Chapter Title National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina 2021 Copyright Year Copyright Holder The Author(s), under exclusive license to Springer Nature Limited Corresponding Author Family Name Odisio Particle Given Name Juan Suffix Division/Department Centro de Estudios de Historia Económica Argentina y Latinoamericana (CEHEAL), Instituto Interdisciplinario de Economía Política (IIEP) Organization/University Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA), Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET) City **Buenos** Aires Country Argentina Family Name Rougier Author Particle Given Name Marcelo Suffix Division/Department Centro de Estudios de Historia Económica Argentina y Latinoamericana (CEHEAL), Instituto Interdisciplinario de Economía Política (IIEP) Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA), Organization/University Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET) **Buenos** Aires City Country Argentina of Abstract chapter presents the long-term evolution Argentine This industrialization. We begin by distinguishing the fundamental characteristics that the manufacturing sector adopted when it was formed in the late nineteenth century. Then, we study its maturation, which began

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(separated by "-")	
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National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina

- 4 Juan Odisio and Marcelo Rougier
- 5 Centro de Estudios de Historia Económica
- 6 Argentina y Latinoamericana (CEHEAL),
- 7 Instituto Interdisciplinario de Economía Política
- 8 (IIEP), Universidad de Buenos Aires (UBA),
- 9 Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y
- 10 Técnicas (CONICET), Buenos Aires, Argentina

Abstract

AU1

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This chapter presents the long-term evolution 12 of Argentine industrialization. We begin by 13 distinguishing the fundamental characteristics 14 that the manufacturing sector adopted when it 15 was formed in the late nineteenth century. 16 Then, we study its maturation, which began 17 in the interwar period with the arrival of sig-18 nificant foreign investment and accelerated 19 between the crisis of 1929 and the Second 20 World War with the start of the import substi-21 tution strategy. From then until 1975, Argen-22 tine industrialization experienced its heyday, 23 with the advance towards basic industry 24 (aluminium, iron and steel, chemicals, oil, 25 etc.). This took place with the consolidation 26 of the local actors linked to this process, both 27 private and public companies, and the rise of 28 public policies and institutions designated to 29 foster industrial development. Finally, the last 30 45 years saw a retraction in the country's 31

industrial capacities, which in successive ³² stages lost productive complexity, became ³³ heavily foreignized and increasingly focused ³⁴ in sectors based on the processing of raw materials (food and energy) or with special regimes ³⁶ of protection, such as automobiles. Argentina's ³⁷ deindustrialization was deeper than in other ³⁸ countries, therefore the problems and limita-³⁹ tions that we identify in the long-term Argen-⁴⁰ tine manufacturing trajectory are still in force ⁴¹ and its overcoming remain a pending goal of ⁴² the twenty-first century. ⁴³

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The modern industry in Argentina started with the 49 well-known "agro-export model." The technolog- 50 ical and productive transformations of the second 51 half of the nineteenth century, the country's entry 52 to international markets, the massive arrival of 53 workers and capitals, an early process of urbanization and a rapid growth of income raised by the 55 export of agricultural products to European countries were the drivers behind a new internal market 57 in strong expansion after its effective integration 58 as a result of the elimination of internal customs 59 barriers and the quick expansion of the railway. 60

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These conditions gave rise to the first important 61 industrial establishments, some of which were the 62 result of the linkages generated by the boom in the 63 primary-export economy. The early Argentine 64 industry, which was strongly related to the mac-65 roeconomic dynamism and to the implemented 66 economic policy, was orientated around two mar-67 kets: the processing of raw materials for export 68 (in which the meat processing plants stood out as 69 they were controlled by British and North Amer-70 ican capital) and the production of simple goods 71 of mass consumption for the internal market, such 72 as food and beverage, clothing and footwear 73 manufacturing or the production of building 74 material. 75

