

# The Marshall Plan. A turning point in European Environmental History?

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## Me: Environmental History of the Marshall Plan

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Metabolism, Industrial  
Ecology



# Structure/aims of the presentation:

- 1) Facts about the Marshall Plan, which correspond to the textbook knowledge or the established narrative;
- 2) Arguing that this knowledge about the Marshall Plan is incomplete because it largely ignores the biophysical dimension;
- 3) Trying to sketch out an environmental historian or socio-ecological reading of the Marshall Plan;
- 4) Looking into a potential future project to better understand the relationship between the Marshall Plan, Great Acceleration and oil;

# The European Recovery Program/ Marshall Plan

- **Economic Assistance under the framework of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) (US \$ 9 billion from 1943-46) failed**
- **William L. Clayton recommended assistance resembling New Deal measures in 1947**
- **George C. Marshall presented the ERP at Harvard University June 1947 (US \$ 13 billion, US \$ 150 billion in prices of 2017) from 1948-1951**
- **Distribution was placed in the hands of a U.S. board operating in Europe, the Economic Cooperation Agency (ECA): Obligation Counterpart-Funds to extent effects**
- **AIM: Modernizing European industrial and business practices using high-efficiency American models, reducing artificial trade barriers. Technical Assistance Program**
- **George C. Marshall won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1953**



# 54.300 MP-publications recorded in Google Scholar

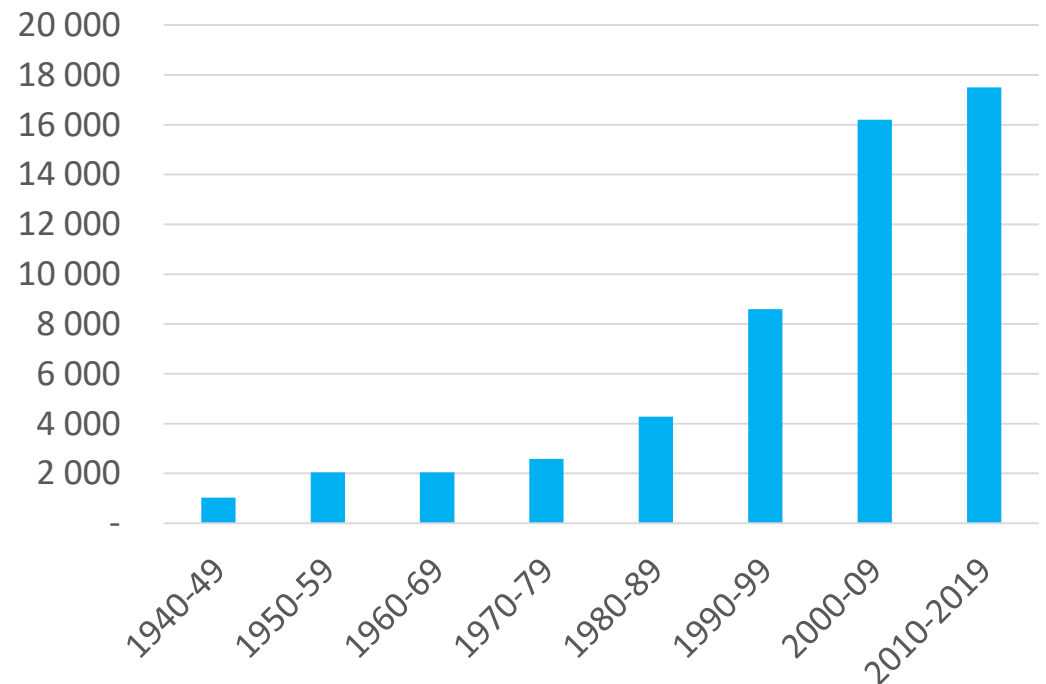
## Other search terms:

National Socialism	n= 64.800
Nationalsozialismus	n=113.000
Environmental History	n=201.000
Wiederaufbau	n= 65.700

## Most common combinations:

MP+U.S.A.	n=50.900
MP+Western	n=50.100
MP+Europe	n=48.300
MP+peace	n=42.800
MP+Communism	n=35.500
MP+Capitalism	n=31.400

Publications on the Marshall Plan recorded in Google Scholar (n=54.300)







