CHAPTER 7

PERIODIZATION IN PREHISTORY, TRANSITION AND THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN LATIN AMERICA: AN EXPANDED VIEW

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ABSTRACT

This chapter intends to make an extended periodization of economic discussions that have taken place in Latin America throughout its history. The task is ambitious; we begin, however, with the periodization elaborated by Oreste Popescu, which we then expand and modify. As educators, we still have to work on the training of Latin American economists, due to the lack of knowledge they have not only about the region as a whole, but also of the economic debates that took place within it. This work is a first approximation and provocation aimed to jumpstart a discussion on these issues.

Keywords: Periodization; History of Economic Thought; Latin America; prehistory; transition; Economic History of Latin America

1. INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history of economics, several explanations have been offered for the economic problems faced by different countries and societies. Even so, the history of economic thought as a disciplinary subfield mainly covers such arguments as they took place in Europe (primarily England) and the United States during and after the nineteenth century. During the twentieth century, however,

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new theoretical explanations have emerged to deal with other contexts and realities. In the mid-twentieth century, Latin America was immersed in a very particular situation: it was the main producer of raw materials in the world, but had difficulties placing its products on world markets and did not have the necessary foreign currency to import the manufactured goods demanded by its domestic markets, all of which offered clear symptoms of "external dependency." From this background emerged the first Latin American theoretical school of economics: structuralism (Di Filippo, 2009).

When we talk about the history of economic thought in Latin America, we usually refer to the study of three schools of thought: structuralism, dependency, and neo-structuralism. Are there other concepts prior to these schools that can be considered part of the evolution of Latin America's economic ideas on development? An affirmative answer forces us to reconsider our reference periods.

Therefore, if one wishes to discuss a periodization for the evolution of economic ideas in Latin America, one must first define which economic ideas are the continent's own and which are not. Herein lies the first great difficulty: What is autochthonous knowledge? Are there any ideas or theories that can be considered native to the continent?

In recent years, thanks to debates taking place in other social sciences (Cardoso, 2017), historians of economics have begun to consider the construction of their self-knowledge and the process through which economic ideas are spread and disseminated. Interesting concepts have emerged from these discussions to rethink how the dissemination of ideas affects the scientists who appropriate them and the environment they try to shape and transform, even if this process has limited effects at the theoretical level.[1] In this sense, even if one cannot speak of native theories in Latin America before structuralism, one can still analyze the appropriation, adaptation, spread, translation, and circulation of ideas, books, and economic theories coming from elsewhere.

The second problem encountered by the researcher is that the scope of the inquiry is too far ranging. Fortunately, we can build on the efforts of previous scholars who have broadened our knowledge of economic arguments that took place in Latin America. Oreste Popescu was a Romanian economist who, after the Second World War, emigrated to Argentina and dedicated his life to teaching and studying the economic thought of Latin American countries. Perhaps the greatest among his many contributions is the 1986 book entitled *Studies on the History of Latin American Economic Thought*, where he develops a periodization of the history of economic thought in Latin America from the colonial era to the time of Raul Prebisch. His analysis constitutes the basis that will be used in this work; however, some modifications and contributions will be made, extending the period under scrutiny. Two classifications are going to be considered: first, the one that distinguishes anthropocentric from biocentric theories, and second, the separation between prehistory, transition, and history in Latin American economic thought, a distinction that Popescu did not make. In addition, the period under analysis will be extended to include the neo-structuralist and dependency schools.

This chapter is thus structured as follows. In Section 2, we will recover the periodization developed by Oreste Popescu for the history of Latin American

economic thought, from the colonial era to Raul Presbich. In Section 3, our proposed amendments to Popescu's work will be presented, defined, and justified, and finally, in Section 4, a new periodization will be offered, extending the reference period and the authors and schools considered.

2. A PERIODIZATION FOR THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN LATIN AMERICA: A FIRST APPROXIMATION FROM ORESTE POPESCU

We will begin by considering the periodization proposed by Popescu in his 1986 book. The colonial period is perhaps the biggest challenge in this effort, even if, as will be seen later, the nineteenth century also poses major hurdles. Popescu, who refers to the colonial period as the "Indian Economy[2]," sees three influences on economic thinkers of the time: the scholastic, mercantilist, and toward the end of the colonial period, the classic schools.

