E_{dj} is the elasticity of mill demand for all cotton in country j with respect to the local price expressed in U. S. currency; E_{sk} is the elasticity of supply in country k with respect to the local price expressed in U. S. currency; Q_e is the quantity of U. S. exports; Q_{dj} and Q_{sk} are the quantities demanded in country j and supplied in country k, respectively; and λ_{dj} and λ_{sk} are the elasticities of local prices in countries j and k, respectively, with respect to the U. S. export price.¹

Theoretical Analysis: The Hypotheses

As outlined above, the *export market* from the viewpoint of the United States is conceived to include the several foreign countries that produce, consume, export and import raw cotton, together with all the economic forces and institutional and physical facilities which are involved in facilitating production, consumption and trade. The *structure*

$$^{_{1}}\quad\lambda_{dj}\,=\,\frac{dP_{dj}}{dP_{e}}\quad\frac{Pe}{P_{dj}}\text{ and }\lambda_{sk}\,=\,\frac{dP_{sk}}{dP_{e}}\quad\frac{Pe}{P_{sk}}\,.$$

of the export market refers to the organizational characteristics of the market considering the individual countries as suppliers and demanders, including the characteristics of the different growths of cotton.

Governmental policies and regulations affecting production, consumption, imports and exports in the various countries are usually considered dominant elements in the *institutional framework*. For the purpose at hand, however, such policies and regulations might be considered more appropriately to be strategic aspects of *market conduct*, either actual or potential. In this context, individual countries are viewed as counterparts of individual firms in the usual analysis of industrial organization or market structure where the primary unit for analysis is an industry or a group of competing firms in a single country. In this sense, "market conduct refers to the patterns of behavior which enterprises [countries] follow in adapting or adjusting to the markets in which they sell (or buy) . . ."²

Such policies are viewed not as restrictions determining the economic and political environment within which market forces operate, but as major determinants of U. S. export demand, the effects of which are subject to a limited but meaningful casual analysis.

Obviously, the analytical scheme sketched above is neither complete nor fully adequate for the analysis of export demand. Nevertheless, in evaluating present or proposed cotton price programs or pronouncements on cotton policy, the model does provide a frame of reference from which it is possible to deduce reasonable hypotheses. Examinations of the export demand function, equation (1), and the export elasticity formula, equation (2), suggests certain strategic aspects of market structure and several types of governmental policy that appear to be significantly associated with the demand for U. S. exports.

Two aspects of market structures appear potentially important. The first aspect is the number and size distribution of (1) producers, (2) consumers, (3) importers, and (4) exporters. The second aspect is the degree of product differentiation among the various producing countries, i. e., the ease with which the various growths and qualities of cotton can be substituted one for the other in cotton mills facing given demands for mill products.

² Joe S. Bain, Industrial Organization (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1959), p. 9.

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Elements of policies of foreign governments that bear directly on the level and elasticity of demand for U. S. exports are those that influence (1) the elasticity of demand and/or supply in a given country with respect to local prices, (2) the elasticity of local prices with respect to the U. S. export (world) price, or (3) the volume of production, consumption, or trade directly through non-price actions.

Consider, for example, the case where the government of a foreign exporting country supports the price of cotton to its own producers. When world (or U. S. export) price falls below the support level, the elasticity of supply in that country with respect to the U.S. export price becomes, ceteris parabus, perfectly inelastic. That is, production in that country will not be influenced by the U.S. export price in the absence of a change in internal support rates. As a second example, consider export taxes or subsidies which play a rather important role in world trade in raw cotton. To the extent that the rates are adjusted in response to changes in world prices in such a way as to insulate foreign producers from the effects of external price changes, the elasticity of supply again approaches zero. In the short run of a few seasons the full effects of changes in the world price level are then reflected as changes in governmental expenditures or revenues. As a final example, a foreign government may provide for fixed prices to mills which would reduce the elasticity of mill demand with respect to world prices to zero. Many other examples could be given.

All policies relating to cotton of foreign governments influence the level and elasticity of demand for U. S. exports. The nature and degree of influence of any specific policy depends on the relative importance of the country concerned in world production, consumption and trade, and the type of cotton involved. Therefore, the market structure attributes of number and size distribution of producers, consumers, exporters and importers of raw cotton as reflected in the world pattern of production, distribution and trade, together with the degree of substitutability between different growths of cotton are important determinants of the demand for U. S. exports.

Economic Trends Affecting U.S. Exports

Selected major economic trends affecting the market for U. S. cotton in foreign countries were reviewed in this section. As pointed out previously, U. S. exports, except for year-to-year variations in raw cotton inventories, must be substantially equal to the difference between



Figure 1. Foreign production and mill consumption of cotton, 1920-1959. Source: Table 1.

foreign production and consumption. Thus, we look to trends in production and consumption and their major determinants.

Foreign Mill Consumption

Total mill consumption and production data outside the United States are shown in Figure 1 (and Table 1). The chart emphasizes two facts. First, except during the war years, there has been a pronounced upward trend in both consumption and production. Second, production has increased at a faster rate than has consumption. As a result, the gap between consumption and production has narrowed. The chart also emphasizes the exceptionally high growth rate in both consumption and production from 1945 to 1960.

Foreign mill consumption of cotton of all growths increased sharply from 12.3 million bales in 1920 to 22.7 million in 1936. It then receded each year to about its 1920 level in the war years of 1943 and 1944. Beginning in 1945, however, foreign consumption increased each year and exceeded its prewar peak in 1950 when it reached 23.5 million bales. Thereafter it continued to increase each year and reached 37.9 million bales in 1960. Thus, between 1944 and 1960 consumption more than tripled. In the ten-year period from 1950 to 1960, it increased by 14.4 million bales, which represents a phenomenal average rate of growth of 1.4 million bales per year.

Total foreign mill demand for cotton is determined largely by three major factors: (1) total foreign population, (2) per capita incomes of foreign consumers, and (3) the nature of competition between cotton and other fibers, particularly man-made or synthetic fibers of which rayon is by far the most important. Other factors are obviously involved, but individually they are probably of minor significance. The three listed are clearly the most important in terms of total consumption of all growths of cotton.

EFFECT OF POPULATION: The importance of population growth requires little comment. However, in order to emphasize its importance in influencing the long-term trend and potential of foreign cotton consumption, consider the following example. Between 1938 and 1957 foreign population increased by more than 600 million persons, from about 2.2 to 2.8 billion (Table 2). This represented an annual growth rate of about 33.5 million persons. If there had been no change in consumption per capita in foreign countries from the 1938 level of 5.4 pounds, this would have added an additional 379 thousand bales of cotton of 478 pounds net weight to mill demand each year. By 1957 this would have added a total of approximately 7.2 million bales to the 21.6 million consumed in foreign mills in 1938. However, per capita consumption did increase (Table 2), and total foreign mill consumption in 1957 reached 33.3 million bales.

INTER-FIBER COMPETITION: Table 2 shows changes in the world inter-fiber per capita consumption pattern between 1938 and 1956-58. Foreign consumption of all fibers increased about 2.0 pounds per capita between the periods. Cotton accounted for about 1.0 pound of the increase and rayon about 0.8 pound. Wool consumption remained virtually unchanged. Man made fibers other than rayon accounted for the remainder of the total increase. Although cotton consumption showed the largest absolute increase per capita, rayon consumption showed a much larger relative increase. Cotton consumption increased only about 19 percent, while rayon consumption more than doubled.

Although the relative consumption rates and changes in the consumption pattern vary substantially by regions, the pattern shifted sharply in favor of rayon in all regions of the world except the Far East. In that region, consumption of rayon per capita in 1956-58 was only one-half its rate in the prewar period, and is now lower there than any major regions of the world. The present relatively low rate of per capita consumption of rayon in this area, coupled with the fact that it contains over one-half of the world's population, has important implications for future inter-fiber competition.

