



Disciplina: FSL0644

Sociologia do Desenvolvimento – “A invenção do Terceiro Mundo”.

Graduação em Relações Internacionais – USP
2º Semestre de 2019

Docente responsável: Prof. Dr. Alvaro A. Comin (548616)
alvcomin@usp.br

Monitores: Policarpo Fontes <pfontes2010@gmail.com> e;
Pedro Micusi Micussi <pedromicussi@gmail.com>;

[07 e 08/nov] 11. Desindustrialização e interesse nacional

Rodrik, Dani “Premature deindustrialization”. MIT, National Bureau of Economic Research, Working Paper 20935, 2015. Disponível em: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w20935>.

Rodrik, Dani *The globalization paradox: democracy and the future of the world economy*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2011.

The deceptive promise of free trade | DW Documentary
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DnW9ZQtI1_E

Industrialização e Interesse Nacional

ALEXANDER HAMILTON (SECRETÁRIO DO TESOURO EUA): “REPORT ON MANUFACTURES” (DEC 5, 1791)

- “Não apenas a riqueza, mas a independência e a segurança de um país estão materialmente conectadas com a prosperidade da indústria. Toda Nação deve ambicionar ter em casa as fontes essenciais de suprimentos, desde os de subsistência até os de defesa”.
- A extrema dificuldade que os EUA experimentaram, durante a última guerra, devido à incapacidade de se abastecerem a si mesmos, estão ainda frescas na nossa memória ... Pode-se esperar que a próxima guerra venha a exemplificar que os equívocos e os perigos desta incapacidade ainda estão presentes, a menos que seja superada por ações decididas dos nossos poderes públicos”.

POLÍTICA DE PROTEÇÃO DA INDÚSTRIA NACIONAL

- Proteção tarifária contra importações nos setores que se quer desenvolver.
- Proibição de artigos importados ou adoção de tarifas proibitivas;
- Proibição de exportação de matérias-primas necessárias à indústria nacional;
- Subsídios fiscais (“Não há propósito para o qual o dinheiro público possa ser aplicado mais proveitosamente do que na aquisição de uma nova indústria...”);
- Prêmios para inventores; patentes;
- Isenção fiscal para matérias-primas importadas necessárias à indústria nacional;
- Unificação do setor bancário;
- Investimentos em infraestrutura.

Desindustrialização

MODERNIDADE

Our modern world is in many ways the product of industrialization. It was the industrial revolution that enabled sustained productivity growth in Europe and the United States for the first time, resulting in the division of the world economy into rich and poor nations. It was industrialization again that permitted catch-up and convergence with the West by a relatively smaller number of non-Western nations – Japan starting in the late 19th century, South Korea, Taiwan and a few others after the 1960s. For countries that still remain mired in poverty, such as those in sub-Saharan Africa, future economic hopes rest in large part on fostering new manufacturing industries.

Industrialization shaped the modern world in ways beyond economic. It fostered urbanization and the creation of new social categories and habits. It created a working class and a capitalist class, trade unions, and political movements that challenged the dominance of traditional agrarian elites. These social and political developments bequeathed us today's modern states, based on mass franchise and (regulated) market economies.

