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A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE CHILEAN AGRARIAN REFORM PROGRAM

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LTC/Chile

THE PROBLEM

One of the most important planks of President Frei's campaign platform prior to his election in 1965 was the promise to inaugurate a vigorous and far-reaching agrarian reform program under which, among other goals, land would be redistributed to 100,000 campesino families.

According to Frei, this program was necessary in order to eradicate or alleviate a rural structure that was seriously affecting the economic development and social stability of Chile. This structure was characterized by the concentration of land in a few hands, an inadequate and insufficient use of land resources, the monopolization of credit and other services by the few, and a paternalistic labor system which tended to abuse the peasant and prevented the development of a vigorous rural middle class. Among the extensive data he cited to support this picture are the following: out of a total of 345,000 rural families involved in agricultural work, 185,000 owned no land whatsoever. The remaining 160,000 families owned--many without a secure title--150,959 farm units of which 117,047 (77.5%) represented only 4.9% of the agricultural land in Chile. At the other extreme, 3,250 units, or 2.2% of the total, each over 1,000 hectares, represented 68.8% of the total agricultural land.

Over the years, this structure has resulted in stagnation of agricultural production, which in recent years has been lagging behind population growth (1.8% vs. 2.2% during 1945 to 1959); and in an increasing rate of agricultural imports which is seriously straining Chile's limited foreign exchange holdings.

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In 1942 the values of agricultural exports and imports were balanced, but by 1963 Chile was importing 160 million dollars worth (25% of all imports), and only exporting 33.6 million (6.2% of all exports). In addition, the rural population suffered from illiteracy (50%), low income (US\$140/year per capita), and poor health, and was becoming increasingly restive over this situation.

THE PROCESS

Aside from other necessary and complementary measures, such as improving the status of rural labor, rural education, credit and technical assistance, and the like, the heart of the agrarian program of the Frei administration was to be expropriation and redistribution of large and/or poorly exploited farm-estates. This phase was initiated soon after his inauguration, based on prior land reform legislation (Law 15.020 of 1962). The existence of this law and of its implementing agency--CORA--was fortuitous, as the enactment of broader and more powerful legislation--Law 16.640--was delayed until July of 1967.

As the following data will indicate, the Frei administration managed to implement Law 15.020 fairly effectively. Moreover, the experience gained during this initial period set the pattern for the future. Basically, implementation relies on the asentamiento system, a contract arrangement under which eligible campesinos are "settled" on the expropriated properties for a three year transitional period. During this time, ownership of the land is retained by CORA, and all or most of it is operated on a cooperative basis, following national agricultural development plans. Day to day management of the asentamiento is conducted by an administrative committee elected by the campesino members (asentados) from among themselves. Supervision of and assistance to the committee is provided by CORA technicians. This role tends to diminish as the campesinos develop more experience. Most of the economic and social inputs--credits, seeds, fertilizers, machinery and extension services--are provided by CORA, while the campesinos provide the labor. At the end of the year, a balance is made, and after the costs, credits, and other shares pertaining to CORA are deducted, the balance is distributed among the asentados.

The main objectives of the asentamiento are to train the campesinos to manage their own farms, to maintain full production during the first crucial years after expropriation, and to encourage the asentados to retain a cooperative type of operation once the land is distributed to them.

The asentamiento period also serves as a means of testing the capacity of the asentados. They are graded each year, and once the three year period has elapsed, only those who meet the required minimum point score will be eligible to receive land titles to the property.

Upon the expiration of the asentamiento period, the land is conveyed to the asentados. The type of title distributed depends upon the decision of the eligible asentados as to the future status of the land assigned to them. If they decide that all of the land is to be operated on a cooperative basis, then the title is assigned to such a cooperative, with all the prior asentados as its members. Alternatively, they may decide to divide the entire property into individual parcels, in which case each will receive a title, or to adopt a mixed system under which the cooperative will receive title over part of the land, while the rest will be divided as individual parcels, each with its title, among the asentados. The last system appears to be the most common to date.

