

Index

- Abad, Alberto, 220
 Ação Empresarial, 188
 ACIEL. *See* Asociación Coordinadora de Instituciones Empresarias Libres
 actor-centric theories, 11–13, 37–39
 Administración Federal de Ingresos Públicos (AFIP), 222
 agricultural dependence, 28–29
 agricultural sector, 54, 71, 158–159, 180–181, 203–204, 226–227
 Alemán, Miguel, 110, 116–118, 121, 122
 Alencar, José, 182–184
 Alessandri, Jorge, 71–72, 74–75
 Alfonsín, Raul, 205, 210, 213, 230–231
 Algeria, 249–250, 253–254
 Aliança Renovadora Nacional (ARENA), 171
 Alianza Patria Altiva y Soberana (Alianza PAIS), 243–245
 Allende, Salvador, 16, 53, 63–64, 86, 150
 backlash against, 97, 99
 business leaders and, 101
 Cárdenas, L., and, 55–56
 electoral victory of, 74–75, 105
 Goulart and, 169
 land reform and, 76
 Marxism and, 61
 mobilization against, 61, 77–78
 overthrow of, 66–67, 81, 99
 reforms pursued by, 55, 56, 57, 75–76
 sabotage against, 77
 transformations implemented by, 68
 alliance for profits, 107–108, 117
 Alliance for Progress, 246–247
 Almazán, Juan Andreu, 115, 116
amparo fiscal, 143, 237
 anti-statism, 15–16, 58, 60, 79, 132–133
 activism of, 131–132
 Alemán and, 122
 backlash against, 108
 Chile and, 48, 86–93
 coalitions of, 16
 economic elites and, 18, 38
 emergence of, 26–27, 56, 64–65
 influence of, 57, 59–60, 93–94
 institutions capable of sustaining, 66
 Mexico and, 48, 106–107
 neoliberalism and, 135–138
 path dependence and, 96–104, 105
 power of, 46
 power structure in favor of, 240
 private sector and, 206
 public sector expansion and, 147
 relative influence of, 27
 statism balance of power with, 44
 strength of, 48, 57–59, 62, 67
 tax policy and, 93–96
 taxation and, 39
 threats to property rights and, 52–59, 72–79
 upsurges in, 41, 62
 weakness of, 72, 176–182, 190, 226
 Árbenz, Jacobo, 240–241, 242, 247–248
 ARENA. *See* Aliança Renovadora Nacional
 Arenas, Alberto, 95
 Arévalo, Juan José, 240–241
 Argentina, 2, 4, 16–18, 60
 agricultural sector of, 226–227
 anti-statism and, 48
 business associations in, 39–40, 202–203, 211–212, 226–227

- Argentina (cont.)
 centralization and, 6
 democracy and, 31–33
 direct taxes in, 7
 distribution of seats in Congress of, 221
 economic liberalization and, 28, 62–63, 210–211
 exports from, 193–194
 indigenous population of, 54
 inflation and, 29, 200–201
 ISI and, 202
 labor movement in, 41, 42–43, 195–196, 201–202
 liberal interest groups in, 62
 middle class in, 202–203
 redistribution and, 26–27
 state oil company of, 60
 statism and, 47
 tax burden in, 4–5, 18–19, 22–23, 47, 65, 191, 192, 194, 198–199, 201, 215–217, 232–233
 VAT and, 200
 weak threats to property rights and, 60–64
- Argentine Industrial Union. *See* Unión Industrial Argentina
- Argentine Agricultural Federation. *See* Federación Agraria Argentina
- Argentine Chamber of Commerce and Services. *See* Cámara Argentina de Comercio y Servicios
- Argentine Chamber of Construction. *See* Cámara Argentina de la Construcción
- Argentine Industrial Movement. *See* Movimiento Industrial Argentino
- Argentine Rural Society. *See* Sociedad Rural Argentina
- Argentine Workers' Central. *See* Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina
- Asociación Coordinadora de Instituciones Empresarias Libres (ACIEL), 202, 203
- austerity, 83, 93, 123, 210–211
- authoritarian enclaves, 11, 36, 37, 45, 87, 97, 98
- authoritarianism, 33, 36, 37, 98–99, 206–207, 253–254, 258–259
- Autonomous Technical Institute of Mexico. *See* Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México
- Ávila Camacho, Manuel, 110, 116, 118–119, 120, 121
- Aylwin, Patricio, 84–85, 103
- Bachelet, Michelle, 85, 90–91, 92–93
- backlash, 256
 against Allende, 83–84, 97, 99
 of anti-statism, 108
 against Cárdenas, L., 147
 against neoliberalism, 217–221
 against property reform, 3, 234
- balance of power perspective, 15, 37–44, 48, 62, 63–64
 cross-case variance and, 39–44
 policy outcomes and, 39–44
- bancada ruralista*, 180–181
- Banco de México, 127–128
- Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico (BNDE), 155, 156
- Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social (BNDES), 175, 177–178
- Beteta, Ramón, 117, 121
- Beveridge Report, 163–164
- BNDE. *See* Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico
- BNDES. *See* Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social
- Bolivia, 1, 243, 245
- Bolsa Família, 177–178
- Bolsonaro, Jair, 176, 179
- Brazil, 2, 4, 16–18, 63–64, 262–263
 business associations in, 39–40, 159, 161–163, 169–171, 177–178
 current constitution of, 10–11, 36, 47, 131–132, 149–150, 173, 184–187, 189–190
custo Brasil and, 149
 democracy and, 34
 direct taxes in, 7
 economic elites in, 150, 163–164, 170–171
 economic informality and, 27–28
 economic liberalization and, 28, 181–182
 inflation and, 29, 154–155, 173
 labor movement in, 41, 42–43, 182
 land reform in, 60–61, 167, 180–181
 pension systems in, 4–5, 36, 173–174, 184–185, 186–188
 redistribution and, 26–27
 relative political stability in, 151–152
 social reformism in, 61
 state economic activity in, 130
 state-led development in, 150, 153–154, 165, 171–172
 subnational governments of, 35, 153

