

# Historical background to Central Asia



**Thomas Chan**

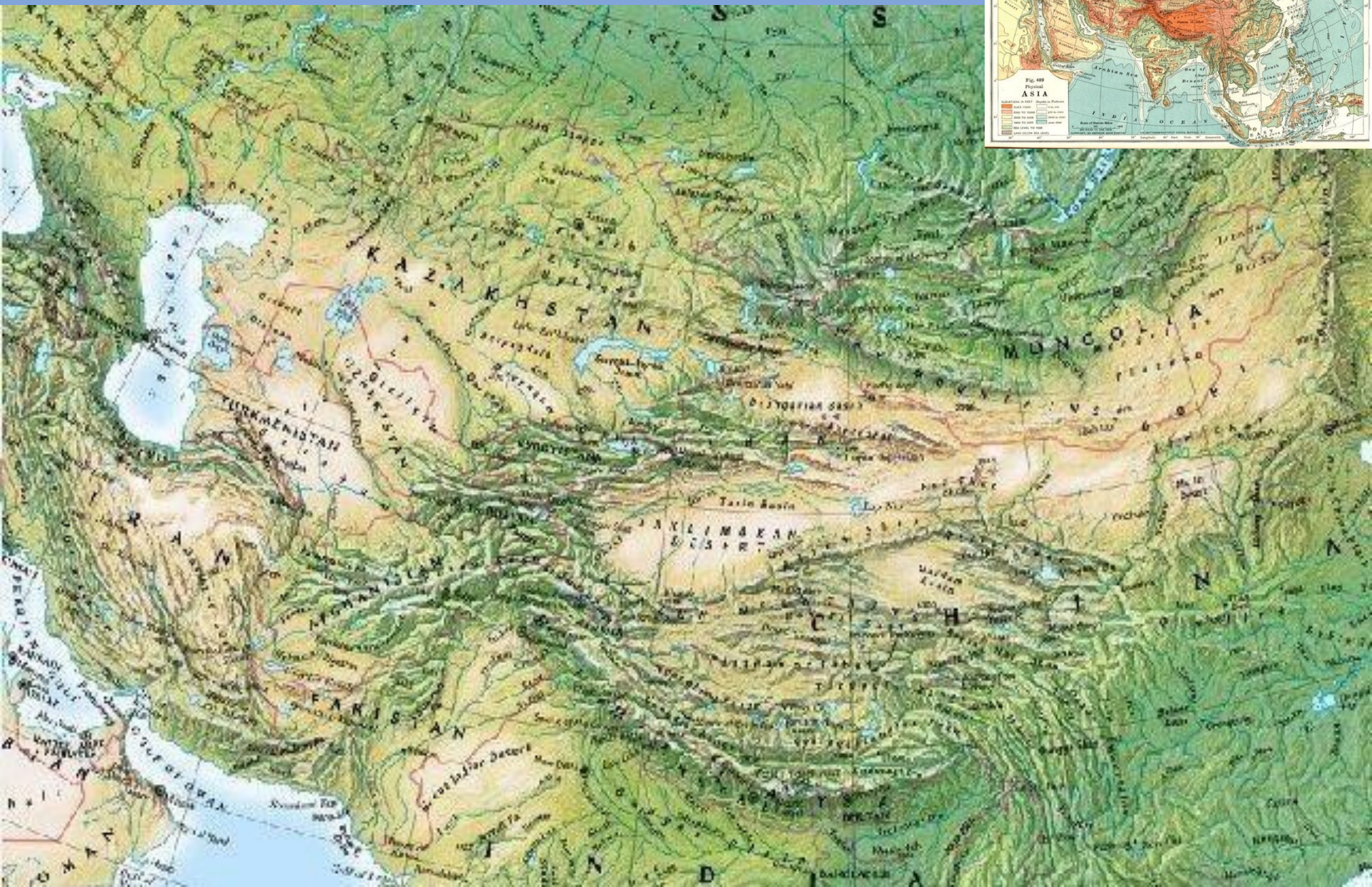
**One Belt One Road Research Institute**

**Chu Hai College**

**April 2018, Hong Kong**



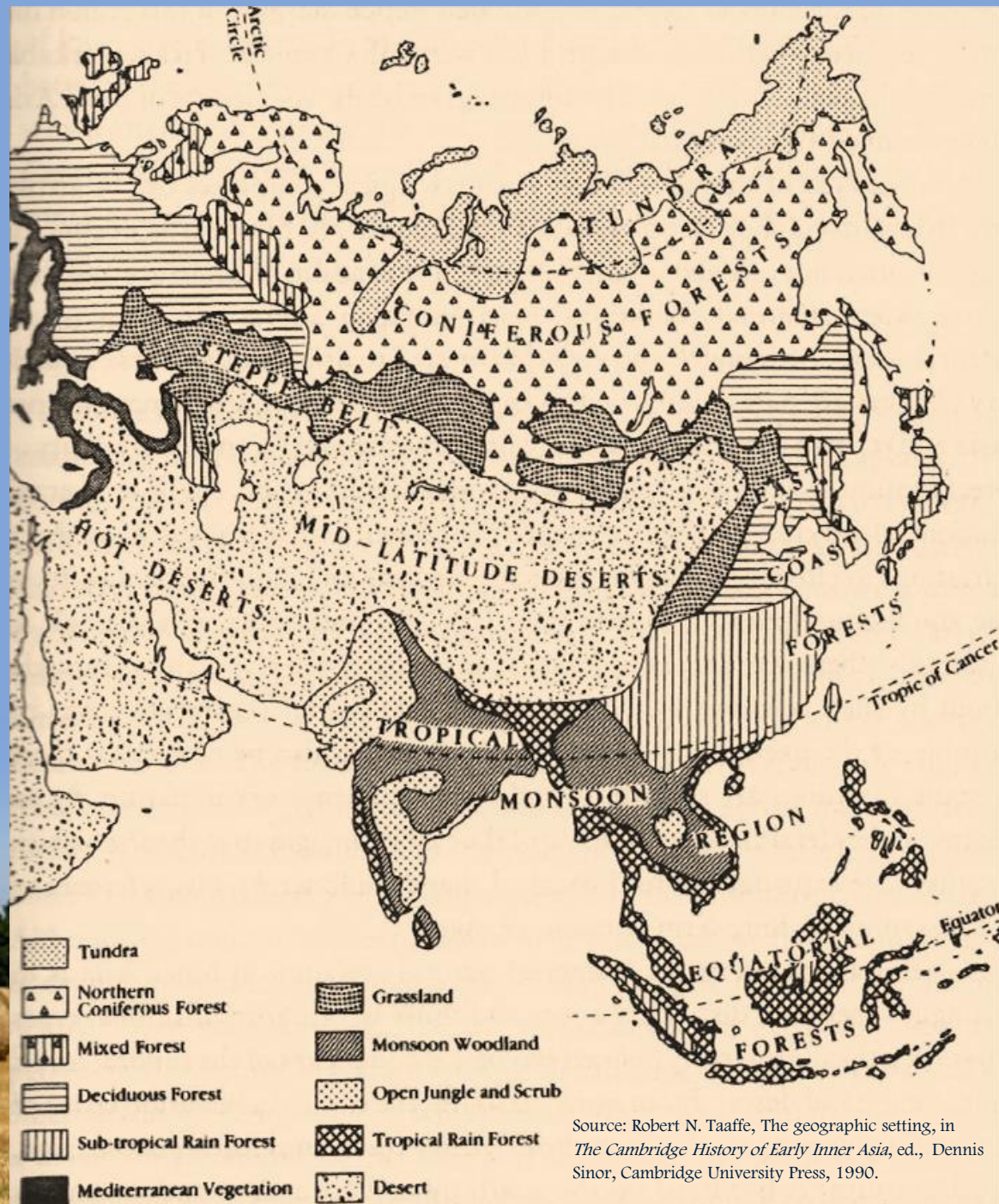
# Geographical definition of the Central Asia





# The geographical setting

The forest regions had been the starting point of the great migration and conquests of nomadic tribes in both the east and the west.



The Eurasian Steppe was the source of changes & link of civilizations

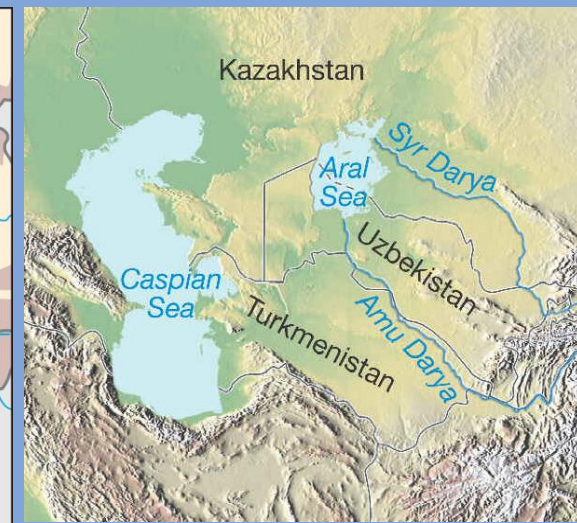
Source: Robert N. Taaffe, The geographic setting, in *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed., Dennis Sinor, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

## Definition of the Central Asia as against 西域

For the British English, the East was defined in the context of ocean travel in the 1800's. Thus, the “Far East” versus the “Middle East,” all in relation to the sea ports of Britain located to the west of these areas. In the late 1800's, the term High Asia or Central Asia referred to the landlocked high-altitude region that included Tibet, parts of India, Afghanistan, Mongolia, and China. For the British, who traveled mostly by sea, the region of Central Asia/High Asia was grouped as one unit despite cultural differences between the people living there. It was more a reflection of their relationship to the region of Asia, in which the lands of Mongolia did not figure prominently at the time.

The Russians divided the region into two areas: Middle Asia and Central Asia. Middle Asia included “Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and parts of Kyrgyzstan & Central Asia included Tuva, Inner and Outer Mongolia (the Mongolian Banners), Tibet, and the modern Chinese of Xinjiang and Qinghai. These terms were translated directly into German, retaining their distinctions, but later translated into French and Chinese as simply “Central Asia,” losing the Russian and German distinctions. Scholars like Owen Lattimore used the term “Inner Asia” to refer to the Russian “Central Asia.” (Source: What is Inner Asia? April 3, 2013, by ariell, <https://ariellahearn.wordpress.com/2013/04/03/what-is-inner-asia/>)

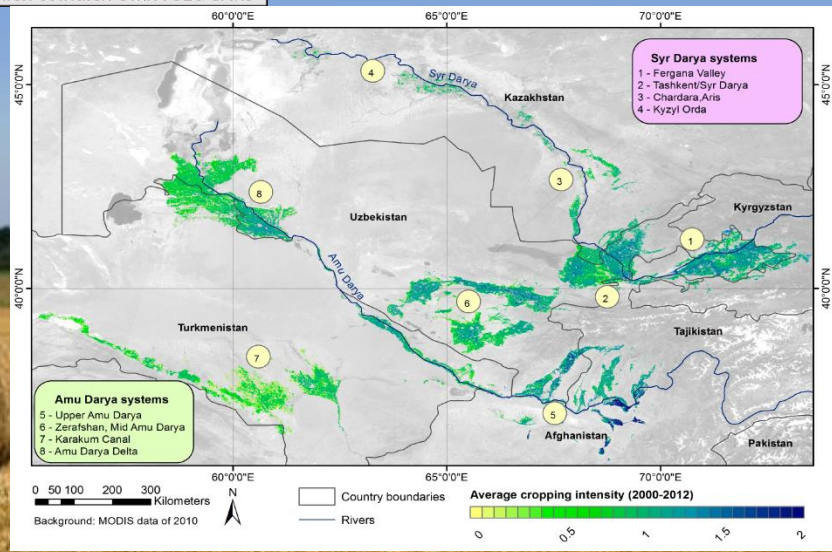




Sources:

<http://www.geography.hunter.cuny.edu/>;  
 Andrea Zinzani, The Reconfiguration of Participatory Irrigation Management in Water Users Associations Evidence from Uzbekistan & Kazakhstan, *L'eau en Asie centrale*, 25(2015), pp.133-153; & Christopher Conrad et al., *Cropping Intensity in the Aral Sea Basin and Its Dependency from the Runoff Formation 2000–2012*, *Remote Senses*. 2016, 8(8), 630.