In any case, the beneficiary must pay for his share of the land over a 30-year period, during which he is subject to many conditions and obligations. These include restraints on alienation, inheritance restrictions, and the like.

THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Expropriations up to May 31, 1968.

a) Totals by years

	No. of Farms	Area in Hectares			No. of Families Living on Farms
		Irrigated	Dry	Total	
1965	85	37,887.9	409,383.1	447,271.0	3,381
1966	263	57,877.3	453,278.6	511,155.9	3,286
1967	221	51,649.5	188,195.5	239,845.0	2,883
1968	76	12,856.2	37,519.0	50,375.2	734
TOTAL	645	160,270.9	1,088,376.2	1,248,647.1	10,284

b) Under Laws 15.020 and 16.640.

	No. of Farms	Area in Hectares			No. of Families
		Irrigated	Dry	Total	
Law 15.020	478	115,459.0	921,276.0	1,036,735.0	8,030
Law 16.640	167	44,811.9	167,100.2	211,912.1	2,254
TOTAL	645	160,270.9	1,088,376.2	1,248,647.1	10,284

Asentamientos formed up to May 31, 1968

	No. of Asentamientos	Area in Hectares			No. of Families Settled
		Irrigated	Dry	Total	
1965	33	16,491.1	270,592.2	287,083.3	2,061
1966	53	15,028.1	123,386.3	138,414.4	1,804
1967	160	51,074.7	314,601.8	365,670.5	4,605
1968	20	4,809.8	240,184.4	244,994.2	451
TOTAL	266	87,403.7	948,764.7	1,036,168.4	8,921

Title Distributions

On November 4, 1968, the first title distributions under the Frei land reform program were effected in the Comuna of Salamanca, Choapa Valley. A total of 225 campesinos from the asentamientos of Panguessillo, Quelén, Llimpo-Jorquera, and Corróñ received a total of 56,224 hectares under both cooperative and individual titles.

During the next few months title distributions are programmed for 13 more asentamientos. These distributions will benefit 900 campesino families which have completed the three year asentamiento period, who will receive 6,352.21 irrigated hectares, and 158,262.74 of dry cultivable land, for a total of 164,614.95 hectares. In addition, title distributions are being planned for nine other asentamientos whose three year period will soon expire.

RESOURCE CONSERVATION IN LAND REFORM AREAS:

THE LONG-TERM MANAGEMENT ALTERNATIVES OF LOW VALUE
LANDS AFFECTED BY AGRARIAN REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA

by Rafael Baraona

Soil erosion, watershed deterioration and plant cover destruction are appalling in many areas of Latin America, and are growing worse rather than lessening as time goes by. These conditions are primarily the results of increasing over-grazing and of indiscriminate burning for cultivation and grazing purposes. Charcoal-making and the cutting of firewood contribute to the desolation in areas where

other fuels are not readily available or are too expensive for town dwellers or peasants to use. This situation seems particularly critical in mountain areas, which are often densely populated, and where a host of other social and economic problems also prevail.

It is precisely in problem regions of this type that land reform programs are now being implemented. Land reform at its simplest expression attempts to alter actual local man/land relations by placing more land at the disposal of landless peasants or of those with little land. It will be considered here in terms of its potential role in permitting changes in attitudes toward resource use and conservation on the part of administrators, beneficiaries of land redistribution schemes, and resource specialists in general.

The suggestions put forward in this paper should be considered mainly applicable to those countries where land reform programs are rather recent or are now being initiated--Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and Cuba--and only secondarily to older reform countries such as Mexico and Bolivia.

Excessive human pressure upon resources, particularly in its local setting, rarely consists of just too many people over-using too little land, but rather may be characterized as an "unnatural" population-resource ratio. That is, groups are confined to insufficient space not by nature, but by society, and very effectively so. For instance, in the Peruvian highland region of Puno one may find many thousands of indigent Indians crowded on tiny holdings on the rim of Lake Titicaca, while neighboring huge haciendas are almost unpopulated except for herds of cattle.