Index

305

- tax burden in, 3–4, 18–19, 22–23, 36, 65,
 149–150, 151–152, 154–155, 163–164,
 189–190
 tax system decentralization and, 6
 US and, 159–160
 weak threats to property rights and,
 60–64
 weakness of anti-statism in, 40–41, 48,
 169–172, 176–181
 Brazilian Communist Party. *See* Partido
 Comunista Brasileiro
 Brazilian Institute for Democratic Action. *See*
 Instituto Brasileiro de Ação Democrática
 Brazilian Labor Party. *See* Partido Trabalhista
 Brasileiro
 Brazilian military, 169
 Brazilian Petroleum. *See* Petróleo Brasileiro
 Brazilian Rural Society. *See* Sociedade Rural
 Brasileira
 Brennan, Geoffrey, 34–35
 brick, the (economic plan), 78, 81
 Buchanan, James M., 34–35
 Business Action. *See* Ação Empresarial
 business associations, 39–40, 41
 in Argentina, 202, 203, 226, 227–230
 in Brazil, 161–163, 169–171, 188
 in Chile, 57, 72, 76–77, 90–91
 in Ecuador, 245–246
 in Egypt, 254–255
 in Guatemala, 238–239
 in Mexico, 119, 128, 130–132, 136,
 138–141
 peak, 68.210, 71.150, 72.190, 101.50,
 124.80, 235.210, 270.31, 296.90, 238
 political parties and, 37–38, 41, 91,
 136–137, 162
 business leaders, 80–81, 101, 114–115
 business mobilization, 74, 126–129
 business organization, 17, 38, 44, 90, 159,
 161–163, 170, 238. *See also* business
 associations
 CAC. *See* Cámara Argentina de Comercio
 CACIF. *See* Comité Coordinador de
 Asociaciones Agrícolas, Comerciales,
 Industriales y Financieras
 Calderón, Felipe, 135, 138, 145–146
 Calles, Plutarco Elías, 55, 112
 Cámara Argentina de Comercio y Servicios
 (CAC), 227
 Cámara Argentina de la Construcción
 (CAMARCO), 229
 Cámara Nacional de la Industria de
 Transformación (CANACINTRA),
 118–119, 128, 140
 CAMARCO. *See* Cámara Argentina de la
 Construcción
 Cambiemos, 216–217, 232
 Cambodia, 252
 CANACINTRA. *See* Cámara Nacional de la
 Industria de Transformación
 capital, 254
 controls, 29
 flight, 9–10, 19, 29, 129
 human, 261
 national, 201–202
 taxation of, 128–129
 capitalism, 19, 57, 68, 105, 165, 252–253
 attacks on, 96, 240–241
 Capoccia, Giovanni, 50–51
 Cárdenas, Cuauhtémoc, 138
 Cárdenas, Lázaro, 16–17, 53, 55–56, 63–64
 educational policies of, 56–57
 labor militancy and, 113
 land reform by, 113
 major reforms implemented by, 112–113
 Marxism and, 61, 114
 Mexican Communist Party and, 156–157
 mobilization against, 56–57, 61, 114–115,
 147–148
 Monterrey Group and, 56–57, 114–115,
 119–120
 PRI and, 123
 private sector mistrust of state and, 163
 property right threats and, 151
 relationship to popular sectors, 156
 tax exemptions and, 121
 union leaders support of, 58–59
cardenismo, 116, 119, 126, 132, 155, 161
 Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 173, 180–181,
 186–187
 Carrillo Flores, Antonio, 117
 case selection, 22–23
 Castro, Fidel, 258–259
 Castro, Sergio de, 82, 97
 Catholic Church, 16, 61, 92–93, 198, 207,
 241–242, 252–253
 PAN and, 136
 Perón and, 207
 Vargas and, 159
 Catholic University of Chile, 74, 78
 Cavallo, Domingo, 210–211
 CCE. *See* Consejo Coordinador Empresarial
 CCTs. *See* conditional cash transfers

- Center for Public Studies. *See* Centro de Estudios Públicos
- Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina (CTA), 211, 219
- Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 55, 75
- Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT), 42, 182, 185
heavy taxation and, 189
strife within, 187
- Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Chile (CUT), 42–43, 68
- Centrão*, 186
- Centro de Estudios Públicos (CEP), 91–92
- CGE. *See* Confederación General Económica
- CGT. *See* Confederación General del Trabajo
- Chamber of Deputies elections, Chile, 100
- charros*, 58–59, 116–117
- Chicago Boys, 78–79, 81–82, 83, 99, 102
- Chile, 2, 4–5, 16–18, 252, 257
anti-statism and, 48, 86–93
authoritarianism and, 37
business associations, 39–40, 90, 101–102
Chamber of Deputies elections, 100
Congress, distribution of seats in, 88
copper nationalization, 51–52, 73, 76
copper revenues, 30–31, 66, 69, 79–80, 86
designated senators, 37, 45, 87–89, 97, 98, 99
direct taxes in, 7
economic growth of, 93–94
economic liberalization, 28, 67–68, 79
Guatemala and, 238–239
labor movement in, 41, 42–43, 57
land reform in, 73, 76
light taxation in, 105
military coups in Brazil and, 164–165
military regime of, 79, 82
neoliberalism and, 66–68, 81
private sector of, 90
public sector growth in, 234
re-democratization of, 31–33, 84–85
redistribution and, 26–27
relative political stability in, 151–152
state-led development model of, 71
student-led protests in, 45
tax burden in, 4–5, 18–19, 22–23, 69
think tanks in, 91–92
threats to property rights and, 52–60, 64
wealth of, 66
- China, 30–31, 249, 252
- Christian Democratic Party. *See* Partido Demócrata Cristiano
- Christian Democrats, 73
- CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
- civil society, 47, 92, 167
- clientelism, 100–101, 119–120, 179, 219–220, 240
- CMHN. *See* Consejo Mexicano de Hombres de Negocio
- CMN. *See* Consejo Mexicano de Negocios
- CNC. *See* Confederación Nacional Campesina
- CNI. *See* Confederação Nacional da Indústria
- COFINS. *See* Contribuição para o Financiamento da Seguridade Social
- collective bargaining, 105, 218
- Collier, David, 52, 197
- Collier, Ruth Berins, 52, 197
- Collor, Fernando, 173, 179
- Colombia, 6
- Comité Coordinador de Asociaciones Agrícolas, Comerciales, Industriales y Financieras (CACIF), 238, 242
- commodity boom, 215, 216, 217, 218–219, 261–262
- communism, 101, 156, 159–160
- Communist Party of Chile. *See* Partido Comunista de Chile
- CONAIE. *See* Confederación de las Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador
- CONCAMIN. *See* Confederación de Cámaras Industriales de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos
- CONCANACO. *See* Confederación de Cámaras Nacionales de Comercio, Servicios y Turismo
- Concertación, 36, 44–45, 84, 86, 87–89, 90–91
1989 electoral victory of, 103
composition of, 43
labor reform under, 103–104
lack of legislative control, 87
leaders of, 92
seats of Congress controlled by, 98
tax reform and, 121
taxation and, 45
- conditional cash transfers (CCTs), 144, 177–178, 261
- Confederação Nacional da Indústria (CNI), 158, 170
- Confederación de Cámaras Industriales de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos (CONCAMIN), 117–118, 127–128, 130
- Confederación de Cámaras Nacionales de Comercio, Servicios y Turismo (CONCANACO), 40, 56–58, 117–118, 121

Index

307

- Confederación de la Producción y del Comercio (CPC), 39, 56, 57, 62, 72, 73–74, 90
 rise of, 101–102
 secondary role of, 130
 support for Pinochet, 102
- Confederación de las Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador (CONAIE), 244–245
- Confederación de Trabajadores de México (CTM), 42–43, 113–114, 137, 141
- Confederación General del Trabajo (CGT), 42, 196, 211, 225
- Confederación General Económica (CGE), 202, 203, 211–212
- Confederación Nacional Campesina (CNC), 113–114
- Confederación Patronal de la República Mexicana (COPARMEX), 39, 114–115, 130–132, 138–140, 146, 147–148
 creation of, 56–57, 114–115
 ideology, 58, 130–131
 membership, 130
 Monterrey Group and, 56–57, 114–115, 130–131
 PAN and, 41
- Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM), 112
- Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador. *See* Confederación de las Nacionalidades Indígenas del Ecuador
- Confederation of Industrial Chambers of the United States of Mexico. *See* Confederación de Cámaras Industriales de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos
- Confederation of Mexican Workers. *See* Confederación de Trabajadores de México
- Confederation of National Chambers of Commerce, Services and Tourism. *See* Confederación de Cámaras Nacionales de Comercio, Servicios y Turismo
- Confederation of Production and Commerce. *See* Confederación de la Producción y del Comercio
- Consejo Coordinador Empresarial (CCE), 39, 62, 128, 130, 131, 138–140, 145–146
- Consejo Mexicano de Hombres de Negocio (CMHN), 126–127, 128, 130, 138–140
- Consejo Mexicano de Negocios (CMN), 39, 57–58, 126–127, 138–140
 constitutional design features, 14
 constitutional reform, 98–99, 186–187
 consumption taxation, 120, 145
- contingency, 50, 51–52, 55, 105, 106–107, 147, 255
- Contribuição para o Financiamento da Seguridade Social (COFINS), 174
- Contribuição Provisória sobre Movimentação Financeira (CPMF), 174, 222–223
- Contribuição Social sobre o Lucro Líquido (CSLL), 174
- Contribution for the Financing of Social Security. *See* Contribuição para o Financiamento da Seguridade Social
- Convertibility Plan, 208–209, 210–211, 214, 215
- Coordinating Business Council. *See* Consejo Coordinador Empresarial
- Coordinating Committee of Agricultural, Commercial, Industrial and Financial Associations. *See* Comité Coordinador de Asociaciones Agrícolas, Comerciales, Industriales y Financieras
- Coordinating Council of Business. *See* Consejo Coordinador Empresarial
- COPARMEX. *See* Confederación Patronal de la República Mexicana
- copper industry, 53, 54–55, 69
- Corporación de Fomento de la Producción (CORFO), 70, 71
- corporate income tax, 80, 85, 109, 145, 200
- Corporation for Production Promotion. *See* Corporación de Fomento de la Producción
- Correa, Rafael, 243–246
- corruption, 142–143, 176–177, 190
- Corruption Perceptions Index, 142–143
- Council of Public Relations of the Pro-Mexico Private Sector, 126–127
- countermobilization, 56, 73, 105, 106–107, 114–115, 169–172
- CPC. *See* Confederación de la Producción y del Comercio
- CPMF. *See* Contribuição Provisória sobre Movimentação Financeira
- Cristero* rebellion, 115
- critical junctures, 49–53
- CROM. *See* Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana
- CSLL. *See* Contribuição Social sobre o Lucro Líquido
- CTA. *See* Central de Trabajadores de la Argentina
- CTM. *See* Confederación de Trabajadores de México