> The structure of Indian economics can be seen as a three-story building. At the base, there is an imposingly solid building block, representing the foundations of scholastic philosophy, which covers a period of a little more than three centuries of Spanish and Portuguese domination in the Americas. Upon this base, there is a second, equally thick building block, meant to represent the typical patterns of the mercantilist lineage, which covers at least an identical period of time, if not lasting up until today. Finally, on the top of the building, there is an attractive and graceful turret representing the classical school. This turret is placed on the right-hand side of the building, to indicate that the time period in question is only the last decades of the era of Spanish domination in America. (Popescu, 2003, p. 4)

The purpose of this section is not to develop a lengthy description of each of these schools, since this would amount to an unnecessary repetition of Popescu's work. Nevertheless, we will show how he defined the reference periods, which authors he considered as belonging to each school, and some of their principal ideas.

We can see from this representation the order, momentum, and strength that these schools exhibited in the political economy of the Indies. Scholasticism occupied a hegemonic position over economics in Western Europe in the period before the colonization of America. In the case of Spain, the scholastic school, represented mostly by the School of Salamanca, was influential up until the second half of the eighteenth century (Popescu, 2003, p. 5). In the economics of the Indies, the scholastic school reaches the nineteenth century and overlaps with mercantilism and the classical school.

Popescu observers that the scholastics of the Indies, like their Spanish counterparts, had their strongest intellectual roots in Aristotelianism, which meant their work lay within moral philosophy, at the confluence of three disciplines: ethics, politics, and economics (Popescu, 2003, p. 13). The author also tries to demonstrate not only the period of influence of the writings (starting in the early sixteenth century and ending in the eighteenth century) but also to incorporate its territorial dissemination. He thus concludes that the scholastics of the Indies coalesced around two large centers: Mexico in the north and Chuquisaca and Córdoba in the south of the continent (Popescu, 2003, p. 14). It should be noted that, for the

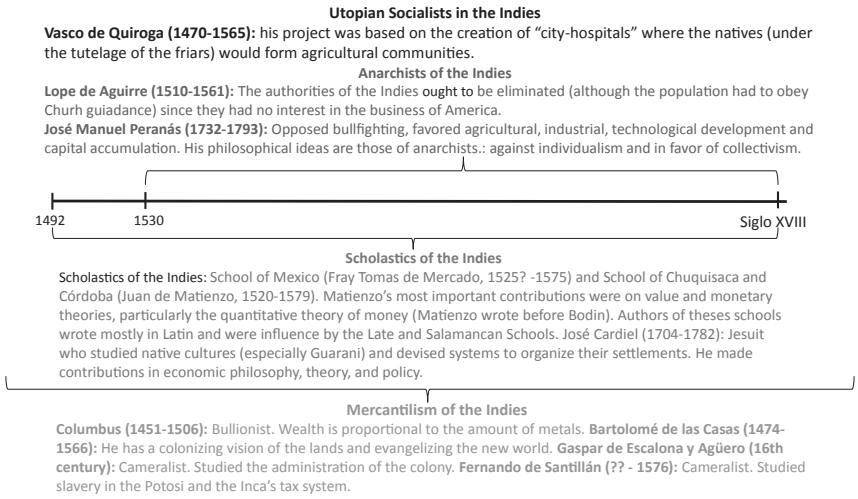

Fig. 1. Periodization of Popescu (1986) for the Economy of the Indies. *Source*: Elaborated by the author based on Popescu (2003).

study of this school, one of the biggest challenges facing the researcher is that most of their writings were in Latin (Popescu, 2003, p. 14) (Fig. 1).

The authors who Popescu studied the most were Juan de Matienzo and Fray Tomas de Mercado. Both debated questions such as the notion of just price, formulated subjective theories of value with clear, though rudimentary, recognition of the law of supply and demand, and developed ideas on the link between the price level and the quantity of money (Popescu, 2000, p. 51). We can also see in the table above how some authors, inspired by Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), had "socialist" and "anarchist" visions that can be considered as clear antecedents of debates the European utopian socialists would have in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Popescu, 2003, pp. 9–10).[3]

Although many scholastic writings could be found in the New World, the mercantilist view was the fundamental axis for the day-to-day operation of the colonial economy:

> Between the beginning and the end of the colonial era, there was a huge amount of writing of a mercantilist hue. Mercantilism begins with Christopher Columbus' (1451–1506) Diario de a Bordo and ends with an immense number of memoranda, records, and essays read in the presence of the consular personnel, or sent to the viceroys and governors or to the Council of the West Indies, right up to the last moment of Hispanic domination in America. Most of the works are empirical studies which deal with local economic problems carried out as part of a given economic development policy, said policy being general, sectional, or regional. (Popescu, 2003, p. 7)