The social and institutional conditioners of peasant agriculture commonly grouped under the label of land tenure are, if not particularly dynamic, at least not immutable. Some of the changes in land tenure conditions which occur in response to stresses or convulsions within the particular societies should be viewed with apprehension and others with anticipation by those with commitments in land, water, and plant cover conservation.

This paper carries a plea to land reform and redistribution agencies of the countries already mentioned to discover the cultural and social means, as well as the technical and economic devices, by which beneficiaries of land redistribution schemes can participate in integrated programs of soil, water and plant cover conservation. These programs should be able to pay for themselves eventually, and should also have a demonstrative value in terms of techniques so that they might later be diffused into broader areas to attain a national impact. These policies should in fact allow for a more intensive and efficient resource utilization without violating conservation principles.

One of the immediate effects of increasing the amount of arable acreage in the hands of new beneficiaries is that their efforts, and sometimes those of the agencies set up to help them, tend to gravitate toward maximizing returns from these lands alone. Low value lands included within the land redistribution units receive somewhat less attention and frequently, but not always, pressure on these resources is temporarily relieved.

In the densely populated Ecuadorean Sierra the quality gradient from flat irrigated land (which is scant) to sloping arable and pasture lands is not too steep, or is somewhat masked by the fact that crops have invaded lands not really suitable for cultivation. Here the pressure on marginal lands, both for cultivation and grazing purposes, is not likely to decrease significantly after land redistribution. Through the application of the new land reform law many huasipunqueros and ex-hacienda workers have found themselves rightful owners of the small plots of land which until then they had cultivated through tenancy arrangements with the hacienda owner. On the other hand, their traditional use of hacienda pasture lands is likely, under the new conditions, to be curtailed. The pressure for making use of any available grazing lands is likely to become more and more critical.

In central Chile land redistribution poses some very different problems. Here in most asentamientos irrigation is a prerequisite to cultivation and most sloping or steep land--except near the coast--is reserved for seasonal browsing or charcoal making. Immediate production plans in asentamientos must rely overwhelmingly on the irrigated acreage. Charcoal burners and residents of the more remote mountain areas of the ex-haciendas could easily be persuaded to move closer to the most productive lands, especially during the period of undivided holding when these soils are worked jointly by all beneficiaries. Thus the beneficiaries will find themselves owning broad expanses of mountain land (partly eroded and denuded) of little actual usefulness to them and yielding hardly any income. Determined by the land appropriation system of colonial days when pastoral activities were of greater importance than today, haciendas normally have a resource base including a segment of a main valley or the central ribbon of a tributary valley, plus the surrounding backland of mountain country. These mountain areas are usually unfenced and serve as a sort of isolated, roadless heartland where the boundaries of several haciendas meet, even though their headquarters might be located in different, even unconnected valleys.

Some of these mountain areas could easily be viewed as ideal bases for setting up protected watershed areas or woodland reservations. On the other hand, the very fact that these lands are no longer considered directly productive by the beneficiaries has its negative side; they might allow outside elements to exploit these lands for firewood and charcoal which are quite expensive in central Chile.

Other areas in Chile--both further south or along the more humid coast--present very favorable conditions for reforestation. Asentamientos probably have the spare seasonal manpower to carry out tree planting, pruning, or thinning, but they would require both technical assistance and a degree of persuading before they undertake an activity which does not yield immediate returns.

Other examples could easily be found, but these should serve to show that the impact of land redistribution on existing resource use and pressure does not follow one single pattern; rather it depends upon many possible combinations of determining factors. Among these, previous systems of livestock raising and crop production and their relative importance in terms of income and labor inputs seem relevant. So is the quality and amount of the best arable land placed at the disposal of beneficiaries in each locality, and of course its relationship to the quantity and quality of other resources. Both sets of factors should be assessed while keeping in mind actual population density and pressure. The institutional characteristics of each national land reform will have a further bearing on the situation. Even within one country the challenges facing conservation policy makers will be many and varied, but the changes in resource pressure brought about by land reform should be seen as favorable conjunctures to establish new patterns of resource use and conservation.

