

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

CRT - 3
The "New Era"
in Cliza Valley

Hotel Sucre Palace
La Paz
Bolivia
August 22, 1955

Mr. Walter S. Rogers
Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Bolivia is divided between mountains and lowlands in a ratio of approximately one to two, and most of its population of three million live in the mountainous areas. The highlands fall into three sections: the Western cordillera (Cordillera Occidental), a southward continuation of the volcanic region which begins north of Arequipa in Peru; the Altiplano, a high plateau of sedimentary deposits containing a string of intermont basins; and the Eastern cordillera (Cordillera Real), in its northern half an extension of the Peruvian high ranges but changing in its southern half to a great earth block of slight local relief called the Puna.

The highlands taken together are one of the three parts into which all Bolivia is divided. The other two are the Yungas, an Aymara name given to the semi-tropical valleys of the north-eastern slopes of the Eastern cordillera which range in height from 3,000 to 6,500 ft. above sea level; and the Oriente, the tropical lowlands which extend from the foothills of the Eastern cordillera to the Matô Grosso on the Brazilian frontier, to the plains of the Gran Chaco to the south, and on the north are bounded by the Abuná and Madeira Rivers. These two tropical regions account for one tenth and seven tenths respectively of Bolivia's total area but contain little more than one third of its population.

Within the highland areas the thickest clusters of people are found in the intermont basins and valleys lying at lower altitudes in the Eastern cordillera. In the Puna region the valleys are supplied with sufficient water for irrigation even where the rainfall is low; but those to the north lack this characteristic and dry farming is a necessity. Of these basins, the Cochabamba Valley in the northern part has long been one of the centers of a heavy population concentration within an area some fifteen miles long and six miles wide.

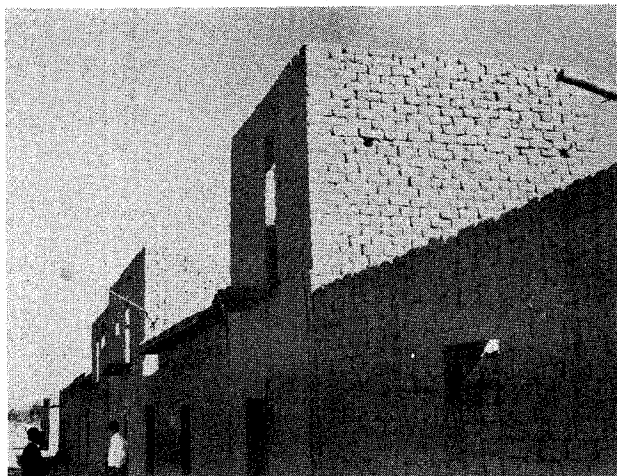
The Cliza Valley, roughly one half the size, is separated

from the Cochabamba Valley by a low range of mountains and shares an equally high population density and is at the same altitude (about 8500 ft.). The two are linked by a newly completed paved highway which continues to the south and Santa Cruz in the Oriente, and are thought of as one unit by the people living there. They usually refer to both valleys simply as the Cochabamba valley. Cliza Valley has a pleasant climate - the coldest winter month having an average temperature of 57° - and it produces a variety of crops, including maize, barley, alfalfa, potatoes, fruits and vegetables.

There has been an intensive interbreeding in this valley between white and indian, and the present population is almost entirely mestizo. A social distinction had existed, however, which set the "Indian" apart from the rest of the population. This meant that there was a large number of rural people who wore native dress, spoke Quechua as their only language, did the least attractive jobs in addition to being subsistence farmers, and occupied the lowest status on the social scale. For some decades there has been a weakening of the separateness of the "Indian" on the basis of these characteristics alone: the "non-Indian," for example, spoke Quechua as well. Their place was taken by essentially economic criteria - a man's wage and kind of job gave him status - buttressed by years of education. This standard continued to rank the campesino (member of the rural population) as the lowest of the hierarchy since he was more apt to be a subsistence farmer than a wage earner. The 1952 revolution made all citizens equals and did away with such distinctions, but the term "indio" continues in use as word of contempt among those who consider themselves to have a high status position.