- Cuba, 101, 123, 126, 252, 258–259
custo Brasil, 149, 178, 188
 CUT. *See* Central Única dos Trabalhadores;
 Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de
 Chile
- data sources, 23–24
 de la Madrid, Miguel, 133–134
 de la Rúa, Fernando, 211–213, 214, 217,
 218, 223
 debt crisis, 133, 134
 deindustrialization, 181–182, 203–204, 211
 democracy, 9–10, 63, 75, 172–173, 178, 257
 Argentina and, 31–33
 Brazil and, 34
 income inequality and, 33–34
 indices of, 33
 light taxation and, 84, 132–133
 Mexico and, 33, 138
 role of, 230–232
 taxation and, 10, 27, 31, 84
 transitions to, 31–33, 34–35, 96, 97–98, 173,
 181–182, 236–237
 Democratic Rural Union. *See* União
 Democrática Ruralista
 Democratic Social Party. *See* Partido
 Democrático Social
 democratization, 16–17, 46–47, 57–58, 67, 83,
 84, 105, 239
 of Mexico, 147–148
 re-democratization, 42–43, 84–85
 tax burden growth and, 173–176
 taxation and, 34–35, 66–67, 84, 133, 150
 Departamento Inter-Sindical de Estatística
 e Estudos Socioeconômicos (DIEESE),
 182, 189
 dependent variable, 21–22
 developmentalism, 117, 163
 developmentalist economic policies, 171–172,
 178–179, 246–247
 Díaz, Porfirio, 108–109, 112, 114–115
 Díaz Ordaz, Gustavo, 124, 128
 DIEESE. *See* Departamento Inter-Sindical de
 Estatística e Estudos Socioeconômicos
 direct taxes, 7, 12, 18, 38, 110, 135, 145,
 163–164, 215–216, 259–260
 domestic consumption, 58, 201–202, 218
 Dominican Republic, 1
 Duhalde, Eduardo, 215, 217–218, 222,
 224–225
 Duran Ballén, Sixto, 246
 Dutra, Eurico, 154, 159–160
- Echeverría, Luis, 45–46, 122, 129, 140
 business representatives and, 128–129
 business–state conflict under, 128
 López Mateos and, 124
 mobilizations against, 130
 political crises and, 123
 tax reform and, 124–125
 ECLAC. *See* United Nations Economic
 Commission for Latin America and the
 Caribbean
 Economic Charter of Teresópolis, 159,
 163–164
 economic crisis, 154–155, 177, 209
 economic development, 2, 13–14, 117, 120
 economic elites, 12, 15, 37–38, 68, 161,
 247–248
 anti-statism and, 14, 18, 19, 38, 65
 in Argentina, 207, 230, 233
 in Brazil, 150, 163–164, 170–171
 in Chile, 67, 68–69
 Correa and, 245–246
 divided, 205
 fiscal contract and, 19
 fragmentation of, 39–40, 47, 72, 162, 178,
 188–189, 192, 243–248
 liquidation of, 248–250
 in Mexico, 106–107, 108
 in Middle East, 252–253
 redistribution and, 232–233
 social conservatism and, 158–161
 economic informality, 27–28, 211
 economic liberalization, 28, 62–63, 81,
 181–182
 cost of, 81
 of oil sector, 145
 private sector and, 177
 support for, 177
 tax burden and, 132
 of trade, 104, 133, 137–138, 212–213
 turn to, 82
 economic planning, 155, 159
 Ecuador, 235–236, 243–248
 Egypt, 249–250, 253–255
 Egyptian Businessmen's Association, 254–255
 Egyptian-American Chamber of Commerce,
 254–255
ejidos, 113
 El Salvador, 235
 electoral system design, 13–14
 Employers' Confederation of the Mexican
 Republic. *See* Confederación Patronal de
 la República Mexicana

Index

309

- equity-enhancing change, 256–263
Estado Novo, 153–154, 156–157, 159–160
 end of, 159
 income tax revenues and, 163–164
 excise taxes, 124–125, 126, 133–134
 export taxation, 153, 215–216, 222
 expropriation of private property, 48, 53, 64–65, 248–250
- FAA. *See* Federación Agraria Argentina
 Fairfield, Tasha, 12, 26, 38–39
 Farouk (King), 254
 Febres Cordero, León, 245, 246
 Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo (FIESP), 39–40, 158, 163, 170
 Federación Agraria Argentina (FAA), 226–227, 230
 Federal Administration for Public Revenue. *See* Administración Federal de Ingresos Públicos
 federalism, 10, 34–35
 Fernández de Kirchner, Cristina, 47, 212–213, 215, 217, 218–224, 230–232
 FIEL. *See* Fundación de Investigaciones Económicas Latinoamericanas
 FIESP. *See* Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo
 First National Convention of Taxpayers, 121
 first-past-the-post (FPTP), 10, 22–23
 fiscal centralization, 3–4, 23
 fiscal deficit, 133–134, 199, 231–232
 Fiscal Pact, 237
 fiscal revenue, 30, 106, 135
 fiscal systems, 1–2, 259–260
 Flores-Macías, Gustavo A., 12
 foreign aid, 1–2, 236
 Forum for Business Convergence (Argentina), 228
 Foundation for Latin American Economic Research. *See* Fundación de Investigaciones Económicas Latinoamericanas
 Fox, Vicente, 134, 135, 140–141, 144–145
 FPTP. *See* first-past-the-post
 FPV. *See* Frente para la Victoria
 France, 254
 Franco, Itamar, 173
 Free Officers (Egypt), 254
 Freedom and Development, 91–92
 Freedom House, 22–23, 33
 Frei Montalva, Eduardo, 54–55, 66–67, 68, 70, 73, 74
 land reform and, 76
 social security tax revenues and, 82–83
 Frente Nacional del Área Privada (FRENAP), 76–77
 Frente Nacionalista Patria y Libertad, 77
 Frente para la Victoria (FPV), 215, 219–220, 229
 Frente Republicano Guatemalteco (FRG), 237
 FRG. *See* Frente Republicano Guatemalteco
 Friends of Fox, 140–141
 Frondizi, Arturo, 199, 203
 Front for Victory. *See* Frente para la Victoria
 Fundación de Investigaciones Económicas Latinoamericanas (FIEL), 226–227
 Fundación Libertad (Liberty Foundation), 226–227
 GDP. *See* gross domestic product
 General Confederation of Labor. *See* Confederación General del Trabajo
 General Economic Confederation. *See* Confederación General Económica
 Gerda, Jorge, 188
 Germany, 249
 Goodin, Robert E., 255
 Gordillo, Elba Esther, 141
 Goulart, João, 74, 150, 154–155, 164–165, 166–167, 172
 Allende and, 169
 attempts to veto assumption of power, 169
 ideology and program, 168
 impact of, 74–75, 169
 mobilization against, 170
 political weakness, 168
 popular mobilization and, 167
 reform failures, 167–168
 Graham, Douglas H., 130, 171
 Gramsci, Antonio, 38–39
 Great Britain, 22–23, 254
 Great Depression, 63–64
 Green Environmentalist Party of Mexico. *See* Partido Verde Ecologista de México
 gremialismo (Movimiento Gremial), 74, 77–78
 gremialistas, 78, 81–82, 99, 100–101
 gross domestic product (GDP), 1, 4, 23–24, 151–152, 193–194, 244
 Guatemala, 1–2, 235–242, 243, 252, 257
 Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union. *See* Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca

