

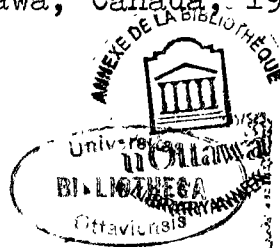
UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA -- ÉCOLE DES GRADUÉS

THE INDIANS WAY OF LIFE AND THE BOLIVIAN  
AGRARIAN REFORM

by Febo Vargas Vacaflor

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Economic and Social Sciences of the Univer-  
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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

Febo Varas Vacaflor was born April 2nd, 1931, in Colquechaca, Potosi, Bolivia. He received the Licence in Law degree ("Licenciado en Derecho") from the Universidad Tecnica de Oruro, Bolivia, in 1955. The title of his thesis was "Contrato Colectivo de Trabajo" (Collective Labour Bargaining.) He received his degree in law from the Bolivian Government after a "court examination" (Examen de Corte") before the Superior Court of Justice of Oruro, Bolivia, in 1956.

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## INTRODUCTION

At the present time the world is divided between peoples who are relatively prosperous and others who are semi-destitute. Probably half of mankind is permanently hungry. Perhaps two thirds are illiterate, miserably poor and with a life expectancy of less than thirty years. The gap between the rich and the poor nations is steadily widening and this lack of balance keeps the world in a state of continual tension. Technical, economic and social progress is taken for granted by a minority. One of the grave problems of our century is to enable the greater part of the human race to benefit by the same progress.

Two tendencies are striving for the control of the greater number (more than three quarters of the human race) of those economically less developed countries, and although opposing one another each claims democracy for itself as the means to improve the living conditions of suffering mankind. Communism and true Democracy are in the ring, and we believe that only the latter possesses the real and acceptable policies towards the building of tomorrow's world and progress.

It is theoretically possible for Democracy to exist in a country in which no one owns any land as well as in a country in which one man owns all the land, or in a country in which the land is divided unequally. However, some forms of land tenure and use are more conducive to the development

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of democratic attitudes than others.

We can find a great deal of reasons to believe that private individual land ownership tends more to foster democratic values than does land tenure resulting in private or public monopoly. Individual freedom and individual responsibility are the basis of Democracy. Private land-ownership and individual management of the owned land provide the best experience of freedom, rarely equaled by any other activity, for here man is individually responsible for decisions such as the borrowing of capital, the purchasing of supplies or the selling of his products. Land ownership develops tolerance which is required by democracy. As a capitalist, the farmer understands capitalists.

Democracy works better if individuals are prosperous and can afford enough education to understand better their political and social problems. It is difficult for democracy to function if individuals live in abject poverty. An efficient agriculture makes possible the industrialization which helps to increase standards of living, creates new social classes, and provides all sorts of new opportunities. Without a prosperous agriculture industrialization becomes impossible.

The existing agrarian conditions and land tenure in many under-developed countries, are the main barrier to their economic development, because such conditions reduce

## INTRODUCTION

agricultural productivity and are "the major cause of low standard of living for the populations of those countries and territories,"<sup>1</sup> For this reason they were given special attention by the United Nations General Assembly at its fifth session in 1950. It stated that "immediate steps should be taken to study the extent to which existing agrarian conditions hamper the economic development of under-developed countries" and adopted certain recommendations for action by governments. (Resolution 401 (V) on land reform)<sup>2</sup> These recommendations were taken under consideration by many governments, amongst them the Bolivian, in an attempt to institute an appropriate land reform in the interest of landless farmers and those with small and medium size estates, but those aims were forgotten by the committee which was set up in Bolivia to study and propose the Agrarian Reform. They were in majority members of the Bolivian Communist Party (Partido de la Izquierda Revolucionara) and the Trotskyistes, who were pledged to a violent land expropriation without compensation from latifundia landowners and gave the decree-law of Agrarian Reform on August 2, 1953, its main ideological content and aims, which was Marxist-Trotskyite, creating chaos and anarchy within the starving Agrarian

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(1) United Nations "Progress in Land Reform", Geneva, 1954, p. 3

(2) op. cit., p. 3

## INTRODUCTION

population rather than promoting the welfare and prosperity expected, as will be seen further in Chapter III of this thesis.

Bolivia does not deserve such a fate for she has friends and partners in the International Community of Nations and they will co-operate to end her calvary with adequate technical and economic assistance, especially the technical. The government alone cannot solve such vast economic and social problems without being aided. The country lacks trained administrators, managers, scientists, technicians, ~~teac~~hers and other experts. However, a vast fund of experience and up to date knowledge exists in other parts of the world where industrialization, applied science and education have already provided a reasonable standard of living and opportunity for most of the people.

Bolivia is a country of contrasts in many aspects. Bolivians themselves describe Bolivia as a "begger sitting down on a golden chair" ("Bolivia es un mendigo sentado en una silla de oro"), and this is true if we compare the extremely low standard of living of the population and their poverty, with the huge quantity and variety of the natural resources available within the Bolivian boundaries. In very few countries has nature been so generous and placed such a variety and quantity of raw materials, and yet the average Bolivian lives in sub-human standards with an annual revenue as low as \$82.00.

## INTRODUCTION

It is sometimes suggested that highly industrialized peoples are merely creating new competition for themselves when they provide experts and technicians to establish industries in the economically underdeveloped countries. There are examples that prove the contrary:

When Canada started her industrialization program half a century ago, she was buying goods worth about eighty million every year from the United States. Some American manufacturers feared that an industrialized Canada would mean a loss of a valuable trade outlet to the United States. What actually happened? Now that Canada has a diversified economy, partly agricultural and partly industrial, her wealth has increased so many times that she now purchases each year from the United States goods worth more than 1,000 millions. The entire Latin American continent with its twenty republics and with at least ten times Canada's population, spends little more every year on United States goods than does Canada because the income, and consequently the purchasing power, of the average Latin American is so much less than that of the average Canadian. Economists believe that an increase of five percent or less in the average Latin American income would be sufficient to cause a rise of 100% in Latin American imports.<sup>1</sup>

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(1) "Keenleyside Report", Universidad de San Andres, La Paz, 1952, Bolivia, p. 75

## INTRODUCTION

"Latifundismo" or land tenure in large holdings can be observed in practically all Latin American countries, developing thereby a kind of monopoly in land tenure. By definition, a monopoly enjoys whatever market there is without competition, discourages innovations and initiative, and finally results in inefficiency. As it happened, and is still happening in Bolivia, even though the Land Reform was undertaken, there can be no progress at all in agriculture unless the essentials of technology are adopted. It is stated in the Keanleyside Report, the iron or steel plow, the four-wheeled wagen and the use of harnessed draft animals are almost unknown for the great majority of the Bolivian agricultural population, which amounts to more than 70% of the population.<sup>1</sup>

Without taking into account that the old system of land property based in the Latifundio as well as the "minifundio"<sup>2</sup> could only be eradicated with progressive and methodically planned policies towards capitalistic systems, with personal and individual property rights guaranteed by the authorities, and with the correspondent technical, financial and economic co-operation to the agricultural population, the "revolutionary" government issued the decree-law of Agrarian Reform adding new problems to the already existing ones.

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(1) op. cit., p. 161

(2) Tiny land-tenure

## INTRODUCTION

It brought the nation to anarchy, poverty and desorganization in all the fields, setting up good conditions for possible Communist development that must be stopped.

The object of this thesis is to show that even though the Agrarian Reform was the number one problem of Bolivia, it was not accomplished by taking into account the recommendations of the United Nations or the Organization of American States, but rather with a Communist point of view. To understand it properly we shall try to explain Bolivian old systems of land-property, the given solutions and what can be done to "relieve" the hunger of three million persons searching for a friendly hand to solve their problems.

## CHAPTER 1

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE

The Agrarian problem, the land problem, is the problem of the man who works it.

The relationship between man and the soil in Bolivia finds its expression in a great variety of social and legal forms which have developed from the interaction of two great cultural movements, namely the pre-colonial indigenous cultures such as the Aymara and Inca Empires which lived over almost all the area of the Bolivian territory on the one hand, and the Spanish conquest with its standards and institutions brought by the "conquistadores," on the other. The results of the meeting of these two forces created some peculiar and characteristic forms of land tenure which up to date have survived, namely the Inca "Ayllu"<sup>1</sup> institution over which the "comuidades" have evolved, and the Spanish "latifundia" gradually built up during all the colonial period.

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(1) "A group of families under the Inca Empire, connected by blood or totemic relations, who joined together to form an economic and social unit based on cooperative effort. As time went by the word acquired a connotation of common ownership or cultivation of land; in this way the institution became agricultural in character." (I.L.O. "The Landless Farmer in Latin America." Geneva, 1957, p. 111.)

The knowledge of these agrarian institutions and their location in the different areas of the country constitute a problem of particular importance in Bolivia because the type of land tenure, as well as the type of agrarian worker, are very closely related with the varying Bolivian geography.

In order to give a better illustration of man-soil relationships and of its related agrarian institutions, we believe that a clear, although incomplete picture of the Bolivian geography and population will be necessary and useful.

Bolivia is a land-locked country with an area of 411,127 square miles<sup>1</sup> (1,068,886 square kilometers) and divided in three main geographical groups:

- a) The high Plateau or "Altiplano" situated in between the two branches of the Andean Mountains with altitudes ranging from 10,500 to 12,000 feet above sea level, and mountains as high as 20,500 feet occupying about 16% of the total area. Its climate is rather dry and cold with average

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(1) "Keenleyside Report" op. cit. p. 161

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 3

temperatures of seven to nine centigrade degrees.

- b) The Valley Region or "Yungas" at the north and east of the Altiplano representing more than 14% of the Bolivian area with slopes ranging from 5,500 to 6,500 feet of altitude, has a semi-tropical climate extremely fitted for agricultural activities and,
- c) The Lowlands or Tropical Region situated at the northern and eastern part of Bolivia representing 70% of its area with subtropical and tropical climate, with agricultural possibilities almost unknown.

As we see, Bolivia has all the climates and its topography is as varied as its agricultural products.<sup>1</sup>

According to figures taken from "Indigenous Peoples"<sup>2</sup> Bolivia has a population of 3,500,000 distributed ethnically as follows: Pure Indians, 2,500,000 (71%); Mestizos, (half white and half Indian) 700,000 (27.7%); whites 300,000. Since Bolivia is a country with a majority of indigenous population, the Agrarian problem is the problem of this part

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(1) See Appendix I and II for a better picture of what is called "The Topographical Synthesis of the World."

(2) "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit. p. 34.

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 4

of the population because it depends on the soil where it lives and its problems are those which interest us.

The Indigenous inhabitant, "Indian or Native" was in Latin America, the original inhabitant of the Bolivian soil at the time of its conquest by the Spanish "conquistadores."

"Here the whites have economic and political control, but are ethnically speaking, a small minority; here the population is composed to a very large extent of compact indigenous groups, which continue to speak their aboriginal languages and keep up in a state of stagnation their traditional forms of economic organization and many cultural features and institutions." <sup>1</sup>

Bolivia's population and geographic area are distributed as shown in Table No. 1 into nine provinces.

TABLE 1

Province	Area in K	Population	% Density
La Paz	133,985	1,099,928	7.8
Cochabamba	55,631	509,205	9.8
Potosi	118,218	560,875	5.0
Santa Cruz	370,621	295,395	0.8
Chuquisaca	51,524	294,035	6.0
Tarija	37,623	131,818	3.7
Orure	53,588	229,228	4.3
Beni	213,654	136,219	0.6
Pando	63,827	21,372	0.3

(1) "Indigenous Peoples," op. cit. p. 31. See also Appendix III for a chart on "Population by Races" in Latin America.

Source: "International Year Book and Statement"

WHO'S WHO, J. Peakes, editor, Netherlands, Hague, 1956

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 5

Bolivia's Indigenous population is formed by two main groups: (1) The Quechua and Aymara, inhabiting the highlands (the high-plateau and the Andean Mountains) in the temperate and cold climates. They form the actual Indian communities which, as stated before, are more or less closely connected to the Inca civilization much before the Spanish colonial period; and (2) the forest dwelling Indians living in the low lands, in the warm regions of the Amazon and Plata Basins, and whose economic and cultural development are lower than the former ones.

The Quechua group is the largest, living mainly in the valleys of Cochabamba, Sucre and Potosi, with a population of about 1,400,000 and whose tongue is spoken by some 30 or 33% of the population. The Aymara are to be found mainly in the highlands of La Paz, Oruro and Potosi, as well as in the foothills of the Andean Mountains. Their greatest concentration are along the shores of Lake Titicaca with some groups in the "Yungas" or tropical valley region. They amount to around 800,000 peoples.

In general terms, the Aymara usually live in areas above 3,300 meters (11,000 feet). The Quechua are found mainly below this level, down as far as the beginning of the tropical low-lands. The forest dwelling tribes of the low-lands and plains seldom go higher than areas situated about

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 6

600 meters (2,000 feet) above sea level. The parts of Bolivian territory occupied by the Quechua-Aymara group constitute about 30% of the total area of the country (1,332,000 square kilometers in 1932); its density of population varies from 12.9 to 6.6 inhabitants per square kilometer. The rest of the Bolivian territory (inhabited by forest dwelling Indians) has a population density of 1.1 to 0.3 persons per square kilometer. "Seventy-two per cent of the population lives between 2,000 and 4,700 meters above the sea level; this part is concentrated in about one half of the area of the highlands, i.e. into a sixth of the total area of the country."<sup>1</sup>

## 1 - Physical factors:

- a) Extension of land in agricultural activities.

If we carefully analyse the above statement we shall wonder what are the factors causing such a backward situation, namely that most of the population lives in areas where agricultural development is difficult, leaving almost deserted and non-cultivated the most suitable lands. There are indeed many factors which we shall endeavour to

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(1) "Indegenous Populations" op. cit. p. 36  
(underlining supplied)

point out.

It is easy to see that, as it happens in many overpopulated countries, the Agrarian problem does not lay on the lack of land. Bolivia has plenty, but as we said in a former statement, Bolivia is a land of contrasts, here is one: Despite that a great part of the Bolivian territory (80%) is potentially agrarian and that farming activity gives work to more than 70% of her population, the agrarian activity did not develop and actually it remains as it was during the pre-discovery (Inca Empire) and the Spanish colonial periods. The land dedicated to agricultural activity is unbelievably small in spite of possessing great quantities of land potentiality and capability of producing all the imaginable agrarian products. Actually in Bolivia, out of an area of 411,127 square miles, only a minimum of this territory - 2% - is cultivated. The high-plateau (Altiplano) with its limited agrarian potential is the region where the major extension of land is cultivated (about 49%.) The "Yungas" or Valley Region with equal limited agricultural potentialities represents approximately the 40%. The remaining 11% is found in the low lands or plains in the north and east and which potentialities are unlimited.<sup>1</sup>

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(1) "Keenleyside Report" op. cit., p. 170

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE

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The above statements are supported by a recent survey made by the Economic Commission for Latin America (Comision Economica para la America Latina CEPAL) from the report of which we can extract the following data:

In the high-plateau of 15,3 million hectares<sup>2</sup> only 33 thousand are cultivated. In the Valley region representing 25% of the total area, only three to five per cent are cultivated and the low-lands with their share of 60% of the total area count for only 0.5%. Finally the report shows that from 801,100 hectares suitable for agricultural exploitation only 350,000 are actually in production.

As we can see the agriculture in Bolivia has been neglected, because only a few areas are cultivated (2% of the total area) even though out of 1,178,000 working population, or 84.8%, more than 70% of the working powers are dedicated in agriculture and stock raising. However, there is no lack of land, there is only lack of well planned policies. This situation is understandable if we consider that Bolivia is regarded as a "mining activity country." Here there is another contrast. Less than 18% of the population is employed in mine activities according to the

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(1) "Informe de la CEPAL", La Paz, 1956, P. 25-26

(2) An hectare is equal to 2.5 acres.

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 9

CEPAL Report. Since the beginning of the Spanish conquest Bolivian high-plateau and Andean Mountains have been the centre of mining activity with the development of the most famous mines of the era. Potosi<sup>1</sup> is the symbol of the mining economy centered around the mineral areas and the exploitation of the precious layers of gold and silver, leaving agricultural activity at the same levels, using the same methods, as in the pre-discovery Inca Empire. Cities and towns were mushrooming wherever a rich mine of silver, or a gold layer was discovered and exploited. The fortunes and settlements lasted only as long as they were producing and afterwards became ghost cities and empty mine settlements following "the migration of fortunes to the mother land," without any benefit to the indigenous population, and rather with their merciless exploitation and destruction.

## b) Mining:

Bolivia has always been, and still is, a mining country. When the rush of silver was over (during the late 1890's, the first world producers of that metal) came the time for tin, the exploitation of which starts at the beginning of the present century. Once more Bolivian economy depends on the exploitation of her rich (the richest

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(1) The most famous silverproducing city in the whole colonial period in Latin America in what was called the Altro-Peru, and main source of Spanish treasures later stolen and buried by pirates from the "Spanish Galeons"; An expression still widely used "Vale un Potosi" meaning something really worthy, reminds its grandeur. She was named by Emperor Carlos V "Vila Imperial."

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 10

in the world) tin mines and Bolivian mining activity starts anew with equal, not more, intensity as before. The capitalist system with its modern theories gives to this new era some of its peculiar characteristics. The indigenous populations is attracted by the mines and once more the soil lays idle and neglected. A proletarian class appears and modern mine equipment and mills flourish along the mountains and the high-plateau. Railways and roads are built to the processing centers to haul the raw material to the ports on the Pacific and thereafter overseas, to the capital finishing countries, that operation leaves like before, during the colonial period, empty mines and towns and what is worst, a still poorer and disorganized agricultural activity with sick (mine dust sickness) inhabitants.

Bolivia's share in world tin production becomes important as we can see in the Table II of the following page.

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 10 A

TABLE II

Bolivia: Mineral Exports in 1949

Mineral	Kilograms of fine metal	Gross Value in U. S. Dollars	Approx Net Value in U. S. Dollars	Percentage of net value
Tin	34,646,116	72,791,874	63,656,494	76.2
Lead	31,351,769	8,524,420	6,077,911	7.3
Silver	206,391	4,652,864	4,559,807	5.6
Antimony	10,275,159	4,184,703	2,992,063	3.7
Other (Zinc, tungsten, copper, gold bismuth, sulphur)	28,761,162	8,745,117	6,174,402	7.2
Total		98,998,979 <sup>2</sup>	83,460,677	100.0

Source: "Keenleyside Report" op. cit., p. 145

(1) Net value represents gross value, less realisation costs.

(2) The total would appear to be 98,898,978

TABLE III

## BOLIVIA: Share in World Tin Production (Tons)

Year	World Total	Malaya and Indonesia	Bolivia	Bolivian & of world Production
1935-1939 <sup>1</sup>	170,300	84,470	25,770	15.1
1940-1941 <sup>1</sup>	236,350	129,230	40,000	16.9
1946	87,000	14,850	37,620	43.0
1947	114,000	42,940	33,260	29.0
1948	153,500	75,370	37,310	24.0
1949	162,400	83,875	34,646	21.0

Source: "Indigenous Peoples", op. cit.  
p. 211

(1) Annual averages

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 11

She was the second world producer of tin and other mineral exploitation; their exports gave Bolivia a relative expansion in the period from 1938 to 1948, representing an average of 94.94% of Bolivia's total exports, which constitutes a great share in her international credit market, as we can see in Table 111.

Even though, the mining economy was in such a healthy level, this boom (here we can see still another contrast) nevertheless had no effect on the general economy of the nation. In the country, where the majority of the population lives, the agrarian techniques of land working, customs and habits, as well as the ways of living remained as they were in the pre-discovery and colonial period. The mining activity is developed only in the high-plateau and the Andean Mountains where the bulk of the population is concentrated and where the whole national life takes place. Consequently the low-lands are left uncultivated and abandoned without communication or link with the rest of the nation. All the profits of the mining activity and production go abroad, because even the big enterprises controlling the main centers of production have their head office off the mainland, abroad in a foreign nation (even all Bolivian capitalists such as the Patino or Aramayo groups have their offices in <sup>the</sup> United States or in Switzerland). Only a small industry had developed with an almost inexistent middle class who enjoys the nation's political life, leaving the rest of the

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 12

population unaware of its role in Bolivia's life as a nation. At present, during the twentieth century, Bolivia is considered as the most underdeveloped country of Latin America, with an annual revenue per inhabitant of \$82.00.

The considerable expansion of mining industries in Bolivia has resulted in the development of a native labour force numbering some 45,000 persons<sup>1</sup> grouped mainly in the provinces of Potosi and Oruro where mining is particularly important. The district of Catavi-Llallagua (the biggest tin mine in the world,) Pulacayo, Tupiza, together with the towns of Potosi and Oruro, absorb most of this labour force. Most of the others work in La Paz and other districts. It has been estimated that one third of all mine workers are seasonal workers. As most of them come from rural districts near mining centers, they live under steady migration and the number of these seasonal workers fluctuates in accordance with the area cultivated, or the size of the harvest. Indeed not infrequently, the same individual is a share-farmer and an unskilled labourer, either at the same time or in turns. Therefore, farm activity is abandoned and the small holding

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 210

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 13

is exploited only during part of the year, or in many cases completely abandoned.

The importance of the role played by the Bolivian Indians in mining does not consist in the number of persons so employed, which is relatively low, but in the fact that no other ethnic type has the physical qualities that enable the Indians to adapt themselves to such strenuous work in the mines, which are sometimes situated between 12,000 and 15,000 feet above sea level. Although meztizos and whites hold a considerable portion of the specialized tasks in surface work most of the hard work underground is done by Indians.

"In Peru, 35,000 Indians are employed in mines and 45,000 in Bolivia; this represents 50% and 80% respectively of the total number of persons employed in such activity. In Peru the greater part of the national income is yielded by mining, while in Bolivia the entire national economy depends on this industry"<sup>1</sup>..... Since colonial times the economy of Bolivia, which used to be known as Upper Peru, has been based on mining. The importance of Bolivia in the world markets

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(1) United Nations, "Progress in Land Reform." Geneva, 1954, p. 204; quoted from "Arduz Egua's" "El Problema Social en Bolivia"

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 14

will probably remain dependent on her mineral wealth for a long time to come, thus the country's stability is conditioned by the extent of her mineral deposits and by fluctuations in the world markets.

Before 1952 mining activities in Bolivia were carried out under private owned enterprises. Big enterprises were formed in the country, but the head offices were established abroad to avoid taxation, social laws, and other duties.