Some of the authors presented by Popescu as part of the mercantilist tradition are: Francisco de Arango y Parreño (1765–1837) in Cuba; Pedro Fermín de Vargas (1760–1807) from Zipaquirá; José Baquijano and Carrillo (1751–1817) from Lima (now Peru); Victorián de Villava (d.1802) from Chuquisaca (now Bolivia); Manuel de Salas (1755–1841) from Santiago, Chile; and Manuel Belgrano (1770–1820) from

Buenos Aires (Argentina) (Popescu, 1986, p. 8). Unlike European mercantilism, however, its counterpart in the Indies had a more liberal tinge. These authors considered the Indies as provinces of Spain and Portugal, therefore policies aimed at economic development, as we would say today, had to coincide with the dictates established by the metropolis. Nevertheless, there were some mercantilists from the Indies who demanded liberation from the metropolitan monopoly on American trade. Popescu adds: "But, as time passed, the mercantilists began to ask for free trade as a scientific demand of the progress attained by the classical school: laissez-faire, laissez-passer" (Popescu, 2003, p. 8). The mercantilism of the Indies thus differed from European mercantilism in an important respect.

Most of the authors from the classical school were translated into Spanish and Portuguese by great intellectuals of the Americas, but the use of policy measures and instruments inspired by classical political economy, at least during the colonial period, was very sparse (Popescu, 2003, p. 5).

Popescu establishes the beginning of the classical school in Latin America with José da Silva Lisboa, Viscount of Cairú (1756–1831), who occupied the first chair of Economics in the whole region (Popescu, 2003, p. 6). His two-volume book *Estudos do Bem Comum e Economia Política*, published in Rio de Janeiro in 1819, is considered one of the most important economic writings from this time (Popescu, 2003, p. 6). Another author of reference for the period is the Honduran José Cecilio del Valle (1770–1834) (Popescu, 2003, p. 6).

From the nineteenth century, Popescu outlines the history of economic thought in Latin America around some important milestones in the discipline and the contributions of specific economists. In his view, there are three publications from the nineteenth century that deserve attention: *Free Translation of the Treatise Entitled Political Economy Made by a Citizen of Santafé*, published in 1810 by Diego Padilla; *Observations and arguments on the political situation of the Republic of Colombia, preceded by a Succinct Treatise on the Economy, with notes against some of the principles of Jean-Baptiste Say and Jeremy Bentham*, published in 1827 in Colombia; and *The principles of Political Economy, applied to the current state and circumstances of Bolivia*, published in 1845 by Julián Prudencio.

Some authors that Popescu presents in his book as relevant for the evolution of economic ideas throughout in the nineteenth century belong to what he calls the "Doctrines of Economic Development." Popescu does not group them together because they necessarily engage with the same issues, but rather because they all discuss the role and insertion of Latin America in the world economy and how to achieve economic development. Among them are Manuel Belgrano,[4] Esteban Echeverría, Silvio Gesell, and others. Their ideas will emerge during arguments about the political economy of the newly independent Latin American countries, touching on issues such as the role of education as a tool for economic progress (Belgrano), the status of private property as a fundamental element of said progress (Echeverria) and the administration of money and the gold standard (Gesell) (Blanco, 2015; Popescu, 1960, 2003) (Fig. 2).

To conclude his study of the nineteenth century, Popescu presents what he calls the Lopez-Pellegrini School, "the Argentinian school of national-industrialism" that arose during the 1870s:

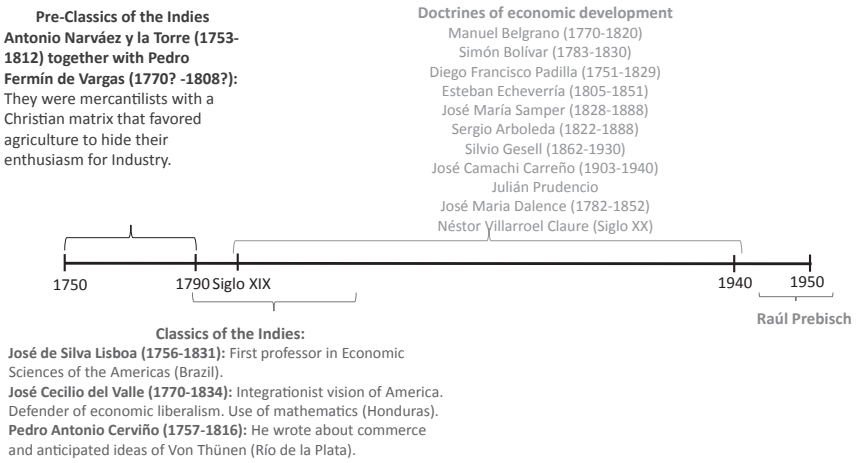

Fig. 2. Periodization of Popescu (1986) from the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century Until the Middle of the Twentieth Century. *Source*: Elaborated by the author based on Popescu (2003).[5]

