
REPORTS

AGRARIAN PROBLEMS OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

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*Frédéric Mauro, Université de Toulouse**

FRENCH EFFORTS TO DEVELOP LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES WERE NOTED BY three recent conferences: one in Bordeaux, in 1963, on the "History of Latin America in the 20th century"; one in Toulouse, in 1964, on the "Problems of Cities in Latin America"; one in Paris, in October 1965, on the "Agrarian Problems in Latin American Countries." This last conference, like the preceding ones, was organized by the C. N. R. S. It took place at the Latin American Institute of Higher Studies of the University of Paris, under the chairmanship of Pierre Monbeig, professor at the Sorbonne and director of the Institute, and of Francois Chevalier, professor at the University of Bordeaux and director of the French Institute of Studies of the Andes. The communications and discussions encompassed three topics:

- (1) The peasants: Communities and small estates;
- (2) Large estates: Agriculture;
- (3) Initial experiments in agrarian reforms.

A total of 55 communications including introductions and conclusions were presented. The conference began with speeches by Francois Perroux and Pierre Monbeig. We shall not render an account of all the interpositions and discussions, although several deserve special attention, such as the one by the writer Arguedas. A list of the papers by authors in alphabetical order can be found at the end of this entry.

The first topic consisted of two series of questions. The first related to the traditional communities. Where are they in the evolutionary process? Are they in the process of disintegration? Have they disintegrated or been restructured? An important problem for Latin America with its indigenous tradition, as

* Translated by Mrs. Helen Carter.

Francois Chevalier has shown in his introduction, refers to the "twilight zones" of Pierre Monbeig. These are the zones forgotten by the economists who concentrate their attention on the regions of capitalistic monoculture and who are barely equipped to understand the evolution of production or consumption in these "twilight zones."

Social anthropology gives more descriptions than explanations for it often lacks historical perspective, although the younger school of the *American Anthropologist* is clearly proceeding in that direction. How, for example, does one avoid studying communities in the process of disintegration? The community here is the Anglo-Saxon *little community*. This *little community* has created a myth around itself. As a reaction against the individualism of the 19th century, the Latin American *indigenistas* have rehabilitated and idealized all forms of community living such as the *ejido*. In their monographic studies North American anthropologists have done the same thing. This is why, because of a new reaction, certain specialists go so far as to deny the existence of communities as such. Also open to discussion is the part played by the pre-Columbian civilization and that of the European in the communal tradition—whether, and how, it has been the victim of the development of the *haciendas*; whether it has experienced a process of cholification.

One sometimes witnesses, remarked Francois Chevalier, a restructuring of communities; they first disappear, then are formed again with outsiders. Can the communities adapt to modern methods of economic management? The experiment of the *Acción Andina* in Puno, Peru, and that of Dr. Baz in Mexico will perhaps soon tell.

R. P. Schaedel gave a different view of the agrarian communities in Latin America. In "a comparative study of the peasant milieu," he has shown that the household was generally similar, whether seen from the point of view of the familial structure, of its "self-sufficient" economy, or of its technology. The only differences were in the quality of the land, the structure of crops, revenue and expenses for each family and per capita. Above it on a supra household level, one finds the large hamlet—*villorio*—almost always consisting of four classes, of which three are truly "peasant" and the fourth is landless. The structure of these communities is loose except for strongly integrated "enclaves" that represent groups of an ethnic homogeneity superior to the Latin American average. Finally, above the *villorio*, is the *aldea*, the village whose definition obeys urban rather than rural criteria.

Van Zantwijk, while studying "Los sistemas prehispanicos de tenencia de la tierra y sus supervivencias en la actualidad," has shown how current systems were already represented in the pre-Columbian world. He has indicated that the *altepetlallu* was not communal land, as Gibson believed, but rather public land for hunting and grazing.

José Miranda explained what had happened to this indigenous property during the colonial and national periods. Before Independence it was protected by the King of Spain who tried to integrate pre-Columbian rules with hispanic property rights. But it had to struggle against the encroaching policy of the haciendas. It had to suffer even more after Independence, for the new ideas sustained by the colonists emancipated from Spanish tutelage did not favor communal property. In spite of this, in 1910, 41 percent of indigenous *pueblos* were in possession of their land. "Nevertheless, each time the number of Indians diminished and the number of mestizos increased in their village, social cohesion and the defense of property on the part of the natives became gradually debilitated and more loose."