- Guatemalan Republican Front. *See* Frente Republicano Guatemalteco
- Guevara, Che, 258–259
- Guisa y Azevedo, Jesús, 131
- Guzmán, Jaime, 74, 77–78, 81–82, 97–98
- Haiti, 1–2
- human capital, 261
- hyperinflation, 47, 186–187, 207–208, 209–213, 230
- IBAD. *See* Instituto Brasileiro de Ação Democrática
- ICMS. *See* Imposto sobre Circulação de Mercadorias e Prestação de Serviços
- IDB. *See* Inter-American Development Bank
- IEDI. *See* Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento Industrial
- IMF. *See* International Monetary Fund
- import-substitution industrialization (ISI), 70–71, 104, 108, 111, 118
- abandonment of, 122
- Argentina and, 202
- politically influential firms under, 212
- Imposto sobre Circulação de Mercadorias e Prestação de Serviços (ICMS), 174
- Imposto sobre Vendas e Consignações (IVC), 153, 154
- Impuesto sobre Ingresos Mercantiles (ISIM), 110–111, 121, 124–125
- Impuesto sobre los Ingresos Brutos, 216, 224
- income inequality, 23, 33–34, 96–97, 251, 261
- income taxes, 6, 7, 124–125, 237. *See also* corporate income tax; personal income tax
- declining role of, 200–201
- Estado Novo* and, 163–164
- increase in, 135, 166
- kirchnerismo* and, 223
- minimum, 145–146
- reform of, 83, 124, 128–129
- revenues from, 153, 154
- schedular, 121
- universal, 127–128
- increasing returns, 49
- Independent Democratic Union. *See* União Democrata Independente
- India, 249
- indigenous population, 54
- indirect taxes, 6–7, 124–125, 153
- Industrial Federation of the State of São Paulo. *See* Federação das Indústrias do Estado de São Paulo
- Industriales, 226, 230
- industrialization, 46–47, 71, 153–154
- deindustrialization, 181–182, 203–204, 211
- inducing, 197
- limited process of, 251
- promotion of, 155, 205
- inequality, 217, 236–237, 251, 256, 260–261
- centrality of, 256–257
- effects of, 251
- income, 23, 33–34, 96–97, 261
- reinforcing, 259
- infinite regress, 51
- inflation, 23, 28, 29, 194, 213, 223. *See also* hyperinflation; Olivera–Tanzi effect
- attenuated, 199–200
- economic crisis characterized by, 154–155
- fighting, 208
- minimum wage and, 187–188
- rate of, 200–201
- surges in, 191, 217
- tax burden and, 9–10, 29, 200–201
- Institute for Economic and Social Research. *See* Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica e Social
- Institute of Industrial Development Studies. *See* Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento Industrial
- Institutional Revolutionary Party. *See* Partido Revolucionario Institucional
- institutional theories, 10–11
- Instituto Brasileiro de Ação Democrática (IBAD), 169–170
- Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento Industrial (IEDI), 177
- Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica e Social (IPES), 169–170
- Instituto Millenium (Millennium Institute), 179–180
- Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), 141, 180
- Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, 141, 180
- integralismo*, 159
- Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), 23–24
- interest rates, 194
- International Monetary Fund (IMF), 21, 23–24, 95–96, 208, 216–217
- Inter-Union Department of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies. *See* Departamento Inter-Sindical de Estatística e Estudos Socioeconômicos

Index

311

- IPES. *See* Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica e Social
- Iraq, 249–250, 253–254
- ISI. *See* import-substitution industrialization
- Israel, 254
- ITAM. *See* Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México ISIM. *See* Impuesto sobre Ingresos Mercantiles
- IVC. *See* Imposto sobre Vendas e Consignações
- Jaime Guzmán Foundation, 91–92
- July Revolution, 246–247
- Kaldor, Nicolas, 123–124, 127
- Kelemen, R. Daniel, 51
- Keohane, Robert O., 20
- King, Gary, 20
- Kirchner, Néstor, 47, 212–213, 215, 217, 218–224, 230–232
- kirchnerismo*, 215, 219–220, 222, 223, 224–226, 231, 232
- Kubitschek, Juscelino, 154–155, 166–167, 169, 171–172
- Kurtz, Marcus J., 35–36
- labor codes, 63, 102–103, 104, 137–138
- labor movement, 41, 42–43, 44, 182, 242. *See also* labor unions
- in Argentina, 42, 62–63, 191–192, 197–198, 211
- in Brazil, 42, 46–47, 191–192, 184
- in Chile, 42, 57, 70, 92, 102–104
- in Guatemala, 242
- ideology, 42–43
- in Mexico, 42–43, 57–58, 116–120, 137
- statism and, 18
- ties to parties, 46–47, 70–71, 94, 119–120, 137–138, 182, 197–198
- weakness of, 97, 102, 103, 137–138, 141
- labor unions, 11, 39, 190. *See also* labor movement
- in Ecuador, 235–236
- force of, 104
- hindered revival of, 67
- ideology of, 62–63
- membership density, 42, 92, 102, 137–138, 182, 211, 225, 239, 244
- military rule and, 102
- repression of, 62
- Lacerda, Carlos, 159–160
- Lagos, Ricardo, 85
- land inequality, 251
- land reform, 16–17, 53, 54–55, 60–61, 71, 76, 254
- in Brazil, 60–61, 157, 167, 180–181
- in Chile, 54–55, 73–74, 76
- failure to fulfill expectations, 262
- in Guatemala, 240–241
- lack of in Argentina, 60–61
- market-assisted, 262
- in Mexico, 54–55, 112, 113
- in Middle East and North Africa, 249–250
- in urban areas, 262–263
- landholding structures, 54
- Laos, 252
- liberalism, 78, 90, 99, 171–172, 178, 214, 230, 233
- Libertad y Desarrollo, 91–92
- Liberty Foundation. *See* Fundación Libertad
- Libya, 249–250, 253–254
- Lieberman, Evan S., 12
- Lodi, Euvaldo, 158, 159
- López Mateos, Adolfo, 45–46, 122, 126–127, 129
- COPARMEX and, 131
- Echeverría and, 124
- political crises and, 123
- reaction to dissent, 123
- tax reform and, 123–124
- López Obrador, Andrés Manuel, 46, 135, 138, 140–141, 142, 179
- López Portillo, José, 120, 122, 123, 125–126, 133, 140
- banks nationalized by, 136
- private sector and, 129
- VAT and, 126, 134
- Lula (Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva), 175, 182–184, 186–187
- Machinea, José Luis, 214
- Macri, Mauricio, 47, 215, 216, 226, 231–232
- macroeconomic instability, 199–205
- Mahoney, James, 51, 58
- Malvinas/Falkland Islands War with Great Britain, 22–23
- Marxism, 15, 53, 56, 64–65, 247–248, 256
- Cárdenas, L., and, 61, 114
- UP and, 168
- Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 95–96
- Meltzer, Allan H., 33–34
- MENA. *See* Middle East and North Africa
- Menem, Carlos, 47, 63, 208, 209–210, 211, 212–213

