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Cuba: A Way Forward
Inclusive Development
Migrants or Refugees

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Cover: Cars pass along the Malecón in Havana, Cuba.
(Photo by Gerry Balding.)

Comment

Two sparkling 1957 convertibles cruising down Havana's Malecón — a pink Buick Century and a tan Ford Fairlane 500 — grace our cover this issue. U.S. policy towards Cuba has been largely frozen in the cold-war era since a few years after these cars rolled off a Detroit assembly line. Although the cars continue to run, U.S. policy had become increasingly dysfunctional, finding little support in Latin America or the rest of the world. Recognizing this reality, President Obama chose a new direction. In near-simultaneous announcements in mid-December, both he and President Castro opened the path to re-establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries.

While these announcements were historic, bumps, potholes, stalls, and detours clearly lie ahead. In our opening article, Peter Kornbluh examines the possibilities going forward while providing a context of hidden diplomatic maneuvers between Havana and a succession of U.S. presidents since Fidel Castro came to power.

Beyond Cuba, the theme of inclusive development — moderating hyper-inequality and promoting sustainable opportunity — has become a central issue in the United States and throughout much of Latin America.

This issue of the Review explores inclusive development across several countries and from a variety of perspectives. Brazilian economist João Saboia looks at the success Brazil has had in reducing income inequality — attributing about 60 percent of the gains to labor market improvements — and then anchors the discussion in the daunting economic challenges Brazil faces going forward.

The third annual Chile-California Conference held at UC Berkeley in October 2014 defined its theme as the "Challenge of Inclusive Development." Berkeley professor Robert Reich and the Inter-American Development Bank's José Miguel Benavente opened the conference by grappling with themes of inequality, democracy, innovation, and global competitiveness. Berkeley political scientist Paul Pierson and economist Emmanuel Saez examined the political consequences of income inequality across the Americas, all discussed in this issue.

And, we conclude with a photo from Torres del Paine National Park in the south of Chile. The pristine beauty of these majestic mountains underscores the threat posed by climate change to the park and the planet.

— Harley Shaiken

From left: UC Berkeley Professor Robert Reich, CLAS Chair Harley Shaiken, and Chilean Ambassador to the United States Juan Gabriel Valdés at the 2014 Chile-California Conference.

Photo by Peg Skorpinski.

CUBA

A Way Forward

By Peter Kornbluh

On December 17, 2014, a quick succession of events ended with a radical reconfiguration of U.S.-Cuba relations. In the early morning, a U.S. government plane arrived in Havana to repatriate Alan Gross, the development contractor who had been imprisoned for more than five years for smuggling sophisticated satellite communications systems onto the island as part of USAID's "Cuban Democracy and Contingency Planning Program." After Gross boarded, the plane did not take off until another jet, carrying three Cuban spies who President Obama had just released after 16 years in prison, touched down at José Martí International Airport. After a three-hour flight, Gross landed at Andrews Air Force base where Secretary of State John Kerry welcomed him home.

Soon thereafter, President Raúl Castro appeared on Cuban television to announce the long-awaited return of the three remaining members of "the Cuban Five," who are known as "anti-terrorism heroes" in Cuba. He also stated that he had spoken on the phone with President Obama and agreed to "the adoption of mutual steps to improve the bilateral atmosphere and advance toward normalization" with the United States. Simultaneously, President Obama went on U.S. television to announce a historic halt to more than a half century of covert and overt aggression toward Cuba and a plan for peaceful and productive diplomatic and economic relations in the future.

In describing the policies of the past, which include the Bay of Pigs invasion, CIA assassination plots, and the 52-year-old trade embargo, Obama invoked the F-word: "failure." The United States had pursued "an outdated approach that, for decades, has failed to advance our interests," the president informed the nation. Now, his administration would pursue rapprochement and reconciliation — granting Cuba full diplomatic recognition and expanding trade and travel between the two nations. The United States "chooses to cut loose the shackles of the past," Obama declared, "so as to reach for a better future — for the Cuban people, for the American people, for our entire hemisphere, and for the world."

A Quantum Change in Relations

By any standard, Obama's decision to normalize relations with Cuba represents a historic breakthrough for U.S. foreign policy. By burying the enmity of the past, the president has freed future policymakers to pursue substantive national interests as they relate to Cuba, among them: counterterrorism, counternarcotics, immigration, and environmental cooperation. Under a normal rubric of relations, Washington will also advance its interests, and investments, in economic development on the island as Cuba restructures its economy from strict, state-centric socialism to a capitalist-oriented system.

A road in Havana, Cuba.
(Photo by Ana García.)

At the same time, Obama has significantly advanced U.S. regional and international interests. Until December 17, the United States was the only major country in the world that did not have normal relations with Cuba. As the annual UN vote denouncing the trade embargo has repeatedly demonstrated, the cold war-era effort to isolate the Castro regime resulted in Washington itself becoming isolated. Obama's decision also takes the issue of U.S. hostility toward Cuba off the inter-American agenda, where it has reverberated for years. It comes as no surprise that, throughout the region, Latin American leaders greeted the change in policy with applause. "For us social fighters, today is a historic day," declared Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff.

Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico have pressed Washington for years to end its regime-change programs toward Havana. Indeed, in December, the Latin American nations forced the issue onto Obama's agenda by inviting Cuba to the Summit of the Americas for the first time. By acting decisively now, Obama has assured that the April 2015 summit will become another positive step toward more normal bilateral and regional relations, rather than a forum for contentious debate over the future of U.S. policy toward Cuba.

For Cuba, normal relations with the United States will bring a host of benefits. International banking sanctions will be lifted when the State Department removes Cuba from its "terrorist nations list," where it has been falsely kept since the Reagan years. Full reintegration into the inter-American system will open up Cuba's access to multilateral credit, training, and technical support. Increased travel to Cuba by U.S. citizens will significantly increase tourism revenues and stimulate a boom in construction, services, and infrastructure. Remittances from Cuban-Americans to their relatives on the island, a leading form of foreign investment, are likely to quadruple. The expansion of Internet access on the island will also enhance future entrepreneurship and assist economic reform.

Psychologically, the end of hostilities removes the existential security threat of U.S. intervention — a

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threat that has overshadowed the island since the Bay of Pigs invasion. Indeed, after withstanding more than a half century of perpetual hostility, Cuba has achieved a nationalist victory: the United States has recognized, and finally accepted, the existence and independence of the revolution as a fait accompli.

The Precedents of Back-Channel Diplomacy

The history books will record that Raúl Castro, who succeeded his ailing brother as president in July of 2006, led Cuba to this pivotal juncture. But the declassified documents on past, precedent-setting efforts at secret diplomacy also reveal that Fidel Castro repeatedly sought better relations with Washington, albeit on his own terms, which included full respect for Cuba's sovereignty and independence of action. Fidel reached out to virtually every president, even those hardliners who would seemingly be the least likely to engage in secret dialogue with Cuba toward better relations.

Consider Fidel Castro's initiatives with these presidents:

KENNEDY: Less than five months after the Bay of Pigs invasion, Castro dispatched Che Guevara to engage in cigar diplomacy with the Kennedy administration. At an August 1961 Alliance for Progress meeting in Uruguay, Guevara delivered a beautiful mahogany box of Cuban cigars for the president to Richard Goodwin, a top White House aide. "Thank you for the Bay of Pigs," Che said to Goodwin. The invasion had allowed the revolution "to consolidate" around Fidel Castro's leadership and "transformed them from an aggrieved little country to an equal," Che noted, according to Goodwin's secret memorandum of the conversation.

Cuba sought a "modus vivendi," Guevara said during an impromptu meeting that lasted through the night. They were willing to negotiate on Washington's concerns. But "Cuba could discuss no formula that would mean giving up the type of society to which they were dedicated."

Two years later, Castro and Kennedy did pursue secret talks on improving relations. Indeed, in November 1963, Washington and Havana were actively engaged in back-channel diplomacy to establish an agenda for the first negotiating session to see what might be possible. The assassination in Dallas aborted that first, promising bilateral effort to improve U.S.-Cuba relations.

JOHNSON: In the aftermath of Kennedy's sudden death, Castro reached out to Lyndon Johnson, using a reporter from ABC News, Lisa Howard, as his emissary. While she was in Cuba filming a television special on the Cuban Revolution, Castro asked Howard to deliver an "oral message" to the White House saying that he hoped that Johnson would continue with the courageous diplomacy initiated by Kennedy. Castro said, "Tell the president (and I cannot stress this too strongly) that I seriously hope that Cuba and the United States can eventually sit down in an atmosphere of good will and of mutual respect and negotiate our differences." The message cautioned, however, that the president "should not interpret my conciliatory attitude, my desire for discussions, as a sign of weakness. Such an interpretation would be a serious miscalculation. We are not weak… the revolution is strong…. And it is from this position of strength that we wish to resolve our differences with the United States." Back-channel communications continued during Johnson's tenure, but no negotiations to normalize relations came to fruition.

NIXON: In the most surprising attempt to reach out to a U.S. president, Castro sent an exploratory "feeler" to Richard Nixon only 10 days after his inauguration. Despite Nixon's known antipathy toward the Cuban Revolution, Castro used the Swiss ambassador as an emissary. He wanted to "convey a message that he was interested in establishing a discussion," Ambassador Alfred Fischli told Secretary of State William Rogers, "presumably with a view to edging towards a détente."

Eventually, Nixon's top foreign policy aide, Henry Kissinger, would follow up on these messages. Kissinger sent a secret communiqué of his own to Castro in June 1974 calling for a discreet dialogue, and after Nixon resigned, instigated a series of furtive meetings between U.S. and Cuban officials that took place at the swanky Pierre Hotel in New York City and at a dingy café in La Guardia Airport, among other locations. For the very first secret meeting, Kissinger authorized an *aide memoire* to be read to Castro's representatives. "The ideological differences between us are wide. But the fact that such talks will not bridge the ideological differences does not mean that they cannot be useful in addressing concrete issues which it is in the interest of both countries to resolve," stated the diplomatic message.

But Castro had other priorities at the time. His decision to send troops to Angola in October 1975, in response to a request from Agostinho Neto to help repel CIA-backed guerrillas and South African troops that were attacking Neto's governing party, aborted the secret talks on normalization. Declassified memoranda of a subsequent conversation between Kissinger and Nixon's successor,

Photo by Elliot Erwitt/Magnum Photos.

American journalist Lisa Howard with Fidel Castro in Cuba, 1964.

President Ford, reveal their anger at the audacity of Cuba's extension of military power to the African continent. "I think we are going to have to smash Castro," Kissinger informed the president in the Oval Office on February 25, 1976. "We probably can't do it before the [November 1976] elections." "I agree," Ford responded.

Kissinger promptly ordered his aides to draft top-secret contingency plans to attack Cuba. But, since Ford lost the presidency to Jimmy Carter later that year, there would be no opportunity to implement those military operations.

CARTER: Less than three weeks after Jimmy Carter's inauguration, Castro used a televised interview with journalist Bill Moyers to send a conciliatory message to the White House. The new president struck him as a man with "a sense of morals," Fidel stated publicly, and the United States and Cuba did not have to "live constantly as enemies." His message resonated with Carter, who shared that sentiment.

Like Barack Obama, Jimmy Carter assumed the presidency with a preference for civility toward friend and foe alike. Cuba was one of several nations with which he was determined to find common ground. "I felt then, as I do now, that the best way to bring about a change in [Cuba's] Communist regime was to have open trade and commerce, and visitation, and diplomatic relations," Carter noted in an interview with William LeoGrande and me for our book, *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations Between Washington and Havana*.

Toward that goal, Carter became the first president to issue a dramatic national security directive, NSC-6, in March 1977, which stated: "I have concluded that we should attempt to achieve normalization of our relations with Cuba. To this end, we should begin direct and confidential talks in a measured and careful fashion with representatives of the Government of Cuba."

Carter's directive led almost immediately to U.S.-Cuba talks that resulted in the establishment of the U.S. and Cuban interest sections — the diplomatic offices that Obama now intends to upgrade to full embassy status. Secretly, the Carter White House pursued a series of talks with the Cubans — in New York, Atlanta, Mexico, and even in Havana — to negotiate normal relations. But Castro refused to meet Carter's demand that Cuba withdraw its troops from Africa as a precondition for lifting the U.S. embargo. "We have never discussed with you the activities of the United States throughout the entire world," Castro told Carter's emissaries, Peter

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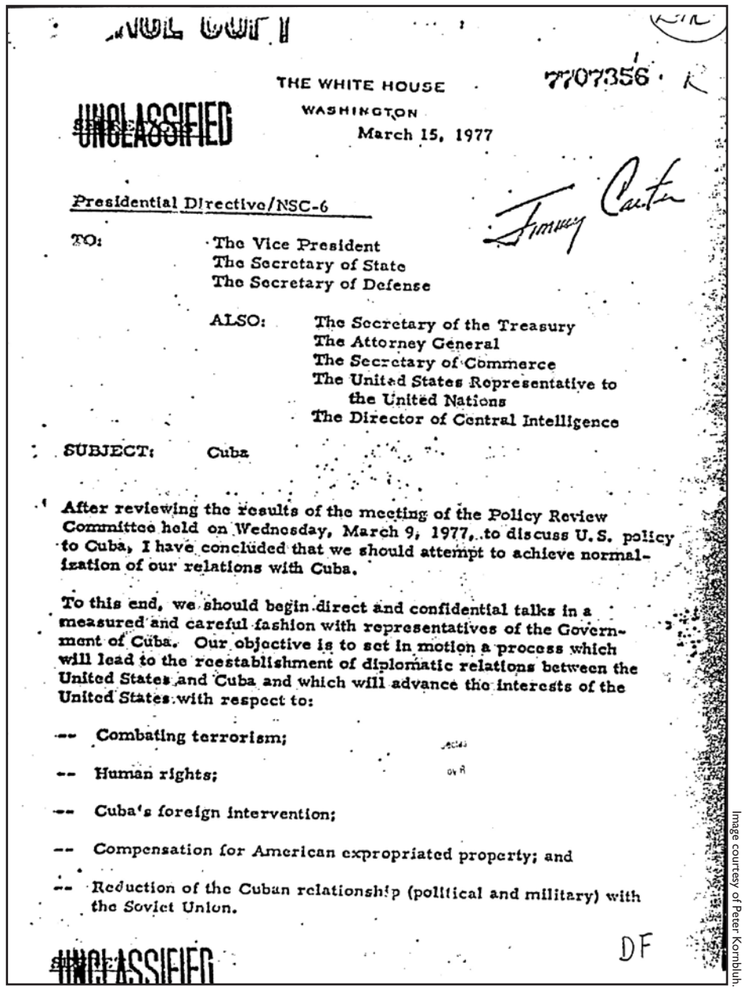

THE WHITE HOUSE

7707356

WASHINGTON

March 15, 1977

~~SECRET~~ UNCLASSIFIED

Presidential Directive/NSC-6

TO: The Vice President
The Secretary of State
The Secretary of Defense

ALSO: The Secretary of the Treasury
The Attorney General
The Secretary of Commerce
The United States Representative to the United Nations
The Director of Central Intelligence

SUBJECT: Cuba

After reviewing the results of the meeting of the Policy Review Committee held on Wednesday, March 9, 1977, to discuss U.S. policy to Cuba, I have concluded that we should attempt to achieve normalization of our relations with Cuba.

To this end, we should begin direct and confidential talks in a measured and careful fashion with representatives of the Government of Cuba. Our objective is to set in motion a process which will lead to the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Cuba and which will advance the interests of the United States with respect to:

-- Combating terrorism;

-- Human rights;

-- Cuba's foreign intervention;

-- Compensation for American expropriated property; and

-- Reduction of the Cuban relationship (political and military) with the Soviet Union.

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~~SECRET~~ UNCLASSIFIED

Image courtesy of Peter Kornbluh.

President Carter's declassified 1977 directive to normalize U.S.-Cuba relations.

Tarnoff and Robert Pastor, during a secret meeting in December 1978. "Perhaps it is idealistic of me, but I never accepted the universal prerogatives of the United States. I never accepted, and never will accept, the existence of a different law and different rules" for small countries and big countries.

In September of 1980, Carter separately sent two emissaries to meet again with Castro in an effort to end the immigration crisis known as the Mariel boatlift. If Castro curtailed the flow of refugees from Mariel, Carter offered, the U.S. would engage in talks with the Cubans over the full range of bilateral relations in Carter's second term. Castro complied, but Carter lost his bid for reelection. "In retrospect, knowing what I know since I left the White House," Carter reflected in our interview, "I should have gone ahead and been more flexible in dealing with Cuba and established full diplomatic relations."

Rebuilding Bridges

Like President Carter, President Obama came into office believing that engagement with Cuba offered the best opportunity to promote U.S. foreign policy interests on the island and in the region. "We've been engaging in a failed policy with Cuba for the last 50 years, and we need to change it," he declared as a candidate in 2007. Like Carter, Obama took initial steps towards change: he improved the rhetorical tone of U.S. policy, authorized unlimited travel to the island for Cuban-Americans, and relaxed the restrictions on travel by U.S. citizens imposed by his predecessor. But the Bush-era efforts at regime change through USAID's "democracy-promotion" programs continued. The December 3, 2009, arrest and incarceration of Alan Gross — a subcontractor in that USAID effort, who traveled to Cuba five times in 2009 posing as a tourist to install independent satellite communications networks for future use by democracy advocates — created a major political obstacle for Obama to fulfill his campaign pledge to "write a new chapter" in U.S.-Cuba relations during his first term as president.

Unlike Carter, Obama won reelection. As a second-term Democrat, freed of future electoral considerations, Obama put revamping Cuba policy near the top of his very full foreign policy agenda. Drawing on the examples of previous back-channel diplomacy with Cuba, the president authorized "Project Ardilla" — a secret set of negotiations with the Cubans to arrange a prisoner swap for Alan Gross, end past hostilities, and normalize future relations between Washington and Havana.

The first meeting was held in Canada in June 2013, one of seven secret negotiating sessions that took place in Ottawa and Toronto with the support of the Canadian government. The Obama administration also enlisted Pope Francis as an interlocutor. In March 2014, President Obama and Secretary of State Kerry met with the pope at the Vatican and briefed him on "Project Ardilla." The pope provided both moral suasion and political cover for normalizing U.S.-Cuba relations. The Holy See also hosted two secret meetings, including a negotiating session in October to finalize an exchange of Alan Gross and an imprisoned CIA asset in Cuba for the three Cuban spies. In their televised presentations on December 17, both Obama and Castro thanked the pope and the Canadian government for being "partners" in the effort to bring the two sides together.