Guy Stresser-Pean emphasized the persistence in the Mexican Huasteca of indigenous communities, which at the present time are being transformed into ejidos. Ejidos can also be formed by the carving up of big estates. In the northern and eastern regions of stock-raising where the density of population was slight and where the large estate prevailed, the land-demands were few and easily fulfilled. On the contrary, in the densely populated agricultural regions where small property prevailed, there was often little land susceptible to expropriation or redistribution. In these regions a large proportion of the ejidos were created by the transformation of pre-existing indigenous communities, and afterwards it was not always possible for them to expand. Stresser-Pean distinguishes three kinds of ejidos according to the land on which they were established: those of the irrigated lands planted to sugar cane with mechanized cultivation; those on the rich alluvial land with sufficiently progressive sustenance crop patterns; and finally the most numerous ones on the poor land, with an exclusively Indian population and not very progressive cultivation.

Outside Mexico, Heraclio Bonilla gave the example of Aucallama, a community of small landowners in a valley on the Peruvian coast. It is one of the three indigenous communities that have persisted in the valley of Chancay. During the Spanish period it became a *reducción* formed by four *ayllus*, of which Aucallama is one. But it vegetated, and only at the end of the 19th century did its fortune change. It then became a means by which the small landowners could resist absorption by the haciendas (brilliantly studied by José Matos Mar in another paper). But Aucallama was officially recognized by the government only in 1920 and was expanded only after 1940 through the incorporation of a large group of denouncers of fallow land. H. Bonilla described the vicissitudes in this development, indicating that the community is more a means of resistance for the weak than a means to economic progress. In Bolivia, Arturo Urquidi dealt with a peasant community of mixed origin—indigenous and colonial—which has remained very strong and numerically important.

The small landowner on the Latin American continent is weak. Sidney Mintz treated the struggle that has existed in the Caribbean since the 16th century between the plantation and the small estate. The one develops when the other disappears, and vice-versa. It was only on the small estate that it was possible to transmit the patterns of traditional cultivation of African, Asiatic, or American origin. And since it is the plantation that disposes of the best lands, "small scale farming is not only more archaic, less productive, and less developed than cultivation on the plantations, it is also practiced almost everywhere on land that is less suitable for agriculture." However, "plantations and small farms almost always co-exist in a sort of special symbiosis of considerable economical and political significance." Certain types of peasants can thus be separated and classified, but such a classification cannot do justice to all the nuances existing in contemporary rural life in the Caribbean. And Sidney Mintz cited three examples—Haiti, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico.

Haiti's situation was summed up by Paul Moral in his Haitian *facies agraires*, which permits small-scale agriculture, half for home consumption, half commercial. The "small pickings" concept is based on the pre-eminence of the restricted family as a basic element of rural exploitation, the generalization of the *minifundio* and the association of commercial commodities and food, both cultivated by simple technical means. This precarious and unstable system leads to an astonishing "rural mobility."

The conference then focused on the Colombian small owner. Lynn Smith has shown that of 1,500,000 Colombian families living off the soil, 1,125,000 use only the hoe, the axe, a machete, and fire. Orlando Fals Borda in *Pautas Conservadoras en el salto a propietario* used the example of Saucio (Colombia) to demonstrate by a precise and quantitative scientific method that the acquisition of property rights is not necessarily¹ synonymous with progress and agricultural modernization.

Brazil was treated in several studies about a subject that María de Queiroz calls the *sitiante*, whose transformation she is studying. The *sitiante* is midway between the large estate owner and the landless peasant. He is the one who works his land with the help of his family. From an example studied by her colleague, Lia Freitas Garcia, 50 km. from São Paulo, the writer has portrayed a *sitiante* in relation to the city, where he goes at least once a month to market, in addition to his annual pilgrimage outside the district. This, at least, was the state of affairs until 1925. Since then the *sitiante* has not gone to town to sell his wares, because Japanese, Portuguese, and Spanish commercial agriculture has grown up all around town, and the small cultivator cannot meet the competition. His standard of living is lowered. He seeks supplementary resources in charcoal-making, but the intermediaries slip between him and the city merchants who speculate on their monopoly of the exchanges between city and