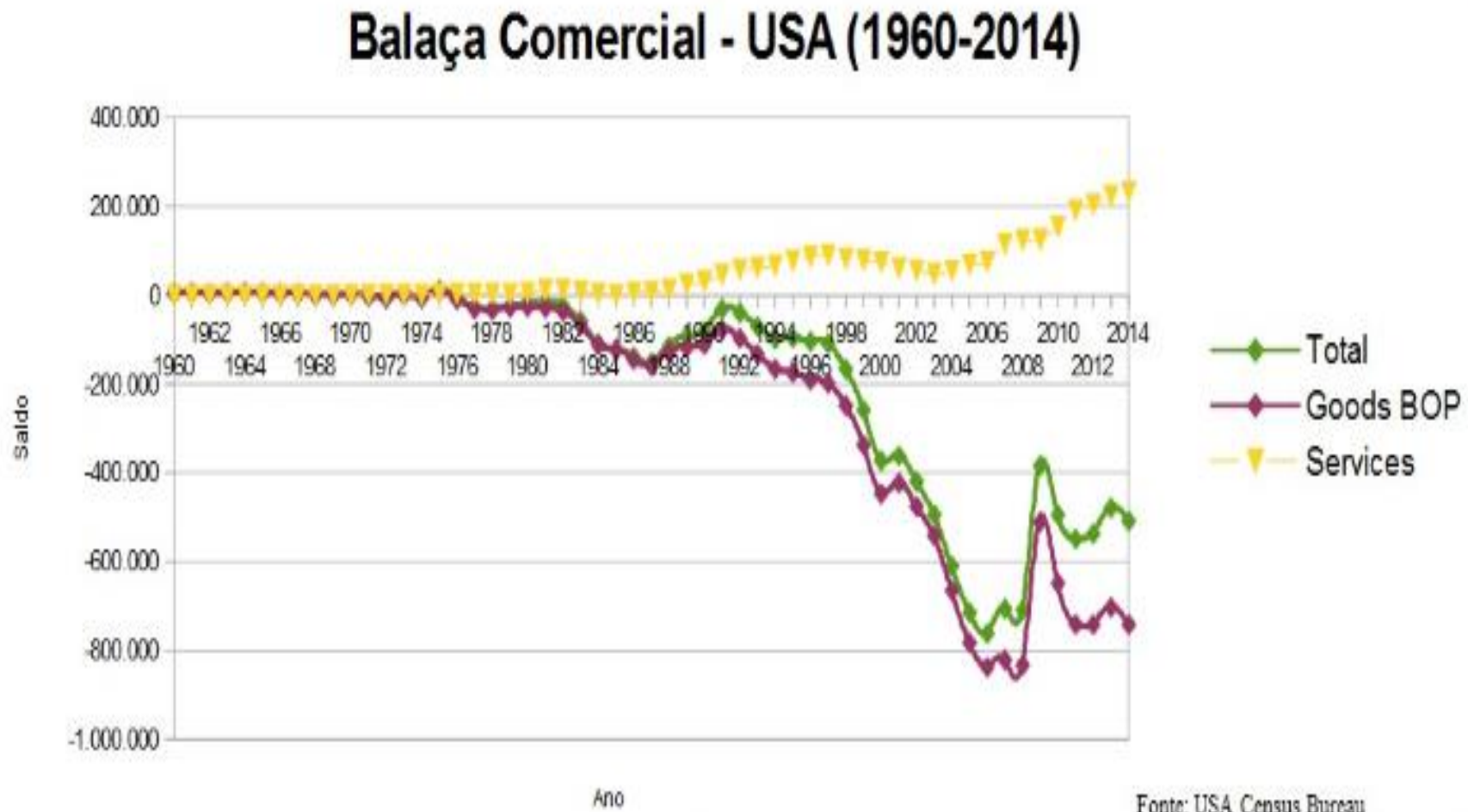
As developing countries opened up to trade, their manufacturing sectors were hit by a double whammy. Those without a strong comparative advantage in manufacturing became net importers of manufacturing, reversing a long process of import-substitution. (...) The decline in the relative price of manufacturing in the advanced countries put a squeeze on manufacturing everywhere, including the countries that may not have experienced much technological progress. This account is consistent with the strong reduction in both employment and output shares in developing countries (especially those that do not specialize in manufactures).

In sum, while **technological progress** is no doubt a large part of the story behind employment deindustrialization in the advanced countries, in the developing countries **trade and globalization** likely played a comparatively bigger role.

Deindustrialization has long been a concern in rich nations, where it is associated with the **loss of good jobs, rising inequality, and decline in innovation capacity**. For all these and many other reasons, it should be a much bigger problem for developing countries. **Premature deindustrialization has serious consequences, both economic and political.**

On the economic front, it **reduces the economic growth** potential and the possibilities for convergence with income levels of the advanced economies. Formal manufacturing tends to be technologically the **most dynamic sector**, exhibiting unconditional convergence (Rodrik, 2013). **Deindustrialization removes the main channel through which rapid growth has taken place in the past.** On the political front, premature deindustrialization makes **democratization less likely and more fragile.** **Mass political parties** have traditionally been a by-product of industrialization. Without the discipline and **coordination** that an organized labor force provides, the bargains between the elite and non-elite needed for democratic transitions and consolidation are less likely to take place.