- Menem, Carlos (cont.)
 Convertibility Plan and, 208, 210–211
 hyperinflation and, 213
 Kirchner, N., and, 218
 legacy of, 217
 structural reforms, 207–208
- Mercantile Revenue Tax. *See* Impuesto sobre Ingresos Mercantiles
- El Mercurio* (newspaper), 77, 78
- Mexican Business Council. *See* Consejo Mexicano de Negocios
- Mexican Communist Party, 114, 156–157
- Mexican Council of Businessmen. *See* Consejo Mexicano de Hombres de Negocio
- Mexican Petroleum. *See* Petróleos Mexicanos
- Mexican Regional Labor Confederation. *See* Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana
- Mexican Revolution, 111–112
- Mexico, 2, 16–18, 252–253
 amparo fiscal in, 143, 237
 anti-statism and, 48, 106–107
 business associations in, 39, 40, 126, 128, 130–132, 138–141
 corruption and, 142–143
 Cuba and, 126
 debt crisis in, 133
 democracy and, 33, 138
 democratization of, 147–148
 direct taxes in, 7, 110
 distribution of seats in Congress of, 139
 especially light taxation in, 2–3
 fiscal conservatism in, 130
 Guatemala and, 238–239
 labor movement in, 41, 42–43
 labor weakness in, 141
 land reform in, 54–55, 113
 oil nationalization and, 113, 115
 oil revenues and, 14, 29–31, 46, 106, 132–133, 146–147
 pink tide and, 142
 post-1940 conservatism, 107–108
 post-revolution reforms in, 111–115
 private sector of, 40
 property reform in, 60
 public sector growth in, 234
 redistribution and, 26–27
 right turn in, 116–120
 socialism and, 111–112
 tax burden in, 4–5, 14, 18–19, 22–23, 106, 109, 146–147, 151
 tax system centralization, 6, 109–110, 126
- threats to property right and, 52–60, 64
 VAT and, 29
- MIA. *See* Movimiento Industrial Argentino
- Middle East and North Africa (MENA), 249–250, 252–254, 255
- middle class, 176–177, 185, 202–203, 259
- Miguens, Luciano, 229
- military coups, 150, 153–154, 164–165, 197
- military intervention, 198–199, 204, 231
- military regimes, 47, 57, 167–168, 170–171
 in Brazil, 165–166, 170–172
 in Chile, 79, 82
 management of economy by, 166
 policies of, 68
 taxation and, 165–166
 UDI and, 99
- military rule, 31–33, 46–47, 164–165, 178
 income inequality under, 96–97
 labor unions and, 102
 repression under, 62
 tax reductions and, 68, 79–84
 taxation under, 67–68, 236–237
 transformation of economic model under, 96
- Millennium Institute (Instituto Millenium), 179–180
- MIN. *See* Movimiento de Industria Nacional
- minimum wage, 75–76, 156, 187–188, 218
- Montero, Alfred P., 178–179
- Monterrey Group, 40, 57–58, 115, 117–118, 119, 132, 147–148
 COPARMEX and, 130–131
 ideology of, 132
 intellectuals associated with, 131
 opposition to Cárdenas, 114–115
- Montúfar, César, 245–246
- MORENA. *See* Movimiento Regeneración Nacional
- Movement for National Unity. *See* Movimiento de Unidad Nacional
- Movement of Landless Rural Workers. *See* Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra
- Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST), 180–181
- Movimiento Industrial Nacional (MIN), 211–212, 226
- Movimiento Regeneración Nacional (MORENA), 44, 46, 135, 142
- Movimiento de Unidad Nacional (MUN), 99
- Movimiento Gremial (*gremialismo*), 74, 77–78

Index

313

- Movimiento Industrial Argentino (MIA),
 211–212
- Moyano, Hugo, 219
- MST. *See* Movimento dos Trabalhadores
 Rurais Sem Terra
- Mubarak, Hosni, 254–255
- MUN. *See* Movimiento de Unidad Nacional
- municipal revenues, 6, 153, 195
- Nasser, Gamel Abdel, 254
- National Action Party. *See* Partido Acción
 Nacional
- National Bank for Economic Development. *See*
 Banco Nacional de Desenvolvimento
 Econômico; Banco Nacional de
 Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social
- National Chamber of Manufacturing. *See*
 Cámara Nacional de la Industria de
 Transformación
- National Confederation of Industry. *See*
 Confederação Nacional da Indústria
- National Democratic Union. *See* União
 Democrática Nacional
- National Industrial Movement. *See*
 Movimiento Industrial Nacional
- National Party. *See* Partido Nacional
- National Peasant Confederation. *See*
 Confederación Nacional Campesina
- National Private Sector Front. *See* Frente
 Nacional del Área Privada
- National Regeneration Movement. *See*
 Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional
- National Renewal Alliance. *See* Aliança
 Renovadora Nacional
- National Renewal. *See* Renovación Nacional
- National Sinarquista Union. *See* Unión
 Nacional Sinarquista
- National Society of Agriculture. *See* Sociedad
 Nacional de Agricultura; Sociedade
 Nacional de Agricultura
- National Union of Education Workers. *See*
 Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de
 la Educación
- National Union of Hope. *See* Unión Nacional
 de la Esperanza
- nationalism, 60, 196
- Nationalist Front for Fatherland and Liberty.
See Frente Nacionalista Patria y
 Libertad
- nationalization, 30–31, 54–56, 73, 76, 115,
 175, 218–219
- Mexico and, 115
- Nasser and, 254
- of banks, 136
- of electric power generation, 123
- of nonfarm assets, 243–248, 249–250
- of oil sector, 113, 218–219
- of railways, 206
- natural resource extraction, 2–3, 26
- natural resource nationalism, 54–55
- natural resource revenues, 14, 23,
 30, 134
- neoclassical economics, 45, 56
- neoliberalism, 56, 86, 92, 174–175, 177
- backlash against, 217–221
- Chile and, 81
- consensus and, 94
- counterrevolution and, 66–67
- global ascendancy of, 192
- hegemony of, 186–187, 210–212
- light taxation and, 84–86
- PRI and, 133, 137–138
- public rejection of, 215
- reforms of, 67–68, 178, 185, 204
- tax burden stability and, 208–209
- neopanismo*, 136–137
- New Majority. *See* Nueva Mayoría
- Nicaragua, 258
- Nigeria, 249
- nontax natural resource revenues, 2–3, 14,
 29–31, 106, 132, 134, 149, 250
- North Korea, 249, 252
- Nueva Mayoría, 43, 45, 84, 85, 86, 87
- labor reform and, 103–104
- platform of, 92
- reform effort of, 95, 96
- unpopular and internally divided, 92–93
- Nuevo León, 114–115, 132
- Obregón, Alvaro, 112
- OECD. *See* Organisation for Economic
 Cooperation and Development
- oil nationalization, 115, 218–219
- oil prices, 132–133, 135, 146–147
- Olivera–Tanzi effect, 9–10, 29, 154–155,
 174–175, 200–201, 213, 214, 223
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and
 Development (OECD), 4, 18–19, 21
- organized labor, 57, 147–148, 201–202. *See*
also labor movement; labor unions
- growth of, 234
- kirchnerismo* and, 219
- Perón and, 205
- Ortiz Mena, Antonio, 123–124, 127