country. During World War II, coal was very much in demand, but since that time there has been much less demand and a resultant decline in the standard of living. The opening of roads has improved things somewhat. In traditional society, the *sitiante* played an appreciable complementary role, which it is difficult for him to retain today. Nevertheless, he does not have the revolutionary spirit. He has the possibility of going to the city to try his luck, and despite the frequent failure of his congeners, which is attributed to chance, this possibility constitutes what María Isaura de Queiroz calls an "efficient antidote." One finds the *sitiante* in the cultivation of bananas of the *Baixada Santista* studied by Ary Franca. In contrast, the small farmer discovered by Milton Santos in the *Agreste* of the Brazilian Northeast is happier: for example, in the district of Itabaiana, where in 1960 the landed property of less than 10 hectares represented 93 percent of the total number and 47 percent of the total surface of the agricultural establishments.

Finally, in Argentina, the small landowner has been studied. In the Rio de la Plata, Aldo Solari again discovered the same difficulties found elsewhere in developing the productivity of small property, which in the dry and flat pampa, seems to be a paradox. Small farms have developed, as Gaignard told us, beyond the crown of the rich grazing land surrounding Buenos Aires. Its limits have not moved since 1930 as though they were blocked by this very crown. Lia Raquel de Arechaga finds the small landed property mixed with the large in cultivable parts of the sub-Andean valleys.

From a general point of view, Jacques Dorselaer has taught us to be more precise about the peasant living standard by using the so-called scale of Collazo Collazo. Eric Wolf studied the recruitment and role of the leaders and the types of peasant associations. Richard N. Adams pointed to the successive hierarchical networks and the power structure to which they have been submitted in his particularly interesting example of Guatemala.

Problems concerning large estates were presented by Francois Chevalier in his introduction. Side by side with the traditional estate, where a population has lived in semi-serfdom since the Laws of Reform in Mexico (1857–59) and the "desamortisation" in Colombia, a new large estate has developed. It is more modern, often established to the detriment of church property or Indian property. Its owners, at times incorporated into anonymous societies, cultivate the soil by mechanical means, driving back the indigenous labor force on neighboring *minifundios* and using them only to help with peak loads at harvest or sowing time. This poor mass contrasts with the few permanent, relatively well-paid agricultural laborers of the big landowners. It tends to flow toward cities or to crowd together in overpopulated villages from which it casts an envious glance at the neighboring land.

The communications devoted to the large land-property were supposed

to give the regional or national modalities of this general theme. The first case was that of the Antilles studied by Sir Harold Mitchell and by S. W. Mintz. The islands depend upon export crops with all the advantages and all the drawbacks that this entails. Since 1800, Puerto Rico has known the system of the large, modern plantation, but avoids the over-abundance of labor so frequent today thanks to industrialization and free emigration to the United States. While Haiti has known only small-scale property, Jamaica is mid-way between the two: the small farm is a neighbor to the large enterprise.

The Andes have claimed the attention of specialists for a longer time. Lynn Smith has evaluated well the Colombian contrast between the age of the hoe, which is the age of the small land-owning peasant, and the mechanized agriculture of the large plantation. But for a long time the best land monopolized by latifundio agriculture belonged to several large landowners who were involved primarily in cattle raising. Mechanized agriculture has developed since 1947. The proportion of tractors varies considerably according to the Departments. The one of Valle de Cauca tops all the records with only 20 families per tractor; then come the Departments of Atlantico and Meta with 29. The least mechanized province is Antioquia with 503 families per tractor. One may wonder whether such statistics are significant and, if so, why. Another chart of Lynn Smith substantiates that in reality only the large enterprises have tractors. Therefore the most mechanized provinces are those that possess the largest number of large modern plantations.

Rafael Baraona's paper on Ecuador showed that the coastal plain in that country has a much more complex agrarian structure than the *Sierra*, where the traditional latifundio and minifundio are. On the coast the cultivation of cacao and banana have given rise to classes of modern farmers or big capitalistic contractors who co-exist with the old landholders. The farmers largely escape the hazards of the export market, forming a stable middle class without excessive luxury.² The Northern coast of Peru has experienced a more profound revolution, described by Claude Collin Delavaud.³ The sugar cane haciendas, which were among the first to be modernized, can exercise a paternalistic social policy, giving social advantages to laborers at more than triple their salary.