BEFORE: This  
A few fisher

BEFORE: This was the is  
living here.... William Aver

## Reclaiming land in the Svonea area of Italy

Reclaiming land in the Svonea area of Italy. William Averell Harriman's Album: *The Marshall Plan at the Mid-Mark*, 1950. Averell Harriman Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress

<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/marshall/images/album40.jpg>

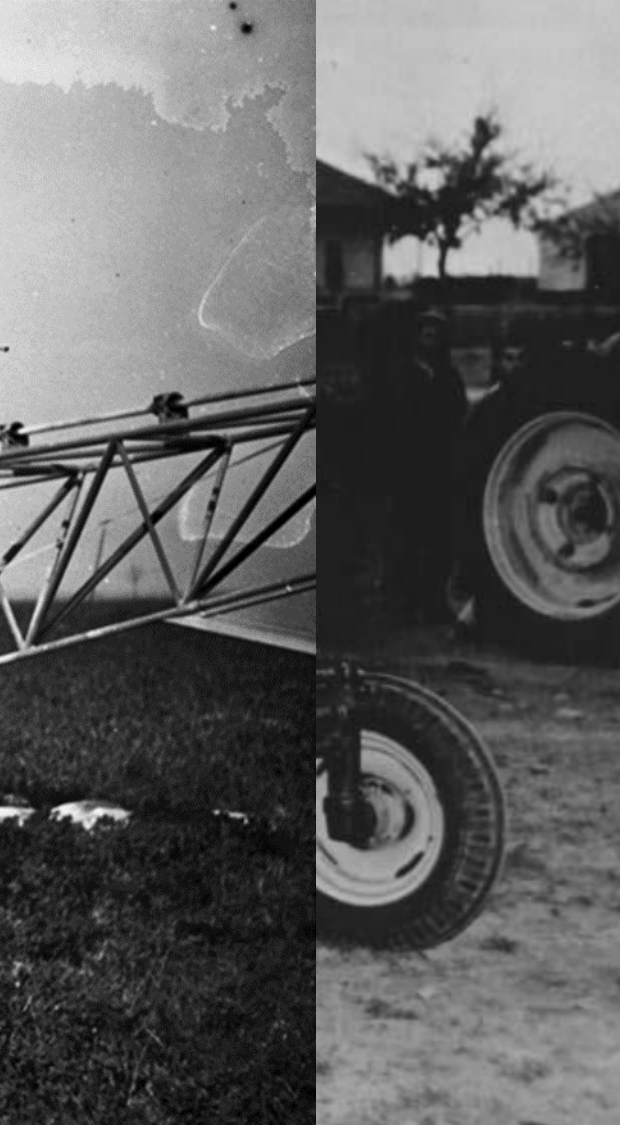
<http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/marshall/images/album39.jpg>



e in 1949.