The growth rate of manufacturing, especially 76 as from the decade of 1890, was major (Fig. 1). 77 The rate was nearly 8% per year and the impulse 78 was primarily given by the textile industry and 79 then, after 1900, by the food industry. In fact, the 80 food and beverage industry was representing 81 more than half of the industrial GDP (Gross 82 Domestic Product) due to the establishment of 83 big factories such as meat processing plants, 84 mills, sugar mills and wineries. This industrial 85 development, framed by the general growth of 86 the economy and by its fluctuations, was focused 87 on the littoral region of Argentina (the northeast 88 area of the country), where most of the industries 89 were located, even when the regional economies 90 of Tucumán (in the northwest) and Cuyo (to the 91 west, on the border with Chile) also registered a 92 significant manufacturing production for the inter-93 nal market. 94

Since then, the Argentine industry has devel-95 oped with two lasting characteristic features, as 96 pointed out by many classic studies about the 97 history of the industrial sector: firstly, a significant 98 polarization which was, on one hand, economi-99 cally demonstrated by the preservation of just few 100 big concentrated companies (some of which were 101 part of diversified corporate groups such as 102 Tornquist, Bunge & Born or Bemberg, for exam-103 ple) along with an infinite number of small crafted 104 establishments and, on the other hand, geograph-105 ically shown by the agglomeration of manufactur-106 ing production in the City of Buenos Aires. 107 Secondly, the fact that this emerging industrial 108

production required imported materials in 109 non-negligible amounts did not correspond to 110 the arguments given in the debates of that time, 111 which insisted on the need of solely boosting the 112 "natural industries" of the country (those using 113 raw materials domestically produced). In fact, 114 only those industries that dealt with local raw 115 materials had some sort of "take off" during the 116 First World War (like food and textile) and could 117 substitute imports, while the companies that 118 resorted to imported inputs, like the metal industry 119 and other less "natural" industries, suffered a 120 strong downturn in that period. 121

After the war ended and until the 1929 crisis, 122 the industrial growth started to accelerate and it 123 remained at around 8% on an annual average 124 (Fig. 1). As a result of the massive arrival of 125 North American and European (especially Ger- 126 man) capitals, a major industrial expansion took 127 place in productive branches new in the country: 128 petroleum, cement, cars, chemistry, pharmaceuti- 129 cals, phones, printing, among others, along with 130 the textile industry when the imports recovered. 131 This was reflected in the increase of the invest- 132 ment rate, the import of machinery and the 133 changes in the structure itself of the industrial 134 sector. From a microeconomic point of view, this 135 expansion entailed a transfer and spread of novel 136 technology and processes from the American sys- 137 tem, along with new ways of organization and 138 strategies of penetration in the consumer markets. 139

The big local diversified groups lost relative 140 weight and some big companies of local capital 141 emerged, like SIAM in the metal-mechanic indus- 142 try, with enormous plants in comparison with the 143 rest of Latin America. Furthermore, the presence 144 of an entrepreneurial State came to the scene as a 145 new participant that would have relevant promi-146 nence in the Argentine industrial development 147 during the following decades. In this sense, the 148 creation of YPF in 1922 stood out, as it was the 149 first public petroleum company of the continent 150 and it continues to be the biggest company in the 151 country nowadays.¹

¹YPF stands for Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales (Fiscal Petroleum Deposits).

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National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina, Fig. 1 Average annual growth rate of the GDP, total and industrial (1875–2018). (Source: own elaboration based on data from Ferreres (2010) and World Bank)

The different points of view as regards the 153 necessity of boosting (or not) a more complex 154 industrialization in Argentina were delineated 155 under the heat of the crises of the second half of 156 the nineteenth century and they continued for the 157 following decades. Even though an industrial pol-158 icy did not exist as such during the predominance 159 of the agro-export economy, some authors have 160 stated that the macroeconomic scheme related to 161 the "conservative order" was not contrary to the 162 development of the industrial capability of the 163 country. Considering the lack of a comprehensive 164 policy to achieve that goal and given the absence 165 of other specific measures, the principal feature in 166 discussion was the customs protection that 167 emerged in the decade of 1870. The tariff policy 168 of that period imposed a high level of tariff rights, 169 close to 20% on average, which were enshrined in 170

the Customs Act of 1906. However, that level 171 decreased during the First World War and the 172 effective protection was recovered later on 173 because of the devaluation of the Argentine peso. 174