The cotton haciendas of more recent modernization have extended a great deal, expelling small tenant farmers, and thereby creating at least two classes of agricultural laborers: permanent mechanics with high salaries, and day laborers subjected to long displacements and suffering from a high degree of partial unemployment. Finally, among the crops requiring field labor, only rice cultivation represents a modern form of cultivation. On the whole there is progress but need for adjustments; one of the most important is a system of transportation connecting the old centers of population with the new cultivated areas.

From the coast we moved to the Sierra with Henri Favre. The department of Huancavelica almost escaped the latifundio in the 19th century. Today two tendencies manifest themselves: the reconstitution of the large estates at the hands of a new oligarchy arising from the middle classes; and the development of the minifundios. In any case, forthright exploitation is predominant with a servile or almost servile labor force, which since 1950 has evolved either toward the position of tenancy or toward emigration to cities. The *hacendados* wanted to mechanize their haciendas or devote them to stock raising. But the productivity of the haciendas remains weak, and the *peones* pile up in the *barriadas* of Huancavelica, or they wander from hacienda to hacienda in search of work. Erich Hobsbawm went even farther than the Sierra and has gone into the region on the eastern slopes of the Andes—the valley of the Urubamba. On the large estates, the restlessness of the farmers and of their *allegados* tends to transform feudal farming into “capitalistic” farming (1962) or into medium-sized property; and even if it fails, it provokes an enormous change of mentality in the region.

In Argentina, Roberto Cortes Conde saw the law of decreasing productivity playing a part in the extension of agriculture, beginning in the 1920–1930 period. But instead of fighting it by an injection of capital, the large landowners abandoned cultivation for stock raising. Jack Collin Crosley described the role of big British companies in agricultural colonization at the end of the 19th century. He has taken the censuses of no less than 52 companies. He indicates under what conditions they were viable: an appreciation of the land's value and of the general conditions of cultivation and the periodic revision of these; a good system of communication; long-term credits; and finally, a choice of voluntary settlers of the officially sponsored colonization. All this was for a large estate. It is the same pattern found in the sub-Andean valleys, for which Lia Raquel de Arechaga gave the precise geographical description. In the Pampa, by contrast, the average area of cultivation does not exceed 270 hectares, and José Martínez de Hoz demonstrated that since 1957 the government has initiated several projects of agrarian reform to promote purchase of their land by farmers and sharecroppers. In Uruguay, explained Carlos Rama, the traditional large estate prevails, but with less serious consequences than in other parts, due to the lack of demographic pressure.

The problem of agrarian reform was the final general topic. François Chevalier introduced it, as well as other problems, by showing that opposition can exist between the social point of view, which is very much in favor of reform, and the economic point of view, which is more reticent and leads many Anglo-Saxons to believe that modernization of the latifundio and industrialization would do more than the division of land for the welfare of rural people. He then defined what the reform meant in Haiti, Mexico, and Bolivia. For the

last country our knowledge is still summary, and we are awaiting the results of the inquiry conducted by a young French scholar, J. Bernard, who is doing field research there. F. Chevalier gave the results of a survey that has been carried out by the team of ethnologist Matos Mar and interpreted in the light of other studies, especially that of a visit in this region with M. Gumbau of the Acción Andina (O. I. T.), who had done a tour of six years in Bolivia. To summarize rapidly the Bolivian land reform, M. Gumbau's communication on the subject was, for most of us, very enlightening. The Bolivian government has expropriated the traditional latifundios. It has maintained the medium-sized farm and the large agricultural enterprise, but has limited their area. On the latifundios, the settlers have become landowners. Other colonists have been established on the surplus lands with one area reserved for collective cultivations, which were something of a failure. Sometimes the hacendado kept the part of his property that he had cultivated for direct returns. What was generally lacking was capital.