To be sure, as Castro reminded the Cuban public, this new understanding between Washington and Havana "in no way means that the heart of the matter has been solved," since completely lifting the trade embargo will require a majority vote in the U.S. Congress. With Republicans firmly in control of the House and Senate, that vote is unlikely to happen in the near future. But by taking major steps to leave the past behind and to rebuild bilateral bridges for the future, the United States and Cuba have made history and moved forward.

"Our relations are like a bridge in wartime. It is not a bridge that can be reconstructed easily, as fast as it was destroyed," Raúl Castro eloquently observed during a meeting with two U.S. senators almost 40 years ago. "If both parties reconstruct their part of the bridge, we can shake hands without winners or losers." Finally, the reconstruction of relations has begun.

Peter Kornbluh directs the Cuba Documentation Project at the National Security Archive in Washington D.C. He is co-author, with William M. LeoGrande, of *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations Between Washington and Havana.* This article is adapted from a talk he gave for CLAS on November 12, 2014.

Alan Gross boards a U.S. government plane during his December 17, 2014, release at an airport near Havana, Cuba.

Photo by Lawrence Jackson/The White House via Getty Images.

Photo by Justo Ruiz

Brazilian coins spell out the national motto: Order and Progress.

BRAZIL

Progress and Pessimism

By Carola Binder

In the United States, recovery from the Great Recession began in mid-2009 and has continued for the past five years. But for many Americans, the economy still doesn't feel strong. Despite healthy GDP growth and rising stock prices, labor market weaknesses leave many people unemployed, underemployed, or out of the labor market. Correspondingly, the income distribution has deteriorated, with economic gains going disproportionately to the top of the income distribution.

In Brazil, the situation would seem to be reversed. Economic growth, fairly weak from 2000 to 2010, turned even weaker in 2011 and shows little sign of strengthening. Despite this macroeconomic stagnation, the labor market and income distribution have made remarkable improvements. João Saboia, a professor at the Institute of Economics at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, discussed this apparent puzzle at an event hosted by the Center for Latin American Studies.

The most striking fact Saboia presented was that the real value of the minimum wage rose 75 percent from 2003 to 2013. Average wages have risen roughly in line with the minimum wage. In Brazil, the minimum wage is indexed both to inflation and to growth in the gross domestic product (GDP). Indexing the minimum wage to inflation prevents the value of workers' wages from being eroded as prices rise, while indexing the minimum wage to GDP growth, a less-common policy, is intended to allow minimum-wage earners to share proportionately in economic growth.

The federal minimum wage in the U.S. is not indexed to inflation. Rather, increases in the nominal minimum wage require congressional and presidential approval and are legislated only sporadically. President Barack Obama has called for a gradual increase in the minimum wage from $7.25 to $10.10 an hour and for subsequent indexation to inflation. The White House cites the research of UC Berkeley economist David Card and coauthor Alan Krueger as evidence that raising the minimum wage would not adversely affect employment rates. Card and Krueger's 1994 paper, "Minimum Wages and Employment: A Case Study of the Fast-Food Industry in New Jersey and Pennsylvania," has prompted a huge number of subsequent studies on the employment effects of minimum wage laws.

Over 600 economists — including CLAS chair Harley Shaiken and 15 other Berkeley professors — have signed a letter to the president and congressional leaders in support of increasing the minimum wage. The letter notes that, "In recent years, there have been important developments in the academic literature on the effect of increases in the minimum wage on employment, with the weight of evidence now showing that increases in the minimum wage have had little or no negative effect on the employment of minimum-wage workers, even during times of weakness in the labor market."

Indeed, in Brazil, a very large increase in the minimum wage has coexisted with a steadily falling unemployment rate. Unemployment has fallen from about 12 percent to about 5 percent in the past decade. Nor has the rising minimum wage driven jobs into the informal sector. Rather, the share of formal-sector employment has risen from 45 percent to 55 percent.

Saboia also presented plentiful evidence that Brazil's income distribution is becoming less unequal. For example, between 2001 and 2012 the ratio of the average income of the top 10 percent to that of the bottom 40 percent fell from 23 to 15. During the same period, Brazil's Gini index — a measure of a country's income inequality in which values near zero indicate high equality and values near one indicate high inequality — fell from 0.6 to 0.53. While this is a remarkable improvement, it should be noted that Brazil remains the 16th most unequal country in the world according to the CIA World Factbook. For comparison, the Gini index is 0.46 in Argentina, 0.45 in the United States, and just 0.39 in Venezuela.

Saboia estimated that about 60 percent of the improvements in the income distribution can be attributed to labor market improvements. He attributed the remainder to the pension and retirement system and to Bolsa Familia, an anti-poverty program that serves about a fourth of the

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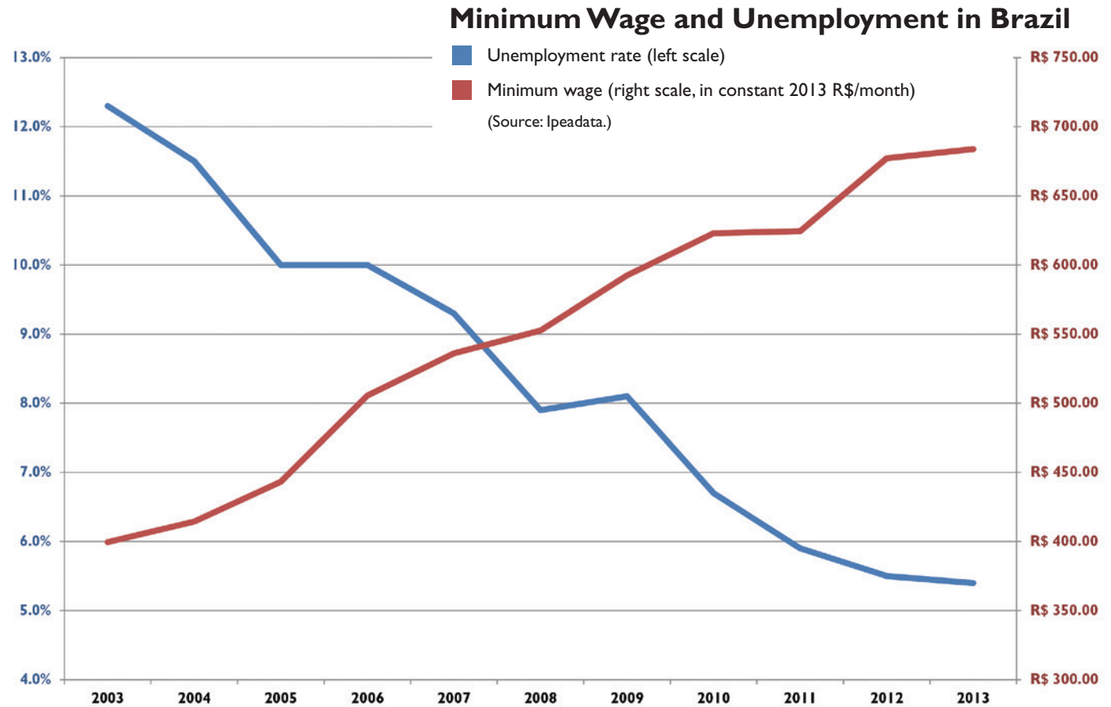

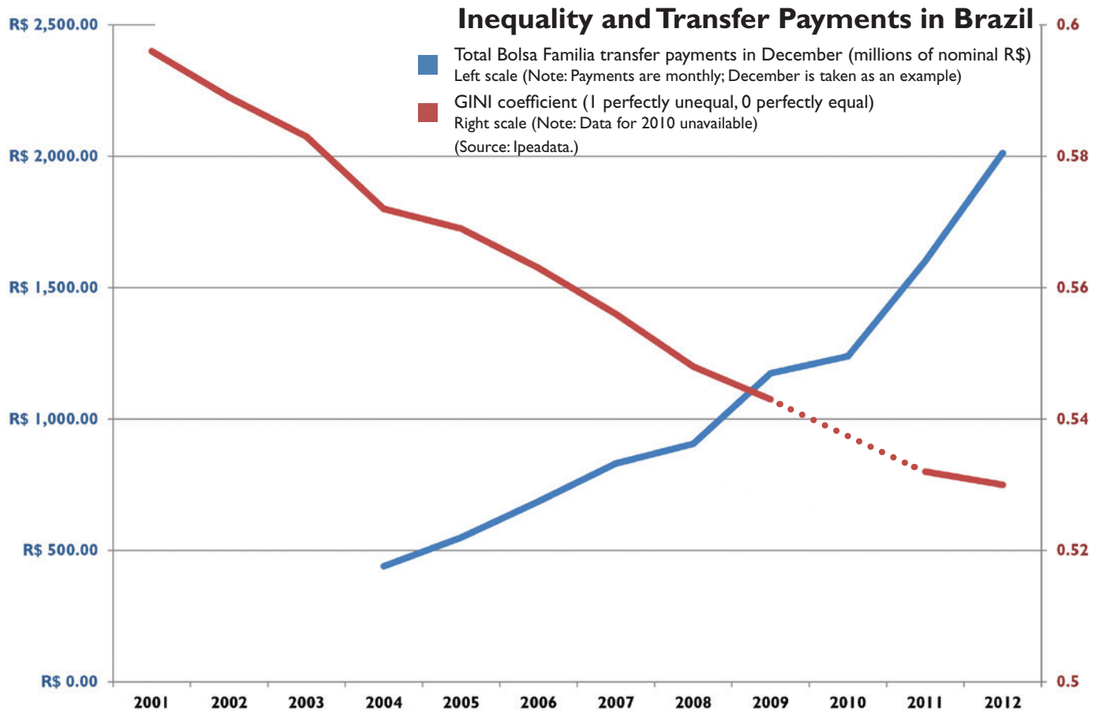

Brazilian population. Expanded by President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, Bolsa Familia provides cash transfers to poor Brazilian families, provided they vaccinate their children and send them to school. The schooling requirement has motivated some families to take their children out of the workforce and enroll them in education. Bolsa Familia is the largest conditional cash transfer program in the world, and it is wildly popular. It also gets a good bang for the buck, costing only 0.5 percent of GDP.

Bolsa Familia is a great success story, but the progress in Brazil's labor market and income distribution is not miraculous nor is it likely to be sustained, Saboia argued. Behind the falling unemployment rate and rising wages are some troubling signs. First, Brazil is undergoing a rapid demographic transition. The birth rate has fallen dramatically and is now lower than that of the United States. The population is aging rapidly, while the working-age share of the population is falling. This shrinking labor force helps explain why the unemployment rate has been declining, but it could also become problematic as social security benefits and other public transfers to older persons become increasingly burdensome on public finances.

Second, nearly all new job creation is in the trade and services sectors and in jobs that pay one to two times the minimum wage. Higher paying jobs in other sectors are not being created, and in some cases, they are being destroyed. Third, and most troubling, is the stagnation of labor productivity. Labor productivity has only been growing by a very slow 1 percent per year and has actually been declining in the services sector. Real wage gains without corresponding productivity gains are unsustainable in the long run. Moreover, minimum-wage increases cannot continue to reduce inequality indefinitely in the absence of economic growth.

Earlier this year, Berkeley hosted another speaker, Thomas Piketty, an economist and the author of *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Piketty's book analyzes the long-term evolution of inequality across 20 countries. A central thesis of his work is that when the interest rate on capital is greater than the rate of economic growth over the long term, wealth becomes more concentrated. This inequality tends to lead eventually to economic and social instability. In the case of Brazil, the rate of return is several times larger than the growth rate. Piketty's theory therefore makes a prediction in line with that of Saboia: if the Brazilian economy doesn't start growing or interest rates don't fall, income inequality cannot continue improving for long.

Couldn't the central bank simply reduce interest rates to stimulate growth? Unfortunately, this is not currently a viable option. Brazil's central bank, the Banco Central do Brasil, adopted inflation targeting in 1999. Many countries adopted inflation targeting in the 1990s in a generally successful effort to bring very high inflation under control. Brazil's inflation target is 4.5 percent, with a tolerance interval of 2 percent. Thus, 2.5 to 6.5 percent inflation is considered acceptable to the central bank. Inflation has been near the upper bound of the tolerance interval since 2008.

In general, when a central bank lowers interest rates, the looser monetary conditions result in higher inflation. Expansionary monetary policy in the form of a rate cut, even if needed to boost growth, would send inflation above 6.5 percent, putting the credibility of the inflation target in danger. Given the powerfully haunting memory of Brazilian hyperinflation, which lasted from 1980 to 1994, if the central bank's commitment to price stability loses credibility, expectations of high inflation could quickly arise and become self-fulfilling. At its most recent meeting on September 11, the central bank held its benchmark rate steady at 11 percent for the third meeting in a row.

With no simple monetary policy solution to Brazil's economic challenges, long-run improvements in both the level and distribution of income will require more fundamental progress and reforms. In particular, given Brazil's relatively small export share, improving global competitiveness and connectivity seems an important policy goal. Improvements in communications systems and Internet access could boost productivity by facilitating innovation. Saboia did not speculate as to what policy reforms are likely in the next few years but called for an improvement in the quality of public and private education. It is a helpful and hopeful lesson for other countries that anti-poverty programs and minimum-wage increases can have large distributional benefits. But these benefits reach a limit in the face of continued macroeconomic weakness. Thus, Saboia's talk left us with signs of progress but a general sense of pessimism about the prospects for the Brazilian economy.

João Saboia is a professor at the Institute of Economics at the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. He spoke for CLAS on September 10, 2014.

Carola Binder is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Economics at UC Berkeley.

An informal, open-air job fair in São Paulo, Brazil.

Photo by Marcello Fim/MF Fotografia.

Photo by alobos Life

The Santiago skyline.

INEQUALITY

Inclusive Development and Democracy

By James Gerardo Lamb

"In capitalism, there is a deep fear of democracy," warned Robert Reich, a professor of Public Policy at UC Berkeley and former United States Secretary of Labor. "But," he added, this fear is misplaced, "we should not fear this democracy." It is only the recent context of hyper-inequality, evident in both the United States and Chile, which seems to set the two against each other.

This idea encapsulates some of the major themes discussed at the keynote panel on the causes and consequences of inequality in Chile and the United States. The panel was the opening event to the third annual Chile-California Conference held at UC Berkeley. The theme of this year's conference was "The Challenge of Inclusive Development." In addition to Reich, the dialogue featured José Miguel Benavente, a Chilean economist and the chief of the Competitiveness and Innovation Division at the Inter-American Development Bank, and was moderated by CLAS chair Harley Shaiken. To open the panel, Shaiken asked the two researchers to reflect on the role of hyper-inequality in both a high-growth, competitive economy and a democratic, inclusive society.

Both researchers laid out some basic facts about inequality in the two countries. Benavente noted that, due to strong economic growth in recent decades, Chile has achieved a high per capita income that is equivalent to more than US$19,000, a figure that puts it close to some European countries. Still, as measured by the Gini coefficient and other data, Chile has one of the highest rates of income inequality in the region and a much higher rate than most developed economies. Benavente also referred to research from Gabriel Palma at Cambridge University, which shows that, historically, the major change in income distribution patterns in Chile has been the increasing concentration of gains from economic growth among the top 10 percent, but especially among the top 1-2 percent of the income distribution.

Similarly, Reich explained that income inequality in the United States has been growing more extreme. In fact, the recovery from the financial crisis since 2009 has been the first such expansion in U.S. history in which the median household income has actually been declining. During this period of economic growth, 100 percent of the gains have gone to the top 10 percent of the income distribution, and fully 95 percent of those gains have gone to the top 1 percent.

Another parallel between the two countries emerged in the causes of socio-economic inequality. Both experts described ways in which politics and policy choices were key drivers of the recent upsurge in inequity. Reich in particular suggested that some pundits and politicians tend to talk as if markets are "delivered from the state of nature" when, in fact, "the market is a politically and socially constructed system." Reich explained that this idea was a core concept of the older intellectual tradition of political-economy, which predated neo-classical economics and emphasized how institutions shape economic outcomes.

Underscoring the crucial role of public policy, Benavente noted that before considering public transfers, income inequality in Chile is similar to that of the more developed countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). However, after the policy choices expressed in public transfers are taken into account, inequality narrows significantly in most OECD countries but is little changed in Chile. Another indication of the effect of institutions comes from household poverty data in Chile. Benavente explained that many of those near the poverty line are pushed into poverty by health-care costs, which are in part a function of Chile's highly privatized and conspicuously unequal health-care system.

Even more broadly, Benavente related how, in an economy like Chile's, which is heavily weighted towards the natural resources sector, residual rents, representing a great deal of income, tend to go to the owners of those resources. Given that, in the Chilean Constitution, ownership of private property is very clearly and strongly protected, this economic dynamic within Chile's political-institutional scheme has, over time, led to a high concentration of property, which in turn has exacerbated wealth and income imbalances.

This insight is resonant with a broader point made by Reich: that politics sets the basic rules of the game, even in a market-based economy. He argued that the very building blocks of a market economy and capitalism are influenced by politics. Reich maintained that, over the last 30 years in the United States, basic notions in property, contract, anti-trust, and bankruptcy law have undergone significant

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Robert Reich (left) and José Miguel Benavente at the Chile-California Conference.

Photo by Peg Skorpinski

Photo by Ibar Silva.

A father's placard reads, "I march for free education for my son." His son's sign says, "I march for a decent wage for my father."

changes, which have "systematically favored the owners of capital assets."

An important cause of this shift, he reasoned, was the effect of the huge amount of money spent on political campaigns. He gave the example of the $3.67 billion spent on the 2014 midterm elections in the United States, the most expensive midterm election ever. More than half of this, he said, was "dark money" or non-disclosed donations that are difficult to trace. Policy decisions driven by campaign contributions are the reason that, for example, large companies have good bankruptcy protection, while homeowners and student borrowers do not, contended Reich.

