

# A new-developmental school of thought?

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# The structuralist development economics school (SDE)

- ▶ SDE prospered between the 1940s and 1960s.
- ▶ It was a non-neoclassical school of thought whose source were in classical economics and in Keynes.
- ▶ Its main names were Ragnar Nurkse, Rosenstein-Rodan, Gunnar Myrdal, Arthur Lewis, Albert Hirschman, Hans Singer, Raúl Prebisch and Celso Furtado.



# The basic economic ideas

- ▶ The historical analysis of development and underdevelopment
- ▶ The definition of economic growth as industrialization and structural change
- ▶ The need of a “big push” (the combination of planning with foreign finance) to make profitable manufacturing business enterprises.
- ▶ The critique of the law of comparative advantages.
- ▶ The “foreign constraint” thesis originated in the asymmetry of the two elasticities.
- ▶ The structural inflation theory



# The basic political ideas

- ▶ The need of a bourgeois or national and capitalist revolution
- ▶ The obstacles posed by the imperial center
- ▶ The developmental state as basic instrument.

## The basic policy proposals

### Industrialization

- ▶ First, import substitution model; (second, exports of manufactured goods).
- ▶ First, economic planning; (second, industrial policy).
- ▶ Obtain foreign finance
- ▶ Keynesian management of demand



# SDE's crisis began in the 1970s

- A. in the early 1970s, dependency theory, whose “associated” version turned dominant, was a basic critique to SDE’s political proposal.
- B. in the early 1980s, a financial crisis (“Foreign debt crisis”) weakened SDE.
- C. Developmental economists resorted to economic populism and failed in dealing with the crisis.
- D. in the mid 1980s, the new neoliberal hegemony.

Albert Hirschman wrote the epitaph of structuralist development economics : "The rise and decline of development economics", in *Essays in Trespassing*, Cambridge University Press, 1981: 1–24.



## A. Dependency theory

- ▶ The two versions of dependency theory had in common to reject the fundamental assumption of SDE – that countries would develop in so far as they were able to make their bourgeois or capitalist revolution
- ▶ And its “associated” version (which turned dominant in Latin America) also disauthorized its critique of imperialism.
- ▶ Latin-American countries should get associated to the empire...



## B. The stagnation of the 1980s (the lost decade)

- ▶ It was a financial crisis – a crisis of the growth cum foreign savings policies, of foreign indebtedness
- ▶ But it was explained by neoliberals as “a crisis of the import substitution model”, as if it had been a crisis of the **developmental state**.

**False** contention: since the late 1960s, at least Brazil and Mexico were involved in a successful program of manufactures exports.



## C. Developmental economists failed in coping with the great financial crisis of the 1980s.

- ▶ Some countries, like Brazil and Argentina, made their transitions to democracy in that decade,
- ▶ And adopted populist policies which aggravated the crisis producing high inflation
- ▶ This fact facilitated the new neoliberal hegemony.



## D. The new neoliberal hegemony

- ▶ It was a mistaken and reactionary political change in the North, which had negative consequences:
  - 1.to the North itself
  - 2.and to the South.
- ▶ The more **dependent** were the elites in developing countries, the more fully they accepted and adopted the new “reforms” and policies, and the less they developed.
- ▶ The Asian countries suffered less because their elites were less populist and dependent.



# The failure of neoliberalism opened room for:

- ▶ 1. the drawing of new developmental ideology and strategy
- ▶ 2. the redefinition of a developmental state
- ▶ 3. the construction of a developmental macroeconomics.



# Founding works and documents

- ▶ Ha-Joon Chang: *Kicking Away the Ladder* (2002)
- ▶ Bresser-Pereira: “Da ortodoxia convencional ao novo desenvolvimentismo” (2006).
- ▶ *World Development Reports* of Unctad since the mid 1990s coordinated by among others Yilmaz Akyus, Jan Kregel and Heiner Flassbeck.
- ▶ Bresser-Pereira: *Globalization and Competition* (2009).
- ▶ Document originally signed by 81 economists: “Ten Theses on New Developmentalism” (2010)



# A new school of thought?

- ▶ Given the new ideas, Robert Boyer (2009) said in the preface to my book “Mondialisation et Compétition” that a new school of thought was rising in Latin America.
- ▶ Indeed, new developmentalism and developmental macroeconomics have already a systematic body of knowledge.
- ▶ It will turn into a **new developmental school?**
- ▶ It depends on the new theories and evidences that it will produce.

