

CAPITAL, POWER, AND INEQUALITY IN LATIN AMERICA



edited by Sandor Halebsky and Richard L. Harris

Capital, Power, and Inequality in Latin America



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and Richard L. Harris*



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Introduction: Capital, Power, and Inequality in Latin America

SANDOR HALEBSKY AND RICHARD L. HARRIS

More than two decades ago two social scientists, Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, published what soon became a classic analysis of the economic, political, and social development of Latin America, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. In the preface to the English edition, they stated:

We seek a global and dynamic understanding of social structures instead of looking only at specific dimensions of the social process. We oppose the academic tradition which conceived of domination and socio-cultural relations as "dimensions," analytically independent of one another, and together independent of the economy, as if each one of these dimensions corresponded to separate spheres of reality. In that sense, we stress the socio-political nature of the economic relations of production, thus following the nineteenth century tradition of treating economy as political economy. This methodological approach, which found its highest expression in Marx, assumes the hierarchy that exists in society is the result of established ways of organizing the production of material and spiritual life. (1979:ix)

The present volume of comparative essays on contemporary Latin America follows in the same intellectual tradition. To analyze and make sense of the many complex and changing conditions in Latin America, we use a comparative, regional perspective similar to that employed by Cardoso and Faletto. Moreover, to provide an integrative framework that encompasses the diversity of conditions analyzed by the contributors in this volume, we have selected

three key organizing concepts. These three concepts are capital, power, and inequality. They share important analytical qualities in that they are multidimensional, multilevel, comprehensive, and integrative. Theoretically powerful, these concepts also facilitate a comparative analysis of the many complex, dynamic, and interdependent societal structures, processes, and relations underlying contemporary Latin American affairs. In addition, capital, power, and inequality are compatible with the intellectual tradition mentioned above. As Cardoso and Faletto explain with regard to the concept of capital:

First of all, it is necessary to propose concepts able to explain trends of change. This implies the recognition of opposing forces which drag history ahead. Second, it is necessary to relate these forces in a global way, characterizing the basic sources of their existence, continuity, and change by determining forms of domination and the forces opposed to them. *So, without the concept of capital as the result of the exploitation of one class by another it is not possible to explain the movement of capitalist society.* (1979:xiii) [emphasis supplied]

Like Cardoso and Faletto, we use the concept of capital to draw attention to the inequitable manner in which wealth is accumulated in Latin America through exploitative relations of production and exchange that are particular to capitalism. Like Cardoso and Faletto, and the many others who have contributed to the intellectual tradition followed in this volume, we use the concept of capital because it reveals the fundamental relations of exploitation underlying contemporary conditions not only in Latin America but also elsewhere in the world.

Power and inequality have the same conceptual and analytical properties that Cardoso and Faletto attribute to capital. Applied broadly to the analysis of social phenomena in Latin America, the concept of power encompasses all those conditions and circumstances involving subordination and domination and the use of force and coercion as well as empowerment and emancipation. Thus, power in this volume is not to be narrowly construed as "political" relations but instead encompasses subordination and empowerment, the use of force and emancipation. Power applies to the subordination of women as well as their emancipation; the coercion exercised by international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and transnational corporations; the use of force by military as well as revolutionary organizations; and the empowerment of communities and social movements that organize to promote their interests.

In a similar manner, the concept of inequality focuses attention on the various forms of social inequity, unjust privileges and social discrimination that exist in Latin America. At the micro-level this concept applies to gender inequalities within the family unit, at the middle level it encompasses racial and cultural discrimination as well as the unequal access of different categories of the population to the basic necessities of human existence, and at the global

level the concept encompasses phenomena such as the unequal terms of trade that exist between the Latin American countries and the United States. In fact, the social, economic, and political disparities are so ubiquitous and extreme in Latin America, one could argue that inequality should be the main *explanandum* (focus of explanation) of any intellectual effort to analyze the historical development and contemporary conditions of the Latin American societies (Schuurman 1993:30–31).

An analysis of inequality in Latin America inevitably involves an examination of the exploitative relations of capitalist production and distribution, the hierarchical relations of power and forms of coercion, and the intra- and inter-elite networks of political and social influence that dominate the region. In analyzing “the system of production and institutions of appropriation” in Latin America, Cardoso and Faletto linked “the strong inequalities” and “processes of domination” to the extremely exploitative and inequitable character of capitalist relations of production, distribution, and accumulation in the region (1979:x). Thus, the interdependent linkages that connect different aspects of the social reality of Latin America can be revealed only if the concepts of capital, power, and inequality are applied in unison.

The authors of the chapters in this volume use many specific concepts and approaches to analyze and explain particular aspects of contemporary Latin American affairs. Their main themes and conclusions, however, can be organized and integrated by using the concepts of capital, power, and inequality.