Rene Dumont at the beginning of the colloquium took up the problem of agrarian reform in its entirety. The headings of his sections are revealing:

- (1) agrarian reform must not be too simplistic: the Mexican example demonstrates that agrarian reform is not achieved once and for all but must be a process of continued development.
- (2) the impasse in agrarian reforms that were too reformist: Venezuela and Colombia.
- (3) the difficulty of the Cuban agrarian reform (in this section the author took up the main ideas of his book on Cuba).

His conclusion was that agrarian reform must be the lever of agricultural development. One must train agricultural technicians full of revolutionary ardor. And the reform is only effective if it takes real power from the landowners and from the dominant foreign economies.

Julio Le Riverend related the experience of a Cuban in the Cuban agrarian reform and outlined the characteristics and advantages. This global reform, which was without indemnification to the dispossessed, has given permanent employment to thousands of men and has increased consumption, did not begin without several mistakes. Attempts to correct these have been made; for example, an early, excessive centralization has been followed by a more rational system based on local autonomy.

With reference to land reform in the Antilles, Guy Lasserre presented a paper on Martinique and Guadeloupe. He demonstrated that even if land tenure reform in these islands has been seriously dealt with, the important problems such as overpopulation have not been resolved.

In Central America, Ulv Masing analyzed the half failure, half success

of the Italian colonization of San Vito de Jave, which was completely created in the forest of Costa Rica. Out of 104 families brought into San Vito, only 30 remained. Many immigrants returned home because they were rebuffed at an early stage by the inexperience of the colonization company and the lack of federal support.

Continuing to focus on the Caribbean area, William Larralde described the first attempts of agrarian reform in Venezuela. Eighty-eight thousand families benefitted from a limited but well conducted reform. It did not, however, modify the Venezuelan agrarian system in its entirety.

Mexico, of course, constitutes an important part of the study of agrarian reform. The discussion of Mexico's experience was opened by an agronomist. According to Ramón Fernández y Fernández, the present agrarian problem is that the process of reform undertaken in Mexico has not been carried to a conclusion and the reform has in turn given rise to new problems, such as insecurity of land title, lack of flexibility, and inadequacies (persistence of ancient latifundios, the appearance of new ones, minifundios, invasion of ejidos by renting or sharecropping).

Henri Enjalbert studied the influence of agrarian reform on agricultural production. His was a geographical perspective. His conclusions corroborated those presented earlier with regard to the "small landowners." In fact, the medium or large enterprise has made possible the increase of agricultural production, the provisioning of cities, and export. The ejido prevented the pioneering zones from falling into the hands of the hacendados, but it does not know how to solve its problems of overpopulation. Rodolfo Stavenhagen discussed the social consequences of agrarian reform by distinguishing the various new Mexican social classes as he had described them for the *International Notes of Sociology*. Mexico has not escaped minifundism and continues to be threatened by neolatifundism. Agricultural development, however dominated it was by latifundistas prior to the reform, is now dominated by the new regional bourgeoisie of provincial towns, and the number of landless agricultural workers tends to increase.

Frédérico Mauro remarked on the paradoxical agricultural backwardness of Monterrey in the State of Nuevo Leon. It is a wealthy town in a poor state of the Northeast in which agriculture is non-existent.

For Brazil, Hilgard Sternberg tried to show that the government of Castelo Branco was also participating in agrarian reform. He noted that one could establish industry in the *Sertião* as well as on the coast, provided electric energy would be decentralized.

Six other communications introduced interesting problems of a general nature for the whole of Latin America, which were in some way related to the problem of agrarian reform. Raymond Crist discussed the migration of Indians

from the mountains toward the plains and the introduction of foreign ethnic groups. Horacio Giberti attempted to discern the relationships that exist between the different factors of agricultural production—capital, land, and labor; by drawing nearer to an optimum combination of these factors, one can considerably augment productivity of the land. This is a point that should not be neglected in an agrarian reform.⁴ Jean Jacques Jouvin painted a distressing picture of Latin American agriculture for the next several years. If it does not modify its socio-economic structures, it will not be able to meet the dual responsibility to which it will be committed: 1) feeding a population that, because of its annually increasing birth rate, will exceed 200 million inhabitants in 1960, 350 million in 1980, and 600 million in the year 2000; and 2) opening local markets of industrial products to an enormous mass of new consumers. The realization of these tasks will involve a colossal effort to quadruple agricultural production in the next 20 years. This effort will be impossible without agrarian reform.

