

Multispecies Traffic, Infrastructure, and Empire in Latin America

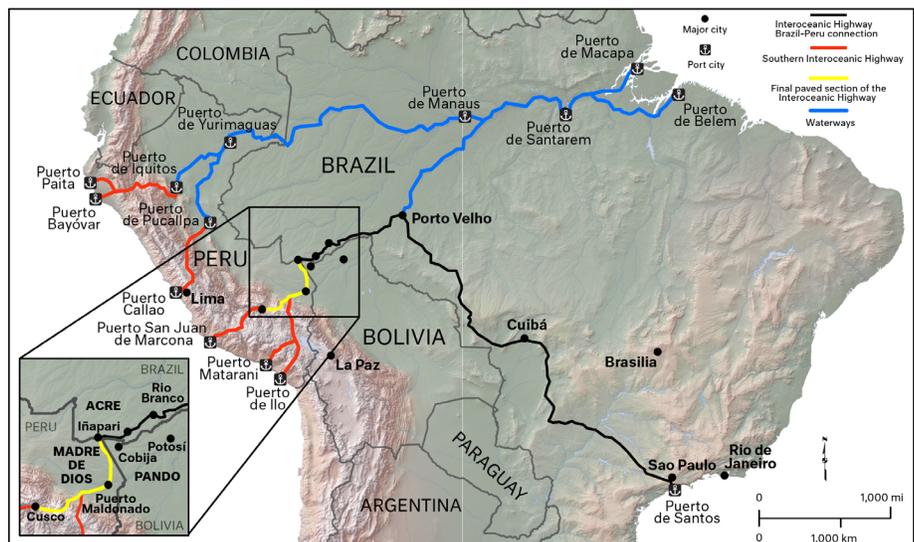
by **Ruth Goldstein** | University of Wisconsin-Madison | ruth.goldstein@wisc.edu

Multispecies traffic in humans, plants, animals, and minerals is taking place in the Amazonian triple-frontier region of Peru's Madre de Dios (M), Brazil's Acre (A), and Bolivia's Pando (P) (see fig. 1). This zone carries the acronym MAP, which is ironic given that the area is known for its inaccessibility and being "off the map," that is, "off the beaten path." The mineral traffic is in gold, the result of artisanal and small-scale mining in Madre de Dios. The gold travels across the borders to Brazil and Bolivia as well as to the United States, countries in Europe, and the Middle East (Cortés-McPherson 2019; Holland 2020). In addition to gold, coca (and cocaine) and exotic wildlife also supply extractive economies in natural resources and nonhuman life in this triple-border region. Human trafficking fills the demand for labor in and around the mines. Women work as cooks, bartenders, or waitresses, often doubling as sex workers—not always of their own volition. Yet women also hold positions of power as owners of mining concessions and

equipment, along with the men, who mine for gold. These kinds of multispecies economies are not new, nor are they unique to the MAP region. Delving into the histories of natural resource extraction and human labor in this Amazonian zone illuminates just how deeply interrelated human, animal, plant, and mineral "life in traffic" (Goldstein, forthcoming) are with one another—representing a step in shifting a toxic global dynamic.

I first crossed into Madre de Dios, Peru, along the Interoceanic Highway in July 2011. I had been living in Acre, conducting research on the building of the highway and its socio-environmental impacts, starting in Brazil. Moving along the highway, I was often in the company of people who traveled with their animals (most often chickens, sheep, sometimes a llama), seeds for planting, potatoes and corn for eating, and coca for chewing and ceremonial use. The direction of this type of multispecies traffic

Figure 1. The MAP region, waterways, and the Interoceanic Highway, Brazil-Peru. Map created by Scott Walker, courtesy of Harvard Map Collection.



along the Interoceanic Highway was toward the mines in Madre de Dios. At the other end, the gold and wildlife tended to move out of the mines to global markets. As I dove deeper into the history of the political economy of the region, I began to comprehend the enduring legacy of the European colonial tendency to treat land, nonhuman life, and human bodies as “infrastructures of extractive capitalism” (Graeter 2020). The current multispecies forms of extraction in the MAP region—precious minerals, plants, and animals—are facilitated by the construction of Latin America’s Interoceanic Highway, completed in the last days of 2011.

