

Book Review: On the Origins of Theories*

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Gerald M. Meier and Dudley Seers (Eds.) (1984) *Pioneers in Development* (New York: Oxford University Press for the World Bank), x + 372 pp., hardback, \$29.95.

Pioneers in Development contains papers by 10 men whose writings helped to shape the theories and practice of development economics when the subject was in its infancy during the 1940s and 1950s. The contributions were first presented in the form of a lecture series organized by the World Bank. The pioneers — Lord Bauer, Colin Clark, Albert Hirschman, Sir Arthur Lewis, Gunnar Myrdal, Raúl Prebisch, Paul Rosenstein-Rodan, Walt Whitman Rostow, H. W. Singer and Jan Tinbergen — were asked "to reassess the main themes of their early work and to reconsider their assumptions, concepts, and policy prescriptions in relation to the way the course of development has proceeded since their pioneering days" (p. ix). Each pioneer's paper is reviewed by one or two economists of the "succeeding generation": Dragoslav Avramovic, Bela Balassa, Jagdish Bhagwati, Michael Bruno, Carlos Díaz-Alejandro, Albert Fishlow, Arnold Harberger, Gerald Helkeiner, Michael Lipton, Azizali Mohammed, Hla Myint, Graham Pyatt, T. N. Srinivasan and Paul Streeten. The reviewers' allotted task is to assess the pioneers' contributions with the benefit of hindsight. The volume also contains a substantial introduction and postscript by Gerald Meier and Paul Streeten respectively.

This is an eminent collection of economists indeed. Unfortunately, a number of the pioneers devote the bulk of their contributions to a laborious defense and justification of their original writings. As a result, I found the reading heavy going in parts. Some of the commentators restrict themselves to paying homage to their allotted pioneers but others are more analytical and critical where necessary.

A few of the pioneers admit to having made

errors in specific forecasts. Lewis judges that indicative plans and customs unions have done less well than he expected; Bauer confesses to having underestimated the degree to which economic life would become politicized; several writers acknowledge that they underestimated the rate of population growth. However, these are the exceptions rather than the rule. There is certainly no one here saying *à la* Joan Robinson: "I can understand why I wrote the book but I can't understand why anyone now would want to read it." Rather, the general tone is encapsulated by Hirschman, who concludes after reflecting on his contribution to this volume: "my self-blame soon ran out of steam" (p. 109).

It is a little unexpected that so many of the pioneers still propound their original views so wholeheartedly, for some of these views appear to be inconsistent with one another (Rosenstein-Rodan's "big push" and Hirschman's "unbalanced growth"), while others have been criticized heavily in the literature on theoretical grounds (Rostow's stages), on empirical grounds (Singer's declining terms of trade), or because of the results that have ensued when policy recommendations have been implemented in practice (Prebisch's import substitution).

How should one understand this apparent tendency for views to be like clay rather than putty? Rosenstein-Rodan suggests in his paper that most differences of opinion among economists originate from two sources: different interpretations of data (since data are often deficient) and different assumptions about objectives. To me, one of the most interesting features of this book is that it gives some glimpses of the very human factors that sometimes underpin such differences of interpretations and assumptions.

*Sadly, Dudley Seers died before the book was published and Carlos Díaz-Alejandro and Paul Rosenstein-Rodan died between the appearance of the book and the publication of this review.

Pioneers In Development

Robert R. Redfield



Pioneers In Development:

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