> Its undisputed chief was the Professor of Political Economy at the University of Buenos Aires, Vicente Fidel López. As a professor, he stimulated a whole generation of students to investigate the national economic problems, and as a director he surrounded himself with the best in the professional field, from young graduates to the consular figures of the Argentina of his generation, who actively participated in the public life of the country. (Popescu, 2003, p. 243)

Together with López, the school was developed by Dr Carlos Pellegrini, President of the Argentine Republic and a great childhood friend of Lopez. The ideas of this school were related to one of the most important discussions of the nineteenth century: liberalism vs. protectionism (Popescu, 2003, pp. 245–246).

One of the greatest readers and followers of the Lopez-Pellegrini school was Raul Presbich (1901–1986), the founder of structuralism to whom Popescu dedicates the last chapter of his book. There is no doubt that Raul Presbich was one of the most prestigious economists of Latin America during the twentieth century:

> The fundamental idea that shapes Prebisch's theory is the center-periphery concept that, as students of economics know, has its beginnings in the works of Friedrich List (1848), popularized in Argentina by Vicente Fidel López, professor of political economy in 1874–6, and also in Alejandro Bunge's *Revista de Economía*, beginning in 1918. From this concept Prebisch infers all the rest of his economic ideas, analytical and political: the imperative of industrialization; the tendency towards deterioration in the terms of trade; structural inflation and unemployment; the imperative of a common market; and the discipline of Latin American development. Prebisch's doctrine has been the source of inspiration for various generations of Latin American economists. (Popescu, 2003, p. 270)

Presbich was not only the founder of the first Latin American theoretical school in economics, but also an advocate for policies of development and protectionism – as Popescu says at the end of his book, "a social engineer of the planning of the economic and social development of Latin America" (Popescu, 2003, p. 270).

3. SOME DEFINITIONS FOR AN AMENDED PERIODIZATION PROPOSAL

The history of economic thought can be defined as the interrelation between the evolution of economic theories and the implications they have for political economy broadly considered, especially through their influence on policy makers. In Latin America, the study of economic arguments during colonial era and the subsequent struggle for independence cannot be approached without understanding a series of factors: the economic and political influences and pressures faced by policy makers and academics; the institutional and political conditions of the time; and the relations between Latin America and the world at large, among many others (Cunha & Suprinyak, 2017). When studying the history of economic thought in Latin America, therefore, one needs to adopt a more comprehensive definition.

It is often assumed, furthermore, that in countries that have never been leaders in the creation of original theoretical analysis, the history of economic thought is reduced to the influence of foreign developments (Cardoso, 2017). Alternatively, one can argue that the specific way in which theories are adopted and knowledge is adapted for local economic conditions constitutes, in itself, the history of economic thought as seen from the point of view of a particular country or society (Cardoso, 2003, p. 625).

Cardoso (2017) has called attention to three concepts that can shed light on the process of transmission, dissemination, and circulation of economic knowledge, especially when dealing with developments that predate the twentieth century: appropriation, adaptation and translation of ideas and theories. Using these concepts, we can devise a complement to Popescu's attempt to define what should be considered as part of the history of Latin American economic thought. For the specific case economic ideas elaborated during the colonial era, Popescu establishes that the contributions of people who were born in the New World or lived long enough in the region to know and understand the colonial culture and its economic system should be considered as native knowledge. He leaves out those authors who have written about the region, both during the colonial period and later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but who never set foot in Latin America (Popescu, 2003, p. 4). We will follow Popescu in considering only authors who lived in Latin America in our periodization, because they were precisely the ones who adapted, appropriated, and translated knowledge to suit their own realities.

In the case of countries that led the way in the development of economic ideas and theories, the history of economic thought is the study of the generation of ideas, their evolution, and their implications for economic policy. Conversely, for the countries that were not leaders in this process, five characteristics must be taken into account when considering their own economic thought: the idea or theory itself, which is foreign; the context in which economists who adopt these ideas operate at their ideological, doctrinal and normative levels; the methods, concepts and techniques they use; the particular conditions of the country or region that is adopting those ideas or theories; and finally, the implications those theories have on the economic policies that are implemented (Cardoso, 2003, p. 623).

The driving force behind the preceding view is to consider how the transmission of knowledge has taken place over time and between different continents. Studying the transmission of economic ideas and theories is, in addition, an excellent pretext to deepen the analysis of the national histories and traditions of economic thought (Cardoso, 2017, p. 33). The key is to focus on the place, recognizing that local context is essential to understand the creation of knowledge.