The extent to which foreign cotton consumption has declined rela-

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tive to manmade fibers is best revealed by a comparison of total consumption of all cotton in the foreign mills and foreign production of manmade fibers (Table 1). Production of manmade fibers increased steadily from 70 thousand cotton equivalent bales in 1920 to 5.8 million in 1941, and then declined to 1.3 million in 1945. Since 1945, there has been an explosive growth in production which increased in every year except two and reached 15.8 million cotton equivalent bales in 1960.

After declining during the war, both cotton consumption and manmade fiber production regained their prewar peaks in 1950. In the 10 years, 1950 to 1960, manmade fiber production increased 151 percent, from 6.3 million cotton equivalent bales to 15.8 million. At the same time, cotton consumption increased 61 percent, from 23.5 to 37.9 million bales. Thus while mill consumption of cotton increased more absolutely than did manmade fiber-production, it declined relatively.

EFFECT OF INCOME: Table 2 shows wide variations among the major regions of the world in per capita consumption rates of cotton and other fibers. The variation is even greater when different countries are compared. Consumption in individual countries obviously is influenced by such factors as differences in climate and custom. But one of the more important, if not the most important, factors explaining differences in per capita fiber consumption between countries is differences in income.

In Table 3, consumption of cotton and income per capita in United States dollars averaged for the three years of 1948 to 1950 are given for 52 foreign countries. Similar data are given for 50 countries for the period 1952 to 1954 in Table 4.

In an attempt to estimate the relationship between per capita income and per capita cotton consumption, two equations were fitted to each set of data. One equation is linear in the variables; the second expresses consumption as a function of the square root of income. The following equations are least-squares estimates of per capita consumption for the 1948-1950 period.

$$C = 11.956 + 0.057 \text{ I; } r^2 = 0.77; E = 0.59$$
(3)
(13.09)

$$C = -3.292 + 2.067\sqrt{I} ; r^{2} = 0.78; E = .55$$
(4)
(13.18)

The estimated equations for the 1952-54 period are C = 13.778 + 0.043 I; $r^2 = 0.74$; E = 0.54 (5) (11.74)

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$$C = 1.560 + 1.770 \sqrt{I}; r^{2} = 0.75; E = .52$$
(6)
(12.09)

In equations (3 to 6) C is per capita consumption of cotton (100 grams), and I is per capita income in United States dollars. The figures in parentheses below the coefficients are t - ratios, and E is the income elasticity of demand computed at the means of the series.

From a statistical point of view there is little basis for choosing one equation form over the other. The results are quite similar when the two equations are compared for a given time period. The results are also approximately the same for the two time periods, however, the square root formulation may be preferable from a theoretical standpoint. The square-root equations (4 and 6) result in an income elasticity estimate that declines as income increases. On the other hand, the linear equations (3 and 5) imply a larger income elasticity coefficient as income increases with the coefficient approaching unity as a limit. Estimates of the income elasticities for two alternative levels of income are given in Table 5.3

The rapid increase in foreign mill consumption of cotton during the period under review resulted mainly from population and per capita income increases. In general, the areas and countries of the world with the lowest per capita consumption of cotton at the present time are also those with the lowest per capita incomes and living standards. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that if and when per capita incomes in these areas rise, per capita consumption of cotton will increase also. Moreover, these low income-low consumption areas are generally those with large populations relative to the high income-high consumption areas. Consequently, only small increases in per capita consumption in Asia and Africa would cause relatively large increases in total cotton consumption.

In the past, the competition between cotton and manmade fibers has been sharpest in industrial uses. In recent years, however, there has been a sharp shift in the inter-fiber consumption pattern in non-

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 ³ Elasticity estimates for cotton, rayon and wool combined are given in United Natons, Food and Agricultural Organization, Natural and Man-made Fibers: A Review, FAO Commodity Series, Bulletin No. 26 (Rome: 1954), p. 9. The following results were given in that study:

 Log C = -0.226 + 0.776 log I
 r = 0.950

^{1.} Log C = -0.220 + 0.7/6 log T r = 0.930 2. C = $-22.68 + 4.392 \sqrt{1}$ r = 0.946 The equation in logarithms gives an estimate of the income elasticity of .776 which is, of course, constant for all levels of income. The estimate of the elasticity of demand with respect to income provided by the squareroot equation varies inversely with the level of income. At income levels of \$100 and \$500 per capita, the income elasticity estimates are 1.03 and 0.65, respectively.

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industrial uses in favor of manmade fibers at the expense of cotton in relative terms. Most of the cotton consumed in the low-income, lowconsumption areas is in clothing and household uses, and cotton undoubtedly will face increasingly intense competition from newer fibers as living standards and total fiber utilization increase in these areas.

Foreign Production

The trend in foreign production has been quite similar to that of consumption (Figure 1). Production increased from 7.9 million bales in 1920 to about 20.0 million in 1936 and 1937. The rise in production was especially sharp between 1931 and 1936. During this five-year period, production increased by 9.3 million bales, an average rate of growth of almost 1.9 million bales per year. This caused a marked decrease in the gap between foreign consumption and production by 1936.

Following 1937, production declined more slowly than did consumption and reached its war-time low point in 1945 at 12.1 million bales. Production did not fall so low during the war relative to its prewar level as did consumption and actually exceeded consumption in 1941, 1942 and 1943. It was approximately equal to consumption in 1944. From 1944 to 1948 production was relatively stable.

Since 1948, production has increased each year and exceeded its prewar peak in 1951 when it reached 20.6 million bales. It continued to increase each year thereafter until 1958 when it reached an all time high of 33 million bales. Foreign production then receded slightly in 1959 and remained below the second high in 1960. Preliminary data indicate that new production records were established in both 1961 and 1962.

Production is determined directly by acreage and yield per acre. Each of these factors is affected by various complex and interrelated forces, and the situation varies widely from country to country.

Foreign cotton acreage increased sharply in three separate periods (Figure 2): first between 1920 and 1925, again between 1932 and 1937, and then between 1949 and 1955. The increase in the 1930's coincided with the operation of governmental programs in the United States which reduced acreage sharply, withheld substantial stocks of cotton from the market, and supported prices of American cotton above competitive levels.

The marked upsurge in foreign acreage beginning in 1950 occurred during a period characterized by the strong demand growing out of the Korean War, a shortage of cotton available for export in the United States, record high prices in practically all nations, and, in the latter



Figure 2. Harvested acres and yield per acre, foreign countries, 1920-1959.

Source: Harvested acres: 1920-53: USDA, AMS, Stat. on Cotton and Rel. Data, 1920-56, Stat. Bul. No. 99, rev. Feb., 1957, Table 18, p. 5. 1954-59: Ibid., Suppl. for 1960, Oct. 1960, Table 18, p. 16. Yield per acre: Foreign production from Table 1 divided by harvested acres

part of the period, prices of American cotton once again supported above competitive levels.

The chart shows that acreage in foreign countries has declined slightly from the record high reached in 1955. The fact that beginning in 1956 American cotton has been priced at competitive levels with foreign growths by means of an export subsidy and/or sales of CCC stocks for export on a competitive bid basis is probably not insignificant.

Yield per acre in foreign countries has shown a slow but almost uninterrupted upward trend since the 1920's. While the average yield was only about 140 pounds per acre in 1925-29, it was about 230 pounds in 1955-59, a very significant increase indeed. Since 1955, the increase in yield more than offset the decline in acres harvested, resulting in an increase in foreign production from about 28 million bales in 1955 to 33 million bales in 1960 (Table 1). See Tables beginning on Page 28.

United States and World Exports

Figure 3 shows the level and trend in United States exports, foreign exports, world exports, and foreign consumption. As the spread between foreign mill consumption and production decreased over time (as shown in Figure 1), exports from the United States followed a generally downward trend. At the same time, exports from foreign countries were increasing so as to just about offset declining exports from the United States.



Figure 3. Total foreign consumption and total world exports, 1920-59. Source: Table 1.