It is winter in the Cliza Valley now. The mountains which enclose it are like great piles of softly crumpled brown and green velvet rolling one into the other. The land within the valley is dry in this season but still the sharp green of eucalyptus trees remains. Irrigation ditches trench the earth but are empty of water, and the dirt banks along their sides have been gouged into fantastic forms by the water which once passed through. They look like miniature Grand Canyons. Little tornadoes of dust spin occasionally across the land. Settlements range from single houses to ranchos (hamlets) to towns such as Punata, Tarata and Cliza. Built as most of them are of adobe bricks plastered with mud they are one in color with the earth.

The largest of the Valley's towns is Cliza, the administrative center of Cliza Province and the social center of the valley



House Type. Cliza.

which also contains the provinces of Araní and Esteban Arze. I have already described Cliza (CRT - 1) and would add here that it is a lively town, filled with the comings and goings of many people: campesinos in homespun garments or suits copied at home from a chain store catalogue; townspeople in suits and dresses bought in the city. They share the unpaved streets with burros, sheep, dogs, cattle and chickens, as well as trucks, automobiles and bicycles.

Before coming to Cliza Valley, I was informed that it was one of the centers of the social changes initiated in Bolivia in 1952 with the accession to power of President Paz Estenssoro and his party, Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR, "Nationalist Revolutionary Movement"). I was also told that it was one of the areas in which the campesino was determining the course of this change through his own demands and activities rather than being passively manipulated by the government from La Paz. Dick Patch's newsletters especially gave me a detailed and on the spot picture of contemporary life in the valley.

When I arrived in Cliza a month ago, this feeling of familiarity soon vanished. In settling down to live here, to travel to villages and nearby hamlets, to talk with campesinos and townspeople, to drink maize beer (chicha) and hot foods (picantes) in the morning, afternoon and far into the night, to attend parties, dances and patriotic celebrations, I felt a sensation of strangeness and confusion only partly allayed by prior paper knowledge. In discussing this reaction with Dick, he pointed out that reducing the complex life and changes going on in the valley to words on paper had the effect at times of making Cliza seem no more than a slight variation upon life as lived in the Midwestern plains of the United States, but that this is far from the case.

An observer who tries to pin down life as it is now carried on in this valley is hard put to establish any generalizations which hold from one situation to another. Baffled by this slipperiness of human activity in a rapidly changing context, he can sometimes conclude only lamely that "change is taking place along not thoroughly predictable lines." Nevertheless, I think that some sort of

Dick Patch and campesinas.
Ana Rancho.



Sunday Market. Cliza.

Campesinos. Cliza.



picture of what the campesino calls the "new era" can be pieced together from the dozens of incidents I have participated in and observed.

Cliza Valley is a place with a multitude of histories: one as old as the foundation of the audiencia of Charcas (which included modern Bolivia) by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century; another dating from the eighteenth century and the United States Constitution; another growing out of the nineteenth century and Marx, Lenin and the Russian revolution of 1917; and yet another influenced by Fascism as practised by Hitler and Mussolini in the twentieth century. The elements of these backgrounds flow into the changing situation and interact at random confusing many issues and often losing their identity in the process. For example, the jargon of the MNR includes such phrases as "capitalistic exploitation" and "revolution is the path to liberty," but the MNR is not primarily a Communist party and its social goals are more in line with what we conceive democratic ends to be although it assigns the responsibility for the achievement of these ends to the state.

The present MNR party mirrors these many histories in its membership. It is aptly described as having a right wing, a left wing and a space in between, reflecting the fact that although an individual's sympathies may be with the center the policies sponsored by the party are drawn from the ideas of the two extremes. The original MNR, founded in 1940, had demonstrable affiliations with Nazi Germany under the government of Gualberto Villaroel (1943-46) but was basically nationalist in orientation.

The Partido del Izquierdo Revolucionario (PIR, "Party of the Revolutionary Left") was also founded in 1940 by José Arze who ascribed to Marx and nationalist Communism. By 1949 this party had split into two factions: one supporting Arze's point of view, the other approving the Stalinist doctrine of universal communism and allegiance to the parent party in Russia.

These two groups were joined by a third, Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR, "Party of the Revolutionary Worker"), organized by Juan Lechín among the mine workers (and later the industrial workers) and based upon the formation of workers' syndicates. Although Lechín stated that his party was affiliated with the Trotskyist Fourth International there has always been some doubt as to his exact political convictions, and this particular statement may have been no more than a device to set his POR apart from the other parties.