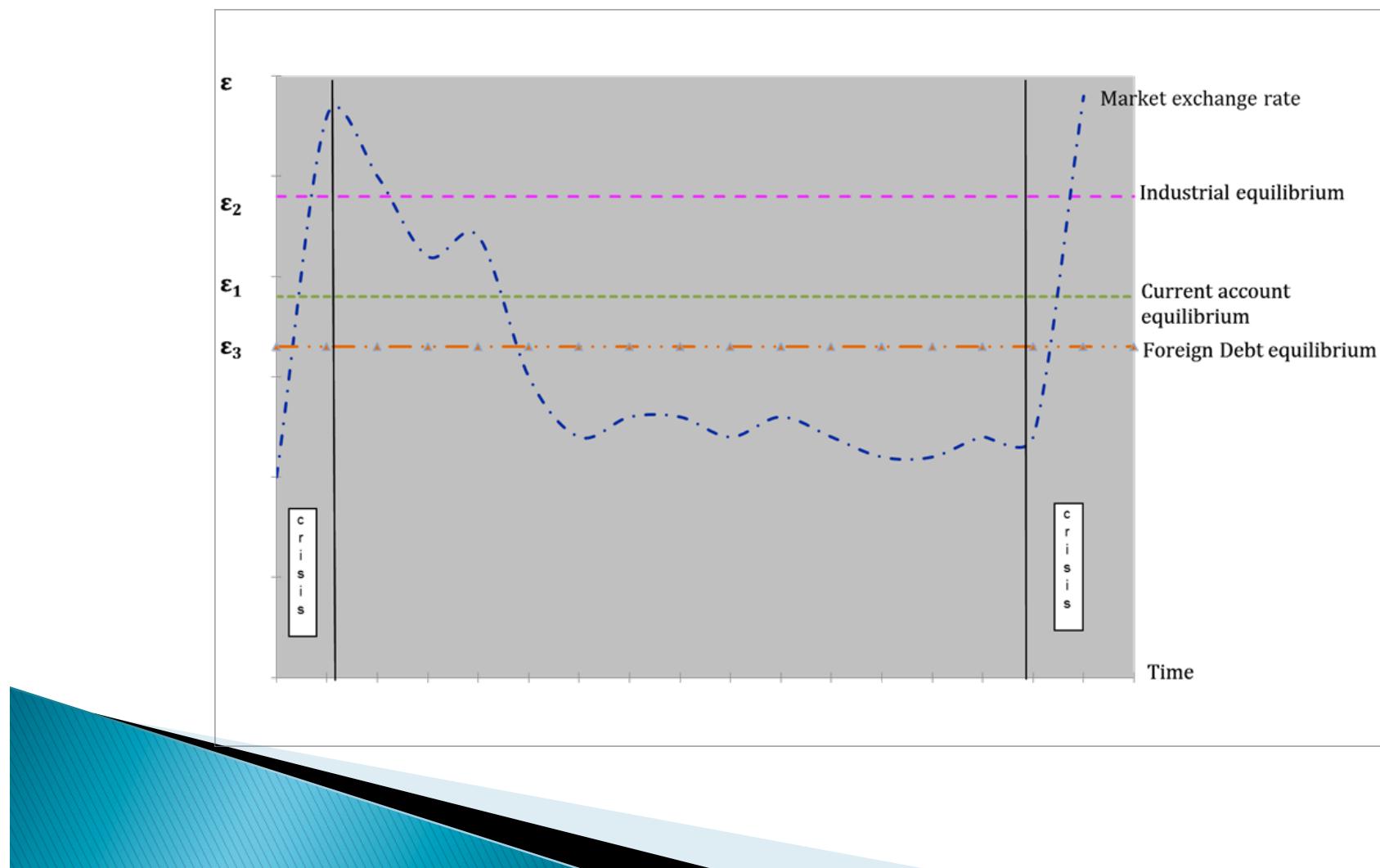


## Basic theoretical countentions

- ▶ Economic growth depends on investment, which depends on profit expectations, which depend not only on demand, but also to access to it: a competitive exchange rate.
- ▶ In developing countries the exchange rate is only competitive if economic policy neutralizes the **tendency to the cyclical and chronic overvaluation of the exchange rate.**
- ▶ Development economics didn't consider the exchange rate is strategic to growth because it assumed that exchange rate misalignments were short-termed, expressed in volatility.