Besides those hugh companies, named "The Big Three" (Los tres Grandes) there were others of no minor importance in the development and exploitation of tin and also other minerals like zinc, wolfram, gold, lead, silver etc. Table IV gives us an idea of the enterprises engaged in tin exploitation as well as of their source of original investment and of the quantities invested. Table V shows up the share of the Big Three enterprises which in order of importance and size were:

Patino Mines Enterprises Consolidated Inc.,

Compagnie Aramayo de Mines en Bolivie,

Hochschild, S.A.M.I.<sup>1</sup>

The first one was founded by Simon Patino "one of the wealthiest men" with head offices in Delaware, U.S.A., with

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(1) S.A.M.I. stands for "Sociedad Anonima Minera Industrial" (Mining and Industrial Company Limited.)

TABLE V

BOLIVIA: Tin production of the three major enterprises

Year	Total Bolivian Production	Patino Mines	Aramayo	Hochschild	Total Big 3
1940	38,531	18,660	2,963	9,578	31,201
1941	42,740	21,013	2,647	10,778	34,438
1942	38,899	18,171	2,832	9,933	30,936
1943	40,959	20,703	2,335	10,425	33,463
1944	39,342	19,460	2,614	10,086	32,160
1945	43,168	19,526	2,998	11,945	34,469
1946	38,222	16,624	2,915	10,196	29,735
1947	33,789	13,810	2,834	8,981	25,625
1948	37,899	17,270	2,420	8,740	28,430
1949	34,662	14,374	2,176	8,704	25,254
1950	31,927	13,736	2,159	7,177	23,072
<b>Totals</b>	<b>420,138</b>	<b>193,347</b>	<b>28,893</b>	<b>106,543</b>	<b>328,783</b>
<b>Percentages</b>		<b>46%</b>	<b>6.9%</b>	<b>25.4%</b>	<b>78.6%</b>

Source: Universidad Tecnica de Oruro "Universidad"  
No. 2, 1953, p. 44

TABLE IV

## BOLIVIA: Major Tin Enterprises and their Investments (1947)

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<u>Tin Enterprises</u>	<u>Initial Source</u>	<u>Capital</u>	<u>Capital in</u>
Patino Mines Ent. Cons. Inc.		6,250,000	6,250,000
Compania Oploca de Bolivia		600,000	600,000
Empresa Minera de Huanuni		3,000,000	3,000,000
Empresa Estano de Araca		318,000	318,000
Compania Aramayo de Minas Salvador	MSw. Fr.	25,200,000	1,008,000
Compania Unificada de Potosi		1,800,000	1,800,000
Compania Minera de Oruro		1,600,000	1,600,000
Compania Minera de Colquiri		376,000	376,000
Trepp & Cia	Ch. \$ <sup>1</sup>	530,000	530,000
Bolivian Int. Mining Corp.	U.S. \$	62,500,000	1,560,000
Fabulosa Mines Cons.	U.S. \$	2,605,000	651,250
Empresa Minera Avicava	Bs. <sup>2</sup>	4,000,000	1,000,000
Empresa "Maria Teresa"	Bs.	3,843,286	285,050
Berenguela Tin Mines	Bs.	1,063,688	78,791
Compania Estanifera Ocuri	Bs.	1,000,000	74,074
Bolivian Tin Corporation	U.S. \$	250,000	250,000
Davidson & Co.	Bs.	1,200,000	300,000
Compania Minera Monserrat	Bs.	105,000	7,777
Compania General de Minas	Bel. Fr.	1,173,877	1,173,877
Compania Minera de Potosi	Bs.	5,000,000	200,000
Compania Est Cerro Grande	Bs.	2,806,901	207,910
Emp. Min. "La Salvadora" Laramcota	Bs.	150,000	150,000
Emp. Min. "El Centenario"	Bs.	200,000	14,000
The Bolivian Tin Mines Co.	Bs.	298,539	22,114
Caracoles Tin Comp. of Bolivia	\$o	291,588	291,588
Bebin Hermanos	Bs.	16,000,000	4,000,000
Grupo Cooksy	Bs.	585,057	43,337
	Bs.	2,154,494	159,600

Source: Direccion de Minas de Bolivia, La Paz, Bolivia, 1947. Quoted in Universidad de Oruro: "Universidad", No. 2, Oruro, Bolivia, 1953, p. 36

(1) Chilean currency

(2) Bolivian currency

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 15

American shareholders, but controlled by Patino. The second founded and wholly owned by another Bolivian, Carlos Victor Armayo, with control over Bolivian mining operations from Geneva, Switzerland and the third formed as a consortium of various groups all controlled by Maurice Hochschild from Santiago, Chile.

On October 31, 1952 the "Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario" (M.N.R.) now in power, nationalized the three great interests of Simon Patino, Carlos Aramayo and Maurice Hochschild, leaving the rest of the medium and small sized enterprises privately owned. The decree of nationalization, after a pompous preamble of more than fifteen pages, asserts that the big three tin companies paid to the government only a "tiny part" ("infima parte") of the value of tin exports, which would scarcely cover the most essential needs of the country, while the owners were accumulating enormous fortunes for themselves. The fact, as pointed out by the Kennleyside Report is that (before nationalization) the mines paid a large part of the taxes collected by the government. When the Corporation Minera de Bolivia

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(1) ..... "95% of the total collected corresponding more than 80% to tin exports only" Op. cit., p. 151

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 16

(Bolivian Mining Corporation) a Government monopoly, took over the mines, it was no longer a question of how much the Government revenues would come to. The Corporation did not make money, instead tin mines management ran up vast deficits. There were no royalties. The government tried to make up for the deficits by printing paper money which had the effect of producing a fantastic inflation<sup>1</sup> making "richer the rich and still poorer the poor" and as a paradox, the preamble states that the nationalization is a basis to serve as a "corner Stone" for a further agrarian reformation for the betterment and welfare of the landless and poor agrarian peasants which form the great bulk of the population. The main reason for the failure: bad administration and lack of technicians, because most of the foreign technicians left. The number of employees in nationalized tin mines increased from about 26,000 to almost 40,000 mostly due to political favored placements and useless appointments. Wages were skyrocketing along with the inflation. A mining survey mission paid for by the New York engineering firm of Ford, Bacon and Davis<sup>2</sup> reported that "almost every pound of tin taken from Bolivian

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(1) From 60 pesos (Bolivian currency) for an American dollar in the early 1952 to 12,500 pesos in 1960.

(2) Quoted in "Latin American Politics" by W.S. Stokes, New York, 1959, p. 210

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 17

mines since 1952 has been at a loss" and that there was "no technical reason why the mines could not be operated economically." The management would have to be turned over to technically qualified personnel.

"The president of Bolivia, Hernan Siles Zuazo, attributed the failure of the State to operate the mines economically to low prices, not enough capital, worn out machinery, insufficient electrical power, and the retention of many workers on the payroll on the grounds of "elementary social justice." The Soviet Union dumped tin on the world market in 1958 and depressed prices, but the Bolivian government had demonstrated its incapacity to operate the mines economically long before that event."<sup>1</sup>

Since mining activity entered the Andean region and occupied only a minimum part of Bolivian population, it developed a minority living in the mining centers and cities nearby who enjoyed the economic life of the nation and developed only part of the country along the patterns of the actual civilized world. The majority of the country was abandoned and neglected with patterns of life similar to

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(1) Op. cit. p. 212

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 18

those of pre-discovery and colonial period, especially in the low-lands where the advances and ways of living of our actual century arrived only lately. Agriculture was still a major activity, but without planning and guidance it did not show up in the general economic life of the nation, that being one of the main factors for the backwardness of agriculture.

Another contrast appears: in a country especially agrarian the main source of national gross product and income was denied from mining activity, and all the agrarian products had to be imported, or at least almost all, to feed their population, using more than 46% of the total Bolivian national net income during the period of 1945-1949.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, according to all the studies made for national or international commissions such as CEPAL, Keenleyside, Bohan, Ford Bacon, etc., with her peculiar geographic and topographic formation and situation having all the climates and temperatures and richness of soil found no where else very often, Bolivia can produce sufficiently for her local needs and even for exportation. In the Andes and high-plateau with plains and flat surfaces,

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(1) CEPAL Report, op. cit., p. 15

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 19

soil suitable for cereals and minor live stock raising is found. The Valley and Yungas region with temperate zones are ideal for fruit, cereals, vegetable crops, and finally the low-lands with huge extensions of tropical flat lands are appropriated for tropical and semi-tropical crops of any kind, and cattle raising.

It is now easily understandable why - in a country so potentially rich, but filled with contrasts, Bolivia, with a yearly income per habitant as low as \$82.00, in the middle of the Twentieth Century is found amongst the least developed countries of Latin America.

C) Systems of Land Tenure:

In spite of the fact that Bolivian Agriculture is potentially so rich and could supply practically all the products she needs for consumption, and therefore substituting what she now has to import; improving by this way one of the lowest cases of undernourishment which affects the actual population and also raise her international trade standards, there are many factors changing the former picture. We dealt with some of those factors but there is one conditioning the backwardness of agriculture, and therefore the general picture of Bolivian economy, which must be mentioned, that is the systems of land tenure as they existed before the issue of the decree-law of Agrarian Reform on August 2nd, 1953. Its main aims were to abolish the existing systems and to re-distribute the agrarian

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 20

property, thus incorporating the agrarian population into the life of the nation, economically and politically. So far these aims have not been fulfilled, mainly in the economic field because the production was, and still is, far below the pre-agrarian reformation years, as we will see later on.

The agrarian systems of land tenure had a general pattern that identified them. They were tightly closed up to modern agrarian methods and techniques for they were semi-feudal and pre-colonial remains with techniques belonging to past centuries when the agrarian worker had a miserable standard of living conditions.

In Bolivia we find, as in most Latin American countries, a great variety of social and legal forms of land tenure which have developed from the interaction of pre-colonial indigenous cultures, and cultures brought in by the Spanish conquest. The results of the meeting of those two forces were widely different in character, but two main groups can be found: 1- the latifundia type, built up by the Spaniards taking advantages of existing institutions and circumstances, in order to exploit the land and the large number of indigenous labour force which they found mainly in the high-plateau and the valley regions; 2- the survivals of the old pre-colonial institutions which today consist mainly of communal land tenure systems: Indian Comunidades. In the latter group the main feature is the influence of long

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 21

standing bonds of a social character, which still find practical expression in the performance of tasks of benefit to all, mainly in all agricultural work by all the members of the community working together.

The latifundia system of land tenure was gradually built up when institutions such as the "encomienda,"<sup>1</sup> the "repartimiento"<sup>2</sup> and the "merced"<sup>3</sup> were established under political or religious pretext. As a result the indigenous labourers were reduced to serfdom, bound to the land and forced to work for the new owner, receiving in exchange the right to cultivate plots of land for themselves and their families in their spare time, and certain other minor tasks or rights.

These systems of land tenure are so closely related to the agrarian labourers that they determine their social and economic status in a wide variety of functions and labour tasks performed by these type of workers whose problem is one of particular importance in Bolivia. First of all because of their numerical importance, and also because their legal, social and economic position has evolved very

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(1,2,3) Systems existing during the colonial period whereby a number of Indians were assigned to the conquerors for life by royal grant. The conquerors were given rights to the labour, or the products of the labour of the Indians either in the form of tribute or in exchange for protection and religious instruction. They became gradually the basis for private land holdings. I.L.O. The landless farmer, op. cit., p. 113

slowly and is still governed by practices and customs of feudal origin. The various tasks and "obligaciones" performed by Indians within the latifundia or land tenure in large holdings will be explained along with the characteristics of the land itself because, as stated before, the problem of land is the problem of the individual who works and lives on it.

LATIFUNDIO:

Latifundio or latifundismo which main characteristic is, as pointed out already, a semi-feudal system of land tenure and the hugeness of the land involved in a single owner, thus developing monopoly of land tenure, and therefore the lack of competition and initiative, innovations, advances in technology and methods. Where the land owner or their managers learn to command and the workers, in their condition of serfs bound to the land, to obey. "Arrogance and intolerance among those administering the monopoly, submissiveness and fear among the labourers, the relationship of superior to inferior... these things naturally and almost inevitably proceed from monopoly. Great social distance between owners and labourers creates and perpetuates an undemocratic class system." <sup>1</sup>

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(1) W. S. Stokes " Latin American Politics" op. cit. p. 171

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 23

As in almost all the Latin American countries, or perhaps more than any other, Latifundismo is practically the main feature of the Bolivian agrarian and economic activity. The Latifundios or land holdings are called "haciendas" or "fincas". The 1950 census revealed that 4.5% of the rural land owners possessed 70% of all private landed property. Three holdings are reported to have 6,621,138; 1,462,500 and 930,880 hectares respectively <sup>1</sup> and another study <sup>2</sup> showed up that in 1939 eight landholders had an area equal to one tenth of the total national territory. Such study can be better understood in Table VI which shows the great latifundios widespread located in all the agrarian and geographical regions of the Bolivian territory.

The same study points out that in countries where agrarian Legislation exists<sup>3</sup> big property or latifundio is qualified when they have areas beyond 500 or 1,000 hectares, being always these quantities in close relationship with the extension of the given country. However, according to the study, in Bolivia where no serious studies have been carried out and no proper agrarian legislation exists, the latifundio, main feature of Bolivian

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(1) 100,000 square meters  
 (2) U.E.O. "Universidad", Oruro - Bolivia 1952  
 (3) In Bolivia there was not a positive or clear law, at the time being, qualifying and defining what can be understood as latifundio. Only since 1953 are clearly determined the areas and the quantity or hectares of all kinds of agrarian property. (Art. 30 of decree-law of Agrarian Reform)

TABLE VI

BOLIVIA: Major Landowners ("Latifundistas") in 1939

	<u>Hectares</u>
Suarez Hermanos (Beni y Pando)	6,621.138
Testamentaria Pena (Santa Cruz	1,462.500
Barber y Cia (Beni y Cochabamba)	930.880
Staud y Cia (Tarija: Gran Chaco)	404.349
The Bolivian General Enterprises (La Paz)	646.470
Familia Gutiérrez (Santa Cruz-Beni)	197.655
Estefania C v de Atilo (Chuquisaca)	25.000
General Federico Roman (Cochabamba)	25.000

Source: Universidad Tecnica de Oruro, "Universidad",  
op. cit., p. 113. From data published by  
the National Bureau of Statistics  
("Dirección General de Estadísticas") La  
Paz, Bolivia, 1952

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 24

agrarian economy, has in some areas dimensions that "surpass all a human being might imagine." <sup>4</sup> On the other hand the CEPAL Report <sup>5</sup> states that in fact latifundio or large land-tenure holdings exist in all zones of Bolivia which areas range between 500 and 3,000 hectares; and withdraws Table VII where we can see the number of "haciendas" beside those of the Indian "comunidades." However, both land-tenure systems since the "Chaco War" (1932-1935) have shown tendencies towards the excessive parcelation creating a new problem with still more dangerous influences for agrarian activities; the "minifundio", or the exaggeration in the division of the land on the ground of heredity and succession that in many cases a heir receives less than a tenth of hectarea.

Within the latifundio the relations between owner and labourer are varied and so are the kinds of work since the terms used describe both the task and the labourer. Among the various kinds of free labour that workers have been forced and obliged to perform can be pointed out: In the high-plateau and Valley regions most agricultural is

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{4} op. cit. p. 112

{5} Quoted by the same quarterly, p. 112

TABLE VII

BOLIVIA: Number of "Latifundio" and Indian  
"Comunidades" in 1952

Province	"Latifundios"	Indian "Comunidades"	Total of Haciendas and Comunidades
Chuquisaca	3.628	10	3.638
La Paz	1.201	2.054	3.255
Oruro	174	2.480	2.654
Cochabamba	5.364	590	5.954
Potosi	1.744	1.780	3.524
Santa Cruz	3.971		3.971
Tarija	2.890	116	3.006
Beni	241		241
Pando	83		33
Totals	19.296	6.330	26.326

Source: Universidad Tecnica de Oruro "Universidad"  
op. cit. p. 112. From the newspaper "La  
Razon", La Paz, Bolivia, March 17, 1952

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 25

based upon "colonato" system. Under this system Indians living in the "hacienda" perform services in return for the privilege of cultivating a small parcel for themselves. These small parcels are called "sayana", "yapina" or "pegujal" depending upon the region. "Here the labourer undertakes to perform a certain number of days work (usually four to five) on the land which the owner uses for himself; in exchange he is granted to usufruct of an area of land and certain other perquisites."<sup>1</sup>

The character and extent of the rights and obligations of the Indian "colono" are governed by customs which vary from place to place and are somehow different in the different areas, and in many cases depends largely on the owner's personal whims.

The general characteristics of "colonato" and working condition within the latifundio system may be summarized as follows:

The tenant is allotted a plot of land to build his house on, and another plot alongside the fields of the "hacienda" (state) for cultivation purposes. The extent and quality of the tenant's allotment vary from one region to

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(1) I.L.O. "The landless farmer in Latin America" op. cit., p. 5.

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 26

another. Where there is a large supply of labour, it is small and often hardly sufficient to support him and his family. On the other hand, on the big marginal states where the problem is to attract manpower, the tenant may be allowed to work in a bigger plot, but even in this case, because the amount of time he has to spend working in the estate, he limits his earning powers for he lacks time to work for himself. As we said the working conditions vary also from one region to another, where labour is scarce they are more or less favourable, where there is an abundant supply they are characterized by inhuman exploitation and abuse. In many cases the tenant may be required to work on the estate without a break until all the work has been done and when he have only the less favourable period of the season to work his own plot. In addition to tending cattle and grazing crops he is required to render domestic services ("Pongo") in the country or city house of the land-owner. "The land-owner, has no legal obligations or restrictions of any sort in connection with minimum wage rates, payment for specific personal services, compulsory rest, supply of food, compensation for employment injuries, medical care, etc. In fact it may be summed up as a characteristic

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 27

feudal system."<sup>1</sup>

As a general rule the tenant labourer must bring his own tools and animals to perform his obligatory tasks.

2) Another method used within the latifundio is the so-called "compania" or share-farming, widely used in the high-plateau and the valleys of Cochabamba, whereby the owner and the "companero" (workers) each supply half of the seed, then the crop is shared equally. It was a general practice accepted and tolerated by law, few years ago, when an estate was sold, being an integral part of the land, the Indian labourers used to share its fate. They passed like animals, money or tools from owner to owner and in quite a few cases<sup>2</sup> a number of Indians were to be handed over to the seller by the purchaser, as payment for a part of property or tools, cases in which Indians had to change masters and be obligated to work in their new owner's estate.

Here it is interesting to point out the contradiction in the Bolivian legislation. While Article 50 of the Constitution states that "no one will be obliged to work without fair remuneration," Decree No. 318 of May 15, 1945<sup>3</sup> stated despite the constitutional prohibition, that

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(1) I.L.O. "Indigenous People" op. cit., p. 344,  
Quoted from Rafeal Reyeros - "El pongueaje en Bolivia"  
p. 12.

(2) As reported in U.E.O. "Universidad" op. cit.  
p. 115

(3) Luis Flores Moncayo, "Legislacion Boliviana del Indio." La Paz, 1953, p. 245.

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 28

"tenant labourers were under exception regarding fair payments and remunerations in money, according to uses and customs which have been observed since Colonial times." In other words, land-owners were backed by the law to exploit the Indians and had absolute mastership over the harvest, the land and the Indians living on it.

When the United Nations made an inquiry regarding slavery and servitude <sup>1</sup> the Bolivian government in 1950 replied to the questionnaire stating that "the traditional form of "pongueaje" did not exist in Bolivia (sic.), not only because that practice is positively forbidden by law, but also because popular feeling is strongly opposed to it." Actually the decree-law of August 2, 1953 on Agrarian Reform has abolished the main forms of latifundio as well as the colonato system and any other system according to which personal services are performed without payment or in exchange for benefits granted by the landowner, and provided that the former "colonos" will be assigned land, which would become their property backed by the National Agrarian Reform Service.

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(1) I.L.O. "Indegenous peoples" op. cit., p. 377

MINIFUNDIO

It has been demonstrated that latifundismo is a dominant characteristic of land tenure in all the areas and regions of the Bolivian territory. If a few owners (see Table VII) have been able to acquire for themselves what amounts to a monopoly in land, it is understandable that all others will either have no land of their own or very small plots of land. Exceedingly small plots of land are found alongside of the various regions in the Bolivian area. This is called "minifundismo."<sup>1</sup>

Minifundismo and poverty are closely correlated, the level of living of the minifundistas is so low, their poverty so terrifying, their health so bad, their ignorance and superstitions so profound that participation in the economic, social and political life of the nation in a democratic way does not interest them.

"The qualities of freedom, independence and individualism, indispensable for political democracy, are stimulated by private ownership of land in a competitive economic system. They are likely to appear, however, where the

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(1) The tiny, diminutive, "microscopic," holdings or portion of land are called "minifundios" or sometimes "parvifundios."

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 30

holdings are too small that the holders are poverty stricken. There is no point in shocking, perhaps nauseating, the reader with a detailed description of what life means in one or two rooms in which the small land-holders, (minifundistas) their children, hens, dogs and sometimes in-laws and friends live in Latin America. The writer has slept in such huts on a number of occasions. The existence can only be described as sub-human, even sub-animal. Farm animals in Wisconsin for example have lodging, food and sanitary facilities several times better as most minifundistas in Latin America. Poverty can of course be a stimulus to self improvement and progress. Abject poverty without hope has the opposite effect."<sup>1</sup> The former statements being a general view of minifundismo in Latin America are therefore also true by Bolivian standards.

The main cause for minifundismo or the excessive fragmentation of land in Bolivia are law and customs (Civil Law based on French System.) According to the Civil Law the rights of succession and heredity are equally granted to all children, either legitimate or illegitimate.

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(1) W. S. Stokes "Latin American Politics"  
op. cit., p. 178

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 31

Therefore all the goods and properties including the land have to be divided among all of them, producing the fragmentation, sometimes beyond what is normally acceptable.<sup>1</sup>

Although the minifundios are owned privately, they contribute only slightly, if at all, to the development and operation of a capitalistic system of agrarian production, because the great bulk of these land-tenencies are too small to provide more than subsistence. The Keenleyside Report <sup>2</sup> shows up that as an average, the small properties' surface range from ten to five hectares in the best of cases, but goes as small as two or sometimes half an hectare in many cases. Areas that cannot in any case serve as the basis for a healthy agrarian economy.