The revolt on April 9, 1952, led by the MNR, was supported

by the POR, and its success induced many of the members of the PIR (whose party, in any case, had been dissolved by Arze because of its internal squabbles) to join the MNR.

As things stand today, no one faction within the MNR is dominant, and specific policies tend to be a compromise between the differing points of view. There would seem to be a basic instability in this collaboration but the party as now constituted has withstood three years of stress and strain. One party member suggested to me that this may be partly due to the fact that no one group feels itself strong enough to challenge the popularity of the MNR among the electorate.

The factions in this coalition have supporters among the people in Cliza Valley. Various members of the teaching staff in Ucureña, two kilometers from Cliza, are PIRistas, and the political affections of José Rojas, Executive Secretary of the Federation of Agricultural Syndicates who lives in Ucureña part of the year, may well be with these persons. He has so far done nothing about ousting them from the school despite strong pressure from local MNR officials; and he has declined to make a public choice between the doctrines of the MNR and those of the PIR. Since 1952 Juan Lechín has also identified himself with campesino problems and has a large personal following among them. Most of the campesinos, however, are official members of the MNR

The campesinos I talked with did not strike me as political thinkers who had made a well thought out choice of party affiliation. It seemed to me that the average campesino's allegiance was first given to an individual who promised that certain things would be done for him and who also had personally attractive qualities, and second to the group which such a person represented. Juan Lechín, once a mine worker himself, is already a legend in his lifetime, and his adherents follow him as much for this reason as for any political program. José Rojas occupies somewhat the same position with the agricultural population of the "Cochabamba Valley." A campesino from Ucureña and an effective speaker, he was mainly responsible for the organization of the agricultural syndicates in 1952, and, although his effectiveness politically has declined in the last two years, he is still immensely popular with the campesinos.

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1. The agricultural syndicates, counterparts to Lechín's workers' syndicates, were organized on a large scale in 1952, largely through the efforts of Rojas, who stumped the length of the Cliza and Cochabamba Valleys in this work. They now act not only as filters for the demands of the campesino but also as a kind of informal rural government standing somewhat outside the formal political structure of the country.

One small but recurrent example of the campesino as party member is the untiring repetition to any listener of the idea that the "new era" is due to the "tireless labor of compañero Paz Estenssoro and the MNR." (The word compañero (companion) is the current form of address adopted by the campesino to signify participation in, approval of or sympathy with the 1952 revolution and its aims. It is also a token of the disappearance of class distinctions and anyone from the President on down may be so addressed. It seems better to leave it untranslated.)

I noted above that contemporary happenings were also influenced by developments originating in the colonial period of Bolivia's history. For these, one has to go back to 1615 when the Monasterio de Santa Clara was established under the will of Francisca Vargas who left all her lands and goods for the foundation of a nunnery (monasterio may mean either "monastery" or "nunnery"). This Monasterio dominated the life of Cliza Province until just fifteen years ago.

The lands of the Monasterio were administered for the nuns, who knew and cared little about such matters, by stewards (mayordomos), and the land was worked by indians (colonos) who were bound by strict rules regulating their labor on the Monasterio's lands, requiring a certain amount of domestic service in the houses of the nuns and stewards each year, and establishing a cash payment for rights of usufruct upon plots of land assigned to them for their own use.

The colono and his nuclear family were hard put to meet these obligations and, as a response, the extended family developed. Sons would not establish separate residence but brought their wives into the father's home, building on to the family compound when necessary. The father, however, was the only registered colono in this larger group so that the amount of land from which the family drew its produce remained unchanged. The result was that with each generation the extended family lived on a narrowing subsistence margin. Today, there is a much larger farming population in the valley than is commensurate with the supply of land.

This pattern of land holdings continued until 1939 when the nuns decided to sell most of their lands. Through the aid of the then Minister of Agriculture, Rosales, five persons were permitted by special decree to buy the bulk of the Monasterio's lands at a price so low as to be ludicrous - for the nuns knew nothing of the true value of their property.

The new owners formally altered the system of land tenure, but it remained much the same in practice and certainly in spirit. The colono lands were abolished (and often flooded to drive away the tenants); new plots (pegujal-es) were staked out along the edges of the hacienda lands and on these the campesino (pegujalero) was given rights of usufruct. The pegujalero was now obliged to spend six days each week in cultivating hacienda lands; the rule of domestic service for himself, his wife and children was continued; and his cash tribute became a specified percentage of the owner's property taxes.

