

## AJUSTE ESTRUCTURAL Y REFORMA DEL ESTADO EN LA ARGENTINA DE LOS '90'

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### ***I- ARGENTINA EN LA SENDA DEL AJUSTE NEOLIBERAL***

El ajuste estructural de inspiración neoliberal llevado a cabo en la Argentina por el gobierno justicialista a partir de mediados de 1989 consiste, en realidad, en una serie de procesos que han producido una transformación sustancial de la relación estado-sociedad vigente en el país durante medio siglo y un cambio profundo en la correlación de fuerzas sociales desfavorable a los sectores populares. Lo que se ha dado en llamar "Reforma del Estado" tiene en la política de privatizaciones una de sus partes sustantivas, pero no se resume en ella, porque también forman parte de esta transformación otras facetas que, aunque estrechamente relacionadas por ser partes de un único proceso, son diferentes. Estas facetas comprenden lo relativo a la reorganización y el ajuste de la administración central y las provinciales, lo atinente a la reestructuración de las relaciones capital-trabajo -que tiene en la "flexibilización laboral" un nudo central-, los avances desreguladores y la apertura al mercado mundial, lo relativo al sistema previsional y a la estructura tributaria y, como uno de sus rasgos más sustantivos, la subordinación de la moneda nacional -el peso- al dólar, a partir de la "ley de convertibilidad". Este esquema antinflacionario de estabilización de precios le puso el corsé más importante a la autonomía monetaria del Estado y es el que plantea uno de los mayores dilemas a la hora de diseñar políticas económicas alternativas y superadoras del diagnóstico neoliberal hegemónico.

Puede afirmarse que la actual política, en su conjunto, es la culminación de tendencias estructurales gestadas desde mediados de la década de los '70 en tensión con las crisis y mutaciones de la economía mundial, e importa una verdadera estrategia político-económica que resitúa las bases de la dominación social, define nuevas formas de legitimación-deslegitimación estatal, implica un cambio profundo de las fronteras entre el estado y la sociedad y de los vínculos entre los distintos grupos, clases y actores sociales que se habían configurado durante largas décadas en la Argentina. Y también implica un cambio cualitativo en la relación del estado nacional vis a vis el mercado mundial, que obliga a una redefinición de los términos tradicionales de los conceptos de soberanía y autonomía estatal. Porque el avance del proceso de mundialización capitalista conocido como "globalización" ha cambiado los escenarios materiales y simbólicos sobre los que se construyeron las relaciones entre los estados y al interior de ellos en la etapa que siguió a la Segunda Guerra Mundial. La crisis del modelo de estado benefactor y el auge de la lectura -y

<sup>1</sup> Este trabajo se realizó en el marco de la investigación "NUEVAS FRONTERAS DE LA RELACION ESTADO - SOCIEDAD EN LA ETAPA POST-AJUSTE", dirigida por el Dr. Oscar Osztak, en el programa de la Secretaría de Ciencia y Técnica de la Universidad de Buenos Aires.

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# Ajuste Y Reforma En Argentina 19891995

**Lawrence Boudon**



## **Ajuste Y Reforma En Argentina 1989-1995:**

**Ajuste y reforma en Argentina (1989-1995)** Ana Margheritis, 1999      The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America Judith A. Teichman, 2003-01-14 In the 1980s and 1990s nations throughout Latin America experienced the dual transformations of market liberalizing reforms and democratization Since then perhaps no issue has been more controversial among those who study the region than the exact nature of the relationship between these two processes Bringing a much needed comparative perspective to the discussion Judith Teichman examines the politics of market reform in Chile Argentina and Mexico analyzing its implications for democratic practices in each case Teichman considers both internal and external influences on the process of Latin American market reform anchoring her investigation in the historical political and cultural contexts unique to each country while also highlighting the important role played by such international actors as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund IMF Informed by interviews with more than one hundred senior officials involved in the reform process her analysis reveals that while the initial stage of market reform is associated with authoritarian political practices later phases witness a rise in the importance of electoral democracy She concludes however that the legacy of authoritarian decision making represents a significant obstacle to substantive democratization      Handbook of Latin American Studies, Vol. 61 Lawrence Boudon, 2006-04-01 The one source that sets reference collections on Latin American studies apart from all other geographic areas of the world The Handbook has provided scholars interested in Latin America with a bibliographical source of a quality unavailable to scholars in most other branches of area studies Latin American Research Review Beginning with volume 41 1979 the University of Texas Press became the publisher of the Handbook of Latin American Studies the most comprehensive annual bibliography in the field Compiled by the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress and annotated by a corps of more than 140 specialists in various disciplines the Handbook alternates from year to year between social sciences and humanities The Handbook annotates works on Mexico Central America the Caribbean and the Guianas Spanish South America and Brazil as well as materials covering Latin America as a whole Most of the subsections are preceded by introductory essays that serve as biannual evaluations of the literature and research under way in specialized areas The Handbook of Latin American Studies is the oldest continuing reference work in the field Lawrence Boudon of the Library of Congress Hispanic Division has been the editor since 2000 and Katherine D McCann has been assistant editor since 1999 The subject categories for Volume 61 are as follows Anthropology Economics Geography Government and Politics Political Economy International Relations Sociology      *Political Competition, Partisanship, and Policy Making in Latin American Public Utilities* Maria Victoria Murillo, 2009-08-24 Shows that electoral competition and partisan government helped balance the conflicting demands of voters interests with the financial pressures generated by capital scarcity      **Globalization** Gernot Kohler, Emilio José Chaves, 2003 The majority of people around the world are experiencing oppressive and destructive forces which manifest themselves in starvation income

