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Book Reviews

*Modernization and the Structure of Societies:
A Setting for International Affairs*

By Marion J. Levy, Jr. Princeton University Press,
Princeton, N. J. 1966. 855 pages. \$22.50 (two vol-
umes).

THE NEW GENERALISTS was the leadoff topic for the 1966 National Conference of the American Society for Public Administration. The new generalist required for public administration, it was said at the ASPA meeting, must be able to use the new specialists and at the same time rise above them. How this goal will be achieved is not made clear. Our complex society spawns new specialists at an ever increasing rate. Government, business, and the universities all help accentuate and respond to this increased demand for specialization. We might expect Academe to be in the forefront of providing the educational experiences needed for this new generalist; but unfortunately Academe with its discipline-orientation has not been very responsive to this need.

The most appealing aspect of Levy's two-volume study is that it is highly oriented to the needs of this new generalist. This makes it more than just an ordinary book exploring a narrow subject of specific interest to a sub-discipline of the social sciences. With great determination, Levy cuts across all of the disciplines of social analysis. He does this in part by presenting hypotheses at the highest possible level of generalization, and using a minimum number of variables to develop these generalizations. For example, the two central problem foci of the book are (1) the problem of modernization of the relatively nonmodernized societies, and (2) the problem of stability of the relatively modernized societies, especially those most highly modernized.

The implications of rapid change and growing interdependency of all affairs of all nations

must be recognized by every man in public affairs, whether he be a decision-maker at the highest political level or a social scientist hoping to create knowledge useful for this decision making. Levy successfully incorporated change and interdependency into his framework of analysis.

Essentially, this two-volume book is an essay in hypotheses. In the author's words, "I have tried to present . . . many relevant general propositions . . . and to illustrate them by empirical examples." The emphasis is on hypotheses about facts rather than the collection of data, although Levy does not disparage the collection of facts. His main concern is "that all the hypotheses about the facts . . . meet the first scientific requirements of such statements; namely, that they be 'conceivably falsifiable.'"

This emphasis on the development of scientific hypotheses rather than on facts supporting the hypotheses is, in my opinion, what gives this work its potentially universal application by men in public affairs. Nothing becomes out of date as quickly as facts. There are never enough of the right kind of up-to-date facts. Scientific hypotheses also, of course, become out of date; but disproving hypotheses can add to knowledge. The student or the man in public affairs who seeks specific answers to specific questions is doomed to disappointment in today's fast-changing world.

Professor Levy begins by describing what he does not attempt. What he does attempt is "something highly relevant to the problems of international affairs": (1) To sensitize the reader to the social background for international affairs, (2) to show the interdependencies of societies in matters that are relevant to international affairs, (3) to distinguish different types of societies, (4) to show some of the elements common to all societies, (5) to show some of the main variations among societies, and (6) to show some of the ways in which the main similarities underlie the main variations.

The book is organized into four parts. In Part I, *The Structure of Relatively Modernized and Relatively Nonmodernized Societies*, Professor Levy introduces his basic tool for comparative analysis of nonmodernized and modernized societies. He defines modernization by focusing on the sources of power and the nature of the tools used by the members of a given society. On this basis, the substitution of inanimate power for animate power is a "universal solvent" applicable and understood by members of all societies. He rejects the more usual distinctions based on types of political systems-- industrial versus agricultural, the West versus traditional societies--as being less fruitful for comparative analysis. In Part II, *Aspects of Social Structure*, five aspects common to all societies and underlying all variations among societies are discussed. In Part III the comparative analyses are directed to organizational contexts of societies. Part IV is a summary of the treatments in the preceding parts with an emphasis on the two problem foci of the book.

The book is not inexpensive; neither is it recommended as bedtime reading. But it does suggest that in our market economy there still exists some correlation between price and value received. My enthusiastic recommendation for this book is more than that of a reviewer reading it with the purpose of dispassionately presenting its virtues and shortcomings. It is based on "sweating through" a seminar in 1963 with the author while the book was in manuscript stage. Further, my recommendation comes from experience in using the points of view and hypotheses developed in this book in several seminars aimed at broadening the perspective of men in public affairs.

Levy is a persistent challenger of the conventional wisdom. For example, he points out that use of the armed forces as an instrument of modernization has generally been overlooked by both students and men in public affairs, which may be one of the "great neglected opportunities of history." Unanimity of agreement on a position by recognized experts is a challenge to Professor Levy. He insists on using precise definitions. He is most skeptical of all-or-nothing distinctions. Government is

predominately a politically oriented organization, not a political organization.

The book is so arranged that after reading the introduction, which gives the point of view and basic definitions, the reader can then turn to particular parts and chapters and pursue them independently. Each part or chapter is as self-contained as possible in this kind of work.