According to Jacob Schatan, this reform could increase by 3,200 million dollars the demand for manufactured products, which is priced today at 18,500 million dollars. This in turn supposes a supplementary investment of 2,500 million dollars, with part of it in machines and in equipment. One part would be expected to come from the outside, but a significant part would be furnished by Latin America itself, which would force its industry to take decisive steps forward. Finally, while the colloquium, with Francisco Ferreira, dwelled upon the techniques of planning, Ronald Hilton reminded it that agrarian reform is first a political problem. He discussed the position of the Communists, of the Church, the influence of Israel, the conduct of governments, and the opinions in each of the countries facing this problem. Agrarian reform has become the *big political problem* of Latin America, and it plays the same role there that the problem of the negro does in the United States.

Three of the participants were charged with drawing conclusions and indicating in general the orientation of future research. Isaura Pereira de Queiroz concluded that there is still a need for many psycho-sociological studies on the peasants. This class, which has previously been too neglected, is of great importance to the rural future of the Latin American continent. For José Matos Mar, the large estates—latifundios—or modern large agricultural enterprises are not well known. Their economic management, their technology, their sociology, and the psychology of the personnel are to a large extent still unknown. It would be necessary, because of their variety, to classify them according to their characteristic "types." Finally, the author of this article was entrusted with the conclusions relating to the subject of agrarian reforms. After classifying them into great general reforms, always achieved through violence until the present period, and into "prudent" reforms, he arrived at two con-

Latin American Research Review

clusions: 1) If there is now universal consensus on the necessity of agrarian reform, there is still a great deal of hesitation about its nature and methods. 2) The circumstances and the junctures at which Latin American countries find themselves vary significantly. One plan of agrarian reform is not sufficient. As in military strategy, it is necessary to have several plans from which to choose, according to whether or not there are exterior outlets, continued demographic growth, a common market, and technical innovations.

For the future, it is necessary to expand our studies in two ways. In the "vertical" sense we must not only elaborate a strategy of economic development on a national level by studying the problems of choice, but we must also investigate the relationship between agrarian reform and the international or continental market, and the projection of agrarian reform to the regional level. In the "horizontal" sense it is necessary to develop young but important sciences like the administrative disciplines (see, for example, the success of *the economy of education*), and above all politology, for we often know the technical and economic solutions but not the means of applying them. We are still not sufficiently aware of the political mechanisms and forces that should be set in motion so that these reforms may triumph.

Briefly, the colloquium discussed topics that are encountered elsewhere, such as the complexity of problems and the variety of cases that require a pluralism in solution. The solution of a local problem is often regional, that of a regional problem is often national, and the solution of a national problem, above all, has become continental or international.

In our new geography of 1965, as distinct from that of Vidal la Blache and Demangeon who searched in the terrain itself for the explanation of its rationale, we must always consider a point on the globe as the reflection and product of the whole universe.

NOTES

1. See also the communique of Ernesto Guhl about Colombia (region of Sumapaz).
2. See also the communication of W. D. Sick.
3. See also the communication of Matos Mar about the Valley of Chancay, mentioned above, and that of Olivier Dollfus on the consequences of demography on agrarian contrasts.
4. See also the communication of Plats Llaurodo on the subject of forestry problems.

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS

- ADAMS, RICHARD N. (Austin). El sector agrario inferior de Guatemala 1944-1965.
- ANDRADE, MANUEL CORREIA DE (Recife). Condições naturais e sistemas de exploração da terra no estado de Pernambuco, Nordeste do Brasil.
- ARECHAGA, LIA RAQUEL S. DE (Buenos Aires). Tipos de propiedad y uso de la tierra en los valles subandinos.