Total world exports were relatively stable at a level of 13 to 14 million bales from 1924 to 1929. They dropped off sharply during the war, reaching a low of less than 4 million bales in 1942. Since 1942, world exports have moved upward slowly but steadily. Since 1953, they have been at about the same level as in the prewar period, although year-



Figure 4. Exports of cotton from specified countries, based on 5-year moving averages centered, 1920-1960.

Source: Computed from data given in USDA, AMS, Stat. on Cotton and Rel. Data, 1920-56, Stat. Bul. No. 99, rev., Feb., 1957, and subseq. issues, Table 25.

to-year variations have been wide. However, world trade in raw cotton has failed to keep pace with the spectacular increases in foreign consumption and production.

Three important developments in the export situation are emphasized in Figure 3. First, there has been a generally downward trend in United States exports. Second, United States exports have declined relative to world exports and foreign consumption of all growths of cotton. Third, world exports have declined relative to foreign consumption and production. Moreover, these are not recent developments; the emerging relationships were already clearly discernible in the late 1920's and early 1930's.

Although total world exports are about the same now as they were in the interwar period, there have been important shifts in the relative importance of the various exporting countries. The most striking change has been the decentralization of the origin of exports. Whereas the eight countries shown in Figure 4 accounted for about 93 percent of total world exports in the latter half of the 1920's, they accounted for about 75 percent of the total in the latter half of the 1950's. Thus, there has been a substantial increase in the relative importance of the "minor" exporting countries, in the aggregate, in world trade in raw cotton.

The most important changes within the specified countries have been the significant absolute and relative decline in the importance of the United States and India (including Pakistan) and the increase in importance of Mexico and the Communist Bloc (China and Russia).

Changing Structure of the Export Market

The purpose in this section is to describe the changing pattern of world production, consumption, and trade in raw cotton in order to indicate the changing absolute and relative importance of the various countries. This, together with the demand function and elasticity formula (equations 1 and 2), provides a framework for analyzing the influence of specific foreign cotton policies or the probable effects of proposed revisions in domestic cotton policy on the volume of exports from the United States.

Structural Changes in World Production

Total world production of cotton increased 65 percent between 1924-28 and 1956-60, and the geographical and political pattern of world

production changed substantially (Table 6). Production in the United States actually declined,⁴ and the proportion of world production accounted for by the United States decreased from about 55 percent in 1924-28 to about 29 percent in 1956-60.

In foreign countries, the most notable change has been the increased relative importance of the Communist Bloc countries which now account for about one-third of world production compared with only about 13 percent in 1924-28. This is due almost entirely to increased production in Russia (U.S.S.R.). Production in foreign free world countries has about doubled since 1924-28 and has increased by about 47 percent since 1934-38. Although these countries increased their share of world production slightly between 1924-28 and 1934-38, they have not increased their share since that time.

There are two important developments to note in the foreign free world production pattern. First, although five countries now produce in excess of 1.0 million bales annually compared with two in 1924-28 and three in 1934-38, this volume classification now accounts for the same percentage of world production as it did in the 1920's and a slightly smaller percentage than in the 1930's. Second, the number of countries producing between 100,000 and 1.0 million bales annually increased from 6 and 9 in 1924-28 and 1934-38, respectively, to 17 in 1956-60. Moreover, the proportion of world production accounted for by this volume group has almost doubled compared with the prewar period.

Structural Changes in Foreign Mill Consumption

Table 7 shows that total foreign mill consumption increased from 23.2 million bales per year in 1934-38 to 37.1 million in 1956-60, or about 60 percent. Consumption in the foreign free world increased in absolute quantity also, but declined as a percentage of total foreign consumption from about 67 percent in 1934-38 to 58 percent in 1956-60. There was, of course, a corresponding increase in the percentage accounted for by the Communist Bloc.

In 1934-38, five foreign free world countries consumed more than one million bales per year. In order of consumption, the countries were India, Japan, United Kingdom, France and Germany. By 1956-60, Brazil and Pakistan had also moved into this classification. Italy has also con-

⁴ Actually, the absolute decline is somewhat over stated in the table. Production was below average in both 1957-58 and 1958-59. The years for averaging were chosen because of the change in the United States' export policy in 1956.

sumed more than one million bales in each of the last three marketing years of 1959, 1960 and 1961. Although the number of countries in this group had increased by two, the percentage of total foreign mill consumption accounted for by the group declined from 49 percent in 1934-38 to 37 percent in 1956-60. Among these countries India, Pakistan and Brazil also produce raw cotton. The other four must depend exclusively on imports to meet the requirements of domestic mills.

The number of countries consuming more than 100,000 but less than 1.0 million bales per year increased from 12 in 1934-38 to 20 in 1956-60. The percentage of total foreign consumption accounted for by these countries increased from about 14 to 18 percent between the two periods.

China and Russia are by far the most important cotton consuming countries in the Communist Bloc, although six other countries in this group consumed more than 100,000 bales annually in 1956-60. Combined, these six countries consumed two million bales per year in 1956-1960, accounting for more than five percent of total foreign consumption. Since they produced less than 100,000 bales per year, the great bulk of the raw cotton requirements of these countries must be imported.

Structural Changes in Foreign Imports

While total foreign mill consumption increased 60 percent and foreign production increased 76 percent between 1934-38 and 1956-60 (Tables 6 and 7), imports into all foreign countries increased only 20 percent. In fact, imports in 1956-60 exceeded those in 1924-29 by only one-half million bales (Table 8).

Although total imports have changed little over the period under review, there has been marked geographic decentralization in the destination of imports. There were five foreign countries that imported in excess of 1.0 million bales of cotton annually in 1924-28. In order of the quantity imported, they were the United Kingdom, Japan, France, Germany and Italy (Table 9). Italy dropped out of this volume classification soon thereafter. The other four countries have continued to import on the average more than 1.0 million bales per year up to the present time. Italy imported more than one million bales in each of the marketing years of 1959 and 1961.

Combined, the countries importing more than 1.0 million bales per year accounted for 72 percent of total foreign imports in 1924-28 (Table 8). But since that time the relative share of this group has declined

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steadily. They accounted for 65 percent of total imports in 1934-38 and only 46 percent in 1956-60. If Italian imports are included in this group in the latter two periods, the corresponding percentages are 69 and 52, respectively.

Eight foreign free world countries imported between 100,000 and one million bales per year during 1924-28. The number of countries in this classification increased to 11 in 1934-38 and 14 in 1956-60. The percentage of total foreign imports accounted for by this group of countries increased from 12 percent in 1924-28 to 22 and 29 percent in 1934-38 and 1956-60, respectively.

The Communist Bloc countries accounted for 14 percent of total foreign imports in 1924-28. This share declined slightly to 11 percent in 1934-38 and then increased to 19.5 percent in 1956-60. In contrast to the concentration of production and consumption in China and the U.S.S.R. among this group of countries, imports are fairly evenly divided among the several countries (Table 9).

Structural Changes in World Exports

Since the United States imports only a relatively small quantity of raw cotton, total world exports and total foreign imports move together quite closely. World exports in 1956-60 were about one million bales greater than in 1924-28, but almost three million larger than they were in 1934-38 (Table 10). However, the trend toward geographic decentralization since the 1920's has been much more pronounced in exports than in production, consumption, or imports. This is particularly evident between 1934-38 and 1956-60.

The proportion of total world exports accounted for by the United States declined sharply from about 59 percent in 1924-28 to 39 percent in 1934-38. This share was maintained during 1956-60. However, exports from the United States averaged six million bales per year during 1956-60 compared with only 3.1 million bales in the previous three years. This resulted mainly from the export subsidy program initiated by the United States in 1956.

In foreign countries, the most important development has been a sharp decline in the absolute and relative importance of countries exporting in excess of one million bales per year and a corresponding increase in the importance of countries exporting between 100,000 and one million bales annually.