The core of the Central Asia as defined political geographical factors





河中地区 Transoxiana or  
Sogdiana & 七河地区 or the  
Russian Zhetysu or Semirechye





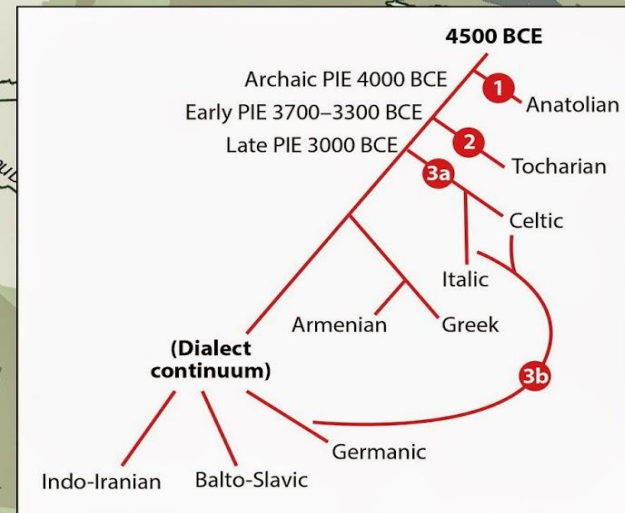
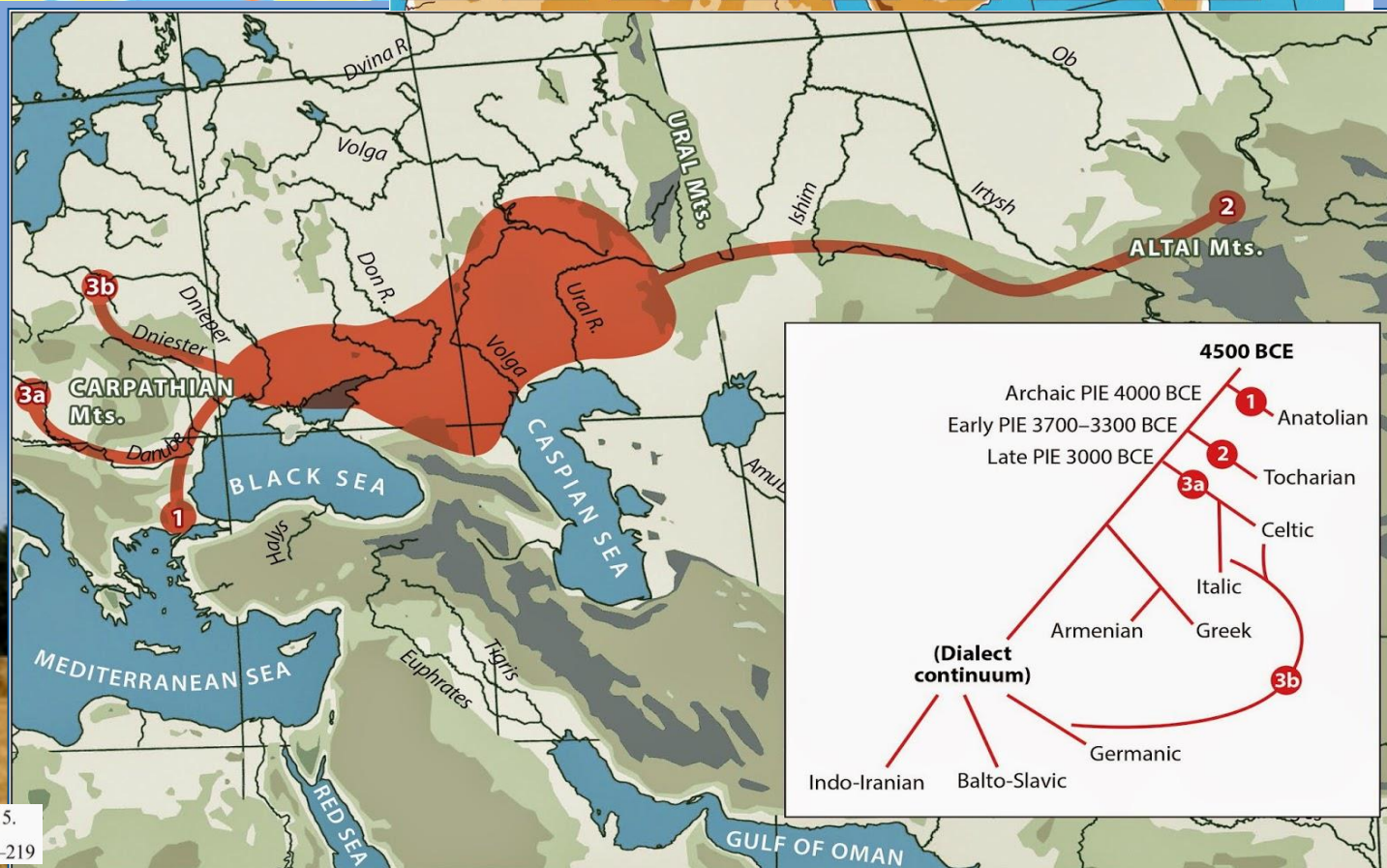
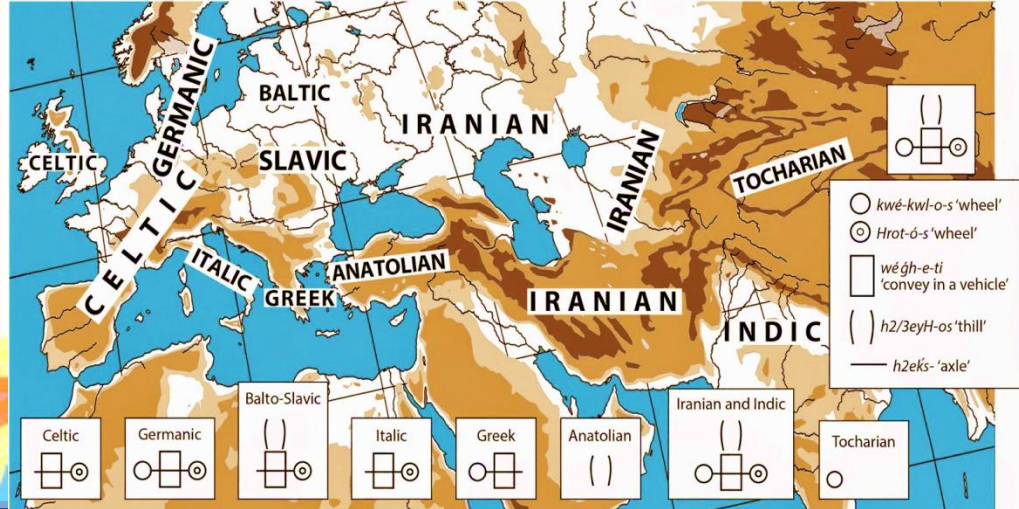
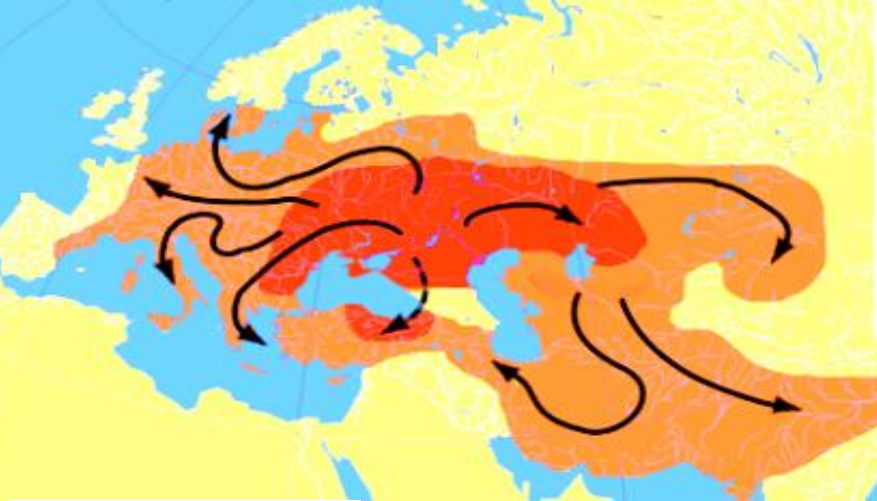
## Interconnected & interacting world(s)

Somehow an appreciation of the autonomy of separate civilizations (and of all the other less massive and less skilled cultures of the earth) across the past two thousand years needs to be combined with the portrait of an emerging world system, connecting greater and greater numbers of persons across civilized boundaries (McNeill 1990, pp. 9-10).

Archaeological period	Approximate date range	Key developments discussed
Upper Paleolithic	46,000 to 10,000 B.P.	Peopling of northern Eurasia, accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) dating
Mesolithic-Early Neolithic	10,000 to 6000 B.C.	Complex hunter-gatherer adaptations
Neolithic-Eneolithic	10,000 to 3500 B.C.	Horse domestication, Indo-European Languages
Bronze Age	3500 to 1200 B.C.	Metallurgy, spoke-wheeled chariots, inter-regional trade, stone monuments
Final Bronze–Early Iron Age	1200 to 300 B.C.	Mobile pastoralism, large-scale kurgans, cavalry warfare
Xiongnu Polities	500 B.C. to A.D. 155	Regional surveys, China-steppe interaction, elite tombs

Source: Bryan Hanks, *Archaeology of the Eurasian Steppes and Mongolia*, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 2010, 39:469–86







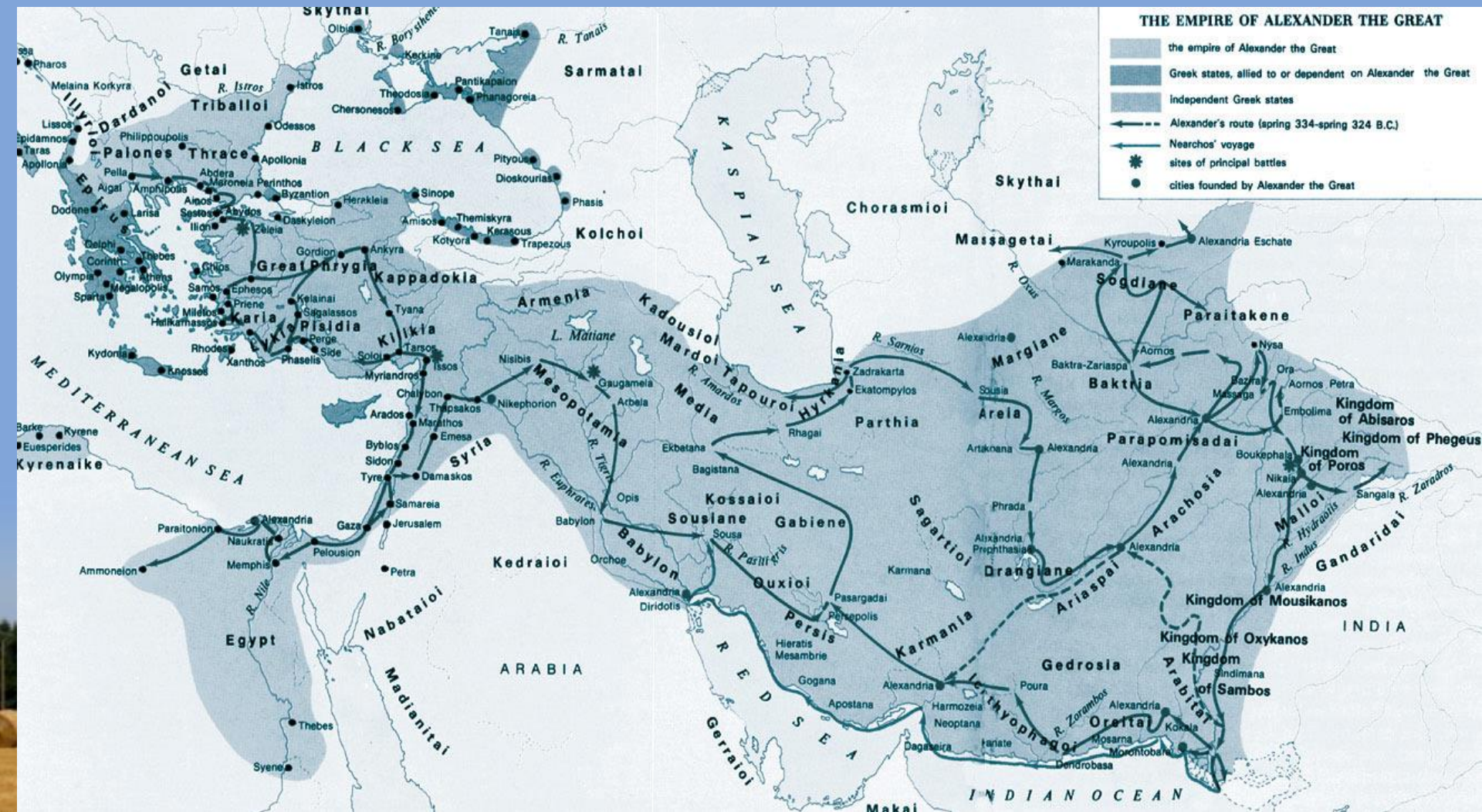
Politico-military competition & conquests promoted regional integration – the first empires starting from fertile agricultural areas & driven by long distance trade



Source: <https://cdn.thinglink.me/api/image/561999118407303169/1024/10/scaletowidth/0/0/1/1/false/true?wait=true>



# Conquests from the Greek regional economic system in Eastern Mediterranean & Black Sea



Source: [http://whereismacedonia.org/images/about\\_macedonia/history/alexander-the-great/alexander-the-great-empire.jpg](http://whereismacedonia.org/images/about_macedonia/history/alexander-the-great/alexander-the-great-empire.jpg)





Conquests from the east consolidated two empires – the nomadic in the north and the Qin & Han in the south

Source:

[http://spooksrus.tripod.com/barbarians/images/xiongnu\\_empire\\_160bce\\_02\\_filled.gif](http://spooksrus.tripod.com/barbarians/images/xiongnu_empire_160bce_02_filled.gif)