The highway hasn’t achieved its promises of transnational economic integration. Rather, informal markets and deforestation proliferate (Baraloto et al. 2015; Chirif 2019, 13–24). La Interoceánica, as the highway is known in Peru, forms the main artery of an infrastructural development project throughout South America (Apurinã 2015; Dammert 2018; Gadea 2012). Coast to coast, the highway spans some 3,500 miles between Brazil’s Atlantic and Peru’s Pacific, grazing Bolivia. As Latin America’s longest latitudinal thoroughfare, the highway has been promoted as pivotal economic development in the Amazonian regions of Peru, Brazil, and Bolivia. Ultimately, Brazil gains access to Peru’s Pacific ports, which allows for easier access to Asian markets (Delgado 2008; Harvey and Knox 2015; Moore 2019). Yet the highway’s two lanes aren’t busy with bustling commerce. Trucks

filled with timber of suspect origin rumble by. Otherwise, it’s just local traffic: gasoline trucks (often with people, chickens, sheep, and motorcycles hitching a ride on top), taxis, buses, and motorcycles going to and from Madre de Dios’ gold mines (see fig. 2). International concern around deforestation is matched only by the rise in sex trafficking in the region, concentrated in the gold mines.

Histories of Multispecies Traffic

The multispecies movement in the MAP region has long existed in myriad forms. Before the Spaniards arrived, the Inca stopped at the edges of the Madre de Dios rainforest. They traded with Indigenous Amazonians but didn’t extract human labor or forest resources from them. The current lines of multispecies traffic have their roots in European colonial empire building and then the heyday of the Amazonian rubber extraction. Here, I employ *traffic* to signify the circulation of humans, animals, plants, and minerals in extractive rather than exchange economies. Searching for gold and silver certainly played a main, lucrative role in European colonization. In the early days of Peruvian, Brazilian, and Bolivian statehood, particularly in the quest for the mythic city of gold, “El Dorado,” the shiny metal was key, but botany was also big business along with minerals. Prized plants like nutmeg, cotton, rice, tea, poppies (opium), rubber, and cinchona (quinine), to name a few, have spawned global trade and, in some cases, massive conflicts. “Europeans have long moved plants around the world—in vast quantities and to great economic effect” (Schiebinger 2008, 371), yet the importance of plants is often an afterthought, dropped from the pages of history.

That botany is deeply entangled with empire is evident in the movements of early botanists, who not only traveled on colonizing missions and slave ships (Roberts 2021; Schiebinger 2004) but often owned land and slaves themselves. Botanists were “agents of empire” (Mackay 2011; Schiebinger 2004) who functioned as “botanical conquistadors” (Bleichmar 2016). It was no accident that European governments founded scientific societies and supported naturalists’

Figure 2. Traffic on the Interoceanic Highway, combustible cresting Abra Pirahuayani. Photo by Stefanie Graeter, shown with permission.



expeditions while at the same time they established slave-trading companies (Roberts 2021). The active trade in minerals, plants (and seeds), and people needed human labor to keep the mines going and the plantations producing. At the other end of the voyage, once the slaves had left the ships, the cargo holds stood empty. It fit economic rational to fill them with precious minerals, plants, and animals—and sometimes, an exotic person or two—to bring back to Europe to complete the exchange (Cook 2008).

While current neocolonial natural resource economies have shifted in some ways from the previous commodities and colonial trade routes, the MAP region continues to see traffic in humans to the mines, and animals, plants, and minerals often destined for the Global North. Earlier, rubber, cinchona, and just a little bit of gold, along with enslaved native Amazonians, characterized multispecies market economies for export in the region. Now it's a lot of gold, human trafficking to the mines, and illegal trade in exotic plants and animals (USAID 2019). Rubber production now occurs predominantly on plantations in Asia, and quinine harvesting has largely moved to Africa, with the major cinchona forests in the eastern Congo (*Economist* 2019). Yet in the triple-frontier region, the memory of cinchona and the legacy of rubber tapping continues to be felt on the land and its people. Cinchona's malaria-fighting abilities made it a must-have for colonizers. As such, it's become scarce in the MAP region. *Hevea brasiliensis* (rubber) still grows in the rainforest, but the trees left standing bear the scars of the first rubber boom (1879–1912) in the Amazon.

One of the more infamous rubber barons in the MAP region arrived in the early 1890s. Immortalized in Werner Herzog's film 1982 *Fitzcarraldo*, Carlos Fermin Fitzcarrald was an Irish-Peruvian rubber baron who displayed the same brutal characteristics of his enterprising counterparts. Fitzcarrald was not the first rubber baron to arrive in Madre de Dios, though he perhaps left the deepest mark. By the time he arrived in Madre de Dios, some of the native Amazonian tribes had already fled the first round of rubber barons or had been killed

(Paredes 2013). The Harakmbut, one of the main Indigenous groups in the region, had hitherto avoided contact with colonizers. Even during the Incan Empire, the Harakmbut had maintained their sovereignty, one of the groups that traded with the Inca for “gold, coca, and pepper” (Gray 2003, 222). But with Fitzcarrald on the hunt for Indigenous labor and land, the genocide of Indigenous Amazonians gained intensity. An estimated 95 percent of the Harakmbut population died between 1894 and 1914 (Gray 2003).