In 1924-28, two countries-Egypt and India (including Pakistan)-

accounted for 31 percent of world exports and more than 76 percent of exports from all foreign countries (Table 10). These were the only foreign countries that exported more than one million bales per year during this period. By 1934-38, however, Brazil was also exporting in excess of one million bales annually. The three countries were now accounting for a larger portion of world exports (44 percent) but a smaller portion of total foreign exports (72 percent) than the two countries did in the earlier period.

Since 1934-38 there has been a sharp decline in the absolute and relative importance of those countries exporting in excess of one million bales per year. Also, there has been a change in the composition of this group. By 1956-60, Brazil and India were exporting, on the average, only 397 and 245 thousand bales per year, respectively (Table 11). India and Pakistan combined were exporting only 615 thousand per year compared with about 2.7 million in 1934-38. In the meantime, Mexico had increased exports from only 105 thousand bales per year in 1934-38 to about 1.5 million bales in 1956-60. Egypt continued to export in excess of one million bales annually in 1956-60, although the absolute quantity was down from 1.5 and 1.7 million in 1924-28 and 1934-38, respectively, to 1.4 million in 1956-60. Consequently, the two countries exporting more than one million bales per year in 1956-60 accounted for only 19 percent of world exports and 30 percent of total foreign exports.

The number of foreign free world countries exporting between 100,000 and one million bales annually increased from 3 in 1924-28 to 6 in 1934-38 and then to 17 in 1956-60 (Table 10). The percentage of world exports accounted for by this group of countries increased from only 3 percent in 1924-28 to 10 percent in 1934-38 and then jumped sharply to 28 percent in 1956-60. The countries in this group increased their share of foreign exports from 16 percent in 1934-38 to 46 percent in 1956-60.

The share of Communist Bloc countries in world exports increased from only 2 percent in 1924-28 to 12 percent in 1956-60. All of this increase occurred between 1934-38 and 1956-60. The most notable change was the sharp increase in exports from the U.S.S.R. Exports from the U.S.S.R. were not even reported for the 1924-28 period and were only 53 thousand bales per year in 1934-38. By 1956-60, however, the U.S.S.R. exported an average of 1.6 million bales of raw cotton per year (Table 11), although the bulk of these exports were to other countries within the Communist Bloc.

Major Factors Influencing Changes in World Trade

World trade in raw cotton has failed to keep pace with the rapid expansion in foreign production and consumption. Total world exports represented 55 percent of foreign consumption during 1934-38 but only 42 percent during 1956-60. The volume of trade actually declined slightly between 1924-28 and 1934-38, while both foreign production and consumption were increasing. Between 1934-38 and 1956-60, foreign production increased about 76 percent and foreign consumption increased about 60 percent, while world exports increased only 22 percent. At the same time, sources of exports and destinations of imports were becoming much more decentralized with significant shifts in the absolute and relative importance of individual countries in world trade.

The Interwar Period

The decrease in trade in the interwar period can be traced largely to the effects of the depression and the attempts by some countries, notably Germany, Italy and Japan, to substitute synthetic fibers for cotton. There were shifts in importance between consuming countries, but this was largely between countries that did not produce cotton. To this extent such shifts did not influence total world trade in raw cotton and need not necessarily influence the competitive position and relative importance of exporters.

In 1924-28, the five countries of the United Kingdom, Japan, France Germany and Italy accounted for about 72 percent of total foreign imports. They still accounted for 70 percent in 1934-38. The most significant change was the decrease in the absolute and relative importance of the United Kingdom and the increase in the absolute and relative importance of Japan as consumers and importers (Table 11).

The most important change in the source of exports was the decline in the absolute and relative importance of the United States and the increase of Brazil's importance in world trade. The percentage of world exports accounted for by the United States fell from about 59 percent in 1924-28 to 39 percent in 1934-38. Brazil exported less than 100,000 bales per year in 1924-28, but by 1934-38 exceeded one million bales per year which accounted for more than 8 percent of world exports. Also, substantial relative gains in exports were made by Mexico, Peru, the Sudan, Uganda, Argentina, and the Belgian Congo. Combined, these six countries accounted for almost 10 percent of world exports in 1934-38.

The reasons for these changes are many, varied, and complex. Governmental policies in importing countries probably had little effect on the total volume of imports, although in the last half of the 1930's, Germany, Italy, and Japan made efforts to develop and utilize substitutes, particularly rayon. However, there was some shifting in the source of imports in some of the major importing countries. For example, clearing and barter arrangements played a substantial role in displacing United States cotton with Brazilian cotton in Germany. Exchange difficulties in some other countries also had an influence on the source of imports.

Governmental policies in foreign exporting countries probably had only marginal effects in dispersing exports and shifting the relative importance of exporters in world trade. The Government of Egypt had controlled the acreage planted to cotton and actively intervened on the marketing side in various years throughout the 1920's.⁵ These activities continued during the 1930's. However, they probably were not a significant influence in the changing pattern of trade.

Production in and exports from Brazil undoubtedly were encouraged somewhat by preferential treatment regarding the sale of foreign exchange earned with exports of cotton. Also, the policy of entering into barter and clearing arrangements with importers, especially Germany, encouraged exports. Nevertheless, the rapid cotton production expansion in Brazil can be explained largely by the long-standing depressed conditions in the coffee industry and relatively favorable cotton prices resulting from the price-raising effects of U. S. cotton policies.⁶

The influence of governmental policies on the pattern of world trade in raw cotton during the interwar period can perhaps be best summarized by the following quotes from Bacon and Schloemer.⁷

Though import restrictions on raw cotton gained weight in certain of the principal consuming countries, they remained a minor factor in the development of the trade in raw cotton \ldots .⁸

8 Ibid., pp. 401-402.

⁵ Lynn Ramsay Edmister, Leo J. Schaben, and Myer Lynsky, Agricultural Price-Supporting Measures in Foreign Countries, FS-56, Foreign Agricultural Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, July, 1932.

⁶ Foreign Agricultural Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, "Foreign Agricultural Policies-A Review and Apprasal," *Foreign Agricultre* (February, 1938), p. 83.

⁷ L. B. Bacon and F. C. Schloemer, World Trade in Agricultural Products: Its Growth; Its Crisits; and the New Trade Policies (Rome: International Institute of Agriculture, 1940) Chapter X, "Cotton," pp. 395-418.

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The most immediate effect of government control of cotton imports was the switching of purchases from one country to another. Clearing and barter arrangements played a considerable part in displacing United States cotton in certain markets . . . A very striking example was the advance of Brazilian cotton in Germany 9

Yet, while Germany decreased her takings of United States cotton most heavily, United States cotton lost out in nearly all markets, even those such as the United Kingdom and France where the importer remained more or less free to purchase cotton from any source. Shifts in the importance of various sources of supply were in large part the result of measures adopted in cotton exporting countries, especially the United States.¹⁰

... a very important stimulus given to cotton production (ex United States) was the favorable price relation existing for cotton relative to other staple crops. Here again the governments of cotton growing territories were partly responsible The actions of the United States government, however, played a decisive role in supporting world prices of cotton. With so large a share in world production and exports . . . the successful price-raising activities in the United States of necessity held up world prices¹¹

The Postwar Period

World trade in raw cotton, as indicated above, is lagging far behind the substantial increases in foreign production and consumption in the postwar period. To a very important extent this reflects the growth of mill industries in countries that previously produced raw cotton but imported manufactured cotton products.

In the 1930's, foreign mill consumption was concentrated in the non-producing countries of the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, France and Italy, and the producing countries of India, China, and the U.S.S.R. Between 1934-38 and 1956-60, the proportion of foreign mill consumption accounted for by the five nonproducing countries declined from 39 to 21 percent, while that accounted for by the three producing countries increased from 42 to 49 percent (Table 12). Foreign consumption accounted for by these eight principal consuming countries declined from 81 to 70 percent between 1934-38 and 1956-60. At the same time, substantial increases in mill consumption occurred in Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Columbia, Greece, Turkey, and Egypt, all cotton producing countries (Table 13).