polarisation joblessness stress violence and so on What is the nature of these forces If we call them globalisation can there be good globalisation as well as bad globalisation Is this a new phenomenon or just a continuation of history as it has always been This book brings together a wide range of expertise addressing these problems from a world systems perspective

*Social Movements and Free-Market Capitalism in Latin America* Sybil Rhodes, 2012-02-01 This innovative book examines how the privatization and reregulation of the telecommunications sectors in Chile Argentina and Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s provoked the rise of new consumer protest movements in Latin America Sybil Rhodes looks at how hasty privatization of state owned telephone companies led to short term economic windfalls for multinational corporations but long term instability due to consumer movements or the threat of them Eventually these governments implemented consumer friendly regulation as a belated form of damage control In contrast governments that privatized through more gradual democratic processes were able to make credible commitments to their citizens as well as to their multinational investors by including regulatory regimes with consumer protection mechanisms built in Rhodes illustrates how consumers previously unacknowledged actors in studies of social movements market reforms and democratizations in and beyond Latin America are indispensable to understanding the political and social implications of these broad global trends Market, State, and Society in Contemporary Latin America William C. Smith, Laura Gómez-Mera, 2010-02-22 Market State and Society demonstrates the crucial role of differing configurations of domestic actors interests and institutions in mediating the effects of globalization on welfare regimes labor politics and popular contestation A variety of theoretical and methodological perspectives shed light on the recent transformations in relations among market state and society in Latin American countries Results are based on thorough empirical research Challenges simplistic arguments concerning state decline and describes the more complex nature of the situation **Meeting the Employment Challenge** Janine Berg, Christoph Ernst, Peter Auer, 2006 Arguing that economic policies in Argentina Brazil and Mexico favor markets over institutions and the international economy over the domestic to the detriment of the workforce in those countries this publication presents extensive evidence in support of placing employment concerns at the center of economic and social policies The authors discuss the challenges the three countries face in creating employment as well as the evolution of the labor market since 1990 in terms of the quantity and quality of jobs They then explore the impact of five policy areas on employment creation macroeconomic policy trade liberalization foreign direct investment labor market regulations and policies and social dialogue Their concluding recommendations offer concrete steps for balancing market forces and policy intervention in the interest of employment growth in a sound economy *Globalization and Precarious Forms of Production and Employment* Carole Thornley, Steve Jefferys, Beatrice Appay, 2010-01-01 This book makes a unique and invaluable contribution to our understanding of the changing nature of employment and its consequences for industrialized societies It combines industry case studies company case studies and specific country case studies to paint a multi dimensional picture of the spread of

precarious employment and the responses by trade unions and other worker mobilizations In addition the astute theoretical chapters demonstrate how the trend toward precarization is reshaping power relationships in ways that have significant implications for individual security and wellbeing collective agency and empowerment societal equality and stability and the vitality of democracy itself Together these essays provide an exceptionally rich picture and insightful analysis of these important trends in contemporary industrialized societies

*Landscapes of Memory and Impunity* Annette Levine, Natasha Zaretsky, 2015-05-26 Winner of an Honorable Mention in the Latin American Jewish Studies Association LAJSA 2017 Book Award competition for an outstanding book on a Latin American Jewish topic in the social sciences or humanities published in English Spanish or Portuguese *Landscapes of Memory and Impunity* chronicles the aftermath of the most significant terrorist attack in Argentina's history the 1994 AMIA bombing that killed eighty five people wounded hundreds and destroyed the primary Jewish mutual aid society This volume edited by Annette H Levine and Natasha Zaretsky presents the first comprehensive multidisciplinary work about this decisive turning point in Jewish Argentine history examining the ongoing impact of this violence and the impunity that followed Chapters explore political protest movements musical performance literature and acts of commemoration They emphasize the intersecting themes of memory narrative and representation Jewish belonging citizenship and justice critical fault lines that frame Jewish life after the AMIA attack while also resonating with historical struggles for pluralism in Argentina