The period immediately following the settling of beneficiaries should be considered a time of potential receptivity to new ideas. An integrated conservation program could be introduced then as a part and parcel of the land reform process itself, particularly if individual or permanent titles to the land have not yet been delivered. From the point of view of the program proposed, this time or reasonably soon afterwards would be the ideal time to start out with a clean slate as far as resource use by beneficiaries is concerned. The idea of conservation could be integrated with and supported by land reform agencies, and presented as one of the criteria to measure achievement and success within reform units.

Some available statistics and estimates on land already expropriated or to be expropriated in the near future provide some idea of the scale of conservation programs on newly distributed lands. In Chile, approximately 87 percent of expropriated acreage is non-irrigated land; much of this land is too steep for cultivation and presents serious limitations on further use except for woodland reserves, reforestation, or limited grazing.¹ In Peru, considering only the provinces within the Sierra region, it has been estimated that around 4.35 million hectares of natural pasture and 224,600 hectares of arable land could be expropriated under the terms of Public Law 15037.² In Colombia, land adjudication for the period

¹(The preceding paper by Joseph Thome gives some recent statistics on land expropriation and redistributions in Chile 1965-1968--ed.)

²Perú, Tenencia de la Tierra y Desarrollo Económico y Social del Sector Agrícola (Washington, D.C.:CIDA, 1966), p. 445.

1962-65 amounted to 1,305,449 hectares to 33,071 rural families.³ Unfortunately no data is included on land classification. Concern with land management is mostly manifest in connection with reclamation problems, for example: "studies (sponsored by INCORA) found that three million hectares in some alluvial valleys could be excellent for intensive cultivation if irrigation and drainage projects were constructed as well as a system of flood control." Works under construction cover 213,000 hectares and 140,000 hectares are under study. The impact of such a program in relieving pressure on hillside lands could be tremendous. In Ecuador, between 1964 and March 1966, 570,965 hectares had been distributed to 36,427 families under the different provisions of the land reform law.⁴ In Venezuela, during the six years of the land reform process 2,657,367 hectares (1,406,332 hectares from private estates and 1,253,435 hectares from public domain) have been affected and most of it distributed to 114,398 beneficiary families.⁵

It is not enough to be in favor of a good thing such as integrated conservation programs or stratified land use policies if the necessary strategy for their incorporation into the main stream of action in agricultural development is not forthcoming. In Latin America such development is mainly concerned with regional planning including watershed and irrigation development, supervised credit and technical assistance; colonization and resettlement schemes; and lately, land redistribution and allied measures. Long range thinking and planning are commonly absent from these activities not so much because people in decisive positions favor only short term or immediate goals, but because no viable suggestions on how and when to incorporate long term perspectives into their practical thinking have been proposed. Redistribution of large extensions of low value lands to new owners or users presents a unique opportunity to decide as to their proper and future use. Such an opportunity for linking long range policies and immediate action in the field of resource use and conservation is not likely to be repeated--at least not on such a scale. Perhaps at no other juncture in contemporary Latin American development can we find the kind of expected reciprocal concern between the rural world and the rest of the society.

Land reforms of course have a national impact not limited to the beneficiaries' welfare but also affecting several other aspects of social and economic development. A proper "national interest" attitude on the beneficiaries' part towards the resources with

³Four Years of Agrarian Reform in Colombia, Report of Activities in 1965 (Bogotá: INCORA, 1966).

⁴Informe de labores 1964-65 (Quito: IERAC, 1966).