A large proportion of this money, Reich continued, comes from corporations. In particular, firms in the telecom, high-tech, and banking and finance sectors are large political contributors. Because many of these firms have a vested interest in intellectual property, "they pour money into politics to strengthen IP protection." According to Reich, this is an important reason why Internet broadband and pharmaceutical prices are higher in the United States than in almost any other country. More generally, corporations use their financial influence to lobby for the enforcement of high entry barriers to their industries, such as trademarks and copyrights.

Chile, too, has been known for loose limits on private and business wealth and its pronounced influence on elections and the campaign finance system. There has also been much discussion and criticism of the disproportionate influence of private interests in the public policy-making process in Chile's democracy.

Some striking convergences also emerged in the discussion of the outcomes of economic inequality. In particular, as Reich argued, "inequality is bad for everyone, not just the middle class and the poor." First, large-scale and increasing income inequality eventually impacts consumer demand, leading to the classic worry of Keynesian economics: inadequate aggregate demand. Weak demand damages economic growth and progress for everyone. Second, democracy is undermined when money is able to translate directly and simply into political power. Third, such hyper-inequality erodes ideals of meritocracy and equal opportunity. These last two are crucial for the maintenance of social cohesion and stability, interests that, again, are commonly shared.

Benavente expressed agreement with the second and third points in particular and tied them into a discussion of potential solutions to the problem of inequality. He noted that the recently inaugurated administration of Chile's President Michelle Bachelet had begun to take important steps to correct outsized economic inequality. Specifically, she has passed a tax reform and proposed an education reform, which are both designed to narrow the socio-economic gap. Moreover, Benavente argued that this "new public policy context" is a result of the massive student mobilizations that occurred in Chile beginning in 2011. What this points to, explained the economist, is that it is critical to have a public discussion about which areas should be controlled by the market and which should be seen as a "social right." This type of discussion is precisely what the student-led social movement has initiated with respect to education in Chile.

Reich agreed that social movements play a key role in checking inequality and that Bachelet was making important efforts to reverse the trend toward inequality in Chile. While he acknowledged that the United States has not had a social protest movement akin to that in Chile and that there is instead a "cycle of despondency and cynicism," taking a longer historical perspective caused him to remain optimistic. Looking at U.S. history shows that "it is punctuated by periods of time where capitalism gets so off track that there is popular... reform uprisings that put it back on track."

Ultimately, this apparent contradiction between capitalism and democracy has emerged as one of the most serious issues in the contemporary social realities of hyper-inequality in both the United States and Chile. In this context, democracy and the market, equal opportunity and economic growth, appear to be at odds with each other. This is what Reich meant by the fear capitalism has of democracy. He cited recent comments by the Chief Executive of Hong Kong, who said that democracy would give the poor majority too much power, and by Mitt Romney, the Republican presidential candidate in 2012, who said that "47 percent of the people... are dependent upon government" and would not vote for him so he need not to worry about them, as exemplifying this mistaken fear. "The fact of the matter is," said Reich, "this system is not sustainable... there is a necessity for a political-economy that blends growth with widely shared prosperity." When policies and institutions are designed correctly, both panelists agreed, these values and priorities need not compete but can instead complement one another.

José Miguel Benavente is the chief of the Competitiveness and Innovation Division at the Inter-American Development Bank. Robert Reich is UC Berkeley Chancellor's Professor at the Goldman School of Public Policy and former United States Secretary of Labor. Harley Shaiken is the Class of 1930 Professor of Letters and Science in the Departments of Education and Geography and the chair of the Center for Latin American Studies at UC Berkeley.

James Gerardo Lamb is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Sociology at UC Berkeley.

Chilean school children.

Photo courtesy of Orealc/Unesco Santiago.

Photo by Brendan Hoffman.

Rally for a constitutional amendment to overturn the Citizens United Supreme Court decision.

INEQUALITY

Unrigging the Game

By Carola Binder

Income inequality in the United States and Latin America has been rising since the late 1970s. This rise in inequality is sometimes attributed to a so-called "new economic reality." Globalization and technological change, according to this view, lead inevitably to growing income concentration among top earners.

At a session of the third annual Chile-California Conference, Professors Emmanuel Saez and Paul Pierson challenged the view that inequality is inevitable. Rather, they argued, public policy plays a dramatic role in influencing the distribution of income. Saez, an economist, and Pierson, a political scientist, shared their views on the economic and political forces that interact to determine income inequality.

Saez began by noting the "U-shape" of income concentration in the United States over the past century. Income concentration, the share of income accruing to the top 10 percent of earners, was very high before the Second World War, decreased following the war, and has been increasing again since the late 1970s. In recent decades, the vast majority of this increase in income concentration is attributable to income gains for the top 1 percent of earners. In fact, half of the economic growth in the U.S. over the last 30 years has gone to the top 1 percent of the income distribution.

Other advanced economies share this U-shaped time trend for income distribution. But the recent rise in inequality is not nearly as drastic in Europe as in the United States, even though many European countries are more dependent on global trade than the U.S. Thus, Saez argues, globalization is not the primary cause of rising inequality. Instead, he points to taxation as the most powerful force at play. The U.S. had a very progressive tax structure from the 1930s to the 1970s, and pretax income distribution was less concentrated. As the tax code has become less progressive, pretax income has grown more concentrated. Since the 1960s, countries that have made significant cuts to top tax rates have experienced large increases in pretax income concentration to the top 1 percent.

According to supply-side economic theory, when the tax rates on top earners are increased, they work less, reducing economic activity. This theory provides an argument for reducing the progressivity of the tax system. Saez suggested an alternative theory: low tax rates make the top earners more powerful and better able to extract economic surplus from the rest of the economy. This theory, in contrast, provides an argument for increasing the progressivity of the tax system.

Pierson was in broad agreement with Saez that economic inequality and politics are inextricably linked. Mounting economic inequality goes hand in hand with political inequality and has profound consequences for democracy. Campaign finance and lobbying are the domain of the very top of the income distribution. Thirty years ago, 15 percent of campaign contributions for federal elections came from the top 1 percent. Now, the figure is at least 40 percent. The political influence of top earners has shaped the regulations on the financial sector and on executive pay.

Pierson expressed serious doubt, however, that campaign finance reform could be effective in keeping money out of politics. Instead, his solution to political inequality involves political organization. American politics, he noted, is so confusing that it is extremely difficult for voters to impose accountability on elected officials. In the early post-war period, when a third of American workers were union members, unions provided sustained political motivation around issues in public policy. Unions are much weaker today and have not been replaced by new organizations that effectively promote the political interests of the working class. The attempt by Occupy Wall Street to fill this gap failed due to naïve organization. Occupy Wall Street lacked leadership and a well-defined agenda and hence proved incapable of putting pressure on public officials to pursue a particular course of action.

While Saez and Pierson's discussion of the economics and politics of inequality focused primarily on the United States, they noted that the lessons are also applicable to Latin America. The Latin American economies have not yet succeeded in sustaining broad-based growth across the income distribution. Rising inequality is a dramatic, but not inevitable, reality. It can be reversed by appropriate public policies, but putting these policies in place will require effective new forms of political organization.

Emmanuel Saez is the Chancellor's Professor of Tax Policy and Public Finance in the Economics Department at UC Berkeley and director of the Center for Equitable Growth. Paul Pierson is the John Gross Endowed Chair of Political Science at UC Berkeley.

Carola Binder is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Economics at UC Berkeley.

Income inequality over time. (Chart courtesy of Emmanuel Saez.)

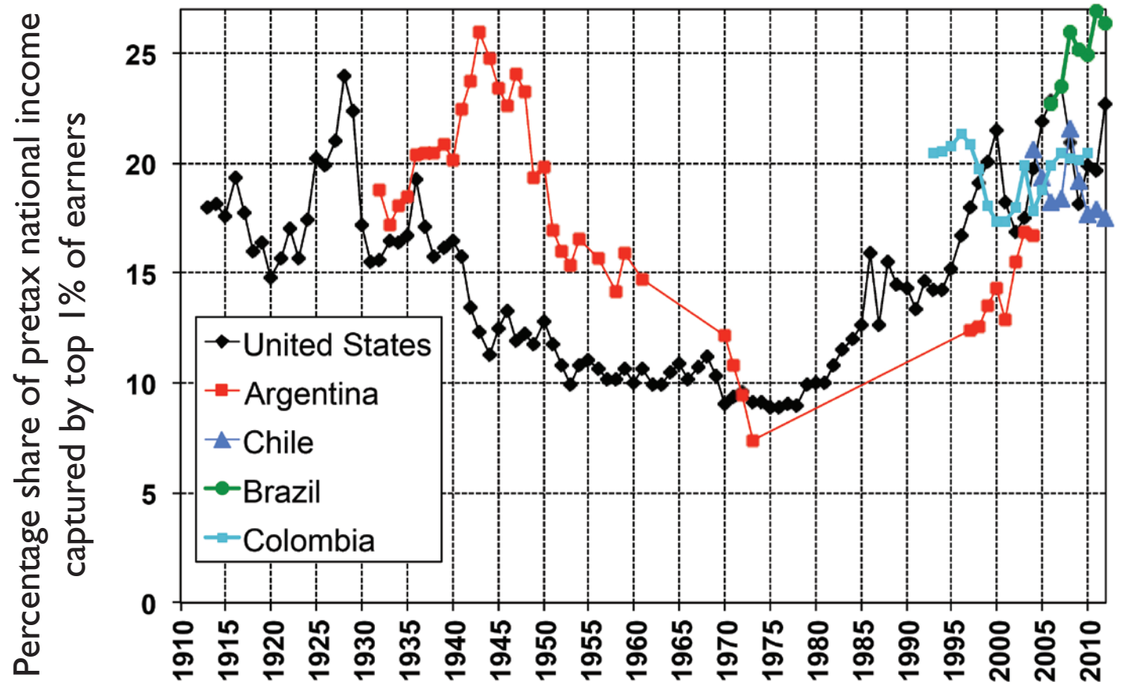

Photo by Matías Aros Márza.

A Chilean tax stamp.

CHILE

A Taxing Process of Reform

By Juan Pablo Atal

Chile may be "the Latin American Tiger," but despite a recent history of economic success, it is a country dogged by persistent inequality. The nation's Gini coefficient, a common measure of inequality, has remained essentially unchanged for the last 25 years. It has hovered consistently around 0.52, just shy of the average for Latin America, the most unequal region in the world according to the UN Development Program.

Tax policy and government programs do little to change Chile's income distribution. While the income tax is progressive in principle, in practice it is eroded by exemptions and preferential treatment. In her talk for the Center for Latin American Studies, Tasha Fairfield, a professor of International Development at the London School of Economics, provided a comprehensive look at Chile's tax policy and the politics surrounding tax reform.

With her collaborator, Michel Jorratt, Professor Fairfield has written a working paper, "Top Income Shares, Business Profits, and Effective Tax Rates in Contemporary Chile," which provides the most accurate quantification of Chilean income inequality and effective tax rates to date. To complete their analysis, the researchers were given access to individual tax return records for the years 2005 and 2009 from the Servicio de Impuestos Internos (SII), the Chilean Internal Revenue Service.

Despite the quality of the data, calculating inequality with tax returns is not an easy task. In order to get a complete picture of all income sources, researchers need to use statistical techniques to quantify underreported and untaxed income. This adjustment is particularly relevant in Chile, where business owners pay personal income taxes only on distributed profits. Since the top personal income tax rate is double the corporate tax rate, there are strong incentives to defer the distribution of profits and to incorporate earnings.

In their study, Fairfield and Jorratt took three passes at the data. On the first pass, they considered only distributed profits and did not adjust for underreporting. Even using this conservative strategy, the researchers' findings were stark: the top 1 percent of Chileans earned roughly 15 percent of all income — the fifth highest share among countries for which there is comparable evidence. On the second pass, the researchers added an adjustment for underreporting. Using this measure, they found that the top 1 percent actually captures more than 20 percent of the country's income. On the third pass, they adjusted for underreporting and also substituted accrued profits for distributed profits. Although these figures are harder to compare with other countries, the results strongly suggest that Chile is among the most unequal countries in the world, regardless of how the ranking is determined. Meanwhile, effective tax rates at the top of the income distribution are very low compared to other countries in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Fairfield and Jorratt's study breaks new ground by providing accurate measures of top income shares and effective tax rates, but the broader diagnosis of an unequal country with an ill-functioning tax system comes as no surprise. What does seem surprising is the lack of significant tax reforms in the 20 years of center-left governments led by the Concertación coalition that came to power with Chile's return to democracy in 1990.

Professor Fairfield argued that the Concertación faced a strong and coordinated opposition that did not allow any substantial reform to the tax code. Business owners had strong linkages with rightwing parties and remained highly cohesive around a neoliberal, free-market ideology. Indeed, Nicolás Eyzaguirre, the minister of finance under President Ricardo Lagos (2000-06), called tax reform a "political problem."

However, the present stands in sharp contrast with the inaction of the past decades. Soon after starting her second term as president, Michelle Bachelet sent an aggressive tax reform plan to the legislature that would close most of the loopholes used by business owners to decrease their tax burden and strengthen the power of the SII.

The reasons for the change, Fairfield argued, are to be found in the student protests that began in 2011. The student movement was powerful enough to put two of the largest structural reforms in recent Chilean history at the top of the new government's agenda: an education reform that aims to provide universal free education and a tax reform that is expected to raise about 3 percent of gross domestic product (GDP) to finance it. While the student protests provided the impetus for these reforms, Fairfield noted that the fragility of the right after the 2013 election made them politically viable.

The lower house of Congress approved the tax reform quickly, but it stalled in the Senate, due in part to a tough media campaign waged by business owners (who happen to own most of the media). The complexity of the reform also weighed it down, Fairfield noted, by creating uncertainty

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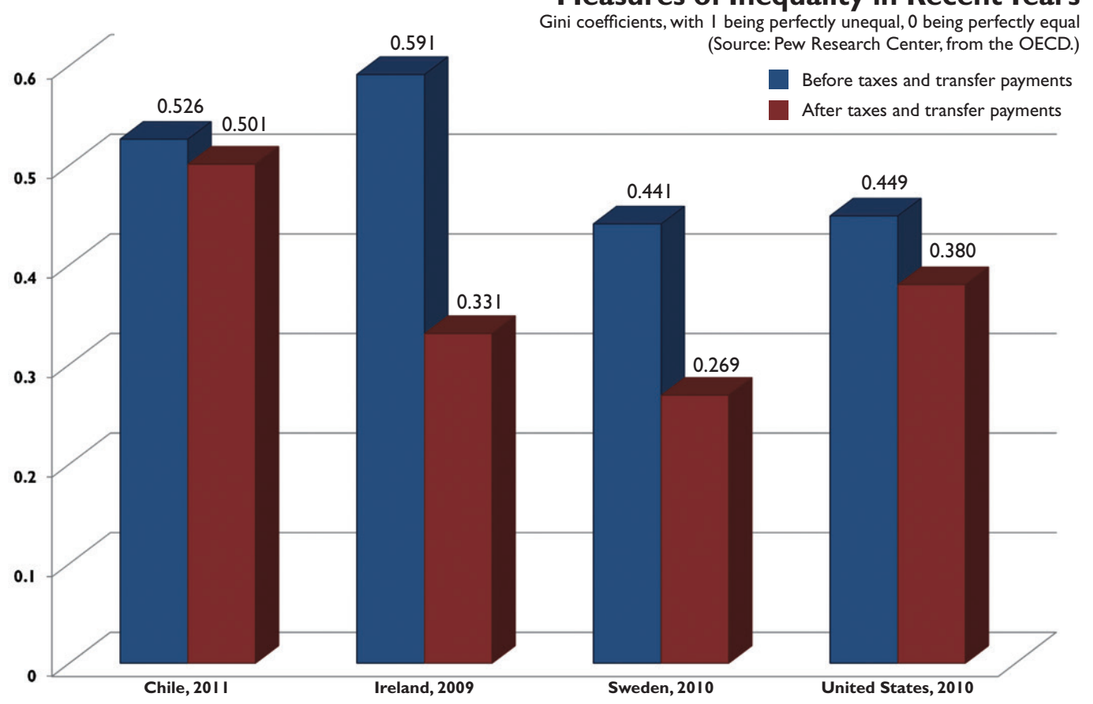

about its hard-to-understand consequences. Moreover, renowned figures in the government coalition, including former ministers of finance Andrés Velasco and Eduardo Aninat, came out against the reform, arguing that it would be detrimental to growth.

Fears about growth were heighted by early-September forecasts that revised down expected GDP growth for 2014 to below 3 percent, leading the minister of finance to declare the economic slowdown to be "deeper and longer" than expected. In the end, however, the Senate passed a compromise reform bill on September 10, 2014.

The tax reform approved by the Senate is a complicated system in which business owners voluntarily choose one of two regimes for corporate tax purposes. The first regime maintains full integration, meaning that it functions like the current system in that all corporate taxes are used as credits against the owner's personal income tax. However, under the new regime, the corporate tax will be increased from 20 to 25 percent, and shareholders will be taxed on both distributed and non-distributed profits.

With the second regime, shareholders continue to be taxed only on distributed profits, but the corporate tax rate is set at 27 percent. This regime is semi-integrated, so shareholders can use only a fraction of corporate tax payments as a credit for their personal income taxes. The semi-integrated regime was introduced in order to allay fears that the first regime could have a negative impact on investment. The compromise comes at a cost in effectiveness, however, since the semi-integrated regime does not fully close the loophole that historically has allowed the owners of corporations to avoid or evade taxes by perpetually deferring the distribution of profits. To prevent such practices, some safeguards were put in place, including general provisions against avoidance, an increase in the regulatory power of the SII, and restrictions on some special regimes for small and medium enterprises that have been used to avoid taxes under the current system.

In spite of its differences from the original project, Fairfield still considers the recently approved reform to be a "dramatic break" in Chilean tax policy. However, she warns that having two parallel corporate income tax regimes might create new administrative challenges, potentially opening new loopholes for tax avoidance and evasion.

Tasha Fairfield is an assistant professor in the Department of International Development at the London School of Economics and Political Science and a UC Berkeley alumna. Her book, *Private Wealth and Public Revenue in Latin America: Business Power and Tax Politics*, is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press. She spoke for CLAS on September 16, 2014.

Juan Pablo Atal is a graduate student in UC Berkeley's Department of Economics.

Luis Felipe Céspedes, minister of economy (far left), President Michelle Bachelet (center), and Alberto Arenas de Mesa, minister of finance (far right) promote the benefits of the Chilean tax reform.