⁹ Ibid., p. 404. ¹⁰ Ibid., p. 404. ¹⁷ Ibid., p. 408.

As a result of these developments consumption became much less concentrated, and the shift in the location of mill consumption from nonproducing to producing countries clearly tends to reduce the demand for world imports (exports) of raw cotton relative to production and consumption.

The most striking changes in the export situation during the postwar period compared with the 1930's have been the marked decentralization in the origin of exports and the shift in the relative importance of major exporting countries. Whereas the seven countries shown in Table 14 accounted for 84 percent of world exports in 1934-38, they accounted for only 74 percent in 1956-60. Hence, there has been a rather substantial increase in the relative importance of the minor exporting countries in the aggregate (see Table 11).

The most important change among the major exporters has been the significant absolute and relative decline in the importance of Brazil and India (including Pakistan) and the increase in the relative importance of Mexico and the U.S.S.R.

The proportion of total world exports accounted for by the United States was practically the same in the two periods under consideration. However, it should be emphasized that the United States initiated its aggressive export subsidy program in 1956. In the three years of 1953-55, exports from the United States averaged only 3.1 million bales per year which represented only 24 percent of total world trade.

The substantial changes in the world pattern of production, consumption, and world trade in raw cotton between the 1930's and the latter half of the 1950's was due largely to national policies of foreign countries and our own domestic cotton programs. The demand for raw cotton growing out of the postwar recovery programs in the late 1940's and especially out of the Korean Conflict maintained world prices of raw cotton at highly profitable levels. This undoubtedly provided a strong stimulus for expansion of acreage and production in many foreign countries. From 1953 to 1955, the price-raising activities of the United States Government provided the principal support for world cotton prices.

Summary and Conclusions

The purpose of the study reported herein was to describe major developments in the world cotton economy and to analyze their implications for the demand for U. S. exports. A major goal was to provide a frame of reference which would serve as a vehicle for a more realistic analytical evaluation of the effects on U. S. exports of cotton policies of the United States and foreign countries.

During the latter half of the 1920's U. S. exports of cotton averaged 8.5 million bales per year. These exports accounted for almost 60 percent of total world exports, 46 percent of foreign mill consumption of all growths of cotton, and 55 percent of total disappearance of U. S. cotton (domestic consumption plus exports). By the latter half of the 1930's however, U. S. exports averaged only 5 million bales annually and accounted for only 39 percent of world exports, 21 percent of total foreign mill consumption, and less than 45 percent of total disappearance of U. S. cotton. Although other forces contributed to the loss of export markets for U. S. cotton during this period, governmental programs in the United States reduced acreage sharply, withheld substantial stocks of cotton from the market, and supported prices of American cotton above competitive levels.

By the mid-1950's—following the Korean action but prior to the initiation of the programs under which U. S. cotton was sold for export at competitive prices—the export situation had deteriorated still further. From 1953 to 1955, U. S. exports averaged only 3.3 million bales per year. They accounted for only 25 percent of world exports, 10 percent of total foreign mill consumption, and 27 percent of total disappearance of U. S. cotton.

Following the initiation of the programs in 1956 under which cotton was sold for export at competitive prices, U. S. exports increased sharply and averaged 6.1 million bales per year during the five years from 1956 to 1960. During this period U. S. exports accounted for about 33 percent of total world exports, 20 percent of total foreign mill consumption, and over 40 percent of total disappearance of U. S. cotton.¹²

While U. S. exports have been decreasing during the period since the 1920's, both foreign production and mill consumption have trended sharply upward. Foreign mill consumption of all growths of cotton trebled from 1920 to 1960, increasing from 12.3 to 37.9 million bales per year. In the decade of the 1950's alone, foreign consumption increased 14.4 million bales, a remarkable average rate of growth of almost 1.5 million bales per year. But foreign production increased even faster. From 1920 to 1960, foreign cotton production increased fourfold, from 7.9 to 32.9 million bales per year.

 $^{^{12}}$ In the last two marketing years of 1961-62 and 1962-63, however, exports were only 4.9 and 3.3 million bales, respectively.

Coincident with, and related to, the loss of export market for U. S. cotton, significant changes have taken place in the geographical and political pattern of world production, mill consumption, and international trade. New, independent nations have emerged, and spheres of political influence have been altered. Sources of supply and centers of mill demand have become much more decentralized than in the inter-war period. A pronounced decentralization in sources of exports and destination of imports has evolved also. World trade in raw cotton has failed to keep pace with the spectacular growth in foreign consumption and production. Although there are wide year-to-year variations, total world exports have averaged about the same in recent years as they did in the 1920's and 1930's. Another development affecting the demand for U. S. exports has been the phenomenal growth of man-made fiber production in foreign countries.

During the period under review, but especially since World War II, major decisions relating to one or more strategic determinants of cotton production, mill consumption, and the magnitude and direction of raw cotton trade flows in international commerce have been transferred from the individual firm to the national level in many countries.¹³ National governments have adopted measures to reduce their dependence on imports for both manufactured cotton goods and the raw fiber. Production and exports have been pushed vigorously in many countries.

The international market for raw cotton, especially in the post-war period, has come to be characterized by import and export quotas, export taxes and subsidies, currency exchange controls (including multiple exchange rates), and other trade barriers and impediments. These aspects of national policies serve to partially insulate production, consumption, and trade from the full effects of changes in the world price level, or the United States export price. Within this competitive framework, national governments may seek to exploit any monopolistic or monopsonistic powers that they possess and may adopt a wide range of market policies—external, internal or both—in pursuit of national goals.

Over a period of several years the demand for U. S. exports must be equal to the difference between total foreign demand and supply. Total foreign demand and supply are aggregates of the demand and supply of

¹³ For an outline of foreign governmental regulations that have been in effect since 1957 see International Cotton Advisory Committee, *Government Regulations on Cotton*, Document 12, XVII (June, 1958); Document 16, XVIII (May, 1959); Document 10, XIX (May, 1960) and Document 9, XXII (April-May, 1963).

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the several countries that produce cotton and have mill industries. As the gap between foreign mill consumption of all growths and foreign production has narrowed, the demand for U. S. exports has shifted downward. The elasticity of demand for U. S. exports depends on (1) the elasticity of mill demand for all growths in each consuming country, (2) the elasticity of supply in each producing country, (3) the ratio of the quantities demanded or supplied by each country to the quantity exported by the U. S., and (4) the elasticity of local prices in each demanding or supplying country with respect to the U. S. export price.

This means that the relative importance of any country, the policies it follows relating to cotton production, consumption and trade, and the type of cotton demanded or supplied are important determinants of the level and elasticity of demand for U. S. exports. Since most of the usual regulations and policies of foreign governments tend to insulate internal developments from external price movements, they also tend to reduce the elasticity of demand for U. S. exports. Moreover, policies and regulations of foreign governments may be and often are changed in response to changes in U. S. policies in much the same manner as firms are assumed to respond in oligopolistic industries. These actions and reactions tend to reduce further the elasticity of demand for U. S. exports.