⁵Informe sobre la Reforma Agraria en la República de Venezuela (Rome: World Land Reform Conference, July 1966).

which they have been endowed is expected and taken for granted, but usually no ways are devised to ensure and guarantee it. The alternatives for action will involve decisions on the proper use and management of low value lands. These alternatives should take into account not only physical characteristics and potentials as seen in terms of desired production or conservation goals, but also the choice of institutional arrangements. Among these, the integration of these lands into existing land reform units or the setting up of new units will have to be decided. Also the choice between cooperatives, individual exploitation, and government management should be made. Hopefully these choices will be arrived at in the light of local social and cultural conditions.

Certain basic problems of land policy not effectively tackled until now, and of paramount importance to the future of the agricultural potential of these countries, could be placed on the agenda for immediate action. Among others, the high paramo lands of Ecuador have a potential not explored as to real value and possibilities, though these lands are already dented here and there by erosion and denudation. Hillside cultivation is favored in many areas of the Andean highlands to escape the hazards of frost, but yields are usually lower than in the more productive bottom land of the high valleys, often in irrigated pasture. With both types of land in the hands of land reform beneficiaries the situation offers a unique challenge to integrate and stratify their use. In Chile the extensive alluvial fans lying between the irrigated flat land and the hillsides have been hardly used so far and the hillsides have been very badly used indeed. Everywhere in the region the relationship of secondary growth and the attempt to establish and maintain permanent pastures is of importance.

The tackling of some of these problems within the context of land redistribution programs might not only yield some new "wisdom" about men and the land they use or misuse, which is badly needed in some agencies, and new attitudes for the beneficiaries of the reform, but might favor as well the emergence of resource specialists who are more willing to bridge the gap between the technical and socio-cultural aspects of resource use and conservation.

LAND REFORM EFFECTS IN THREE FARMING
COMMUNITIES OF BOLIVIA

Some small farmers did increase their land holdings, market participation, and income as a result of the Bolivian agrarian reform of 1953, without help from national extension, credit, or research programs. However, tenure history and physical resource endowment importantly affect the degree of change occurring in a community.

Marcelo Peinado's Ph.D. dissertation 'Land Reform in Three Communities of Cochabamba, Bolivia' reports those findings from his study of two ex-haciendas and a piquería (a community of small farmers who were independent landowners before the reform). All three communities are located on mountainous, treeless terrain at 8,500 to 12,500 feet elevation. Potatoes are the principal product of the area; secondary high-altitude crops are barley, wheat, and corn.

Peinado administered questionnaires to about 25 percent of the families in each community. The farmers at the ex-haciendas gained exclusive control of their own land and labor after the 1953 reform. He found that distribution of ex-hacienda landholdings increased peasant holdings from an average of one hectare to an average of four hectares at one community; at the other, the average parcel size rose from three hectares to nine hectares (the poorer quality of the land accounts for the greater average size). Moreover, two to three times as many families now occupy the land at both ex-haciendas.

Farmers at the more prosperous ex-hacienda now sell roughly 70 percent of their production, compared to only 10 percent sold before the reform. The landlord marketed most of the farm's production before 1953. For the farm as a whole, the percent of total production sold has dropped slightly, but with greater total production the absolute quantity of sales has increased. Here per capita income has reached levels 60 percent higher than the national average.

Peinado attributes production problems at the other ex-hacienda to natural resource deficiencies--the land is poorer and the elevation is higher, and agricultural seasons were poor for five consecutive years before the survey--so fewer crops grow at all; those that do exist do not produce as well. Market participation and income levels here remain quite low.

At the historically independent piquería, land reform brought no land distribution. The average holding is two hectares. Family savings are devoted to land purchase, while the ex-haciendas, where no land buying is necessary, invest whatever savings are available in livestock purchases. The percent of production marketed is about two-thirds at the piquería; per capita incomes average 20 percent above national levels.

Despite their owner status, a considerable number of farmers in all three communities must sharecrop to get farm inputs-- principally potato seed and chemical fertilizer. Merchants of the local town provide these inputs in return for half the crop.