The west met the east, first by trade, conquests & cultural exchanges



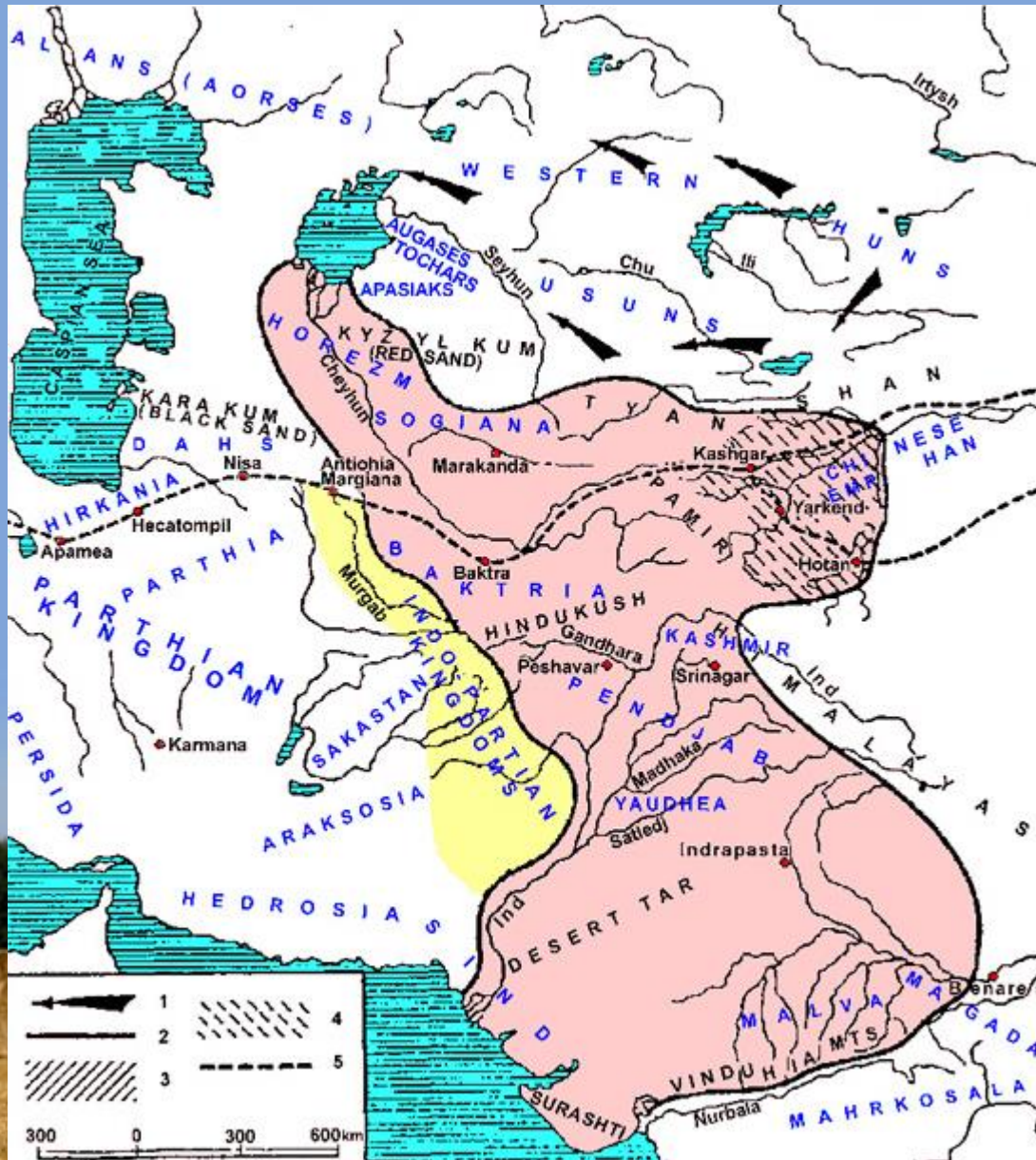


## The Eurasian link & the proliferation of the Silk Road routes





## Boundary of Kushan Empire at its peak, 150 AD

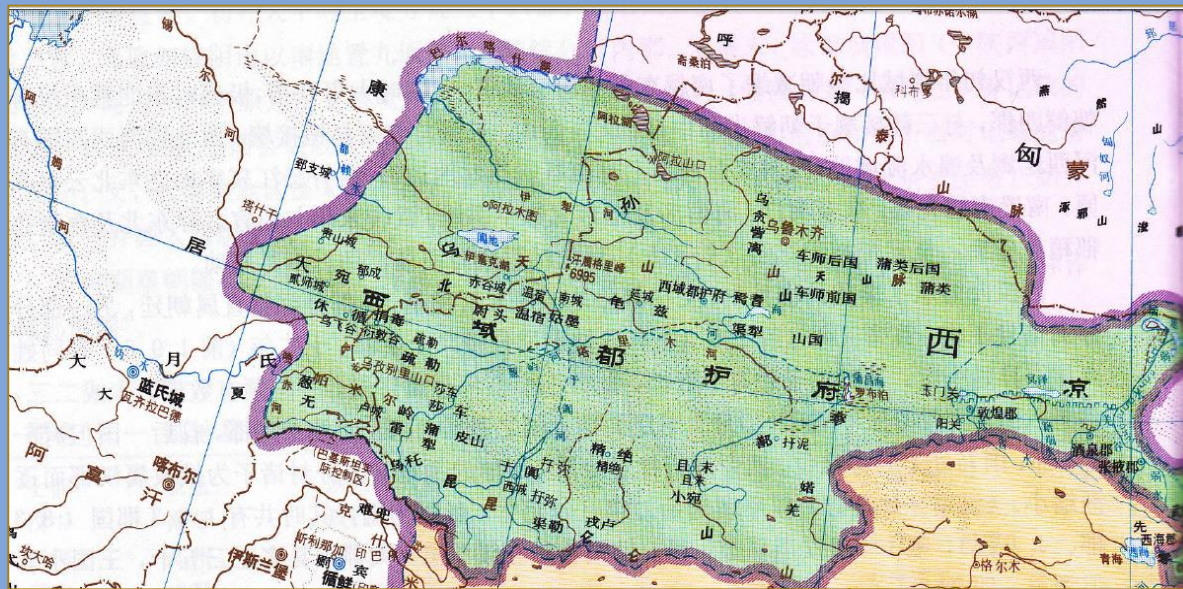


Kushan Empire<sup>3</sup> offered gold & copper from its mountains and served as the hub of the Silk Road routes, including those going along the Arabian Sea to India and Red Sea/Mediterranean Sea to the Roman Empire; it was also the transit for Greek arts & Buddhism to China



Emperor Kanishka on a gold coin with Greek lettering. The reverse side is a portrait of the Buddha. via Wikipedia





The protectorate projecting Han imperial power & trade protection (vs nomadic tribes interferences) towards the Central Asia







The link broke up when the Eastern empires could not reach out

Sources:  
[http://www.ThomasLessman.com/History/images/East-Hem\\_400ad.jpg](http://www.ThomasLessman.com/History/images/East-Hem_400ad.jpg) & Image was created by Thomas Lessman based on map of Eastern Hemisphere in 500AD, 23 December 2007.





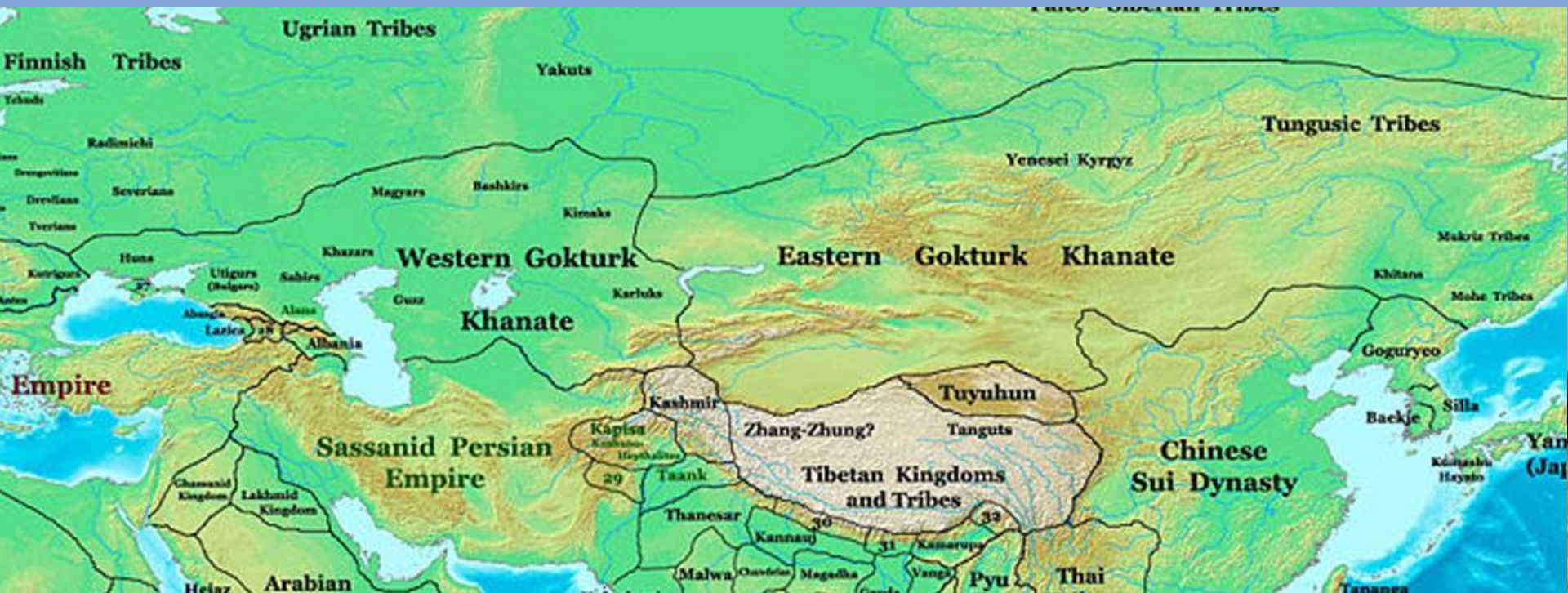
# The Gokturk empire of nomadic confederation after the Hunnic empires

It peaked in 6<sup>th</sup> Century & once allied with the Roman Empire but fought it also.



Source:

[http://www.allempires.com/article/index.php?q=the\\_gok\\_turk\\_empire](http://www.allempires.com/article/index.php?q=the_gok_turk_empire)



Source: [http://www.face-music.ch/nomads/map\\_gokturks.jpg](http://www.face-music.ch/nomads/map_gokturks.jpg)



# The Agrarian empire struck back





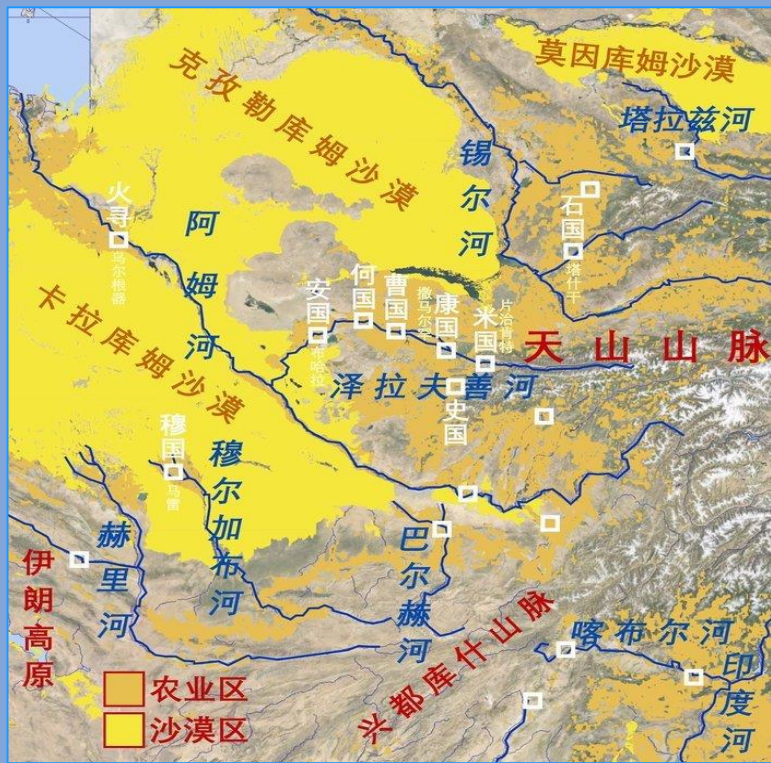
# Tang's projection into the Central Asia and the steppe replacing the rule of the nomadic polities

[http://www.xiuwenyuan.com/uploads/allimg/160309/1\\_160309160331\\_1.jpg](http://www.xiuwenyuan.com/uploads/allimg/160309/1_160309160331_1.jpg)  
公元640年-907年



[http://www.how01.com/post\\_R19ONrA112QQ.html](http://www.how01.com/post_R19ONrA112QQ.html)  
安東，安北，單于，安西，北庭，安南六大都護府





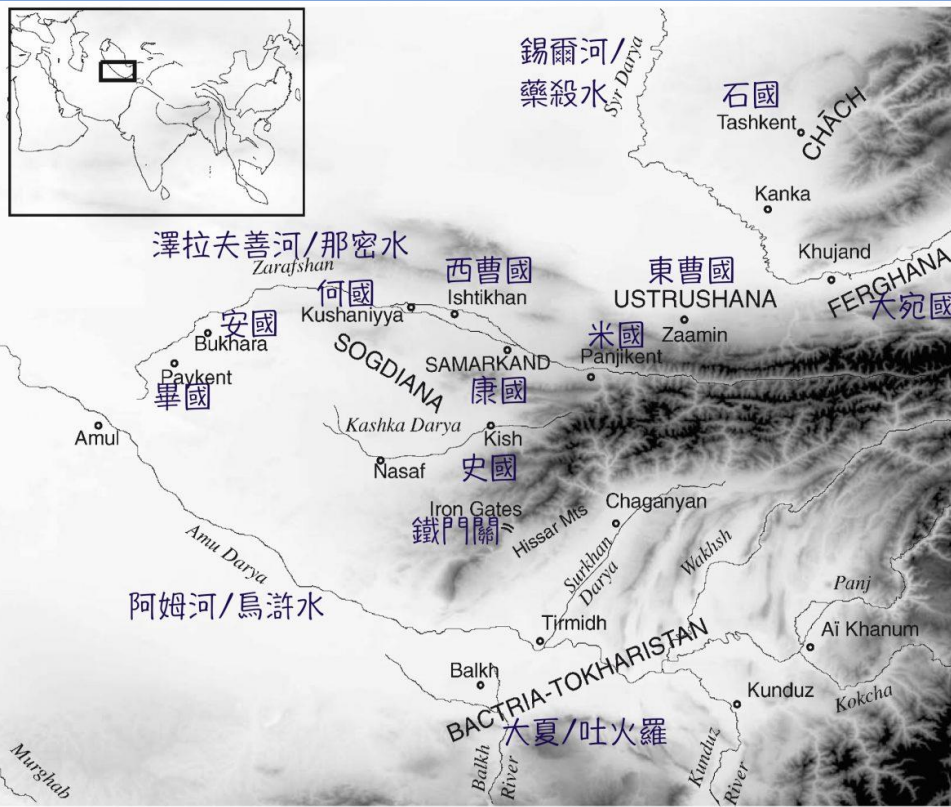
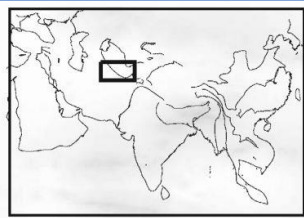
粟特（古波斯語：Suguda-），中國稱之為昭武九姓、九姓胡、雜種胡



Source:  
<https://read01.com/geMye5.html#.Wt1XuYhuaUk>







## The trader of the Silk Road & agents of cultural changes



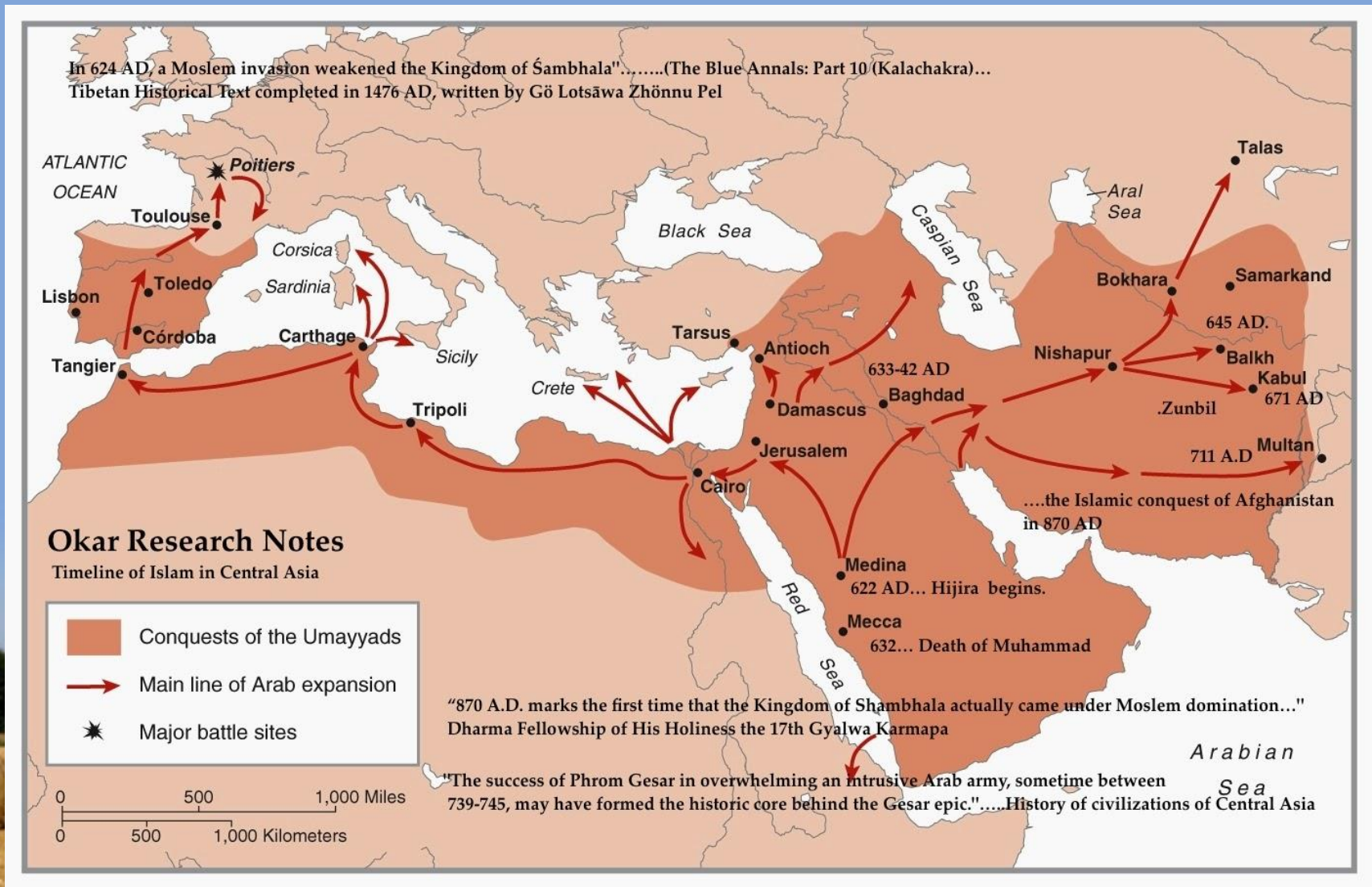
从撒马尔干到长安——中古时期粟特人的迁徙与入居

Source: <https://gushi.tw/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/%E7%B2%9F%E7%89%B9%E5%9C%B0%E5%9C%96.jpg>