Capitalism in Contemporary Latin America

In the past two decades nearly every major aspect of contemporary economic, political, and social life in Latin America has been transformed by the region’s integration into the global capitalist system. As revealed in the chapters by John Weeks, Carlos M. Vilas, and Richard L. Harris, the debt crisis and economic recession experienced by the Latin American countries during the 1980s have made these societies extremely vulnerable to the pressures of the international lending agencies and other global actors such as the transnational corporations and the U.S. government. These global actors have pressured the Latin American governments into restructuring their economies and adopting neoliberal economic policies that have had profound effects on the economic, social, and political conditions of the general population.

Chapter 4, by John Weeks, explains how the shift to neoliberal policies has come about in Latin America and explores the implications for the region. Weeks’s analysis reveals that “this policy shift in Latin America had little to do with the alleged ‘exhaustion’ of import substitution and still less with the theoretically suspect arguments for the efficiency gains from free markets,” which are the standard justifications given by the advocates of neoliberal

structural adjustments. Behind the neoliberal rhetoric about the virtues of free markets and the supposed failure of the previous attempts on the part of the Latin American states to promote national development through the substitution of domestically produced goods for imported products, Weeks concludes that, in fact, the “policy shift resulted directly from the pressure on Latin American governments to service their debts in the wake of the explosion of indebtedness that followed the oil price increases of the first half of the 1970s.”

The debt crisis in Mexico, Bolivia, and Argentina prompted the IMF, the World Bank, and other international lending agencies such as the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) to impose free market structural adjustment policies on the Latin American governments to ensure that they dedicated sufficient funds to the repayment of their international debts. These adjustment policies opened up Latin America’s domestic markets to foreign capital, promoted so-called nontraditional exports (to earn as much foreign exchange as possible for debt payments), deregulated the local capital and commercial markets, adopted unpopular fiscal austerity measures to divert public funds to debt payments, and privatized the large state enterprises developed during the preceding period of national industrial development.

These policies have in general slowed the rate of economic growth, brought about a drastic reduction of government services and public employment, resulted in the wholesale denationalization of these countries’ major utilities and public enterprises, and abolished the protective tariffs and other forms of support previously enjoyed by local industries. National currencies have also been devalued and pegged to the U.S. dollar, and exports (particularly nontraditional exports such as fruit, vegetables, flowers, and some manufactured goods) have been promoted at the expense of the production of food crops for domestic consumption. As a result, even though the upper classes and their government agents incurred the huge debt, the lower classes have been saddled with paying for it.

The “austerity measures” adopted by most governments in the region have cut into public expenditures on education, health, and other social services, adversely affecting the incomes and living standards of not only the lower classes but also important sectors of the middle class. The consequences of these policies, in tandem with the effects of the global economic recession of the 1980s and early 1990s, have been graphically described by Juan de Días Parra, head of the Latin American Association for Human Rights: “In Latin America today there are 70 million more hungry, 30 million more illiterate, 10 million more families without homes and 40 million more unemployed persons than there were 20 years ago. . . . There are 240 million human beings who lack the necessities of life and this when the region is richer and more stable than ever, according to the way the world sees it” (Press 1993:E20).

Neoliberal economic policies have also jeopardized the limited political democratization under way in Latin American societies. Chapter 3, by Jorge Nef, reveals that these unpopular policies were introduced in most cases by the repressive military regimes that held sway throughout Latin America in the 1970s and 1980s. He notes that the civilian governments that succeeded these regimes have continued these unpopular measures, which, along with other factors, has undermined their popular legitimacy.

These developments must be viewed in relation to the larger global context of transnational capitalist concentration, centralization, and technological innovation. Viewed from a global perspective, the Latin American economies, as well as other economies in the world, are being integrated into a rapidly more interdependent global capitalist economic system. Chapter 11, by Richard Harris, indicates that global capitalist integration has involved the expansion of the activities and influence of the transnational corporations and financial institutions that dominate the global capitalist system. The accelerated integration of the Latin American economies into the global capitalist system has been accompanied by an increase in the direct investments of transnational corporations in the region as well as increased control by the transnational financial institutions over local financial structures and services.

The analyses of both Harris and Weeks reveal that Latin American countries are more dependent than ever on external trade because their economies have been restructured around the export of nontraditional products, the repayment of their huge debts through the foreign exchange earned from these exports, and their adoption of free trade policies at the behest of the international lending agencies and the U.S. government. Efforts at regional economic integration and interdependence have also increased, as evidenced by the growth of binational trade pacts, multinational free trade areas, and stepped-up trade among Latin American nations (Brooke 1994:3). However, these developments have not strengthened the position of Latin America in world trade because they are designed to eliminate the barriers to the mobility of capital between Latin American countries and to transform their economies into the captive markets of a single trade bloc dominated by North American-based transnational corporations and their local business associates.