Changes in production since the reform remain somewhat confusing. While total production (by weight) has doubled at one ex-hacienda and stayed about the same at the other, interpretation of productivity levels is complicated by increases in the number of families and the amount of land cultivated, and by a decrease in the proportion of crops devoted to potatoes (a high volume crop).

Peinado also notes social changes which have occurred since the reform. Peasant unions (sindicatos) control resources and actions not specifically assigned to individuals. Education is more available; relative political involvement has risen; social barriers have largely fallen.

Peinado suggests further steps to increase production and integrate peasants with the economic and political life of Bolivia:

- 1) credit programs designed to eliminate dependence on local sources, thereby reducing the sharecropping arrangements with local merchants, which draw off half of sharecropped production;

- 2) diffusion of non-traditional inputs and practices, perhaps through the sindicatos which now link the communities to national governments and institutions.

(Marcelo Peinado is now assistant professor of agricultural economics at Utah State University. He is currently working with CIDIAT at Merida, Venezuela, and teaching at Universidad de los Andes.)

ECONOMIC PROGRESS AND AGRICULTURAL OPPORTUNITY
IN COSTA RICA

Equitable economic development ceased and the subsistence sector began to expand in Costa Rica when the economy became more complex and the state failed to limit certain individual actions. Carlos Sáenz describes this process in "Population Growth, Economic Progress, and Opportunities on the Land: The Case of Costa Rica," his Ph.D. dissertation.

Sáenz cites the concentration of coffee production among relatively few growers as the primary example of stalled Costa Rican development. The country, in contrast to some Latin American nations, began its statehood with all citizens participating economically, politically, and socially--the hacienda system never developed here; instead family farms formed the economic structure of agriculture.

Coffee was introduced in 1821; beneficial actions by the state assured objective, accessible opportunity to engage in coffee production to all who wished to do so. Under such favorable conditions, Costa Rican production grew faster than its neighbors', where production opportunity was limited to a minority of citizens.

However, as economic organization grew more complex, certain individuals took advantage of favorable circumstances and gained economic, and hence political, dominance. For example, money was lent at terms and rates which often resulted in the foreclosure of small farms. Land and the ability to extend credit accumulated among certain persons. The national government failed to stop such actions, and soon, dominated by the large powerful producers, was unable to act. Excluded individuals became poor subsistence farmers or landless laborers.

Although per capita income has risen since then, the subsistence sector has expanded; mechanization is displacing agricultural workers on the commercial farms, where cattle production also replaces more labor intensive crop production. Industrial employment is not absorbing all these workers because industry tends to adopt capital intensive operations. In the 1950-1963 period, the proportion of the total labor force engaged in agriculture fell 6.5 percent, and national unemployment rose from 3.2 to 7.0 percent of the labor force.

Agriculture was able to absorb only 30 percent of the increment in the labor force, despite tolerance--even encouragement--of frontier settlement on the state lands. At the same time, the number of workers per land unit decreased; yet productivity per worker fell 1 percent per year (1950-1963). Total corn yields (one of the most important products of subsistence farms and commercial farms) dropped more than 8 percent in the face of total acreage increases and commercial mechanization.

Sáenz thus contends that agricultural opportunities contract while subsistence farming expands, obviously not the road to equitable development. However, the central government shows no present interest in providing infrastructure, technical assistance, or market facilities to subsistence farmers. Sáenz proposes decentralization of decision making and fiscal power as one alternative. Local governments could channel present local tax monies toward local public services, and establish economic working rules better adapted to local needs--in other words, re-involve all citizens in political participation. Economic involvement might then also be more easily generated.

(Carlos Sáenz is now assistant professor at the University of Costa Rica.)

SCOPE AND USE OF LTC RESEARCH AND TRAINING QUESTIONED

Many observers have critically viewed research in foreign countries by U.S. social scientists. The Camelot incident of several years ago called into question the motives and intent of all social science research. Economic development issues frequently highlight the need for social and institutional reforms, yet many see proposed reforms as a subterfuge for maintaining the status quo--according to these critics nothing short of massive revolution can bring about the necessary restructuring of society. Research on sensitive policy questions such as land reform, particularly when financed by the U.S. Agency for International Development or even by U.S. foundations, is especially subject to suspicion and criticism. Even when the research results are judged to be objective and reliable, questions are raised as to who benefits from such research.