In a context favourable to economic liberalism 175 in broad terms, the decisions depended more on 176 the necessity of public revenue (given that the 177 principal source of fiscal resources was the customs) and from the pressures from specific interests, mainly the ones related to the trade with 180 England. The big companies of the local market 181 fought for the protection of the goods they prouced and the exemption in inputs and machinery 183 that they needed. The result of these factors and 184 pressures was a combination between free trade 185 and protectionism that allowed a close bond with 186 the British and the American markets (for the 187 purchase of goods such as railway materials and 188

189 farm machinery) and, at the same time, provided the protection of the local production in niches 190 that did not contradict those bonds. In this way, 191 the customs structure that lasted until 1930 was 192 characterized not only by its instability in real 193 terms, but also by having setting up a "backward 194 protectionism" which meant placing a bigger bur-195 den on the import of final goods than on the 196 industrial inputs. In fact, it was a "pragmatic pro-197 tectionism" that was defending some industrial 198 interests without affecting the equilibrium with 199 other economic sectors and regions. After all, 200 Argentina had achieved by far the largest indus-201 trial sector of all Latin America (Fig. 2). Even at 202 the end of the Second World War, the Argentine 203 industrial product in Purchasing Power Parity 204 represented twice the value of Brazil or Mexico. 205

The global crisis unleashed in October 1929 206 proposed new challenges for the Argentine econ-207 omy and the economic policy. In response, the 208 state intervention increased searching for a buffer 209 in the cyclical fluctuations associated to the exter-210 nal result and for stability in employment levels. 211 In both directions, the industrial sector appeared 212 as a response to this new development strategy. 213 Given the strong external vulnerability of the 214 economy with respect to the inflow of foreign 215

capitals and international prices, since the middle 216

of the decade of 1930 the economic drivers have 217

tried to compensate, in a pragmatic way and with 218

significant effect, the depressing effects of the 219

external factors and maintain the level of produc- 220

tion and employment. To this effect, the primary 221

focus was to decouple the money supply and the 222

internal demand from the foreign exchange crisis 223



National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina, Fig. 2 Industrial GDP of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, in 1990 PPP dollars (1900–1950). (Source: own elaboration based on data from MOxLAD and World Bank)

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224 that the country was suffering by introducing the exchange control. This measure, along with an 225 analysis of import tariffs based on fiscal reasons 226 tended to make imports more expensive and to 227 stimulate the substitution for local products. The 228 possibilities to advance were huge, considering 229 the overt delay in the development of some indus-230 tries, such as textiles that had very favourable 231 conditions for expansion. 232

Later on, after World War II, a second period of 233 the industrial growth took place (Fig. 3). There-234 fore, the idea of going back to the belle époque of 235 the beginning of the century was obviously 236 impossible, due to the major economic, social 237 and politic changes that occurred in the country 238 during the previous years and due to the operation 239 of the new international system of trade and cap-240 itals that then emerged. 241

There was a deep transformation in the manufacturing sector. During the first years of the process of imports substitution, between 244 1930 and the end of the decade of 1940, the 245 leadership of the growth was exercised by the 246 "traditional" industries, especially textiles 247 (which grew to 10% on an annual basis and gen- 248 erated 30% of the value added of the sector) and, 249 to a lesser extent, by the industries of food, bev- 250 erages and tobacco. Although they progressively 251 lost positions, at the beginning of the decade of 252 1950 the traditional sectors still provided almost 253 60% of the industrial product. Among the 254 "dynamic" branches, the metalworking and chem- 255 ical industries significantly contributed to the 256 industrial development, but they concentrated in 257 the easiest activities such as the production of 258 simple metallic products and the assembly of 259 cars and, as regards the chemical industry, it con- 260 centrated in consumer goods of widespread use 261 (soaps, cosmetics and toiletries, paint industry). 262 The lack of steady and lasting industrial policies 263



National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina, Fig. 3 Industrial GDP and industrialization coefficient (1900–2015). (Source: own elaboration based on data from MOxLAD and Indec)

Author's Proof

and strategies to support the development of local
entrepreneurship resulted in the delegation of the
leadership of investments on foreign capitals
mainly from North America and Europe in the
food industry, textiles, the electrical industry,
pharmaceutical and medicinal products and the
production of tires, among others.