It is easy to understand that in countries like France, Germany and the United States, the propagation of land tenure among the major part of the population in the field of medium sized property did help to build the democratic and highly industrialized capitalist system, because private ownership stimulates such competitive system against the big monopolies. But in a country where

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(1) We can read in CEPAL'S Report the case of a land holding that had to be divided into so many plots that each one of the heirs did not have more than a tenth of a hectare, in the year 1828. op. cit. p. 21

(2) op. cit., p. 167

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 32

only eight landholders owned an area more than a tenth of the total national territory, where a 4.5% of the rural landowners possessed 70% of all private land property, the small and medium sized property with sub-human and even "sub-animal" levels of living; where having somewhat similar to what a bull has in Wisconsin", his own private room with a flush toilet" is a "height of living beyond the dreams of most minifundistas," could not serve as the cornerstone for a welfare state or even for a democratic way of living with the fundamental or basic commodities for "human standards." The monopoly in land tenure or latifundismo possessed the fertile lands, free labour force and personal services, tools and all the advantages. The medium and small land owner had the worn out and waste land, as happened in the mountainous areas and the high plateau, where the hacienda land owners or hacendados frequently use their fertile level land for cattle grazing and the small land owners are forced to go up sometimes incredible steep slopes, and even to the tops of the mountains.

Minifundio as well as Latifundio are main problems in almost all Latin American countries. Minifundio can be found even in Mexico - very well known all over the world for its program of land reform, and where the official figures for 1940 have shown that there were 928,500 holdings each five hectares or smaller in size, 76.2% of the total number of units of land in the country. It is also found in Central

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 33

America and the Caribbean. In Guatemala, according to the 1950 Census there were 72,755 units each with under 0.7 hectares, 21.3% of the total number of holdings. There were 259,169 units out of a total of 341,191 in the entire country, 75.9% of all holdings, which had 3.5 hectares or less. In Costa Rica 75% of the coffee growers cultivate less than three and one half acres. In Cuba, there are 29,200 holdings with from one to five hectares each, 18.2% of the total number of holdings, and 30,300 units with but five to ten hectare, 19% of the total number of units.

About 87% of the coffee "fincas" <sup>1</sup> in Colombia have only about three hectares of land each. Even in such countries as Brazil, the world's fifth largest country, where "enormous fertile lands are as empty as the Sahara, while millions of Brazilians live in penury, clinging like crabs to the crowded shorelines," <sup>2</sup> minifundismo is an obvious characteristic. The figures for 1940 were 414,500 units, 21.8% of the total number which were under five hectares in size.<sup>3</sup>

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(1) Similar denomination for the Bolivian hacienda.

(2) Quoted in "Time Magazine" Vol LXXV No. 17, p. 25, 1960, from an address of president Kubitschek, p. 48.

(3) Statistic data taken from W. S. Stokes "Latin American Politics" op. cit., p. 178-179.

INDIAN COMUNIDADES

Sociology teaches us that the right to occupy and use land in primitive communities might derive from ancestral inheritance or from conquest and occupation. For the tribe there might be ceremonial land transfers to other tribes, but as long as land was not scarce and farming was not established the purchase and sale of land were foreign concepts. Even at later stages of development, when cultivating occupants had laid claims to certain pieces of land, frequently their rights of disposal were circumscribed according to use and customs. The use of land was a social activity and the community as a whole decided in the last instance, the use of it and the way to use it.

The individual held the land in trust, deriving his title from his ancestors or as a recognized member of the community, and leaving it to his accepted heirs.

In Bolivia, as well as in Peru, the so-called "aboriginal community" ("comunidad de origen" or simply "comunidades") is a survival and transformation of an old Inca structure, the "Ayllus" which consisted in the organization of various families linked by blood or by totemic ties into a social and economic unit based upon co-operative work or service. As time passed the link of joint ownership for use of land was added to the family link, so that the structure also took on an agricultural character. During the colonial period many of the "Ayllus" were given legal

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personality through the system of "reducciones", among other reasons to facilitate the imposition and collection of tribute. The actual Indian Comunidades are the outcome of this policy which in the time of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo<sup>1</sup> with his famous "Ordenanzas de Toledo" led to the granting of the usufruct of their original land to the members of "ayllus" and regulated the common use of their waters as well as the forest. However, the Spanish conquerors with their European ideas of property adopted a system of land tenure, the "encomienda" which suited the people who had come to collect mineral riches, mainly in the silver mines of Potosi, rather than to settle down on the land as working farmers.<sup>2</sup> Under this system of "encomienda" the conquistadores were given rights to the labour or the products of the labour of the Indians, either as tribute or in return for "protection" and religious instruction.

The grant of "repartimientos" (assignments) and "mercedes" (favours) to the "encomenderos" (conquerors) destroyed a large number of "ayllus" and turned their members into vassals. In various areas the Indian

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(1) He was the Viceroy of the great "Verreynato del Peru" and his wisdom and cruelty as well are very well known

(2) This seems to be the main difference between the European settlers in South and North America. The settlers in the latter came with the aim to settle down and build there their homes and enjoy religious freedom whereas the Spanish conquerors went to "hacer la América" (to become rich) and go back to the mother land.

comunidades were the result of the association of several ayllus to defend their collective labour practices from encroachment and from the influence of the system of land tenure instituted by the Colonial authorities with all its characteristics. How harmful was this new system to the indigenous population is shown in the following statements quoted from "Rural Mexico" by Nathan L. Whetten in "Indigenous Peoples".<sup>1</sup> "With the institution of the "encomienda system" the Spanish conquerors were granted jurisdiction over land and people including the right to receive tribute, labour and other personal services from the inhabitants..... If the land was transferred to some other owner the Indian serfs went with it. They tilled the soil and gave a share of the crops to the landlord."

The existence of the remaining comunidades was endangered with the advent of the Republican form of government and the formation of national laws based on the European doctrines of economic liberalism disavowing the principle of corporate ownership of the land. Individualization of land titles proved to be disastrous to

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(1) I.L.O. op. cit. p. 294

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 37

numerous Indian "comunidades." This process of disintegration of Indian communal land holdings reached its climax in 1866 when President Mariano Melgarejo issued a declaration abolishing "the institution of the aboriginal comunidades" and ordered "the land previously so held to be divided among the Indians on an individual basis."<sup>1</sup> Later on the "Ley de exvinculation de tierras" (Law of Exvinculation)<sup>2</sup> was issued by the National Assembly making available all the land of Indian "comunidades" for "transference, sale or other means" to any legal or natural persons able to have property," opportunity used by whites and "mestizos" to increase their holdings.

In the cases where "ayllu" ownership was abolished effectively and individual ownership was forced upon the natives, their individual holdings were soon absorbed into the great privately owned "fincas" and haciendas". Due to the confusion that arose over land titles and Indians unaware of the existence of these requirements, or of its significance did not comply with them, with the result that in many other cases their properties were sold as "no man's

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(1) Flores Moncayo - "Legislacion Bolivana del Indio" op. cit. p. 200

(2) Op. cit. p. 225

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 38

land" to the big latifundios. Much later in 1871<sup>1</sup> during the presidency of General Agustin Morales, the "Ley de Exvinculation" was abolished and the following Governments began to grant legal personality to existing aboriginal "comunidades" and to encourage the establishment and the economic development of new ones.

The great number of "comunidades" that have survived are to be found in the remote and sterile mountain and high-plateau areas where land yields only a bare subsistence, and where there is hardly any land surplus for further appropriation by big land owners. In many districts the neighbouring latifundias have monopolized water and wood supplies and the "comunidad" Indians have to work free for the latifundio land owner to get the supplies they need. The land of the "comunidades" is usually poor and in many districts needs a long period of rest after one season's crops, due in part to the lack of technical advice and to the fact that the Indians are not familiar with modern fertilization methods and the rotation of crops.

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(1) Op. cit. p. 233

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The agrarian production of Indian "comunidades" is generally intended for direct consumption of its members. The stock raising comunidades of the Bolivian high-plateau produce meat, eggs, milk, etc., for the market. Joint work and co-operation in social service, such as building and maintaining roads, rather than common ownerships or use of crop land and implements appear to be the more persistent traditional features in the contemporary "comunidad." The Indian "comunidad" does not necessarily imply collective ownership of the land; its essential trait is simply the existence of social links between the members of the group."

<sup>1</sup> In most cases the arable land has passed entirely into individual Indian hands and communal control is exercised only to prevent its sale to individuals outside the community, but pasture land and the use of irrigation waters still remain communitarian.

Following the method undertaken by Capriles Rico and Arduz Eguia in their book "El problema social de Bolivia" and quoted by the International Labour Office's book "Indigenous Peoples"<sup>2</sup> the following classification of Indian

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(1) I.L.O. "Indigenous People" op. cit. p. 304

(2) Op. cit. p. 305

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 40

"comunidades" is given: Here it is shown that because of "such varied characteristics of internal organization and aims, it is very difficult to classify them systematically."

1. Indian "comunidades" which main features are completely collective with fairly wide areas of pasture land. There are very few of them and if their number would be increased they would become a sure base for a sound agriculture activity.
2. Indian "comunidades" less strictly collective situated on poor land and where each member receives and cultivates a plot given by the comunidad and which through continued occupancy acquires the character of individual property.
3. Indian "comunidades" where the main character is individual ownership since the tenants enjoy the usufruct of their holding for life "with power to bequeath their rights to their heirs" and
4. Indian "comunidades" based upon defined individual property rights but combined with the communal ownership of pasture land and reciprocal labour service. In fact they are co-operatives.

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About 50% of the Indian population in the provinces of la Paz and Oruro live under the comunidad system.

The following table supplied by the Rural Economy Board of Bolivia in 1949, shows up that there were 4,184 registered "comunidades" located as follows:

TABLE VIIIBOLIVIA: Location of Comunidades

Department (Province)	Number
La Paz	723
Oruro	1,195
Cochabamba	479
Potosi	1,724
Tarija	27

Source: Communication from the I.L.O. correspondant in Bolivia, Feb. 1949<sup>1</sup>

It has been stated that in general with a very few exceptions the Indian "comunidades" do not perform a great role in the agrarian production because their output rarely goes beyond the satisfaction and consumption of their members. Indeed, they form a closed economy. The main factor is that they are situated on poor land and are remote

(1) Op. cit. p. 305

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 42

from the principal transport routes, and what is still worse actually they suffer a harmful and disastrous parcelation among their members looking like the "minifundio." The last statistics show that the average area of an Indian "comunidad" family holding in the high-plateau region where the great majority of the Indian population is concentrated, is about one third of a hectare.

The following statements seem to apply to Indian "comunidades" as well as to Indian farmers in general, showing us the great influence they have had in the backwardness of the Bolivian agriculture: "while about 70% of the country's population is dependent on agriculture, less than 2% of the land is under cultivation. Of this area about 49% is in the high-plateau where the bulk of the aboriginal population is concentrated and where the agricultural potential of the soil is very limited. By in large, the concentration of inhabitants is at present on the land least capable of providing them with a good living while great areas of good land are relatively unpopulated.... The land tenure system almost completely blocks the development of a progressive agriculture."<sup>1</sup>

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(1) Keenleyside Report - op. cit. p. 67  
Underlining supplied

## FACTORS CONDITIONING THE BACKWARDNESS OF AGRICULTURE 43

The co-operative character of these Indian "comunidades" has been the object of many studies and with a good technical orientation and guidance to improve methods of cultivation and fertilizers as well as the methodical migration to unpopulated lands more properly suited for agriculture. It might be the corner stone for a further development of the Bolivian agriculture. The agrarian reform had those aims, but the Communist orientation given to the decree-law gave as a result rather chaos and disorganization in all the ways of living of the entire Bolivian population.

What has been analysed so far in this chapter, described the agrarian system and conditions of work of the Bolivian Agrarian population. The main feature is the survival of anachronistic economic and land tenure systems. These prevented the Indian agrarian population from fully developing their production and consumption capacity, and contributed to perpetuate their inferior social status. However, the Bolivian Indian population suffers from other types of economic, social and cultural problems which favour the standard of living conditions above mere subsistence and therefore, the general backwardness of the nation, since the bulk of the population depends almost entirely on agrarian activities. Among those problems are illiteracy, lack of education opportunities, and poor housing conditions; the primitive ways in which they are obliged to earn their living, the almost complete absence of welfare services, the

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condition of undernourishment which is **artificially** surmounted by the excessive alcohol consumption and the chewing of coca leaves therefore yielding another subsequent problem of poor health conditions and economic distress.

## CHAPTER II

## GENERAL LIVING CONDITIONS

The relation between the Indian Aboriginal and the land tenancy acquires in Bolivia characteristics similar to those found in the countries of the Andean Mountains of South America. It was in this region that the Inca Empire flourished before the Spanish conquest.

The present chapter sketches a general outline of those relationships and their economic and social significance in the general trend of life of the aboriginals.

## PERSONAL SERVICES PERFORMED BY INDIANS

Ever since the Spanish conquest, and the establishment of the "encomienda" system of land tenure, the aboriginals become a part of the land, to be transferred each time the land changed ownership. In addition to the land jurisdiction the Spanish conquerors were granted a similar jurisdiction over the people, including the right to receive tributes and personal services from the "Indian serfs." Those personal services, carefully regulated during the colonial period in the "Toledo Ordinances" ("Ordenanzas del Virrey Toledo") have lasted to our present day, but were finally abolished by Art. 144 of the Agrarian Reform Decree in 1953. Most of these services, in spite of the existing legislation prohibiting them, continue to be one of the

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characteristic elements of a semi-feudal land system. Their practice is so deeply related to the Agrarian problem that mention should be made of them. Personal services performed by the aboriginal include a wide range of different jobs related to agriculture or in the direct interests of land-owners, local civil authorities, and the service of clergy in provincial localities. All the services are unpaid and compulsory for the Indian workers, whether independent, share croppers, or living within the "comunidades."

In the Mountain and High Plateau regions, where the rural population is dense, Indians are frequently obliged by the local authorities to work without pay. Some of their tasks are repairing and building roads and churches. They serve as domestic servants and they perform the courier service (carrying mail by foot), covering sometimes more than ninety kilometers a day with post-bags on their shoulders.

The Bolivian writer Rafael Reyeros, a former senior officer for Indian Affairs, wrote in his book "El Pongueaje en Bolivia":<sup>1</sup>

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(1) Quoted in "Indigenous Peoples", op. cit., p. 373.

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"We have witnessed the abuses comitted by political chiefs, commisioners and political and police officials. We have also seen how all these authorities order the village "Alcalde" <sup>1</sup> whenever the fancy takes them, to bring them chickens, eggs or guinea pigs, at prices arbitrarily fixed by themselves - prices representing only half the market value. We have seen how these same authorities use the Indians who arrive in the village for their personal needs, forcing them to sweep the streets and squares, to carry loads... There would be no end to the sorry unbelievable inventory of abuses of which the Indian are victims."

There are many services which Indians are required to render for a week, a month or even a year to the land owners in return for the usufruct of a small plot of land. This is the so called "pongueaje" or "pongo" service whereby the Indian tenant labourers are called upon to co-operate in the running of the state. They act as foremen, or they may be called upon to look after the land owner's house. They graze the estate cattle and seep rooms and court yards. This is all in addition to their own work. Performing their tasks when their turn has come the Indians work every day of the week including Sunday, from six in the morning to six at night.

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(1) Appointed Indian constable to aid in police duties.

Frequently the Indian tenant labourer's wife is required to milk the owner's cows, to weed the land after sowing, to cut wood for fencing, and perform agricultural jobs during the harvest and in many instances serve as a house servant throughout the year without any remuneration whatsoever.

Even the Indian child has to perform his duties and personal services for the landlord such as looking after the animals and grazing the cattle. It has been stated, and confirmed by the Bolivian government in its reply to a United Nations questionnaire that the Indian child is the object of commercial transactions. In this manner well to do families obtain their servants. "In areas far removed from the control of the authorities (in many cases with their consent even with legalized papers) a few native parents, suffering from the extremes of poverty and misery, indulged in the custom of placing their children in the care of third persons..."<sup>(1)</sup>

Because of their ignorance and poverty and the ancestral customary traditions to remain in their native state;

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 383

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the aboriginal are bound to the land "as if by a halter". They are regarded as an intergral part of the property, indispensable for its operation to the point that the value and profitableness of the state are assessed in terms of the number of aboriginal tenant labourers. In many cases when Indian tenants do not perform their duties they are punished or even sent to prison if their masters are friends of the village police chief or political leader.

During president Gualberto Villaroel's administration a Congress on Indian Affairs was held in 1945 (Primer Congreso Indigena Boliviano") and governmental decrees were issued as the result of the recommendations presented. One of particular importance is the decree of May 15, 1945<sup>1</sup> which in the preamble proclaimed the state's duty of safeguarding human dignity and the Indian's right to fair remuneration for work done. However, the body of the decree in more than sixteen articles merely provided that "pongueaje" was thereby abolished. In Art. 6 a limit of four days is fixed as the number of days per week during which the Indian labourer might be required to work for the land-owner;

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(1) José Flores Moncayo, "Legislacion Boliviana del Indio," Ministerio de Asuntos Campensinos, La Paz, Bolivia, 1953

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and as no reference whatever was made to the form of remuneration and the conditions under which such work was to be carried out, it appears that the customary scheme has been implicitly recognized. Going still further, Art. 9 punished any Indian labourer who neglects his duties in the agrarian production with the loss of his plot or deportation. With measures and statements like these it was not possible to bring a fundamental change in the conditions of work of the Indian tenant labourer. Those personal services and the general poor conditions of work were to be effectively stopped only by eliminating the anachronistic and semi-feudal systems of land tenure, which not only kept the Indians in a socially and economically inferior position to the rest of the population, but were the major contributions to the backwardness of the economic and social development of the country as a whole. Only a positive and integral Agrarian Reform, taking into account Indian problems as well as the systems of land tenure, would be the solution.

## HOUSING AND HEALTH CONDITIONS

Indian labourer tenants live in almost sub-human conditions. Their low economic level is strikingly reflected in their housing, diet and general environment. In the high-plateau the houses of the Aymara and Quechua Indians are functional and the standards of health do not reach even modest requirements normally accepted in other countries. The houses consist generally of a single room.

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They are small huts built of "adobe" (brick-like uncooked mud) or stone. In most cases there is a narrow door. The walls are crude without windows or other methods of ventilation. Dirt floors are the rule, and of course there are none of the modern conveniences. There is no sanitation of any kind. Sheepskins scattered on the floor serve as beds. The floor is usually covered with rubbish. In this littered room live the Indian, his wife and children, not to mention the domestic animals that are also kept in the house. Even the Indians working in the Bolivian tin mines do not enjoy better conditions of living. The "Keenleyside Report",<sup>1</sup> states that more than 85% of the workers lived in rooms without windows, or any other requirements of ventilation and that frequently even the kitchen had no chimney to remove the smoke from cooking. In general the single room scarcely fulfils the elementary requirements of living space, lacking sanitary conditions, electric light, ventilation, drinking water and other essentials. It was also witnessed, states the Report, that in the Telamayu mining camp it "was not unusual to find two or more families

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(1) "Keenleyside Report" op. cit., p. 467

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living in a single room or that the night shift workers had to sleep in the rooms just vacated by workers on the day shift."

These features regarding housing conditions are general in all the mining districts of the high-plateau. The shortage of water, the lack of drainage and disposal services plus the lack of personal knowledge of domestic hygiene among the mine workers yields the poorest possible health conditions.

The Andean high plateau with its hard climate, aggravated by deficiencies in nutrition, housing and clothing of the indigenous population, the absence of health services in many cases complicated by the survival of the superstitious beliefs and practices, have produced among them various diseases which have a strong effect upon their powers of resistance. To all the extremely degrading conditions in this general depressing health picture has to be added the widespread habit of alcoholism and coca leaf chewing.

Statistical data is not available to indicate the incidence and geographical distribution of the principal diseases affecting the Indian population. This is because there are no doctors or other reliable persons to issue death certificates, but there is no doubt that in both the high plateau and the tropical areas the health conditions of the aboriginals are deplorable. The committee on

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Co-~~o~~peration in Latin America<sup>1</sup> states that "the Indian race is a disease ridden one and to an alarming extent is susceptible to respiratory and alimentary ailments..... Infant mortality ranges from 250 to 750 per thousand and the average life expectancy is from thirty to forty-five years."

The former statements show clearly the deplorable situation of the aboriginals, not to mention the Indian miners working in the tin and copper mines who become by the thousands incapacitated for further remunerative work in agriculture because of the incidence of tuberculosis induced by silicosis.

In the tropical and low-lands where the aboriginal tribes and early settlers have maintained their traditional way of living, it is estimated that about 99% of the population suffers from intestinal parasitic diseases, especially hookworm, typhoid, etc. due to lack of latrines, pure drinking water, the consumption of vegetable and garden products manured with animal excrement, etc. Malaria has not been eradicated entirely although international help was provided through the Rockefeller Foundation.

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(1) Quoted in "The Landless Farmer in Latin America" op. cit, p. 103 (Underlining supplied)

Malaria is difficult to combat because of the Indian's absence of protective devices against mosquitoes in their huts, which are very often built up alongside ditches or streams. It seems that the Indians more than any other race are specially liable to malaria infection, because of their lack of knowledge of hygienic conditions.

Skin diseases are also prevalent among the Indians. They are inevitable under such poor living conditions. None of these diseases are treated since there is an absolute lack of medical and professional services. Doctors, nurses, and other medical workers concentrate their services and activities in the main cities or provincial capitals leaving the rural areas and communal land without medical care.

The clothing of the Indians is also an important contributing factor to their backward way of life. Indians make their own clothing from raw materials provided by their sheep. The quality of the wool is inferior and affords little protection against the hard inclement weather of the high plateau and the Andean highlands. Men and women generally do not wear underclothes. Men's clothing consists of a shirt, trousers, a hat and a "poncho."<sup>1</sup>

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(1) A kind of cloak or blanket with a hole in the middle for the head.

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Women's clothing is still simpler: it comprises a shirt, a chemise and a hat or a neckerchief for headwear. The use of shoes is almost unknown among Indians. If they do not go barefoot, they wear some kind of primitive sandals ("alpargatas"). As a rule Indian clothing varies from one region to another and is one of the marks of position in society. The clothing in general is insufficient to meet the needs of physical protection; "such inadequate garb has to be compensated by a miracle of physical adaptation to environment".<sup>1</sup> It is also insufficient regarding the most elementary rules of hygiene. The Bolivian writer Weston de la Barre states: "In the Lake Titicaca region of Bolivia men...never remove their clothing until it falls to pieces.... Quite literally Aymara clothes are not taken off until they fall off.... Both sexes sleep in all their clothes, which are never washed or changed save for a 'fiesta' or a journey, and often enough not even then."<sup>2</sup>

Bolivian geography shows a contrast of highlands and deep valleys. This contrast seems to be reflected when it comes to see some figures in Bolivian statistics. "The

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples," op. cit., p. 143

(2) Quoted in "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 145

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Geographical Synthesis of the World", as she is often called to attract tourist, can be proud for such a display in Geography, but certainly is depressing when it comes to statistic figures. Bolivia has the highest infant mortality rate and the lowest index of food consumption. The diet of the Indian population is far beyond the standards commonly considered necessary for good health. Both agrarian and mine Indians suffer "from a process of increasing biological impoverishment, giving birth to an organically weak new generation with a decreasing capacity for work."<sup>1</sup> Essential commodities like milk, fresh fruit and vegetables, are practically unknown to the highland population where a high proportion of the Indians live.