			Cotton			Manmade Fibers
Year	Foreign	Foreign	U. S.	Foreign	World	Foreign
Beginning	Production ²	Consump ⁺ ion ³	Exports ⁴	Exports ²	Exports ²	Production ⁴
August 1 ¹	2	3	4	5	6	
			1,000 bales			
1920	7,921	12,253	5,973	3,024	8,997	70
1921	8,025	13,868	6,348	4,725	11,073	104
1922	9,545	14,671	5,007	5,243	10,255	165
1923	9,880	14,346	5,815	5,227	11,042	213
1924	11,530	16,541	8,240	5,814	14.054	338
1925	12,135	17,712	8,267	5,891	14,158	428
1926	10,942	18,489	11,299	5,383	16,687	479
1927	11,934	18,608	7,857	5,435	13,292	694
1923	12,403	18,687	8,419	6,343	14.767	823
1929	12,035	18,769	7,035	6,225	13,261	1,007
1930	12,298	17,169	7,133	5,888	13,021	1,034
1931	10,723	18,023	9,193	4,589	13,782	1,098
1932	11,297	18,514	8,895	4,789	13,685	1.256
1933	13,873	19,902	7,964	6,163	14,127	1,468
1934	14,174	20,119	5,037	6,643	11,685	1.879
1935	16,877	21,178	6,267	7,531	13,848	2.451
1936	19,952	22,688	5,689	8,602	14,291	3.010
1937	20,059	21,825	5,976	7.039	13.015	4.183
1938	18,017	21,649	3,513	8,332	11,844	4.412
1939	17,818	20,712	6,501	6,737	13,238	4,958
1940	18,639	16,873	1,174	5,560	6,734	5.297
1941	17,161	13,863	1,162	4,531	5,693	5.821
1942	14,528	13,193	1,498	2,333	3,831	5.290
1943	14,208	12,623	1,146	2,907	4,053	4.938
1944	12,585	12,636	1,909	2,985	4,894	3.623
1945	12,110	13,600	3,678	5,546	9,224	1,322

Table 1. Foreign Cotton Production, Mill Consumption and Exports, United States and World Exports, and Foreign Production of Manmade Fibers, 1920 to 1960.

(Table Continued)

Export Demand for U.S. Cotton:

			Cotton			Manmade Fiber
Year	Foreign	Foreign	U. S.	Foreign	Wor'd	Foreign
Beginning	Production ²	Consumption ³	Exports ⁴	Exports ²	Exports ²	Production ⁴
August 1 ¹	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1,000 bale	s		
1946	12.950	16.500	3.656	5.767	9,432	2,407
1947	13.380	19.000	2.065	6.594	8,659	3,098
1948	14,293	19,900	4,961	6.026	10,987	3,909
1949	15,152	21,000	6,004	6,548	12,552	4,835
1950	18,241	23,500	4,280	7.598	11,878	6,250
1951	20.571	24.600	5.711	6.449	12,160	7,521
1952	20,681	26,000	3,181	8,524	11,705	6,716
1953	22,655	28,700	3,914	9,137	13.051	8,264
1954	24,939	29,600	3,585	8,807	12,392	9,614
1955	27,999	30,300	2,320	10,785	13,119	10,781
1956	28,890	30,800	7,917	8,109	16,031	11,874
1957	30,551	33,300	5,959	8,295	14,260	12,893
1958	32,938	35,300	2,895	10.611	13,506	12,174
1959	32,007	37,600	7,392	9,864	17,256	13,984
1960	32,903	38,100	6,858	10,013	·	15,805
¹ Manmade fiber ² Bales of 500-por ³ American in ru: ⁴ Cotton equivale ⁵ Preliminary.	production year b unds gross weight. nning bales, foreign ent bales.	eginning January 1. 1 in equivalent 500-p	ound bales.			
Sources: Column 1: 1920-53:	U. S. Department o Bulletin No. 99, revi	f Agriculture, Agricu sed, February, 1957, 7	ltural Marketnig S Cable 18, p. 25	ervice, Statistics on	Cotton and Related D	ata, 1920-1956, Statistic
Column 2: 1920-44: 1954-60:	U. S. Department of Ibid., Supplement fo	of Agriculture, Agricu or 1961, Table 20. p. 3	iltural Marketing	Service, Statistical	Bulletin No. 99, Tab	le 20, p. 27
Column 3: 1920-46: 1947-59: 1 1960 J	U. S. Department of Ibid., Supplement fo Ibid., Table 1, p. 8	of Agriculture, Agricu or 1961, Table 25, p. 3	ultural Marketing 21	Service, Statistical	Bulletin No. 99, Table	25, p. 35
Columns 4 an 1920-46: 1 1946-59: 1	d 5: U. S. Department of Ibid., Supplement fo	of Agriculture, Agric or 1961, Table 25, p. 21	ultural Marketing	Service, Statistical	Bulletin No. 99, Tab	le 25, p. 35

Column 6: 1920-60: Ibid., Table 241, p. 124.

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	Рорч	Population		otton	Ra	yon	Wool		All Fibers ²	
Region	1938	1957	1938	1956-58	1938	1956-58	1938	1956-58	1958	1956-58
	(mil	lions)	(po	unds) ³	(p	ounds) ⁸	(po	ounds) ⁸	(po	unds) ³
North America	141.0	191.0	20.78	22.00	2.20	6.33	2.42	2.42	25.48	33.26
Oceania	11.0	14.7	8.36	9.46	2.86	3.30	5.72	4.18	17.01	17.60
Western Europe	305.0	317.9	8.80	10.34	2.86	4.62	3.30	3.52	15.05	19.14
Eastern Europe										
and U.S.S.R.	261.0	300.0	6.82	11.44	0.22	3.30	1.32	1.76	8.54	16.74
Latin America	125.0	188.7	6.38	7.26	0.44	1.54	0.88	0.88	7.52	9.59
Near East	1148.0*	122.7	5.50	4.84	0.44	1.10	0.88	0.66	5.96	6.64
Far East		1466.2	4.40	4.84	0.88	0.44		0.22	4.84	5.65
Africa	170.0	196.8	2.20	2.42	0.22	1.32	0.22	0.44	2.46	4.18
World Average	2161.0	2798.0	6.31	7.35	0.88	1.87	0.97	1.01	8.16	10.52
United States	130.0	174.4	21.34	22.66	2.42	6.38	2.20	2.24	25.96	34.10
Foreign ⁴	2031.0	2623.6	5.41	6.43	0.79	1.60	0.90	0.94	7.09	9.11

 Table 2. Population and Per Capita Consumption¹ of Cotton, Rayon, Wool and All Fibers by Major

 Regions, 1938 and Average for 1956-1958

* Refers to both near and far east in 1938. Populations were not reported separately for that year.

¹ Availabilities for home use. Mill consumption of raw fiber plu₃ or minus estimated trade balance in fiber content of exports and imports of textiles.

² Sum of cotton, wool, rayon, and other synthetic fibers.

³ Pounds calculated from kilograms (1 kg. = 2.2 pounds).

4 Computed from world and U. S. population and per capita consumption estimates.

Sources:

1938 population and U. S. per capital consumption: United Nations, Food and Agricultural Organization, Per Caput Fiber Consumption Levels, Commodity Series Bulletin No. 25, Rome: Mar. 1954, Table 3. All other data: Ibid., Per Caput Fiber Consumption Levels, 1948-1958, Commodity Bulletin Series 31, Rome: 1960. Consumption and total world population from Table 1, p. 9. Population for the United States and regions from Section II, Tables 1, 3, 4, 12, 32, 40, 65, 79 and 99.

	Pe	er Capita		P	er Capita
Country	Income	Consumption	n Country	Income	Consumption
	(U.S.\$)	(100 grams)	(U.S.\$)	(100 grams)
Indonesia	30	7	Portugal	250	31
South Korea	35	15	Yugoslavia	265	24
Burma	40	7	Union of South		
Belgian Congo	40	9	Africa	275	24
Haiti	40	14	East Europe &		
Kenya	45	10	U.S.S.R.	300	34
Philippines	45	14	Cuba	310	28
Thailand	50	14	Germany (Fed.		
Pakistan	64	12	Rep.)	370	31
Dominican Rep.	75	10	Uruguay	375	30
Ecuador	75	14	Israel	375	43
India	75	19	Argenting	380	59
Iran	80	15	Venezuela	385	23
Iraq	85	17	Ireland	410	22
Japan	100	12	Austria	435	22
El Salvador	100	21	France	460	50
Syria	110	21	Netherlands	465	60
Ceylon	120	15	Finland	505	32
Guatemala	140	18	Norway	655	49
Turkey	140	25	Denmark	730	42
Mexico	145	26	United Kingdom	760	68
Greece	150	29	Australia	840	56
Peru	170	17	New Zealand	875	49
Egypt	170	26	Switzerland	885	57
Brazil	170	31	Sweden	9 70	57
Co'umbia	190	24	Canada	990	86
Spain	210	21	Chile	215	29
Italy	225	30			
Means				296.2	28.83

Table 3. Per Capita National Income and Cotton Consumption,52 Foreign Countries, Average 1948-1950

Sources:

Income: United Nations, Food and Agricultural Organization, Natural and Man-Made Fibers: A Review, FAO Commodity Series, Bulletin No. 26, Rome: November, 1954, p. 9.