Cardoso (2017) thus defines the concepts of adaptation, appropriation, and translation. The adaptation of knowledge refers not only to the adaptation of a *specific* idea or theory (that is, a finished "product"), but also refers to a process of creation and reception that accompanies it. Instead, appropriation introduces elements of variation, diversity and creative thinking because it highlights the active role of those who participate directly in the process of importing and assimilating ideas. Incorporating this category not only implies that we are no longer going to talk about a single universal knowledge,[6] but also consider the institutional conditions that give legitimacy to the appropriation of knowledge, that is, the institutional conditions that exist in the appropriating country.

One of most common instruments of appropriation is the translation of texts and books into the local language. Not only the translation itself is important, however, but also the circulation of these texts and books. This allows us to think of texts as an act of communication between the audience and the translators, the modes and conventions of translations, and also to see how knowledge is spread over time and space. This is especially true when speaking of translations prior to nineteenth century: "Translation was sometimes a process of creating new words and a new technical language" (Cardoso, 2017, p. 37). There was no legal control over the original content and its translations.

Keeping these concepts in mind when considering knowledge prior to 1950 in Latin America, one can analyze acts of adaptation, appropriation and translation of economic content as moments in which actors who contributed to the dissemination and circulation of ideas were creating their own native knowledge. Even so, there are still lingering problems in the way of a periodization like the one we propose.

For the period beginning in 1950 and with the emergence of structuralism, Latin American economic thought is defined as those theories that arose within the region to explain and solve economic challenges typically faced by Latin American countries. These theories were not alien to the evolution of economic ideas in the rest of the world, where Latin American problems were also studied. Nonetheless, we will consider as native knowledge the theories formulated to explain the realities and problems of Latin American countries by Latin American economists.

Of course, this presents another problem: What is theory? Di Filippo (2009, p. 182) defines a theory as a system of hypotheses regarding the behavior of reality that can be verified with the use of the scientific method. In this sense, we may agree that structuralism was the first proper economic school in Latin America. Nevertheless, if in this periodization we wish to consider also all the knowledge previously disseminated by authors who lived in Latin America and studied the region's problems, adapting foreign knowledge to the local context, then different

categories have to be created to accommodate these different circumstances. In this work, we propose three categories to classify different stages in the history of Latin American economic thought: prehistory, transition and history.

The term prehistory is a concept used by general history to refer to the period that stretches from the appearance of human beings to the development of writing (Wilson, 1851). It is a much-debated concept, since if history is understood as human existence through time (Bloch, 1949), every period where man was present is history. The dichotomy between these two visions has led many historians to discuss the correct use and the problems that can be generated by the misuse of the concept of prehistory (Glyn, 1968).[7] In the history of economic thought, however, the term can be useful to differentiate the stages prior to economics becoming an autonomous discipline with its own scientific method (Roncaglia, 2017, p. 39).

The evolution of economic ideas is a long road that includes the entire history of mankind. The period from classical Greece to the end of the eighteenth century is considered by many as the formative stage of our discipline (Roncaglia, 2017, p. 39). During this period, the intellectual search to understand the economy was guided mostly by moral rather than scientific purposes – it sought to understand how people should behave in the face of economic issues, rather than how economic phenomena actually worked. At the end of the eighteenth century, the moral and the scientific dimensions merged, thus establishing the autonomy of economics as a science (pp. 40–41). Therefore, the categories of prehistory and transition to history are meant to capture the evolution of economic ideas in relation to its scientific character.

How would the historical and prehistorical moments be delimited in the evolution of economic ideas in Latin America? If structuralism is considered to be the first school of economic theory in the region, with its origins in the works of Raúl Presbich first published in 1949, then the entire era preceding this moment, from the colony onwards, should be considered as prehistory. The problem with this demarcation is that it puts colonial era discussions in the same category with the contributions of Latin American intellectuals such as Manuel Belgrano, José María Samper, Esteban Echeverria or Simón Bolívar, both before, during and after the struggle for independence. These authors were influenced by different schools of political economy (physiocrats, classics, mercantilists) and tried to use this knowledge to chart a path for the economy of the new nations (Blanco, 2015; Consuegra, 1983; Popescu, 2003). Should this period be considered as prehistory? Were nineteenth century debates pre-scientific? Alternatively, were the new countries operating pre-capitalist economies, with scientific knowledge adapted to these conditions?