Chapter 1, by Cristóbal Kay, reveals the transformations in agricultural practices as a result of the integration of the Latin American economies into the global capitalist food system. Kay's analysis indicates that export-oriented modern capitalist farms and agroindustrial complexes, many of which are tied to transnational corporations, have replaced most of the former large estates and plantations that dominated the Latin American countryside for centuries. Kay also notes that the traditional peasant sector is declining as a result of the peasantry's increasing reliance on wage-earning sources of income and their massive migration to the cities. His research reveals that the

integration of Latin American agriculture into the global capitalist economic system is benefiting only a privileged minority of the rural population and that the peasantry have been largely excluded from the benefits. According to Kay, the exclusionary nature of the capitalist modernization of Latin American agriculture has increased rural impoverishment and accelerated the migration of the rural poor to the cities.

The massive rural-to-urban migration is discussed by Sandor Halebsky. His analysis in Chapter 2 indicates that the concentration of wealth, employment, and services in Latin America's cities has historically attracted migrants from the rural areas. In the past fifty years, however, changes in the capitalist system have transformed most Latin American countries from predominantly rural to largely urban societies.

Halebsky's analysis focuses on the survival strategies of the urban poor—how they have adapted to the harsh conditions in Latin America's growing urban areas. He argues that the absorption of rural migrants and unemployed workers into the growing informal sector (comprising self-employed street vendors, hired hands, workers in small workshops, day laborers, repairmen, prostitutes, domestic servants, and the like) and the spreading shantytowns has contributed to the restructuring of contemporary capitalism. This large informal sector depresses wages and reduces the costs of reproducing the urban labor force for both the local businesses and the transnational corporations. The capitalists have thus been able to maximize their profits by paying low wages and offering few if any benefits.

The informal sector, according to Halebsky, provides cheap services and goods as well as a reserve army of labor for the formal sector corporations and businesses. In this regard it represents a type of informal subsidy for formal sector enterprises. However, Halebsky makes it clear that the restructuring of the economy has made this sector the only avenue of survival for an increasing proportion of the urban population. The restructuring of the Latin American economies in response to global influences and the harsh effects of the neoliberal economic policies carried out by the Latin American governments have forced a large proportion of the urban population into the informal sector and the shantytowns.

The global process of capitalist restructuring and concentration and the neoliberal reforms have reconfigured Latin America's labor market, increased the transfer of income from the lower classes to the upper classes, and vitiated the position of the working class. Carlos M. Vilas analyzes the impact of these changes on the working class as well as the self-employed, underemployed, and precariously employed members of the informal sector. Vilas and Weeks describe how the working class and other lower-class elements (i.e., the peasantry, lower-middle-class strata, the poor laborers in the informal sector, etc.) have been forced to bear the costs of the economic crisis of the

1980s and the global process of capitalist restructuring under way since the 1970s.

Real wages in most Latin American countries have deteriorated significantly since the 1970s. Moreover, labor turnover and temporary jobs have increased, and four out of every five new jobs created since the 1980s have been either in the informal sector or the sector of small workshops and businesses. As a result, a large proportion of the working class holds precarious jobs, and the labor unions in most cases have lost the bargaining positions they held in the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, most workers find themselves in extremely precarious situations since they lack union representation, access to welfare benefits, effective legal protection, and job security.

Chapter 10, by Elizabeth W. Dore, on the social ecology of capitalism in Latin America, makes it clear that the global capitalist system has jeopardized not only the working class but also the environment. Dore argues that capitalism tends to be incompatible with environmental sustainability because production for profits ignores the need to preserve the environment on which the continued expansion of capital depends.

Dore reveals that to repay their international debts and comply with the neoliberal dictates of the international lending agencies, Latin American countries have increased their exports of natural resources and agricultural products and followed economic development strategies that have been antithetical to the preservation of their environment. In fact, the pressure to export and the so-called free market strategies advocated by the World Bank and other international development agencies—despite their lip service to environmental protection—have accentuated environmental degradation in Latin America.

The emphasis on exports in order to service the international debt, the neoliberal efforts to deregulate economies, and the reduction of government expenditures on programs such as reforestation have contributed to the already well established pattern of environmental despoliation characteristic of capitalist agriculture, mining, and manufacturing. As Dore indicates, under the present conditions of deregulation and so-called free market economics, the transnational corporations are attracted to Latin America because they can pollute, dispose of wastes, and extract natural resources with little fear of state interference. Thus, the degradation of the Amazon Basin as well as other important environmental resources in the region are the direct result of the expansion of global capitalism.