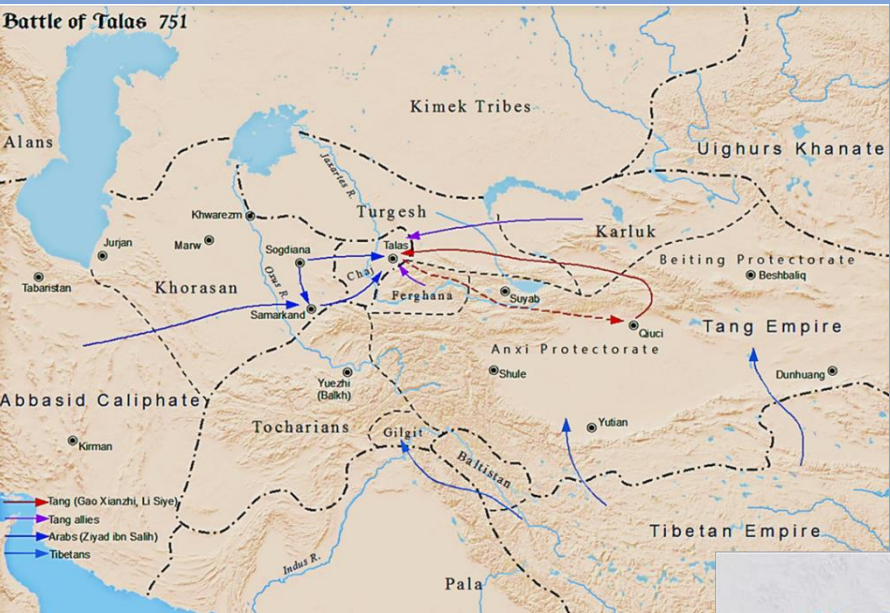


# The rise of the Islamic empires in the west





Battle of Talas 751



Source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f2/Battle\\_of\\_Talas.png](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/f/f2/Battle_of_Talas.png)

Defeat of Tang by Arabs in 751 & closed the overland routes (shifting to the maritime routes) until the Mongols

Source: <http://brewminate.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/EastAsia43.png>







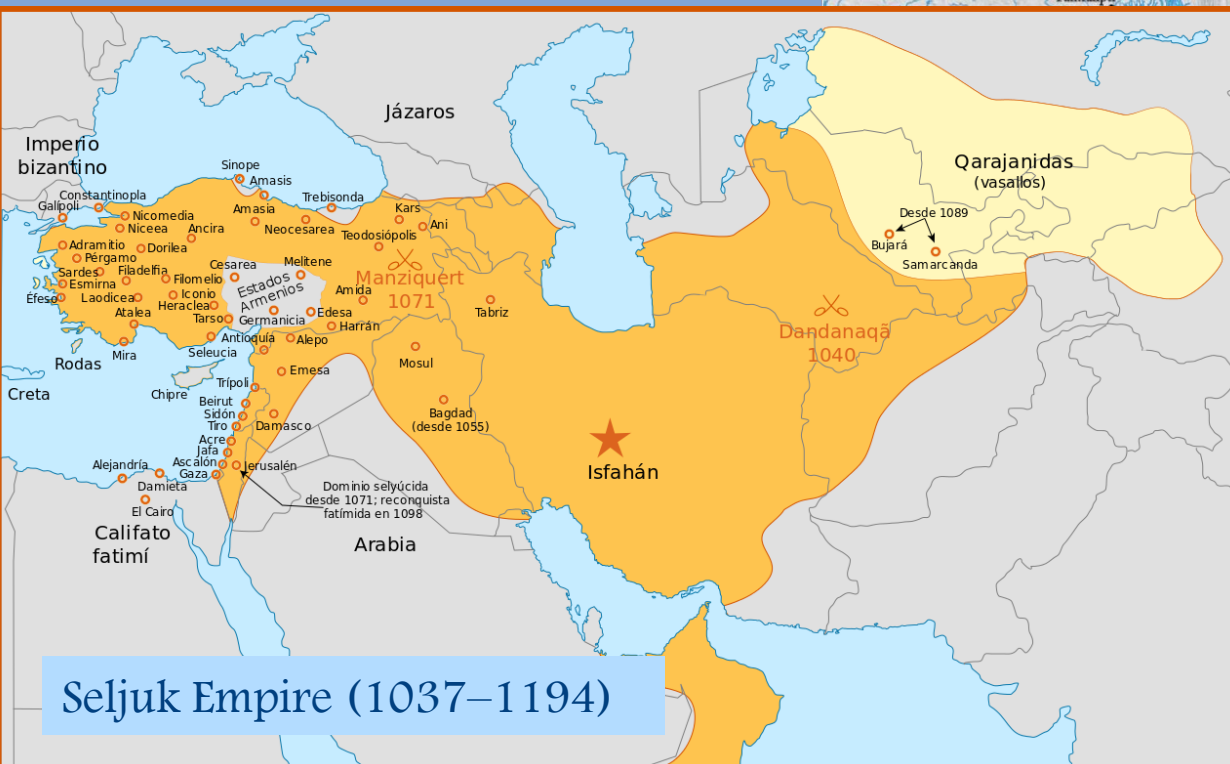
Qara Khitai/Kara Khitai (1124-1218)



Source: <http://brewminate.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/EastAsia45.png>



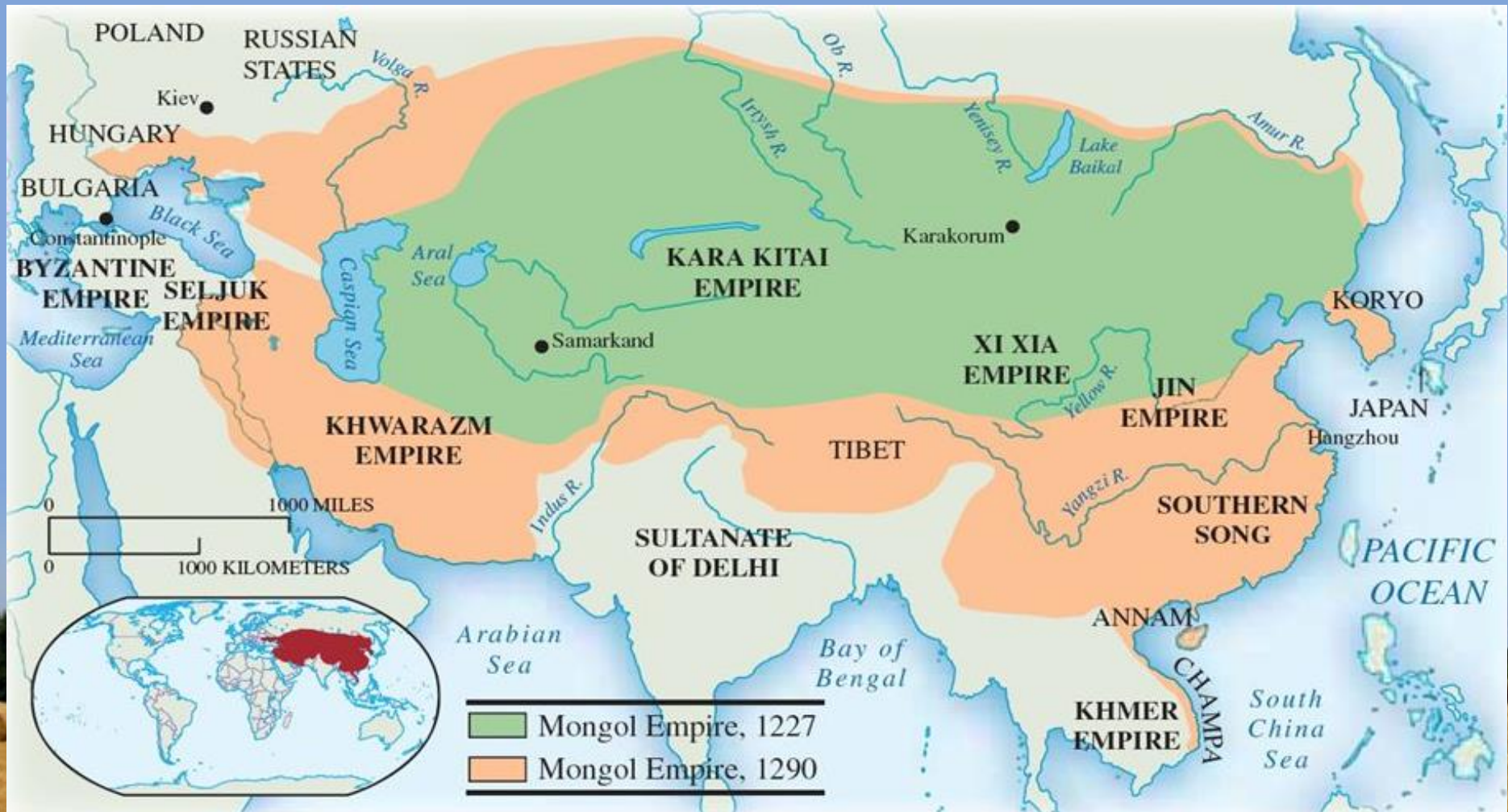
Source: <https://www.quora.com/How-much-Turkic-influence-has-there-been-throughout-Iranian-history>



Seljuk Empire (1037-1194)



# The Mongol Empire, the first Eurasian empire





# Mongol Empire, A.D. 1294



Source: <https://history.stackexchange.com/questions/15271/what-prevented-the-mongolian-empire-from-expanding-into-europe>

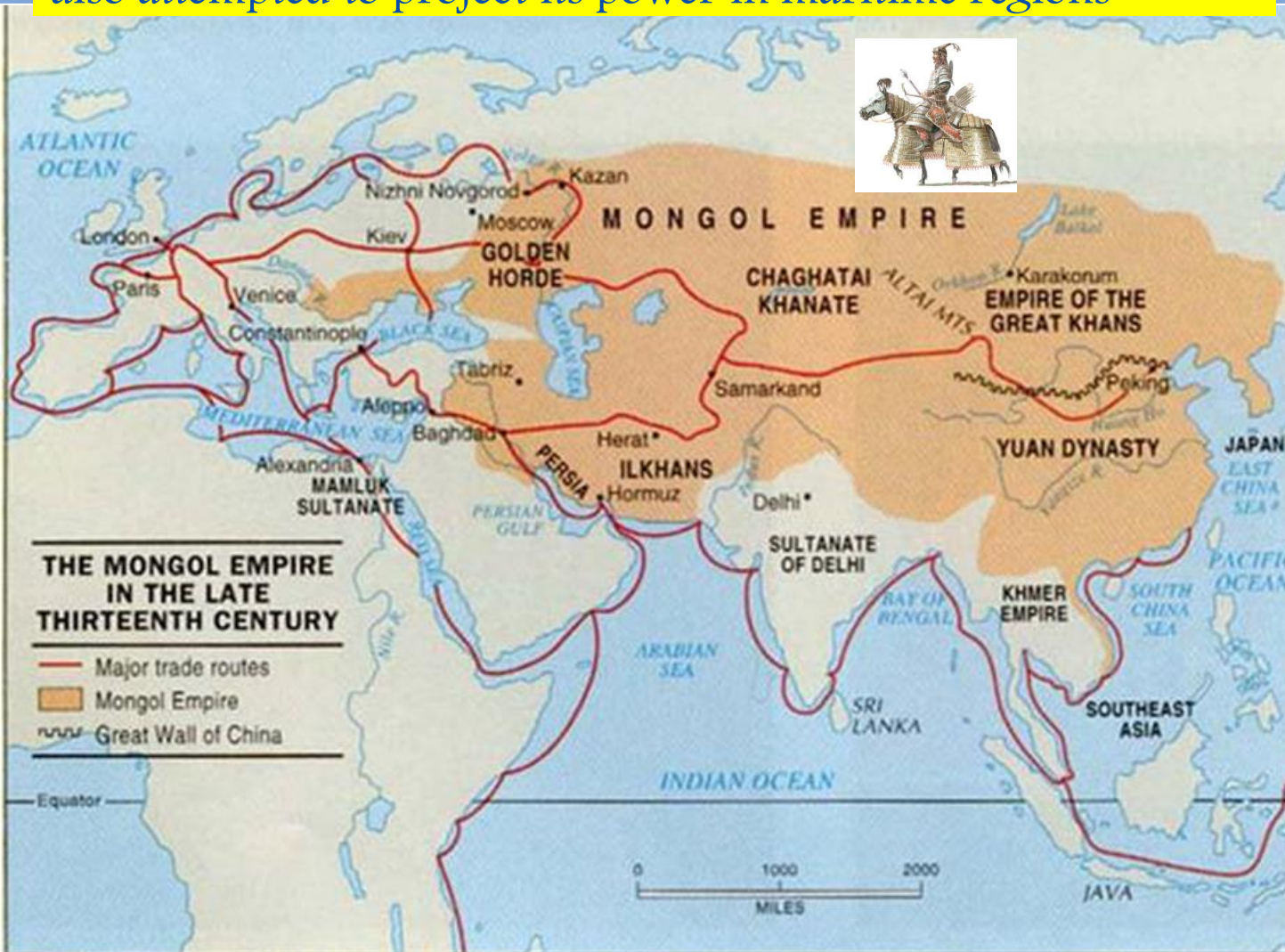




《察合台汗国在中亚》〔中译者制〕



The **Moguls** established the first contiguous Eurasian empire in history (1200~1300 but with impact for hundreds of years after) ~ represented the pinnacle of Steppe power, but it also attempted to project its power in maritime regions