In general the diet of the agrarian population consists almost entirely of a vegetable diet: potatoes, corn, barley, "quinua"<sup>2</sup> and "chuno"<sup>3</sup>. Meat is eaten in very small amounts and then only on solemn and special occasions such as a "fiesta" or the sudden death of an animal. Dried meat ("charque") is also eaten but only by well-to-do Indians. The writer witnessed in one occasion while in a small

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(1) op. cit. p. 92

(2) Typical plant only known in the Bolivian highlands.

(3) Dehydrated potatoes by means of freezing them.

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Indian village, that a "llama" bone was passed from family to family in the village to give "nourishment" to the "soup" and finally handed back to the owner after being boiled for a while each time; this had been going on, so he was told, for months.

The diet is deficient in fats and animal proteins and extremely low in all vitamins, mainly B and C, and as stated in the Keenleyside Report, calorically insufficient. From figures presented to the Mission by the Ministry of Labour and Welfare (1949) who had made a survey of five hundred families, it was noted that the average caloric content of the daily diet of an indigenous labourer was only 1,612 calories, being very low in relation to the standard recommended, i.e. 3,000 daily calories. The Indian's diet deficiency yields as a result a high percentage of unfitness for productive work, a lack of resistance to infections, a very small index of population increase in spite of the high birth rate (out of 2,000 birth in a year only 300 survived.) and reproductive disturbances with the result that children are born with a number of hereditary defects.

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(1) Op. cit. p. 268

(2) "Keenleyside Report" op. cit. p. 269

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The conditions of the Indian mine workers are no better. As reported in "Indigenous Peoples" in the majority of cases a miner's family falls short of the minimum required to maintain life, let alone work."<sup>1</sup> The quality and quantity of nutritive elements among the Indian miners are very much the same as those of the agrarian workers. There is only one item to be added, fresh meat, furnished by the mine's general store ("Pulperia") Consumption of fresh fruit, legumes and milk is almost non-existent. These deficiencies are especially serious in the case of children and they easily explain the extremely high infant mortality rate. Table LX shows the consumption of meat by the working class in several countries. Even though Bolivia indicates a fair quantity of consumption, by comparison with other European countries, the figure refers only to mine workers with complete exclusion of all agrarian workers, who as it is stated are in the majority within the Bolivian population.

The Keenleyside Report has summed up in a few words the general picture of the Indian aboriginals way of living: "The indigenous population in Bolivia remains practically

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(1) Op. cit. p. 92

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untouched by such organized activities as exist in the fields of education, sanitation, public health, labour legislation and social welfare in general."<sup>1</sup>

TABLE IX

Meat and Fish consumption per worker, among the labour classes in some countries.<sup>2</sup>

Country	Year	Kilograms
Germany	1937	41,9
Belgium	1928/1929	58,8
Bolivia	1949	67,0
Bulgary	1927/1928	57,5
Canada	1937/1938	61,8
Columbia	1936	44,5
Chile	1935	55,2
Denmark	1939/1940	62,9
United States	1934/1936	74,5
Hungary	1929	28,4
Mexico	1934	50,8
Netherlands	1935/1936	38,8
Poland	1929	51,1
Puerto Rico	1938	60,8
United Kingdom	1937/1938	48,1
Sweden	1933	67,4
Switzerland	1936/1937	34,8
Venezuela	1939	68,2

Source: International Labour Organization, "Year Book of Labour Statistics" 1947/1948.  
Quoted in "Keenleyside Report" op.cit. p.270

(2) Per unity of consumption

(1) Op. cit. p. 271

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## ALCOHOLISM AND COCA LEAF CHEWING

Indians in their misery have, as one of the most cherished aspirations, to be some day "fiesta pasante" (fiesta leader). The desire to increase personal prestige by being so, leads them to have a fiesta on any occasion whether religious festivals - which are the most numerous - family gatherings, harvest festivals, house building, marriages, new born children, christenings and even burials. All these events have no meaning or purpose for the Indian unless accompanied by a fiesta, and no fiesta is complete without the consumption of great quantities of pure alcohol, "aguardiente"<sup>1</sup>, "chicha"<sup>2</sup> or the like, and the plentiful chewing of coca leaf.

Since the Bolivian Indians have kept their ancestral traditions, the fondness for celebrating all sorts of festivities goes back to the religious celebrations of Inca times, when a tribute and homage had to be rendered to the earth ("pachamama"<sup>3</sup>), the provider of wealth.

The consumption of alcohol and coca-leaf chewing are so widespread that the problems are closely bound with

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(1) A kind of cheap brandy.

(2) Beer-like liquid obtained mainly home made from corn fermentation.

(3) Quechua term meaning "mother-earth"

with the social and economic distress of the indigenous population, and constitute a very serious obstacle to the task of improving their conditions of living and labour. Social workers have stated that Indians indulge themselves in alcohol consumption and coca leaf chewing in order to overcome the misery of their lives; alcohol to forget the burden of social misery, and coca chewing to dull their hunger and fatigue.

Whatever may be the causes, it can be affirmed that generally they take alcohol in large doses whenever they can. To cheer themselves up or to stimulate their working capacity, they almost always accept or ask for a drink. They will always find an occasion, whatever it may be, to have a day's rest or an afternoon off to indulge themselves in drinking.

Indians fulfil the minimum requirements of food that keep them from actually starving because of their absence on ideals to further and better themselves. The tiny part left of their income is spent on alcoholic drinks, or as it happens mostly by running into debt. The bulk of a whole year's savings may be spent at a single fiesta leaving the peasants in permanent poverty and debt. Women and children share in the fiesta and all of the activities are suspended sometimes for weeks. Only the liquor stores profit in the end, for when the Indians run out of the money they have to spend, the liquor vendor offers them

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more alcohol drinks or "chicha" in exchange for their animals and produce, and in many cases even the small plots of land they own. Or still worse, they are extended credit and therefore bound to live in eternal dependence, debt and poverty. Among the Indian miners, the money obtained from retirement payments and even from accident compensations, and more often debt and savings, are foolishly spent during a fiesta on alcoholic drinks, firework displays, disguises for acrobatics and folk dances, music, food and the like. Weston La Barre says the following about a typical Bolivian Indian fiesta: "I can only confirm, that I have never anywhere seen American Indians more thoroughly intoxicated than at the usual Aymara fiesta...."<sup>1</sup>

According to the Keenleyside Report<sup>2</sup> it is not exaggerated to state that the average "fiesta pasante" spends in ten years on festivities and gatherings enough money to buy a fair quantity of arable land plus the adequate farming implements to guarantee for him and his family better conditions of living. Such is the importance given to these fiestas that it is not unusual for an Indian labourer to

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples", op. cit., p. 154

(2) Op. cit., p. 275

sell his entire crop or all his cattle in order to obtain money to give a fiesta to his relatives. In this way sooner or later he runs into endless dependency and debt. The landowner in need of workers is always at hand with his "generosity" and willingness to help the "fiesta pasante", lending him the money. This is carried on very often without mercy or social conscience with the aim of weakening him economically and insuring his "collaboration" for working on the estate; collaboration otherwise difficult to obtain under normal conditions.

According to investigations carried out by L. Leonard under the Economical and Social Council of the United Nations in 1948<sup>1</sup> it was established that the average family expenditure for food per year was in the neighborhood of \$75.30, while alcoholic beverage (mainly chicha) accounted for \$20.83 (a share of 30% of the total expenditure on food.)

Besides the social and economic effects of alcoholic consumption among Indians, medical authorities who have studied the problem from the standpoint of social welfare, stated that owing to their over indulgence in intoxicating

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(1) Keenleyside Report, op. cit., p. 275

liquor, The Indians are in imminent danger of biological impoverishment and degeneration, of developing criminal tendencies and the collapse of their already precarious economy."<sup>1</sup>

Undernourishment and illiteracy go hand in hand with the widespread habit of coca leaf chewing by Bolivian Indians. This habit is not only a Bolivian problem, it involves also aboriginal inhabitants of other Latin American countries such as Peru, Colombia and Venezuela. The habit is known under the name of COCAISM and is a main factor conditioning their social and economic backwardness in relation to the remainder of the population.

Because it is harmful to consume cocaine, opium and other drugs without medical prescription international action against their consumption was undertaken at the establishment of the League of Nations, and most lately by the Commission of Narcotic Drugs of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. In September 1949 this Commission began an inquiry on the Coca leaf at the request of the government of Peru. The aim was to investigate the biological, social

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples", op. cit. p. 154

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and economical implications of cocaism among the aboriginal Indians of Latin America. The Commission carried out a special survey in Peru and Bolivia between September and December 1949, and the Report<sup>1</sup> deals with the medical, social and economic considerations on the effect of chewing the coca-leaf, plus the recommendations laid down by the Commission towards the adoption of appropriate measures to control the marketing of the coca plant, and the possibility of inaugurating educational and informative policies to limit its consumption.

Since coca-leaf contains cocaine, a harmful narcotic the coca-leaf chewing among the Bolivian Indians might be regarded as drug addiction, but facts and research carried out by private, public and international institutions have shown a different picture. Coca-leaf chewing is not a drug addiction among Indians; it is a habit stimulated by under-nourishment and illiteracy.

The origins of coca-leaf chewing are to be found far before the Inca era. A legend from those times tells that man received the coca leaf as a divine gift to banish

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(1) United Nations, "Report of the Commission of Enquiry on the Coca Leaf", Economical and Social Council, Official Records, New York, 1950. Quoted in "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 77

hunger and fatigue. Science and research have found that there is a scientific truth behind the contents of the legend. The great majority of coca chewers are found in the high plateau and the Andean regions where living and working conditions are at their worst. The conditions of life here facilitate the habit of coca-leaf chewing. It has been widely stated that Indians begin to use coca because of the need to suppress the "pangs of hunger". The use of coca by means of cocaine action over the physical and psychological elements of the individual concerned, causes a complete loss of appetite after many years' use, and some Indians prefer coca chewing to food, spending a large part of their income on it. In this way a vicious circle is set up. Coca is originally taken to dull hunger, thirst, fatigue and cold, but in the<sup>end</sup> Indians lose their appetite. "They (Indians) start chewing coca because they do not have enough to eat; later they do not have enough to eat because of the addiction to coca."<sup>1</sup>

= However, coca-leaf chewing among Indians cannot be regarded as drug addiction. Medical and sociological

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(1) "The Landless Farmer in Latin America," op. cit. p. 106.

research have found that coca-leaf chewing is a habit closely related to the extremely low standard of living among the Indians. Doctors have stated that "the abuse of the coca is an obvious result of deficiencies in the diet which is unable to supply the energy necessary for heavy work." The Indian seeks and finds in coca an artificial strength which he is unable to get from his food... The toxic action of cocaine<sup>1</sup> makes him partly forget his hard life."

There is undoubtedly a close link between cocaism and undernourishment. In areas where the incidence of cocaism is high, as occurs in the Andean regions where the average daily food ration per person is very low in calories (less than 2,000), the annual consumption of coca per person varies between three and four kilograms, whereas in areas where coca-leaf is not chewed or coca consumption is low, as happens in the tropical flat lands, the average food ration per person is around 1,100 grammes, a relatively high figure if compared with only 767 grammes in the high plateau. It is clear that where the food is good and sufficient, coca leaf chewing is most likely bound to stop. The Bolivian

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(1) Quoted in "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit. p. 169 from U. N. "Report of the Commission of Enquiry on the Coca Leaf."

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coca growers joined together in a Society, ironically maintained that bearing in mind the "beneficial" service rendered to the Indians, coca-leaf is not only harmless "but is definitely a food."<sup>1</sup>

The United Nations' Special Commission has stated, that ninety-nine percent of coca-leaf chewers are Indians, the majority of them living in the high plateau.<sup>2</sup> In many cases almost the entire population chew the leaf, and in no few cases even children are initiated by parents in the habit because of the hard agricultural work they have to perform at an early age, and the subsequent need to control hunger caused by deficiencies in the diet. Among the underground mine workers about 90% of both Indian and Mestizo are coca-leaf chewers.<sup>3</sup>

The coca plant grows in the deep valleys near the tropical low lands. The average annual area under cultivation amounts to 6,000 hectares, of which about 5,500 are in the departament of La Paz and the remainder in the depart-ment of Cochabamba.<sup>4</sup> The annual production in 1946 was 7,125,900 kilograms, but reliable statistics are not

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(1) Op. cit., p. 163

(2) Op. cit., p. 161

(3) The writer knows that in Bolivian mines there is not the usual break off for lunch hour. Instead exists a period named "ackulli". Quechua word meaning "time to chew the coca leaf."

(4) Data collected from "Indigenous Peoples," op. cit., p. 163

available since producers try to avoid taxes and custom controls. A great deal of the annual crop is not controlled and even unknown for it is smuggled into the International drug traffic, and in many cases by the control authorities themselves.

In a country with little more than three million inhabitants the output in 1935 was in the neighborhood of 4,800,000 kilograms of coca. Of this 400,000 kilograms were exported (officially), the rest was consumed at home.<sup>1</sup>

The effects of coca leaf chewing among the Indian population are varied. Economic and social effects as well as cultural are closely related to coca consumption. Illiteracy seems to appear high when coca consumption is also high. In effect, in areas where coca-leaf chewing is widespread sixty to ninety percent of the chewers are illiterate and even their children display remarkably low intelligence. Both in agrarian and mine work it has been noted that Indians who do not chew coca are in the minority, but this minority is mentally more alert and intelligent. Indian chewers working in the mines, although hard workers, pay less

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(1) Data collected from "Indigenous Peoples."  
op. cit., p. 163

attention to their work. They work almost mechanically and it is among them that the majority of accidents occur. In accordance with the conclusions laid down by the United Nations' Special Commission it appears that coca-leaf chewing must be considered not "as an isolated phenomenon but as a consequence of the social and economic conditions under which the Indian population of Peru and Bolivia are living."<sup>1</sup> The existence of such conditions adds considerably to the agriculture backwardness of Bolivia, since the great majority of Indians are agricultural workers. The habit of coca-leaf chewing is harmful to the physical and moral health of the people. This is because cocaine inhibits the sensation of hunger, thus maintaining a constant state of malnutrition; it dulls the will of the individual and thus his whole life. Finally it greatly reduces economic productivity and contributes largely to a very low and depressing standard of life.

The astonishing lack of interest shown by the Bolivian government does little to solve this great problem. When the United Nations Commission of Enquiry on

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(1) Quoted in "Keenleyside Report", op. cit. p. 275

The Coca Leaf recommended policies towards the possible limiting of production of coca leaf, the Bolivian government made a reservation "stipulating that she does not undertake to restrict the home cultivation or production of coca or to prohibit the use of coca leaves by the native population." However the Bolivian government informed the United Nations in 1952 that Bolivia will undertake official research and experiments in certain regions of the high-plateau and the low-lands to determine whether the coca leaf habit is harmful or not. As happens with almost all the Bolivian official commissions, this one too, did not go farther than the mere appointment of the members. Up to date no work has been done.

#### ILLITERACY AND EDUCATION

In general in all Latin American countries with very few exceptions (Uruguay, Argentine, Chile), illiteracy and education are among the big problems conditioning the general backwardness of the rural population. In most of these countries, because of lack of specialized technicians and trained personnel, no reliable statistics are available, and where there is no such data, the percentage in many

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples", op. cit., p. 175

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cases is considerably higher than those shown as national averages in all the countries concerned. Table X shows the number of illiterate people in each country and their percentage in relation to the general population. Also shown is the age group at which children attend school, but it must be noted that the attendance is not regular because of poverty, transportation difficulties, lack of educational opportunities and most commonly because Indian children must contribute to the support of the family from an early age. Their parents need them for work. "It has been calculated that more than ten million children, both indigenous and non-indigenous are performing work which should be done by adults."<sup>1</sup>

Table XI indicates the extent to which children are registered for classes in Latin American countries in primary instruction and basic education, during the years in which reasonable statistics were available. It shows also the children's age attendance in relation to the initial number of children registered. The latter figures are higher in countries where educational facilities and other

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 184

TABLE X

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## LATIN AMERICA: ILLITERACY

Country	Year of Census	Age Group	Number of illiterates	% of population
Bolivia <sup>1</sup>	1943			80.0
Brazil	1940	10 yrs & over	16,452,832	56.7
Chile <sup>1</sup>	1940			27.2
Colombia <sup>2</sup>	1938	10 yrs & over	2,699,374	44.2
Ecuador <sup>1</sup>	1950			60.0
El Salvador	1930	8 yrs & over	204,523	72.8
Guatemala	1940 (1950) <sup>1</sup>	7 yrs & over	1,677,297	65.4
Honduras	1945	7 " "	622,049	66.3
Mexico	1940	10 " "	7,198,756	51.6
Panama <sup>3</sup>	1940	10 " "	144,122	35.3
Peru <sup>4</sup>	1940	10 " "	2,448,060	56.6
Venezuela <sup>3</sup>	1941	10 " "	1,555,551	56.8

Source: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, Education Clearing House: Literacy Statistics from Available Census Figures (Paris 1950). Occasional papers in education, UNESCO/ED/Occ/6, 26 Sept, 1950.

(1) Data taken from United Nations, Department of Social Affairs: Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation, op. cit. pp. 14-95. In the case of Ecuador the 1950 estimates are based on the assumption that 21 per cent of the population was literate and 19 percent semi-literate.

(2) Excluding 4,775 (sic) illiterate aborigines.

(3) Excluding tribal, forest-dwelling Indians.

(4) Population actually enumerated, not including an estimate of 465,144 for under-enumeration and 350,000 for jungle population.

From: "Indigenous Peoples", op. cit., p. 181

TABLE XI

Description of registered children for classes in Latin America and the percentage of their school attendance in Primary and Fundamental Education

<u>Country</u>	<u>For Year</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>% Attending School</u>
Argentina	1946	6-13	83.8%
Panama	1948-49	7-14	61.7
Chile	1947	7-15	57.0
Uruguay	1945	5-14	50.0
Cuba	1945	6-14	48.8
Venezuela	1949-50	6-14	48.4
Dominicán Rep	1947	7-14	47.3
Peru	1947	6-14	46.0
Mexico	1944	6-14	39.1
Guatemala	1946-47	6-14	38.7
El Salvador	1946	7-14	34.8
Columbia	1946	7-14	33.0
Brazil	1948	7-14	31.5
Ecuador	1947-48	6-14	29.3
Bolivia	1946	7-14	26.9
Honduras	1946-47	7-15	21.5

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Source: Stokes, William F., "Latin American Politics", op. cit., p. 48

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opportunities are provided, and are extremely lower in countries where the majority or a great percentage of the population is aboriginal. Adding to the educational problem is the multiplicity of aboriginal languages spoken among the Indians. This factor called "unilingualism", prevents the use of ordinary methods of education and complicates the organization of special Indian education. In countries with a dense aboriginal population like Bolivia, in which the Indigenous languages and dialects are of considerable importance, "the indigenous culture based on one or more languages, but rarely expressed in the official national language, cannot be assimilated into the national culture until the aborigens begin to surmount the linguistic obstacle that separate them from the remainder of the population."<sup>1</sup> The unilingualist, as stated above produces social prejudice and discrimination. For example, if an Indian wants to rise in influence in the community he must give up his native language or dialect.

In spite of the variety of difficulties, many measures have been undertaken in the majority of the countries to overcome the illiteracy of the Indians and incorporate

(1) "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 179

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them as positive citizens in the social life of each country concerned. Table XII shows the percentage shared by education expenditures in the national budgets, during the years in which statistical data were available.

At the present time, in all Latin American Countries there is a marked emphasis towards public education, mostly sponsored by inter-governmental agreements or under the sponsorship of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Public schools have increased both in urban and rural areas. Table XIII indicates this increase in relation to private schools.

Generally there are not enough schools in Latin America; there are not enough teachers; there are not enough educational facilities. There is no economic support to guarantee popular education to the Indian population.

Even though the Bolivian Constitution proclaims that "education is the highest task of the State" and other laws make primary education compulsory and free for all children in scholar attendance age, Bolivia is among those countries with the highest indexes of illiteracy. Indeed, at least 75% of the total Bolivian population is illiterate, and the figure is still higher if the Indian population is regarded as a whole. It has been estimated that more than eighty-six percent of Indians are illiterate and those considered as literate can hardly be considered as having elementary education beyond the second or third grade.

TABLE XI

Description of the Education Expenditures in the National Budgets of Latin American Countries, in the early post- World War Period.

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage of total budget devoted to education</u>
Cuba	1950	23.5%
Panama	1949	22.7
Costa Rica	1948	20.1
Uruguay	49-50	18.2
Bolivia	1947	17.9
Ecuador	1949	17.6
Peru	1949	15.9
Haiti	48-49	14.4
El Salvador	1949	14.3
Guatemala	49-50	14.3
Chile	1949	12.7
Brazil	1949	11.3
Honduras	49-50	10.7
Mexico	1948	10.7
Columbia	1949	8.6
Venezuela	49-50	7.6
Nicaragua	44-45	6.5
Dominican Rep.	1949	5.5

Source: Stokes, William F. "Latin American Politics"  
op. cit., p. 51

TABLE XLII

Relation between public and private schools in  
Latin America

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Public School</u>	<u>Private School</u>
Argentina	1946	13,071	1,163
Bolivia	1946	1,867	251
Brazil	1945	33,423	5,900
Columbia	1946	11,113	1,211
Cuba	1945-46	6,253	635
Chile	1957	3,831	1,431
Ecuador	1947-48	2,903	341
Guatemala	1946-47	2,082	1,160
Honduras	1946-47	1,268	33
Mexico	1944	19,661	1,122
Nicaragua	1947	1,064	146
Panama	1947-48	829	72
Paraguay	1947	1,270	54
Peru	1947	8,869	752
Dominican Rep.	1946-47	2,067	114
Uruguay	1945-46	1,625	180
Venezuela	1948	5,083	214

Source: Stokes, William F. "Latin American  
Politics", op. cit. p. 51-52

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In short, education is totally out of the reach of the great majority of the aboriginals.

Among the Latin American countries with a majority Indian population, Bolivia has the highest illiteracy level among the aboriginals with 86%. Guatemala is next with 80% then comes Ecuador with 70%, Peru with 63% and Mexico with 57%. In these five countries is to be found about 80% of the indigenous and mixed population of the whole American continent.<sup>1</sup>

The Bolivian government has been slow to improve the educational and welfare situation of the Indians. But the problem of dealing with two distinct groups of indigenous peoples, Quechua and Aymara - each one with their own culture and language - has not made the matter an easy one. With proper equipment and skilled personnel much could be done to improve the situation.