Declínio industrial do “centro”



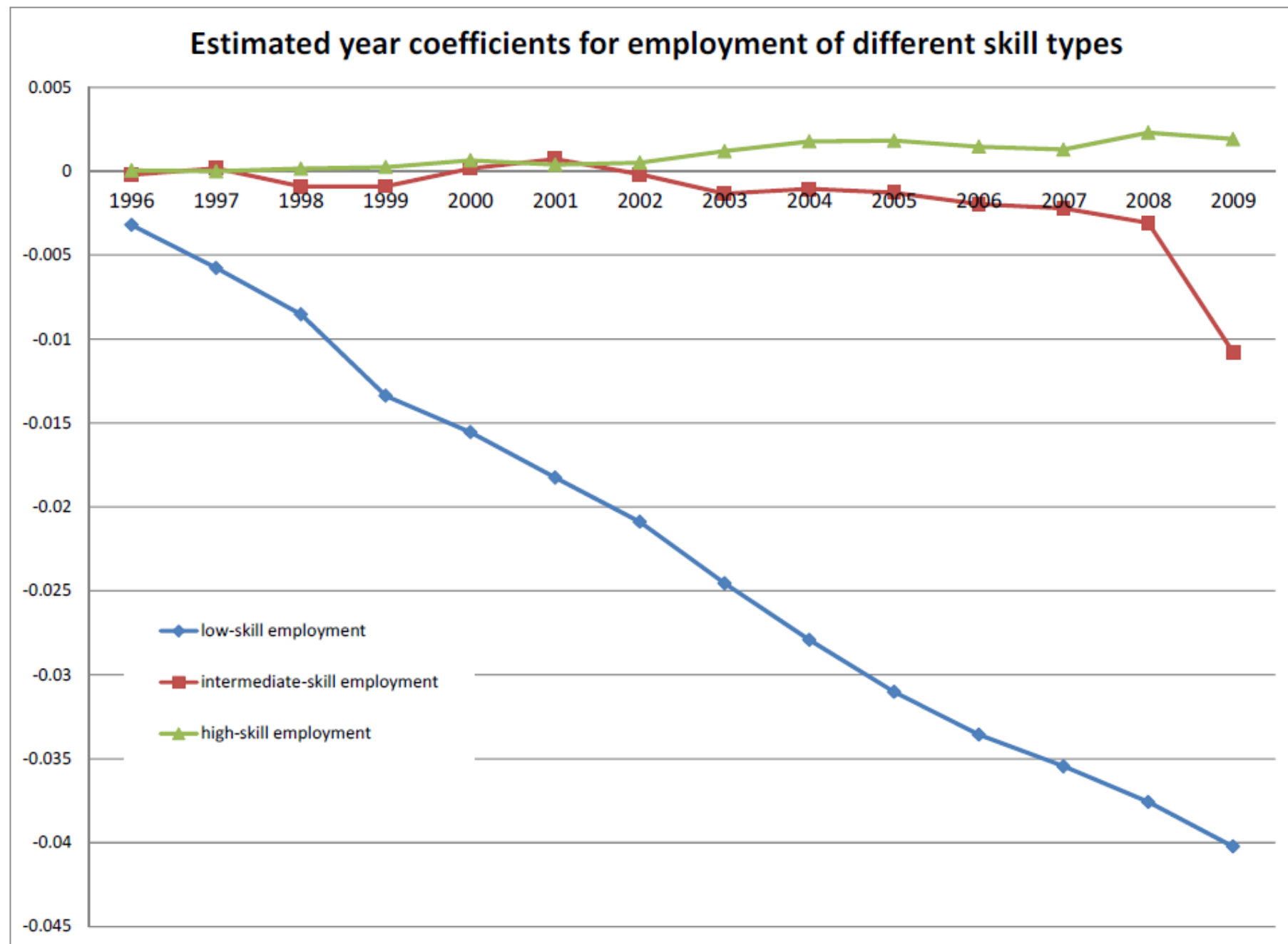


Figure 4