The behaviour of the different industrial 271 branches was substantially modified in 1950 272 when the substitution of simple manufacturing 273 processes was finished. Therefore, when it 274 became clear that the coefficient of imports 275 could not continue to be compressed and tradi-276 tional exports did not have great possibilities to 277 success, the economic policy changed its focus to 278 the integration of the manufacturing matrix 279 (Fig. 4). The openness coefficient decreased 280 from a maximum of 56% in 1913 to 11% 281 40 years later. Even though the value of exports 282 was recovered from the low levels reached in the 283

decade of 1930 (with an average of 480 million 284 dollars per year), the Argentine economy kept an 285 inward-looking strategy. 286

The way of maintaining growth had to resort to 287 the local production of manufactured goods pre- 288 viously imported. First, durable goods and then, 289 machinery and industrial inputs. Even though the 290 Argentine economy continued to be characterized 291 by the deep instability, the industrial sector effec- 292 tively moved forward for a greater complexity. 293 The textile industry contributed just 4% of the 294 industrial product increase between 1950 and 295 1970, while the other "traditional" branches con- 296 tributed 21%. At the end of the decade of 1960, 297 the "traditional" industries were generating 38% 298 of the whole sectoral GDP. In terms of contribu- 299 tion to the imports substitution, the percentage 300 decreased from 60% to 15%. 301

As regards the "dynamic" industries, they con- 302 tributed almost 80% of the increase of the value 303



National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina, Fig. 4 Total exports (with 10-year averages) and openness coefficient (1920–1970). (Source: own elaboration based on data from Ferreres (2010) and Indec)

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304 added of the manufacturing industry. The expansion coincided with a growing participation of 305 subsidiaries of foreign companies, as we said. At 306 the beginning of the decade of 1970, that 307 participation was, approximately, 100% in the 308 production of tractors, in spinning and synthetic 309 fibre, 85% in tires, 70% in electronic products and 310 97% in cars. The investments presented positive 311 effects on different regions and encouraged local 312 entrepreneurships by allowing the "dynamic" 313 industries (metalworking, machinery or chemical 314 products) to assume the leadership of growth. The 315 features that determined the hegemonic role of 316 those branches, in accordance with the of global 317 industrial development experience, also appeared 318 in Argentina. Moreover, the development of more 319 complex activities started to grow among those 320 industries. In the case of metal-mechanic 321

industries, for example, they improved progres- 322 sively from the production of relatively simple 323 goods to machine tools, agricultural and industrial 324 machinery, tractors, electrical and communication 325 equipment, transport material, electrical devices 326 and electronic equipment (Fig. 5). In the automo- 327 tive industry, which was one of the sectors spe- 328 cially benefited by the policy of attraction of 329 foreign capital, moved from assembly to the pro- 330 duction of cars with high integration of national 331 parts. Moreover, the vast interaction between 332 automotive companies with the rest of the econ- 333 omy had a multiplier effect in the level of activity 334 and employment. The chemical industry also reg- 335 istered deep changes with a greater reliance on 336 basic, intermediate and petrochemical products. 337

From another point of view, in the decades of 338 1930 and 1940, the import of capital goods was 339





"Textille and Leather" (17, 18, 19), "Refinery and Chemical industry" (23, 24, 25), "Machinery" (29, 30, 31, 32, 33).). (Source: own elaboration based on data from Kulfas and Salles (2019–2020))

strongly associated to the incorporation of new 340 durable production equipment (Fig. 6). This 341 means that the investment depended on the possi-342 bilities of importing machinery in that difficult 343 global context. However, from 1950 to 1975, 344 those flows had an unequal behaviour as the 345 imports of capital goods tended to decrease 346 while the investment in equipment for production 347 increased. This dynamic demonstrates precisely 348 the local improvements of the imports substitu-349 tion, which satisfied the demand of an "acceler-350 ated" investment during the height and maturity 351 period of the industrialization model in Argentina. 352 As we said, the first "bet" during the second 353 period of the industrialization model was to resort 354 to foreign capital, which was pursued during the 355 1950s and the 1960s by democratically elected 356 governments (Juan Perón, Arturo Frondizi) and 357 also by militaries (Juan Onganía), with different 358 results. However, at the end of the decade, it was 359