- PAN. *See* Partido Acción Nacional
 Panama, 1
 Paraguay, 243
 parliamentarism, 13–14
 Partido Acción Nacional (PAN), 16–17, 40,
 45–46, 56–58, 62, 145–146
 Catholic Church and, 136
 consecutive presidents of, 138
 creation of, 115
 fined after 2000 elections, 140–141
 liberalization of oil sector and, 145
 mistrustful attitude toward state embedded
 in, 147–148
 PRI and, 137, 138
 private sector and, 136–137, 146
 pro-business ideology of, 144–145
 social programs and, 144
 victory of, 134
 Partido Comunista Brasileiro (PCB),
 156–157
 Partido Comunista de Chile (PC), 43, 70, 73
 Partido da Frente Liberal (PFL), 178, 179
 Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira
 (PSDB), 41, 174–175, 187, 188
 Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD),
 44, 138, 144–145
 Partido Demócrata Cristiano (PDC), 66–67, 72,
 74, 84–85, 94
 Partido Democrático Social (PDS), 171
 Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro
 (PMDB), 175, 176, 184, 185–186
 Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), 43, 46–47, 61,
 172–173, 175–176, 185–186
 dominance of presidential office,
 182–184
 electoral performance of, 183
 heavy taxation and, 189
 moderation of, 182–184
 rise of, 182
 strife within, 187
 Partido Justicialista (PJ), 209, 211, 218
 Partido Nacional (PN), 74
 Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI),
 31–33, 44, 46, 116, 118
 ability to monopolize state power, 123
 acts of official repression of, 124
 business mistrust of, 119–120, 136
 CANACINTRA and, 119
 Cárdenas, L., and, 123
 hegemony of, 57–58
 moving left, 126
 neoliberalism and, 133, 138
 return to presidency, 135
 tax reform and, 145
 Partido Social Cristiano (PSC), 245
 Partido Social Democrático (PSD), 156–157,
 160, 162, 167, 168
 Partido Socialista (PS), 70, 73, 85
 Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB), 156–157,
 160, 166–167, 168
 Partido Verde Ecologista de México
 (PVEM), 138
 Party of Brazilian Social Democracy. *See*
 Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira
 Party of the Democratic Revolution. *See* Partido
 de la Revolución Democrática
 Party of the Liberal Front. *See* Partido da Frente
 Liberal
 path dependence, 15–16, 48–52, 60, 62, 65,
 239, 255
 agreements about, 48–50
 anti-statism and, 96–104, 105
 disagreements about, 50–51
 mechanisms of reproduction and, 49–50, 58,
 96, 106–107
 property threats and, 52–53
 pay-as-you-go pension system, 80, 82–83
 PC. *See* Partido Comunista de Chile
 PCB. *See* Partido Comunista Brasileiro
 PDC. *See* Partido Demócrata Cristiano
 PDS. *See* Partido Democrático Social
 peasant political activism, 73, 76, 113, 124
 PEMEX. *See* Petróleos Mexicanos
 Peña Nieto, Enrique, 135, 138, 145, 146
 pension systems, 4–5, 80, 82, 144, 260–261
 for private sector workers, 133–134
 privatization of, 214, 246
 reform of, 36, 82–83, 173–174, 176,
 186–187, 208, 223–224
 rural workers and, 165, 184–185
 Perón, Juan, 60, 63–64, 191–193, 205–208
 labor movements and, 197–198
 leadership of, 201–202
 legacy of, 229–230
 military coup against, 61, 192, 207
 organized labor and, 205
 policy measures of, 196–197
 private property and, 61–62, 205, 206
 social security and, 194, 223–224
 SOEs and, 196
 working class and, 195–196, 197, 205–206
 peronismo, 15, 42, 43, 47, 61–62, 192,
 195–196, 204–205
 anti-, 201–203, 231

Index

315

- austerity and, 210–211
 authoritarian exclusion of, 63
 clientelism and, 219–220
 conflicts unleashed by, 64
 culture of, 228
 destabilizing force of, 207
 influence of, 203
kirchnerismo and, 219–220, 224–226
 military intervention and, 63, 204
 roots of, 197
 social conservatism and, 206–207
 personal income tax, 5, 6, 80, 85, 223, 259–260
 Peru, 235
 PETROBRAS. *See* Petróleo Brasileiro
 Petroecuador, 243
 Petróleo Brasileiro (PETROBRAS), 155,
 156, 176
 Petróleos Mexicanos (PEMEX), 29–31, 106,
 125–126
 PFL. *See* Partido da Frente Liberal
 Pierson, Paul, 50, 58
 Piñera, Sebastián, 85–86, 96
 Pinochet, Augusto, 44–45, 74, 79, 81, 97
 Chicago Boys and, 81–82
 detention in London, 98–99
 institutional structures left over by, 67
 legacy of, 101
 pressure to stimulate recovery, 83
 supporters of, 98, 102
 tax policies of, 105, 165
 voters for, 96–97
 PJ. *See* Partido Justicialista
 Plan Jefes y Jefas de Hogar Desocupados
 (Unemployed Heads of Household
 Plan), 217–218
 PMDB. *See* Partido do Movimento
 Democrático Brasileiro
 PN. *See* Partido Nacional
 Polity V database, 22–23
 Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro,
 179–180
 popular mobilization, 47–48, 53, 113, 117,
 167, 240, 248–250
 Popular Unity. *See* Unidad Popular
 populism, 18, 44, 94, 151
 anti-populism and, 191
 public revenues and, 195–197
 social conservatism and, 155
 taxation and, 192–193
porfiriato, 252–253
 Portillo, Alfonso, 237
 poverty, 236–237, 260–261
 power resources theory, 2–3, 12, 37–38
 PR. *See* proportional representation
 PRD. *See* Partido de la Revolución Democrática
 PRI. *See* Partido Revolucionario Institucional
 private sector, 40, 71, 116–120, 224
 accepting attitude toward state economic
 intervention and, 163–164
 anti-statism and, 206
 of Chile, 90
 collective identity of, 90
 Díaz Ordaz and, 128
 elites in, 73–74
 fear of alienating, 120
 fragmentation of, 192
 liberalization and, 177
 López Portillo and, 129
 mistrust of state, 121, 127, 163
 mobilization by, 126
 PAN and, 136–137, 146
 political influence of, 137
 relations between state and, 136
 Vargas and, 158, 159, 161
 privatization, 81, 83, 137–138
 of pensions, 214, 246
 revenues from, 173–174
 of SOEs, 67–68, 173, 208
 PRO. *See* Propuesta Republicana
Proceso, 204, 230–231
 property redistribution, 249, 256–257,
 262–263
 property rights. *See also* threats to property
 rights
 constitutional reform and, 73, 246–247
 land reform and, 167
 peaceful approach to restructuring, 257
 redistribution of, 129
 socialism and, 72–73
 property taxes, 6, 153, 215–216
 proportional representation (PR), 10, 22–23
 Propuesta Republicana (PRO), 15, 41, 215
 Proud and Sovereign Fatherland Alliance. *See*
 Alianza Patria Altiva y Soberana
 Provisional Contribution on Financial
 Movements. *See* Contribuição Provisória
 sobre Movimentação Financeira
 Przeworski, Adam, 22
 PS. *See* Partido Socialista
 PSC. *See* Partido Social Cristiano
 PSD. *See* Partido Social Democrático
 PSDB. *See* Partido da Social Democracia
 Brasileira
 PT. *See* Partido dos Trabalhadores