Apart from moving along the Steppe to Europe and India, Mongolian armies attacked Japan, Vietnam, Burma and even Java

Sources:

<https://hist106spring2011.files.wordpress.com/2011/03/picture5.jpg> & <http://1.bp.blogspot.com/-MnuOi6USuLo/VHuJYXXonzI/AAAAAAZJM/PItJtIFAMH/s1600/Campaign%2Bmap.jpg>

*The Mongols extended their hegemony over a major part of the Eurasian landmass, from the Danube to the Pacific for the better part of two centuries.*



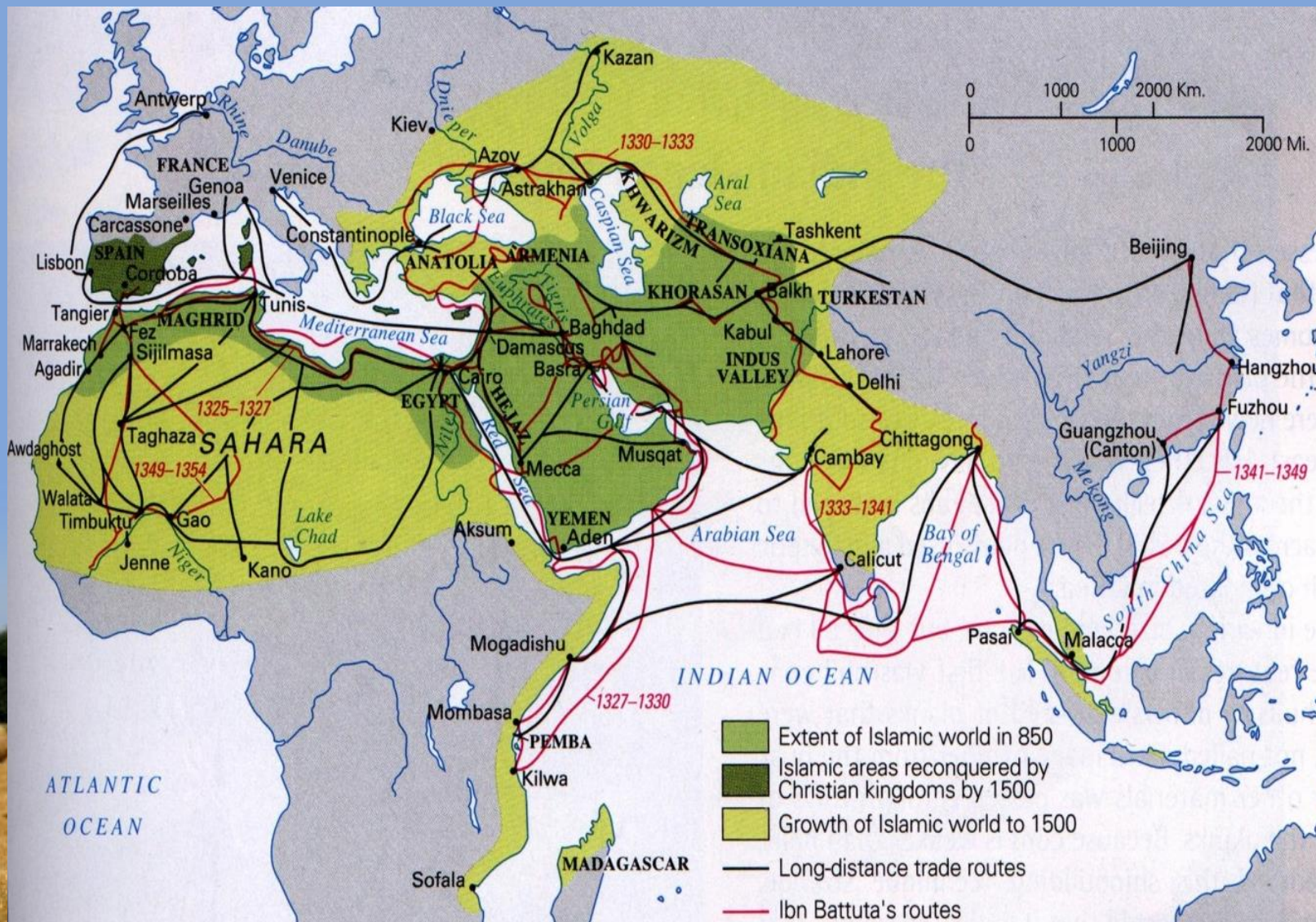
# Historical significance of the Mongol empire

1. Representing both the continuation of the steppe nomadic empires from Xiongnu (with all their institutional innovations & political dynastic cycle of centralization and decentralization) onward, and the breakthrough towards a global empire beyond the structural conflicts between nomadic and agrarian modes of production (the tradition of the Persian, Arabic & Turkic empires & leading down to Russian and Ottoman Empires of the recent past);
2. It brought the economic and cultural integration and exchanges between the west (Middle East and Europe) and the east (China) – cannon and gun powder, tea and porcelain, etc. The expansion of the silk road continued to grow maritime trade and provided the basis for the subsequent Indian Ocean trade by Ottoman Empire followed by the Europeans
3. Chinggisid dynastic legacy only reached exhaustion by the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, but it had shaped the regional and local politics throughout centuries, esp. in the Timurid-Moghul dynasty





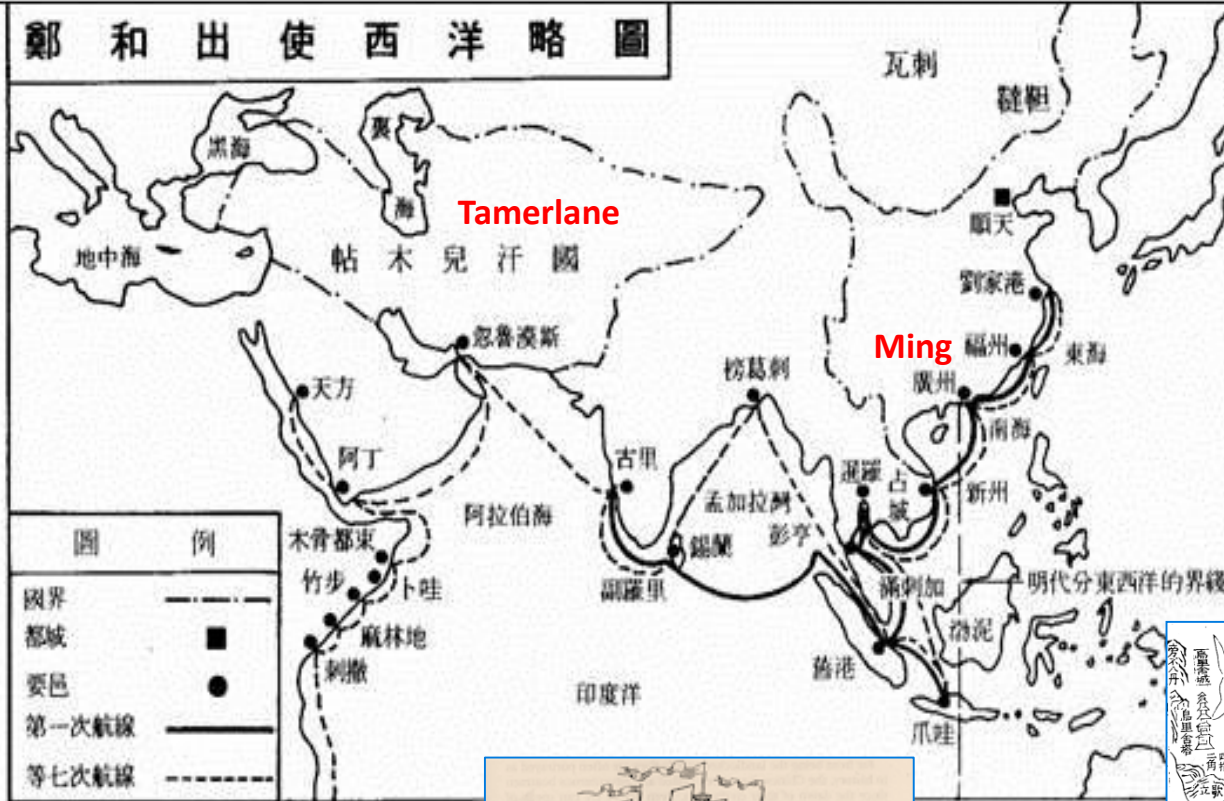
Voyages of Moroccan Ibn Battuta from 1325-1353 – a globalized world of Islam had already merged overland routes with sea routes and facilitated trans-continental connectivity



Source:  
<http://i.imgur.com/kqAEIF9.jpg>

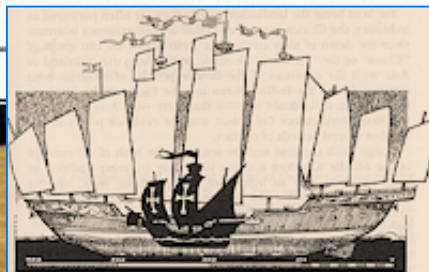


Zheng He's diplomatic missions (1405-1433) in Ming Dynasty – the maritime silk road and the start of Chinese trading with & settling in Southeast Asia, but China's abstention from political control of the region left space for Europeans to enter

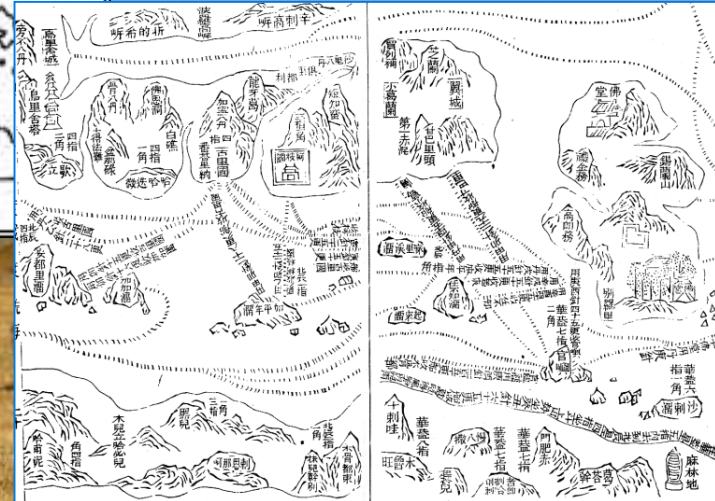


Source: <http://j-travel.blogspot.hk/2012/06/cheng-ho-cultural-museum-at-malacca.html>

## Zheng He's map with India on top and Africa at the bottom



The small boat - Columbus 85 feet  
The large boat - Zheng He 400 feet

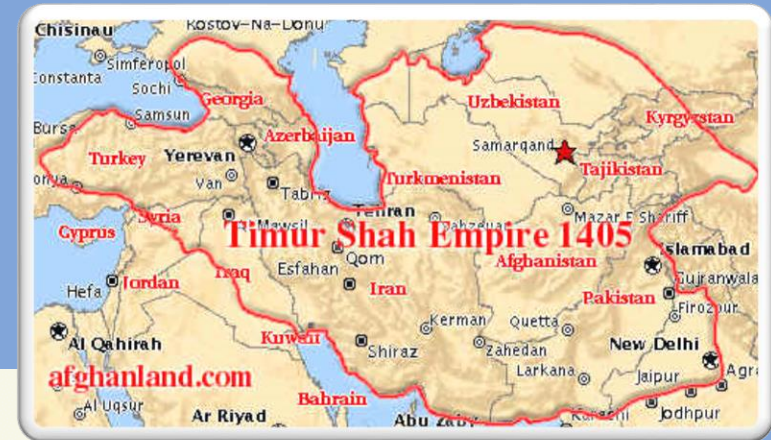


Sources:  
[http://e.blog.xuite.net/e/6/9/f/21643012/blog\\_1408964.txt/44103833/1.jpg](http://e.blog.xuite.net/e/6/9/f/21643012/blog_1408964.txt/44103833/1.jpg) &  
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zheng\\_He#/media/File:Zhenghe-sailing\\_chart.gif](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zheng_He#/media/File:Zhenghe-sailing_chart.gif)

Source:  
[http://www.irfi.org/articles/articles\\_351\\_400/zheng\\_he\\_files/image002.gif](http://www.irfi.org/articles/articles_351_400/zheng_he_files/image002.gif)



# Post-Mongol empires



Centralized  
administration  
based on the  
use of gun  
powder from  
China via  
Mongols

Sustained by maritime  
silk road trade?