The land reform decree signed on August 2, 1953, confiscated these lands and reassigned them to the individuals occupying them, as privately held property. In some cases, however, a group of farmers maintained that for each man to work his own plot individually would be inefficient, and they insisted upon organizing themselves into cooperatives (colectivos) into which were pooled a number of separate grants. The group cultivated this pooled land and its yield was divided among the cooperative's members. The government had no recourse but to recognize these cooperatives, even though the agrarian reform laws state specifically that property should be privately owned and independently tilled.

This feudal situation before 1953 in Cliza Valley has to be somewhat modified for some independent action by the campesino was undertaken. Groups of campesinos had bought and rented lands from the Monasterio, and later from the haciendas, for their own use. In 1936, for example, a campesino syndicate was formed at Ana Rancho (in Cliza Valley) which rented lands from the Monasterio for the use of its members, and financed the construction of a school in Ucureña. Its leaders were sometimes jailed for their activities, but the syndicate survived until 1952 when it became part of the Federation. Yet, superficially, much like the Mexican scene in 1910 when Madero revolted against Díaz, all was as it had been. Two MNR officials whom I know expressed surprise that the campesino had jumped into the "new era" so vigorously and whole heartedly once the mechanism was provided.

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Although the revolution ended a feudal kind of life for the campesino, and all at once, it did not usher in as quickly a whole new modern era. The campesino still lives in the same kind of house, eats much the same foods, continues to speak Quechua and follows many of the old traditions closely. His activities, however, are no longer circumscribed by the dictates of a small ruling group, nor does he function as the low man in the social and economic

systems simply by virtue of being a campesino: he is an independent citizen fully qualified to vote and lobby as he sees fit. The younger people show the most change in outward habits; having taken over items of "white" dress, certain speech habits and various kinds of "town" festivities. They are apt to be rude and aggressive toward the townsman, and the loudest in demanding the new "rights."

Many of the townspeople fled to Cochabamba two years ago, and those who remain find themselves going on somewhat as before while adjusting to the results of the revolution. The campesino is feared, and hated by many, but the townsman gives public approval to the changes which are taking place. In a few instances, he is wholeheartedly in favor of the "new era" and assists the government's work in some administrative or advisory capacity. Most, however, retire into their secret disapproval and have as little as possible to do with the "experiment," as they call it, saying that it won't work - basing this upon little more than a belief that the campesino is an inferior being.

Celebrations were held in Ucureña on August 2 to commemorate the second year of the agrarian reform and to celebrate the Day of the Indian. The festivities were organized and run by the campesinos, and what I saw and heard there helped to clarify my impressions of the "new era" in Cliza Valley.

Ucureña, as the home of José Rojas, and as the place in which the agrarian reform decree was signed in 1953, occupies a special position in the valley. Here also is located one of the more important educational units in the valley, called a núcleo (nucleus) as opposed to escuela (school) since it teaches not only the conventional subjects but also sanitation practices, agricultural techniques, cooking and many other subjects calculated to raise the campesino's standard of living.

Early in the morning of August 2, a steady flow of campesinos passed through Cliza on their way to Ucureña - some on foot, some in hired trucks, and all in good spirits. They were cheered on by the children of Cliza who lined the streets to watch them go by. Few adult townspeople did more than hang the Bolivian flag on their houses, and most tried to act as if it were just another day. One townsman said to me: "This is all very well and good, but, as your Lincoln (sic) said, 'The best Indian is a dead Indian.' Why here the Indian will probably do away with us before he's through." (By contrast, on August 6, the anniversary of Bolivia's independence from Spain, the townspeople were active everywhere, themselves and their children spruced up for the occasion, and sponsoring parties and dances.)

I rode to Ucureña in an official pickup truck which bulled its way through the thick crowds of campesinos on the road. They often waved greetings and were rewarded by being smothered in the heavy dust which the truck threw up.