**The Politics of Privatisation and Trade Union Mobilisation** Pablo Ghigliani, 2010 This is a comparative study of how workers and their unions respond to privatisation Drawing upon research from a variety of disciplines the author examines the push toward privatisation in diverse national settings its profound impact on organised labour and the often innovative responses of workers and their unions in the affected industries By means of a detailed analysis of the privatisation of the electricity industries in the United Kingdom and Argentina and the various initiatives of workers and their trade unions in these two countries this book offers an engaging comparative case study that sheds new light on key issues in contemporary labour studies the strategic choices available to workers and their organisations when faced with the radical restructuring of their industries the types of resources available to trade unions and how they are mobilised and the impact of widespread worker unrest on their organisations This book also provides fresh insight into the use of mobilisation theory in the field of labour studies The author employs mobilisation theory to make sense of worker and trade union responses to privatisation and he argues that this theoretical framework can be useful for cross national comparisons

**Partisan Investment in the Global Economy** Pablo M. Pinto, 2013-03-29 Pinto develops a partisan theory of foreign direct investment FDI arguing that left wing governments choose policies that allow easier entry by foreign investors more than right wing governments and that foreign investors prefer to invest in countries governed by the left To reach this determination the book derives the conditions under which investment flows should be expected to affect the relative demand for the services supplied by economic actors in host countries Based on these

expected distributive consequences a political economy model of the regulation of FDI and changes in investment performance within countries and over time is developed The theory is tested using both cross national statistical analysis and two case studies exploring the development of the foreign investment regimes and their performance over the past century in Argentina and South Korea     Energy Cooperation in the Western Hemisphere Sidney Weintraub, Annette Hester, Veronica R. Prado, 2007-04-06 Foreword by Luis Alberto Moreno Introduction Sidney Weintraub United States Frank Verrastro Canada Annette Hester and Sidney Weintraub Mexico Sidney Weintraub and Rafael Fernandez de Castro North America Joseph M Dukert Venezuela Lowell R Fleischer Colombia Philip McLean Argentina Thomas Andrew O Keefe Brazil Georges D Landau Ecuador Lowell R Fleischer Peru Carol Wise Bolivia Peter DeShazo Trinidad and Tobago Anthony T Bryan Energy infrastructure in the Western hemisphere Veronica R Prado Environmental issues in Latin America and the Caribbean Jos Leal and Joseluis Samaniego Hydrocarbon sector organization and regulation Michelle Michot Foss Miranda Ferrell Wainberg and Dmitry Volkov China and India come to Latin America for energy Wenran Jiang A 2025 perspective on oil and natural gas in the hemisphere Alan Hegburg Conclusions and looking ahead Sidney Weintraub     *In the Land of Silver* Dr. Walter Thomas Molano, PhD, 2013-09-24 In this timely insightful and concise introduction to the history and development of Argentina Dr Walter Molano takes a pragmatic look at the major variables that shape the country's political and economic policies Dr Molano particularly emphasizes the role that geography played in the formation of the country's economic institutions and political traditions In the Land of Silver transcends two hundred years of economic and political development of one of the most complex countries in Latin America and the developing world a country that only a century ago was as prosperous as the United States and many European countries but is now on the bottom rung of the emerging world Dr Molano brings to light Argentina's position as a country that is intriguing yet full of contradictions A century ago Argentina was a preeminent destination for waves of immigrants looking for a new home and chances for a better life It remained neutral during the two world wars selling agricultural products at inflated prices to the warring sides However the second half of the twentieth century saw the country slip into poverty transitioning from a veritable land of opportunity to a virtual graveyard of bad economic policies The Argentine case has been the subject of derision broad simplifications and stereotypes However its history was a complex process that underscored the importance of geography and the role that external forces had in shaping its formation Its unique location at the extreme limits of a vast empire distant from the centers of civilization imbued it with a yearning to react to what was happening abroad By analyzing the geographical and external factors integral to the development of the country's political and economic institutions readers will gain a better understanding of the forces that shape the country's policy decisions     1989, el año que cambió el mundo Ricardo Martín de la Guardia, 2014-10-24 Hay fechas en la Historia en las que los acontecimientos se aceleran momentos que recogen la trayectoria de las décadas pasadas para convertirse en su epítome a la vez que aportan las grandes líneas directrices del futuro inmediato El año de 1989 es sin