Photo from the Chilean Ministry of the Economy.

Photo by Alberto García.

Amazonian rainforest.

CLIMATE

Is Our Carbon Sink Sunk?

By Noelia González

Hurricane Katrina, which hit New Orleans in 2005, was one of the deadliest hurricanes in American history, but not just in terms of human life: along with killing 1,833 people, it destroyed more than 300 million trees. This data is available thanks to innovative work done by Jeffrey Chambers, a forest ecologist who was a relatively new professor at Tulane University in New Orleans when the storm hit.

At that time, Chambers' research was focused primarily on the Brazilian Amazon, where he and his colleagues were building a toolkit for measuring tree mortality using satellite remote sensing images and field data. One such tool, known as Spectral Mixture Analysis, proved particularly useful in calculating the damage to forests in post-Katrina Louisiana. In Spectral Mixture Analysis, a color is assigned to specific forest attributes. On Chambers' maps, healthy vegetation is shown in green, dead vegetation and asphalt are red, and everything else is blue or removed from the analysis. Researchers can randomly select pixels on the map, and then go to those sites to count the living and dead trees. They can then extrapolate from these findings to estimate how many living and dead trees are in other similarly colored pixels on the map.

Fortunately, Chambers had begun collecting data on Louisiana's forests in 2003, so he had the before and after data to create a "mortality map" of the area that he could use not only to calculate how many trees were downed by Katrina but also to show which types of trees suffered the most damage.

Why does tree mortality matter? Trees make up an important part of what is known as the terrestrial sink. They absorb roughly a quarter of the carbon dioxide released by human activities, such as burning fossil fuels. When they die, the carbon they stored is released to the atmosphere. Chambers is concerned that a warming climate will lead to more tree deaths, which will cause more carbon dioxide to be released, which will in turn worsen climate change in a vicious circle known as a positive feedback loop.

Of the roughly 12 billion tons of carbon dioxide released every year from all human activities, about half

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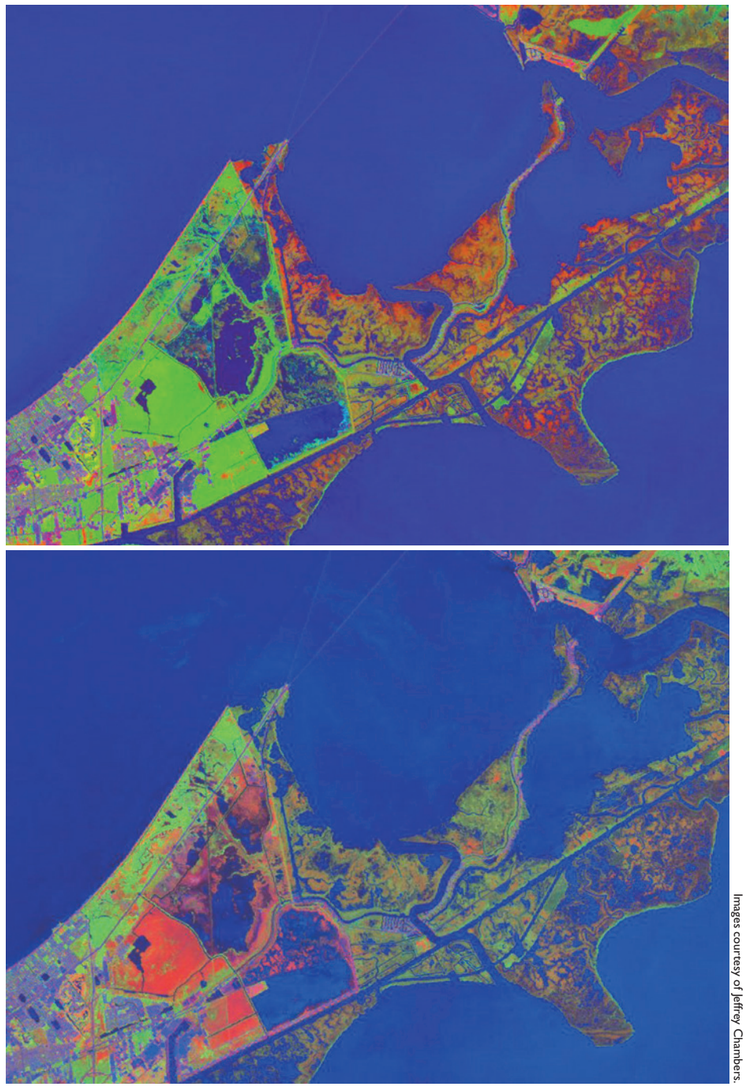

Images courtesy of Jeffrey Chambers.

Spectral Mixture Analysis images showing the New Orleans area before (top) and after (bottom) Hurricane Katrina. Healthy vegetation is shown in green, dead vegetation and asphalt is shown in red, and everything else is blue.

ends up in the atmosphere. There is some uncertainty about what happens to the other half. Oceanographers estimate that about three billion tons of carbon are absorbed by the oceans. The remainder is absorbed on land, according to Chambers, with up to one billion tons being absorbed by tropical forests.

In his research, Chambers is trying to determine how reliable the terrestrial sink created by trees will be in the future. If too many trees die, less carbon will be absorbed, and climate change will accelerate. "It's already going pretty fast, but it will go even faster," he said during his talk for the Center for Latin American Studies.

Climate change is already creating new ecosystems — especially in the tropics, currently the earth's warmest region — causing the emergence of hypertropical climates. "Sometime this century, we're going to push the tropics outside of temperatures they've experienced for probably millions of years," Chambers said. These new, hotter and stormier climates developing in the tropics and subtropics will likely result in elevated mortality for some tree species.

Indeed, 2005 was a strange weather year in Brazil as well as New Orleans. That January, a powerful downburst, a storm in which the wind blows down vertically, hit the Manaus region. Chambers conducted the same type of Spectral Mixture Analysis there and found that in the most heavily impacted sites, 80 percent of the trees were killed by the storm.

Big storms are not the only threat to forests. More droughts and fires are also expected with climate change. In fact, rare mega-droughts in both 2005 and 2010 caused further large tree losses in the Amazon.

Global warming may also increase the population of pests and pathogens. For instance, the mountain pine beetle (*Dendroctonus ponderosae*) — native to western North America — loves warm weather. Recent outbreaks have occurred on an unprecedented scale, hitting drought-stressed trees and leading to the deaths of millions of acres of pines across the western United States and Canada. All these events are connected and likely have a common source: climate change, said Chambers.

Given all the worrisome evidence, Chambers wondered aloud why there is still so little social mobilization around climate change, compared to, for example, the Free Speech Movement in the 1960s. It was this observation that sparked a debate between Chambers and some members of the audience who were more optimistic. One noted that the march during Climate Week brought together about 310,000 people in Manhattan to demand action on climate change. "That was good to hear," said Chambers in an interview after the event.

Meanwhile, another member of the audience commented that scientists studying the issue should also take action, instead of waiting for the general population to mobilize. Chambers disagreed, saying: "I ultimately think the role of the scientist is to basically understand the system better, so then we can provide better information about what to expect." In a conversation after the event he added: "Sometimes it is really important to have a very clear message about what is factually correct, and then scientists can also help to frame it in terms of what's right."

A member of the audience suggested that one reason for the lack of public response might be that scientists keep talking about two degrees Celsius of warming, which does not seem to strike many people as significant. Chambers defended the strategy. "We need to prevent the climate system from achieving this two degrees Celsius change," he explained later, adding that this "might be a simple message, but it strikes a lot of complexity. Maybe we need to focus more on the signs that need action now."

During the presentation, Chambers showed the most recent climate projections published by the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), which includes three possible scenarios, ranging from worst- to best-case. "I want to be an optimist, but if you look at what's actually happening, it is definitely following this pessimistic trajectory," he said. He immediately added that, in his opinion, after events like Hurricane Katrina, people have proved willing to work together to solve problems on a local scale. "As we see more and more events that we can clearly link to climate change, and those events are affecting people's lives, that's probably what it's going to take" to initiate action.

"We are going to start seeing more and more of these extreme events," Chambers said, "and then part of what we need to do is make sure that the public is aware that those events are climate change. We've talked about it; we've theorized; we've built models, but now we're actually experiencing it."

Jeffrey Q. Chambers is a faculty scientist in the Climate Sciences Department at Lawrence Berkeley National Lab and an associate professor of Geography at UC Berkeley. He spoke for CLAS on October 6, 2014.

Noelia González is a student at UC Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism.

Researcher Giuliano Guimarães inspects a felled tree after the 2005 downburst in the Manaus region of Brazil.

Photo by Jeffrey Chambers.

Photo by John Moore/Getty Images.

A U.S. Border Patrol agent assists undocumented minors crossing the Río Grande in July 2014.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Migrants or Refugees?

By Angela E. Fillingim

Sixty-six thousand children crossed the U.S.–Mexico border between October 2013 and September 2014, sparking a nationwide debate over U.S. immigration policy. Most of these migrants came from three Central American nations known for both deep poverty and intense violence: El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. For some, these children are economic migrants, coming to the United States to escape poverty and live "the American Dream." Others point to the region's stratospheric murder rates — Honduras has the highest homicide rate in the world — and argue that the migrants are fleeing for their lives and deserve asylum.

Who is right? What are some of the other factors driving this phenomenon? In a discussion hosted by the Center for Latin American Studies, four panelists with different areas of regional expertise examined the historical and contemporary factors motivating families to embark upon this dangerous journey. Both Beatriz Manz, a professor of Geography and Comparative Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley, and Rosemary Joyce, a professor of Anthropology at the same university, have spent decades studying the region. Karen Musalo, a professor at UC Hastings, is an expert on asylum law; and V. Manuel Pérez, the then-California State Assembly Majority Leader, participated in a legislative delegation that visited the region in July 2014.

All four panelists asserted that many of the children are refugees, fleeing violence. If the children were coming for economic reasons, they noted, one would expect to see large waves of migrants from Nicaragua, the region's poorest country, but that is not happening. Rather, it is the culture of impunity in the "Northern Triangle" countries — El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras — along with rising violence, that has threatened the children's right to life, liberty, and personal security. The lack of civil trust combined with the proliferation of gangs in the region has created a situation in which people cannot trust the state to protect them.

Joyce discussed the case of Honduras in some depth. "The children are not coming from random places," she noted. "They are coming from Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, El Progreso, and other cities in the north and west of the country that are… largely controlled politically by the drug cartels in the region." The *mano dura* (iron fist) policies that the government has used to combat escalating violence have only made the situation more challenging for residents of the hardest hit neighborhoods. Members of the security forces "benefit from virtual impunity," according to Joyce, and with the army patrolling high-crime areas, militarization "has thoroughly pervaded the populace."

The contemporary factors driving the wave of refugees have deep roots. As each of the panelists pointed out, the United States sent billions of dollars to Central America during the cold war to prop up rightwing, often military governments, despite compelling evidence that these administrations had committed serious human rights violations. The effect of this policy was to foster a culture of impunity.

Ongoing civil unrest during the 1970s and 1980s led thousands of Central American migrants to flee to the United States. Once these conflicts had ended, "the U.S. deported about 50,000 Central Americans with criminal records without regard to the local consequences," said Manz. Many of the deportees were members of Central American gangs that had been formed in the United States. These same gangs are now driving the region's rise in violence.

The panelists noted that the lack of trust in the government was an additional factor contributing to the rise in child migrants. Joyce pointed to the fact that the recent upsurge in migration coincided with the inauguration of a new president in Honduras, which reflects the lack of trust in civic institutions there, she argued. In Guatemala, efforts to prosecute crimes perpetrated during the civil war, which ended in 1996, have demonstrated the limits of the country's legal system. According to Manz, those participating in the prosecution of war crimes have been harassed and faced other forms of

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Photo by Esteban Félix/AP Photo.

A member of the Honduran Military Police stands guard at the entrance of a school.

persecution. Distrust of the political and judicial systems is compounded by corruption in the police force. "[T]he police are so corrupt and so violent," Musalo remarked, that you should "have your head examined if you report something to the police."

The rise in unaccompanied child migrants has forced the Obama administration to decide how these children should be treated. So far, the response has been to move the children through immigration proceedings as quickly as possible, in an effort to discourage further migration. This rushed process, according to Musalo, means that, "politicians are treating children as adults." The 1996 Trafficking Victims Protection Act provides children with special protections in immigration proceedings. While adults must prove to either Border Patrol Agents or Asylum Officers that they have a "strong enough" asylum case, children from Central America are allowed to enter the asylum system without going through the screening process. This special consideration allows children time to prepare a claim and to find a lawyer to aid them during immigration proceedings. Those calling for quick deportation may be of the mindset that these children are coming to the United States for a chance at the "American Dream." However, Musalo argued that these migrants have left their home nations because "staying means losing their lives."

What would stop the refugees from coming? Manz suggested that, "only when families see a future for themselves and their families will migration to the North subside." Representative Pérez offered some hope that this change was already afoot in Central America. During his recent trip to El Salvador, he learned about social programs the government has recently implemented. For instance, the Salvadoran government has begun a breakfast program for children, extended the school day, and is working with farmers to ensure that "they can work their land without the exploits of agribusiness."

In addition to policy changes within Central America, the panelists emphasized the importance of initiating major reforms to U.S. foreign policy. First, the United States has sent millions of dollars to fund counter-narcotics operations in the region. This money has funded the militarization of police and contributed to the mano dura policies that have proved ineffective in stopping the violence associated with the drug trade. Moreover, this approach does not consider where the drugs are being shipped to: the United States. Nor does it account for the violence perpetrated against the people of the region in the name of the war on drugs, as documented by a report from the Washington Office on Latin America, which found that U.S. counter-narcotics operations were associated with human rights violations. Thus, much like U.S. policy during the cold war, sending defense money and providing security training has not dealt with the underlying national and international issues.

An alternate solution, one endorsed by Representative Pérez, is that the United States work with the sending governments as partners. A recent press release from the U.S. Department of Justice suggests that this type of partnership has already begun. The Justice Department announced that the attorney generals of the United States, Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras have formed a taskforce to examine the factors underlying the recent rise in unaccompanied child migrants. One of the major challenges confronting the newly formed taskforce is to develop strategies to dismantle the gangs and cartels that threaten the lives of Central Americans and to target those smuggling children.

While the number of child migrants has sharply decreased since its peak in July 2014, some observers are concerned this could prove to be a seasonal lull rather than an indicator that the issue has been resolved. While plans are afoot to address critical issues underlying the influx of unaccompanied child migrants, the fading political attention could undermine the resolve to provide adequate resources to implement these plans. Whatever the longer term future, the panelists repeatedly emphasized, it is important for policymakers to recognize that those coming to the United States are both children and refugees who are fleeing violations of their rights to life, liberty, and personal security. Any policy intended to address their situation, in the United States or Central America, ought to take account of this fact.

Angela E. Fillingim is a Ph.D. candidate in the Sociology Department at UC Berkeley.

The panelists and moderator are shown below: (from left) Karen Musalo, professor of Law and director of the Center for Gender and Refugee Studies at UC Hastings; V. Manuel Pérez, California State Assembly Majority Leader and participant in a July 2014 legislative delegation to Central America; Harley Shaiken, professor of Geography and Education and chair of the Center for Latin American Studies at UC Berkeley; Beatriz Manz, professor of Geography and Comparative Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley; and Rosemary Joyce, professor of Anthropology at UC Berkeley. The panel was held on September 8, 2014.

Photo by Jim Block.

Sheep graze between the rows at Cono Sur Vineyards in Chile.
(Photo by Cono Sur Vineyards and Winery.)

CHILE AND CALIFORNIA

The Wine Is the Land

By Adina Merenlender, Miguel Altieri, Olga Barbosa, Andrés Muñoz-Sáez, Carlos Pino, and Houston Wilson

The similarity between vineyard landscapes in Chile and California is striking: both lie in mediterranean-climate ecosystems made up of twin vegetation types, and both produce some of the world's best wines. The two regions also face similar difficulties when it comes to balancing an agricultural economy and the environment.

Mediterranean-climate ecosystems — in which rainy winters are followed by long, dry summers — are rare. Despite making up just over 2 percent of the earth's terrestrial environment, they harbor 20 percent of known vascular plant species, many of which are found nowhere else. This biodiversity is threatened, however, because people also find mediterranean ecosystems to be highly desirable, and they tend to be heavily settled. In Chile and California, less than 1 percent of the mediterranean-climate regions are protected. Much of what habitat remains is at risk for continued deforestation, fragmentation, and degradation, in many cases due to the expansion of agriculture.

One way to protect native species is to restore agricultural landscapes, transforming them into semi-natural habitats that can support wildlife. Vineyards provide a unique opportunity to implement this approach because of the traditional respect for *terroir* among wine lovers. Originally a French concept, terroir is the idea that the characteristics of a specific piece of land — the soil, vegetation, slope, microclimate, etc. — impact the taste and quality of the wine grown there. To investigate the ways in which environmental concerns are compatible with the wine industry's interest in improving wine quality, we launched a collaboration among agricultural researchers, conservation ecologists, industry scientists, and wine-grape growers in both Chile and California. The ultimate goal is to provide a better understanding of ways to integrate environmental concerns into wine-grape production in order to improve conservation of biodiversity and ecosystem services.

Vineyards have expanded rapidly in both Chile and California due to a booming wine market. This change in land use, while a boon to both economies, has led to the loss of natural and agricultural diversity. Climate change may also drive vineyards to expand into new areas — farther south in Chile and farther north in California, Oregon, and Washington — to take advantage of cooler climates for wine production. The problem is not only the expansion of vineyards at the expense of natural habitat but also the degradation of the mostly unprotected natural areas adjacent to vineyards. These wildlands provide critical habitat for a number of unique mammals and bird species as well as important ecosystem services such as clean water and biological control of pests.

Preserving these habitats may be in the economic self-interest of winemakers. Currently, most of the wine that Chile exports consists of bulk and lower-priced wines, with slightly more than half coming from a few large producers. Many Chilean wine industry leaders are interested in moving upmarket so that they can increase prices and better compete in the United States. Improving wine quality is one strategy for achieving this goal, and the environmental conditions that create high-quality wine grapes are important for the Chilean industry to develop. Sustainable viticultural practices, including organic agricultural methods, can also improve vineyard market share where consumers are willing to pay a premium for wines produced using environmentally friendly practices. An added benefit to maintaining semi-natural habitats in wine-grape production areas is that more attractive vineyard landscapes are more enjoyable for tourists to visit, which can be another major contributor to the local economy.