Ironically, it was an act of biopiracy—the theft of biological material and the traditional knowledge associated with it—that halted the Amazonian rubber economy. In 1876, Sir Henry Alexander Wickham managed to smuggle 70,000 rubber seeds out of Brazil. Wrapped in banana leaves, he declared them “academic specimens” to leave the country (Jackson 2008; Muniz 2020). The seeds arrived at Kew Gardens in London, giving the British hope that they could take control of the lucrative market. While it would take decades for rubber plantations in Britain's colonies in Southeast Asia to start producing, Amazonian rubber would eventually lose its foothold. Seedlings sold to Dutch and French companies to start rubber plantations in their colonies meant that by 1910, Amazonian rubber exports had fallen by 50 percent (Davis 1996). Even with slave labor, it was no longer lucrative to tap wild rainforest rubber trees. The deep stores of gold in the MAP region had yet to be intensely exploited. At the time, it just wasn't worth the labor and transport costs. But a century later, roads would change that.

Of Roads, Natural Resource Extraction, and Men

In the MAP region, road infrastructure is linked to creating access for natural resource extraction. And, of course, this necessitates human labor. At the time of the first rubber boom, Peru struggled to control trade and hold its rainforest border with Bolivia (in an area that is now Brazil). Rivers were the roads of the Amazon, and these borders were still in fluid transition. At the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning

of the twentieth, Bolivia and Brazil were fighting over the rubber-rich Acre region, creating risky ventures for Peruvian rubber barons in Madre de Dios. Peru's strategy, then and now, was to populate the rainforest areas with colonists and create tempting business deals for foreign companies. Without sufficient human or financial resources, the Peruvian government sought (and seeks) strategic ways to bring vested interests to lobby for their country's interests.

Thus the Peruvian government gladly outsourced management of its problem areas in Madre de Dios to the Philadelphia-based Inca Mining Company. The Inca Mining Company had built up a reliable reputation in Peru (Leguía 1912), first appearing as a registered foreign business with land concessions in Peru in 1896, when it acquired the Santa Domingo Gold Mine in the Carabaya region (Anaya 1996). This was where the Inca had also mined for gold until Pizarro caught and killed Atahualpa in 1532. This was also the area in which the Inca had made contact with the Harakmbut. Unlike the European and North American entrepreneurs, the Inca did not enslave or kill Indigenous Amazonians in Madre de Dios. Their previous gold mining in the area, however, signaled an X on the map for those who would follow. Consequently, it is also where some of the gold mining happens today.

Just as the histories of gold mining in the region would affect contemporary natural resource extraction, so have rubber and road-building efforts shaped the current extractive resource economies. In 1902, the Peruvian government sealed a deal with the Inca Mining Company giving its owners control over a huge rubber concession in Madre de Dios in exchange for building a road. A sibling enterprise, the Inca Rubber Company, came into being, administering to the new land holdings and its exploits (Paredes 2013). The agreement between the Peruvian State and the US company proved mutually beneficial: the US presence helped stabilize the border with Bolivia in 1903, and the Inca Mining and Inca Rubber Company gained access not only to immense rubber producing areas in the Amazon but to the road that it built near its Santo Domingo Mine in the Andes (Gray 2003; Paredes

2013). The road would run to the headwaters of the Tambopata River (Moore 2019), making transport of the company's plant and mineral holdings far more efficient. The 130-kilometer road that the Inca Mining and Rubber Company would build took three years to complete (Moore 2019), providing access for the first time between the Andes to Madre de Dios. This unpaved turn-of-the-century route would lay the foundation for a section of the Inter-oceanic Highway, setting the tone for the human foot traffic, vehicle traffic, plants, and animals as well the human labor trafficking on it today. The towns of Filadelfia and Baltimore still exist in Madre de Dios, a testament to the histories of extraction and exchange to the "sister cities" in North America where the rubber was processed.

Infrastructure as Money Trafficking

Nearly a century after the Inca Mining and Rubber Company built its unpaved road, plans were underway to construct the Inter-oceanic Highway through the MAP region. In Madre de Dios, an area roughly the size of Portugal, the highway constitutes the first paved thoroughfare of any kind (Dourojeanni 2006; Harvey and Knox 2015). In 2001, the Brazilian president Fernando Henrique Cardoso proposed the building of the highway through Peru and Bolivia at a meeting of the South America Infrastructure Initiative (IIRSA, now called Consejo Suramericano de Infraestructura y Planamiento). The following years would be characterized by contracting bids, consolidation of capital, failure to execute social and environmental assessments, and protests against the building of the road, particularly in Peru and Bolivia. (Extensions of the highway network remain stalled in Bolivia.) When construction of the Inter-oceanic Highway was finally underway between Peru's Cusco and Puno, in the Andes, and the Brazilian border in Acre, passing through Madre de Dios, the 2008 global economic crisis hit. This only intensified the demand for gold. The highway has thus become an efficient conduit for facilitating the illegal economies in gold, exotic wildlife, and humans.