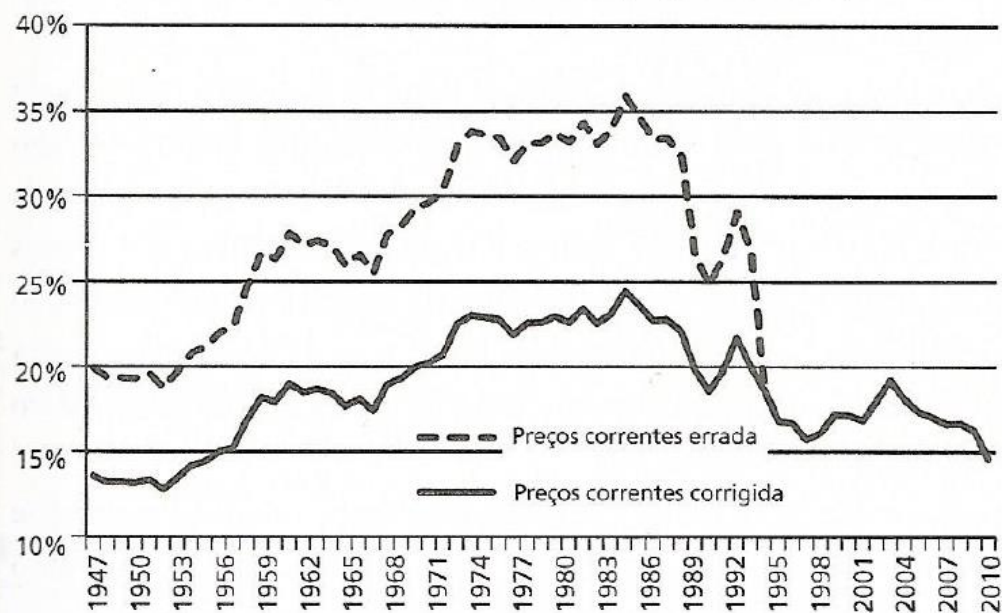
Edmar Bacha e
Monica Baumgarten de Bolle [orgs.]