- PTB. *See* Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro
- public enterprises, 124, 196–197. *See also* state-owned enterprises
- public health, 111, 261
- public revenues, 1–2, 195–197, 238, 261–262
- public sector, 9–10, 15, 19, 80
- expansion of, 16–18, 38, 63, 70, 190, 217–221
- anti-statism and, 147
- limited, 119–120
- growth of, 67, 70, 224–230, 234, 236
- jobs in, 156
- redistribution and, 181–182
- size of, 18–19
- unions, 104
- PVEM. *See* Partido Verde Ecologista de Mexico
- Quadros, Jânio, 154–155, 166–167, 169
- qualitative comparison, 20
- qualitative research design, 22
- Radical Civic Union. *See* Unión Cívica Radical
- Radical Party, 73
- Ranis, Peter, 207
- reactive sequences, 51, 52–53, 56
- redistribution, 7–8, 19, 26–27. *See also* land reform
- attitudes toward, 34
- conflict and, 150–151
- economic elites and, 232–233
- fiscal systems and, 260
- gains in, 259
- of income, 256
- of land, 54–55, 60–61, 73–74, 112, 157, 249–250
- pressures for, 29
- of property, 249, 256–257
- of property rights, 129
- public sector and, 181–182
- reform and, 52–53, 60, 66, 68, 164–165, 207
- backlash against, 105
- Vargas unwilling to pursue, 157
- Renovación Nacional (RN), 15, 40, 62, 89, 94–95
- Republican Proposal. *See* Propuesta Republicana
- research design, 3, 8–9, 13, 19–20, 22, 23
- revolutionary radicalism, 192–193
- Richard, Scott F., 33–34
- Riggs Bank, 98–99
- right parties, 44–45, 57, 87, 89, 97, 99, 150, 235–236
- rightwing actors, 37–38, 46
- Rio de Janeiro, 162
- RN. *See* Renovación Nacional
- Rodríguez Lara, Guillermo, 245–248
- Rodríguez Saá, Adolfo, 217, 220
- Rossell y Arellano, Mariano, 241–242
- Rousseff, Dilma, 175–176, 180, 189
- Rubio, Pascual Ortiz, 112
- Ruiz Cortines, Adolfo, 116–117, 120, 121–122
- rural population, 54
- rural workers, 168, 184–185
- El Sadat, Anwar, 254–255
- Salinas, Carlos, 133–134
- Sanchez, Omar, 213
- Sandinistas, 258
- São Paulo, 157, 158–159
- Sarney, José, 173, 186
- Schmitter, Philippe C., 163
- Schneider, Ben Ross, 12, 90, 170–171
- Schneider, René, 75
- Scioli, Daniel, 216
- Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 117, 127–128, 129, 146
- Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit. *See* Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público
- self-reinforcing processes, 35.30, 26–27, 50, 51, 52–53, 63–64, 97, 106–107, 147–148
- Servicio de Administración Tributaria (SAT), 146–147
- sexenio*, 116, 137, 146
- SHCP. *See* Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público
- Sikkink, Kathryn, 163
- Silva Lima, Mayrá, 76–77
- Simmons, Erica, 51
- Simonsen, Roberto, 158, 159, 163
- Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación (SNTE), 141
- Slater, Dan, 51
- small-N approach, 20
- SNA. *See* Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura
- SNTE. *See* Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación
- Social Christian Party. *See* Partido Social Cristiano
- social conservatism, 40, 105, 206–207
- Catholic Church and, 99, 127
- economic elites and, 158–161
- economic liberals and, 230, 233
- political mobilizations of, 129, 190
- populism and, 155

Index

317

- Social Contribution on Net Profits. *See* Contribuição Social sobre o Lucro Líquido
- Social Democratic Party. *See* Partido Social Democrático
- social security, 2, 22, 61, 70, 82–83, 110. *See also* pension systems
- benefits, 156
 - Brazil and, 153
 - elite attitudes toward, 163–164
 - expansion and legal consolidation of, 155–156
 - incremental expansion of, 169
 - Perón and, 194, 223–224
 - Rousseff and, 175–176
 - spending, 155
 - tax revenues, 214
 - universalization of, 159
- socialism, 53, 72–73, 75, 117–118, 249
- Arab, 254
 - fear of, 105
 - goal of, 182–184
 - Mexico and, 111–112
 - property rights and, 72–73
 - Soviet Union and, 252
 - transition to, 168
- Socialist Party. *See* Partido Socialista
- Sociedad de Fomento Fabril (SOFOFA), 39, 72, 73–74, 90
- Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura (SNA), 72
- Sociedad Rural Argentina (SRA), 39–40, 203
- Sociedade Nacional de Agricultura (SNA), 158–159
- Sociedade Rural Brasileira (SRB), 158–159
- Society for Industrial Promotion. *See* Sociedad de Fomento Fabril
- SOEs. *See* state-owned enterprises
- SOFOFA. *See* Sociedad de Fomento Fabril
- Soviet Union, 252
- Spain, 108–109
- SRA. *See* Sociedad Rural Argentina
- SRB. *See* Sociedade Rural Brasileira
- stabilizing development, 116–117, 123, 125–126
- state economic intervention, 15, 40, 57, 132, 163–164
- state oil companies, 30–31, 60, 115, 218–219, 243. *See also specific companies*
- state-owned enterprises (SOEs), 156, 171. *See also* public enterprises
- deindustrialization and, 181–182
 - expanding, 165
 - Perón and, 196
 - privatization of, 67–68, 173, 208
 - renationalization of privatized, 175
- state-led development, 71, 72, 150, 151–155
- statism, 17–18, 72, 230
- anti-statism balance of power with, 44
 - Argentina and, 47
 - backlash against, 83–84
 - in Brazil, 184–185
 - business-friendly brand of, 63–64
 - civil society and, 92
 - deepening, 164–165
 - fears of resurgence of, 67
 - labor movements and, 18
 - power balance of, 224–230
 - predominance of, 184–189
 - reaffirmation of, 169–172
 - relative influence of, 27
 - strength of, 63, 181–184
 - supporters of, 38
 - weak threats to property rights and, 60–64
 - weakness of, 240
- Suárez, Eduardo, 117
- subnational revenues, 6, 10, 21–22, 35, 108–109, 153, 174, 216, 224
- Suez Canal, 254
- Syria, 249–250, 253–254
- Tax Administration Service. *See* Servicio de Administración Tributaria
- tax burden, 2, 4–5, 21–22
- in Argentina, 18–19, 22–23, 47, 65, 191, 192, 194, 198–199, 201, 215–217, 232–233
 - average, 5
 - in Brazil, 18–19, 22–23, 36, 65, 149–150, 151–152, 154–155, 163–164, 189–190
 - in Chile, 18–19, 22–23, 69
 - criticism of, 228
 - determination of, 11, 15
 - in Ecuador, 243–248
 - in Egypt, 250
 - fiscal centralization and, 3–4
 - growth of, 70, 108–111, 150–151, 215–217
 - democratization and, 173–176
 - slow, 144
 - sustained, 151–155
 - increase of, 68–69, 86, 172
 - instability, 198–199
 - liberalization and, 132
 - in Mexico, 14, 18–19, 22–23, 106, 109, 146–147, 151
 - reducing, 71–72, 82
 - richer societies and, 9–10