The center of the day's ceremonies was a monument dedicated to the campesino and the agrarian reform which stood in the center of a well trodden field near the buildings of the núcleo. It had just been completed the day before. A limestone Indian stood on the central shaft, but this figure was temporary I was told: the ultimate design, to be done in marble and bronze, would replace it when funds became available. (This did not prevent the newspapers from publishing a picture the next day of the projected final design and referring to it as the monument "dedicated yesterday.") A stone and cement platform surrounded the shaft and on it was a table draped with a white cloth for the celebration of Mass which was to open the ceremonies.

Monument. Ucureña.
Pictures (l. to r.):
Siles Zuazo, Villaroel,
Sucre, Bolívar, Paz
Extenssoro.



By the time the official guests arrived, at about nine-thirty, hordes of campesinos were milling about the monument and in the field. (The newspapers next day reported that the attendance was some 150,000 persons - less than a third of this figure would be closer to the facts.) On one side of the field, tents of sheeting and thin poles were going up to house the displays of farm products. In another section, chattering school-children in white smocks were standing impatiently, while group after group of armed men, in khaki shirts and trousers, members of the agricultural syndicates, marched to designated areas - all to await their turn in the scheduled parade.

The official luminary among the guests was Hernán Siles Zuazo, the Vice-President, who arrived unsmiling and remained that way during the ceremonies. He and the others took places on the

Official Guests. Ucureña.
(Siles Zuazo, center,
with sun glasses.)



platform of the monument, and the day was opened by the Cliza parish priest, Father Zúñiga, who read Mass, to the accompaniment of a band which alternated between patriotic songs and native music.



View of
Parade.
Ucureña.

After Mass, a parade filed by for over an hour and a half. It contained the schoolchildren, the armed syndicates (and even groups of women carrying machetes and garrotes), tractors, trucks bearing pigs, bulls, cattle and chickens, and various campesino soccer and basketball teams. Most of the marchers gave the "V for Victory" sign, which has been adopted as the salute of the MNR, as they passed the reviewing stand.

The most important event of the day was the giving of land title documents to various persons. The campesino has until now had no official piece of paper to verify his ownership of his plot of land and has been impatiently awaiting the end of the work of the Agrarian Judges for these to be prepared. The first title was given to José Rojas by Siles Zuazo, and this was followed by similar presentations to other campesinos by the official guests. The spectators stood quietly as each title was handed over but burst into loud applause and cheers when the few accompanying remarks were made.

Official speeches concluded the formal activities. The speakers stressed three themes: the value of the reform, the continuing

efforts of the MNR in behalf of the campesino, and the need for the farmer to produce more. A typical statement was: "We have given you land, liberty and arms with which to protect them - now let us all produce more."

One of the best received of the speeches was that of José Rojas, whose popularity among the campesinos is still high, despite the fact that during the last two years he has personally worked less with the syndicates, spending much of his time in Cochabamba enjoying the large subsidy paid him by the government. (It is said that the Minister of Campesino Affairs, Ñuflo Chávez, insisted upon large salaries for local leaders such as Rojas to distract their attention from the constant efforts needed to keep the loyalty of the campesinos and to maintain the power and effectiveness of the syndicates.)

After luncheon in the núcleo, I was taken on a tour of the exhibitions of farm products. They included a table displaying plates of grains (varieties of maize, quinoa, rice) and various regional dishes (mostly soups of one kind or another) typical of the rural diet; a big black and white cow, the product of artificial insemination, which was renowned for the large quantities of high grade milk which it gave; fat lazy pigs looking indolently healthy; and vegetables and fruits of all kinds. It was an impressive display, and the booth keepers were proud and happy to show off their wares.

Walking through the crowd of campesinos, who by now had lost the solemnity of the official part of the day, I was impressed by the confidence of the campesino, who seemed to advertise the fact that this was his day, his celebration and that he was after all the mover of the agrarian reform. Many of the non-uniformed men were armed also (and I thought of one of the parade banners which said, "Arms, the Guarantee of the Agrarian Reform"). There was no doubt that they would continue to use these guns in defense of their rights as citizens and land owners, having done so often during the years of reform.

At the same time, some of the men, having drunk too much, were being abused and manhandled by their wives and protested only weakly. Others were accepting the begrudged gift of a few Bolivianos from

Agricultural
Exhibit, with
Owner.



their wives, with which to buy chicha or ice cream.