In sum, global capitalism has wrought significant transformations in the productive base, natural environment, domestic markets, international trading relations, monetary and banking systems, distribution of income, management-labor relations, job structures and working conditions, the structures of rural society, the quality of life in the urban areas, as well as the

direction of economic development in Latin America. The impact of these transformations has been felt in nearly all aspects of contemporary Latin American affairs—economic, political, and social.

The Structures and Relations of Power in Contemporary Latin America

Power is exercised in Latin America primarily through the use of force. Nef and several other contributors to this volume note that the historical origins of Latin America lie in military conquest, political oppression, and authoritarian domination. Thus, Nef argues that the contemporary politics and social life of the region are to a large extent the legacy of European colonial domination, the forced conversion to Christianity of the indigenous population, the ideological domination of the Catholic Church, a tradition of militarism and armed conflict, as well as the institutionalization of numerous class, gender, racial, and ethnic inequalities. As a result of these and subsequent historical developments, contemporary Latin Americans have inherited state structures based on political authoritarianism, the exclusion and disenfranchisement of large sectors of the population from the governmental process, and chronic political violence, military dictatorships, and popular insurrections.

Most Latin Americans since the European Conquest have been subordinated to one or another external center of power—Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, France, and, more recently, the United States. Nef contends that this subordination has been an intervening variable that has reinforced internal patterns of domination and oppression. The ruling elites in Latin America have generally served as intermediaries for the dominant external power in subordinating the local population. Paternalistic, authoritarian, and clientelistic relations of subordination at the national and subnational levels have gone hand in hand with the subordination of entire Latin American societies to external colonial or neocolonial elites interested in the exploitation of the natural resources, labor, and capital of these societies.

In a context of cascading levels of subordination, the militarization of political life has become a long-standing tradition. Military dictatorships, military repression of popular protests and insurrections, foreign military invasions, and the frequent intervention of the military in the governmental process have been a continuing and prominent feature of the political scene. In fact, as Nef indicates, the importance of the military and the use of military force have been the natural outgrowth of a system of social relations based largely on the subordination and exploitation of the majority of the population.

In contrast to the region's history of exploitation, political oppression, and militarism—the apparent demilitarization and democratization of Latin

American states in recent years have been viewed as a welcome sign that the region is overcoming its past and undergoing a democratic political transformation. However, the contributions in this volume by Nef, Halebsky, Vilas, Hellman, and Harris call into question the significance and the extent of this transformation.

According to Nef's analysis, the civilian regimes that replaced the military dictatorships "have been neither truly democratic nor sovereign." Although they possess the formal trappings of democracy and sovereignty, the civilian regimes exclude the popular classes from effective participation in the political process. Their decisions are also subject to the *de facto* veto of the military and the external dictates of the IMF, the World Bank, the U.S. government, and the transnational corporations.

Because the contemporary civilian governments in Latin America are saddled with huge foreign debts, they are preoccupied with servicing these debts and implementing the neoliberal structural adjustment policies imposed by the international lending agencies. Nef concludes, therefore, that the new civilian governments are weak and "find themselves straitjacketed by utter lack of effectiveness and eroding legitimacy." Moreover, he argues that limited democratization and neoliberal economics are not likely to lead to the development of stable and sustainable regimes. Despite the rhetoric about democratic transitions, there has been more continuity than change in the power structures of Latin America. As Nef reveals, the authoritarian state structures largely remain intact, these states remain subordinate to external interests, and the military are waiting in the wings for a return to center stage.

Judith Adler Hellman's analysis, in Chapter 6, of what have been called the "new social movements" in Latin America provides a cautious but somewhat more optimistic perspective on the contemporary scene. She notes that these new movements have arisen in response to both old and new forms of subordination, and their struggles have primarily focused on consumption issues rather than (as in the case of the traditional trade unions and working-class parties) with issues related primarily to the realm of production. In many ways, however, she finds that these new movements are similar to the old movements and parties and that there are important linkages between the two.

The variety and diversity of social movements that have developed since the late 1960s in Latin America almost defy categorization: There are issue-oriented movements that arise around specific demands, such as lowering the rates for public transportation; territorial movements have arisen in shantytowns so that the residents can gain legal titles to their housing plots and obtain public services; human rights movements have formed to oppose human rights violations in general or the violation of the rights of specific groups such as political prisoners, gays and lesbians, indigenous peoples, and so on;

religious movements such as the grassroots ecclesiastical base communities (CEBs), formed by lay members and progressive clergy within the Catholic Church; women's organizations both among the lower and middle classes; environmental movements; independent workers' associations that oppose the official trade unions in league with the authorities and employers; *indigenista* movements that seek to protect the interests and/or restore the traditions of indigenous peoples; and a host of additional new movements and organizations.