Land Tenure Center staff and students have been caught up in these controversies in several contexts and dimensions during the last six months.

In October 1968, the Students for a Democratic Society and Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union (SDS-WDRU) published a nine page bulletin, distributed on the Madison campus, which characterized the Land Tenure Center as a defender of the status quo: "...when they /LTC/ consider the rural political economy of a given country, they treat the current prevailing political forces as a given--much like soil type and rainfall."

According to SDS-WDRU, the Land Tenure Center either consciously or inadvertently assures that its work will retard social and political change by accepting AID funding, and by directing research information to AID and Latin American national governments. Therefore, the bulletin claims, "its programs have been so restricted in scope and conception that real land reform--even in the limited capitalist context--is the exception and not the rule."

Another longer bulletin by SDS-WDRU, issued in February 1969, asserts that AID's policies are not aimed at real development, but "are designed to reinforce the position of these ruling elites." The alleged purpose of AID is to further domination of Latin American economies by U.S. business interests, through the maintenance of political stability and a good climate for U.S. investment.

The bulletin goes on to describe LTC as an agent of such policies. LTC research and recommendations concerning land titles for Bolivian peasants for land they gained in the 1953 revolution, are characterized as an attempt to "...buy some time, give the peasant a piece of paper to keep him out of Che's hands, just long enough for the army to wipe out the guerillas."

In both publications, it is implied that LTC purposefully cooperates in "insidious operations" to subvert peasant movements and maintain "exploitative" interests in Latin America. These critics advocate that LTC should either be abolished or should shift to a differently conceived social action program--"to help us mobilize the American people for an end to imperialism."

Though the propositions were not nearly so radical, social action issues have also arisen within LTC staff and student ranks. For example, the Research Program Advisory Committee, meeting October 5, 1968, discussed the dissemination and use of LTC research findings. Is publication and wide distribution of all findings sufficient guarantee of objectivity as to their use? Or does the "establishment" always benefit disproportionately from public information? Should LTC do more to publish results in Spanish and Portuguese and make a greater effort to get reports back to campesinos, especially those who were the subjects of the research?

The student training program has also come in for criticism and evaluation. Some feel that students associated with LTC country projects, who come to Madison for graduate work, get too in-bred academically. It has been suggested that encouraging students to study elsewhere might help widen their perspective. The tendency for Latin students to become "Americanized" has also been criticized.

Critical questions have arisen concerning the relative merits of reform vs. revolution and the legitimacy of individual and institutional action along either line. At the Advisory Committee meeting, one staff member granted that revolution sometimes appears necessary and desirable, but he questioned whether any scholarly role exists in merely saying "you must have a revolution before you can do anything." Not that a scholar cannot be a revolutionary at the same time, he declared, but sometimes issues need definition and research regardless of ideology--even revolutionary leaders who come to power need to make decisions based on factual circumstances.

Because time to thoroughly explore these issues ran out at the Advisory Committee session, an informal LTC seminar was scheduled for October 25. Since that time there have been several discussions, both formal and informal, between students and staff regarding LTC policies and priorities.

[In the interests of future discussion and evaluation, LTC would be pleased to have readers' views--pro or con--on these issues.]

LTC ITEMS

Research Program Advisory Committee Meets

The LTC Advisory Committee recently decided that the major thrust of LTC work in the coming year will be to summarize and integrate LTC and related research.

The Committee met in Madison for its semi-annual review of the LTC program on October 4-5, 1968. Dr. Fals Borda, in Colombia, and Professor Hawking, in Indonesia, were unable to attend. Dr. Erven Long, Director of AID Research and Institutional Grants staff, met with the Committee.