A story had been told me the week before of a campesino, director (dirigente) of one of the syndicates, who came to the jail in one of the valley's towns and asked the keeper to release a prisoner. When he was asked by whose authority, he replied, "By mine." The keeper explained that this was insufficient according to government regulations. "Which government?" the campesino asked. The keeper replied, "That of the MNR and compañero Paz Estenssoro," to which the campesino said angrily, "The government here is that of the compañeros of Ucureña."

The jailer did not release the man and the campesino, when sober, did not push his point, but the attitude which this story implied was very pertinent at the Ucureña celebrations. The campesinos are a group to whom the government has said, "You are the people," and they have taken this literally, although confusing privileges with rights and actual government with franchise.

The campesino is constantly criticized because he abuses the privileges given him. He uses his arms to terrorize others and to settle arguments, and many campesinos have been shot under such circumstances by their fellows. He insults townspeople and anyone who seems representative of the old order - or who just displeases him. He takes over lands not given him by law and defends this illegal expropriation with bullets. He commandeers trucks, tractors and other machines from their owners without any thought of compensation. He has not yet managed to raise agricultural production on his lands. Yet, none of these departures from virtue alters the fundamental changes in the life of the campesino, nor do they seem to affect his view that he is right in the end.

Such transgressions were easily forgotten at Ucureña, and the "new era" was typified instead in the special events and exhibits of the day, in the fact that the Vice President attended the celebrations at the campesino's invitation and as a guest, and in the stone and concrete of the monument. Under the hot sun and in the fog of dust which so many people stirred up, we were all "compañeros" in the many senses which this word carries.

The campesino himself finds certain defects in the "new era," especially since the cost of many basic items in his budget (clothing, wheat) has been driven up by Bolivia's persistent inflation. This is often, however, a personal complaint, and recognized as such by the speaker. The majority seem willing to accept a period of hardships in exchange for the rewards of being self-determined citizens, and for the promises of a better standard of

living, health and education.

Without articulating the thought into a formal statement, it is clear that the campesino considers the rights given him to be inalienable and that to maintain them he was given arms. There have been - and will probably continue to be - political murders, that is, the removal of someone who seems to threaten or wants to block the current trends. The leaders of the MNR point out that this may have to be a transient aspect of a hurried experiment in self determination for a largely illiterate, politically naive people. At the present stage of development, the campesino may feel that a bullet is stronger than a ballot. Although this aspect of the "new era" may be rationalized away, it does contribute an air of fear and uncertainty to life in Cliza Valley.

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On all sides there is recognition that the "new era" must be sustained by a bettered economic situation for the campesino and for Bolivia. For Cliza Valley this means efficient agricultural production resulting in a surplus crop. Bolivia imports foodstuffs although her agricultural potential is such that the country could be self-sufficient.

The redistribution of land in Cliza Valley was a first step toward these ends. The agrarian reform is equally directed, however, toward improving methods of production as it is to giving land to each campesino as his private property. Production is still not at the desired level, but this does not appear to be primarily a human fault, but rather has its basis in a shortage of technical assistance and money with which to purchase needed machinery.

Harold Osborne, in Bolivia, a Land Divided (London, 1954, pp. 67-68), says:

The Indian farmer of Bolivia has neither the inclination nor the inducement to produce more than enough to satisfy his own minimum needs and, unless after a long process of civic education, a distribution of lands must be expected to result in a serious diminution of agricultural output.

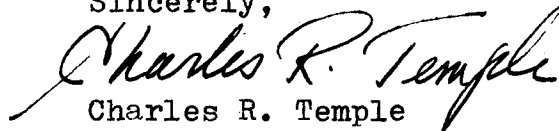
This passage was written before the full effects of the agrarian reform could be analyzed, but its theme of the "indifferent Indian" is still current among Bolivians and foreigners alike.

August 2 in Ucureña made clear to me that some campesinos

do have the inclination and inducement to produce more than is necessary to their minimum existence but that they currently lack advice and machines to achieve this. I was told by one campesino that I should carry away one thought with me when I left Bolivia, that "here is a humble people, just beginning to grow up, and willing to work long and hard in whatever affects them."

I have used the phrase "agrarian reform" often in this letter in discussing life in Cliza Valley but it is really only a part of the changes occurring there. In preceding pages I have cited instances of social changes among the campesinos - new food and dress habits, political self determination, an altered conception of their role in the national life - which I think are the most important aspects of the "new era" in Cliza Valley. The revolution which has taken place is first and foremost a social one although the agrarian reform has acted as its vehicle.