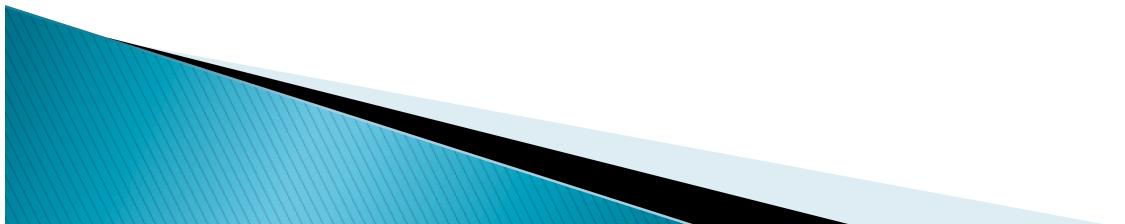


## Three equilibria and the market exchange rate.



## Causes of the tendency to the cyclical and chronic overvaluation of the exchange

- ▶ No neutralization of the Dutch disease,
- ▶ Excessive capital inflows due to the mistaken growth with foreign savings policy and by speculation with capital flows.
- ▶ Use of the exchange rate as an anchor to control inflation.
- ▶ Exchange rate populism of politicians.
- ▶ Preference for immediate consumption of economists (orthodox or heterodox).



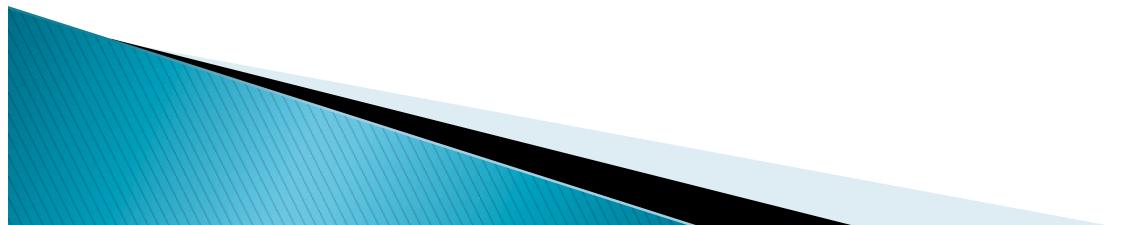
# Basic practical new developmental policies

- ▶ Neutralization of the Dutch disease with an export tax, which brings the exchange rate to the industrial equilibrium (the competitive one).
- ▶ Besides responsible fiscal policy and monetary (interest rate) policies, an effective **exchange rate policy**, aiming at making the exchange rate price to fluctuate around the industrial equilibrium.
- ▶ Not to accept foreign capitals, except if they contribute with technology and exports.



# Basic predicted consequences of the new developmental strategy

- ▶ The expected rate of profit will increase.
- ▶ The investment rate will increase
- ▶ Economic growth will accelerate.
- ▶ Wages and other revenues will fall in real terms in the short-term, but will grow much faster in the midle-term.
- ▶ And, if the country had a Dutch disease (and neutralized it), a **current account surplus** will appear.



# Are developmental macroeconomics and new developmentalism

- ▶ Ideas that are only on the interest of developing countries like Brazil,
- ▶ Or developed countries also should consider returning to a **social developmental state**, as they had after World War II?



# Enfermedad holandesa

- ▶ Es una sobreapreciación permanente del tipo de cambio debida a las exportaciones de commodities que se benefician de rentas ricardianas y, por eso, pueden ser exportadas con lucro a un tipo de cambio mas apreciado do que lo requerido por las empresas de bienes tradable que utilizan tecnología en el estado de la arte mundial.