While improving wine quality is of critical concern to the Chilean wine industry, there is also a strong commitment among many California wine-grape growers to environmental stewardship. Coupling the two presents a unique opportunity to promote the diversification of vineyard landscapes. To this end, we visited eight vineyards in Chile's four main wine regions — Maipo, Casablanca, Curico, and Maule — and nine vineyards in California's Napa, Sonoma, and Mendocino Counties. We also met with growers, members of environmental NGOs, and scientists. Based on this collective experience, we identified three main areas in need of attention: land-use and conservation planning, water resources, and increasing biodiversity in the vineyard.

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Lapostolle Vineyard in Chile is certified as both organic and biodynamic.
(Photo by Jorge León Cabello.)

Land-Use and Conservation Planning

Land-use change is the primary driver of habitat loss and ecosystem degradation, and it greatly intensifies other threats to the environment. Habitat loss and fragmentation are leading to an unprecedented rate of species extinction, which heightens the importance of conservation planning to protect biodiversity. New vineyard acreage is being planted in upland areas that support native plant and animal communities in both Chile and California. Conversion of undeveloped land to vineyards involves the clearing of native upland and riparian vegetation. This type of conversion has the potential to affect natural resources — increasing hillside erosion, degrading freshwater resources, leading to endangered species, or impeding wildlife migration. In order to be truly sustainable, agriculture needs to go beyond the farm scale and achieve no net loss of natural habitat. While farmers should be encouraged to adopt more environmentally friendly farming practices, we also need to pay attention to maintaining natural areas in and around vineyards to maintain local biodiversity.

In both Chile and California, there are strong economic incentives to clear undeveloped land for new vineyards and few regulations to protect native plant and animal communities. There is no state agency that oversees or regulates vineyard or other agricultural land conversion in California. In Chile, the Ministry of Environment and Agriculture and Animal Service does have a law regarding native forests, but this oversight has not provided sufficient protection for natural habitat. In both places, there are also a few local policies that focus mostly on preventing hillside erosion. Our visits to vineyards included discussions with growers and consultants in which we found that economic factors are the key drivers for land-use change, with little attention paid to landscape-scale conservation planning. In both regions, vineyard owners may have title to thousands of acres of natural habitat surrounding their vineyards, but the future of this habitat remains uncertain as there are no incentives to ensure its protection in perpetuity. However, some wine growers do keep this land aside for conservation, either due to their own initiative or because they are engaged in conservation programs such as the Wine, Biodiversity and Climate Change Initiative in Chile.

Odfjell Vineyards in Maipo Valley, Chile, adjoins 150 hectares of native shrublands and forest currently under a restoration program focusing on degraded slopes.

Photo courtesy of Adina Merenlender.

Photo courtesy of Adina Merenlender.

This reservoir at Husch Vineyards in Anderson Valley, California, is used to provide water during the dry season to prevent overreliance on the neighboring Navarro River.

Water Resources

In mediterranean and other water-stressed climates, water management is critical to the conservation of freshwater and terrestrial ecosystems as well as to agricultural production. Water storage and conveyance projects are often constructed at a scale and level of complexity far exceeding those in other, less seasonal climates. As a result, ecological stressors associated with natural periods of flooding and drying are compounded by impacts from water infrastructure development for agriculture and other human uses. To secure and maintain water allocations for the environment, integrated water management approaches are needed that consider ecosystem flow requirements, patterns of human water demands, and the temporal and spatial dynamics of water availability. This issue has received more attention in California coastal areas where endangered salmon species are barely surviving.

Both regions also struggle to meet the demand for vineyard irrigation and, in some cases, water-intensive frost protection, without degrading freshwater resources. In addition to having a negative impact on aquatic species, vineyard water use can deplete groundwater and lead to the accumulation of salt in the soil. Water management is only going to become more challenging in the face of climate change, yet there are few incentives to limit vineyard production in water-stressed areas or to alter management strategies to reduce reliance on surface water withdrawals during the dry season, when natural stream ecosystems are most sensitive.

In California, we met with farmers in the Alexander Valley, along the Russian River, who are monitoring groundwater to look for changes associated with groundwater pumping for vineyard irrigation and frost protection. While impacts on streams in the Alexander Valley are buffered in some places by the availability of groundwater resources, higher up in the watershed the situation is more problematic. Pumping water along smaller tributaries for springtime frost protection has led to a complete lack of stream flow during short but critical periods in salmon-bearing streams. Extensive hydrological analysis is required to estimate the trade-offs between agriculture needs and the environmental flows required to maintain salmon populations. Continued attention must be paid to how agricultural water use and freshwater natural resource conservation can coexist.

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Photo courtesy of Adina Merenlender.

Quintessa vineyard in Napa County, owned and managed by a Chilean company, manages vineyard blocks under a biodynamic program, which has improved fruit quality.

Diversifying the Vineyard: Hedgerows and Cover Crops

In addition to providing environmental benefits, enhancing biodiversity in and around the farm can reduce reliance on agricultural chemicals. In California and Chile, many wine-grape growers remove all vegetation from under the vines and between the rows, usually with herbicides or tillage, to have maximum control over vine growth. However, the lack of plant cover can reduce the number of spiders and other beneficial insects and desirable wildlife that feed on insect and mite pests. In some cases, biological control agents or nitrogen-fixing cover crops can act as partial substitutes for synthetic pesticides and fertilizers. The practical management of biodiversity in the vineyard is especially important in organic agriculture because organic growers have no recourse to synthetic nitrogen and pesticide applications. While there are many ways for a vineyard manager to maintain or enhance biodiversity to develop a more ecologically functional vineyard, we currently lack sufficient outreach programs and incentives to promote the widespread adoption of such practices.

Overwintering cover crops are widely used in vineyards to control erosion and fix nitrogen. The mixture of cover crops is important because having multiple species can provide functional redundancies and complementarities. For example, functional redundancy occurs when multiple legumes are used in a cover crop seed mix: if one species grows poorly, another may compensate, providing back-up. Functional complementarities can be obtained by seeding grasses and legumes together. Grasses are often more efficient at scavenging soil nitrate, whereas legumes fix atmospheric nitrogen.

While winter-annual cover crops may provide resources for beneficial insects that could enhance the biological control of pests, they are typically mown down in the late spring, just as grape vines begin to push out new shoots. The use of cover crops during the summer growing season is much more limited due to concerns about the cover crop competing with grape vines for soil moisture and nutrients. In some cases, such competition is actually desirable and can improve grape quality. Where this is the case, growers typically establish perennial grass covers to regulate over-vigorous grape vines, sometimes using native plants.

While more expensive, native cover crops are readily available in California; in Chile, they are just being developed. Research on the development of native cover crops is a high priority for Chilean growers, who up to now have used cover crops developed in California. The problem with importing California natives is that some species have become invasive, outcompeting Chilean native species. Finally, some growers do regularly establish flowering summer cover crops to provide habitat and resources for beneficial insects, although this is very rare and can raise production costs. Both perennial grasses and flowering summer cover crops can provide important foods for birds and other vertebrates.

Another highly desirable way to maintain biodiversity in the vineyard and to promote beneficial insects for pest control is to plant native hedgerows. The plants may need irrigation at first, but once established they can often thrive on rainfall alone. In many vineyards, hedgerows consist simply of the edges where the farmer has decided to tolerate the growth of volunteer plants, including trees, shrubs, herbs, and grasses. This type of informal hedgerow is far more common in Chile. Planted hedgerows are more readily found in California's coastal vineyards, in part due to cost-share incentives provided by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. The advantage of purposefully planted hedgerows is that farmers can avoid species that harbor pests or diseases that affect wine grapes. There are some exemplary vineyards in California that use biodynamic agriculture practices in which the surrounding native vegetation is connected to the hedgerows and the diversified planting areas to create a more balanced ecological system.

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Photo by Andrés Muñoz-Sáez.

A falcon hunts insects in a Chilean vineyard.

Future Directions

Wine-grape growers increasingly recognize the importance of the environment and the need to protect biodiversity. In part, this shift is due to buyers who want to support sustainable agriculture. While environmentally conscious consumers often rely on certification programs, current programs focus on minimizing agricultural chemical use and rarely emphasize biodiversity conservation. Similarly, some farmers and growers associations are committed to organic or biodynamic practices, but they tend to focus primarily on biological control by insects and not on biodiversity conservation or on habitat management for wildlife. Therefore, two of the central challenges in our future collaboration will be to quantify the ecosystem services that native ecosystems provide to vineyards and to collect data on the role vineyards play as a habitat for wildlife.

Climate change will likely cause growers to expand vineyards into previously uncultivated natural areas, further threatening biodiversity, and water stress will become a bigger problem in many regions. While most grape growers are aware of climate change, they do not always understand the direct influence it will have on their vineyards. In most cases, more attention to future conditions, especially water availability, would result in better climate adaptation strategies. Additional collaborative efforts between Chile and California could provide the information, technologies, and capacity building needed to protect the two countries' fragile mediterranean-climate ecosystems and to promote both regions' quality wines.

Adina Merenlender, Miguel Altieri, Olga Barbosa, Andrés Muñoz-Sáez, Carlos Pino, and Houston Wilson are part of a binational research team that received a seed grant funded by Chile's National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (Conicyt) and administered by CLAS.

Their research will be available to wine-grape growers and managers through a bilingual website (http://ucanr.edu/sites/vec/) and continued outreach to the industry.

Attractive vineyard landscapes are more enjoyable for tourists to visit: a tasting at Quintessa in California.

Photo by M.J. Wickham Photography/Courtesy of the Wine Sisterhood.

Photo by Paolo Vescia.

A danger sign to warn of recent pesticide application in a Salinas field.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Growing Up Too Fast

By Rose Kagawa

Historically, the age at which girls begin puberty has edged younger and younger, but in the last century, the age of pubertal onset has dropped precipitously. This downward trend is troubling because early puberty among girls is linked with poor health outcomes, both during adolescence and later in life.

Girls who enter puberty early are more prone to depression, anxiety, behavior problems, substance abuse, eating disorders, and early initiation of sexual activity. Over time, they are at higher risk for illnesses such as breast cancer and cardiovascular disease.

Childhood obesity is the most frequently given explanation for the earlier onset of puberty, but social and environmental factors also seem to be important. For example, studies suggest that when a girl's biological father is absent during the early years of her life, her risk of reaching puberty before age 12 is increased. More generally, early puberty seems to be entwined with low socio-economic position and the many challenges that often accompany it, such as family instability and stress in early life.

Chemical exposures are also coming under increasing scrutiny. Animal models have shown that endocrine-disrupting chemicals can alter the timing of puberty by changing normal hormone levels. These chemicals are fairly common in our everyday environment and are present in some plastics and pesticides.

Julianna Deardorff, a clinical psychologist and an associate professor of Public Health at UC Berkeley, studies the impact of early life experiences on pubertal development, substance use, and sexual risk behaviors in her work with the Center for the Health Assessment of Mothers and Children of Salinas (or Chamacos, which also means "little kids" in Mexican Spanish).

The Chamacos study was initiated by UC Berkeley Public Health professor Brenda Eskenazi. In 1999-2000,

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the study began following 601 pregnant women in rural Salinas, California, in order to assess the impact of exposure to pesticides and other environmental factors on children's development. In 2009, 300 new families were recruited to replace those who had dropped out, and more than 600 youth are still participating. Deardorff, an expert on adolescent health, recently joined the study as the children entered adolescence. She shared her experience collaborating with a similar study being conducted in Chile during a presentation at the Center for Latin American Studies.

The partnership between the studies in Chile and California began by happenstance. Deardorff met Camila Corvalán, a researcher at the Institute of Nutrition and Food Technology at the Universidad de Chile, at a symposium on puberty and cancer risk hosted by the National Cancer Institute. Both women were working with studies that followed young children into adolescence, and both were using rigorous methods to assess pubertal onset. Intrigued by Corvalán's talk, Deardorff caught her in the elevator afterwards, telling her, "We have to connect because your cohort is just behind our cohort here… and we have so much information we could share." Deardorff extended her day in order to accompany Corvalán to a large dinner at the end of the symposium. "We ignored everybody else… and talked for an hour and a half," Deardorff remembered. That was the beginning of the collaboration between Chamacos and the Growth and Obesity Chilean Cohort Study (GOCS) in Santiago, Chile. The two women knew they wanted to work together, but without resources, building a partnership would be challenging.

Fortuitously, just three months after their first meeting, Deardorff received an announcement for the UC Berkeley-Chile Seed Fund competition sponsored by Chile's National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (Conicyt) and administered by the Center for Latin American Studies. The goal of the grant competition was to foster collaboration between researchers at UC Berkeley and their counterparts in Chile. It was just the opportunity the researchers had been hoping for.

Corvalán's GOCS study is similar, but not identical, to the Chamacos study. It began tracking growth among a group of urban children beginning in preschool. Now these children are about 11-12 years old. The opportunities for cross-study comparisons are novel and exciting. This type of comparison study has never been done, said Deardorff,

Families gather at a Chamacos Community Forum.

Photo courtesy of the Center for Environmental Research and Children's Health.

Photo courtesy of Camila Corvalán.

A girl is tested with calipers for the Growth and Obesity Chilean Cohort Study.

because it's rare for participants to have been tracked well enough, using gold-standard pubertal measures, and long enough to even look at pubertal development over time.

Research with Latinos is also very scarce. The collaboration has led to new data-gathering opportunities for both studies. Deardorff explained: "Their participants are around 12. Ours are now 14. So we've been able to inform their data collection efforts so that we have more analogous data going forward, but they've also asked us to add scales into our ongoing data collection." For example, the GOCS researchers are expanding their collection of socio-demographic information and adding a new emphasis on mental and behavioral health.

Not only is the collaboration informing which data they collect but also how they collect it. Deardorff describes Chamacos as "a true community–university partnership with give-back to the community and investment of community members." This is an "incredible opportunity for them [GOCS] to ask 'How do you do this?'" said Deardorff, meaning how do you follow people in a study for more than a decade, and how do you engage adolescents and the community in more meaningful ways?

The GOCS researchers visited the Salinas site in August of 2014, and they took the opportunity to pick the Chamacos staff members' brains. "We have to leave for Berkeley. There will be *tráfico*," said Deardorff as the day came to an end, but the visitors were eager to learn how the field operation worked and especially to see an example of community-based, participatory research in action. According to Deardorff, it was an excellent opportunity for them to see the nuts and bolts of a long-term field study that tracks youth and families during adolescence.

This winter, the Chamacos researchers will have the chance to travel to Santiago, Chile, to learn from the GOCS model and to discuss next steps in research. The end goal? For Deardorff, these intensive cohort studies are important, not only to identify the factors that put children at risk, but also to uncover those factors that help them grow up to be resilient and healthy adults.

Julianna Deardorff is an associate professor in the Maternal and Child Health Program at UC Berkeley's School of Public Health and the recipient of a 2013 Conicyt UC Berkeley-Chile Seed Grant. She spoke for CLAS on September 22, 2014.

Rose Kagawa is a graduate student in the Division of Epidemiology at UC Berkeley's School of Public Health.

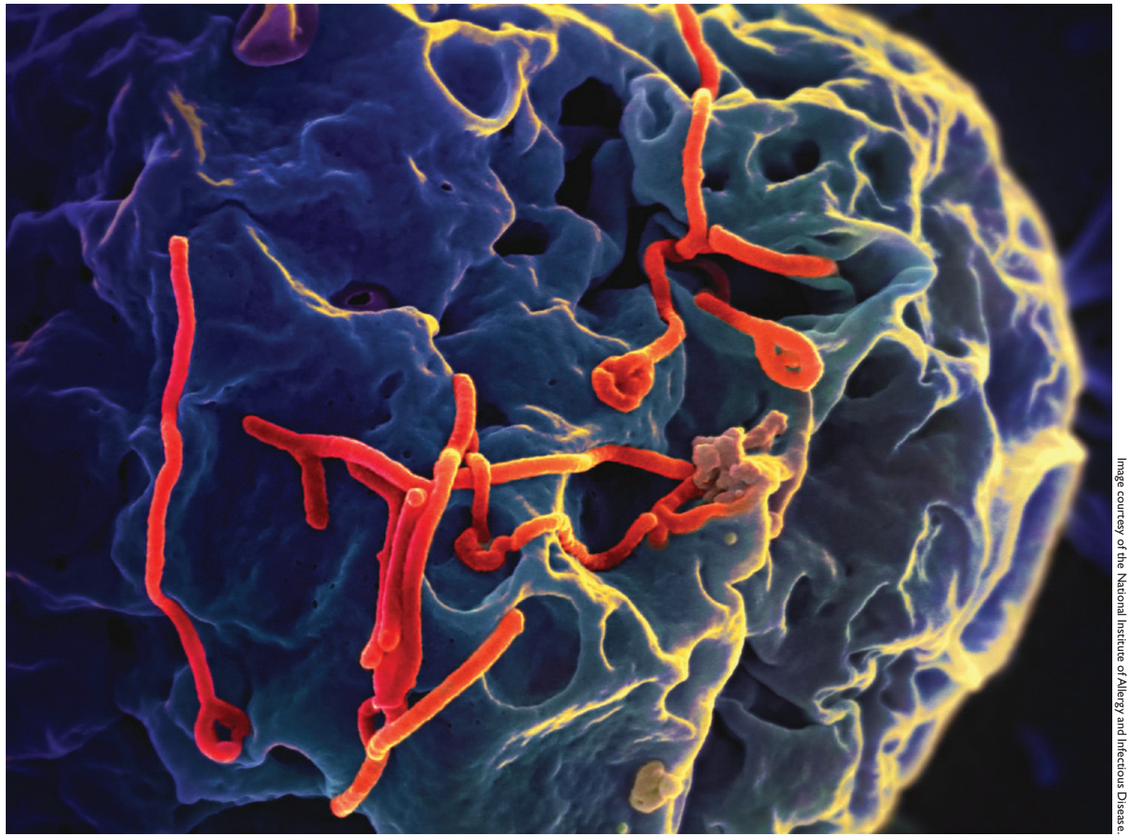

Image courtesy of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Disease.