Hellman notes that, like the more traditional political parties, trade unions, and peasant organizations, these new movements have established themselves as a force with which to be reckoned on the local and national levels. Moreover, many of these movements, like the more traditional structures of political and social action in Latin America, tend to be based on clientalistic relations and influenced by the larger environment of patronage and party politics. Thus, Hellman concludes that in most cases, the new social movements have not contributed as much as might be hoped to the construction of a more democratic social order.

Yet many of the new movements have adopted innovative new tactics and gained the support of international public opinion. As Hellman notes: "Human rights as a transnational concern in which domestic and foreign activists work together to influence international public opinion is not only new in its conception, but like the feminist, gay and green movements, relies to a large extent on a network of international communications that has become feasible only in the computer age." Hellman also observes that many of the new movements develop ties with progressive political parties, trade unions, international nongovernmental agencies, and religious organizations that are willing to promote their specific interests as well as the more general goals of social justice, economic redistribution, and political democratization.

John Kirk's chapter on the Catholic Church describes the important role played by progressive church members in supporting the new social movements. The conservative orientation of the Catholic hierarchy, Kirk writes, and Pope John Paul II's assault on liberation theology have severely diminished the reformist branch of the Catholic Church. At one time, the CEBs were the most important of the new social movements, regarded by some observers as the best hope for mobilizing the population to press for major political and social reforms. It is not clear whether progressive Catholic organizations will play an important role in the political process in the future.

Dore's analysis on the social ecology of capitalism focuses attention on some of the newest of the new social movements. Environmentalism has emerged as one of the main forms of oppositional politics in Latin America. Like most of the new social movements, however, the environmental movements in Latin America rarely focus on the capitalist system and class politics. Instead, they tend to concentrate on particular issues of environmental

degradation. Nevertheless, most environmental issues and crises in Latin America involve conflicts over property relations, resource use, and social justice. One of the three cases Dore chooses to illustrate this situation is the Brazilian Amazon, where competing local, national, and international groups struggle over how the region's natural resources should be used. The integration of the Amazon into the global capitalist system reveals clearly how environmental issues are intertwined with class conflict.

One of the most significant aspects of the Amazon Basin is that the conflict has been "greened" by a constellation of local, national, and international forces led by none other than the local rubber tappers and indigenous tribes. As this case suggests, an increasing number of cases are combining the rights of indigenous peoples and environmental issues.

In Chapter 8, Michael Kearney and Stefano Varese call attention to this connection by showing that the human rights violations of *indigenas* and ecological issues are inextricably interwoven—as evidenced by the international protest against the assassination of Chico Mendez, leader of the Amazonian rubber tappers' union. Their analysis reveals that in response to the invasion of their territory and the destruction of their natural resources, indigenous groups throughout Latin America have mobilized to protect their territorial rights, cultural autonomy, and environment. They have formed new movements to defend the human, cultural, and environmental rights of their members, and like many of the other new social movements, they have established linkages with supporting organizations at the local, national, and international levels.

Kearney and Varese reveal that the *indigenista* movements have formed transnational organizations to advance their common interests. These movements understand that the economic and political forces that threaten their rights and identity involve transnational corporations, national governments, and international agencies. In fact, Kearney and Varese argue that "the strategy of internationalizing the defense of collective indigenous rights appears to be more successful than the exclusive exercise of conventional mobilizations at the national level." The authors cite several successful cases to illustrate this proposition.

They note that local groups tend to form regional alliances that then coalesce with other regional alliances to form overarching national or transnational confederations. These organizations have relied on the use of the international media and international support because of their relative powerlessness at the national level. They have compensated for their domestic powerlessness by using information politics and the global media to mobilize international support for their struggles.

Chapter 7, by Francesca Miller, on the conditions of Latin American women, also reveals another important area of struggle against traditional relations of domination and subordination in the region. Miller traces the

history of women's activism in Latin America back to the colonial period and demonstrates that women have played a continuing role in the struggle for social, economic, and political justice in the region. Her analysis indicates that by the 1980s the women's movement in Latin America "had developed a stinging critique of the traditional Left within their own communities, challenged the 'First World' view of feminists from Europe and the United States, and contributed organizational models, political strategies, and a new understanding of grassroots social movements to global feminism."

Miller points out that the strategies adopted by Latin American feminists have been emulated throughout the world—such as organizing household workers, using international events to publicize women's issues at the local or national level, organizing protests against the violence women experience daily, and mobilizing mothers who have lost their loved ones as a result of political repression. The recent proliferation of women's organizations throughout Latin America has had an important international dimension in that many of these groups maintain cross-national communications with one another and with women's organizations outside the region.