## Dos valores para el tipo de cambio cuando ha enfermedad holandesa

- ▶ **Valor** de la moneda extranjera es el tipo de cambio que cubre los costos mas beneficio razonable de las empresas de tradables.
- ▶ **Tipo de cambio de equilibrio corriente** es el valor que viabiliza las exportaciones de commodities e equilibra la cuenta corriente.
- ▶ **Tipo de cambio de equilibrio industrial** el el valor que viabiliza las demás empresas competentes productoras de bienes tradable.
- ▶ El tipo de cambio de mercado **flota** en torno del valor mas bajo – el corriente



# Tipo de cambio de equilibrio de deuda externa

- ▶ Es el tipo de cambio que produce un déficit en cuenta corriente compatible con la constancia de la relación deuda externa/PIB del país **constante** a un nivel razonable.
- ▶ El equilibrio de deuda externa es el recomendado equivocadamente por economistas **ortodoxos y heterodoxos**.
- ▶ El equilibrio industrial es **el competitivo**; necesario para la sofisticación productiva.
- ▶ Logo, los países que neutralizan su enfermedad holandesa deben tener un **superávit en cuenta corriente**.



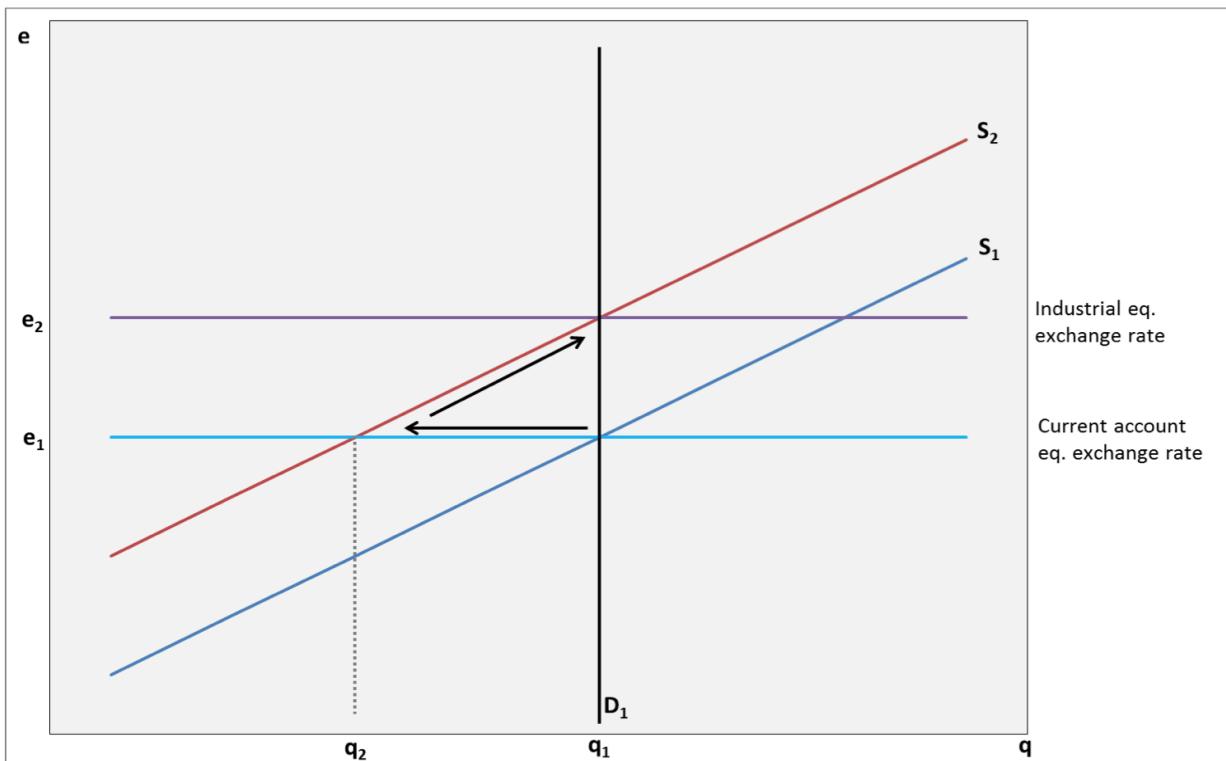
## La neutralización de la enfermedad holandesa se hace con un impuesto de exportaciones

que aumenta el valor del tipo de cambio para commodities, y iguala al equilibrio industrial, dislocando la curva de oferta de la commodity.