The members came to their decision on the new LTC task after discussing ways to make LTC research more useful to policy decisions. The Committee also considered the upcoming contract proposal and other financial questions, and explored potential LTC organization and operation under alternative financial situations.

Open sessions held October 4 presented an extensive report on the Chile program by John Strasma, who had just returned from Chile, and summary reports on activities in other countries. Problems, issues, and opportunities for LTC and similar programs were also covered. General discussions on all topics provided Committee, associated staff, and students a chance to question and comment on the LTC program.

At the dinner meeting that night, Dr. Long briefly remarked on the need to create and develop resources through research. He said "the term 'resources' is synonymous with the sum total of all the processes of knowledge, scientific and other, by which mankind brings the universe to his own account...the improvement of the institutions by which human energies are organized and made more effective, and human values developed and more fully served, turns largely on the capabilities of research...this, of course, is what this land tenure project is all about."

Dorner Visits Colombia, Central America

Peter Dorner, LTC director, visited Colombia, Costa Rica, and Guatemala in late February and early March. While there, he conferred with cooperating personnel at IICA-CIRA in Colombia; the University of San Carlos, Guatemala City; and the University of Costa Rica in San José.

Dorner also met with USAID Mission personnel in all three countries, and with Carlos Castillo, Advisory Committee member and Secretary General of the Central American Common Market.

Staff Members Review LTC Work with AID

Three staff members summarized past LTC work and future plans for AID/Washington officials February 17, 1969, in connection with the current contract extension proposal. Peter Dorner, Raymond Penn, and William Thiesenhusen reviewed progress, results, goals, and further issues at a session with AID personnel.

After lunch Dorner spoke to an open meeting on the accomplishments and uses of LTC project research. Open discussion followed Dorner's presentation.

NEW YORK MUSEUM EXHIBITS LTC FILMS

The American Museum of Natural History included four LTC films in its recent centennial exhibition on primitive agriculture in North and South America. Film selectors for the Museum called Fritz Albert's documentary film footage on Bolivia "highly informative and both sensitively and intelligently made...among the best we've seen" in preparing the exhibit.

One of the films shown was "Campesinos and Farming on Isla del Sol, Annual Market Days at Casani." This color/sound footage, running 20 minutes, illustrates the life and farming methods of the Aymara Indians in Bolivia's Lake Titicaca district, describes the management and problems of a campesino sindicato, and visits the annual market days and fiesta at Casani on the Bolivian-Peru border. Besides the Museum showing, "Isla del Sol" has been rented 28 times in the last year and a half.

Eleven other LTC films by Albert also continue to enjoy wide distribution, and of course each lending probably involves several showings. Colleges and universities across the U.S., Peace Corps training centers, and Wisconsin secondary schools use these films frequently. Chile prints are available with either Spanish or English sound tracks, widening the range of possible uses.

Twelve LTC films on Bolivia, Chile, and Colombia can be rented or purchased; a brochure describing them, with ordering instructions, is available from the LTC office.

LTC Staff and Students

Degrees:

- MARCELO PEINADO - Ph.D. in Agricultural Economics. His thesis is summarized in this issue of the Newsletter.
- CARLOS SAENZ - Ph.D. in Agricultural Economics. His thesis is summarized in this issue.
- MANUEL GOLLAS - Ph.D. in Agricultural Economics. His thesis "History and Economic Theory in the Analysis of the Development of Guatemalan Indian Agriculture" examines labor supply and resource use efficiency among Highland Indian farmers.
- EDUARDO DE LA ESPRIELLA - Master's in Agricultural Economics. He is now employed by Standard Fruit Company in Costa Rica.

HAROLD SEEBERGER is writing his Ph.D. dissertation, which concerns rural labor unions in Colombia. He teaches at Heidelberg College.

Assignments:

LESTER SCHMID returned to Madison from Guatemala last August. He is assistant professor at LTC.

BENJAMIN VILLANUEVA has accepted a one-year appointment as assistant professor at LTC.

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