Source:  
<https://www.tes.com/lesson/s/qtd7rtgHnWnAvg/the-impact-of-islam-on-gunpowder-empires>



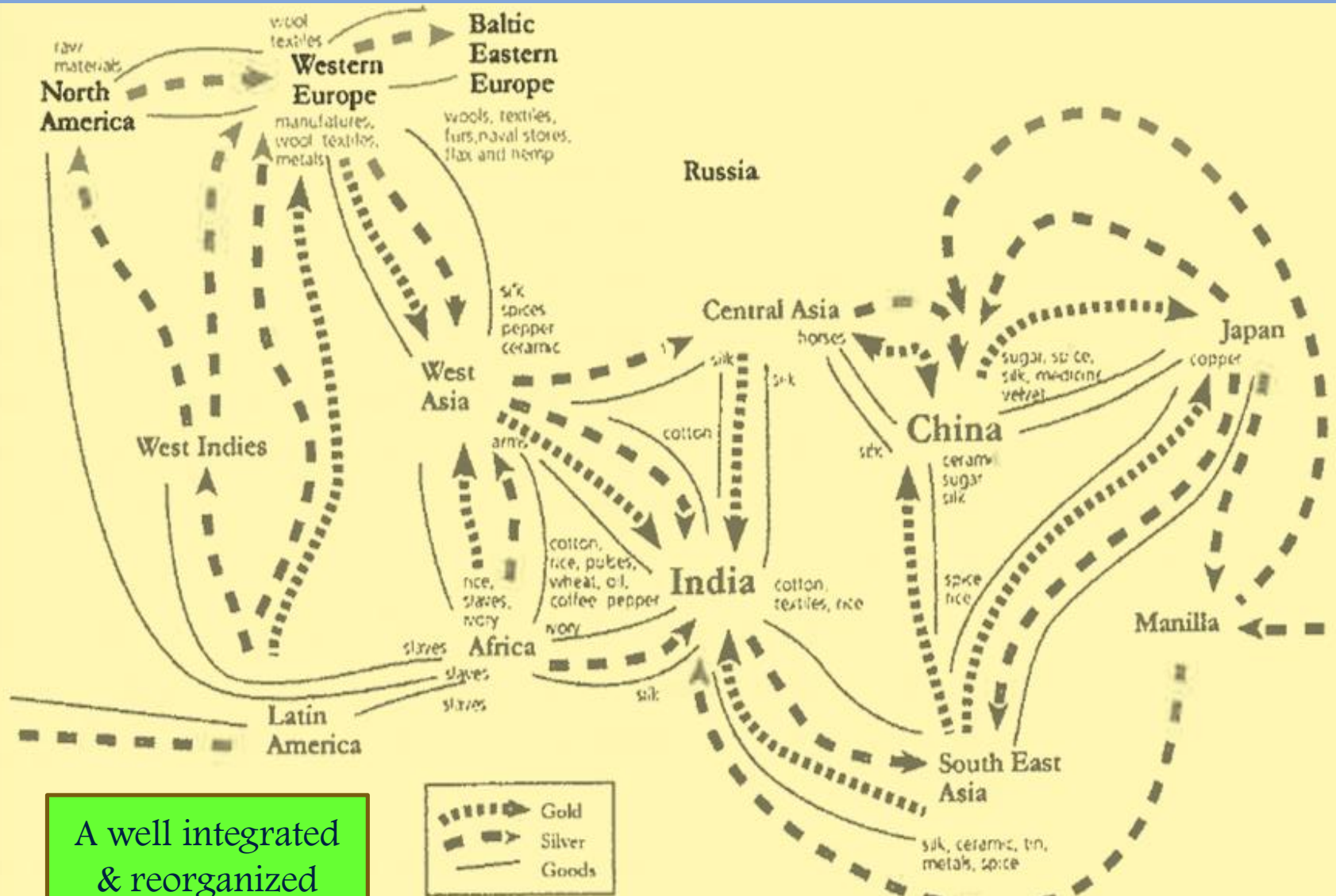
# Westward expansion of Ming & Qing were blocked

Blocked by the lingering effects of the Mongol rule; China had no direct access to the Central Asia





# Global commodity and monetary flows, 1400 – 1800 AD

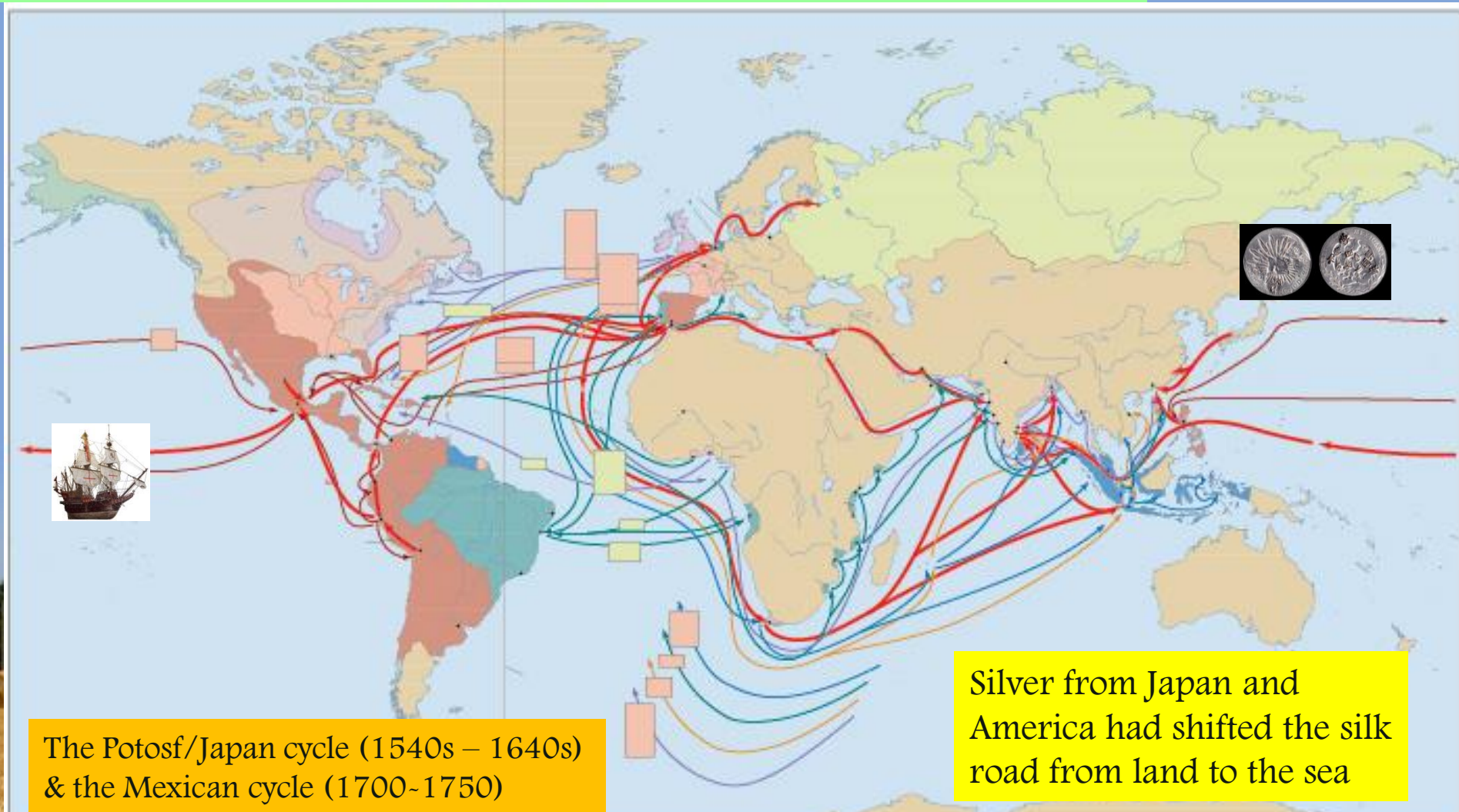


A well integrated  
& reorganized  
world system

Source: Barry K. Gills & Andre Gunder Frank, The Modern world system under Asian hegemony – the silver standard world economy 1450-1750, in *Andre Gunder Frank and Global Development – Visions, Remembrances and Explorations*, eds., Patrick Manning & Barry K. Gills, London, Routledge, 2011, pp.50-80



**Global silver trade** – the triangular trade of Macau/Canton/Guangzhou – Manila – Nagasaki to cross the Pacific Ocean to Peru and Mexico: silver in exchange for Chinese silk products & China wares etc. & involved all countries along the routes even with the trans-Atlantic direction.





# Asian commercial network before colonialization

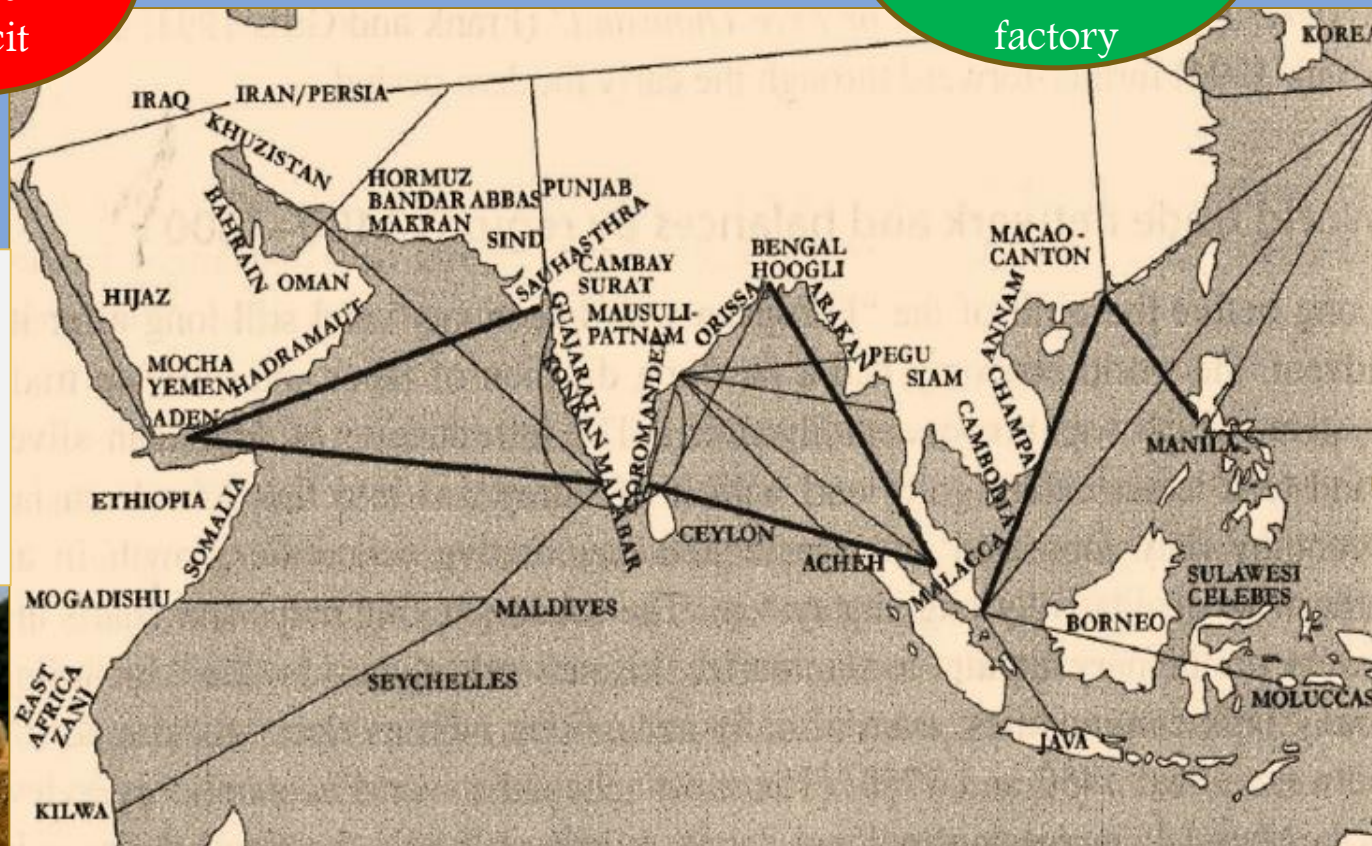
Europe:  
Perpetual  
trade  
deficit

A tri-metallic system  
based on silver

China:  
Perpetual  
trade surplus  
as world  
factory

Japan:  
Supplier  
of silver

Americas:  
Supplier  
of silver



Source: Barry K. Gills & Andre Gunder Frank, The Modern world system under Asian hegemony – the silver standard world economy 1450-1750, in *Andre Gunder Frank and Global Development – Visions, Remembrances and Explorations*, eds., Patrick Manning & Barry K. Gills, London, Routledge, 2011, pp.50-80



# Cycles of silver that joined the East with the West

The starting point –

**silverization** (the Single Whip tax system, 1574) in the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) of China following the collapse of paper currency adopted since the Song & Yuan Dynasty – with silver as both national and international currencies while China produced little silver, China's economic growth and trade had been dependent on and boosted by the availability of silver supplies (net increase in money supply) in the economy; the demand for silver by China had created a global system of trade that stimulated overseas silver exploration and production and had drawn in silver from all over the world with the consequence of the great expansion of China's exporting industries – silk, porcelain, tea, sugar & cotton textiles to exchange for silver, and the explosion of Eurasian and cross-ocean trade that carried the China trade directly and indirectly.





## The Potosf/Japan cycle (1540s – 1640s)

- a) In the early 16<sup>th</sup> Century, the gold/silver ratio in China stood at 1:6, while the ratio hovered around 1:12 in Europe, 1:10 in Persia and 1:8 in India; In the 1590s the ratio was 1:7 in Canton, 1:12.5/14 in Spain, 1:10 in Japan & 1:9 in Moghul India – this allowed an almost 100% premium and was said to trigger massive flow of silver from Potosf in Upper Peru and Acapulco in Mexico of the New Spain and from Japan to China directly or indirectly via Europe and India. (10,000 tons of silver from Japan to China in the late 16<sup>th</sup> & early 17<sup>th</sup> Century; the Manila galleons alone carried over 50 tons of silver annually to China throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> Century)
- b) The silver import had been exchanged by massive exports of highly profitable silk, porcelain, sugar, etc. and was responsible for rapid economic growth and population increase in China (population from 155 million in 1500 to 231 million in 1600 & 268 million in 1650). The trade was carried out by the Chinese, Japanese, Spanish, Portuguese, and the Dutch with trading centers in Manila & Macau).
- c) Global convergence of the gold/silver ratio came by the 1640s and had caused the great silver-based trade declined, leading probably to the fall of the Ming Dynasty in China and the long-term decline of Spain.





## The Mexican cycle (1700~1750)

- a) In the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century the gold/silver ratio in China remained fairly constant at 1:10~11 in contrast to the ratio of 1:15 in Europe. The premium was only 50%, but the volume exported to China was much higher than in the previous cycle.
- b) The most important export product from China in exchange for the silver was tea and the huge demand for silver had promoted increased commercialization of the Chinese economy and a rapid increase in population as in the past.
- c) The convergence of the gold/silver ratio in 1750 had marked the end of the trade domination by the Dutch and French, replaced by the British. The Qing Dynasty of China had also begun to show its economic decline after it.
- d) However, China's exports and trade surplus continued on the industrial and agricultural production capabilities built in previous eras of flourishing export trade.

Source: Dennis O. Flynn & A. Giraldez, Cycles of silver: global economic unity through the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Century, *The Journal of World History*, vol.13, no.2, (Fall 2002), pp.391-427)



The end result was the gradual shifting of Eurasian trade from overland to sea; the latter was capable of transporting large quantities of commodities

Because of the great increase in demand created by the great expansion of population all along the silk road esp. in China and Europe, Eurasian trade had shifted from luxury goods (silk products) to daily commodities (raw silk for processing & silk products, tea and porcelain for tea culture). Large batch of commodity transport would be more cost effective by long distance traveling galleons rather than caravans.

The decline of  
Central Asia  
as hub of  
Eurasian trade

A single galleon  
could carry  
100,000 pieces of  
porcelain & silver  
in 100,000s of kg.