**FERTILIZERS** **PRODUCE**



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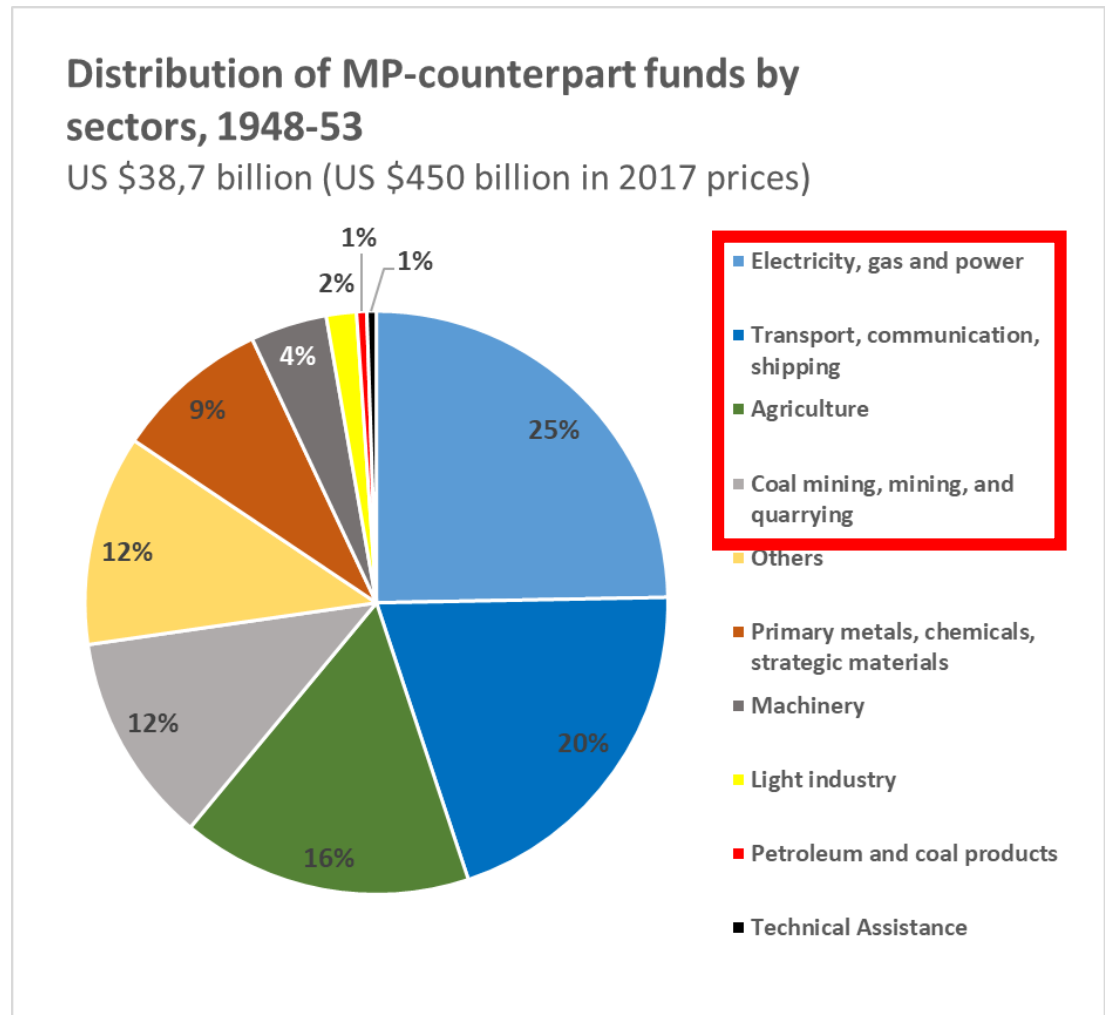
Marshall Plan at the Mid-Mark,  
of Congress

**For** INFORMATION ON HOW TO BUY E.C.A. FERTILIZER AND HOW TO USE IT, SEE YOUR MUNICIPAL AGRICULTURAL INSPECTOR OR THE FERTILIZER ADMINISTRATION OF THE DEPT. OF AGRICULTURE & NATURAL RESOURCES





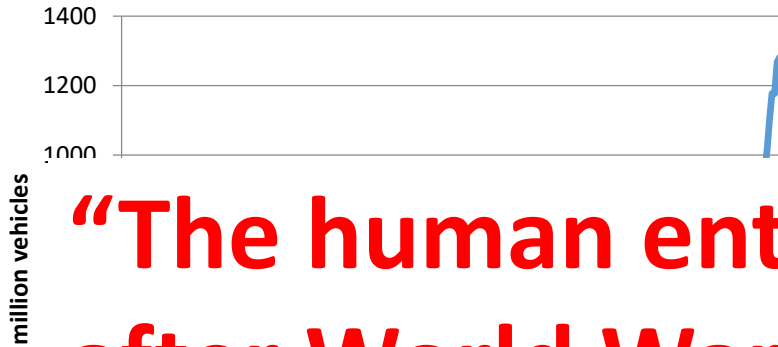
- A condition for receiving Marshall aid;
- US \$ 39 billion from 1948-1953
- Investments in infrastructure: Austria, Germany, Italy and France;
- Anti-inflationary measures: UK and Norway



# Intermediate summing up:

- The ERP/Marshall Plan „organized the largest successful simultaneous transfer of technologies ever experienced in the world.“
- „[...] it supported the simultaneous recovery of [most of sic!] the European nations [...]“
- „ [...] less is known about the impact of the Marshall Plan on the modernisation of European industry.“ (Francesca Fauri, Paolo Tedeschi, *Novel Outlooks on the Marshall Plan*, p. 13-18.)
- Even lesser is known about the socio-ecological impact of this program on e.g. landscapes or resources flows.