Sincerely,


Charles R. Temple

Appendix 1.

The following is a translation of the important passages from the printed Spanish version of a speech delivered by José Rojas in Ucureña, August 2, 1955. Rojas gave the substance of this speech in Quechua to the campesinos. I have left out most of the rhetorical frills and redundancies.

It seems important to me for three reasons: it touches upon some of the practical problems of the agrarian reform in Cliza Valley; it gives Rojas' conception of the function of the syndicates in both the agrarian reform and in the national political life; and it shows the mixed nature of the social and political philosophy of the present government.

Compañeros:**THE AGRARIAN REFORM -**

In two years of watching over the Agrarian Reform Decree, signed in this town, we have seen that its execution has been retarded more than it ought to be. When the causes of this anomaly are analyzed, we can see...that there are land holders who, not yet convinced that their domination is ended once and for all, devise all kinds of legal tricks to delay the proceedings of expropriation and reassignment....another delaying factor...is the complacency of various government officials who, perhaps out of habit, lend themselves as instruments of the land holders, slowing down the proceedings upon one pretext or another. In order to remedy this state of affairs, it is necessary that the syndicalist units be given, by decree, wider scope of intervention so that they may become overseers and goads to bureaucratic indolence and partiality. Finally, a factor of a technical nature exists: the shortage of topographers...the government should train by means of Short Courses members of the Army or the Universities as specialists in land surveying, so that they can carry out the necessary work with proper responsibility, unlike the present situation in which any citizen obtains permission to act as a surveyor, and does work which afterwards has to be redone...

THE SYNDICATE ORGANIZATION -

In the more than three years in which the agrarian syndicates have been functioning...they have not fulfilled the specific function to which they have been committed. There exist today in all sectors of the Department of Cochabamba syndicates...members of the Federation. But, do all these units fulfill their proper functions as they should? As yet, no, due partly to the fact that some easy going directors ignore standard procedures, and due partly to a

serious lack of discipline: the individual units are accustomed to disobey their directors and appeal directly to the central units and even to the Federation with claims of a purely personal kind, making useless expenditures and wasting time in travel.

It is essential that these vicious practices come to an end....From now on the Federation will impose an iron discipline upon its units....

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION -

It should be realized that the Agrarian Reform was not undertaken solely to give land to those who didn't have it. It was intended that the land be worked, because the "land belongs to him who works it," which means that working the land is the basis of rights of ownership over land. This means that the person who doesn't work cannot have lands. In order to fulfill the obligation which the Agrarian Reform has imposed upon everyone, we must make the land produce much more than now and in the past: first, because it is a duty; second, in producing more, we benefit more.

NEW OBJECTIVES -

1. Press and Radio - To achieve...the greatest diffusion of the revolutionary orientation to the masses, in the political, economic-agrarian and cultural spheres, by means of the publication of a newspaper and over the radio.

2. Directors' Schools - The Federation will put into operation, with the cooperation of the Universities, a Short Course for training directors....We will periodically gather together groups of 50 to 100 directors and younger compañeros (who have shown aptitude in management tasks)...for an apprenticeship in courses on syndicalism, cooperativism, political doctrines and elements of general science.

3. Elevation of the Standard of Living - The raising of the standard of living of the campesino is one of the logical consequences of the Agrarian Reform since this will tend to make the compañero in the New Bolivia not only a producer but also a consumer....everyone must build houses with comfortable and sanitary conditions, feed himself and his children well, dress better and observe practices of social and personal hygiene.

4. Increasing the Level of Culture and the New Duties of the Teachers - ...Everyone and each one of us must give his maximum collaboration to the diffusion of teaching, making a sacrifice as it may be to implant in each syndicate a school, and to send without exception to that school all the children, for we must not repeat against our own children the crime which the land barons committed against us in denying us schooling...

Compañeros, with rifle on shoulder and plough in hand, say

LONG LIVE THE AGRARIAN REFORM
LONG LIVE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE NATIONAL REVOLUTION
LONG LIVE COMPANERO PAZ ESTENSSORO
LONG LIVE C. HERNAN SILES ZUAZO
LONG LIVE C. JUAN LECHIN
LONG LIVE C. NUFLO CHAVEZ.

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