New social movements in Latin America represent alternative structures of power; in some cases, they have developed alternative relations of power. These alternative structures and relations have developed in opposition to the existing hierarchy based on class, gender, racial, and ethnic divisions. By joining forces with progressive political parties and organizations and enlisting international support, these new social movements could transform the existing power structures in Latin America into a new social order based on genuinely democratic relations. They have the potential to do this if they develop the shared vision, strategy, and interorganizational structures that they need to achieve this type of fundamental transformation.

Inequality in Contemporary Latin America

One of the most disturbing realities of contemporary Latin America is the extreme economic, political, and social inequality found there. Vilas's chapter on the effects of neoliberal policies on the working class shows the highest 20 percent of income earners accounted for 48 to 67 percent of the total annual income earned in thirteen Latin American countries in 1992, while the lowest 40 percent of income earners accounted for only 7 to 16 percent of the total income earned in these countries. Moreover, the polarization of the population between the haves and the have-nots is increasing in most parts of Latin America.

A concomitant feature of such income disparity is the fact that 40 percent of all Latin American households live below the poverty line—defined in terms of the income required to satisfy basic needs for food, housing, and

clothing. In fact, half this group does not have an income sufficient to satisfy even their basic food needs (Cardoso and Helwege 1992:Chap. 9).

Nef reports that between 1980 and 1990 the number of poor people in Latin America increased from 120 to 200 million and that in Central America 80 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. He also reports that between 1990 and 1993 the poverty rate in Honduras increased from 68 to 78 percent, while in postrevolutionary Nicaragua more than 70 percent of the workforce is unemployed. Nef attributes these depressing statistics to the economic restructuring and observes that although the rural and urban poor have suffered the most from the structural adjustments, the middle class is disintegrating as the gap between the super-rich and the super-poor grows.

Halebsky examines the growing spatial and social polarization in urban Latin America, which stems from the increasing concentration of wealth in the hands of the privileged elites (who reside in the cities) as well as from the continuing rural-to-urban migration of impoverished elements of the population. He notes that 60 percent of the rural population in Latin America is poor, and more than one-third of the urban population lives in poverty. Halebsky also indicates that the extent of poverty has increased in the largest cities as a result of recent wage declines, the restructuring of the labor force (see Vilas's chapter), downsizing in the private sector, the reduction of the public sector workforce, and the drop in public services and subsidies.

Moreover, rates of illiteracy and infant mortality, although they have improved somewhat over the past several decades, are still unacceptably high—particularly in the rural areas. The rural population generally exhibits rates of illiteracy that are 50 percent to 75 percent greater than the population in the urban areas (Wilkie and Contreras 1992:Table 900). And somewhat more than one out of every twenty children who are born in Latin America die within a year of their birth, a rate six times as great as that in the advanced industrial nations (U.N. 1992:Table 15). For most of the population, access to doctors, medicine, and hospitals is severely limited. Disparities are especially striking between the rural and urban areas. Basic services such as running water, sewage, and electricity are unavailable for much of the rural population (see Grindle 1986:Tables 6.5, 6.6.).

Another striking condition of inequality in Latin America is the sharp disparity in land holdings, a deeply rooted historical inequity aggravated by the expansion of capitalist market relations, the widespread commercialization of agriculture, the development of agroindustries, and the concomitant displacement of large numbers of small farmers and poor peasants from the land. The general picture is one of a very small number of landholders who possess a very large proportion of the land. For example, one study on seven Latin American countries reports that less than 1 percent of the landowners

(all with landholdings of one thousand hectares or more) owned 42 percent of the land, whereas 62 percent of the landowners (with landholdings of ten hectares or less) owned only 4 percent of the land (Cardoso and Helwege 1992:App. D).

Most landholders therefore cultivate acreage that is insufficient for the purposes of subsistence. As Kay notes in his chapter on rural Latin America, small landowners are often forced to seek additional, often quite meager, sources of income. They add their labor to the growing pool of underemployed rural workers that have either been displaced from their land by commercial agriculture or are the product of the rapid growth of the rural population. At the root of rural poverty is lack of sufficient arable land, the meager size of peasant farms, inadequate sources of financial and technical support, low crop prices, the displacement of basic food crops by export crops, the limited sources of permanent employment in the countryside, and rapid population growth (that has not been offset by the massive migrations to the cities or other countries).