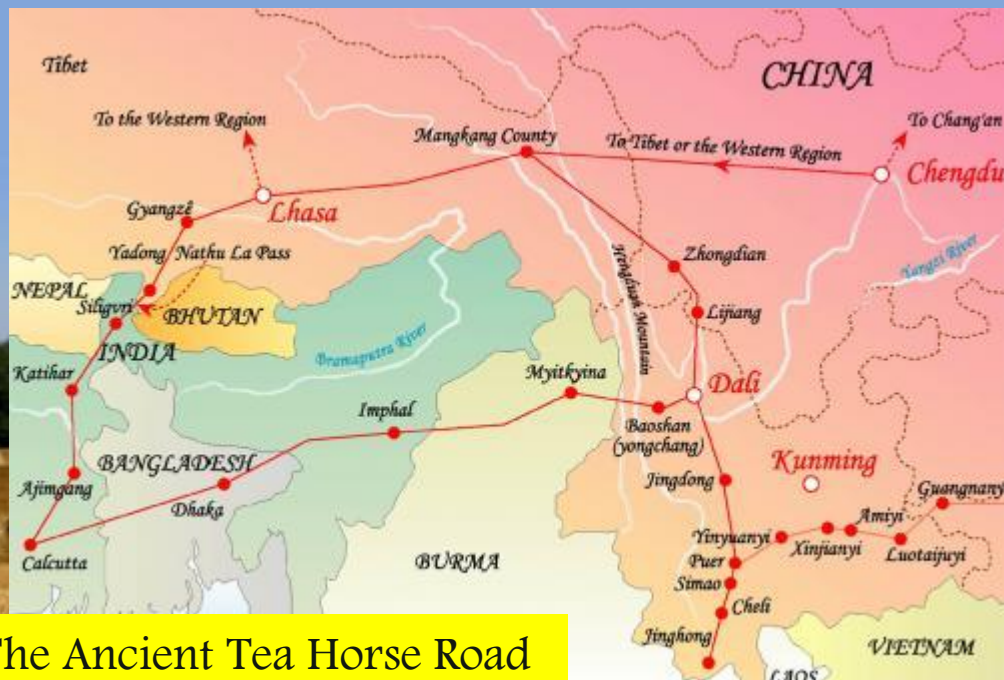




## The Tea Road (until 1921)

Sources:

[https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/14/Map\\_Siberian\\_route.svg/2000px-Map\\_Siberian\\_route.svg.png](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/1/14/Map_Siberian_route.svg/2000px-Map_Siberian_route.svg.png) & [http://chinaexpat.com/wp-content/uploads/u1/route\\_map.jpg](http://chinaexpat.com/wp-content/uploads/u1/route_map.jpg)



## The Ancient Tea Horse Road

Tea had become a major commodity of China in its exports to the West. Two overland tea roads evolved from the 17<sup>th</sup> Century down to the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, but they were eventually defeated by substitution production of tea in Indian sub-continent and by British control over sea routes for tea transport. Similar story was repeated for the Guangzhou exports of chinaware to Europe & N. America.



## The Great Transformations in the modern World(s) probably after 17<sup>th</sup> Century instead of 16<sup>th</sup> Century

- Overland silk roads were disrupted because of the weakening of the great empires of China, Ottoman and Austrian-Hungarian, with the expansion of the Russian empire provided only the northern route to China (Mongolia & Harbin), but its competition with other continental European powers and the control of Britain over major production and trade centers in Asia had limited its trade functions;
- The Maritime silk road became the battleground for scramble for concessions and colonialization by West European powers. British by the 19<sup>th</sup> Century dominated and controlled the trade of chinaware, tea, silk with China and spices with Indonesia.
- The trans-Atlantic trade overtook the Eurasian silk roads (both overland and maritime) through colonialization, development of plantation economies, slave trade and massive migration, with the subsequent rise of the USA over Europe by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century – in an effort to substitute imports from China and Asia



# Rethinking the Silk Road

- The Silk Road and its variants over the past millennium was basically commercial ventures – taking advantage of the great economic production capabilities of quality products of China and the consumption demand from the rest of the world – it required innovative and ever upgrading production capabilities in China and the expansion in consumption demand in the rest of the world – from Roman Empire to the rise of the Muslim empires in the Middle East and West Asia to the rise of the West (Western Europe & North America).
- Long distance commercial ventures needed political protection to offer safety and stability as well as internationally acceptable payment currency for cross-border economic calculation & planning. In particular the use of silver had expanded both production in China and overseas consumption and promoted technology development (product technologies & transport technologies) from the long 16<sup>th</sup> Century to early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Politics (international relations) and finance (cross border exchange rates) will be crucial factors to determine the ups and downs of the Silk Road.



- Technology has also been a crucial factor in determining long-distance trade & exchanges – first the harnessing of horses and camels provided the basis for overland silk road expansion, later improvements in navigation technologies allowed sea faring and ocean going to move bulkier goods and larger number of travelers across great distance, and railways and airplanes are yet to revolutionize the silk road connectivity.
- The silk road is about connectivity ~ starting from physical connectivity to economic, political, social, cultural connectivity that could & will be culminated in information connectivity and cultural empathy. It is not just about investment and trade. However, given the disruptions of the silk road connectivity by the decline of China and West Asia polities in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the Cold War and the global economic shifts to cross Atlantic regions, it needs to restore physical connectivity in terms of infrastructure investments to build up again the momentum for trade and exchanges for it to resurge.



# New empires – Russia and United Kingdom

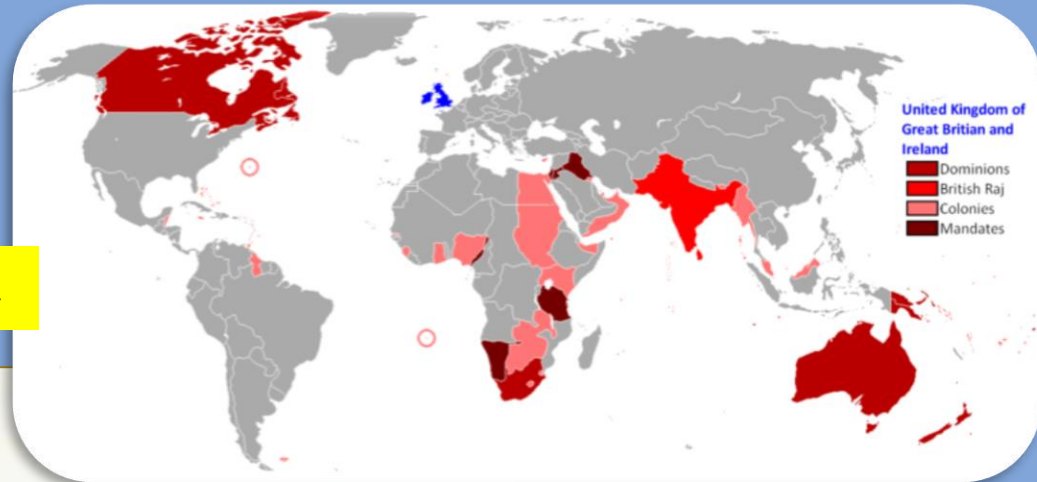
## The rise of Russia



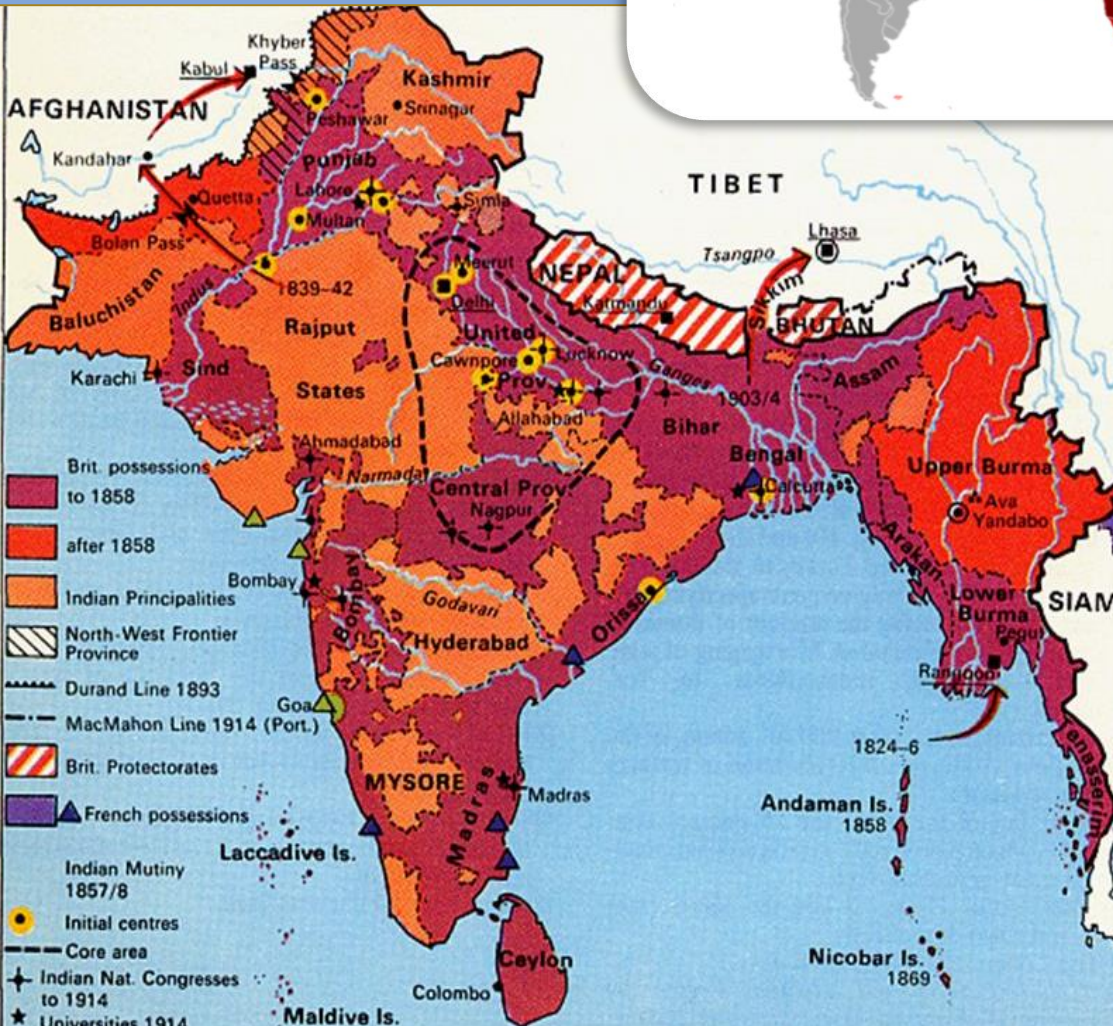
Source: Josh Wilson, Origins of Russia: Moscow Rises to Tsardom (Prehistory to 1584), Geohistory.today, 7 February



## The growth of the British Empire



*India in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> Century*

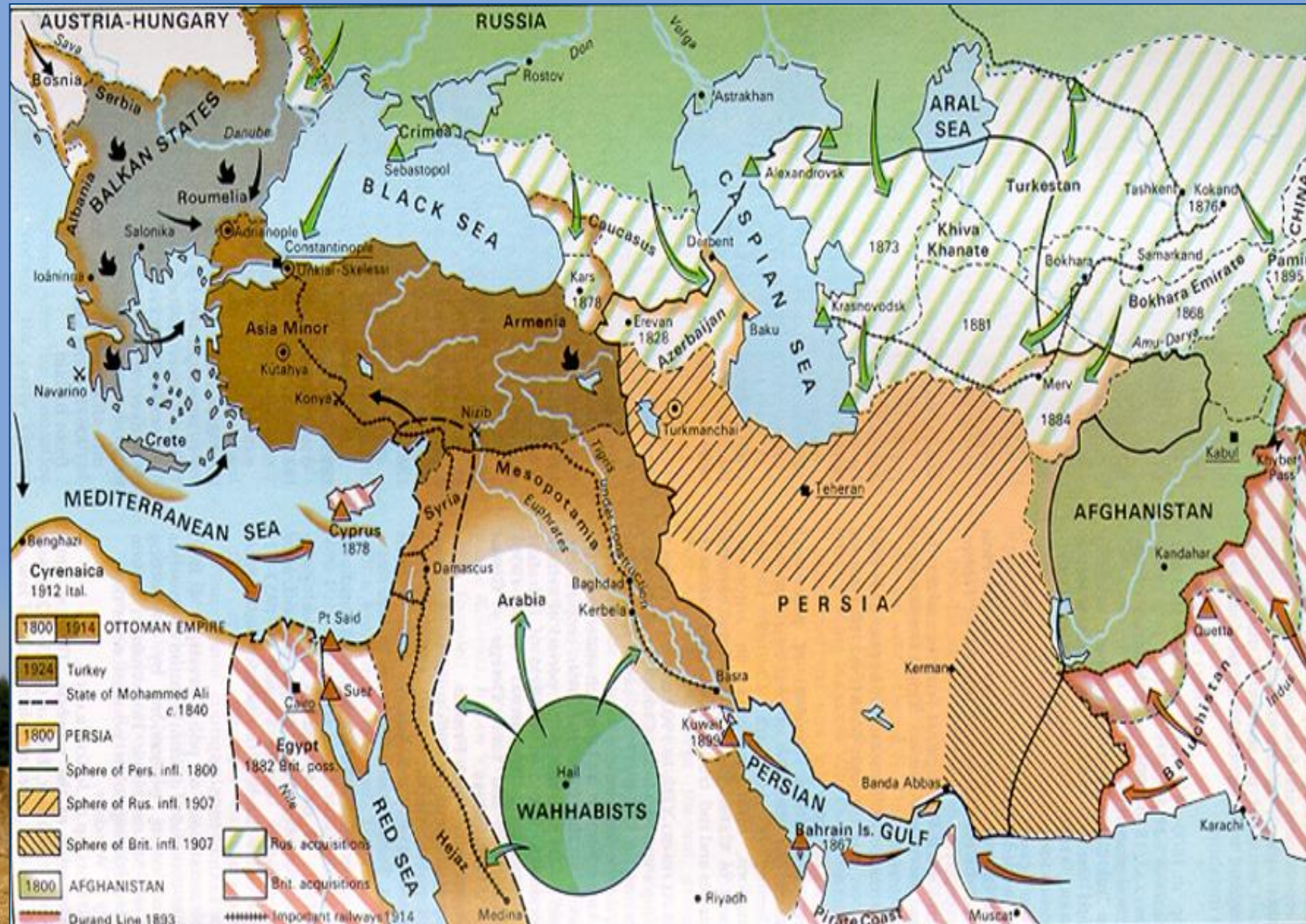


The collapse of the Mughal Empire in 1707 opened the chance for British gradual taking over of South Asia and pushing towards Central Asia, Indo China, and China

**British Raj (1858)**



As the Russians moved South and Westwards, and the British moved North and Eastwards, the strength and role of both the Ottoman and Persian Empires became critical.