For these reasons, this chapter proposes a new category between the prehistory and the history of economic thought in Latin America: the transition. This period begins with the publication of Adam Smith's book in 1776, the French Revolution of 1789 and the promulgation in 1778 by King Carlos III of the "Regulation and Royal Tariffs for Free Trade from Spain to the Indies," the purpose of which was to allow free trade between the colonies and metropolitan ports as part of the Bourbon Reforms (Blanco, 2015, p. 37). The justification for the

introduction of this new period is twofold: on the one hand, we can observe from this moment how discussions of economic subjects in Latin America took on a scientific dimension, mostly influenced by intellectuals who studied in Europe; on the other hand, this was also when Spain began to lose its grip over its colonies. In the case of Brazil, the transition from colony to independence was more long drawn, but its intellectuals debated issues of political economy as much as their Spanish American counterparts (Popescu, 2003).

Finally, we will introduce a division between anthropocentric and biocentric theories in this periodization. Anthropocentric theories are those

> according to which all actions are valued (or not) according to their usefulness for humans. […] the postulates on development are based on a western, modern, and dualistic rationality that ends instrumentalizing the relationship of man and nature. (Barrionuevo and Luc, 2014, p. 145, author's translation)

Instead, the term biocentric emerged in the 1970s to refer to theories that give all living beings the same standing, assigning them the same right to exist and prosper. In this sense, human activity must cause the least possible impact on other species and nature. Considering how economic arguments are typically framed according to an anthropocentric perspective, we introduce this classification to single out Bolivian and Ecuadorian scholars who, from the beginning of the twenty-first century, have revived knowledge of native peoples and introduced them into scientific discussion by way of questioning the views of economic development prevalent in Latin America (Barrionuevo & Luc, 2014).

4. AN EXPANDED PERIODIZATION OF THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT IN LATIN AMERICA

Having justified the proposed divisions for a periodization of the evolution of Latin American economic ideas, we will unify the previous two sections and give concrete shape to the proposed periodization. Popescu's work will sever as a basis, to which we will add two further refinements: the division between the stages of prehistory, transition and history, and the division between anthropocentric and biocentric theories.

We will not explore in any detail the ideas of the schools and authors included in our periodization, as these were already discussed in the section dedicated to Popescu's work. The purpose of this exercise is to give a new historiographical framing for authors and arguments that have already been studied by others. To recover and analyze the contents of over 500 years of Latin American discussions about political economy lies exceeds the scope of this paper. Our goal is to shed new light on knowledge that is already available, in order to advance from that minimal instance of systematization toward the formulation of a broader vision of the evolution of economic ideas in Latin America.

The proposal for a new reference period is shown in Fig. 3. Some designations used by Popescu have been replaced. The change from "Indies" to "Latin America" is justified on both practical and ideological grounds, as this eliminates the need to clarify Columbus' misconception when he arrived in America, and

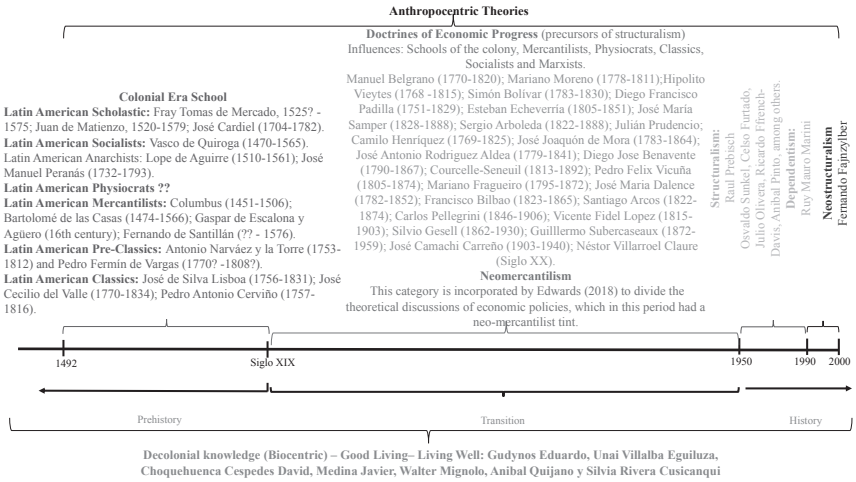

Fig. 3. Periodization of Prehistory, Transition, and History of Latin American Economic Thought: An Expanded Vision. *Source*: Elaborated by the author.

the misguided identification between India and Latin America. For each of the divisions stretching from 1492 to the early nineteenth century, the same scheme developed by Popescu (2003) will be adopted, therefore dispensing with the need for any extended discussion. The question of whether authors with physiocratic ideas existed at all during the colonial period is left unresolved.