The Ebola virus buds from the surface of a Vero cell.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Disparities From the Cell to the Street

By Eva Raphael

As of October 31, 2014, the West Africa Ebola epidemic had claimed 4,960 lives. Respecting neither social status nor political borders, the disease's victims ranged from young children to local healers to world-renowned doctors, and new cases were being discovered in Europe and the United Sates, most of them contracted abroad. As bad as the situation was, according to Dr. Lee Riley, a professor of Public Health at UC Berkeley, it could have been much worse. What, he asks, would have happened if the largest Ebola outbreak the world has ever seen had begun just a few months earlier, during the World Cup that brought a million visitors to Brazil?

While the media coverage of the epidemic has pointed to poverty, cultural practices, a lack of access to health care, and the after-effects of war as the drivers of Ebola's spread, these factors haven't changed since the 1970s when the virus first surfaced. The elephant in the room, and the real culprit for the uncontrollable nature of this outbreak, Riley argued during his talk for the Center for Latin American Studies, is the proliferation of urban slums. "When the virus enters these slum settlements," he said, "it gets amplified."

According to the UN, more than half of the world's population currently lives in an urban setting compared to 30 percent in 1950. Worldwide, there are at least 400 cities with more than one million inhabitants, including 33 "megacities" with more than 10 million residents. A disquieting number of these urbanites — an estimated one billion people — live in slums, and that number is expected to double by 2030. Slums are defined by the United Nations as having at least one of the five following characteristics: poor-quality housing, overcrowding, inadequate access to safe water and sanitation, and insecure residential status. In sub-Saharan Africa, about 70 percent of urban dwellers live in slums. In Sierra Leone, one of the epicenters of the Ebola outbreak, that figure is 90 percent. In Rio de Janeiro, where Riley has worked for more than 20 years, nearly 30 percent of the urban population lives in slums known as *favelas*.

Riley used a powerful photo to illustrate Brazil's housing disparities. It depicts a lavish São Paulo apartment complex, with shared tennis courts and individual pools on every floor, which is separated by a thin wall from the fragile and complex infrastructure of a favela. As the photo makes clear, the lifestyles of residents on either side of the fence couldn't be more different. But perhaps more surprisingly, Riley explained, the illnesses they incur are different, too.

The diseases that are found on the high-income side of the fence range from HIV and tuberculosis to influenza and hypertension. The slum side of the fence has, in addition to its neighbor's afflictions, multi-drug-resistant tuberculosis; hepatitis A, B, and C; leptospirosis; vaccine-preventable diseases; and advanced-stage cervical cancer. There are clear reasons for some of these disease differentials — for example, access to vaccines and screenings such as PAP smears — but other disparities are not as clear cut.

When it comes to streptococcal throat infections, for example, Riley and his team of researchers have discovered two worlds in one city. The slum side of the fence is afflicted by strains of the bacterium common in the developing world, while those on the affluent side tend to get the strains usually found in the developed world — precisely the strains that new, experimental vaccines are being designed to combat. While strep is easily treated with penicillin, those in poor communities frequently have limited access to even basic health care. Left untreated, recurrent strep throat causes the body's immune system to attack the heart valves, which have proteins similar to the ones found on the streptococcal bacterium, a condition known as rheumatic heart disease. The affected heart valves eventually have to be replaced and then have to be changed every 10 to 20 years. Today, the mean age of Brazilians in need of heart-valve replacements due to rheumatic heart disease is 9 to 12 years old, and they reside disproportionately in favelas.

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The Paraisópolis (Paradise City) favela is separated by a thin fence from an upscale apartment complex in São Paulo, Brazil.

Photo by Tuca Vieira.

Photo by Guillermo Jaimes.

A makeshift bridge crosses an open sewer in the Pau da Lima favela in Salvador, Brazil.

The early onset of such a disabling condition leads to the loss of many years of healthy, productive life. Various studies have attempted to quantify the cost of such disabilities across broad populations. A famous example is the Global Burden of Disease Study, which was published in The Lancet in 2010. It consisted of a worldwide effort to measure the disease burden for 220 diseases by calculating the disability-adjusted life years (DALYs) caused by these diseases. DALYs are the sum of the years spent living with a disability and the years of life lost due to a disease or medical condition. While the Global Burden of Disease Study provided an important baseline, Riley noted that it presented only aggregated data: no information about the disease burden in subpopulations of the countries studied was included.

There are logistical reasons that help explain why this data was omitted. Measuring disease burden is expensive, especially in informal settlements where many residents lack official addresses and do not receive regular health care. Further complicating matters is the fact that, historically, the births of Brazilian slum dwellers were not even registered. Obtaining health information in the favelas thus takes time, money, and physical effort, and in the past, their residents were simply excluded from the country's demographic health surveys. As a consequence, data about their health risks was not found in formal statistical surveys, explained Riley.

Recently, Brazil has started to differentiate between slum and non-slum communities for the national census. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics created the term *aglomerados subnormais*, or sub-normal agglomerates, to refer to favelas in 2006. Riley's group is using the new data generated by the census to compare the number of DALYs lost to tuberculosis in slum and non-slum communities. In the city of Rio de Janeiro, Riley found that in, non-slum census tracts, tuberculosis resulted in 236.4 DALYs per 100,000 residents, while in the favelas, the figure was 306.4 DALYs per 100,000, a "DALY gap" of 70. Riley argued that this DALY gap can be closed with improvements to slums, but that one cannot wait on large sweeping changes by the government.

As a scientist working in the field, Riley outlined steps that he feels are crucial to combatting health disparities. First and foremost, he argued, there needs to be formal recognition that this population exists. Then, their burden of disease should be assessed so that national governments have information on which to base their decisions. He also tasked researchers like himself with developing novel health interventions specifically designed for slums.

Such interventions can end up having multiple benefits. As evidence, Riley described a campaign undertaken in 2008 by the city of Salvador in response to work done on leptospirosis by one of his collaborators, Dr. Albert Ko. Open sewers at the bottom of three of the five valleys of the Pau da Lima favela were closed, an intervention that had unforeseen positive impacts on diarrheal and skin diseases in addition to leptospirosis. Riley added that one of the benefits of working in a country like Brazil is that the government has the resources to respond to compelling arguments made by epidemiological research.

Working to eradicate health disparities in slum communities is not just the right thing to do; it's the smart thing as well. Riley used a little-known event to make this point. In the lead up to the World Cup, Rio de Janeiro hosted another, smaller soccer event: the 2014 Street Child World Cup. About 230 children from 19 different countries participated, including a team from Liberia. What, asked Riley, if one of those young soccer players developed a fever from Ebola virus infection while in Brazil? And what if all those exposed children returned to the slums back in their own countries? What good would a fence separating the poor from the wealthy have done then?

Riley ended his talk by quoting Pope Francis, who said that people in positions of power seem not to care about poverty, but "the main stock exchange goes up or down three percentage points, and this is a world event… It's time to flip the tortilla." Paying attention to the health and infrastructure needs of slum dwellers is the first step in improving their life chances and reducing the threat posed by epidemics that cannot be contained by walls. The last words in Riley's presentation were a poignant entreaty: "Don't throw them away."

Dr. Lee Riley is professor and chair of the Infectious Disease and Vaccinology division at UC Berkeley's School of Public Health. He spoke at CLAS on October 27, 2014.

Eva Raphael received her MPH from UC Berkeley's School of Public Health. She is currently a fourth-year medical student at Emory University.

A billboard in the Rocinha favela of Rio de Janeiro warns that coughing for more than three weeks could be a symptom of tuberculosis.

Photo by Adam Greenfield.

Photo by Mariano Pernicone.

Daniel Scioli stands before a screen displaying Néstor Kirchner, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, and Sergio Massa at a 2009 campaign event.

ARGENTINA

Contending for the Future?

By Eugenia Giraudy

"Four hundred forty-one days from now, Argentina will end a phase," said Sergio Massa, referring to the end of President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's term in office. Massa — once an ally of the president and of her late husband, the country's former president, Néstor Kirchner — is today one of the strongest opposition figures in Argentina.

Until 2013, Sergio Massa was a central player in the Fernández de Kirchner administration. He served as director of the National Social Security Agency and even did a stint as cabinet chief from 2008 to 2009. However, in the 2013 midterm elections, Massa decided to run for Congress against Fernández de Kirchner's party, the Frente Para la Victoria (FPV). He built a broad electoral coalition that included poor residents of the Buenos Aires Metropolitan Area as well as middle- and upper-class voters from the agricultural sector of Buenos Aires province. This coalition gave him a convincing 12-point victory over the FPV. The strategic decision to split from the Kirchner government and his ability to build a broad, multi-class coalition made Massa one of the frontrunners for the next presidential election.

In his talk at UC Berkeley, Massa argued that Argentina faces three main social and economic problems. First, the country's inflation rate has destroyed any possibility of economic development, affecting expectations for both personal and industrial development. Second, Argentina's lack of compliance with international agreements has impacted investment and access to international markets. Lastly, the Argentine state has been ineffectual in countering increases in violence, drug trafficking, and property crime.

The congressman then presented a set of proposals to solve the three problems he identified. He began by laying out policies designed to spur economic development, with a focus on four key sectors: agriculture, energy, telecommunications, and infrastructure. Argentina's agricultural system should be the initial engine of the economic recovery, Massa argued. In order for this strategy to be successful, current taxation levels must be reduced and innovative ways to add value to agricultural primary products must be found. At the same time, the country's energy sector must be revived. In particular, Massa emphasized the need to reduce energy imports and to generate the fiscal and tax conditions that would allow for greater investment in this sector. For the telecommunications industry, he suggested that incentives should be provided to reward companies that improve the quality of service. Lastly, Massa focused on the need to improve Argentina's infrastructure, particularly trains, roads, hydroelectricity, and ports. These improvements could spark the development of regional economies that would boost the nation's recovery.

In order to invest in these development goals, Argentina's second main problem must be solved: the lack of access to international markets. For the congressman, greater access to international markets would impact not only Argentina's development matrix but also the quality of citizens' lives. In particular, Massa proposed a program of interest-rate insurance that would allow access to mortgages for a million Argentines who do not own homes today. By imposing a government-backed ceiling on mortgage rates, the program would show that Argentina was making inflation reduction a serious goal. The interest-rate insurance program would be the anchor that would move all the other sectors of the economy to decrease inflation, Massa argued. He also maintained that the country should return to an independent, floating exchange rate and recover the independence of the Central Bank in order to regain access to international markets.

In relation to Argentina's third problem — the lack of rule of law — Massa emphasized the need for an independent judicial system. Judges should have greater fiscal independence from the executive branch, and the judge selection process should be more independent, Massa argued. In addition, the congressman put forward anti-corruption measures, such as increasing jail terms for corrupt officials and eliminating statutes of limitations for corruption cases. Lastly, he proposed the creation of a stable national fund — coming from a fixed percentage of the gross domestic product — to fight poverty through the improvement of the education system.

According to Massa, the inability of previous administrations to implement this set of proposals is rooted in generational attitudes. He believes that, up until the present, governments have depended on polarizing social and political groups in order to maintain power. The 2015 elections present a fresh opportunity since a

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Sergio Massa argues for investments in infrastructure, including ports such as this one in Buenos Aires.

Photo by Philip Spittle.

Photo by Jim Block.

Journalism student Noelia González interviews Sergio Massa at UC Berkeley.

new generation — the first to be born since the return to democracy in 1983 — will come to power. This generation better understands the need to reach consensus and to build a country with rules, order, and progress, he argued.

The challenge for Sergio Massa resides in making a credible claim that he is the person capable of fulfilling these promises. For many of the Kirchners' critics, Massa has spent too many years as an insider to be a credible opponent. To supporters of *kirchnerismo*, Massa looks like a traitor. Furthermore, some of Massa's recent political alliances undermine his claim to be the representative of a new political generation. In particular, he has been criticized for allying with two controversial mayors: Raúl Othacehé of Merlo and Jesús Cariglino of Malvinas Argentinas. Both Othacehé and Cariglino are old-guard Peronist mayors and have been accused of human rights violations and of employing anti-democratic measures that suppress political competition in their districts.

The identity of the next Argentine president remains uncertain. Besides Massa, the other two frontrunners are Daniel Scioli, the current governor of Buenos Aires province, and Mauricio Macri, the current mayor of the City of Buenos Aires. Macri is the only non-Peronist candidate of the three. Since 2005, he has built a new center-right political party, Propuesta Republicana (Republican Proposal, PRO), which has maintained stable electoral majorities in the City of Buenos Aires for the past eight years. In the next election, Macri aims to attract the non-Peronist vote and is positioning himself as the only true non-Kirchnerist candidate of the three. His challenge, though, resides in building a national party that extends beyond Buenos Aires city limits. While Macri has been able to generate high approval ratings nationally, his new party's lack of presence in most Argentine provinces remains a serious obstacle to his presidential prospects.

Daniel Scioli, on the other hand, has been a strong ally of the Kirchners' governments since 2003, when he began a four-year term as Néstor Kirchner's vice president. Since 2007, he has been the governor of the largest and most important district in Argentina: the province of Buenos Aires, where he has maintained high approval ratings. While his relationship with the Kirchners has had several tense moments, Scioli has chosen to stay loyal to Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. Nevertheless, in the next presidential election, Scioli faces the challenge of obtaining part of the anti-Kirchnerist vote in order to build an electoral majority. While Scioli may inherit Fernández de Kirchner's base of support, he also will be blamed for the current economic situation.

Despite their differences, Massa, Scioli, and Macri share a similar style. The three aim to portray themselves as young political figures who are beyond left–right ideologies and who prefer consensus to confrontation. The three emphasize the need to introduce efficient governing tools and to respond forcefully to violence and crime. Whether Peronist, Kirchnerist, or neither, chances are the next Argentine president will have a more center-right agenda than the current administration. As Sergio Massa said at UC Berkeley, Argentina's next presidential election will be a turning point in the nation's political life.

Sergio Massa is an Argentine congressman and the former mayor of Tigre. He spoke for the Center of Latin American Studies and the Center for Political Economy on September 22, 2014.

Eugenia Giraudy is a Ph.D. candidate in the Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science at UC Berkeley.

Photo by Ryan Montgomery.

UC Berkeley theater students in a Teatro Campesino-inspired performance that opened the talk by Luis Valdéz.

THEATER

Performance and Politics

By Martha Herrera-Lasso

Fifty years after he began his work in the Delano grape-strike picket lines, Chicano theater artist and activist Luis Valdéz, brings us "The Power of Zero." "*La raza* is not a race, it's a melting pot, and everybody is welcome. We are rooted in the history of this continent. This is what we bring to the computer age — the power of zero, the power of zero to calculate, to invent, to create the universe with everybody else. We're not any better than anybody else, but we're just as good: we're just as brilliant; we're just as intelligent."

In his lecture in celebration of the 50 years of El Teatro Campesino, founder Luis Valdéz rooted the power of zero in our bodies and across the Americas. Born in a labor camp in Delano, California, in 1940, Valdéz is regarded as the father of Chicano theater in the United States. In the 1960s, he worked alongside labor leader and civil rights activist Cesar Chávez in the farmworkers union strike, where he brought workers and students together to form El Teatro Campesino, a touring theater company of, by, and for the farmworkers. Valdéz was the first Chicano playwright and director to have a show on Broadway ("Zoot Suit," 1979), and for the last 50 years, El Teatro Campesino has continued to use theater practice as a means towards the transformation of our material and spiritual realities.

Valdéz's continuing influence could be seen in the introductions to his lecture. Students from the Berkeley-based Teatro group opened the event with a performance that incorporated both techniques used by El Teatro Campesino and its legendary characters, the Pachuca and the Patroncito, to expose ongoing abuses of power happening on the Berkeley campus today. Following this performance, *teatrera* and community activist Natalie Sánchez invited the audience to think of how the arts can be used to imagine and build the future. "There can't be a movement without movement. Listen, learn, and move. And then repeat." With this prompt, Sánchez set the stage for Cherríe Moraga, the Chicana activist, playwright, poet,

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Image by Rodolfo "Rudy" Cuellar.

A caricature of Luis Valdéz on a mid-1970s poster.

and scholar, who remarked: "I guess it takes a village to bring Luis Valdéz, huh? It's beautiful."

Moraga spoke of the power of Valdéz's vision, of how for 50 years it has guided a community, the Chicano *pueblo*, in its flows of struggle. As a philosopher and a public intellectual, "he is someone who anticipates where we need to be politically," Moraga said, as she acknowledged Valdéz's leadership, tenacity, and courage. The beginnings of El Teatro Campesino render "a great model of what it is to make art practice be political practice without compromise to either of the forms." Moraga spoke of Valdéz as an older brother, one with whom she converses and disagrees, from whom she learns as she resists and moves forward in her own practice as a Chicana artist. "In my history of watching Luis's work I kept saying: 'You see where that man is? I'm gonna put a woman right there in the center.' And I thank Luis for that. Agitation, propaganda. I was pissed off. They were not true portraits of who we were; they were not, and I knew it. That's my work right now." In order to move forward, then, we must look at what our ancestors have done. We must "start from zero, not from scratch."

The concept of zero played the eye of the hurricane in Valdéz' keynote address. As he spoke of a continental America and of the genius of our pre-Columbian ancestors, zero remained the constant around which the spiral swirled. Zero is, for Valdéz, the center point through which we cross from negative to positive, the spiral through which we connect to our bodies and to each other. He develops his theory of the power of zero by unifying a continental America, finding proof of a shared world-view in the pre-Columbian linguistic roots that spread across the hemisphere. The hardy remnants of these roots are still evident in the way we use language, and we carry this ancestral knowledge in the way we speak today. "The concept of zero does not float in empty space," Valdéz explained. "The concept of zero is embedded into our very lives."

According to Valdéz, the concept of zero exists in four planes: body (eros), heart (pathos), mind (logos), and spirit (ethos). He uses the Maya symbol of the Hunab Ku (the square inside the circle) to articulate this theory: "I want you to imagine a circle — a pure zero circle. This is the power of the feminine. It's continuity. It's a matrix, but it's a spiral. It doesn't completely lock; it spirals. And then, within it, imagine a square — that's the male part. This is the symbol of Hunab Ku: the square inside the circle. Hunab Ku is the creator: *el único dador de la medida y el movimiento* (the only giver of the measure and the movement).