- ▶ La no-neutralización de la enfermedad holandesa
- ▶ Implica apreciación hasta el equilibrio corriente
- ▶ (La enfermedad holandesa es con el equilibrio en cuenta corriente)

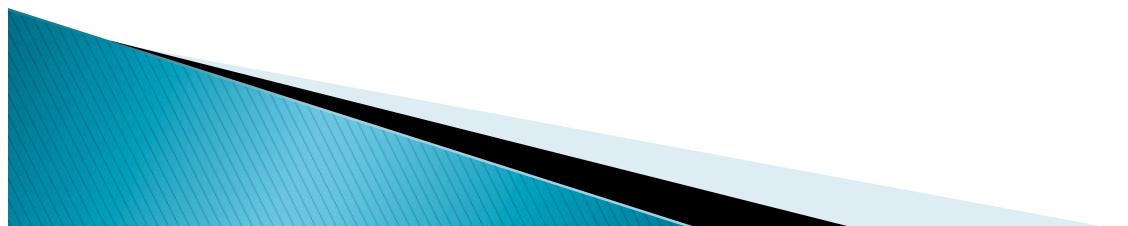


## Neutralización vía impuesto de exportaciones



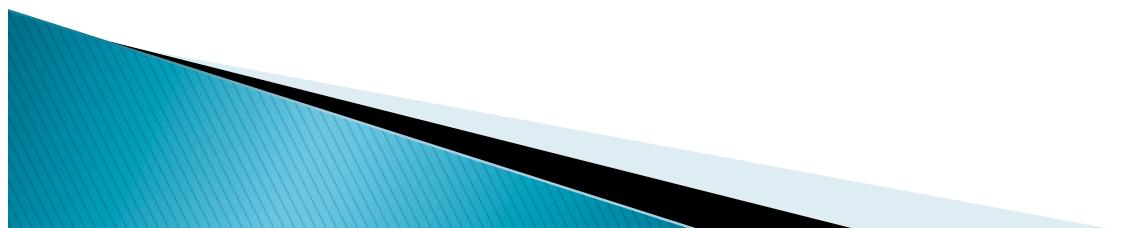
## **Neutralizando la EH, el país presentará superávit en cuenta corriente**

- ▶ El tipo de cambio girando en torno del equilibrio industrial garantirá acceso al mercado externo (y interno) a las empresas competentes, o sea, un tipo de beneficio esperado que las motivan a invertir.
- ▶ El investimento privado aumentará
- ▶ Si el Estado también investir mas
- ▶ El crecimiento se acelerará
- ▶ El país volverá a hacer el catching up.



## Mas, envés de superávit no deben los países tener déficit en cuenta corriente?

- ▶ Esto es lo que enseñan los economistas
- ▶ Los países deberían crecer con **ahorro externo**, o sea, déficit en cuenta corriente.
- ▶ No comprenden que,
  - mas allá de la neutralización de la EH implicar superávit
  - el déficit aprecia el cambio y, por eso, envuelve, generalmente, una alta **tasa de substitución** de ahorro interno pelo externo.



# “Áncora” cambial contra la inflación

- ▶ –es generalmente así, apreciando la moneda nacional, que los bancos centrales atingen sus metas de inflación
- ▶ –es la **tercera causa** de la tendencia a la sobreapreciación
- ▶ La cuarta es el **populismo cambial**
- ▶ La quinta, la preferencia por lo consumo inmediato revelada por los **economistas**
  - tanto liberal-ortodoxos, favorables al déficit cuenta corriente
    - cuanto los estructuralistas y keynesianos favorables al déficit en cuenta corriente y, con frecuencia, también al déficit público.



# En resumo, modelos y propuestas

- ▶ **Los modelos críticos:**
  - ▶ -tendencia a la sobreapreciación
  - ▶ -enfermedad holandesa
  - ▶ -crítica a la política de ahorro externo
  - ▶ -crítica a la política de áncora cambial
  - ▶ -crítica al populismo cambial
- ▶ **Las propuestas**
  - ▶ -superávit o equilibrio en conta corriente
  - ▶ -impuesto sobre exportaciones de commodities
  - ▶ -política cambial ativa



# Serán estas ideas una base para una nueva escuela?

- ▶ Creo que sí.
- ▶ Mas todo depende de una revisión de los economistas estructuralistas y keynesianos o desarrollistas:
  1. que dejen de creer que es posible desarrollo sin cierto sacrificio
  2. que abandonen la preferencia por el consumo inmediato que comparten con los ortodoxo-liberales.



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