Lately under the sponsorship of the International Labour Organization the "Titicaca Project" was begun. Its aims are to give the Indian population of the Lake Titicaca region in the south of Peru and the west of Bolivia a

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(1) Op. cit.

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fundamental education. To accomplish this research and training centers will be built.

It is widely known how unstable governments are in all Latin American countries. It is because of this political instability and the constant changes in the Bolivian Government that education and social policies of betterment cannot be carried out on a consistent basis. The Bolivian Indian Legislation with thousands of proposed remedies and policies to benefit the aboriginals is worth nothing. A careful study of Jose Florés Moncayo's "Legislacion Boliviana del Indio"<sup>1</sup> will give the impression that the Bolivian Indians under the protection of such "progressive and advanced" laws are the "happiest men on earth". The truth of the matter as described above is strikingly opposite. There is not even the slightest relation between the benefits accorded by the laws and the social or cultural institutions which the laws are supposed to deal with. Thus, we learn that Article 167 of the Bolivian Constitution states that the government "shall promote the education of the country folk by means of native school centers, which shall investigate the economic, social and pedagogical outlook."<sup>2</sup>

(1) Op. cit.

(2) "Legislacion Boliviana del Indio", op. cit.  
p. 366

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In accordance with this constitutional text the General Board of Education was created in 1936, Its aim was to integrate the Indian into the national life by means of education and to encourage their betterment. The decree-law puts under the direction of the Board "all the schools to be founded by all the landowners, agrarian enterprises and Indian comunidades", since all of them are thereby obligated to establish "at their expense a school whenever there will be more than thirty children in school attendance age."<sup>1</sup> All these schools were to have educational facilities for both adults and children, as well as technical orientation centers. The infractors whoever they might be, landowners or Indian comunidade leaders, were to be sent to prison or pay a great amount of money as a fine. A change in the government shortly after brought an end to these high hopes. What happened in this case is typical. There are a great deal of such "basic reforms" which never went beyond the Ministries or the Presidential Cabinet where the laws were signed. As a result, rural education is very little developed and the few existing schools are served by ill paid teachers who

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(1) "Legislacion Boliviana del Indio", op. cit.  
p. 366

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have little or no training. School buildings are improvised and usually comprise of a big single hut with only one teacher in charge for all the grades. Pupils have no chairs or desks, Books or other school supplies are almost completely lacking.

University students in Bolivia are well organized for political activity. Marxist influence among teachers and students is dominant. Teachers and students are leaders and chiefs of political parties, labour leaders or national heads of federations. Students' organizations have become active and powerful and their participation in politics is often remarkable. Students and teachers are leaders and intellectual directors of "revolutions", a great number of which have been planned and organized within the halls of the universities. Professors and students are often the agents of political parties, and violence in student political activities is common. Sometimes brought into play are pistols, rifles, homemade bombs, machine guns and even light artillery. Students develop a real interest in politics and they are frequently involved in general strikes and other violent activities. Indeed, it is not at all unusual to find, after a successful overturn a government by revolution, that some of the cabinet members are university students. In short it seems that strong and direct participation by students in politics in Bolivia as well as in other Latin American countries, falls within

the context of the general "latin culture."

Later, since the Agrarian Reform was undertaken, Indian adult education programs and developing and illiteracy eradication campaigns are under way in many isolated regions. These campaigns are sponsored usually by catholic and protestant religious groups. Most governmental activity to surmount Indian illiteracy is in the "paper" or "proyectismo" (project) stage. Nevertheless, education is receiving more and more attention by the responsible authorities in Bolivia. Also international agencies are assisting in many ways.

In this study it has been shown that the following factors contribute to the low standards of living of the Indian population: (a) semi-feudal forms of agrarian structure of land tenure; (b) the distribution of land ownership in large states difficult to be cultivated intensively, and land holdings too small to be efficient units of production; (c) the systems under which land is operated and the relationships between the landowner and the Indian share-cropper who cultivates the land; (d) the Indians personal services in favor of land tenants and their serf-like situation; (e) the backward techniques and the almost absence of adequate equipment; (f) the excessive densities of rural population in poor soils and unfavourable climates of the high-plateau and the abandon of the most valuable and agricultural rich low-lands; (g) the depressing sub-human conditions of living and working of Indian aboriginals and their moral

and physical miseries.

When the Keenleyside Mission issued its Report, it expressed the view that the agrarian conditions "reduced agricultural productivity and were a major cause of low standards of living of the Bolivian Indian population, thus conditioning the backwardness in agriculture and the general development of the country as a whole." It suggested that "immediate steps should be taken to study the extent to which agrarian conditions hamper Bolivian economic development and adopt certain recommendations for action by the government".<sup>1</sup> As a result, agrarian land reform became a daily issue in Bolivian internal political politics, but no deep sociological studies were undertaken as were recommended in order to deal properly with the whole problem, and after one hundred and twenty days of activity, a "revolutionary" Committee in agrarian reform recommended to the government the issue of the decree of land reform in 1953.

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(1) Keenleyside Report, op. cit. p. 25

### CHAPTER III

#### AGRARIAN REFORM

The Indian problem was and still is the main feature in Bolivia's life as a nation. Its solution is undoubtedly closely related to the land where the Indian lives and to the products which he enjoys. The systems of appropriation and ownership of the land with the forms of agrarian structure, have conditioned (through the entire Bolivian existence) the standards of living of the entire population for land is the principal base of production that gives the people life as well as employment. It follows that the system of land tenure, the land distribution and the ways and techniques of land exploitation having such strong influence on the social, political and economic organization of the country are responsible for the backwardness of the inhabitants. The solution for the Bolivian Indian and land problem, because of its complexity and relation with the national life, had to be an integral one in order to give to the population better and improved conditions of life.

Before the issue of the Bolivian agrarian reform decree, many policies of improvement were undertaken by the government, all of them with that special and peculiar Bolivian characteristic; the mere issue of a decree or a law containing the project and the policies to be carried out, but no further positive action. That is what is called

"paper written reforms". They lasted while the government which issued the decree or law was in power, and in general they were issued to give a solution to a political problem that became greater as time went on. Most of these "paper projects" were aimed not for Indian betterment but mainly to gain followers or electors in favor of the governing political party.

Politics in Bolivia, as in any other part of the world, is struggle for power, and political power means "control over the behavior of others." Governments are only instruments in these relationships of power. Political parties belonging to different social classes pursue by means of politics through government action their group interest. Traditionally political parties defended landowners' interests and were in many ways "social minded" or with "paternalist ideals", or more recently, political parties with "revolutionary" aims to change the "capitalist system of exploitation" even by means of violence. All the Bolivian Agrarian Legislation has one of those two characteristics according to the time in which it was issued, and in strict relation to the political ideals of the governments and of the social classes which were represented.

The early Indian legislation, influenced by liberal ideals represented by traditional governing elites, had recognized that government shall grant more economic and social benefits to the "lower classes." With these views

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was developed a vast program of improvement, that never reached further than the "on paper" stage due to financial difficulties, or more often to change in the governing party. On the other hand, political parties with strong socialist or Communist influence, claiming to be acting "in the name of the people", supported economic and social programs by means of direct state and governmental intervention, to provide benefits for the masses and achieve a welfare state. These were also "paper projects."

The constant changes in policies, aims and governments have made difficult the realization and administration of the Indian Laws, as well as the administration of the entire nation. This "administrative disorganization" is not only a Bolivian issue; it exists in almost all the Latin American countries, where can be found with no exaggeration, the most progressive laws in the world, and the most lax implementation of them; democratic constitutions and dictatorships complacently and sometimes comfortably side by side.

## INDIAN LEGISLATION PRIOR TO THE AGRARIAN REFORM

The early Indian Legislation, prior to 1953 was characterized mainly for giving solutions individually and separately to only some aspects of the problem; namely education, and social and political rights, although with no positive achievements.

Indians were regarded as not fully capable to enjoy civil rights and they therefore were "officially and

legally" under the protection and tutelage of the state, according to the Bolivian Civil Code (Arts. 121 and 130). These "protectionists" policies had as general aims social and moral and economic betterment of the aboriginals.

(a) IN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD

Bolivian government had been mostly handled by the elite or "white class" minority enjoying full economic, social and political rights. Education and culture have been regarded always as the main assets that have given them the right to enjoy high positions in social life, government and politics. Indeed, they seek education in the national universities or abroad, to qualify for a government post or a white collar position. They belong to the rich aristocracy formed by landowners, mine proprietors, business men and the like. The rest of the population are the "poor people", namely peasants, mine workers, small business men, labourers and in general the so called "gente cualquiera" (common people.) A middle class as it appears in Canada or in the United States is almost non-existent, therefore there is evidence that a pronounced class system exists in Bolivia, as well as in all Latin America. Either people belong to the rich upper class or they are a part of the great majority of poor lower class.

The rich aristocracy, from their post in the governments tend to think of the poor people as members of a class that is by nature poor, thus deserving protection,

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mercy, charity and justice. This is the mentality which developed the "protectionist policies" in the Indian Legislation.

Since education is without doubt one of the most important criteria of class and status in Bolivia beside wealth and economic position, government policies regarding Indian education are the basis of the solution of the Indian problem. They started as early as 1904, the year in which illiteracy was intended to be reduced by the creation of Rural and Mobile Schools ("Escuelas Mviles Rurales") under the direction of the General Board of Education. These schools were set up in areas in which traditional Indian "commnidades" existed, with the general aim to incorporate the Indian into the national culture and social life, thus improving the economy and progress of the whole nation. All were closed a few years later because of the lack of trained personnel, Indian absenteeism (because of ignorance of the system's advantages), and for economic reasons.

A Belgian Mission has studied in Bolivia the educational systems and situation. One of its conclusions was to recommend the creation of Normal Schools in order to provide professional teachers for both urban and rural population; thus the first school for the training of Indian teachers was set up in La Paz, but it too was closed after a short time

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(1) "Legislacion Boliviana del Indio", op. cit. p. 310

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of operation without any positive results: In 1919 a decree law was issued and Indian Schools ("Escuelas Rurales") were created in rural areas to provide fundamental education to the agrarian population. Under the direction of the Fundamental Indian Education Board ("Direccion General de Educacion Indigena y Campesina") there was organized throughout the rural areas a system of fundamental education, whose main feature was the foundation of a series of rural school groups with a central rural school in a main rural area. This central school had specific technical and administrative characteristics beyond those of the schools of the group. These were the study and application of special educational policies in accordance with the characteristics and cultural traits of the indigenous population of each area, to promote the development of better agrarian techniques or the improvement of the existing ones. Such organization of these rural schools never took place due mainly to lack of interest of the government in the administration of its policies. However, later on a few schools were founded and they kept on going despite the lack of trained teachers.

Not until 1944 was positive action taken. In this year the Organization of the American States through its Institute of Inter-American Affairs, reached an agreement with the Bolivian government, which led to the establishment of the "Bolivian-American Co-operative Education Service"

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in actual operation up to date. The old systems were abolished and Functional Dual Education was created: (1) to teach the Indian population to read and write as a first step in progressing from the indigenous to the national language. (2) to provide a step-by-step training in handicraft methods, first on a voluntary and later on a compulsory basis. As a result of the signed agreement the Warizata School ("Escuela Normal Rural de Warizata") was established in the Andean high-plateau. The Warizata School is organized to serve mainly as a school for training teachers; as an extension center for agricultural instruction, improving methods and providing the necessary equipment. It is also a school where vocational training programs are studied and designed to meet the needs of rural life, encouraging the diversification of occupations and handicrafts, so the Indians in addition to their usual agricultural activities, will be able to produce the other goods their families require, thus increasing their income and their well being. Lately, upon the basis of the Warizata School a system of Rural School Groups has been organized whereby Warizata supplies centralized direction and trained teachers to a number of village schools where the importance of agricultural instruction, hygiene, stock-breeding and handicrafts are more and more emphasized. Nowadays this is the only positive rural education system in operation in Bolivia and it will be further developed with the application of the "Titicaca Project" which aims to provide fundamental

education to the Indian population of Peru and Bolivia under international technical aid.

A very interesting new policy was undertaken lately by the government in order to organize a nation-wide campaign against illiteracy, not only of aboriginals but of urban and mine populations as well. In 1951, the government issued a Supreme Decree whereby every Bolivian "between twelve and fifty years of age" who could read or write was required to take part in the campaign as a "self imposed duty" and to teach at least one illiterate person to read and write in Spanish, and to provide Fundamental Education. Fundamental Education must be understood as "the process of transmission of the minimum knowledge, preparation and attitudes that man needs to live, to enjoy positive health, and the fulfilments of the rights proper to a free citizen"<sup>1</sup> The general aims of this unique campaign as stated in Art. 5 include the teaching of basic school subjects such as elementary arithmetic, elementary techniques in agriculture, stock raising, handicrafts and other techniques towards a positive social and economic progress. Principles and practices of hygiene, as well as child care and general rules of moral and good behavior are also to be emphasized.

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(1) "Legislacion Boliviana del Indio" op. cit.  
p. 439

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To carry on the campaign a committee of Co-ordination was created with responsibilities to the General Board of Education, under whose direction and responsibility developed this effort to bring about a marked reduction in the number of illiterates. Rural and urban teachers, civil servants, high school and university students were specially bound to undertake the task and called upon to participate in it actively. In the first years the achievements were encouraging. Later on the enthusiasm diminished due to lack of positive action by the government. However, there were positive results achieved by teachers and university students in bringing the benefits of fundamental education to aid in further social and cultural development of the whole nation. Policies and attitudes such as the one reviewed are to be encouraged, because they will certainly achieve positive results if undertaken with governmental responsibility and technical guidance.

(b) IN THE SOCIAL FIELD

Before the passage of the Agrarian Reform Bill, Indians in Bolivia had a social status of their own. By virtue of the Bolivian Civil Code they were placed under direct tutelage of the State being regarded as "legally incapable"<sup>1</sup>

(1) "Interdicto" is the Spanish word, meaning incompetence or inability to enjoy and practice civil or political rights.

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Thus all legal acts between Indians and non-Indians were null and void unless Indians were represented by an attorney or another judicial authority. Nevertheless as Bolivian citizens they were supposed to be under the general prescriptions of Art. 5 of the constitution which states that "servitude of any kind is prohibited", that no one may be required to give his services without "fair payment and his full consent", and that "personal services may be required only as provided by law". Even though the above statements are constitutional, and therefore to be enforced absolutely they are in direct apposition to the national reality. It has been shown in an early chapter that there is a variety of personal services performed by aboriginals, in spite of all the legislation protecting "the Indian human capital on which is based all the economic activity of the nation whether in agriculture or the mining industry."

"Pongueaje" was the main personal service which tied up Indians so closely to the land that they were regarded as forming part of it. Human condition was almost disregarded in the "pongo", and their tasks were, as it has been shown, not far from those performed by slaves. Since "pongueaje" is the main feature of all the Latin American countries situated along the Andean Mountains, attention was paid by the United Nations which through its "Ad-hoc Committee on Slavery" undertook a survey and submitted a document to the

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Economic and Social Council describing "various forms of labour of semi-feudal origin, that are still performed in certain countries of Latin America", and in which the committee members concluded that "some of these forms could be compared to slavery". They recommended that "action could be taken to eliminate these forms of servitude resembling slavery in their effects."<sup>1</sup>

Under international criticism, but with political aims rather than social ones, a Bolivian Indian Congress was held in La Paz in 1945 during the administration of Colonel Gualberto Villaroel, who at that time wanted to gain the political support of the Indian population to compensate the opposition to his government by the army and the "upper class". A farmer's son himself he represented in Bolivia the new policies and movements taking place in all Latin America during the Second World War, which were strongly influenced by socialist and communist leaders. His main aim was to organize a controlled labour union organization among the Indians to support his government. A university professor was the main figure behind the Congress, and the author of a number of decrees issued by the government as the result of the congress recommendations. Later, in 1953, the same professor, this time himself president of Bolivia, undertook

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 581

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the agrarian reform on the basis so carefully set down. This man is actually again the president of Bolivia: Victor Paz Estenssoro, who also nationalized the nation's main tin mines and led Bolivia to the chaotic situation in which it is found today.

Among the main policies laid down by the Congress and backed by governmental decrees are: regulation of the performance of personal services by Indians, the abolition of the "pongueaje" system, and the establishment of rural schools for the benefit of Indian populations.

Since the Bolivian General Labour Act ("Ley General del Trabajo") does not apply to agricultural workers, being special legislation applied as a rule mainly to the urban and mine workers, Art. 1 states that a Rural Labour Code had to be promulgated to regulate their relationships. The Congress recommended to the government, the issue of a law regulating agrarian labour relations until such time as a code will be enacted. Thus a Supreme Decree on May 15, 1945 stated that peasants must be remunerated for any work, either related to agriculture or otherwise, giving them the right to refuse if a landowner intends to exact the performance of those personal services "without a just remuneration". Landowners or their representatives, who employ violence, assault or degrade Indians, are punishable by from one to four days' imprisonment according to the gravity of

the offense. The decree also safeguards against those who, using for their own purposes the social aims of the decree, may cause political or other troubles hampering agrarian production, as well as against any Indian who neglects his specific agrarian work.

On the same date another decree abolished "pongueaje" stating that according to the Constitution "slavery is non-existent in Bolivia", and since the government has the duty to defend human dignity, Indians as members of the national community have the right to enjoy civil and economic liberties, being guaranteed by the government the exercise of their rights. Therefore, an institution such as the "pongueaje", which degrades human condition, is thereby "formally abolished", prohibiting all authorities whether administrative, judicial or ecclesiastical from requiring Indians to perform services without payment.<sup>1</sup>

Low agrarian productivity and abuses and violence by Indians against landowners, were the results of these decrees. They gave the Indians liberties and freedom for which they were not prepared. Indian political leaders were born and agrarian labour organization took shape with political aims in fascist and communist patterns, rather than social ones. "Capitalism and agrarian reform are opposite

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(1) "Legislacion Bolivian del Indio" op. cit.  
p. 424

ideologies" was the motto of the "Revolucion Nacional" led by the political party then in the government: the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario. Violence and land expropriation were openly advocated, as well as change in the Bolivian legal and social order, with a "new national ideology" (a name hiding Communist aims) because the actual "old system" had no capacity to solve the agrarian problem.

The fate of Colonel Villarroel as a pioneer of Agrarian Reform was poignant. He ended his office hanged from a lamp post in the main square in La Paz, in front of the place where his policies of reform were born. The hangmen were mine workers, urban labourers and peasants, who led a "popular revolution" against his government. While in office he was called the "leader of the working classes" and was regarded as the emancipator ("libertador") of the Indian population. It was an astonishing fate for a popular leader.

#### PRECEDING CAUSES FOR THE AGRARIAN REFORM

The Indian problem has always been the main problem in Bolivia. Political parties and national leaders advocated its solution and governments attempted to solve it through decrees and legislation with no positive action. Despite this apparent interest, Indians were still living in the same conditions as they were after the Spanish conquest, with little or no change at all.

A great number of legal dispositions, beginning as early as 1880, tried to give Indians freedoms and liberate

them from compulsory personal services, but all those early solutions have a common characteristic; they did not deal with the whole problem, as it was attempted and undertaken in 1953, but only with some aspects of the agrarian issue. The basis and the origin of the problem was not even touched. Namely the defective agrarian structure which was the cause of the low productivity in agriculture and the low standards of living of the Indian populations, as well as the Bolivian position among the underdeveloped countries.

The Economic and Social Council and the United Nations General Assembly expressed the view that the problem of the underdeveloped countries is "the problem of the poverty of their farm populations"<sup>1</sup>; that agrarian structure and conditions which persisted in many underdeveloped countries, constituted a "barrier to the economic development because such conditions reduced agricultural productivity and were a major cause of low standards of living for the population of those countries"<sup>2</sup>. Resolution 401 (V) was issued, in which the United Nations General Assembly states its conviction that "immediate steps should be taken to study the extent to which agrarian conditions hamper the economic development of underdeveloped countries"<sup>3</sup> and adopted certain recommendations for action by

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(1) United Nations "Progress in Land Reform", Dept. of Economic Affairs, New York, 1954, p. 313

(2) Op. cit., p. viii

(3) Op. cit., p. vii

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the governments. Thus the "Questionnaire and Supplementary Request"<sup>1</sup> was transmitted to governments, recommending them to institute appropriate land reforms in the interest of the landless farmers and those with small and medium sized holdings, as well as further measures to improve peasant living conditions "appropriate to circumstances of their countries."

Bolivia, amongst other Indian countries, was requested to respond to the Questionnaire, which was profitably exploited and used in their own interest by all the "new and leftist political parties". Those political parties advocated an integral agrarian reform through full State intervention in this problem. One of these parties was the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (M.N.R.) which acquired power by force (revolution) and was ousted, also by force, in 1946. It came back into power in 1952 as a result of another bloody revolution, this time with the support of miners and peasants who were attracted to the program of nationalization of the mining industry, agrarian reform and policies of welfare which the M.N.R. promised to realize.

Since most of the founders of the M.N.R. were socialist and Marxist, the movement attracted Trotskyites and other leftists who were ardent collectivists. President Paz Estenssoro created a "Commission to Study the Agrarian

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(1) See Appendix V for a complete text of this important document.

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Reform in Bolivia" on January 20, 1953. The decree creating the Committee points out that, since this government is "the only peoples' representative in the whole Bolivian history", its main concern is to "liquidate" the capitalist system of land tenure and distribution, which hinders the progress of agriculture and maintains within the Indian population conditions and standards of life "disgraceful for the human condition". When he revealed the names of the members of the Committee it was clear that communist influence was prevalent. Heading the sub-commissions to lay the ground work and to prepare the text of the agrarian reform law were appointed well known Marxist-Leninists, members of the Bolivian Communist Party. Among them Arturo Urquidi, former Rector of the University of Cochabamba and founder of the Communist Party in Bolivia; Sergio Almaraz, Secretary General of that party, Edwin Moller, a violent Trotskyite who urged expropriation without compensation; and Nuflo Chavez Ortiz, a radical Marxist who advocated "revolutionary" (violent action) against the conservative minded landowners, immediate state intervention in land and agriculture and was the Minister of Rural Affairs in Estenssoro's cabinet. Hernan Siles Zuazo, later on himself president of Bolivia, presided over the committee. The evidence indicates, therefore, that the main ideological influence was Marxist-Trotskyite.