# The Great Game

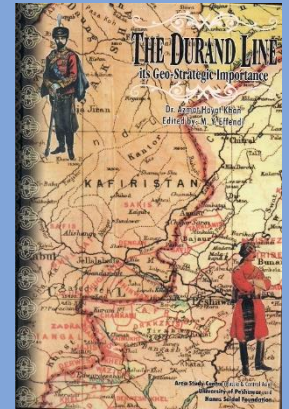
## Scramble for influence in Iran



the Crimean War  
Russia vs Britain  
(+France & Ottoman)

Sources: <http://www.socialstudiesforkids.com/articles/worldhistory/crimeanwar.htm> & [https://cdn2.vox-cdn.com/assets/4232263/Iran\\_under\\_1900s\\_qajars\\_wikimedia.png](https://cdn2.vox-cdn.com/assets/4232263/Iran_under_1900s_qajars_wikimedia.png)

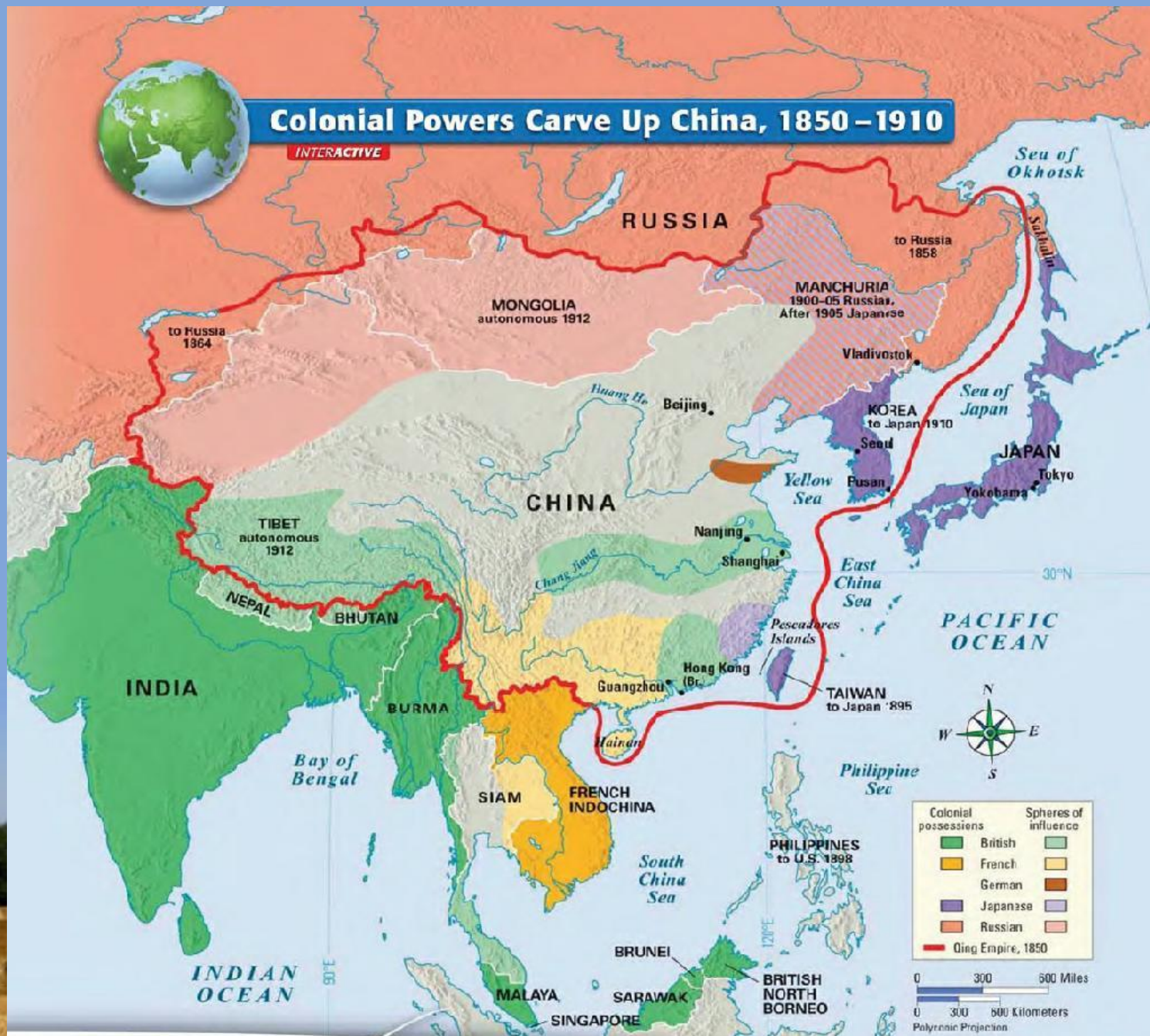




Durand Line, boundary established in the Hindu Kush in 1893 running through the tribal lands between Afghanistan and British India, marking their respective spheres of influence, and confirmed under the 1907 agreement between Russia and British. Anglo-Russian Entente, by which Russia, recognized Britain's influence over Afghanistan. Britain failed in 3 wars to subjugate Afghanistan, but Afghanistan lost its access to sea.







Source: [https://hotcopper.com.au/threads/china-is-a-bad-thing.4046125/page-73?post\\_id=31661131#.WuLErohUk](https://hotcopper.com.au/threads/china-is-a-bad-thing.4046125/page-73?post_id=31661131#.WuLErohUk)

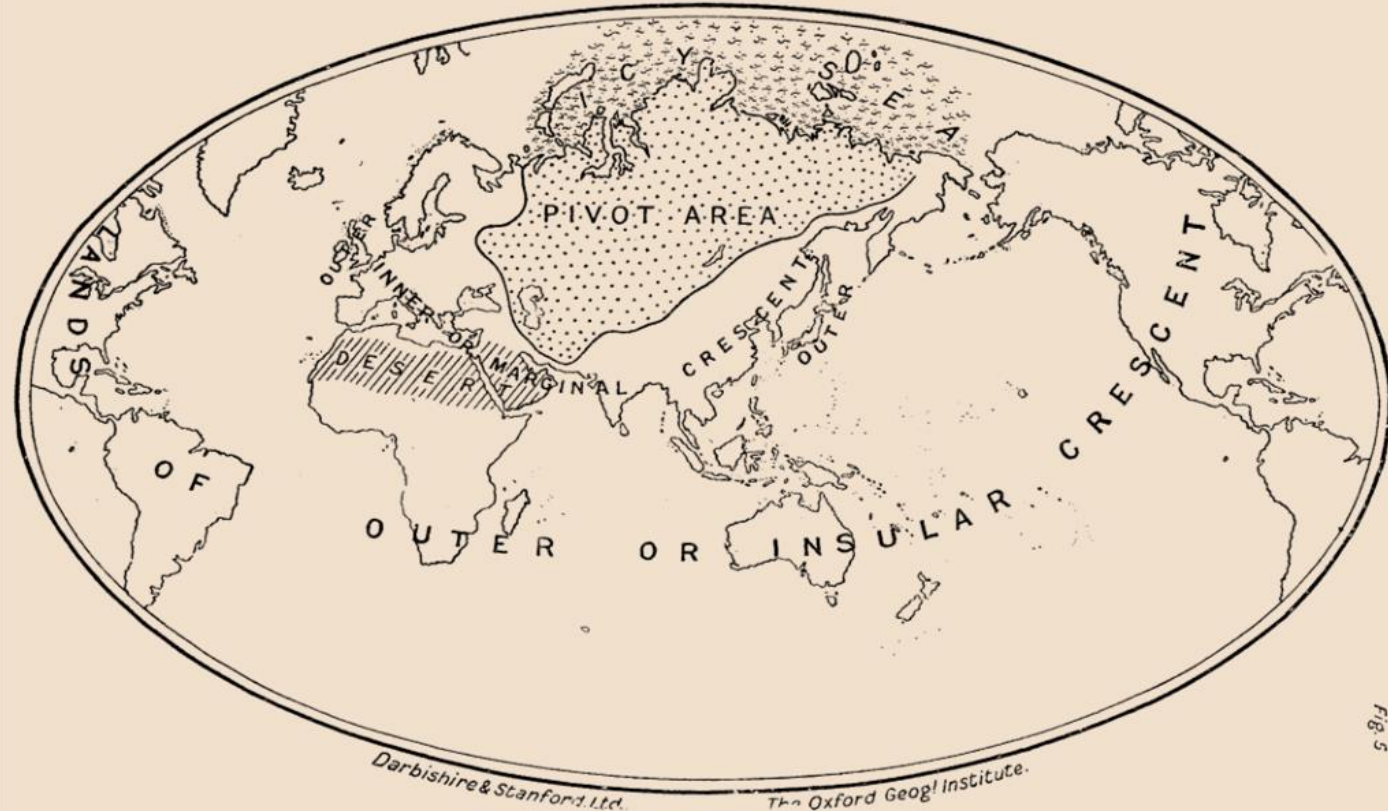


## The competition to control the heart of Asia

British geographer Mackinder claimed in 1904: A new age was dawning, where global power would rest not on the seas, ... but on land masses, and in particular on the central European land mass. **Whoever controlled that, controlled the rest – the pivot area/heartland thesis.**

“Transcontinental railways are now transmuting the conditions of land power” from Columbus epoch of sea power to post Columbus epoch

The pivot area has a giant natural fortress, inaccessible to Maritime empires and rich natural resources – it could use the resources for fleet building & becomes ‘the empire of the world’



**THE NATURAL SEATS OF POWER.**  
Pivot area—wholly continental. Outer crescent—wholly oceanic. Inner crescent—partly continental, partly oceanic.

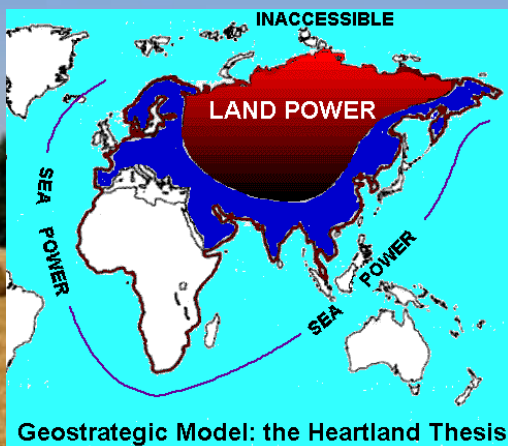
Source: H. J. Mackinder, The geographical pivot of history, *The Geographical Journal*, 25: 4 (April 1904), pp.421-437



British  
geostrategy/  
imperialism

Threats to the maritime powers :  
Germany & Russia  
(according to MacKinder)

The heartland includes the Baltic Sea, the navigable Middle and Lower Danube, the Black Sea, Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Tibet & Mongolia. Russia is fearful – the Soviet Union industrialization & Trans Siberian railway created new sources of natural resources, and new centres of economic power (Russia east of the Upper Yenisei River). (In 1938 Russia produced more foodstuff –wheat, barley, oats, rye & beet – than any other country in the world)



“Who rules East Europe controls the heartland.  
Who rules the heartland commands the World Island.  
Who rules the World Island commands the World”





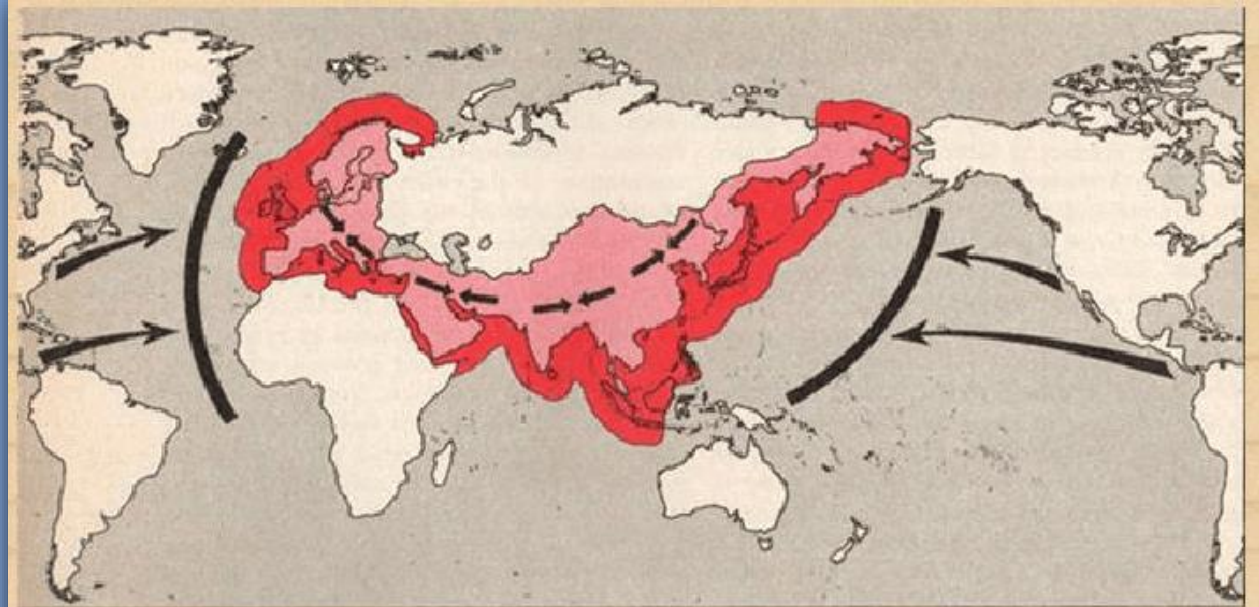


Source: Tomasz Klin: The Visions of the International Order in German and Anglo-American Geopolitical Thought During the Second World War, 17/07/2014, <http://geopolityka.net/visions-of-the-international-order-in-german-and-anglo-american-geopolitical-thought/>



## Spykman's Rimland thesis (1938-43)

For America:  
keep a divided  
Rimland &  
contain the  
heartland



*Who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia;  
Who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world.*

The Rimland is the buffer zone between the Eurasian landmass and the circumferential maritime routes. It includes Western & Central Europe, Near East, Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan, Tibet, China and Eastern Siberia plus the 3 peninsulas of Arabia, India and Burma-Siam.



## Relative economic performance: the West versus Asia, 1820-1992 (in billions of 1990 International Geary-Kharmis dollars)

	1820	1913	1950	1992
6 advanced Western European countries (a)	128	1138	2422	9781
6 East & Southeast Asian countries (b)	243	435	603	7487
China	199	301	336	3616
Japan	22	69	157	2415

Note: (a) The UK, USA, France, Germany, Italy & Australia; (b) Japan, South Korea, China, Indonesia, Thailand and Taiwan of China.

Source: Angus Maddison, *Monitoring the World Economy, 1820 – 1992*, Paris, OECD Development Centre, 1995.