Levy makes no pretense of necessarily having the right answers. In fact, I was disappointed to discover that in the published version the "I think" at the end of each chapter in the manuscript was deleted.

For the man about to embark on a foreign assignment, short or long in duration: Give Levy's work top priority for a place in your knapsack. For others: waste no time in getting acquainted with the book; its utility is by no means limited to international affairs.

Kenneth E. Ogren

Foreign Agricultural Trade: Selected Readings

Edited by Robert L. Tontz. Iowa State University Press
Ames. 500 pages. 1966. \$7.50.

THIS COLLECTION of 46 writings of prominent authors--all of which were originally published elsewhere in journals or books--will be a valuable reference source for the serious student of foreign agricultural trade.

The book is organized into five major subject-matter areas: Part I treats trade theory and policy; Part II, trade programs, including the Food-for-Peace program; Part III, trade restrictions, both tariff and nontariff; Part IV, trade stabilization, with emphasis on commodity agreements; and Part V, trade expansion, with emphasis on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

The book's editor, Dr. Robert L. Tontz, is chief of the Trade Statistics and Analysis Branch, Foreign Development and Trade Division, Economic Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. He has organized these subject-matter areas into five seminar sessions, from which the reader can obtain a healthy diversity

of opinion. The reader can also compare varying points of view of prominent figures in the academic, Government, and international organization fields as they quote and contradict each other.

Perhaps the most timely subject matter is that contained in Part II, dealing with Food-for-Peace. In this, Sherman Johnson indicates that foreign aid, to be most effective, must be carried out over a period of years. He believes that domestic production in foreign countries is not likely to respond fast enough to be effective and commercial imports are limited by the scarcity of foreign exchange. Therefore, food aid has a unique place in an integrated program to accelerate domestic growth. Johnson believes also that the American farmer will ultimately benefit from increased trading resulting from the economic progress of these countries.

Willard Cochrane asserts that the objectives of P.L. 480 and related programs have been to remove surpluses while doing as much "good" with them as possible. Sherwood Berg states that too often we have looked on the overseas market as a place to export part of our farm problem. He calls for greater public understanding of P.L. 480 as an instrument of foreign economic policy rather than merely as a surplus disposal program.

T. W. Schultz, University of Chicago, concludes that not a few countries presently receiving substantial amounts of P.L. 480 farm products are in danger of impairing their agriculture. On the other hand, S. R. Sen, Planning Commission, India, writes that P.L. 480 supplies have helped to mitigate shortages and stabilize prices, and have been of great help in the economic and social development of India. But Sen also makes a plea for an adequate supply of foreign exchange assistance for a few years to promote a balance in economic development and to expand purchasing power.

Erick Mortensen, Ministry of Agriculture, Denmark, gives a competitor's perspective of U.S. transactions under P.L. 480 as well as subsidized exports of butter and dried milk of various European countries and Canada. He raises questions about the problem of interference by such programs with normal patterns of trade. Mordecai Ezekiel, FAO, argues that "bystander" countries have an interest in the

amount of surpluses made available for economic development. Earle S. Hoffman, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Australia, looks at the problem of preserving commercial marketings in the face of what appear to be permanent surplus disposals.

Deena R. Khatkhate, Reserve Bank of India, believes--contrary to many preceding arguments--that surplus disposal does not impair agriculture in the recipient country but instead serves as a boon to underdeveloped countries by holding down the prices of agricultural commodities, thus facilitating maintenance of a large investment expenditure without inflationary pressures. Malcolm Purvis, Cornell University, likewise refutes claims that P.L. 480 exports have been injurious to U.S. competitors and recipient countries.

The book does not advocate any "pet" viewpoint concerning foreign trade policies. Its main contribution is as a reference for university classes in the history and economics of international trade in agricultural products. However, the more casual reader will like the capsule summaries at the beginning of each chapter highlighting the relevant points made by each author. The editor provides a brief introduction to each major part, giving its setting in the general outline of the book.

Francis A. Kutish

The Papaloapan Project: Agricultural Development in the Mexican Tropics

By Thomas T. Poleman. Food Research Institute, Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif. 161 pages. 1964. \$4.50.

TO THOSE CONCERNED with the problem of worldwide food deficits, the sparsely inhabited and virtually undeveloped areas of the humid Tropics present hope for large increases in food and fiber production in a short time. If the necessary inputs--capital, research and technical assistance--are made available, these areas, according to development theory, can become outlets for excess population and not only support their increased population but contribute to the food supplies of growing urban areas.