The Commission was to prepare a report, as well as plans and a project of decree with regard to the following

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aspects:

- (a) Agrarian Structure of land tenure;
- (b) governmental action for expropriation and distribution of land, as well as policies whereby economic and political conditions of Indian may be improved.
- (c) policies toward the abolition of "latifundio" and other semi-feudal systems of land tenure;
- (d) study of the actual conditions of work and suggestion for their improvement.
- (e) Solutions for housing and health problems;
- (f) agricultural credit and technical assistance, and
- (g) protection and conservation of natural resources.

Whether all the former points were duly considered by the Commission or not, it was never known, because one of the more powerful political forces in the M.N.R. regime, the "Central Obrera Boliviana" (COB)<sup>1</sup> (whose leader, Juan Lechin is well known as an agent of the International Communist Party) was the only institution which examined the plans and projects laid down by the Commission, and finally came out with a synthesis of its own on July 22, 1953 to be considered by the government. The government was obliged to accept it and rushed the dictation of the decree under the pressure of the COB because disorganization and violent acts had been spread by the newly formed Agrarian Labour Unions under the

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(1) "Bolivian Federation of Labour Unions"

control of the powerful COB. As a result the Bolivian government enacted the Decree-law No. 03464 on Agrarian Reform on August 2, 1953.

#### AGRARIAN REFORM DECREE BILL

Bolivia is a country where more than 80% of the territory is potentially agrarian, but where only 2% of this total is cultivated; where therefore land is plentiful.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the Agrarian Reform Bill provided for "expropriation and further distribution" of the land.

Serious studies by qualified technicians and international commissions have concluded that Bolivia could produce enough food for a population many times as large as it now has. Bolivia has literally millions of acres of neglected and undeveloped land which studies have proved to be suitable for agriculture, stock raising, as well as extractive industries. Instead of providing policies and solutions for the use and distribution of these lands, the Agrarian Reform concentrated on the expropriation of lands which were already in use.

Despite the aims embodied in the Decree-law, such as just distribution of land property, improvement of rural living standards, the raising of agricultural production and Indians' contribution to the national prosperity, none

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(1) The land distribution was analysed in Chapter 1

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of them was accomplished. With expropriation and distribution of land already in use, the agrarian reform led to the fragmentation of the existing holdings with obvious 'evil effects: decrease in agrarian production, waste of time and effort in their improvement and the impossibility of rational cultivation.

An analysis of the general aims and provisions of the Decree-law has to be done bearing in mind that it is applied mainly to the overcrowded Andean high-plateau and the Valley regions, where the great majority of the agrarian population lives. The more suitable land for agrarian production in the tropical zone went almost untouched, despite provisions found in the decree concerning it, which have never been applied. However, it can be said that the decree-law brought a radical change in the agrarian system of Bolivia.

In its preamble the decree gives a general picture of the Bolivian process. Factors which have conditioned the actual system are enumerated since the Spanish conquest and its result in the concentration of landed property.<sup>1</sup> It examines the foundation of the national economy on the mining industry and its influence on the backwardness of the

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(1) The complete text of the Decree-law can be found in Ramon Salinas Mariaca's "Procedimientos Bolivianos" Gisbert y Cia., La Paz, Bolivia, pp. 515 to 570. English translation is not available.

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agrarian development and production. It points out that in the light of the data obtained for the 1950 census - which showed that only 4.5% of the rural proprietors in the country owned more than 70% of private land property - the M.N.R. as the genuine representative of the peoples' majority intends to "raise the present level of national production, to transform the feudal system of land tenancy and agriculture by a just redistribution of land among those working upon it, and to integrate the indigenous populations into the national community." It emphasizes that as it has been proved by numerous national and foreign investigators, 80% of the adult population of Bolivia is illiterate, thus conditioning the backwardness and ignorance of the Indian population, which became "wronged both spiritually and economically." It states also, that the State by virtue of natural law, has the ownership of all the land of the nation. This statement gave the Communist minded M.N.R. government an obvious political weapon of control of the agrarian population and a totalitarian power over agriculture. It gave to the State power in both theory and practice, to decide to whom should be given leases of land.

(a) GENERAL AIMS

In accordance with the general aims and recommendations of the United Nations Assembly to raise the present level of national production and with the policies, political rather than social, of the M.N.R. government to restore

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human dignity and status to the Indigenous populations, the object and fundamental aims of the agrarian reform are:

"to provide arable land to landless peasants or those with insufficient land, on condition that they cultivate it; and to expropriate for the purpose the large proprietors (latifundia landowners) who own excessive areas of land or derive income from the land without themselves working it." <sup>1</sup>

Cultivable land in Bolivia is abundant in relation to the population.<sup>2</sup> Cultivated land ownership, on the other hand, has been concentrated in large estates, reducing the rural population to the status of labourers with very low living standards, or small cultivators with insecure conditions of tenancy or an economically unsound one. Land redistribution and expropriation meant only fragmentation of land into numerous different plots. The impossibility of rational cultivation is obvious. The splitting up of a "hacienda" (farm) with numerous Indian labourers working upon it gave as a result a large number of plots too small to provide a minimum subsistence for the cultivator and his family, and too small also to permit any improvement in methods of cultivation. Nonetheless, the consolidation and distribution of titles became in most of the cases the most difficult task to carry out. Lack of surveyors and of trained personnel and

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(1) Op. cit. p. 519

(2)

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the ignorance and the conservatism of the peasants with other related factors led to almost complete failure in the application of the decree-law.

As soon as the decree law was signed many Indians instigated by Communist agitators and leaders seized the land by force, often killing the landowners and performing other violent acts. They took and used whatever they found. Landowners' rights were not regarded because they were "capitalists and enemies of the agrarian reform." Even the cattle were slaughtered. The facts show that Indians ate up thousands of head of cattle in their "fiestas", some of their meals being prize breeding stock.

The decree also aims to restore to the Indian "comunidades" the land of which they have been despoiled, and to assist them in modernizing their agricultural techniques while respecting the best possible use of their collectivist traditions. This aim, although up to date only theoretical seems to be one of the fundamental assets towards an actual agrarian policy to benefit the Indians of the high-plateau.

Co-operatives and small farms can be easily organized for production, distribution and consumption in these Indian "comunidades". Farm credit systems for the purchase of farm implements, the improvement of seed and fertilizers, as well as the development of small scale industries and handicrafts among the Indians can be instituted. The organization of co-operatives on the basis of the Indian "comunidades"

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are the private owners of the land they hold jointly. Their property is inalienable and entails "all the rights and obligations characteristic of private and co-operative properties.

Since Agriculture in Indian "comunidades" supplies the needs of a local urban population only to a limited extent, being mainly occupied with subsistence crop production, co-operative organization is not likely to achieve the success of comparable co-operative organizations in Europe and North America. Good education and the high social level of European and North American farmers are important factors in the success of the co-operative movement in those regions. It does not mean that co-operatives in underdeveloped countries like Bolivia cannot be successfully organized. The success of such an organization will depend on the expansion of the market and the increase in agricultural production, as well as on guidance by trained technical personnel.

The abolition of personal services performed by the Indians is also found among the main aims of the reform. Agrarian law liberates rural workers from their condition of servitude by "prohibiting unpaid personal services and similar obligations." It also aims to encourage productivity in agriculture; to protect the natural resources of the country; and to "promote currents of internal migration from the hitherto overcrowded rural areas in the Andean regions to the eastern flat lands, in order to obtain a

more rational distribution of the population."

The last statement seems to be the cornerstone in an effective Bolivian agrarian policy. However, this aspect was considered least in the reform, or better, it was never considered at all. No planning was provided then, or developed later on by the government or by any other specialized agency to carry out the re-settlement of the aboriginals from the overpopulated high plateau to the almost unpopulated lowland of the tropical area. It has been shown throughout this study to a very large extent, the problem of Bolivian backwardness is the problem of the poverty of her rural population. Agrarian structure and land tenure systems were the major causes of such a situation and the related low agrarian production. Agrarian structure was the cause of the inequality in the distribution of land ownership, with the prevalence of farms too large to be efficiently cultivated and plots of land too small to be adequate units of production. It seems clear that in general the land resources available to the Indian population were quite insufficient to provide a standard of living equal to other groups within the same country. Thus, a redistribution of land, in order to change the existing agrarian system, was the pre-requisite to any substantial economic resurgence of aboriginal population and of the country as a whole. It must be recognized, however, that in certain overcrowded districts, as it happens to be in the Andean regions and Valleys, such a

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redistribution does not seem to be the proper way to solve the problem. A solution to the problem will have to be sought through the resettlement of excess aboriginal population in zones where population is strikingly low. Such a resolution needs careful planning and it cannot be done without outside technical and financial assistance. The country has no such trained personnel, especially in administrative matters. There are also a great number of obstacles which hinder the development and effective application of any program of this kind.

Among the main obstacles to bringing about the resettlement of aboriginals are the unhealthfulness of the lowlands and the almost complete absence of means of transportation to and in the lowlands, to facilitate the movement of groups and to support local markets after settlement. Trained personnel and technical equipment to improve soil and vegetation, on the other hand, are an integral part of any sound program of the resettlement so badly needed in the country.

To the former technical problems can be added the difficulty in gaining the necessary support and enthusiasm of the aboriginals themselves who, in most cases, have deep cultural and religious attachments to the land and to their traditional customs. This cultural hindrance can be surmounted only through educational programs carried out on the basis of working social units rather than on that of

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individual pioneering. Once again, this will be possible only with the assistance of trained personnel provided through international institutions.

## (b) MAIN PROVISIONS

In its first provisions the Agrarian Law gives to the State full powers to enact and give positive effect to the constitutional principle of Art. 17, which refers to the "social function" to be fulfilled by property in order to be recognized and guaranteed by the State. Art. 107 of the same fundamental body of laws empowers the State to "impose such conditions on property ownership as the public interest may dictate." Thus a totalitarian power is given to the state in agriculture and in the administration of the Agrarian Law.

Throughout the decree is found a collectivist or rather strong socialist thought. Expropriation of land without compensation or nominal payment at less than market value are at the heart of the scheme.

By virtue of the Law, all land and waters lying within Bolivian boundaries belong to the nation "by original and natural right." The Bolivian State, however, recognizes and guarantees private landed property. Property to be guaranteed must perform a "social function" which the state is qualified to discover and enforce. The only recognized forms of private landed property are: the peasant holding,<sup>1</sup>

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(1) "solar indigena" are the Spanish words meaning the place in which Indian lives and works being insufficient for the fulfilment of family needs.

the small property, the medium property, the Indian "comunidad", the co-operative agrarian property (non-existent at that time or later on), and agricultural undertakings.

Latifundia is not recognized and it is expressly abolished in Art. 30 as an "obsolete agrarian system of feudal oppression." Nevertheless the following Article states that large agrarian properties "worked by means of machinery and modern technical methods, worked by the owner in person does not come under the heading of latifundia." The kind of property described above was almost non-existent. The few ones of such properties, mainly situated in the Cochabamba valley, were seized and destroyed by instigated Indians despite their legal recognition. It is estimated that millions of dollars were lost in agrarian machinery and cattle as a consequence of such acts of violence uncontrolled by the government. There are also provisions prohibiting the existence of large agrarian corporations or other large concentrations of land by private or public entities, which might prevent its fair distribution among the rural population.

The outstanding feature of the agrarian reform, namely to find what size constitutes a minimum economic holding which will provide to the farmer and his family a minimum subsistence either by growing food or indirectly by providing an income from commercial crops, was solved by the agrarian law disregarding the relation of the rural population to the cultivable land available. This question

is dealt with by taking into account only the "maximum size of agricultural property" according to its geographical situation.

The decree fixes the maximum size of agrarian property which varies depending on whether it is in the high-plateau, the mountains ("puna"), the valleys or the tropical region. In determining these maximum sizes only the cultivable area was taken in account. Also considered was the type of agrarian activity. In the low tropical lands where stock raising is the prevalent activity, the medium size and maximum size property ranges from 500 to 50,000 hectares, whereas the maximum land property in the high-plateau ranges from ten to thirty-five hectares.<sup>1</sup> The natural pasture lands of stock-raising haciendas in the high-plateau and valley regions are to be distributed among the workers and the proprietors" in proportion to the number of heads of cattle each of them owns." This latter disposition destroyed, for practical purposes, those natural pasture lands and led to endless disputes.

In the majority of cases the owners of land have no legal titles to the land they occupy, because no system of registration of titles existed in Bolivia. This was, and still is one of the most serious hindrances that make

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(1) One hectare is about 2.5 acres.

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difficult the administration of the land reform. The lack of title means lack of secure tenure and leads to continual disputes as to ownership. A complex and difficult to control situation arose in the country after the Agrarian Bill was issued because no provisions were made regarding the value of title to land ownership. The decree states that the worker has the ownership of the land upon which he actually works. No Indian had a legal title to prove his rights. This led to disputes and in many cases to acts of violence. The few surveyors or authorities who intended to put order in such a chaotic situation were very often murdered or cruelly beaten.

The legal provisions concerning size of property have never had the chance to be applied. Indians seized the land by violence according to their own will with disregard of the landowners' rights. As a consequence, agricultural production declined greatly in 1953 and 1954, and since has not reached the production levels of the pre-reform periods. Landowners fled to the cities and anarchy was the main feature in the agrarian field. Indians were not fully prepared to undertake their responsibilities as producers by themselves. Instead of increasing production the people who took or received land from the hacienda grew food only for themselves, and the haciendas, disorganized and divided as they were now, were no longer able to supply the cities with food. The urban population began to suffer and the government had to ask for economic assistance from the

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United States. Food and consumer goods were provided, but due to the irresponsibility and immorality in the administration of the Communist minded government, about one third of the food supplied by the United States was smuggled out of the country. Most of the rest went into the black market, and very little reached the consumers who needed it most. Food supplied by CARITAS and other institutions followed the same pattern.

Thus, the Bolivian agrarian reform was another means by which M.N.R. party members and government civil servants became rich with black market policies. New rich were born and the agrarian populations were disorganized and poorer than ever. The Communist "revolutionary policies" to destroy the "capitalistic system" have succeeded in so far as they could profit easily from the disorganization created. It was clear that the agrarian reform was not intended to give Indians a better way of living by improving their standards, as it was recommended by the United Nations, but only a political issue of that particular moment; to gain political support for an unpopular government, a deception of the agrarian classes and a contradictory reply to international expectations.

The decree provides that Indian "comunidades" are the private "owners of the land they hold jointly". Their property is inalienable and entails all the rights and obligations characteristic of private and co-operative

landed properties. It also provides that the members of the "comunidades" must "re-group the holdings with the technical aid of the State with a view to the rational working of the land upon co-operative policies." Such a technical aid could not be provided by the State due partly to economic and technical factors, but mostly to lack of interest and positive action. An international agreement between the Bolivian government and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations was signed later on, whereby measures for the training of rural leaders and encouragement of agricultural co-operatives among the Indians comunidades, was set down.

Co-operative organization with the participation of experts and technicians supplied by international organizations, plus the necessary funds for its execution, seems to be the cornerstone upon which the agrarian problem can be solved in the high-plateau and Andean regions. Methodical and planned settlement of excess rural population in the fertile tropical region, may be the necessary step towards the progress and development of the Bolivian nation as a whole.

The decree lays down the right of all Bolivians over eighteen years of age, without distinction of sex, to be granted land where it is available, on condition that they cultivate it within a period of two years. Peasants over eighteen years of age however, have priority for land grants.

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If the agrarian reform failed in the economic field and did not raise and improve agrarian production, nor bring a new era of prosperity to the nation as a whole, its achievements in the social and political fields were somewhat more encouraging. The decree abolished all forms of personal services performed without pay or compensation. It thus brought the peasant workers into the national, judicial and social systems, and established the wage labour system as the "standard form of remuneration in all individual or collective contracts." All the workers are thereby liberated of all debts proceeding from personal services.

The above dispositions are among the few ones which were positively applied by the reform. Since there were no more landowners ruling the "haciendas", because they fled to the cities seeking their security, the Indians so liberated became effectively "first class" citizens, but they were more helpless than ever. They had not had before the opportunity to develop their individual responsibility and to direct participation in the production. Indians have always respected and even loved or admired the landowners. In many cases, if not always, they sought the patron's advise and direction in all important problems of their lives. They had developed a relation similar to that of children and father and now suddenly they were alone and more lost than ever.

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This situation was profitably used by the Communist agitators and leaders. They told the Indians that they were not alone, that government was their only help and that it had the obligation to do them good. Therefore, Indians had to support the government and their policies because they were aimed to the benefit of the Indians, and they certainly supported the M.N.R. government for they did not know better.

The planners have failed on economic grounds, but they have created a totalitarian system of planned agriculture whereby the rural population had to look up to the government to solve their problems. More important than economic failure was the failure to create and defend values that free Indians from restrictions in the development of their own responsibilities. This last failure, in the light of sociological thought, was at the same time the triumph of the Communist planners, whose aims were framed within the main goals and practices of the Communist ideals; to destroy human dignity for the benefit of the state.

Land expropriation without payment is at the core of the agrarian reform. Nevertheless, according with Art. 156, "hacendados" or latifundia owners whose lands are expropriated in whole or in part are to be offered compensation in the form of "Agrarian Bonds." The value of the land was based on the familiar formula of current tax assessment. This provision must have been calculated to take private property virtually without compensation, as it was proposed

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by leaders of socialist tendencies. The farmers knew that a vicious inflation was underway, mainly the result of the M.N.R. policies to compensate losses in the nationalized mines with the issue of more currency to cover the gap. The payments of land with such bonds were but promises without fulfilment. Indeed, after more than seven years have elapsed since the issue of the Agrarian Reform Bill, the Agrarian Bonds are still unknown. Art. 160 provides that the beneficiaries of the land program can pay for the land on the same terms. No one has ever done so.

The administration and responsibility to carry out the agrarian reform and land program was entrusted to the National Service of Agrarian Reform, which was set up in Art. 162. It is headed by the President of the nation, who has, according to the powers given to him by Art. 164, "supreme authority" over the entire administrative system including the "final decision without judicial appeal" in all concessions of titles of land. The Agrarian Law, therefore, provides for a centralized system of administration without checks and controls on the executive, following strictly a Russian pattern. The President is authorized to appoint his own people to administer the program, and he himself has the final vote. This kind of unlimited, unchecked authority obviously invites arbitrary actions and abuses.

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The National Agrarian Reform Service is by virtue of the Agrarian Law, a part of the Ministry of Rural Affairs, and rules over all the administrative staff which was set up to implement the agrarian reform. The Agrarian Judges, the Rural Agrarian Boards and the Agrarian Inspectors have the duty to apply the Agrarian Reform Decree-Law. Their action has been very poor since they are in most of the cases hopeless in front of the powerful agrarian labour union likely ruled by a Communist minded leader.

The duties of the National Agrarian Reform Service are to establish plans of action for all rural and agrarian affairs; to hear suits concerning land claims; to grant land titles to new peasant landowners; and to organize co-operative and farm credit.

Finally the decree points out the particular importance that the Agrarian Legislation has for the indigenous populations, and states that "summarized and easily understood translations of its provisions, shall be published in Aymara and Quechua". It seems that such provision, even though very important in normal circumstances, had become useless because Indians had their own interpretation of the decree-law and they proceeded accordingly. Up to date the government did not undertake such measure.

It is a fact that the Bolivian Decree-Law on land reform has changed the land tenure system, but it is also possible to conclude that such change is not likely to be

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sufficient remedy to solve the whole agrarian problem. If the new owners' land is of an uneconomic size, if he is unable to obtain credit in favourable terms from the government or other specialized institutions to obtain fertilizers and equipment he will be unable to improve production and raise his standards of living.

The Bolivian experience in land reform has shown, that the reform of the land tenure system, in order to create a framework of increase in agrarian production or technological advance, depends to a great extent on the other measures that can be undertaken at the same time to improve the economical and social conditions of the rural populations. It is also true, on the other hand that without such fundamental reform of land tenure, other measures and efforts to increase production and rural conditions are likely to remain ineffective.

## CHAPTER IV

## AGRARIAN ORGANIZATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The present Bolivian situation is in general the result of two main "social and welfare policies" undertaken by the M.N.R. government. These are; the economic failure of the nationalization of the major tin mines and the economic failure of the Agrarian Reform. The planners had two main objectives in mind; to better the working conditions of the miners and to raise the rural workers' productivity. Both measures were to be brought about through the centralized power of the government. The evidence indicates, however, that the above program has failed. Earlier chapters have discussed the economic implications of the nationalization of the tin mines as well as the decline of agricultural production due to the Agrarian Reform.

The Bolivian economy was in such a condition that the United States was persuaded to ship food and money to help alleviate the situation. This economic aid~~e~~ has been forthcoming since 1954 at the rate of \$25,000,000 per year.<sup>1</sup> The Bolivian Government had attempted to overcome the deficit by printing paper money, but was asked to receive economic

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(1) W. S. Stokes, "Latin American Politics", op. cit., p. 212

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advise<sup>c</sup> from both the United Nations and the United States. The recommendations offered by these experts were for the government to cease the printing of any more paper money and to try to control its expenses. Nevertheless, despite stabilization measures and price control, the economic problems of Bolivia have not been visibly reduced. Furthermore, this South American country actually depends, to a large extent, on foreign economic aid to balance the deficit of its national budget. This economic aid is supplied annually by the United States.

The Agrarian Reform undertaken without positive results, gave an absence of landowners' directives and management in agrarian production. The new Indian tenants produced only for themselves and farm production dropped below the 1952 level. The landowners' authority was replaced by politically organized labour unions. However, the change was made too suddenly and caused a complete dis-organization in production relationships.

The old agrarian system of land tenure, which included (1) the large estates or "latifundios" as the dominant characteristic and which took up a large part of the cultivable land, and (2) the very small and uneconomic plots of land or "minifundios", have been the major cause for the backwardness of the Bolivian agriculture and the low standards of living of the Indian population. This system and its influence on the whole Bolivian situation, has been

discussed in earlier chapters. It has also been said that although the agrarian law was economically a failure, it destroyed the old agrarian structure.

The land reform decree-law, so anxiously <sup>a</sup>waited and cherished by the whole population to solve its problems, was not properly complemented by other necessary additional policies at the right time. Furthermore, the government tried to apply this decree simultaneously throughout the country, without having previously trained the much needed personnel to carry out all of its reform policies efficiently. On the other hand, the decree law is notorious for its judicial complexities and legal contradictions. All these account for the slow consolidation of the fragmented holdings and the distribution of titles to new landowners.

The former causes, plus the insecurity among the very few landowners left in the country, as well as the new Indian beneficiaries, have yielded as an obvious result an end to agrarian activities in the major areas of production of the country.

The redistribution of land ownership has been carried out without any change in the methods of production. The Bolivian agrarian reform was intended to be a reform of the conditions of agricultural labour, through distribution among Indian farm labourers of the land previously owned and operated by large estates. This involved therefore a change in farm operation as well as a change in ownership.