O FUTURO DA INDÚSTRIA NO BRASIL

desindustrialização
em debate

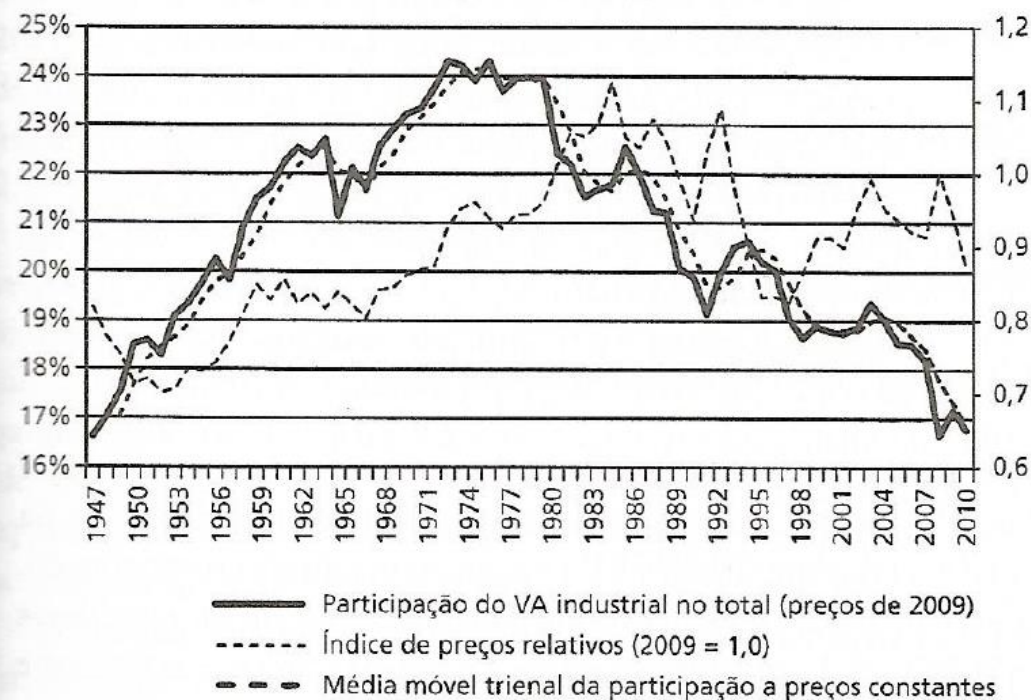
JEPE / C06

Gráfico 1 – Participação da indústria no PIB, séries original e corrigida – 1947-2011 (% do VA a custo de fatores até 1989, a preços básicos de 1990 em diante, ambas em preços correntes)



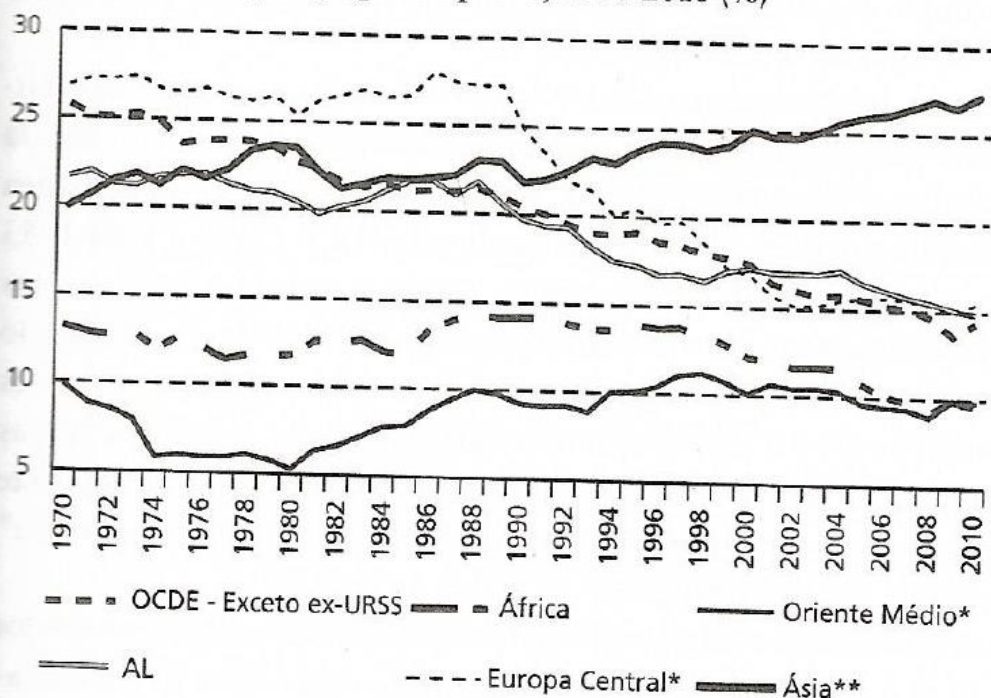
Fonte: Sistema de Contas Nacionais, IBGE, séries obtidas do Ipeadata; ver texto.

Gráfico 2 – Participação da indústria no PIB em preços de 2009 (eixo da esquerda, em %) e índice de preços relativos da indústria (eixo da direita, 2009 = 1,0), 1947-2011