Consumption: Ibid., Per Caput Fiber Consumption Levels, 1948-1958, Commodity Bulletin Series 31, Rome: 1960, pp. 15-18.

	Pe	er Capita		Per Capita		
Country	Income	Consumption	Country	Income	Consumption	
	(U.S.\$)	(100 grams)		(U.S.\$)	(100 grams)	
Belgian Congo	70	11	Philippines	150	14	
Egypt	120	29	Thailand	80	15	
Kenya	60	11	Turkey	210	36	
Rhodesia and			Austria	370	26	
Nyasaland	100	14	Denmark	750	47	
Union of South			Finland	670	47	
Africa	300	23	France	740	49	
Argentina	460	53	Germany (Western)	510	45	
Brazil	230	34	Greece	220	32	
Canada	1,310	70	Iceland	780	45	
Chile	360	30	Ireland	410	22	
Columbia	250	26	Italy	310	31	
Cuba	310	25	Netherlands	500	52	
Dominican Rep.	160	12	Norway	740	47	
Ecuador	150	15	Portugal	200	32	
Guatemala	160	16	Sweden	950	54	
Honduras	150	16	Switzerland	1,010	59	
Jamaica	180	16	United Kinadom	780	55	
Mexico	220	25	Australia	950	51	
Panama	250	17	New Zea'and	1,000	40	
Paraguay	140	9	Peru	120	17	
Venezuela	540	21	Burma	50	14	
Ceylon	110	13	India	60	20	
Israel	470	31	Japan	190	36	
S. Korea	70	17	Lebanon	260	38	
Malaya	310	18	Pakistan	70	14	
Means				371.2	29.80	

Table	4.	Per	Capi	ta Cons	umption	of	Cotton	and	Net	Nation	al
	Proc	duct,	50 F	oreign	Countrie	s, /	Average	e 195	52-19	954	

Sources:

Income: United Nations, Per Capita National Product of Fifty-five Countries, 1952-54, Statistical Papers, Series E, No. 4, Statistical Office of the United Nations, New York: 1957, pp. 8-9.

Consumption: United Nations, Food and Agricultural Organization, Per Caput Fiber Consumption Levels, 1948-1958, Commodity Series Bulletin 31, Rome: 1960, pp. 15-18.

Table 5. Estimates of Income Elasticities for Income Levelsof \$100 and \$500 Per Capita

Equation Number	l (\$) Assumed	C (100 Grams) Computed	E Estimated	
3	100	17.7	0.32	
3	500	40.5	0.70	
4	100	17.4	0.60	
4	500	42.9	0.54	
5	100	18.1	0.24	
5	500	35.3	0.61	
6	100	16.1	0.55	
6	500	38.0	0.52	

		1924-28			1934-38			1956-60	
Quantity Produced Bales	Number of Coun- tries ¹	Produc- tion 1,000 Bales ²	Per Cent of World Total	Number of Coun- tries ¹	Produc- tion 1,000 Bales ²	Per Cent of World Total	Number of Coun- tries ¹	Produc- tion 1,000 Bales ²	Per Cent of World Total
United States	1	14,933	55.2	ı	12,389	40.7	1	12,900	28.9
Foreign Free World	36	8,686	32.1	43	11,780	38.8	48	17,276	38.7
Över 1,000,000	2	6,683	24.7	3	8,959	29.5	5	11,046	24.7
100,000 to 1,000,000	6	1,419	5.2	9	2,206	7.3	17	5,404	12.1
Less than 100,000	28	584	2.2	31	615	2.0	26	826	1.9
Communist Bloc	3	3,432	12.7	4	6,244	20.5	5	14,467	32.4
Over 1,000,000	1	2,623	9.7	2	6,209	20.4	2	14,350	32.1
100,000 to 1,000,000	1	807	3.0	-			-		
Less than 100,000	1	2	c	2	35	0.1	3	117	0.3
Total Foreign	39	12,118	44.8	47	18,024	59.3	53	31,743	71.1
Total World	40	27,051	100.0	43	30,413	100.0	54	44,643	100.0

Table 6. Number of Countries and Distribution of World Cotton Production, by Volume Classificationand Selected Periods

¹ Number of countries for which individual production estimates were reported.

² United States in running bales, foreign in bales of 478-pounds net weight.

³ Less than .05 per cent.

Source: 1924-28: International Cotton Advisory Committee, Cotton—World Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of ICAC (April, 1959), pp. 12-13. 1934-38: Ibid., (April, 1960), pp. 8-9. 1956-60: Ibid., (January, 1963), pp. 8-9.

		1934-33		1956-60			
	Number	Annua	1	Number	Ann	val	
	of	Consump	tion	of	Consur	nption	
Volume Classification	Countries ¹	1,000 Bal≥s²	Per Cent	Countries ¹	1,000 Bales ²	Per Cent	
Foreign Free World	54	15,600	67.4	66	21,478	58.0	
Över 1,000,000	5	11,410	49.3	7	13,586	36.7	
100,000 to 1,000,000	12	3,294	14.2	20	6,647	17.9	
Less than 100,000	37	896	3.9	39	1,245	3.4	
Communist Bloc	7	7,555	32.6	9	15,578	42.0	
Over 1,000,000	2	6,658	28.8	2	13,500	36.4	
100,000 to 1,000,000	3	762	3.3	6	1,970	5.3	
Less than 100,000	2	135	0.5	1	108	0.3	
Total Foreign	61	23,155	100.0	75	37,056	100.0	

Table 7. Number of Countries and Distribution of Foreign Mill Consumption by Volume Classifications for Selected Periods

¹ Countries for which individual estimates are given in the source.

² Bales of 478 pounds net weight.

Source: 1934-38: International Cotton Advisory Committee, Cotton—World Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of ICAC (April, 1960), pp. 12-13. 1956-60: Ibid., (January, 1963), pp. 12-13.

		1924-28			1934-38			195	6-60
	Number			Number			Number		
	of	Impo	rts	of	li	nports	of	Impo	orts
Quantity Imported	Coun-	1,000		Coun-	1,000		Coun-	1,000	
Bales ¹	tries ²	Bales	Per Cent	nt tries ²	Bales	Per Cent	tries ²	Bales	Per Cent
Foreign Free World	32	12,043	85.7	31	11,527	88.9	49	12,526	80.5
Över 1,000,000	5	10,094	71.8	4	8,408	64.8	4	7,168	46.0
100,000 to 1,000,000	8	1,700	12.1	11	2,789	21.5	14	4,555	29.3
Less than 100,000	19	249	1.8	16	330	2.5	31	803	5.2
Communist Bloc	7	2,016	14.3	7	1,445	11.1	9	3,033	19.4
100,000 to 1,000,000	4	1,950	13.9	5	1,353	10.4	8	2,993	19.2
Less than 100,000	3	66	0.4	2	92	0.7	1	40	0.3
Total Foreign	39	14,059	100.0	38	12,972	100.0	53	15,560	100.0

Table 8. Distribution of Gross Imports of Raw Cotton into Foreign Countries by Volume Classification and Selected Periods

¹ Bales of 478 pounds net weight.

² Number of countries for which imports were reported separately.