In fact the holdings intended to provide the subsistence of the Indian labourers, have become independent farm units, and as such have proved to be too small in area.

Shortage of credit proved to be a major obstacle to the increase of farm production on the new acquired holdings. The division of large estates into small units was economically disadvantageous, and new forms of co-operative and collective farms will have to be introduced to overcome the disadvantages of small scale production.

In order to surmount the difficulties created by the application of the land reform decree, additional measures were to be undertaken. Such measures for a positive land reform of the agrarian structure, in its broader sense, cover a wide range of improvements in the organization of co-operatives, the creation of agricultural credit, the extension of educational and welfare services, the study and solution by means of internal migrations, the problem of over-populated areas and resettlement, and measures for the organization of agrarian production.

#### PROMOTION OF CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATIONS

The co-operative organizations cover different kinds of farm management (organization) in which the principles of individual and joint ownership operation are combined in different degrees: In some types of co-operatives, land is retained in individual ownership while certain operational forms are conducted with the use of co-operatively owned

machinery.

Although there is much variety in the way in which the individual and collective principles are combined, the co-operative organization has been introduced as a means of achieving the same objectives. The combination of the incentive of ownership with the technical advantages to be gained by the use of power driven machinery and other equipment which cannot be utilized on small farms.

It is clear that with a sound and co-operative organization small farms are to gain the benefits of new developments in techniques of agriculture production. Co-operative organization, therefore, can fulfil an essential function.

The co-operative organization for cultivation, marketing and processing of agricultural products as well as for the purchase of farm supplies and equipment can be regarded as one of the most important measures to be taken in conjunction with the Bolivian land reform. The United Nations Council recognized and recommended the organization of co-operatives in promoting rural progress,<sup>1</sup> because of their important part in introducing better methods in agriculture, and in the education of rural populations towards an improvement in their standards of living.

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(1) "Questionnaire and Supplementary Request"  
Question 10a, b and c.

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Co-operative organizations in agriculture in countries which are soundly established is to be regarded as one of the most important means of improving farm cultivation, land tenure and marketing; thus solving the problem of agricultural credit.

In countries where the co-operative movement as a whole is almost non-existent, as in the case presently in Bolivia, the organization, growth and the fostering of co-operatives and the nature of their services is a task to be undertaken by the government authorities. This service can be provided by the State and actually is now being studied by the Technical Assistance Board under the sponsorship of the International Labour Organization with the joint collaboration of the Bolivian government.<sup>1</sup>

These governmental services are to be directed to the study of problems relating to agricultural co-operatives, to give a wide publicity to the development of co-operatives, to encourage the creation of new ones, to propose the means for developing the agricultural co-operative movement and to promote collaboration among the co-operatives.

The co-operatives so created on the basis of the Indian "comunidades" in the Andean high-plateau and in the valley regions, can be also formed by persons having

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 610

acquired land by means of large estates fragmentation.

The function of these co-operatives will be to make loans, furnish seed, fertilizers, machinery and other requisites; organize efficient cultivation by seed selection (disease control), the digging of drains, trenches etc.; market farm production; and to provide other agriculture and social services. These co-operatives are to be assisted by the government and supervised by trained personnel during their formation period.

It is clear that the Bolivian agrarian population is not in a position to launch a co-operative movement on an effective scale, without the guidance and assistance of the government. Therefore, the Bolivian government must be the active party in the promotion and financing of the co-operatives through grants and other assistance policies.

Since the government is economically unable to undertake such a movement, international organizations such as the I.L.O. have stated that "the program was to be"primarily regional", and to carry it out "effective international help has to be made available to the government in the planning and expansion of the program."<sup>1</sup>

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 611

## AGRICULTURAL CREDIT

There are many specific problems which make agricultural credit more difficult to obtain than credit supplied in other fields. One reason is that agricultural production is in the hands of a large number of farmers which have limited means and individual ways of conducting business and which consequently lead to difficulties in obtaining credit from most banking systems.

Another difficulty arises from the relatively long period of agricultural production. Credit for agricultural requirements must be for nearly a year even in cases of seasonal needs, while other needs such as those for land improvement or acquisition of equipment, require much longer terms.

These, and another factors, tend to limit the amount of credit to agriculture by private banks, although the adverse effects of the former factors, and their impact on agriculture, are very different in developed countries than those in underdeveloped countries. In the former, the commercial banking system and the network of well organized credit co-operatives can, even in the absence of governmental institutions, meet many of the needs of farmers. However, the picture is somewhat different in the underdeveloped countries. Commercial banks do not supply credit to agriculture. In fact, no private credit institution is interested in agricultural credit and this is further

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aggravated by the difficulty of maintaining control between the town and remote country areas.

In the underdeveloped countries the majority of agricultural loans are accomplished through rich landlords, merchant buyers and the like at high annual interest and usually in connection with the sale or transfer of products.

Since Bolivia is found among the less developed countries, agriculturally and lately aggravated by the fragmentation and redistribution of producing land, the need of a sound program of agricultural credit to increase production, was highly recommended by the I.L.O.'s Technical Assistance Board.

Bolivian agriculture conditions are similar to those found in other underdeveloped countries, and they can be summarized in four important items in relation to agricultural credit organization. First, the percapita income of Indian farmers and their low saving ability. Second, the low income farms, due to their uneconomic size, make co-operative organization a necessity for the improvement of rural population. Third, the Indian tenant farmers enjoy little security and are therefore less "credit worthy". Finally, the banking system is much less developed and is unable to meet the needs of agriculture. Those factors lead the Indian farmers to fulfil their credit requirements in such sources as landowners, traders and money lenders, with their evils, rather than their benefits, for the agrarian population.

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As a result of the recommendations set up by the I.L.O.'s Technical Assistance Board, an agreement was signed between the Bolivian and the United States governments; the latter being represented by the United States Operation Mission. As its result the "Servicio Agrícola Interamericano" (S.A.I.) was created in 1955<sup>1</sup>. The S.A.I. is an independent institution under the economical sponsorship of the U. S. government with close ties and relations with the Bolivian Ministries of Agriculture, Education and Rural Affairs.

The main aims of the S.A.I. are to promote and organize agricultural production and in the last few years its contribution has been very significant. However, more capital is required to meet these recommendations by way of financing the education of trained personnel.

The S.A.I.'s activities are actually now in the experimental state with regard to promoting agricultural credit and improvement of techniques to raise agrarian production. Its work is being conducted through five technical and one administrative department. These are:

- (1) Research department
- (2) Development Department
- (3) Services and equipment
- (4) Agricultural supervised credit

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(1) "Inter-American Agricultural Services"

- (5) Special agricultural services, and
- (6) The administrative and personnel department

Research is carried out in five experimental units located in the different Bolivian geographical areas. The research and development policies have been adapted to the nature and agrarian characteristics of each geographical region. The technical problems of each particular area are intended to be solved through supervised and short term credits, plus technical assistance to the tenant labourers, as well as the organization of co-operatives, the introduction of a variety of improved seeds and the teaching of soil conservation.

The agricultural credit department, in conjunction with the Bolivian government, supplies financial aid to the Indian tenants to carry out the S.A.I. recommendations, which are found to be suitable through the experimental units. The Bolivian Agrarian Bank<sup>1</sup> is the institution entrusted to handle any necessary loans. Its activities started late in 1956 and have so far brought encouraging results. Thus the government has found it necessary to play a more active role in providing agricultural credit; either directly to farmers or through co-operatives whose organization must be further encouraged.

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(1) "Banco Agrícola de Bolivia"

The sources of capital for such agricultural credit is partly supplied by the government, by mostly the United States Operation Mission. A nation-wide application of the supervised credit, however, will mean the need of more financial capital which the government is presently unable to supply.

Supervised credit has special characteristics over the short-term loan policy and has proven to be the kind of credit required to meet the needs of the underdeveloped countries.

The dominant feature of supervised credit is that it combines credit with extension of education, and is very often aimed at reaching Indian farmers who are "not good credit risks", who would not normally be able to meet their needs through other channels.

This form of credit is based on the statement that both education and credit are needed to better the conditions of Indian farmers. Education without credit generally remains inoperative, since the Indian farmer lacks the means of putting his newly acquired knowledge into effect. On the other hand, credit supplied without guidance is often used for unproductive purposes, or it <sup>is</sup> wastefully applied, without any corresponding gain.

In addition to supervised and short term credits another kind of loan is practised with positive results. This type of loan is called the "loan in kind", and has been able to offset the lack of credit-handling knowledge of the

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Bolivian Indians. This kind of loan is recommended because it gives the lender more control over the use to which the loan is most needed. The more common form of the loan in kind is the direct supply of such requisits as seed, fertilizers and agrarian implements. This particular form of credit is more suitably applied through co-operative organizations to small farmers.

In Bolivia, where the Indian farmers' savings are extremely low and where commercial banks do not serve agriculture, institutions like the S.A.I. and the governmental Agrarian Bank have thus far met only a small part of the existing needs. Further development is difficult due to the fact that government aid is, in this and in other fields, limited by a shortage of funds. Much more can be done with additional financial and technical assistance by other international institutions. Co-operative organizations are also a part of agricultural credit organizations because they offer the best channel through which governmental credit can be extended.

## EDUCATION AND WELFARE SERVICES

The need for an increase in research and extension of educational and welfare services in the Bolivian rural population is so great that its importance was already emphasized when dealing with illiteracy and its related alcohol and coca leaf chewing habits among the Bolivian Indians. In this connection reference should be made to the

importance of the role that can be played by the co-operative organizations in the diffusion of educational and welfare services to the rural community.

Illiteracy conditions add to the indifference and ignorance of improved technical methods. But it is precisely in Bolivia, where such conditions of illiteracy and ignorance exist, that the government cannot organize a sound program of education. This is due mainly to the lack of trained personnel and the corresponding financial situation in the rural areas.

The greatest service that the co-operative organizations can perform in the educational field is to organize on a local level and decide what type of service and administration are most needed on the basis of their members' own experience. It has been shown in an early chapter that educational schemes and policies carried out on a country-wide scale may not correspond to the needs of the rural community actually concerned. The Bolivian experience has also shown that such policies are abandoned sooner or later.

Another advantage co-operative organizations can provide in the extension of education and welfare services is in the training of rural leaders to serve as a link, or a liaison between the rural community and the central administration.

The Bolivian government, as do the majority of Latin American countries, has a centralized government, but the

administrative officials and technicians at the top are far remote from the people in whose benefit the policies are being carried out. This defect can be easily surmounted by means of the co-operatives because they can act as a focus for many local activities and stimulate the demands for better services in the fields of agriculture, education and other welfare services.

Thus, in economic terms, the scope for the co-operative organization may be limited by many factors. However, in social terms, the importance of its function cannot be overestimated.

To give the greatest possible moral and economical aid to rural education, must be one of the basic duties of the government in order to solve the problems of Bolivia. If this is done it will result in the betterment of the living conditions of the Indian population and the raising of agricultural production. The solution for this basic educational problem is not only a matter for the schools but also it will require the co-ordinate assistance of all the governmental agencies concerned with peasants and their related health and welfare policies.

The Institute of Inter-American Affairs of the U.S. State Department and the Bolivian government have recently agreed to put into operation the I.L.O.'s educational program for the Indian populations of Bolivia and Peru.

This program has been termed the Titicaca Project.<sup>1</sup> This assistance is provided for and carried out by the Inter-American Co-operative Service for Education which operates in conjunction with the Ministry of Rural Affairs. All plans and actions in this regard are to be submitted for their approval. These plans are designed to be as flexible as possible so that they can easily be adopted in the light of practical experience. The Service staff is composed of United States experts.

The Titicaca Project aims to be an integral and functional educational service whose influence it is hoped will extend into the peasant's home and which will eventually improve all aspects of his life. In order to fulfil these aims a study of certain areas is being made where these central schools will be located. These central schools will have an active part in the organization of co-operatives, the training of administrative and teaching staff, the provision and construction of the teaching materials necessary for the extension of the Project as well as for the construction of additional school buildings when, and if, they are required.

Instruction is to be at first given in the native languages of the Indians living in the area. Such primary instruction will aid in the battle against illiteracy and ignorance. Later a further educational program in the

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(1) "Indigenous Peoples" op. cit., p. 560

Spanish tongue will permit the Indians to participate actively in the social life of the nation. In addition to the above curriculum the rural school shall endeavour to provide education and training in subjects concerning agriculture and stock-raising, instruction in handicrafts, farm machinery repair and wood working.

All in all the general aims of this educational and guidance scheme are aimed at keeping the Indian peasants in their home area, in order to avoid depopulation of the countryside and overcrowding of the towns.

#### RURAL OVER-POPULATION AND COLONIZATION POLICIES

The need of an internal migration of Indian rural populations from the over-populated high-plateau and valley regions, to the tropical fertile lands, has been stressed in an early chapter. This policy of internal migration and colonization has two main aims and both are justified for the following reasons. Firstly the need to absorb the excess population in these areas as well as landless farmers who did not benefit from the agrarian reform. Secondly, to increase and diversify agricultural activity. The latter must be done in order to produce all the agrarian goods which are now being imported, but which can be produced in the tropical lands. At the present time these goods are not being grown due to the lack of population and technical facilities.

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In this respect the Keenleyside Mission has recommended that such an internal migration should be carried out in some experimental settlements<sup>1</sup>. A Migration and Colonization Commission shall have to be set up to undertake the task. Its aims will be to study and to develop the policies obtained through experience by the early settlements. The main causes which now hinder such an experiment are lack of communications, poor health facilities, and the already mentioned stringent financial scheme.

If the Bolivian<sup>Government</sup> can be financially and technically aided it can benefit from this resettlement of its agrarian population and reduce its imports of raw materials and agrarian products. (In 1955 these alone were 43% of its total imports.) Furthermore, international commissions and national researchers have proven that all the food which is now imported can be produced in the country.

Table XLV gives an account of the main farm products imported by the State for internal consumption during the past ten years. The drop in agrarian production since the reform was undertaken, is shown in the rise of the rate of importations necessary to supply the national food consumption. Thus, in the period 1953-55 those imports were up 31%, from those in the period 1945-48. Actually the raise in the imports per person during the year of the reform, 1953

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(1) "Keenleyside Report, op. cit., p. 175

TABLE XIV  
BOLIVIA FOOD IMPORTS  
(IN Tons)

Products	A V E R A G E S			
	1945-48	1949-52	1953-55	1955
Cattle	12.362	4.780	4.763	8.040
Lard & Fats	2.016	2.243	2.776	2.607
Wheat & Flour <sup>1</sup>	71.125	70.837	85.844	86.413
Powdered & Cond' Milk	2.307	2.656	4.970	8.262
Sugar	30.217	36.859	48.146	42.766
Vegetable Oils	979	1.102	1.389	10.739
Rice	8.916	8.932	10.822	10.739
Rates per inhabitant				
Cattle	100	36	33	55
Lard & Fats	100	107	118	109
Wheat & Flour	100	91	103	102
Milk	100	106	186	304
Sugar	100	113	137	119
Vegetable Oils	100	104	122	132
Rice	100	92	104	102

Source: DEPAL, op. cit., p. 265

(1) ~~Quantity~~ Quantity shows wheat equivalent in flour,  
which amounts to 75%

were 13% higher than in the previous year, reaching in 1955 to 21% higher than in 1948.

The growth in the food and agrarian imports was not homogeneous. While wheat, flour and rice imports rose in accordance with the growth of the population, powder and condensed milk rose more than 200%. At the same time however, live-stock and cattle imports dropped by more than 61%.

In order to keep the normal advance of agrarian production on the same basis as the national economy, it was recommended that a sound internal migration would be necessary. This recommendation would, if agrarian workers were to settle in new lands at a rate of six to seven thousand persons annually. From this number about three to four thousand persons could be re-settled in the Santa Cruz area, which is for the time being the tropical zone that has more means of communication with the high-plateau. The remaining number would be re-settled in the other areas. This policy would result in the incorporation of more than ten thousand hectares of land per year. In turn this will have a vast influence toward the improvement of all agrarian production and in the general economy of Bolivia as a whole.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing analysis of the Indian way of life and the Bolivian Agrarian Reform shows that the agricultural structure in general, and in particular, the system of land tenure have prevented a substantial rise in the standard of living among the Indian farm labourers. On the contrary, the present system has hindered their economic development by not increasing the necessary food supply, because of poor agricultural production, and by placing agriculture - the major economic activity of the country, in its present backward condition.

It has been pointed out that among the features of the agrarian structure which have had the most serious effect on the actual Bolivian situation are the uneconomic sizes of the farms, the irregular distribution of land-ownership, where the concentration was on the large and insufficiently operated estates, the landlessness of a large segment of the population, lack of credit facilities, displacement of the agrarian population on the less suitable land to the neglect of the fertile tropical belt, poor education facilities and welfare policies for these peoples and, in general, a very unsatisfactory set of incentives necessary to raise and sustain agricultural production.

Since Bolivia is an under-developed country, where land resources in relation to the farm population are

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abundant, and where the agrarian structure is characterized by such an extremely unbalanced system of land-ownership, the Reform of 1953 did not obtain the expected results by way of improving farm production and raising the standards of living. The main reason for this inevitable failure was shown to be an absence of measures to promote better farming, especially through more intensive land cultivation. Experience has proven the necessity of these measures.

What can be achieved to raise the standards of living of the farm population will, therefore, depend to a large extent on what further action is taken to promote better farming through assisting farmers to make greater use of the benefits of land-ownership and to secure plots for the landless farmers by the reform of the institution of land tenure.

When these conditions are achieved priority must then be given to the extension of cultivated areas and to the development of resources through the re-settlement of landless farmers and colonization. These policies must be regarded as the first step for increasing agricultural production and promoting the general development of Bolivia. The introduction of such re-settlement schemes will provide opportunities of ownership, will secure equitable conditions of tenure and will promote the organization of economically stable farms.

The former policies have to be completed with a continued plan of assistance to the farmers by way of

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introducing better farming methods. In turn these methods are to be complemented by providing credit facilities and co-operative organizations as the essential means of achieving better living standards and a higher social status for the farm population.

Re-settlement policies and co-operative organizations cannot be carried out by the Bolivian agrarian population without guidance and assistance from the State. On the other hand, the State is unable to provide such guidance and assistance because of the lack of trained personnel and financial funds. Therefore, international technical and financial assistance is urgently needed in order to carry out these fundamental measures as well as to conduct the planning and research necessary for complete success.

Planning and applied research should cover not only the technical but also the institutional fields. Well organized extension services, closely related to applied research, can improve existing agricultural practices and will make available to farmers knowledge of production, soil conservation, processing and domestic economy.

It is clear that a shortage of credit is a major obstacle both to agricultural development and to the successful implementation of an Agrarian Reform. Bolivia needs financial capital because no amount of technical co-operation alone can ever be the substitute for such capital.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

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It has been proven that economic aid must be the complement of technical assistance in the carrying out of agricultural credit policies. This credit can be successfully channeled through co-operatives, which offer the possibility of linking credit to technical progress through the system of supervised credit.

In addition to serving as channels for credit co-operative organizations in Bolivia can fulfil other important functions. Among these mention has been made of purchasing and marketing, co-operative use of machinery and various forms of joint use of land.

Such co-operative organizations have a vital role to play in programs of land reform. Their development must be promoted if Bolivia is to raise its standard of living. However, important as this development may be, it can only be successful if and when the rural population is educated and adequately trained in the ways and methods of the co-operative movement. This will inevitably prevent further land fragmentation, which is one of Bolivia's most serious obstacles in the way of the adaptation of such progressive methods of production. The adoption of such policies will provide the means whereby Bolivia may find a way of solving her present economic and social problems.