Several years after the completion of the highway, scandal broke, but it wasn't until 2016 that the CEO of Odebrecht, the Brazilian company that won the bid to build La Interoceánica, was indicted. In a fittingly named corruption investigation, "Operation Car Wash" (*Lava Jato*), the money laundering involved in infrastructure projects around Latin America became clear, one case at a time. To date, Odebrecht has admitted to bribing five Peruvian presidents to win construction contracts, along with numerous functionaries. Alan García, in his second presidential term (2006–2011), oversaw much of the highway's construction. I watched him "inaugurate" La Interoceánica in Madre de Dios shortly before he left office in July 2011. In April 2019, Alan García took his own life rather than be arrested for his role in *Lava Jato*. In other countries, the corruption runs just as deep. From coast to coast, the very making of the highway rests on a foundation of deceit and steamrolling over Indigenous protests.

Gold, Plants, and People in the Global Market

Highways like La Interoceánica function as border zones (Campbell 2012; Harvey and Knox 2015) between "nature" and "culture," fundamental relations in configurations of capital facilitating the many forms of movement on their surface. The global demand for gold that comes into play with the construction of the highway spurs migration to the Amazonian rainforest mines, but it also contributes to stasis. Andean and Amazonian inhabitants seeking economic opportunities find themselves stuck along the highway—in mudslides, broken-down vehicles, or conditions of debt peonage. The "encumbrances of exchange" (Winchell 2018) occur, not surprisingly, along well-worn colonial fault lines of racial, sexual, and gender difference. Border crossings reveal the transit of people and things if not also the edges of empire, where the traffic in women, plants, and gold are not entirely separate markets. As a physical setting, the highway is also part of the political economy that creates the conditions for the traffic in humans, plants, and minerals.

Over the past decade, Peru has often ranked among the top ten gold producers in the world and vied with Brazil for first place in Latin America (Martinez et al. 2018; Espin and Perz 2019). Madre de Dios contributes an estimated 25 percent of Peru's gold exports, all considered illegal. The gold is transformed into phones and other electronics (Buccella 2014; Tubb 2020) and will arrive in jewelry stores and banks (as bullion) in Europe, the United States, and the United Arab Emirates (Cortés-McPherson 2019; Holland 2020). The estimates of how many people work in the mines is subject to much speculation: a 2011 government report suggested there are 30,000 gold miners (Álvarez et al. 2011). By 2018–2019, the estimates had risen to 70,000 gold miners in Madre de Dios (Damonte 2018; Fernández et al. 2019). There's no clear idea how many sex workers operate in the gold mines. In terms of coca production and cocaine export, Peru follows Colombia (with Bolivia a close third), as a global producer (UNDOC 2021). Other (medicinal) plants in wildlife trafficking that move to and from Peru also go around the world as part of a multi-billion-dollar herbal medicine trade (Allkin 2017).

Infrastructure projects like roads produce mobility but also contribute to jams, crashes, and collisions that end lives. La Interoceánica is the foundation for, and part of, a set of relations that create different and sometimes fatal conditions for human and nonhuman life in Madre de Dios and beyond. The highway is not so much a new form of empire building but rather a fundamental component to long-standing political economies of extraction that rely on cheap human labor. Natural resource economies have always been extractive ones, where plants and minerals, human and nonhuman lives all become commodities. These "extractive economies are buttressed by a multitude of international and bilateral trade and investment treaties" (Müller 2022), as they have always been.

In Amazonia, extractive economies cannot be understood in isolation from their deep global histories. Eduardo Galeano's concern that in "the colonial and neocolonial alchemy, gold changes into scrap metal and food into poison [En la alquimia colonial y neo-colonial, el oro

se transfigura en chatarra, y los alimentos se convierten en veneno]” (1970, 8) remains devastatingly true. If the Amazon rainforest, dubbed “the lungs of the earth” and “nature’s pharmacy,” is an oxygen-creating, life-sustaining ecosystem for the globe, then the effects of road building and trafficking in natural resources are planetary. Controlling rising temperatures means confronting the finite destiny for many species on a hot Earth. Recognizing such difficult endings—and toxic beginnings—may not produce a restructuring of global power, but it may support an impulse to resist, grounded in the knowledge that these multispecies economies may be part of our past but they need not dictate our collective future.

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