evident that the "foreignization" of the national 360 economy tended to generate, in a medium and 361 long term, more problems than solutions in rela- 362 tion to the provision of foreign exchange. To the 363 greater relative demand of imports from foreign 364 companies, the outflows of capital as dividends, 365 utilities, patents, etc., had to be added. In this 366 context, the last action taken by the political econ- 367 omy of the industrialization was to strengthen the 368 domestic capital companies (both public and pri- 369 vate) and boost the presence of productive plants 370 with efficiency and activities not so distant from 371 the international border. Under these guidelines, 372 before the military coup of 1976, some enterprises 373 with strong export capability in basic industry 374 sectors such as aluminium, steel-making, chemis- 375 try and petrochemistry, pulp, metal-mechanic, 376 electronic, among others, were created in Argen- 377 tina. Some of them were encouraged by the state, 378 which assumed strategic significance as an 379



National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina, Fig. 6 Imports of capital goods and investment in durable production equipment over GDP, 1950 = 100 (1930-1976). (Source: own elaboration based on data from Ferreres (2010))

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380 entrepreneur in the steel-making and petrochemical industries (especially through companies 381 owned by the military forces) and others were 382 undertaken by the private capital with strong sup-383 port from the public sector by different mecha-384 nisms of industrial promotion. In fact, the major 385 industrial company of that period was the steel 386 company SOMISA, inaugurated in 1960 but fos-387 tered since the 1940s by the industrialist militaries 388 led by General Manuel Savio, whose name was 389 chosen to designate the plant.² Given this strategy, 390 the industrial exports growth allowed the diversi-391 fication of the export basket. For the first and last 392 time, agricultural products and their derivatives, 393 such as meat, flour, oil and leather, lost relative 394 importance (Fig. 7). The participation of the food 395 industry in the overseas manufactures sales went 396 from 90% in 1960 to less than 50% in 1975 while 397 machinery and equipment increased from insig-398 nificant values to represent 30% of the total 399 manufacturing exports during the same period. 400

In 1975, when the country had 25 million cit-401 izens, the industrial sector was employing one and 402 a half million people in more than 120 thousand 403 industrial establishments (Fig. 8). Broadly speak-404 ing, the trente glorieuses of western capitalism 405 coincided with the boom in the industrialization 406 model in Argentina; a society that although the 407 deep macroeconomic instability and the political 408 exclusion that prevailed during a significant por-409 tion of the twentieth century, held an important 410 social upward mobility and it was one of the most 411 egalitarian -in Latin America. 412

413 Despite the undoubted improvements, there
414 were structural problems in the dynamic of the
415 Argentine industrialization along with blunt exter416 nal and monetary problems. The substitution of
417 imports tied its evolution to the Balance of Pay418 ments. If the available external finance was

scarcer for all Latin America at the time, it was 419 particularly severe in the case of Argentina and, as 420 a result, the industrial cycle was strongly associ- 421 ated to the trade result due to the fact that the 422 manufacturing production demanded foreign 423 exchange that was not generated by the sector 424 given that the export basket of the country contin- 425 ued to be made up, to a great extent, by wage- 426 goods (grains and meat). With the agricultural 427 exports relatively stagnant, the economic cycle 428 and the intensity of the demand for imports 429 established a cyclical pattern of stop & go partic- 430 ularly clear between 1949 and 1975. As described 431 by many contemporary economists, the industrial 432 growth generated tensions on the trade balance. 433 After the available reserves were exhausted, a 434 readjustment was imposed by the alteration of 435 the exchange rate. The devaluation, as opposed 436 to the results predicted by the conventional eco- 437 nomic wisdom of that time, did not result in an 438 expansionary impulse. The equilibrium of the 439 external accounts was rather reached by the crisis 440 associated to the regressive redistribution of the 441 income. The subsequent fall in consumption 442 released more balance for (primary) exports and, 443 at the same time, contributed to the fall in the 444 demand for imports (of the industrial sector). 445 Moreover, the strong resistance to falling wages 446 and profit margins caused that relative prices 447 shocks into persistent inflationary impulses. 448