Transportation

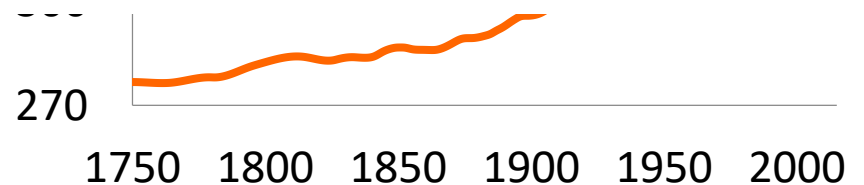
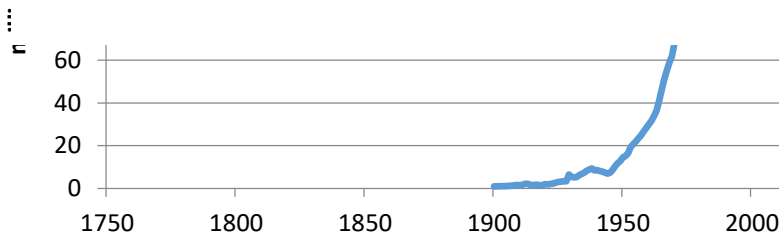


Global primary energy use



**“The human enterprise switched gears after World War II. [...] The change was so dramatic that the 1945 to 2000+ period has been called the Great Acceleration.”**

Source: Will Steffen et al., The Anthropocene: Conceptual and historical perspectives. In: *Phil. Trans. R. Soc. A* 2011 369, p. 850.



*“What finally triggered the Great Acceleration after the end of World War II? This war undoubtedly drove the final collapse of the remaining pre-industrial European institutions that contributed to the depression and, indeed, to the Great War itself. But many other factors also played an important role.*

***New international institutions—the so-called Bretton Woods institutions—were formed to aid economic recovery and fuel renewed economic growth. Led by the USA, the world moved towards a system built around neo-liberal economic principles, characterized by more open trade and capital flows. The post-World War II economy integrated rapidly, with growth rates reaching their highest values ever in the 1950–1973 period.***

*Other factors also contributed to the Great Acceleration. The war produced a cadre of **scientists and technologists**, as well as a spectrum of **new technologies** (most of which depended on the cheap energy provided by fossil fuels), that could then be turned towards the **civil economy**. Partnerships among **government, industry and academia** became common, further driving innovation and growth. More and more public goods were converted into commodities and placed into the **market economy**, and the growth imperative rapidly became a core societal value that drove both **the socio-economic and the political spheres.**”*

FRANCE

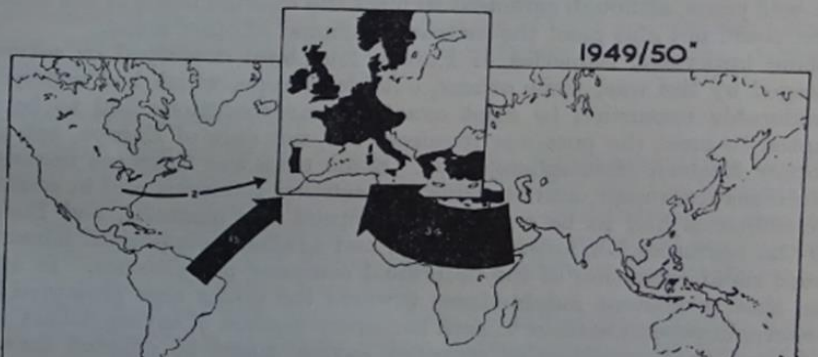
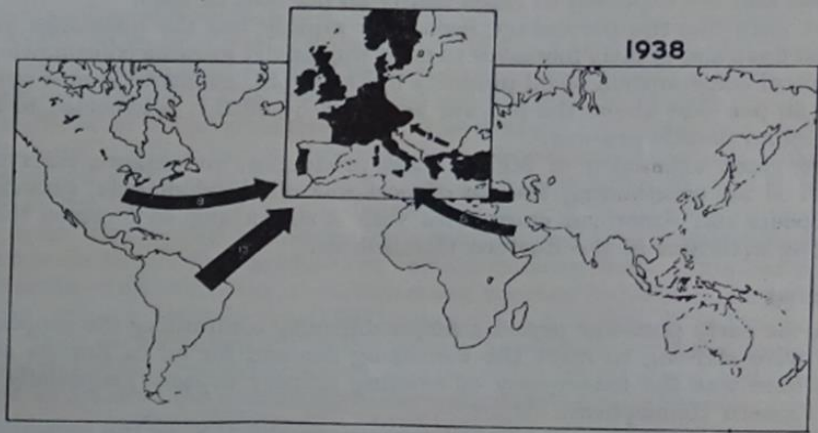
C.F.R. Refinery. Gonfreville, near Le Havre.