AGRARIAN PROBLEMS OF LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

- BARAONA, RAFAEL (Santiago de Chile). Cambios en tenencia de la tierra y la demanda externa. Algunas observaciones sobre la costa ecuatoriana.
- BONILLA, HÉRACLIO (Lima). Aucallama: una comunidad de pequeños propietarios en un valle de la costa peruana.
- CHEVALIER, FRANÇOIS (Bordeaux et Paris). Problèmes agraires des Amériques Latines de tradition indigène (Introduction au Colloque).
- COLLIN-DELAUVAUD, CLAUDE (Lima). Les conséquences de la modernisation de l'agriculture dans les haciendas de la côte nord du Pérou.
- CORTES CONDE, ROBERTO (Buenos Aires). Aspectos históricos de la evolución agropecuaria en la Argentina.
- CRIST, RAYMOND E. (Gainesville). Quelques aspects des migrations humaines et de la colonisation en Amérique Latine.
- CROSSLEY, JACK COLIN (Leicester). La contribution britannique à la colonisation des terres et au développement agricole en Argentine. Etude préliminaire.
- DOLLFUS, OLIVIER (Strasbourg). Les conséquences de la croissance démographique sur les contrats agraires au Pérou.
- DORSELAER, JACQUES (Bruxelles). Présentation et utilisation de l'échelle du niveau ou du standard de vie de Collazo Collazo.
- DUMONT, RENÉ (Paris). Les problèmes agraires des Amériques Latines.
- ENJALBERT, HENRI (Bordeaux). Réforme agraire et production agricole au Mexique (1910-1965).
- FALS BORDA, ORLANDO (Bogotá). Pautas conservadoras en el salto a propietario.
- FAVRE, HENRI (Lima). L'évolution et la situation des haciendas dans la région de Huancavelica, Pérou.
- FERNANDEZ Y FERNANDEZ, RAMON (Chapingo). La reforma agraria mexicana: una gran experiencia.
- FERREIRA, FRANCISCO WITAKER (S. Paulo). Critérios de decisão no planejamento da reforma agraria. Aplicação aos projetos de redistribuição de terras.
- FRANÇA, ARY (S. Paulo). Baixada Santista: exemplo regional de ocupação rural precaria.
- GAIGNARD, ROMAIN (Mendoza). Origine et évolution de la petite propriété paysanne dans la Pampa sèche argentine.
- GIBERTI, HORACIO (Buenos Aires). Uso racional de los factores directos de la producción agraria.
- GUHL, ERNESTO (Bogotá). Superficie geográfica catastral y densidad de población en la región de Sumapaz (Colombia).
- GUMBAU, HENRI (Lima). L'évolution des structures à la suite de la réforme agraire en Bolivie.
- HILTON, RONALD (Stanford). La politique nationale et internationale et la réforme agraire en Amérique Latine.
- HOBBSAWM, ERICH J. E. (Londres). Problèmes agraires à la Convencion. Pérou.
- JOUVIN, JEAN JACQUES (Paris). La place de l'agriculture dans le développement économique récent de l'Amérique Latine.
- LARRALDE, WILLIAM (Caracas). Primeros ensayos de reforma agraria en Venezuela.
- LASSERRE, GUY (Bordeaux). Petite propriété et réforme foncière aux Antilles françaises.
- LE RIVEREND, JULIO (La Havane). La reforma agraria en Cuba.
- MARTINEZ DE HOZ, JOSÉ A. (Buenos Aires). La explotación agropecuaria en la región pampeana argentina.
- MASING, ULV (Calgary-Alberta). Analysis of the Success and Failure of an Immigrant Farm Settlement in the Rainforest of Costa Rica.

Latin American Research Review

- MATOS MAR, JOSÉ (Lima). Las haciendas del valle del Chancay.
- MATOS MAR, JOSÉ. Rapport de conclusions. II—Les grandes domaines.
- MAURO, FRÉDÉRIC (Toulouse). Problèmes agraires et problèmes agricoles dans le Nord-Est du Mexique.
- MAURO, FRÉDÉRIC (Toulouse). Rapport de conclusions. III Les réformes agraires.
- MINTZ, SIDNEY W. (Yale). Petits cultivateurs et prolétaires ruraux dans la région des Caribes.
- MIRANDA, JOSÉ (Mexico D. F.). La propiedad comunal de la tierra y la cohesión social de los pueblos indigenas mexicanos.
- MITCHELL, SIR HAROLD (Rollins-Florida). L'agriculture aux Antilles.
- MORAL, PAUL (Dakar). Le "faciès agraire" haïten: définition, problèmes.
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