Turning to nineteenth century, Popescu's category 'Doctrines of Economic Development" was changed and subdivided into "Neomercantilism" and "Doctrines of Economic Progress." Neomercantilism refers to the Spanish mercantilism of the late eighteenth century, characterized by opposition to the classical doctrine of free trade.[8] The discussions of this first period – which ranges from the independence wars until approximately 1860, depending on each country's specific history – centered on the role that the newly independent countries should or could have in international trade, and how to apply (or not) the principles of economic liberalism in their new economies. During this period, there was much debate on whether to adopt free trade policies, considering the economic reality of the new nations rather than merely theoretical principles (Edwards, 2018). There was intense dissemination of economic ideas from Europe to Latin America, and economists who wrote and translated texts and/or designed economic policy adapted those ideas to their own realities and contexts (Cunha & Suprinyak, 2017).

Among authors who were active during the early nineteenth century, we call attention to two names not considered by Popescu: Mariano Moreno (1778–1811) and Hipólito Vieytes (1768–1815). Both were contemporaries of Manuel Belgrano and were involved in economic arguments around the Rio de la Plata during the struggle for Argentine independence (Blanco, 2015). Regarding the economic ideas of Simón Bolívar, Popescu does not consider them at length: the study by José Consuegra Higgins, titled *The economic ideas of Simón Bolívar* (1983), is a useful corrective

in this respect. Finally, we also suggest incorporating the authors discussed by José Edwards (2018) in his entry on the "History of economic thought in Chile (1790–1970)," including Manuel de Salas, Camilo Henríquez, José Joaquín de Mora, Jean Gustave Courcelle-Seneuil and Pedro Feliz Vicuña, among others.

The reasoning behind the change from "Doctrines of Economic Development" to "Doctrines of Economic Progress" is the imperative to do justice to the authors who wrote during the nineteenth century. They redefined and developed the concept of economic progress by taking the ideas of European authors and adapting them to their own realities.[9] The concept of economic development only arose much later, in the mid-twentieth century, serving as the fundamental axis for debates taking place in Latin America at the time. It thus makes little sense to transpose this concept to the nineteenth century context. One author omitted by Popescu, but who played a very important role in the history of Chilean and Latin American thought, is Guillermo Subercaseaux (Edwards, 2018).[10]

As far the twentieth century is concerned, we add the structuralist school explicitly to the periodization – since Popescu had presented exclusively the ideas of Raúl Presbich. The writings of Osvaldo Sunkel, Celso Furtado, Julio Olivera, Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, and Anibal Pinto, among others, must certainly be included in this category. We can also consider the subdivision of the structuralist era proposed by Ricardo Bielschowsky (2009), comprising four stages: Industrialization (1950s), Institutional Reforms (1960s), Development Styles (1970s), and finally overcoming debt with economic growth (1980s).

With the birth of the Washington Consensus and the resolution of Latin American debt crisis, structuralist theory changed its approach thanks to the contributions of Fernando Fajnzylber. In the words of Bielschowsky:

> Gert Rosenthal – who succeeded Norberto González as Executive Secretary [of ECLAC] in 1988 and spearheaded the intellectual production of the institution until the end of 1997 - welcomed and promoted Fajnzylber's ideas to include them in the ideological debate of the time, recognizing institutional reforms but opposing a series of central elements of liberalization guided by the Washington Consensus. During Rosenthal's term, ECLAC adopted Fajnzylber's contributions as the basis for designing a new strategy for productive, social and international integration. (Bielschowsky, 2009, p. 178, author's translation)

Before the emergence of neo-structuralism, however, dependency theory represented in important chapter in Latin American economic thought, especially as developed by Ruy Mauro Marini. This Marxist-inspired theoretical approach arose in the 1960s as a criticism of the development projects formulated and promoted by ECLAC. Marini was the author who took dependency theory to its highest form in conceptual and analytical terms, proposing an integral framework to understand peripheral capitalism in Latin America (Marini, 2008). His 1973 book *The Dialectics of Dependence* is mandatory reading to anyone interested in dependency theory.

Finally, the last development school include in this periodization is what we could term "Good Living" or "Living Well." Scientific articles that put decolonial knowledge in dialogue with anthropocentric constructions of development first occurred during the first decade of the twenty-first century. As well known, however, these knowledges and worldviews actually predate European colonization, hence the label "decolonial" (Del Popolo & Jaspers, 2014, p. 33).

The approach embraced by Good Living opposes modern rational ideas according to which the progress of mankind implies that it should dominate and separate itself from nature. Man is a part of nature, which has rights that must be guaranteed. Therefore, "the land (Pacha Mama) is considered as one more being in the community, who protects and cares and who must be protected and cared for" (Barrionuevo & Luc, 2014, p. 148, Author's translation). This perspective finds a place in our periodization since it also involves knowledge that has been adapted, appropriated, and translated today to criticize economic trends of both orthodox and heterodox varieties.