APRIL-1946

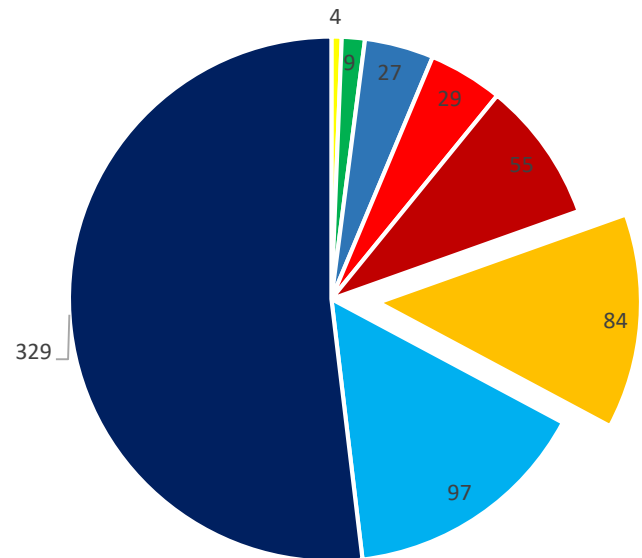


# The Marshall Plan and Oil

	Marshall Aid 1948-1951 (in million US \$)	Petroleum Aid (in million US \$)	As % of Total Aid	Western European Refinery Capacity 1948 (MMT)	Western European Refinery Capacity 1951 (MMT)	Motor Vehicles 1938 (x1000)	Motor Vehicles 1947 (x1000)	Motor Vehicles 1951 (x1000)
Austria	561,4	3,6	0,6			48,6	50,1	109,2
Belgium- Luxembourg	546,0	60,0	10,9			236,8	250,0	473,6
Denmark	258,9	56,2	21,7			150,7	151,7	188,3
France	2451,7	380,9	15,5			2305,0	1750,0	2567,0
Germany	1298,5	54,6	4,2			1694,0	682,0	1500,0
Greece	527,4	20,7	3,9			17,3	20,0	31,7
Iceland	23,8	1,4	5,9			2,0	10,1	10,6
Ireland	147,4	13,3	9,0			64,7	77,6	132,0
Italy	1349,1	143,6	10,6			373,0	372,0	674,0
Netherlands	881,6	64,9	7,4			141,5	129,4	247,4
Norway	237,8	36,1	15,2			90,6	108,0	133,9
Portugal	51,2	8,6	16,8			47,8	59,8	96,5
Sweden	118,5	67,2	56,7			219,6	237,9	410,1
Turkey	155,5	5,0	3,2			9,5	18,6	32,6
UK	2838,1	331,1	11,7			2532,0	2722,0	3446,0
<b>Total</b>	<b>11.801,5</b>	<b>1.247,2</b>	<b>10,6</b>	<b>19.500.000</b>	<b>58.000.000</b>	<b>7.928,3</b>	<b>6.632,2</b>	<b>10.052,9</b>



## Summary of World Refineries, December 22, 1952 (n=632)



- Africa
- Middle East
- Other Asia
- USSR
- Other communist countries
- OEEC
- Other Western Hemisphere
- United States