Sources: 1924-28: International Cotton Advisory Committee, Cotton-World Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of ICAC (April, 1959), pp. 42-43. 1934-38: Ibid., (April, 1960), pp. 18-19. 1956-60: Ibid., (January, 1963), pp. 16-17.

		Annual Averages	
Country	1924-28	1934-38	1956-60
		1,000 bales .	
Foreign Free World			
United Kingdom	3,197	2,779	1,380
Japan	2,943	3,313	2,946
France	1,467	1,154	1,358
Germany ¹	1,455	1,162	1,484
Italy	1,032	647	942
Spain	368	176	275
Belgium	359	354	431
Canada	274	288	337
India ²	152	415	576
Netherlands	152	224	361
Austria	151	175	120
Switzerland	141	134	197
Sweden	103	154	130
Portugal		112	240
South Korea		110	233
Yugoslavia			191
Hong Kong			365
Taiwan			157
Communist Bloc			
U.S.S.R.	570	188	715
China	563	352	295
Czechos'ovakia	546	383	449
Poland	271	323	529
Hungary		107	237
East Germany			450
Rumania			211
Bulgaria			111
Total Foreign Imports	14,059	12,972	15,560

Table 9. Imports of Raw Cotton, by Countries Importing More than 100,000 Bales in Selected Periods

¹ West Germany only in 1956-60.

² India including Pakistan in 1924-28 and 1934-38.

Sources: 1924-28: International Cotton Advisory Committee, Cotton—World Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of ICAC (April, 1959), pp. 42-43. 1934-38: Ibid., (April, 1960), pp. 18-19. 1956-60: Ibid., (January, 1963), pp. 16-17.

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		1924-28			1934-38		1956-60		
Quantity Exported Bales ¹	Number of Coun- tries ²	Annual Exports 1,000 Bales	Per Cent of World Total	Number of Coun- tries ²	Annual Exports 1,000 Bales	Per Cent of World Total	Number of Coun- tries ²	Annual Exports 1,000 Bales	Per Cent of World Total
United States	1	8,514	59.4	1	5,027	39.4	1	5,984	38.6
Foreign Free World Over 1,000,000 100,000 to 1,000,000 Less than 100,000	27 2 3 22	5,521 4,450 448 623	38.5 31.0 3.1 4.4	28 3 6 19	7,421 5,557 1,256 603	58.3 43.6 9.9 4.8	38 2 17 19	7,724 2,885 4,406 433	49.8 18.6 28.4 2.8
Communist Bloc	1	297	2.1	2	295	2.3	2	1,794	11.6
Total Foreign	28	5,818	40.6	30	7,716	60.6	40	9,518	61.4
Total World	29	14,332	100.0	31	12,743	100.0	41	15,502	100.0

Table 10. Gross Exports of Raw Cotton from the United States and Foreign Countries by Volume Classification for Selected Periods

¹ Bales of 478 pounds net weight.

² Number of countries for which exports were reported separately.

Source: 1924-28: International Cotton Advisory Committee, Cotton—World Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of ICAC (April, 1959), p. 38. 1934-38: Ibid. (April, 1960), p. 17. 1956-60: Ibid. (January, 1963), pp. 18.

Country	Aver	age Annual I	Exports	Per Ce	nt of World	Exports	
	1924-28	1934-38	1956-60	1924-28	1934-38	1956-60	
	(1,000 bales) ¹			(per cent)			
United States	8,514	5,027	5,984	59.4	39.4	38.6	
Foreign Free World	5,521	7,421	7,724	38.5	58.3	49.8	
India	2,938	2,746	245	20.5	21.5	1.6	
Egypt	1,512	1,746	1,402	10.5	13.7	9.0	
Brazil		1,065	397		8.4	2.6	
Mexico		105	1,483		0.8	9.6	
Peru	214	348	459	1.5	2.7	3.0	
Sudan	104	257	486	0.7	2.0	3.1	
Uganda	130	277	295	0.9	2.2	1.9	
Argantine		133			1.0		
Belgian Congo		136	177		1.1	1.1	
Turkey			273			1.8	
French Ea. Africa			170			1.8	
El Salvador			146			0.9	
Nicarraqua			176			1.1	
Greece			155			1.0	
Iran			203			1.3	
Pakistan			370			2.4	
Svrig			404			2.6	
Nigeria			151			1.0	
Tanganyika			143			0.9	
Mozambique			156			1.0	
Communist Bloc	297	295	1,794	2.1	2.3	11.6	
China	297	242	179	2.1	1.9	1.2	
U.S.S.R.			1,610			10.4	
World Total	14,332	12,743	15,502	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Table 11. Exports of Raw Cotton by Countries Exporting More Than 100,000 Bales in Selected Periods

¹ United States in running bales, others in bales of 478 pounds net weight.

Sources: 1924-28: International Cotton Advisory Committee, Cotton—World Statistics, Quarterly Bul. of ICAC (April, 1959), p. 38. 1934-38: Ibid. (April, 1960), p. 17. 1956-60: Ibid. (January, 1963), p. 18.

	19	34-38	1956-60		
		Per Cent of		Per Cent of	
	1,000	Foreign	1,000	Foreign	
Country	Bales	Consumption	Bales	Consumption	
Nonproducers					
Japan	3,315	14.3	2,814	7.6	
United Kingdom	2,741	11.8	1,375	3.7	
France	1,181	5.1	1,345	3.6	
Germany	1,077	4.7	1,438	3.9	
Italy	684	3.0	936	2.5	
Total Six Countries	8,998	38.9	7,908	21.3	
Producers					
India	3,096	13.4	4,475	12.1	
China	3,600	15.5	7,580	20.5	
U.S.S.R.	3,058	13.2	5,920	16.0	
Total Three Countries	9,754	42.1	17,975	48.5	
Total Eight Countries	18,752	81.0	25,883	69.8	
Total Foreign	23,155	100.0	37,056	100.0	

Table 12.Mill Consumption of Cotton in Selected ForeignCountries, Five Year Averages for 1934-38 and 1956-60

Source: 1934-38: International Cotton Advisory Committee, Cotton-World Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of ICAC (April, 1960), pp. 12-13.

1956-60: Ibid. (January, 1963), p. 12-13.

Table 13. Cotton Production and Consumption in Selected Cotton Producing Countries, Annual Averages for 1934-38 and 1956-60

		Annual /	Averages					
	1934	4-38	195	6-60				
Country	Production	Consumption	Production	Consumption				
		(1,000	Bales)					
Mexico	302	227	2,020	483				
Brazil	1,793	512	1,540	1,133				
Argentina	254	113	540	520				
Columbia	21	35	201	199				
Greece	75	96	273	128				
Turkey	240	97	774	510				
Egypt	1,846	73	1,948	489				
Total Seven Countries	4,531	1,153	7,296	3,462				
Per Cent of Total Foreign	25.1	5.0	23.0	9.3				

Source: 1934-38: International Cotton Advisory Committee, Cotton-World Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of ICAC (April, 1960), pp. 8-9 and 12-13.

1956-60: Ibid. (January, 1963), p. 12-13.

		1934-38	1956-60		
Country	Exports	Per Cent of World Total	Exports	Per Cent of World Total	
	(1,000 bales)	(per cent)	(1,000 bales)	(per cent)	
United States	5,027	39.4	5,984	38.6	
India and Pakistan	2,746	21.5	615	4.0	
Egypt	1,746	13.7	1,402	9.0	
Brazil	1,065	8.4	397	2.6	
Mexico	105	0.8	1,483	9.6	
U.S.S.R.	53	0.4	1,510	10.4	
Others	2,001	15.8	4,011	25.9	
World Total	12,743	100.0	15,502	100.0	

Table 14. Interwar (1934-38) to Postwar (1956-60) Changes in
the Origin of World Exports by Selected Countries

Source: 1934-38: International Cotton Advisory Committee, Cotton-World Statistics, Quarterly Bulletin of ICAC (April, 1960), pp. 16-17.

1956-60: Ibid., (January, 1963), p. 18.

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