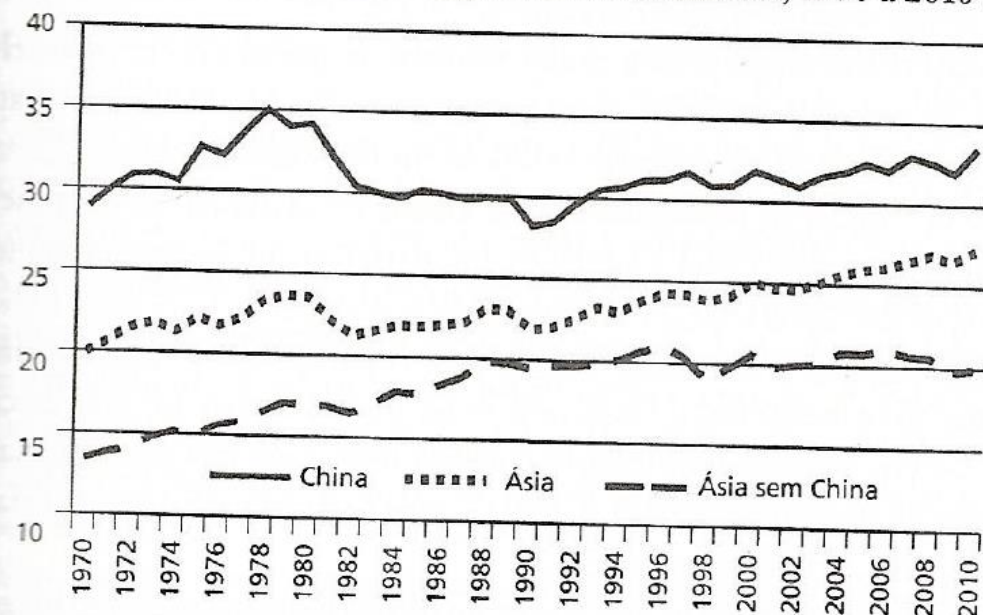
Fonte: Ipeadata; elaboração dos autores.

Gráfico 3 – Grau de industrialização médio
por grupos de países, 1970-2010 (%)



Fonte: United Nations Statistics Division, Database National Accounts Estimates of Main Aggregates; elaboração dos autores.

Gráfico 4 – Grau de industrialização na China e na Ásia, 1970 a 2010 (%)



Fonte: United Nations Statistics Division, Database National Accounts Estimates of Main Aggregates; elaboração dos autores.

O Trilema da Globalização

In his ode to globalization, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, Tom Friedman famously described how the “electronic herd”—financiers and speculators who can move billions of dollars around the globe in an instant—forced all nations to don a “*Golden Straitjacket*.” This defining garment of globalization, he explained, stitched together the *fixed rules to which all countries must submit*: free trade, free capital markets, free enterprise, and small government. “If your country has not been fitted for one,” he wrote, “it will soon.” When you put it on, he continued, two things happen: “*your economy grows, and your politics shrink*.” Since globalization (which to Friedman meant deep integration) does not permit nations to deviate from the rules, domestic *politics is reduced to a choice between Coke and Pepsi*. All other flavors, especially local ones, are banished.

Friedman was wrong to presume that deep integration rules produce rapid economic growth, as we have already seen. He was also wrong to treat his Golden Straitjacket as an established reality. Nevertheless, Friedman's central insight remains valid. There is a fundamental tension between hyperglobalization and democratic politics. Hyperglobalization does require shrinking domestic politics and insulating technocrats from the demands of popular groups. Friedman erred when he overstated the economic benefits of hyperglobalization and underestimated the power of politics. He therefore overestimated the long-run feasibility, as well as desirability, of deep integration.

Legislação trabalhista: Flexibilização e deslocamento / Outsourcing & offshoring

Impostos corporativos. Renúncias fiscais + paraísos fiscais

Health and safety standards

“Regulatory takings” Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) and Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs).