MATER

## OWNERSHIP OF GERMAN REFINERIES

1. STEEL

(a) S

r

s

s

(b) P

(c) E

m

s

(d) E

e

(e) V

(f) T

(g) V

v

(h) C

(i) M

t

E

(j) F

2. CAST

3. NON F

4. CEMEN

5. LUMBE

S

H

F

Current Number	COMPANY	REFINERY LOCATION	OWNERSHIP
1.	Esso A.G.	Köln	100 % S.O.C. (N.J.)
2.	Esso A.G.	Hamburg	100 % S.O.C. (N.J.)
3.	Deutsche Shell A.G.	Badorf	100 % Royal-Dutch - Shell Group
4.	Deutsche Shell A.G.	Hamburg	100 % Royal-Dutch - Shell Group
5.	Deutsche Shell A.G.	Monheim	100 % Royal-Dutch - Shell Group
6.	BP Benzin und Petroleum A.G.	Dinslaken	100 % The British Petroleum Co. Ltd., London
7.	BP Benzin und Petroleum A.G.	Hamburg	100 % The British Petroleum Co. Ltd., London
8.	Oelwerke Julius Schindler GmbH.	Hamburg	99 % The British Petroleum Co. Ltd., London 1 % Schindler
9.	Mineralölwerke Peine, Zweigniederlassung der Oelwerke Julius Schindler, GmbH, Hamburg	Peine	100 % Oelwerke Julius Schindler GmbH, Hamburg
10.	Mobil Oil A.G. in Deutschland	Bremen	100 % Socony Mobil Oil Comp. Inc., New York
11.	Purifina Mineralölraffinerie AG.	Duisburg-Neuenkamp	100 % Compagnie Financière Belge des Pétroles "P&G"
12.	Ruhrbau Mineralölraffinerie GmbH.	Mülheim	100 % Compagnie Financière Belge des Pétroles "P&G"
13.	Gelsenberg Benzin A.G.	Gelsenkirchen-Morst	100 % Gelsenkirchener Bergwerke A.G., Essen (G.B.)
14.	Scholven-Chemie A.G.	Gelsenkirchen-Suer	100 % Bergwerksgesellschaft Hibernia A.G., Horne (German Government)
15.	Ruhrchemie A.G.	Oberhausen-Molten	33 1/3 % Hüttenwerk Oberhausen A.G., Oberhausen (G.B.) 33 1/3 % Mannesmann A.G., Düsseldorf 33 1/3 % Farbwerke Hoechst A.G., Frankfurt
16.	Union Rheinische Braunkohlen Kraftstoff A.G. Köln	Wesseling	99,3 % Rheinische Braunkohlenwerke A.G. Köln *) 0,7 % Open Market
17.	Deutsche Erdöl A.G.	Weide	100 % Deutsche Erdöl A.G., Hamburg (DEA)
18.	Deutsche Erdöl A.G.	Wietze	100 % Deutsche Erdöl A.G., Hamburg (DEA)
19.	Gewerkschaft Erdöl-Raffinerie Emsland	Lingen	65 % Wintershall A.G., Kassel/Celle 35 % Elverath, Hannover
20.	Erdölraffinerie Salzbergen	Salzbergen	100 % Wintershall A.G., Kassel/Celle
21.	Gewerkschaft Erdöl-Raffinerie Dourag-Norag	Hilburg	5,5 % Esso A.G., Hamburg (S.O.C. N.J.) 5,5 % Deutsche Shell A.G., Hamburg (Royal-Dutch) 38,0 % Preussische Bergwerks- und Hütten A.G., Essen 51,0 % Gewerkschaft Elverath, Hannover - 42,375 % Wintershall A.G., Kassel/Cel

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# Conclusion:

## **1. Rethinking the Great Acceleration:**

- Who drove the Great Acceleration?
- How was the acceleration (of flows of energy, resources, goods) economically, socially, politically and technically achieved?
- Which groups profited? Which groups were the losers in the Great acceleration?

## **2. Particular useful for Western Europe. Why?**

- Western Europe was the first world region into which the US exported a resource appropriation pattern that turned out to be rather unsustainable in the long run
- Leading the discussion of European integration after 1945 also on an environmental-historical level.

## **3. Oil refineries served as critical infrastructure hubs in the Great Acceleration, creating a geopolitical and infrastructural lock-in**

Thanks for your  
attention!

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