The economic program established by the last 449 civic-military dictatorship (1976-1983) entailed 450 the abandonment of the policy guidelines 451 established over the previous 40 years. Even 452 though the speech was not openly anti-industry 453 but rather opposed to state intervention, the disas- 454 semble of the existing structure of regulation and 455 promotion led to the early beginning of the Argen- 456 tine de-industrialization (Fig. 1). The economic 457 policy was volatile and inconsistent but, in gen- 458 eral terms, the economic openness, the fast dereg- 459 ulation and the currency appreciation were factors 460 that made local products loss ground against the 461 imports onslaught. In opposition to the official 462 "efficientist" speech, enterprises did not have 463 real possibilities to restructure themselves, so the 464 smallest ones tended to disappear. The survivors 465 were the big companies, producers of industrial 466

²In 1941, the efforts from Savio led to the creation of the DGFM (General Directorate of Military Industries), a military-industrial holding that had a preponderant role in the development of the national mining and basic industry. The precedent of SOMISA dated from 1945, when the DGFM inaugurated "Altos Hornos Zapla", the first steel-making integrated center of the country in the northern province of Jujuy.



National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina, Fig. 7 Exports of goods from the manufacturing industry; contribution to the sectoral total of selected categories

commodities, which had the possibility to place
their products in international markets as a way to
face the fall in the domestic demand and, as foreign exchange suppliers, were also privileged
intermediaries of the government.

These characteristics were even strengthening 472 after the return of the democracy in 1983, with a 473 macroeconomy pressed by the external debt bur-474 den, with adverse terms of trade and international 475 financial conditions. The local economic discus-476 sion, from both the academic and the political 477 sector, left aside the necessity of industrialization 478 in line with the progressive desertion of "classic" 479 theories of development at a global level. The 480 bank runs and the hyperinflations of 1989 and 481 1990 placed the problem of inflation at the top of 482 economic concerns. In 1991, a program of strong 483 neoliberal "structural reforms" was established, 484 with even more depth than proposed in the 485 "Washington Consensus" and with measures that 486

(1959–1983). (Source: own elaboration based on data from ECLAC (1986))

implied the settlement of a currency board, among 487 others. The new currency appreciation and the end 488 of the last mechanisms of tariff and non-tariff 489 protection of local production deepened the 490 de-industrialization. The "convertibility" of the 491 Argentine peso lasted while the privatizations 492 and external credit markets provided foreign 493 exchange. At the end of 2001, a deep financial 494 crisis ended the monetary experiment. 495

As a consequence of the policies that prevailed 496 from 1976 onwards, the GDP grew slowly as 497 opposed to the rates obtained in the previous 498 term (Fig. 1). In 1999, the Argentine GDP *per* 499 *capita* hardly exceeded the level reached in 500 1974. The virtual stagnation of the Argentine 501 economy between 1976 and 2001 coexisted with 502 strong fluctuations of the product, marked by crisis and deep recessions. What is even more serious is the fact that the industry, which had driven 505

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National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina, Fig. 8 Industrial Employment and Establishments according to economic census (1914–2003). (Source: own elaboration based on data from Kulfas and Salles (2019–2020))

growth previously, increased by a meagre rate of0.4% annually in the neoliberal period.