Many Latin American states have enacted some type of agricultural reform program, principally during the 1960s and 1970s, but very few members of the rural population have benefited from these reforms. Even in those countries (such as Bolivia and Peru) where an extensive land reform took place, only a limited amount of land was distributed to poor and landless peasants, and the rural population's limited access to arable land remains a serious problem. Moreover, little or no government support (i.e., credit, technical assistance, the organization of cooperatives, etc.) was provided to help them improve the cultivation and marketing of their crops.

Kay also calls attention to the fact that women tend to be employed in the temporary and seasonal jobs within agriculture, while men are given the permanent positions. He notes that the rapid expansion of new export crops such as fruit and flowers has opened up seasonal employment opportunities for women, but the few permanent employment opportunities associated with these crops tend to be the preserve of men. In agroindustry and light manufacturing (e.g., the *maquiladoras* along the Mexican border with the United States), women are often hired instead of men because they will accept lower wages, are less inclined to join unions, and are considered to be more suited to tasks that require careful handling. In spite of inequalities in working conditions, however, the increasing numbers of women in the workforce—both in the urban and rural areas—have begun to give them greater influence in workplace and community organizations.

Halebsky notes that a disproportionate number of the members of the informal sector's workforce are women. He also reveals that those who are self-employed or employed in this sector work long hours, have low hourly earnings, and are not covered by state regulations on working conditions, pay, and labor benefits. Whether self-employed or working in small plants, they

tend to operate outside of state regulations. For many lower-class women, their involvement in the informal sector is the only alternative because their arduous domestic duties and child-rearing responsibilities prevent them from finding other types of employment.

Apart from the inequities and abuses suffered by women in the lower classes, probably no other sector of the Latin American population has suffered more discrimination and injustice than the indigenous peoples of the region. For the past five centuries, the native peoples of Latin America have suffered every indignity and abuse imaginable. Kearney and Varese argue that since the Conquest, Latin American society has been based on the maximization of labor exploitation along ethnic lines and that the differential treatment of ethnic groups by both capital and the state has created a complex "ethno-class" structure. The indigenous peoples have generally occupied the lowest rung of this structure of extreme economic and social inequality, and until very recently they have been excluded or marginalized from the political process.

In sum, economic and social inequality is extreme throughout Latin America, and recent transformations in the global capitalist system as well as in the economies of the Latin American states have for the most part contributed to the already polarized structure of class, gender, racial, and ethnic differentiation in these states. In spite of unfavorable economic conditions, however, there is opposition and resistance to the existing ethno-class structure on the part of growing numbers of social groups and organizations—including the new social movements organized by women, indigenous peoples, the residents of the urban shantytowns, gays and lesbians, workers opposed to the traditional clientalistic trade unions, and middle-class environmentalists.

Contemporary Conditions in Latin America

Although centralized state power and an authoritarian governmental bureaucracy are pronounced features in all the Latin American countries, the role of the state in the economy has greatly diminished as a result of the privatization of state assets, deregulation of economic activities, and the drastic reduction of government expenditures and public employment. The elected civilian governments have restored the formal aspects of political democracy and freed civil society from most of the repressive restrictions of the former military regimes, but the military remains a threatening and powerful force in Latin American politics.

In general, political parties have regained the center of the political stage, and there has been a notable decline in the level and extent of political violence. Governmental stability has apparently begun to take hold—although deviations from this pattern have occurred with disturbing frequency. One of

the most distressing features of the contemporary political scene is the government's unresponsiveness to the needs of the majority of the population even though the formal mechanisms of democratic politics have been established throughout most of the region.

The majority of the population continues to be for all intents and purposes excluded from the political process because their interests are not effectively represented by the state. In most countries the urban working class, the peasantry, rural workers, the lower sectors of the salaried middle class, and the large informal sector have been largely excluded or marginalized from the center of the political arena. Taken together, these various classes and sectors represent anywhere from two-thirds to three-quarters of the population, depending on the demographic profile of each country.

Past efforts to organize and unite these classes for the purposes of representing their interests in the centers of state power have proved politically difficult and/or dangerous. In addition to the violent reaction of the military and right-wing paramilitary groups, the political mobilization of these sectors of the population has been obstructed by traditional forms of political co-optation—such as clientalism, patronage, and corporatism—which the political elite has used to subordinate and divide the members of these sectors.

Many of the former radical and progressive members of the intelligentsia in Latin America have in recent years assumed a moderate political position, distancing themselves from the popular classes to secure positions in the public and private sectors, often accommodating their views to the prevailing neoliberal orthodoxy (Petras and Morley 1992:145–175). Many of the political parties and organizations (such as the unions) on the Left have assumed a low profile on the political scene (although there are notable exceptions such as the Workers' Party in Brazil), while others have fallen into organizational and ideological disarray.