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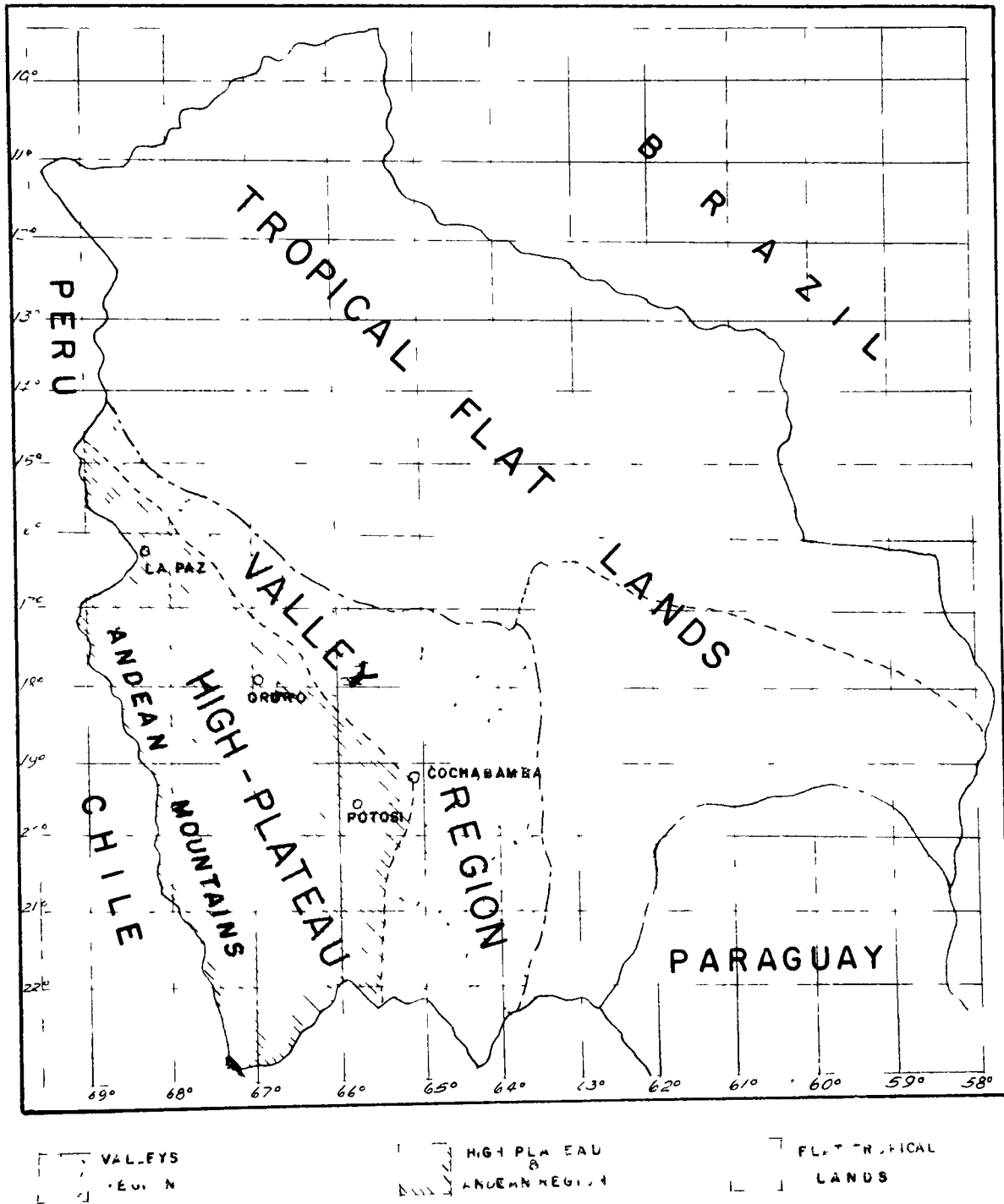
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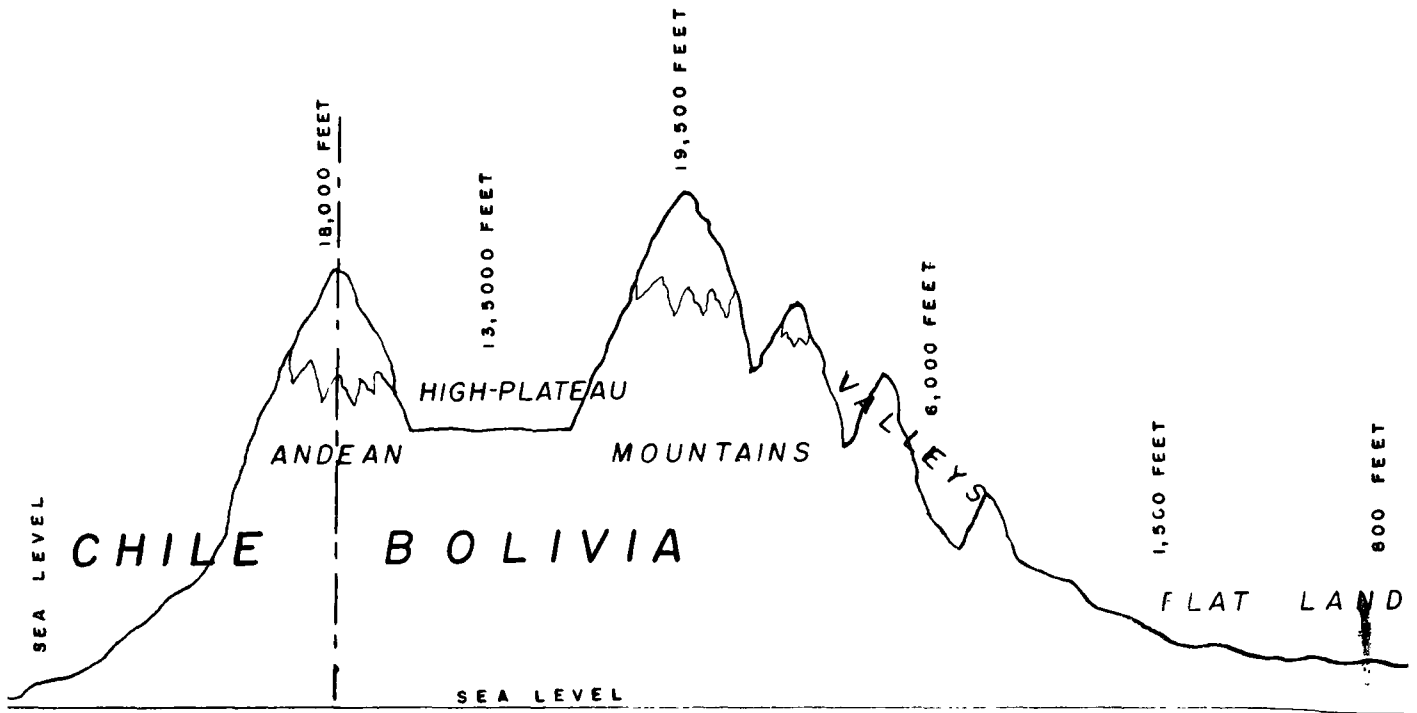
APPENDIX I

BOLIVIA: Geographical Regions.



Source: "Keenleyside Report", op. cit., p. 305

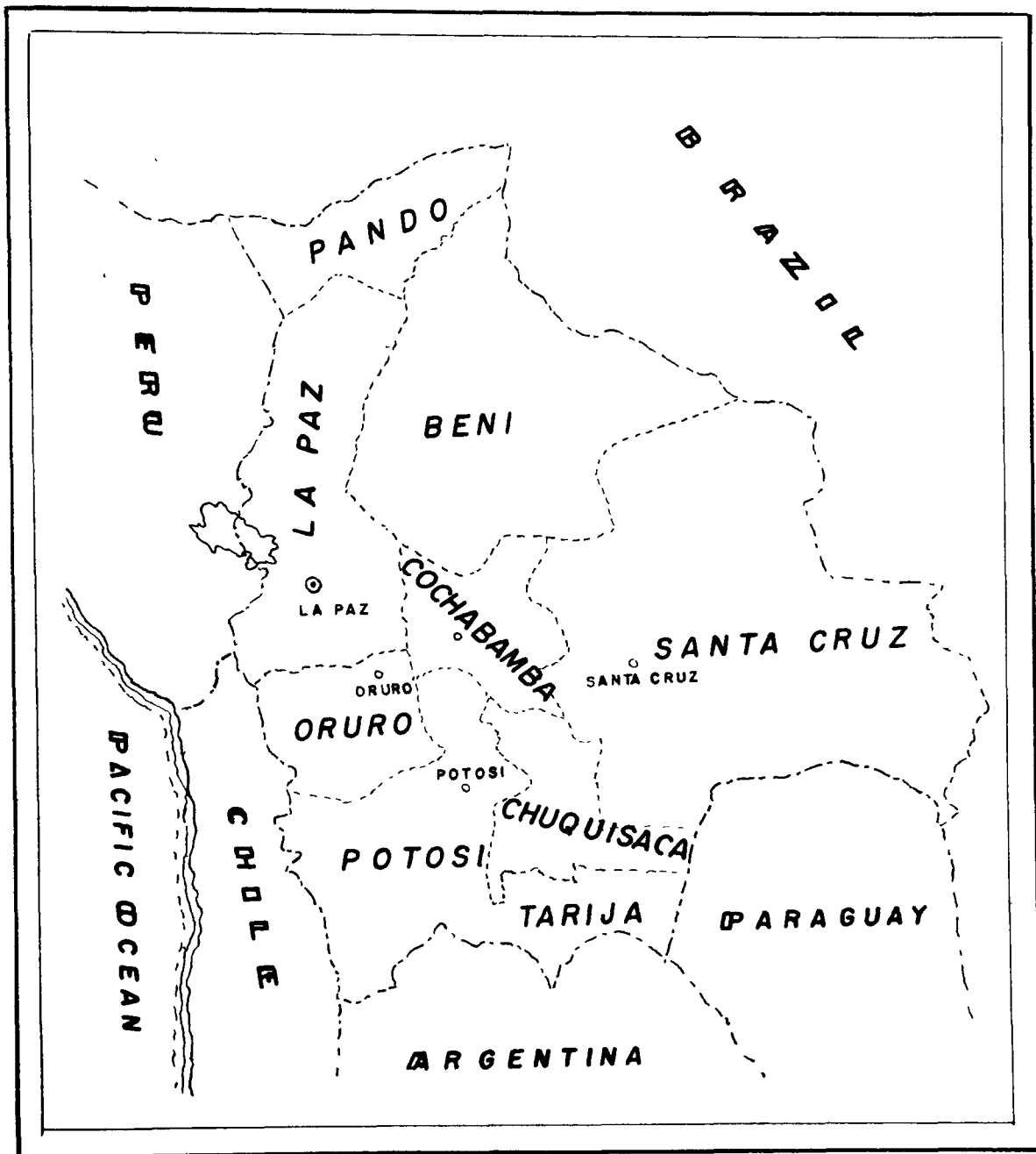
BOLIVIA: Ideal Topography



Source: Author's own conception

APENDIX II A

BOLIVIA: Provinces & Main Cities



Source: Author's drawing.

## APPENDIX III

## LATIN AMERICA: POPULATION BY RACES

## 1. Percentages

	Population	Whites	Mestizo	Indian	Negroid	Oriental
1. Brazil	47,460,000	39	20	3	37	1
2. Mexico	22,500,000	9	61	29	1	T
3. Argentina	16,108,000	89	9	2	T	--
4. Colombia	10,580,000	20	59	12	9	--
5. Peru	7,990,000	13	37	49	1	T
6. Chile	5,520,000	25	66	9	--	--
7. Cuba	5,250,000	30	20	--	49	1
8. Venezuela	4,430,000	12	68	10	10	--
9. Bolivia	3,750,000	12	31	57	--	--
10. Guatemala	3,660,000	3	30	67	T	--
11. Ecuador	3,360,000	7	32	58	3	--
12. Haiti	3,330,000	--	--	--	100	--
British W.I.	2,610,000	2	T	--	90	8
13. Uruguay	2,480,000	90	8	T	2	--
American W.I.	2,150,000	20	20	--	60	--
14. Dominican R.	2,100,000	5	14	--	81	--
15. Salvador	2,030,000	8	52	40	T	--
16. Honduras	1,260,000	10	45	40	5	--
17. Nicaragua	1,190,000	10	77	4	9	--
18. Paraguay	1,160,000	5	30	65	--	--
19. Costa Rica	760,000	48	47	2	3	--
20. Panama	720,000	8	50	10	31	1
French W.I.	640,000	2	--	--	94	4
Guianas	640,000	3	5	12	39	41
Dutch W.I.	120,000	6	5	--	85	4
Belize	65,000	4	16	32	48	--
Panama C.Z.	60,000	9	20	1	70	T
Falkland Is.	3,000	100	--	--	--	--

Source: William S. Stokes, "Latin American Politics" op. cit., p. 117. From Donald D. Brand, "The present Indian Population of Latin America" Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Some Educational and Antropological Aspects of Latin America (Austin: University of Texas Press (1948) p. 41

"T" represents between .3 and .9 of one per cent.

## APPENDIX IV

## RELATION OF POPULATION TO LAND IN LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

Country	Year	Total <sup>a</sup> Population (thousands)	Cultivated Land <sup>b</sup>				Permanent meadows and pastures (thousands of hectares)
			Area (thousands of hectares)	% of total area	% of cultivable area	Per capita (hectares)	
Argentina	1946	16,818 (1949)	30,000	10.8	20.7	1.78	115,153
Bolivia	1937-38	3,990 (1949)	342	0.3		0.09	
Brazil	1947	50,350 (1950)	18,835 (1940)	2.2	10.4	0.37	132,555 (1940)
Chile	1946	5,823 (1950)	5,873 <sup>c</sup>	7.9	46.4	1.01	6,786 <sup>c</sup>
Colombia	1946	11,015 (1949)	2,120 <sup>c</sup>	2.0	7.5	0.19	26,300 <sup>c</sup>
Costa Rica	1946	851 (1949)	760	14.9	77.5	0.89	220
Cuba	1946	5,348 (1950)	1,970	17.2	33.4	0.37	3,897
Dominion Republic	1946	2,277 (1949)	680	13.7	54.0	0.30	580
Ecuador	1942	3,404 (1949)	1,200	4.4	44.1	0.35	1,520
El Salvador	1947	2,150 (1949)	430	12.6	72.9	0.20	160
Guatemala	1947	2,787 (1950)	3,000	27.5	83.3	1.08	600
Haiti	1947	3,750 (1949)	460 <sup>c</sup>	16.6		0.12	
Honduras	1947	1,326 (1949)	550 <sup>c</sup>	3.6	71.4	0.42	220 <sup>c</sup>
Mexico	1946	25,210 (1950)	20,000	10.2	16.7	0.79	100,000
Nicaragua	1946	1,184 (1949)	470	3.4	10.1	0.40	280
Panama	1947	764 (1949)	140 <sup>c</sup>	1.9		0.18	
Paraguay	1947	1,304 (1949)	1,550	3.8		1.19	
Peru	1948	8,405 (1950)	1,576	1.3	10.4	0.19	13,544 <sup>c</sup>
Uruguay	1947	2,365 (1949)	14,284	76.7		6.04	
Venezuela	1944	4,644 (1949)	20,000	21.9	40.0	4.31	30,000 <sup>c</sup>

Source: United Nations "Progress in Land Reform" op. cit., p. 100

- (a) Latest official estimates  
 (b) "Cultivated land" includes only arable land, and excludes "permanent meadows and pastures" for which separate figures are given  
 (c) From reliable official sources

## APPENDIX V

## Questionnaire and Supplementary Request

Questionnaire on progress in land reforms, ECA170/3/02(1), transmitted to governments in accordance with resolution 370/XIII) of the Economic and Social Council

## General Policy

(Paragraph 2 of the resolution)<sup>1</sup>

1. Has your country developed a policy of land reform? If so, what are the principal objects of this policy?

Note: If it appears desirable, governments are requested to submit in amplification of their replies to this question any official statements of policy, reform programmes, texts of laws or decrees enacted or under consideration, or other documentary material bearing on the general policy of reform.

## Agrarian Structure

2. Describe the features of the land tenure system of your country, to the extent necessary to an understanding of the agrarian structure, with special reference to those features which are relevant to your policy of land reform (see Question 1), and to particular measures of reform (see Question 3 to 14).

## Security of Tenure (Paragraphs 3(a) and 4 of the resolution)

3. a. Have measures been enacted to assure security of tenure to tenant cultivators? if so.

(i) Outline the main provisions of these measures, in regard, for example, to conditions under which leases may be terminated; restriction of subletting and elimination of intermediaries; compensation for tenants' improvements at termination of lease.

(ii) State what categories of tenants are affected by these measures, in particular whether they apply to share-croppers.

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(1) Paragraph numbers refer to resolution 370 (XIII) of the Economic and Social Council.

## APPENDIX V

b. Have any special measures been taken to protect the rights in their land of cultivators who are not tenants (for example, owners or squatters) especially those in a weak economic position or under tribal, communal or other traditional forms of tenure? If so, describe the nature and scope of these measures.

4. Have any steps been taken by means of a cadastral survey or otherwise to establish and improve the system of registration of rights in land?

Legislation to Prevent Exorbitant Rentals  
(Paragraph 3(f) of the resolution)

5. Have measures been enacted to control rents of agricultural land? If so,

a. Describe the provisions of these measures, stating whether they apply to rents in money, produce or labour and to the different kinds of share rents. Explain the manner and basis of calculating controlled rents.

b. What measures have been taken:

(i) To adjust fixed rents to seasonal changes in yield or prices or to natural improvement or deterioration of land?

(ii) To ensure that in the case of share rents tenants' improvements do not result in unearned increment to the landlord?

c. Have measures been taken to eliminate from tenancy agreements onerous conditions, such as personal service or compulsory sales of produce to the landlords?

d. Describe the administrative machinery used to enforce rent control.

Opportunity for Ownership of Land (Paragraph 3(b) of the resolution) Secure and equitable tenure, including ownership, on developed and reclaimed land (Paragraph 3 (d) of the resolution)

6. Have measures been taken, or are measures planned, to provide opportunities for cultivators to acquire ownership of land by means of (A) Legislation for transfer of ownership from previous holders; (B) Schemes for settlement; or (c) Any other means? If so, describe these measures under the relevant heading.

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## A. Legislative measures for transfer of ownership:

a. State the titles and dates of enactment of these measures, and explain their provisions including:

(i) The types of holdings affected, stating explicitly whether these were large properties leased in small units to cultivators, large centrally managed units operated with hired labour, or other type of holding; the sizes of holdings affected, or other criteria used in determining areas subject to expropriation;

(ii) The method of transfer of ownership, including the basis of calculation of compensation payments, and the terms of purchase by new owners;

(iii) The form of tenure granted to new owners, including any restrictions placed on sale, hypothecation or subdivision.

b. State the total area of land affected by legislation; the total area of land acquired by government for redistribution; the total area transferred to new owners or settled in new farms; and the total numbers of persons or families receiving land.

c. Describe the administrative machinery for implementation, including any new institutions or agencies set up for the purpose, the government department responsible and the local organizations concerned with allocation and settlement.

d. State the total cost to the government of measures for land redistribution and settlement; if still in process of implementation, state the estimated total cost from date of inception to completion. State whether these measures have been accompanied by land reclamation and development.

## B. Schemes for settlement:

Describe the main features of schemes introduced or planned for this purpose including:

a. The type of tenure granted to new farmers

b. The total areas of land reclaimed or developed; the total area settled; and the total number of persons or families receiving land.

## APPENDIX V

c. The administrative machinery for implementation, including farmers' organizations for the purchase of agricultural equipment and sale of produce.

d. The total cost to the government of schemes for reclamation, development and settlement, distinguishing, if possible, between the costs of reclamation and development, and the costs of settlement. If schemes are still in process of implementation, state the estimated total cost to date of completion.

C. Any other means, ad for example:

a. Redistribtuion of land purchased by the government or public agencies in the open market, or of land which has come into the possession of the government in the course of administration.

b. Action by public, co-operative or private institutions to facilatate the land purchase by grants or by credit on favourable terms.

c. Voluntary redistribution of land by landowners.

Creation of Economic Holdings (Paragraph 3 (c) of the resolution

7. a. Have measures been taken to promote the organization of farms of economic size, whether by dividing too large holdings, or by combining too small holdings? If so, describe these measures, including the criteria applied, the methods used in implementation and the total area affected.

Note: If the introduction of such measures is described in replies to questions concerning other measures, as for ecample Question 6 or Question 10, it is sufficient in replying to this question to indicate the question in reply to which the necessary information is given.

b. Have measures been taken in the period under review to promote the consolidation of fragmented holdings? if so, describe their provisions and results, including the number of holdings consolidated, total area covered and the method used (for example, voluntary consolidation through co-operative societies, compulsory consolidation by law or various combinations to these methods.)

## APPENDIX V

c. In communities where personal law or custom renders compulsory or usual a physical division of landed property among numerous heirs when a landholder dies, have any measures been taken, whether by changing the law of inheritance, by prohibiting the unlimited subdivision or fragmentation of holdings or otherwise, to ensure that these laws or customs shall not operate to nullify the effect of the measures of reform dealt with in the answer to this question?

Agricultural Credit and Reduction of Indebtedness  
(Paragraph 3(e) of the resolution)

8. a. Have measures been enacted or undertaken to improve the supply of credit on reasonable terms to small farmers by the establishment or expansion of public or co-operative credit institutions or otherwise? If so,

(i) Describe these measures, including the establishment of new institutions, or introduction of new procedures; sources of funds; methods used to establish and maintain contact between lender and borrower.

(ii) Assess the results of these measures in increasing the supply of long-term and short-term credit. Indicate their effects, if any, on the availability and the terms of credit from previously available sources.

b. Have measures been taken to lessen the incidence of permanent indebtedness among agriculturists, by conciliation, purchase, reduction, cancellation or otherwise? if so, describe these measures and assess their effects.

c. Have measures been taken to control the operations of money-lenders? If so, describe these measures and assess their effects.

d. What additional administrative machinery has been established in connexion with the above measures.

Tax Structure and Administration (Paragraph 3(g) of  
the resolution)

9. To what extent is taxation used to assist your policy of land reform, for example, in regard to absentee or non-agriculturist landholders; unproductive land or land put to uneconomic use; appreciation of land values due to factors other than improvements made by the owner; and the encouragement of new small landholders, new cultivation or new crops?

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Promotion of Co-operative Organizations  
(Paragraph 3(h) of the resolution)

10. a. Have measures been undertaken to promote or supervise co-operative organization for the marketing and processing of agricultural produce; the supply of agricultural credit; the purchase of farm equipment and supplies; and the co-operative use of farm machinery and equipment? If so, describe the provisions and results of these measures. State whether their purpose is to promote the organization of single function or multiple-purpose societies, and explain the reasons for the choice of either alternative.

b. Have co-operative societies increased their activities in the above-mentioned directions in the period under review? If so, describe the extent of the advance in each case, including the increase in the number of societies, their membership, capital, sales, and purchases, and volume of credit.

c. Have measures been taken to promote co-operative or joint land utilization and cultivation? If so, describe the types of societies or organizations formed for the purpose (for example, production co-operatives, profit-sharing farms); their constitution and functions; their numbers, membership and the total area of land covered; and their effects on agricultural methods and production.

Establishment of Organizations for Machine Servicing,  
Repair and Maintenance (Paragraph 3(l) of the resolution)

11. Describe any new forms of public organization established on a regional or community basis to provide farmers with machine service, and facilities for machine repair and maintenance. Indicate the scope and extent of their activities.

Note: Information in regard to co-operative use of farm machinery should be supplied in reply to Question 10, above.

Establishment of Rural Industries  
(Paragraph 3(k) of the resolution)

12. Describe any progress made in the establishment of small-scale rural industries, including co-operative and cottage industries, with special reference to industries using local agricultural produce or raw materials.

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If under-employment in agriculture is a feature of the agrarian structure, estimate, if possible, the extent to which the establishment of such industries has reduced under-employment and increased the supplementary earnings of the farm population.

Improvement of the Economic, Social and Legal Status of Hired Workers in Agriculture (Paragraph 3(p) of the resolution)

13. a. Are measures in force, or contemplated, for the regulation of conditions of hired workers in agriculture by means of legislation, collective agreement or other methods? If so, describe their scope and provisions, as well as any measures taken for the enforcement of these regulations, which might include the following:

- (i) Minimum wage fixing;
- (ii) Regulation of contracts of employment;
- (iii) Regulation of hours of work, the weekly rest and holidays with pay;
- (iv) Regulation of the employment of women and children;
- (v) Provision of health, educational and social services, including the application to agricultural workers of social security schemes (for example, for insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age);
- (vi) Establishment of minimum standards of housing.

b. Are there any restrictions on trade union organization among agricultural workers? Do such unions in fact exist?

Other Measures (Note, for example, paragraphs 3(m), (n) and (o) of the resolution)

14. Is there any information which your government would wish to provide concerning other measures or policies introduced for the purpose of raising the living standards and improving the social status of the farm population?

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Obstacles to the Adoption of Land Reform Measures

(Paragraph 8 of the resolution)

15. Are there any observations which your government would wish to make concerning obstacles to the adoption of land reform measures in general, and to the adoption of any of the above measures (see Questions 3 to 13) which would be appropriate to the circumstances of your country?

International Action to Promote Land Reforms

(Paragraph 8 of the resolution)

16. Are there any suggestions which your government would wish to make concerning international action to promote land reforms in general, or any particular measure or group of measures in which your government is interested?

Source: United Nations "Progress in Land Reform"  
op. cit., pp. 313 - 318