5. CONCLUSION

The study of the history of economic thought is a great tool to provide new ideas to economics students (Schumpeter, 1954). From the Latin American perspective, however, the almost exclusive concentration on the evolution of economic ideas as they took place in the European continent constitutes an important shortcoming. Were there no discussions about economic ideas in the Latin American colonies? Did the leaders of the independence movements not consider what kind of economies their new nations should aspire to be? Were there no arguments about the appropriate monetary and banking systems to be adopted in the region during the late nineteenth century? Were there no processes of adaptation, appropriation and translation when European theories were discussed in Latin America?

This work has tried to reorganize the knowledge we have on the evolution of economic thought in Latin America by proposing a periodization that expands the field of study for the region. This is still naturally an incomplete task. Our goal is to offer an invitation for further study and discussion of this issue.

Current debates among historians of economics allow the incorporation of more tools to the study of the evolution of economic ideas in the region. The universalization of the theories developed in European or "central" countries should not invalidate or deny the contributions that different social scientists can make when they search to adapt and appropriate these theories to provide solutions adequate to the reality of Latin America. The consideration of the process of adaptation, appropriation and translation of economic ideas taking place across time and space allows us to reconsider the prehistorical and transition stages in the history of Latin American economic thought, focusing on the construction of native knowledge through the adjustment of foreign ideas to local contexts and problems.

We believe future Latin American economists should receive a more complete education, where they study not only the analytical techniques and formal abstract theories associated with "scientific" economics. Scientism applied to the teaching of economics, as defined by F. A. Hayek, is important but limited.[11] If we only study the current tools and instruments of any discipline without considering the historical evolution of concepts and theories, we will be incapable of finding new ways to explain reality and, above all, of looking for new, diverse and original solutions to our problems. The legacy of Latin American contributions to the study of economic problems is a debt that teachers and researchers in economics –

and all the social sciences – have with their students. They are owed a better and more complete training; it is for them that we need to move forward in this area.

NOTES

1. Among the scholars who contributed to these arguments, one may cite Cardoso (2003, 2017), Spengler (1970), Goodwin (1972), and Lluch (1980).

2. When Columbus arrived to America, the continent's territory was initially taken to be part of Asia by European explorers, a confusion that resulted in America being referred to as "India" throughout the colonial period. Later, in order to distinguish America from Asia, they began to use the names West Indies (America) and East Indies (Asia). It was Ricardo Levene who first used the term "Indian Economy" to describe the political economy of the colonial era (Popescu, 2003, p. 5).

3. The creation of hospital-cities (using the term hospital as it was during the Middle Ages: charitable institutions that provided sustenance and education to the poor and attended to the elderly and the sick) is one of the projects that was actually carried out between 1530 and 1562, devised by Vasco de Quiroga (Popescu, 2003, p. 10).

4. This author appears in two categories: mercantilism of the Indian and Doctrines of Economic Development. In this case, the mentioned author, discussed and wrote about the economy of the colonies, since he was the first secretary of the Consulate of Commerce appointed by the King after the Bourbon reforms. And then, he participated in the May Revolution and discussed the economy of Argentina as an independent country (Blanco, 2015).

5. It is important to clarify that we cannot group together the discussions of Belgrano, Bolivar and Padilla about the colonial economy and the needs of the new independent countries, and the arguments developed by Gesell and Camachi Carreño at the end of the nineteenth century. Perhaps further subdivisions should be introduced in this classification.

6. As Cardoso (2017, p. 34) states: "The idea of a universal science for which national and regional features are totally irrelevant has been gradually replaced by a new approach in the cultural and intellectual history of science that takes vigorous account of the "local manifestations of universal science."

7. In his book Glyn determines that because etymologically the meaning of prehistory refers to a previous stage of history there could not be a time in the past of man where he lacked history.

8. Edwards (2018) establishes this category for Chilean thinkers. Perhaps for the label "Late-Mercantilism" could also be used. This question is left open.

9. In the case of Chile, the word *fomento* was used, showing clear influences from Spanish mercantilism (Edwards, 2018).

10. Subercaseaux wrote the first Latin American book on the history of economic thought, among his many achievements and contributions to that field for Latin America (Edwards, 2018, p. 385).

11. As summarized by Schumpeter (2015, p. 3), Hayek understood scientism as the "attitudes of those who, without any criticism, copy the methods of mathematical physics, believing, without criticism also, that such methods can be applied universally and that constitute an incomparable model to which all scientific activity must conform".

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