The revolutionary movements and popular insurgencies in Nicaragua and El Salvador have been forced to give up their revolutionary projects and have been incorporated into the conventional political process. The revolutionary regime in Cuba has endured the collapse of the Soviet bloc and the continued U.S. economic and political embargo, but it has been forced by the end of the cold war and the "triumph" of Western capitalism to seek increasing accommodation with the global capitalist system.

The working class and peasant movements of the 1960s and 1970s, ruthlessly repressed by the military during the 1970s and 1980s, have not returned with the same militancy and popular support to the contemporary political scene. Yet the grassroots social movements that arose in the 1970s and early 1980s (in spite of the repressive nature of the military dictatorships then in power) continue to play an important role in contemporary social

and political life. They have not, however, formed alliances with progressive parties and political organizations. The alliance of these movements with progressive political parties, such as the Workers' Party in Brazil or the PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution) in Mexico, could change the balance of political forces and the course of development in these countries and perhaps the region.

Latin America's direction in the coming decades of the twenty-first century is not clear. There are indications that the region will continue on the current course of development under the influence of neoliberal economics and moderate-conservative civilian regimes. Yet there are also indications of growing discontent with these regimes, both among the popular classes who have received few if any benefits from these regimes as well as among the right-wing critics of these regimes and their allies in the armed forces, who fear that even the region's limited democratization has gone too far.

The Left and other progressive forces in Latin America have been weakened and disoriented by major developments at the global level, the demise of the revolutionary movements in Central America and other parts of Latin America, as well as their own failure to develop an effective strategy for mobilizing the population against the neoliberal project of the right-of-center civilian regimes throughout the region. The unsuccessful outcome of the Nicaraguan Revolution and the revolutionary movements in Central America during the 1980s appears to have foreclosed, at least for the time being, a leftist strategy based on popular insurrection. However, the leftist political forces in the region could change Latin America's current neoliberal course if they could devise an effective strategy for mobilizing the majority of the population.

Most of the progressive parties and movements in Latin America recognize that they are seriously handicapped by their failure to offer an effective alternative to the reigning neoliberal project. As a result, they have established an ongoing cross-national dialogue aimed at developing a new identity and strategy for the contemporary era. The main impetus for this dialogue has been the São Paulo Forum formed in July 1990 by representatives from more than forty leftist political parties and organizations (Robinson 1992). These representatives came from all over Latin America to a conference in São Paulo organized by the Workers' Party of Brazil for the purpose of exchanging ideas and developing an effective leftist strategy for the 1990s.

At the first meeting in São Paulo and at subsequent meetings in other parts of Latin America, the forum provided clear evidence that a New Left is developing in Latin America. The basic precepts for a general strategy are:

- The aspirations of most Latin Americans for a decent standard of living, genuine popular democracy, and social justice can be achieved only if

the progressive forces in each country organize a broad-based multi-class political movement that represents the interests of a large majority of the population (not just the workers and peasants).

- The interests of this popular majority must be reflected in all the state's agencies and activities, and this can come to pass only if the state is democratized to the fullest extent possible.
- The autonomy of the many social movements in Latin America must be respected by the progressive political forces that coordinate the mobilization of the popular majority and secure popular control over the state.
- In the interests of the majority of the population, the state should regulate investments, production, distribution, and accumulation through the creation of a mixed economy that is based on various forms of property (private, state, mixed, and cooperative).
- In the interests of the popular majority, the state should promote the development of the domestic market, local industries, and small as well as medium producers.
- The integration of the Latin American countries should take place on a regional rather than a hemispheric basis to prevent U.S. domination of the process and to ensure that the needs of the Latin American peoples are served by this integration.
- Latin America's participation in the global economy should be based primarily on redressing the inequalities in the global economic system, particularly in the economic relations between Latin America and the advanced capitalist countries.

On the basis of these propositions, the progressive forces involved in this cross-national dialogue hope to develop and implement a strategy that will bring to an end the neoliberal project of the centrist and right-wing parties in power throughout most of the region. This subject is discussed in further detail in the final chapter of this volume by Richard Harris.

In the following pages, the conditions and trends briefly touched on in this introduction will be examined in depth by the contributors. They will describe and analyze the major institutions and forces that have shaped and are shaping the course of political, economic, and social development in contemporary Latin America. They will also identify and examine the relationships between basic structures and processes, current developments and issues, the effects of past events on contemporary realities, and the influence of international conditions on local forces.

The critical perspectives provided by the authors will reveal the exploitative relationships, social inequalities, and relations of dominance and subordination that predominate in Latin America. They will also provide insights into the forces of progressive change that could bring about a democratic

transformation of the existing structures and relations of capital, power, and inequality in Latin America.

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