This study is an examination in depth of one such development project. Known popularly as "Mexico's T.V.A.," it is the first major attempt by the Mexican Government in this field. Its 16 years of operation have been marked by some significant successes, notably in the fields of flood prevention, electric power production, and road construction. Attempts to promote agricultural development have been less successful.

A diversity of small-scale agricultural development projects were undertaken in a number of localities within the Papaloapan basin. In providing agricultural credit, for example, something similar to U.S. production credit was organized in one area while a system of highly paternalistic, supervised credit was instituted in another. Many of the projects were short-lived. Among the causes of failure were lack of selectivity in choosing colonists, vacillating financial support by the central Government, and inadequate preparatory research--in both the physical sciences and the social sciences.

The author concludes that despite serious and expensive mistakes, this project is a noteworthy move in the direction of sustained regional growth. For those concerned with initiating economic growth in similar areas of Latin America and Africa, the author provides a list of questions which the development planner should be able to answer in the affirmative before beginning agricultural programs in such areas. He suggests that until such infrastructure as roads, dams, schools, and research are well advanced, investment in complex colonization schemes is very risky.

Jane M. Porter

Poverty in America

Edited by Margaret S. Gordon. Chandler Publishing Company, San Francisco, Calif. 465 pages. 1965. \$5.

UNTIL RECENT MONTHS, the War on Poverty perhaps caught the imagination of the country and of policymakers more than any single proposal of New Frontier or Great Society programs. Earlier, there was a sort

of effervescent stimulation felt throughout Government and in many universities, looking forward to this war and its policies and programs. There appeared to be a general feeling on the part of the public that this Nation could go far toward wiping out the scourge of poverty. Economists and others documented the relatively small amount of the Nation's resource required to do the job. In other words, except for the skeptics and cynics, nearly everyone was ready to do battle. The collection of papers which comprise this book represent this period of effervescence--early 1965. The volume contains the proceedings of a national conference on poverty held at the University of California, Berkeley, February 26-28, 1965.

To provide an overview, the book is divided into 11 sections. Among these, the more important are the nature of poverty, views on antipoverty programs, income distribution policies, education policies, full employment and labor market policies, income maintenance policies, and a program to combat poverty. The range of subject matter is wide in the 30 papers included. Poverty problems are approached from the viewpoints of the economist, the sociologist, and the "social reformer." Also included are papers from administrators.

As in all books of this kind, quality varies considerably from paper to paper; but as a whole, there is real meat for those who wish to approach the problems of America's poor.

There are specific points a knowledgeable reader can challenge, but on the other hand, there are also challenges to further study. Lampman, Miller, Glazer, Harrington, and Kershaw are only a few among the students of poverty who contributed to the conference and to this volume. There are many others of equal stature who presented various aspects of poverty and relevant program issues.

A highlight of the volume is the last section--A Program to Combat Poverty in America. The two papers here were presented by the Swedish economist, Gunnar Myrdal, and by Fritz Machlup, the current president of the American Economic Association. Myrdal presents a grand sweep of policy needs, indicating that the United States is not doing nearly enough to solve the

problem; yet he thinks that we can and will face the issues in time. In his evaluation, a very important factor in effectively combating poverty will be the attitude and role of big business. One can question his conclusion, but he marshals evidence for the viewpoint that business is abandoning its myths about economic growth and the role of Government in associated policies.

Machlup presents a useful classification of proposed measures against poverty: Direct assistance, indirect assistance through subsidies or protection, abolition of discriminatory employment, abolition of restrictive laws which reduce employment opportunities, raising the productivity of low-grade labor, raising the productivity of the future labor force, and increasing aggregate demand. He outlines specific measures under each of these and suggests that indirect measures, such as farm income supports, other supports, and subsidies, are extremely poor means of reaching poverty groups. He appeals for a judicious benefit cost analysis and abandonment of measures that do not meet the test.

One will search in vain for much reference to rural poverty, although there is one paper which is highly critical of rural development policies and their effectiveness in reaching the poor. This volume is recommended to any who

wish to gain more knowledge about poverty problems, and particularly to those dealing with policy measures and issues.

John H. Southern

Farm Real Estate Values in the United States by Counties, 1850-1959

Edited by Thomas J. Pressly and William H. Scofield, University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1965, 69 pages. \$5.

PRESSLY AND SCOFIELD have, in this volume, reported on an exhaustive search of the Census records pertaining to farm values on a per acre basis. The authors have summarized published Census figures for values subsequent to 1900. The statistics prior to and including 1900 are published for the first time in this report. The authors accompany the data with a narrative account of early data collection, weaknesses of the data, and the effects of disturbances, such as the extension and abandonment of land.

This report should prove to be a valuable data source for economic research, historical appraisals, and other time series studies in the related social sciences.

Leland D. Lambert