The transformations were particularly remark-508 able in the manufacturing industry since its par-509 ticipation in the production of the GDP fell from 510 33% to 16% in those years. The fact that devel-511 oped countries also registered a noticeable dein-512 dustrialization is true, but it was a result of 513 different factors: changes imposed in the demand 514 composition, the increase in the productivity of 515 the whole economy, the progress, integration and 516 transformation of the industrial activity and 517 changes in the international division of labour. 518 Instead, in Argentina, the factors were related to 519 the dismantling of the production system, the 520 growing "structural heterogeneity" and the inter-521 ruption of accumulation in a wide sense. The 522 national manufacturing sector lost ground even 523 in the regional context (Fig. 9). While the industry 524 in Brazil and Mexico managed to continue 525

growing (although with undeniable difficulties), 526 in Argentina the sector stagnated completely for 527 decades after 1975. 528

The changes inside the manufacturing sector 529 were even more dramatic than the absolute loss of 530 importance. The more affected branches were the 531 ones vulnerable against external competition and 532 those more sensitive to abrupt changes in the 533 domestic demand. The necessity of reducing 534 costs and improving the quality local production 535 to face the growing external competition resulted 536 in the substitution of investment in domestic 537 equipment for imported capital goods; in the 538 incorporation of imported parts instead of using 539 national inputs or in the direct importation of 540 goods and the discarding of production by local 541 companies that tried, in that way, to maximize 542 their market knowledge and power, their trade 543 networks and their ability to provide technical 544 These strategies disassembled the 545 support.



National Cases of Industrialization: Argentina, Fig. 9 Industrial GDP of Argentina, Brazil and Mexico, in 1990 PPP dollars (1950–2010). (Source: own elaboration based on data from MOxLAD and the World Bank)

productive structure by losing economies of specialization and disrupting the network of independent subcontractors developed by the national
industry in the previous decades.

Around 400 companies, mostly from dynamic 550 sectors associated to the processing of natural 551 resources and to the production of basic industrial 552 inputs that had been strongly fostered in the past 553 (such as steel, petrochemistry and aluminium), 554 along with the automotive industry, carried on 555 "offensive restructurings" to face the new domes-556 tic and global market changes. In this way, they 557 reached levels of technology and economies of 558 scale and scope close to the most sophisticated 559 ones around the world. Overall, the participation 560 of the value added over the domestic product 561 decreased as a consequence of the opening and 562 the "inverse substitution" of domestically pro-563 duced goods for imports. Continuous process 564 plants of aluminium, pulp and paper, steelmaking 565

or petrochemistry started to export as an alternative to maintain the activity in front of a recessive 567 domestic market, but they ended up, in some 568 cases, placing most of their production overseas, 569 therefore stimulating the industrial exports. In the 570 decade of 1990, the increase in industrial exports 571 was strongly connected to the delivery of petrothemical products and cars to the Mercosur 573 (particularly to Brazil).³ In the meanwhile, the 574 export of more complex products declined, especially machinery and equipment, which had experienced a strong expansion in the previous term. 577

Thousands of small and medium enterprises 578 disappeared and the social outlook was trans- 579 formed and aggravated, particularly in the big 580 cities such as the Greater Buenos Aires, Rosario 581

³The Southern Common Market (Mercosur in Spanish) was established in 1991 by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay.

and Córdoba. The rest of the companies which
were around 25 thousand, without including the
micro-enterprises, adopted "defensive survival
strategies" to adapt to the new scenario.

There were two clear processes in the sector: 586 the concentration of the production and the dom-587 inant participation of subsidiaries of foreign com-588 panies. A survey of the biggest 500 companies, 589 300 of which were operating in the manufacturing 590 industry, showed that these companies were gen-591 erating almost 40% of the industrial GDP. There 592 was also a strong concentration among the biggest 593 companies of the survey (which not only covered 594 the manufacturing industry, but also infrastructure 595 and mining activities). 10% of those companies, 596 around 50 companies, were generating almost 597 60% of the Value Added and more than 70% of 598 the utilities of the whole group. In steel produc-599 tion, for example, the concentration, which was 600 already noticeable at the end of the previous 601 period, was intensified in the 1980s and was con-602 solidated with the privatization of Altos Hornos 603 Zapla and SOMISA at the beginning of the fol-604 lowing decade. As a result, the three major private 605 companies of the sector (Siderca, Acindar and 606 Siderar) came to control more than 90% of the 607 steel production. 608