Each of the four sides of the square represents one of the four planes (body, heart, mind, spirit), and each in turn consists of five steps. In the body, the power of zero lives at the base of the spine, in the solar plexus. "This is the key to movement; this is the key. And it is also the key to the Mayan zero of your body. As I say it's a spiral — *es un huracán* (it's a hurricane). You wanna see zero?" he asks, as he swirls his hips in a spiral. "It is the joy of using the zero that is inherent in your body, that frees you to be able to relate to the movement of the planet and the stars, which is why the *indio* dances his way to truth in ways that we don't understand. But any culture will move in [its] own special way. Because this is universal. This is not just Chicano or Indian: it's human. It's human. It is the vibrant being in action."

The zero of the heart is in developing empathy, learning to sense what other people are going through. It is the Maya precept In Lak'ech that says "you are the other me. If I love and respect you, I love and respect myself. If I do harm to you, I do harm to myself. Because we see people as others, but they're not. I am you, and you are me, and I am my community." This sense of the collective, of not only a continental but a universal community, is very strongly present in the third column: mind, logos, knowledge, consciousness. "There is no individual genius, there is only collective genius." For the Maya, the word *men* (eagle) signifies *creer, crear, ser* (to believe, to create, to be), and the zero of the mind relies on our ability to create our own existence through our beliefs. "If you believe something, then you can create something. You can't just be an artist in a vacuum, you need to believe something." In the last column, ethics, the power of zero lies in a shared responsibility towards developing a social conscience. "You have to believe in something bigger than yourself — that's the essence of the last column," said Valdéz. "The world does not end here; it goes on into other people."

Valdéz's delivery relied on Mayan and Aztec principles to lay out the concept of zero. But passages of his own biography were central in bringing these ancient precepts closer to his audience, precisely because his theory is the result of lived experiences. "I didn't have to go to college to learn the body was important: I was a farmworker."

As he spoke of the importance of humility, he told the story of his very first introduction to theater. In the fall of 1946, when he was six years old, Valdéz's family settled in a little town in the San Joaquin Valley to pick cotton. His parents enrolled him in the local school. Every day his mom would send him egg tacos for lunch in a little brown paper bag, always the same brown paper bag. There were war shortages, and a brown paper bag was a big commodity for a six-year-old migrant boy. One day after school, his brown bag disappeared, and soon enough, he discovered it had been his teacher who had taken it.

She had turned his prized paper bag into a paper-maché monkey mask for the school play. Valdéz had never heard of such a thing as a school play but was so intrigued by what his teacher told him that not only did he forgive her for taking his paper bag, but he showed up at auditions the next day. He was cast as a monkey in the school production of "Christmas in the Jungle," his first-ever role in the theater. He made a good monkey, "a good *changuito*," he said. "I got a costume that was better than my own clothes, I tell you — the mask made from mama's taco bag." The play was going to be his big debut before the world, and everyone — his family, neighbors, and newly made school friends — was going to see him perform. But three days before the show, he came home from school only to learn they were moving away the next day. His family had been evicted, and they had to leave the farm.

"The next morning at dawn, my dad got the truck started and pulled out. We pulled out of the camp, went through the town of Stratford where the school was, and I'll never forget seeing this town recede into the valley fog and feeling a hole open up in my chest. I mean this could have destroyed me. This could have really done me in, as it does some kids. But I had with me the secret of paper maché, the desire to do theater, and also residual anger because we had been evicted from the labor camp. Almost 20 years later, I went to Cesar Chávez and pitched him an idea for a theater of, by, and for farmworkers." For almost 70 years, Valdéz told his audience, he has been pouring plays and stories into that hole. "It became the hungry mouth of my creativity. A negative became a positive. How do you get from negative into positive? You have to go through zero."

Luis Valdéz is the founder of El Teatro Campesino and an award-winning playwright and film artist. A recipient of the 2014-15 UC Regent's Lectureship, he delivered the keynote lecture "The Power of Zero: Celebrating 50 Years of El Teatro Campesino" at UC Berkeley's Zellerbach Playhouse on Tuesday, November 18, 2014.

Martha Herrera-Lasso is a graduate student in the Department of Theatre, Dance, and Performance Studies at UC Berkeley.

Luis Valdéz speaks at UC Berkeley.

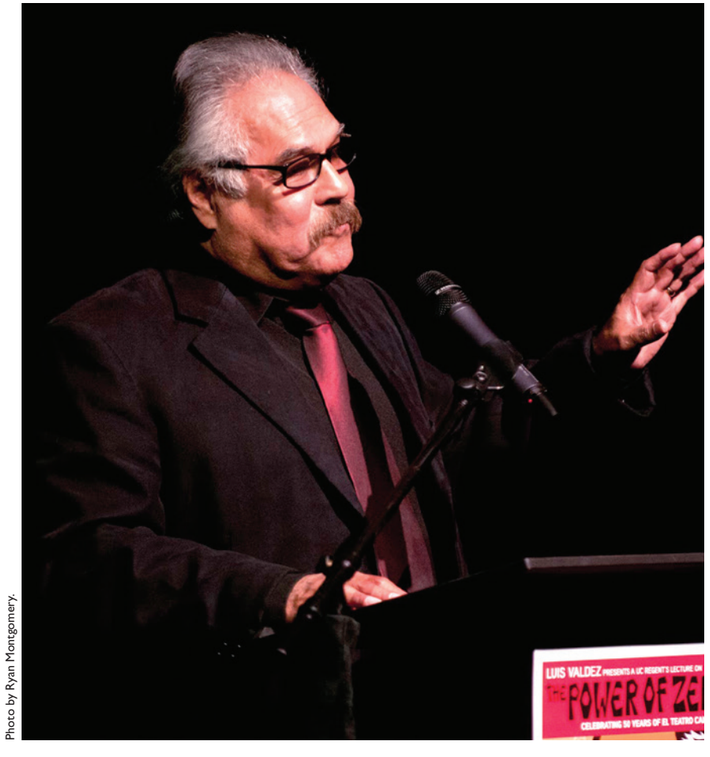

Photo by Ryan Montgomery.

MEXICO

Geography, Ideology, and Revolution

By Claudio Lomnitz

The Return of Comrade Ricardo Flores Magón explores the relationship between exile and ideology by way of a biography of a transnational grassroots movement that was active through the whole of Mexico's revolutionary era, at the start of the 20th century. Against the wishes of its militants, who were adamantly oppposed to hero worship and to any aspiring *caudillo*, this movement has come to be known as *magonismo*, obscuring the depth and seriousness of its militants' ideological commitments. Indeed, there is in this story a tension between ideological identification and leadership. As a result, the relationship between ideology and personhood is at the center of my inquiry.

The first iteration of the problem that eventually led to the research and writing of this nonfiction novel was a paper that I presented in 1999 at the University of Chicago, at a conference to honor the publication of Friedrich Katz's monumental book, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*. The paper's title was "On the Ideological Incoherence of the Mexican Revolution." Although I never published the paper, I believe that it was there that I first visualized the question that would some years later give rise to my book. The problem that I tried to tackle was the following:

The superiority of charismatic leadership over ideological influence as the prodominant form of political identification during the Mexican Revolution has long been recognized in public discussion. The fact that revolutionaries identified themselves principally as followers of leaders — as *carrancistas* or *villistas* or *zapatistas*, for instance — rather than as militants who adhered to a cause or an ideology was often interpreted as a sign of a lack of ideological formation or, at the very least, of ideological inconsistency.

Based on Katz's study, I explored a paradox that promised to shed some light on the causes of this ideological inconsistency. Katz had proved that Pancho Villa was an *agrarista* and that he favored the breakup of the great landed estates and their distribution to the peasantry. And indeed Villa did confiscate a number of estates, but he did not distribute land.

The causes of his unwillingness to go through with land reform can be found in the geography of the armed struggle: Pancho Villa's stronghold was in the northern states of Chihuahua and Durango, but his attempt to take power involved moving his armies southward and fanning out east and west. If Villa had distributed the

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This "Atlas of the Mexican Conflict" was published by Rand McNally and Company in 1914. (Image from The Newberry Independent Research Library.)

land confiscated in Chihuahua and elsewhere, his soldiers would in all likelihood have stayed put, not wishing to leave their newly acquired land untended and unguarded. On the other hand, the alternative — distributing confiscated land to men other than his own soldiers — would have been political suicide. Indeed, Villa's model for agrarian reform, the *colonia militar*, was intimately tied to soldiering, unlike the traditional *ejido*, which was based on community rights to restitution of land from encroaching *haciendas*. Under *villismo*, agrarian distribution would have promoted the citizen-soldier as the rural ideal.

Thus, one of historians' key difficulties before Katz's work, which pinpointed Pancho Villa's ideological stance on land distribution, could be explained with reference to the relationship between politics and geography. Would a similar operation work for understanding the inconsistencies of *carrancismo*? In my conference paper, I argued that it could and that an analogous explanation could go a long way toward understanding the problem of ideological incoherence and ideological purity in Mexico's revolution more generally.

For if Villa was a sort of unrealized or underachieving agrarista, it was just as true that Carranza was an unrealized or underachieving liberal. Carranza was not sympathetic to communal property. Individual holding has been key to liberal ideas of citizenship since the days of John Locke. If liberal revolutionaries, including Francisco Madero, favored the breakup of at least some *latifundia*, it was to promote and propagate small private holdings, with American farms serving as ideal types, and emphatically not to restore corporate landholdings like the ejido. And yet, that is what Carranza did in his decree of January 6, 1915.

Friedrich Katz's analysis of the reasons why Villa did not distribute land helped me to frame a hypothesis concerning Carranza's ideological inconsistency. Carranza had been driven from his native stronghold in northeastern Mexico and was operating out of Veracruz at the time of his agrarian law. In that rather precarious context, making agrarian concessions strengthened his local defensive position, while he could still mobilize his native northern troops to reconquer lost ground. Thus, in this case the geography of armed struggle again helped explain ideological incoherence.

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A section of Diego Rivera's mural in Mexico's National Palace, which depicts supporters of Porfirio Diáz on the left and leading revolutionaries on the right.

Photo courtesy of imgkid.

EXCERPT FROM

The Return of Comrade Ricardo Flores Magón

By Claudio Lomnitz

Claudio Lomnitz's recent book, The Return of Comrade Ricardo Flores Magón, *tells the story of the American and Mexican revolutionary collaborators of the Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón. The book tracks the lives of John Kenneth Turner, Ethel Duffy, Elizabeth Trowbridge, Ricardo Flores Magón, Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara, and others involved in the first transnational grassroots political movement to span the U.S.-Mexican border.*

Photo from Wikimedia Commons.

Members of the Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano in 1910. From left: Anselmo Figueroa, Práxedis G. Guerrero, Ricardo Flores Magón, Enrique Flores Magón, and Librado Rivera.

Late in the month of August 1908, around 7:00 p.m., Lázaro and John set off separately to Los Angeles' Southern Pacific station. They left surreptitiously. Neither man risked buying a ticket. Instead, they rode "the vestibule of a passenger train from Los Angeles to El Paso, a practice of the more daring 'hoboes.'" Their unannounced departure and the modesty of their chosen means of transportation were in tune with the circumstances. These men were heavily watched.

The Mexican government was exploring all available means of neutralizing key members of the Liberal Party residing in the United States, and Lázaro was amongst their best-known agitators. And it was not only the Mexicans who were being watched.

In the spring of 1908, the circle that met at the Noel home had set up an office dedicated to making propaganda for the Mexican cause, the liberation of the Mexican political prisoners, and to purchasing guns for the revolutionists who rose up in June of that year. They rented a space in the San Fernando Building, on the corner of Fourth and Main, and called themselves the Western Press Syndicate, with John Murray as President, and John Kenneth Turner as treasurer. Financial support came from Elizabeth Trowbridge, whose name did not appear in order to avoid trouble with her family.

The operation was pretty much run by Elizabeth and Ethel, though, since on May 8, John Murray secretly left to Mexico, in an attempt to make a journalistic exposé that would be a blow to Díaz for American public opinion. Murray managed to give the detectives of the Furlong Agency the slip, but Elizabeth, Ethel, and John were constantly being watched:

> Spies…they followed us everywhere. Elizabeth was more spy-conscious than I was. They enraged her, but they also made her jumpy, over-cautious. My method was to ignore them, hers to be violently aware of their every move. Sometimes I'd get tired of crossing streets in the middle of the block, darting around corners or into buildings. I'd protest, or try to ridicule. But nothing could change Elizabeth. After all, her way was probably more fun.

At bottom, Elizabeth was more worried about her family than about the spies. But the young women soon became plenty aware that the spying had serious consequences for their Mexican friends, and for the movement as a whole. Their experience with the spies, which became increasingly more threatening, brought home the degree of collusion that existed between their government and the Mexican dictatorship.

By June of 1908, the two women had begun taking serious risks. "Rapidly Elizabeth and I were losing our romanticism and becoming realists. In the days after our jail experience we had said farewell to Fernando Palomarez and Juan Olivares separately in the San Fernando Building as they prepared to leave for Mexico and take part in the uprising. Elizabeth furnished money to buy guns. She spent her time between the Noel home and the Western Press Syndicate, with spies on

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her trail, the last ominous letter from her mother in her purse and a vast purpose in her heart."

The activists for the Mexican cause had been under a lot of stress prior to Lázaro and John's departure. On June 25, the very day that John Murray returned from his Mexican trip, the Liberals launched an attack on the border towns of Viesca and Las Vacas, led by Praxedis Guerrero and Francisco Manrique. As in 1906, this attack was meant to trigger a wide-spread revolt. Unlike 1906, though, key members of the Junta — Ricardo, Librado, Manuel, and Antonio — were in prison during both the planning and execution of the revolt. Ethel and Elizabeth played a cameo role in the plot: they had accompanied María Brousse, Ricardo's lover, to a prison visit and helped her smuggle secret instructions to Enrique Flores Magón. These were later intercepted. Indeed, the Mexican Liberals were deeply infiltrated, their rebellion was expected, and it was easily put down, with Liberals imprisoned and summarily shot in a good number of Mexican towns. Ricardo and his comrades were put in isolation from the outer world at the LA County Jail ("incommunicado"), and the American group had to act on its own, with no consultations with the Junta.

John Kenneth Turner and his wife, the former Ethel Duffy, 1905.

Photo courtesy of the Bancroft Library.

John and Lázaro's trip was a bold attempt to keep the movement alive politically and to move to the offensive at the level of public opinion and propaganda. John Murray's articles on Mexico for the International Socialist Review, though impressive in some ways, failed to have a substantive impact on public opinion. There was despondency and despair in the Liberal camp.

This is how Ethel recalled that period:

> John Kenneth Turner was doing some hard thinking those days. He spent a lot of time talking to de Lara. Then he consulted Elizabeth. Before long the plan that was to work, and that incidentally would help to shape Mexico's future history, was born. John and de Lara would go to Mexico together. John would present himself as a buyer from a New York firm — as a tobacco buyer in Valle Nacional, a buyer of sisal hemp in Yucatan and Quintana Roo. De Lara would go along as his paid interpreter and guide. Elizabeth agreed to pay all expenses.

Cognizant of the persecution that their movement faced, John and Lázaro's mission was kept completely secret, and it was known only to the closest circle of collaborators — Ricardo, Antonio, Librado, and Manuel (all in prison), and Ethel, Elizabeth, John Murray, the Noels, the Harrimans, and Hattie Shea, who was Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara's American-socialist wife. Even so, skipping town quietly was of utmost importance. Lázaro was a wanted man in Mexico, and he needed to enter the country with an assumed identity. So skipping town was a way of giving the slip to the consular spy network.

But there was also a second attraction for "riding the trains." In those days, the image of American freedom had come to be connected with free travel. As historian Frederick Jackson Turner had declared, the colonization of the West was over. There was no more homesteading and no more Indian wars. The lawlessness of the "Wild West" had given way to development, the power of the Trusts, and the rule of law.

But, there was still some freedom left in the American West, and it was expressed, at least in part, in freedom of movement. Intense union activity occurred alongside vast labor migrations, not only because of the tremendous influx of migrants from abroad, but also because of the way in which people hopped between jobs. In such a context, "riding the trains" came to stand for a kind of freedom. Many veterans of the Spanish American War rode the trains as hobos, looking for a new life after having seen the wider world. So too did the radicals of the IWW and the Western Federation of Miners, looking for brighter prospects. They rode the rails to flee the site of a strike, to look for new opportunities, or simply for the adventure. Mexican immigrants too learned to ride the trains, as soon as they gained confidence in their new lives as American workers.

Indeed, this image of freedom and self-reliance had become as important for Mexican members of the Liberal Party as it was for the true-blue American hobo. So, for instance, in her portrait of the Mayo Indian radical Fernando Palomares, Ethel emphasized precisely this aspect:

> Sometimes he was a worker and sometimes a vagrant. He picked cotton in Texas near Austin. He went from Dallas to Shawnee, Oklahoma, still spreading the "powder" among Mexican workers. He rode the rods. He found that American tramps did not discriminate against Mexicans, but that they were all brothers. They would sleep in jungles, cook mulligans in cans, fry eggs on a shovel. He went to Nebraska. Slept in jungles until the police came with their clubs. He was a member of the IWW and went to their halls in the large cities.

The campsites where the rail vagrants slept, known as "jungles," were places of equality between the races, where an individual might seek out new opportunities, as well as "spread the powder" (propagandize). These facets of a free life led Mexican union-men like Blas Lara to refer to the cars of the South Pacific Railroad as "my trains." When he was once asked whether he needed money to go from California back to his native Jalisco to help his sick sister, Blas responded: "Not at all — I've got plenty of money. I'm going to ride on 'my trains.' Won't be giving a cent to the Southern Pacific Railroad." The same language was used some years later by Liberal organizer Rafael García, who rode the trains from California to Texas, and from there to Washington DC.

When crossing West Virginia, Rafael was caught and beaten up by the railroad controllers. This is what he had to say about that:

> I missed "my train" in West Virginia because I was arrested by the rail companies' "dogs" there. Perhaps because of the constant friction between miners and local authorities in that state, their dogs are even wilder than the ones down south. In the South the cops at least listened when I explained why workers are compelled to travel as tramps; here they tried to beat me when I started making the same explanations or whenever I responded to their insults. Even so they released me, after giving me heat, and after inspecting the letters and papers I had with me, demanding that I leave town at once.