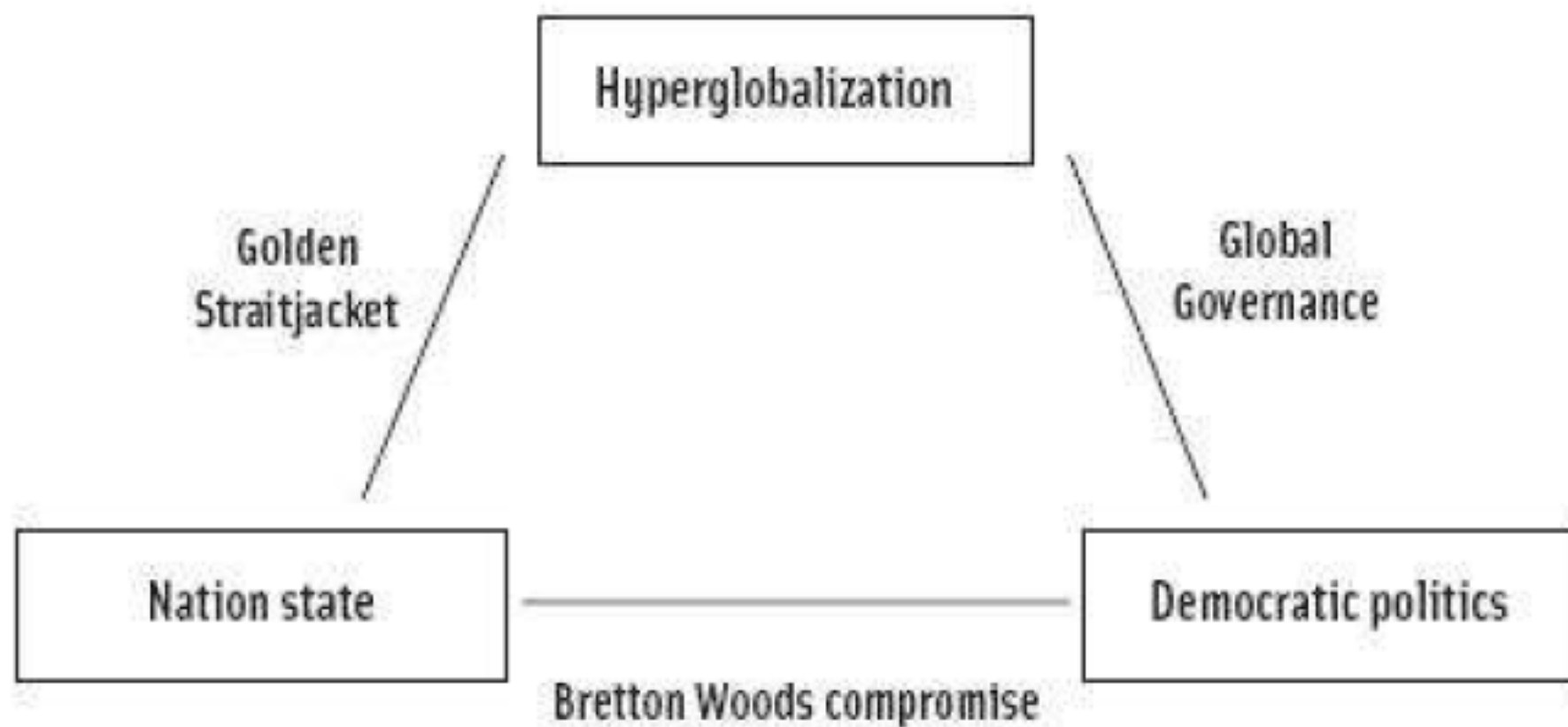
Industrial policies in developing nations. OMC contrária a subsídios a exportações; exigências de conteúdo local etc; e reforça a aplicação das leis de patentes e propriedade intelectual.

The Trilemma

How do we manage the tension between national democracy and global markets? We have three options. We can **restrict democracy** in the interest of minimizing international transaction costs, disregarding the economic and social whiplash that the global economy occasionally produces. We can **limit globalization**, in the hope of building democratic legitimacy at home. Or we can **globalize democracy**, at the cost of national sovereignty.

This gives us a menu of options for reconstructing the world economy. The menu captures the fundamental political trilemma of the world economy: **we cannot have hyperglobalization, democracy, and national self-determination all at once**. We can have at most two out of three. If we want hyperglobalization and democracy, we need to give up on the nation state. If we must keep the nation state and want hyperglobalization too, then we must forget about democracy. And if we want to combine democracy with the nation state, then it is bye-bye deep globalization.

The Political Trilemma of the World Economy





Balança Comercial EUA->Brasil

(Saldos 1985-2014)