In general terms, not only the industry lost 609 relative and absolute significance, but also the 610 productive structure suffered a process of 611 "primarization" by the simplification of previ-612 ously integrated chains and processes. The result 613 was an industry that started the twenty-first cen-614 tury with a predominant focus on the processing 615 of natural resources, such as the agro-industry and 616 oil refining. As an exception, one of the sectors 617 developed under the substitution of imports that 618 managed to survive later was the automotive sec-619 tor. The privilege of having a special system 620 established in the Mercosur, allowed the increase 621 in the production of final transportation equip-622 ment that were shipped almost exclusively to the 623 regional market. But this agreement also implied a 624 process of breakdown in the production lines and 625 the concentration on the final assembly of cars and 626 trucks. 627

After 2002, the end of the currency board and some attempts to return to a state with more intervention capabilities let the Argentine industry 630 grow again. The international conditions, includ- 631 ing the ideological ones that arose with the Latin 632 American "pink tide" and also the improvements 633 in trade conditions by the changes imposed by 634 China with its preponderant role in the new international division of labour, helped to maintain a 636 steady economic and industrial growth for many 637 years. It was not until 2004 that the industrial 638 product growth exceeded the level reached in 639 1974 (in constant prices): the Argentine industry 640 was stagnant for 30 years (Fig. 3). 641

Then, the impulse from the internal market 642 arisen from the modification of the relative prices 643 (devaluation, freezing of utilities tariffs, fall in 644 both wage and financial costs in foreign cur- 645 rency), a significant idle capacity with unemploy- 646 ment and later improvements in income generated 647 favourable conditions for the impulse of the 648 industrial demand. However, given the structural 649 features acquired after three decades of 650 de-industrialization, a system similar to an assem- 651 bly industry endured.⁴ From the point of view of 652 the trade balance, those "primarized" branches, 653 raw materials processors, presented surplus 654 while the branches with more complex technolo- 655 gies and productions were in deficit. 656

Nonetheless, the expansion did not last. After 657 2011, a period of stagnation began, lasting the 658 whole following decade. The harsh external prob-659 lems appeared again and the attempts done to limit 660 foreign exchange outflows without access to for-661 eign borrowing, imposed tight limits on the economic policy. Also, inflationary pressures 663 reappeared and were amplified after 2015 when 664 a new liberal government came to power. Similar 665 to what had happened after 1976 and in the 1990s, 666

⁴Maybe the clearest example was the promotion of assembly plants of electronic products in the far south of the country, where large subsidies had to compensate the expensive logistic and infrastructure costs for the companies located there. The "Special Customs Area of Tierra del Fuego" was created in 1972 and in November 2009, its incentives were updated to maintain a productive circuit that would be other way impossible, with the stated goal of strengthening production capabilities and employment absorption in an area which is remote and distant from other population or economic centers.

the "excesses" of the state were accused of being
responsible for the economic disequilibrium and
so, the economic policy led the country to repeat a
cycle of liberalization and unsustainable external
indebtedness that led to a new default, the third
one of the current century after 2001 and 2014.

In this context, the industrial sector kept its 673 inherited characteristics. Firstly, a great concen-674 tration of few companies that produce industrial 675 inputs that have some degree of international 676 competitiveness and - it must be recalled - most 677 of them resulted from the efforts made at the end 678 of the substitution industrialization period. Sec-679 ondly, a business structure controlled by foreign 680 firms mainly, as a result of the elimination of local 681 companies after the repeated policies of deregula-682 tion and economic openness. Finally, there is a 683 major productive disintegration that generates a 684 negative dynamic on the sectoral trade balance 685 when the growth rate raises. 686

In conclusion, the tendencies that began in the 687 middle of the 1970s are still unbated. The alterna-688 short "neotives proposed during the 689 developmentalism" period (2003-2015) failed to 690 modify the negative aspects of the operating fea-691 tures of the Argentine industrial sector and could 692 not sustain a steady growth path. Future attempts 693 at this goal will have to consider more ambitious 694 objectives and a more consistent policy: the indus-695 trial history of Argentina shows that challenges 696 are not insurmountable if a more complex and 697 competitive productive structure wants to be 698 achieved. Unless a fortuitous discovery radically 699 changes the factor endowment of the country, 700 there is no alternative to guarantee the welfare of 701

702 its population.

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