Among Mexican radicals "riding the trains" as *trampas*, came to symbolize a class and a political identity. The term trampa rolls the English term "tramp" and the Spanish term for cheating (*trampa*) into a single image, the worker as free-roaming trickster, and it was also used to form a new verb that referred specifically to riding the trains, *trampear* (to tramp). Poor workers had to know how to "*viajar de trampa*" if they wanted to survive, and the ties of solidarity between those who did were a mark of belonging. So, for instance, when liberal organizer Teodoro Gaitán was accused of bilking his comrades, one of the miners testified that

> …López and Gaitán were at the station in Lourdsburg, N.M. when a mail train approached, and Gaitán said: "Tramp it (*trampéalo*); I'm taking the passenger train." That sort of arrogance is unseemly in a person who is travelling with money garnered from his comrades' contributions, and especially when that person presents himself as a proletarian who has to tramp the trains to travel.

Image from Wikimedia Commons.

Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara.

The divide between the true worker and the opportunist was expressed in the class division between those who took the risk and hardship of traveling for free — hiding between or underneath the cars — and those who enjoyed the comfort of legality and a paid seat.

By "riding the rods" from Los Angeles to El Paso, John, and Lázaro gave the slip to a net of spies, police, and private detectives, but they also took the opportunity to immerse themselves in their political identity of choice, before taking on their disguises as enemies of the people.

Finally, the one great caudillo who remained ideologically "pure," Emiliano Zapata, achieved consistency at the expense of his ability to operate on a national scale. As John Womack has shown, *zapatismo* remained anchored to its stronghold in the region surrounding Morelos state and was unable to mobilize effectively beyond those confines, even to support Pancho Villa at the pivotal battle of Celaya. Thus, ideological coherence came at the expense of mobility, and so of competing effectively for leadership at the national level.

In a nutshell, then, my argument was that *caudillismo* could be understood not as a sign of a lack of ideology but rather as a pragmatic adaptation to a set of compromises that would be required for any movement to succeed. In a framework of this kind, ideological purity — symbolized around the mythical figure of Zapata, especially —could be mobilized to represent the essence or fundamental nature of the revolution, despite Zapata's structural inability to take the helm of a genuinely national movement.

That was the argument of my paper back then. But I did not perfect it and move to publication because I realized soon enough that there was a fourth movement, beyond carrancismo, villismo, and zapatismo, that occupied a distinctive structural position. That was the movement headed by the Partido Liberal Mexicano — so-called magonismo — that was ideologically much more robust even than zapatismo but that had thrived on the U.S.-Mexico borderlands and especially in exile in the United States. Thus, whereas one of the poles of ideological purity, zapatismo, was grounded in Morelos, the other pole, magonismo, was deterritorialized and thrived in exile.

The ideological purity of magonismo has been broadly celebrated in the history and memory of the Mexican Revolution, but its relevance for understanding the revolution itself has always been shadier, a fact that is marked by the tendency to place the movement outside the revolution itself by declaring it to be a precursor. However, Ricardo Flores Magón died in Leavenworth Penitentiary in 1922, after the conclusion of the principal armed phase of the Mexican Revolution, and the PLM's main press organ, Regeneración, folded as late as 1918. It is true that the PLM was the first to call for a revolution in Mexico and the first to develop a revolutionary program (in 1906), but it is also true that the movement continued into and throughout the entire Mexican Revolution. Thus it was fully contemporaneous with it and not merely a precursor movement.

So the question that led to my book was, quite simply, was it possible that revolutionary ideology had developed principally out of exile in the United States? If so, what was the role of transnational networks in its development? And what were some of the difficulties that this ideology faced in returning to Mexico?

This final question, the difficulty of repatriation, emerged as a question that was as personal as it was ideological. Many militants of the PLM did in fact return to Mexico or never left Mexico. Many participated actively in the Mexican Revolution: some of them in positions that were much more significant than has often been recognized and others, like Ricardo Flores Magón himself, in work that kept them in the United States for reasons that needed to be explained.

The theme of exile and return thus came to occupy a central place in my story, and it is the reason why Ricardo's return to Mexico as a corpse and as a myth ended up serving as a key trope.

Claudio Lomnitz is the Campbell Family Professor of Anthropology in the Department of Latin American and Iberian Cultures at Columbia University. He spoke at UC Berkeley on October 21, 2014.

The funeral of Ricardo Flores Magón.

Image from Wikimedia Commons.

Photo by Abner Ballardo.

A monument to Tupac Amaru in Huancayo, Peru.

PERU

Reflections of Tupac Amaru

By Charles Walker

The Tupac Amaru Rebellion stormed through the Andes from 1780 to 1783. The largest uprising in colonial Spanish-American history, it stretched from its base just south of Cuzco, Peru, into Charcas, in present-day Bolivia, with parallel skirmishes and revolts in what became Chile, Argentina, and Colombia. Rebels sacked *haciendas*, torched textile mills, and harangued the indigenous peasantry in the Inca language, Quechua, to rise up against the Spanish. The rebels presented a complex platform that included Inca revivalism and the abolition of a series of taxes and impositions on indigenous people.

Tupac Amaru claimed to fight in the name of the Spanish king, protected priests and the Catholic Church, and even recruited some Spaniards. The rebel masses, however, had more radical notions. Colonial authorities worried that they were going to lose control of the vast corridor between Cuzco and the famous mines of Potosí and that the rebels would then besiege Lima and Buenos Aires. Up to 100,000 people died in the brutal struggle, primarily anonymous indigenous people suspected of supporting the insurgents. Although the rebellion ultimately failed, it reshaped colonial Peru and cast a long shadow on post-colonial society as well.

Its leaders, José Gabriel Condorcanqui, who assumed the Inca name Tupac Amaru (II), and his wife, Micaela Bastidas, paid dearly for their subversion. On May 18, 1781, they were dragged behind horses, their hands and feet tied, to Cuzco's main plaza. There, they witnessed the hanging of their eldest son, other relatives, and members of their inner circle. Executioners then slashed Micaela Bastidas' tongue before strangling her with the garrote. In one of the most famous scenes in Peruvian history, Condorcanqui was quartered by four horses, his limbs dislocating but not separating, and was

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Photo by Guillén Pérez.

The Plaza de Armas in Cuzco, Peru, where Tupac Amaru was executed in 1781.

then beheaded. Their youngest son, Fernando, had to witness the gruesome spectacle. Too young for capital punishment, he was sent on a harrowing journey to Spain and was imprisoned there for more than a decade. Another son, Mariano, eluded capture and continued the rebellion in the south for two more years. Authorities displayed the leaders' heads and limbs throughout the rebellion's base area as a grisly warning.

Both Bastidas and Condorcanqui became heroes in Peru and beyond, but their trajectories as revolutionary icons have been sporadic, and their place in revolutionary history remains unclear. Two guerrilla groups (the Tupamaros in Uruguay and the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru or MRTA in Peru) as well as the famous rapper, Tupac Amaru Shakur, took the rebel's name, and in Peru, countless streets, plazas, and markets are named after him. Everyone in Peru has heard of Tupac Amaru (Micaela does not have quite the fame), but not everyone knows who he was. His physical image has varied (unlike Che Guevara, no iconic photo exists, of course), although most portraits cast him as rugged, handsome, and willful. The story of how this couple, made amorphous by the passing years, became global insurgent symbols in the decades and centuries after their uprising is a curious trans-Atlantic tale.

In the aftermath of the uprising, convinced that they had almost lost control of the massive area between Buenos Aires and Lima and that their hold on the Andes remained shaky, colonial authorities censored discussions about the rebellion and the fate of the rebels. They succeeded in the print media — it would take decades before Spanish intellectuals debated the significance of the uprising. Although English newspapers printed articles about the "Indian uprising in Peru," they lost interest quickly, and the Tupac Amaru rebellion did not become a topic of international discussion. In Cuzco, no one had forgotten the uprising — its human cost and economic impact remained painfully evident — but for decades, people feared any association with the rebellion. Curiously, it was in Argentina where the first wave of interest and veneration arose. In 1821, the play "Tupac Amarú" (sic) opened in Buenos Aires, and the following year, Tupac Amaru's half-brother, Juan Bautista, was received as a hero there after almost 40 years of imprisonment in Spain and Ceuta. He never returned to Peru.

Twentieth-century historians, poets (with great success), and novelists (with less) lauded Tupac Amaru and Micaela Bastidas, converting them into revolutionary heroes. Illustrations cast Tupac Amaru as a pony-tailed, burly victim of Spanish treachery and Micaela as an obedient second-in-command. No portrait or description of Micaela survived the uprising, although some documents hint that she had black blood. Artists in the 20th century whitened her, converting her into a virtual Andean Barbie Doll. In 1950, the Cuzco City Council, the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad, and the Rotary Club installed a plaque honoring Tupac Amaru in Cuzco's central plaza, near where he, Micaela Bastidas, and key supporters were executed.

In the 1960s and early 1970s, global fascination with third-world political struggles and anti-colonialism sparked a renewed interest in Tupac Amaru. For example, in 1972 Afeni Shakur, a member of the Black Panthers, changed her infant son's name from Lesane Parish Crooks to Tupac Amaru Shakur. He became one of the world's most famous rappers, a symbol of resistance and nonconformity who was also brutally murdered.

The unique "Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces" of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975) launched Tupac Amaru as Peru's national symbol by associating the rebel with all the regime's activities, particularly the agrarian reform. Streets, plazas, halls, and five-year plans were named after Tupac Amaru, who also adorned Peru's currency, coins, and stamps. Large statues in Lima and Cuzco honored him while dozens of plaques and smaller monuments celebrated other rebel leaders. Artists such as Jesús Ruiz Dur-and and Milner Cajahuaringa created portraits and posters that stressed the ties between the 1780-1783 rebellion and the Velasco government. Many of these adopted the colorful symmetry of pop art, with some of the posters now fetching heady prices as art pieces. A supposed Tupac Amaru quote, "Peasant, the master will no longer feed from your hunger" became the government's leading slogan. Tupac Amaru never said this; Velasco's speechwriters invented it.

The Velasco Alvarado government stood apart from the brutal military regimes that seized power in Brazil, Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina in the late 1960s and 1970s. It launched an extensive agrarian reform, avowing to do away with the "oligarchy" and to return the land to indigenous people, or *campesinos*, the term they preferred. Velasco also confronted the United States, expropriating the International Petroleum Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil, and the Cerro de Pasco Company and staring down multinational corporations. While Velasco espoused a "neither capitalism nor communism" doctrine, Peruvians celebrated or decried him as a leftist who was leading Peru into new, revolutionary terrain.

The regime's association with Tupac Amaru made sense on several fronts. Velasco knew that his agrarian reform would infuriate the upper classes and sought counter-weight among indigenous peasants. Many of the officers who supported the regime came from humble backgrounds, as was the case with Velasco, and many had seen firsthand Peru's shocking poverty and inequality in the mid-1960s campaigns against guerrilla groups. They understood that Peru needed to change, particularly in the Andes, in order to modernize and to avoid deep social turmoil. Tupac Amaru was seen as a vital link to campesinos: a Quechua-speaking Indian from Cuzco who

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An image of Tupac Amaru on Peruvian currency.

Photo by Abner Ballardo.

Image courtesy of Charles Walker.

A poster claims: "Túpac Amaru made a promise. Velasco fulfilled that promise."

had confronted the Spanish and had been marginalized by "official" Peru for centuries.

The wonderfully creative Ruiz Durand and other artists created eye-catching symbols that adorned posters and proclamations, particularly important for those who did not have access to television or radio and could not read and write. Not surprisingly, the Velasco regime paid far less attention to Micaela Bastidas, touting her as an important supporter, a loyal wife. Although Velasco proved to be far different in political terms than his brethren in the southern cone, his views on women did not vary that greatly.

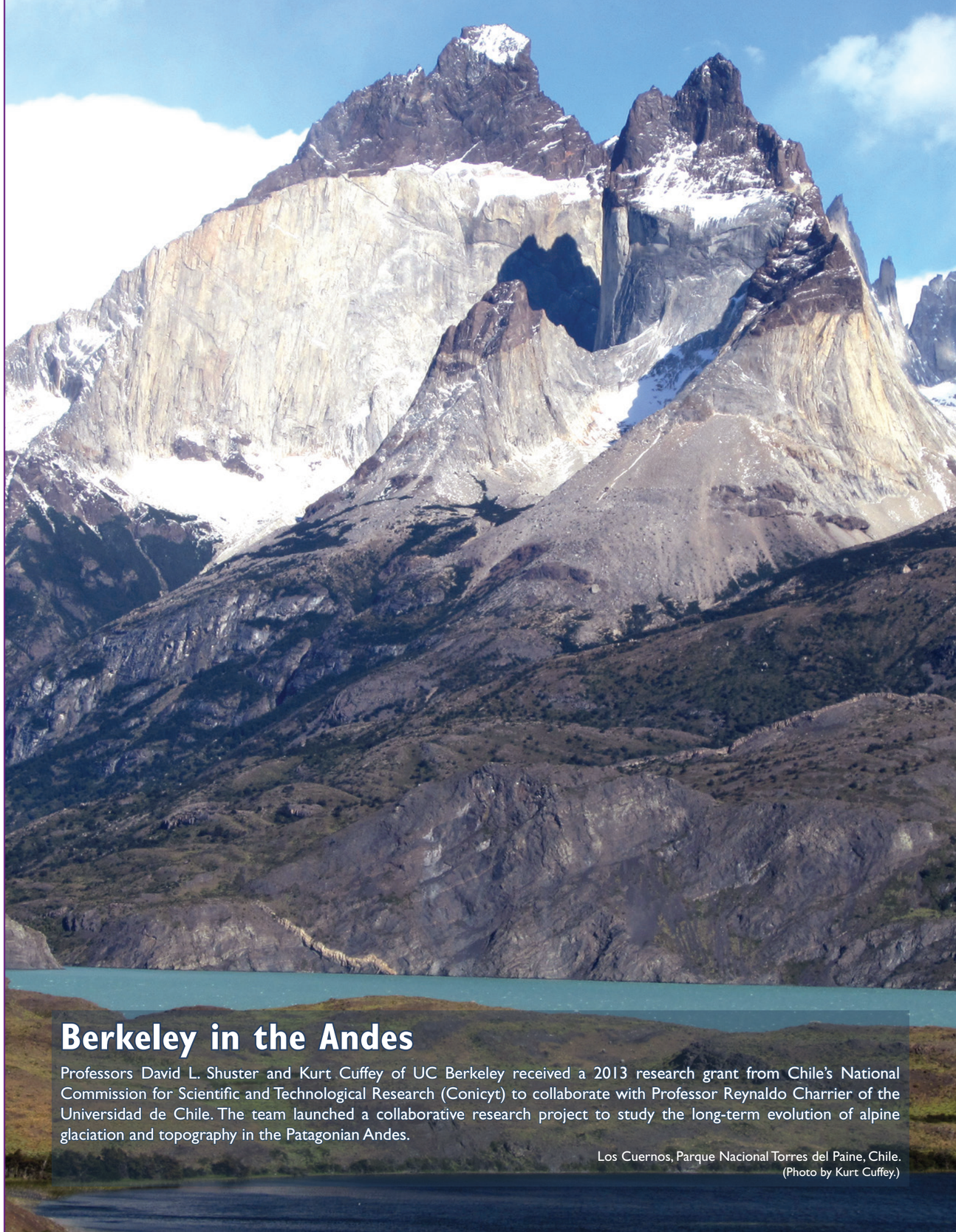
But it wasn't just marketing that drove the Velasco-Tupac Amaru association. History mattered a great deal to Velasco and his supporters. He cast himself and the government as the continuation of the Tupac Amaru rebellion, pledging to finish what Condorcanqui had begun. The 150th anniversary of Peru's independence took place in 1971, and Velasco and other nationalists challenged the interpretation that put foreigners such as José de San Martín or Simón Bolívar at the forefront. Instead, Velasco as well as the remarkably diverse committee of specialists that published the 86-volume document collection, the Colección Documental de la Independencia Peruana, emphasized Tupac Amaru as the initiator of the struggle against the Spanish — a battle for social justice that Velasco would culminate — as well as the participation of all Peruvians in the struggle against the Spanish.

Tupac Amaru was one of the few high points in Velasco's rocky government. He not only faced the wrath of Peru's powerful and the consistent (yet ultimately restrained, at least compared to what occurred to Peru's neighbor Chile) opposition of the United States but also failed to gain broader support among the middle class or the left. The economy stagnated by the early 1970s, and struck by an embolism in 1974 that forced the amputation of one leg, Velasco was overthrown by more conservative military officers in August 1975.

In the 1960s and 1970s, and above all during the Velasco period, Tupac Amaru became a leading figure in Peruvian history. The question of his role in the war of independence continues to animate historians and others. Some follow Velasco's interpretation, placing Tupac Amaru as the precursor, his uprising the bloody and frustrated first step in emancipation from Spain. Critics of this position from the left point out that Tupac Amaru sought a very different venture than did the liberators of the 1810s and 1820s and cannot simply be placed at the beginning of the list. Conservative critics, uncomfortable with indigenous revolutionaries, prefer to highlight the coastal-based revolts beginning in 1815.

Although these debates continue, particularly now that Peru is heading towards its bicentennial in 2021, what is clear is that Tupac Amaru has become a national and international icon. In some regards, the ambiguity about what the rebellion sought and Tupac Amaru's role in Peruvian history has added to his mystique and allowed different groups to support him. Since the 1970s, Tupac Amaru has become a hero, while meaning very different things to different groups.

Charles Walker is a professor of History and the director of the Hemispheric Institute on the Americas at UC Davis. His most recent book is *The Tupac Amaru Rebellion* (Harvard University Press, 2014). He spoke for CLAS on October 2, 2014.



Berkeley in the Andes

Professors David L. Shuster and Kurt Cuffey of UC Berkeley received a 2013 research grant from Chile's National Commission for Scientific and Technological Research (Conicyt) to collaborate with Professor Reynaldo Charrier of the Universidad de Chile. The team launched a collaborative research project to study the long-term evolution of alpine glaciation and topography in the Patagonian Andes.

Los Cuernos, Parque Nacional Torres del Paine, Chile. (Photo by Kurt Cuffey.)

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The Miami River flows through the city.
(Photo by Junior Henry.)

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