duda una de estas fechas en Paraguay la eterna dictadura de Stroessner llegaba a su fin mientras que unos kilómetros más al Oeste en Chile la oposición democrática venció en las elecciones libres a una dictadura no menos emblemática la de Augusto Pinochet En Asia el régimen de los ayatolás enterraba aquel año a su líder Jomeini mientras que el gigante chino todavía subestimado económica y políticamente ofreció a su lado más oscuro en la matanza de estudiantes de Tiananmen Pero fue sobre todo la caída del Muro de Berlín en noviembre lo que simbólicamente inició el final de los regímenes comunistas de Europa central y oriental y abrió las puertas a la desintegración de la Unión Soviética dos años más tarde El fin del orden internacional consagrado en Yalta cincuenta años atrás daba paso a una nueva realidad más abierta también más confusa donde la indiscutible primacía norteamericana debía conjugarse con una serie de potencias emergentes Apenas pasadas dos décadas desde aquel año que cambió el mundo esta magnífica monografía analiza cómo lo sucedido entonces dio origen al nacimiento de un nuevo orden internacional

**El federalismo argentino en tiempos de ajuste** María Clelia Guinazú, 2024-05-23 La situación política y fiscal de las provincias argentinas se transformó en un verdadero talón de Aquiles para el programa de reformas de mercado menemista en la última década del siglo XX Malestar social conflictos sociopolíticos y economías al borde del colapso fueron parte del crudo escenario subnacional de aquellos años Sin embargo San Luis una provincia de desarrollo intermedio y altamente dependiente de las transferencias nacionales no solo se adaptó a las transformaciones en curso sino que además lo hizo siguiendo una trayectoria excepcional para el programa neoliberal en boga La singularidad del modelo puntano con el sello peronista de Rodríguez Sa se proyectó en el tiempo y décadas más tarde sigue despertando controversias políticas y académicas respecto de su naturaleza y eventual poder transformador Cómo fue posible el éxito de San Luis en una Argentina caracterizada por el estallido fiscal e institucional de las provincias En qué direcciones se reconfiguraron y proyectaron los escenarios políticos provinciales durante los noventa Qué puede aprenderse de dichos procesos y del caso específico de San Luis para entender los cambios del federalismo argentino contemporáneo Este libro aborda estos interrogantes invitando a mirar el escenario de la democracia federal argentina desde la periferia hacia el centro ida y vuelta

Handbook of Latin American Studies, 2006 Contains scholarly evaluations of books and book chapters as well as conference papers and articles published worldwide in the field of Latin American studies Covers social sciences and the humanities in alternate years

**Historical Dictionary of Argentina** Bernardo A. Duggan, Colin M. Lewis, 2019-04-15 Argentina celebrated a century of independence from Spain in 1910 and the republic was the tenth most important trading nation in the global economy Although it had the promise of growth and industrial development at the time crises mismanagement and unrealized potential associated with authoritarianism populism and military coups culminating in thousands of disappearances over a period of unparalleled state terror prevented that from happening By 2001 Argentina announced that it would not service its foreign debt triggering the largest default in world financial history Since then the country has sought to recapture the potential and promise of the past and its place in the world while escaping from what

appeared to be an interminable cycle of expansion crises conflict and institutional collapse Historical Dictionary of Argentina contains a chronology an introduction appendixes an extensive bibliography and more than 800 cross referenced entries on the country s important personalities and aspects of its politics economy foreign relations religion and culture This book is an excellent resource for students researchers and anyone wanting to know more about Argentina

**The Agony of Argentine Capitalism** Paul H. Lewis, 2009-06-22 This diagnostic history of Argentina s economic prostration is full of timely lessons for readers in the United States about how an irresponsible capitalist elite and cynical politicians can lead a wealthy nation to throw it all away They say those who do not learn from history are bound to repeat it Thus the importance of this book The Agony of Argentine Capitalism From Menem to the Kirchners is the capstone of a magisterial trilogy exploring the reasons for Argentina s shocking reversal of development In the early 20th century Argentina was a rising star It was one of the world s ten richest countries on course to a place among the most advanced and prosperous liberal democracies in the world Then in 1929 Argentina fell into an economic coma from which no political or military shock treatment has been able to rouse it The collapse of Argentina s capitalist class has been so devastating that little support remains for free enterprise or free trade Her fate poses an intellectual challenge for First World capitalist countries As famed economist Paul Samuelson warned Argentina is the pattern no modern capitalist may face without crossing himself and saying There but for the grace of God

**Latin American Democracies in the New Global Economy** Ana Margheritis, 2003 Analyzes the economic political and social dimensions of changes in Latin America toward more open economies and more democratic governance



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