- tax burden (cont.)
 - stability, 132–135, 208–213, 215–217
 - in Syria, 250
 - theories of, 13, 26, 27
 - threats to property rights and, 14–16
 - trajectories, 59
 - variance in, 4–5, 8–9, 14, 27–28, 36, 47–48, 64–65, 234, 235
- tax compliance, 189
- tax evasion, 8–9, 165–166, 205, 213, 222
- tax exemptions, 121
- tax incentives, 166
- Tax on Gross Receipts. *See* Impuesto sobre los Ingresos Brutos
- Tax on Sales and Consignments. *See* Imposto sobre Vendas e Consignações
- Tax on the Circulation of Goods and Services. *See* Imposto sobre Circulação de Mercadorias e Prestação de Serviços
- tax progressivity, 6–8, 18–19, 153
- tax reductions, 68, 79–84, 154–155
- tax reform, 37–38, 84–85, 93, 165–166, 172, 238, 259
 - business mobilization and, 126–129
 - Concertación and, 121
 - Echeverría and, 124–125
 - global, 188–189
 - limiting, 142–147
 - López Mateos and, 123–124
 - PRI and, 145
- tax revenues, 7–8, 14, 69, 195, 244
 - Chile and, 67
 - federal, 153, 194–195, 200
 - frustrated efforts to substantially increase, 132
 - increase in, 134
 - in Mexico, 1, 109
 - slow growth of, 121
 - social security, 214
 - stabilizing, 191
 - stagnation of, 116
 - volatility, 199
- tax system centralization, 6, 69, 109–110, 126, 216
- taxation, 1–2, 120–122, 184–189. *See also specific taxes*
 - anti-statism and, 39
 - of capital, 128–129
 - Concertación and, 45
 - Convertibility Plan and, 214
 - decentralization of, 200
 - democracy and, 27, 31, 84
 - democratization and, 150
 - determinants of, 2
 - divergent levels of, 2
 - domestic, 69, 153, 196–197
 - double taxation, 95
 - economic conditions and, 9–10
 - export, 153, 222
 - federalism and, 34–35
 - fiscal deficit and, 133–134
 - growth of, 151
 - heavy, 68–72, 172–173, 243–248
 - increasing, 70, 189–190
 - judicial challenges to, 143
 - Kirchners and, 220–224
 - large-scale redistribution and, 3
 - light, 64, 66, 84–86, 93, 105, 106, 236–242
 - democracy and, 132–133
 - under military rule, 67–68, 165–166, 236–237
 - neoliberalism and, 84–86
 - populism and, 192–193
 - rates of, 5
 - rising, 163–164, 217, 228
 - theories of, 2–3, 8–9, 13–14, 65 (*See also specific theories*)
 - types of, 6–8
- Technological and Higher Education Institute of Monterrey. *See* Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey
- Temer, Michel, 176
- tenentes*, 157, 159
- Teune, Henry, 22
- think tanks, 91–92, 141, 179–180, 226–227
- threats to property rights, 3, 14–16, 18–19, 26–27, 52–53, 234, 248–249
 - in Chile, 53, 56, 68, 72–73
 - contingency and, 55–56, 105, 147
 - countermobilization against, 56–57, 72–73, 105, 108, 111–112, 240
 - critical antecedents of, 53–55, 60, 147
 - different effects in Middle East, 250–251, 252–255
 - in Guatemala, 240–241
 - historical trajectory of tax burden and, 59, 240–241
 - lack of in Argentina, 17–18, 61–62, 198–199, 205, 206, 234
 - lack of in Brazil, 17, 60–61, 150, 151, 156, 163, 205, 234
 - lack of in Ecuador, 246–247

Index

319

- lack of in pre-Allende Chile, 71
 - in Mexico, 53, 108, 147
 - Tilly, Charles, 255
 - Toledano, Vicente Lombardo, 114
 - Tomic, Radomiro, 74–75
 - trade openness, 9–10, 23, 28
 - trade protection, 111, 118, 159
 - trade taxes, 68–69, 108–109, 151–152, 153, 193, 215–216, 222
 - Transparency International, 142–143
 - Turkey, 249
 - 26th of July Movement, 258–259
 - Ubico, Jorge, 240–241
 - UCR. *See* Unión Cívica Radical
 - UDI. *See* Unión Demócrata Independiente
 - UDN. *See* União Democrática Nacional
 - UDR. *See* União Democrática Ruralista
 - UIA. *See* Unión Industrial Argentina
 - UNE. *See* Unión Nacional de la Esperanza
 - Unemployed Heads of Household Plan (Plan Jefes y Jefas de Hogar Desocupados), 217–218
 - União Democrática Nacional (UDN), 159–160, 171, 179
 - União Democrática Ruralista (UDR), 180
 - Unidad Popular (UP), 72–73, 75–76, 77
 - ideological change from, 96
 - Marxism and, 168
 - negative views of, 97
 - restructuring of property rights, 166
 - worker mobilization and, 101
 - Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG), 239
 - Unified Workers' Central. *See* Central Única dos Trabalhadores
 - Unión Cívica Radical (UCR), 202–203, 205, 229
 - Unión Demócrata Independiente (UDI), 40, 58, 62, 89, 93
 - creation of, 99
 - military regime and, 99
 - as most right-leaning of major parties, 100–101
 - Unión Industrial Argentina (UIA), 39–40, 202, 203, 211–212, 229, 230
 - Unión Nacional de la Esperanza (UNE), 239
 - Unión Nacional Sinarquista (UNS), 115
 - unionization, 167–168, 197
 - Unitary Workers' Central. *See* Central Unitaria de Trabajadores de Chile
 - United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), 21, 23–24, 117
 - United States (US), 9–10, 167–168, 249
 - Brazil and, 159–160
 - policy of isolating Cuba, 123
 - political dominance of, 248
 - proximity to, 29
 - University of Chicago, 56, 78
 - UNS. *See* Unión Nacional Sinarquista
 - UP. *See* Unidad Popular
 - URNG. *See* Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca
 - Uruguay, 1, 70, 235
 - US. *See* United States
 - Valdés, Rodrigo, 95–96
 - value-added taxes (VATs), 6–7, 27–28, 79–80, 165–166, 208–209
 - Argentina and, 200
 - broadening of, 135
 - centralization and, 126
 - creation of, 122, 125, 129
 - evasion of, 222
 - extension of, 144–145
 - increase in, 84–85, 94–95, 135, 145
 - López Portillo and, 126, 134
 - Mexico and, 29
 - rates of, 133–134
 - Vargas, Getúlio, 61, 150–151
 - agricultural sector and, 158–159
 - anti-Vargas military uprising by São Paulo, 157
 - BNDE and, 155
 - business organization after, 161–163
 - communist influence stemmed by, 156
 - death of, 154, 160, 161–162
 - deposed, 153
 - Estado Novo* and, 153–154
 - immediate post-Vargas governments, 154
 - military coup and, 153–154
 - opposition to, 158
 - PCB and, 156–157
 - pressured to resign, 169
 - private property and, 156, 205
 - private sector and, 158, 159, 161
 - pro-worker reforms and, 155–156
 - tax system inherited by, 152–153
 - two periods in power, 151
 - unwilling to pursue redistribution, 157
- varguismo*, 155–157, 159–161, 166–167

VATs. *See* value-added taxes

Velasco, Andrés, 90–91, 94

Venezuela, 6

Verba, Sidney, 20

vertical fiscal imbalance, 10, 35

Vietnam, 252

violent revolution, 256–257, 259

Waisman, Carlos H., 198

Washington Consensus, 178–179

wealth tax, 123–124

welfare states, 18–19

Workers' Party. *See* Partido dos Trabalhadores

working class, 12, 61, 151

Perón and, 195–196, 197, 205–206

Vargas, pro-worker reforms and,

155–156

World Bank, 23–24, 110, 120

World War I, 64, 151–152, 193

World War II, 68, 70, 111, 117, 154, 192–193,
200–201, 252

Zedillo, Ernesto, 133–134

Zürn, Michael, 256