Some Implications of the Latin American Social Context for Bolivian Education

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SOME IMPLICATIONS
OF THE LATIN AMERICAN SOCIAL CONTEXT
FOR BOLIVIAN EDUCATION

by

Joseph M. Subirats, SJ

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Arts

August–September
1969
"On me montre pas sa grandeur pour être à une extrémité, mais bien en touchant le deux à la fois, et remplissant tout l'entre-deux" (Blaise Pascal)
LIFE

Joseph M. Subirats, SJ, was born in Roquetas, Tarragona, Spain, November 28, 1941.

After graduating from St. Ignatius High School at Sarriá (Barcelona, Spain) in 1958, he entered the Jesuit novitiate at Raynat (Lérida, Spain). At the completion of the two years of novitiate he continued there the study of Liberal Arts and of Classical Roman and Greek authors.

In 1962 he transferred to Colegio Máximo San Francisco de Borja (San Cugat, Barcelona, Spain) where he received the licentiate of philosophy in June, 1965.

In June 27, 1965, he embarked at Barcelona, Spain, bound for Colegio Sagrado Corazón, Sucre, Bolivia, where during the period 1965-1967 he worked as part of the staff of the high school. He taught Spanish Grammar and Literature, Sociology, History of Culture, and Religion. He was also assistant to the Prefect of Discipline in the Elementary School and among the Boarding Students. He spent part of the summers in 1966 and 1967 touring Bolivia especially the mining region of Uncía-Catavi-Siglo XX and the rural area of Charagua, in the departments of Potocí and Santa Cruz.

In August 13, 1967, he left La Paz, Bolivia, and after short stops at Lima, Perú, and Bogotá, Colobia, he arrived in the United States August 24.

In September, 1967, he entered Bellarmine School of Theology of Loyola University. In February 14, 1968 he was accepted as a graduate student in the Department of Education of the same University.
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CHAPTER I

EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

IN LATIN AMERICA

1) The purpose of the thesis

Trying to visualize the purpose of the thesis, two images come to my mind. The first is the effect of a rock thrown into a smooth lake: Once the stone breaks the water's surface a double movement follows; from the center of impact, a chain of circular waves starts moving in horizontal development and, at the same time, the rock goes deeper every moment trying to rest on the bottom of the lake. The second image is more theological: The universe is going towards an Omega Point; physical expansion and improvement are not opposed but are parts of the same process.

The purpose of the thesis is to illustrate the Latin American social situation as a context to frame Bolivian education. This goal sets the direction for a twofold movement: One horizontal which relates Bolivia geographically and historically with the rest of Latin America, and the other vertical dimension concerned with a changing society so often described "in stage of revolution". Two questions, then, must be faced: How do we understand the concept "Latin America"?; and, What elements do we take into account speaking of "revolution"?

How do we understand the concept of Latin America? Marvin D.
Bernstein opens the *Encyclopedia Britannica*'s article with a word of caution:

"As the term is generally understood, Latin America comprises the entire continent of South America, Central America and Mexico (called Middle America), and the islands of the Caribbean. 'Hispanic America' has often been suggested as a more suitable designation since it specifically indicates the region's Spanish and Portuguese heritage. However, the Indian and Negro heritage, as well as American, British and French cultural and colonial influence, nullify any advantages of such a change. Despite territorial contiguity and, for much of the area, ties of a similar culture, history and aspirations for the future, the physiographic, climatic, economic, political, ethnic and linguistic differences make the term Latin America as connoting a homogeneous region fall short of a true description. Only in a difference to popular usage and for the lack of a better term, the area remains Latin America."

Since the public tends to make easy generalizations this word of caution about the differences between the Latin American countries is quite common among authors. Kalman H. Silvert writes: "The twenty countries are disparate and growing more unlike each other every day. Worse, they are sufficiently European to look familiar and yet sufficiently special to defy their being forced into the standard categorical boxes of 'Westernness' or 'underdevelopment.'" Lewis Hanke says: "Brazilians have often felt, therefore, that their historical development has been unique. As one prominent scholar wrote: 'What is this "North America" and "South America" but purely geographical concepts? It is a pity that these terms as well as "Latin America"

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are used to include Brazil which is quite distinct."³ Dr. Germán Arciniegas simply asserts: "In reality, there are four Americas, which represent four historical areas, four experiences, four styles, four personages in search of an expression, that is, of a culture. They are Indo-Spanish America, Portuguese America (Brazil), English America (the United States), and Anglo-French America (Canada). Each of these has a similar area: 3,800,000 square miles, Indo-Spanish America; 3,400,000 square miles Canada; 3,200,000 square miles Brazil; and 2,900,000 square miles English America. These are four Americas which began their history in different years, even in different centuries."⁴

In his general observations about Bolivia, Dr. George F. Hall writes: "Going from the cities of Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil and Chile to Bolivia is like moving from Europe to Africa. The Indians are on the streets working in various capacities, selling articles of all kinds, in their own market as well as everywhere else in the city and country. The work consequently has the romantic exterior visual aspects of 'Foreign' missions."⁵ Similarly Juan Cardinal Landázuri Ricketts said at the Second Annual National Conference of the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program: "While Lima may be typical of Latin America in some respects, in others it is quite

⁵George F. Hall, 1965 Trip to South America (Chicago, School of Missions of Lutheran School of Theology. Unpublished Reports, p. 3.
distinct. Let us remember: Latin America is a vast area, and although we can speak in general terms of problems and needs of the total region, still, the individual differences of the various countries are marked. We must realize, for instance, that several languages are spoken in Latin America. We speak Portuguese in Brazil, French in Haiti, Quechua in the Andes Mountains, and Spanish just about everywhere else. Also, governments and economies, geography and communications vary considerably. The examples could go on. The point is clear: The word "Latin America" cannot eliminate the heterogeneity of the region.

On the other hand, there is also a consciousness of togetherness. Dr. Arciniegas himself closes his article on the Four Americas with these words: "For us, these four Americas are four great provinces of a continent that moves along different paths in search of the same freedom." Galo Plaza, Secretary General of the OAS, says:

"It is hard to generalize about Latin America because of the great geographical, economic, and social diversity found in that part of the globe. Despite many similarities and common goals, no two countries are alike. There is no "typical" Latin America country. With this note of caution, I am going to make some generalizations. Latin America is on the move. Its problems are enormous, but so too are the efforts being made to solve them. In every country leaders are working to accelerate the pace of their nation's economic and social development to meet the rising expectations. In some countries

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7 Germán Arciniegas, o.c., p. 249.
the progress is more striking, but all, without exception are moving ahead.”

Hugo Jordán, speaking about Agrarian Reform in Latin America states:

"Latin America is not only a geographic region but constitutes a unit formed by a common historic past and common culture. The Latin American man is a distinct reality. He has his own characteristics which are different from others in the world. The solutions to the Latin American problems in the social, economic, political and cultural aspects cannot be imported but must be searched for by Latin Americans in accord with the Latin American reality." 

The need of integration is emphasized. "This man of the Americas," said Arturo U. Illía, former President of Argentina, "will never be fully himself unless he can learn to identify himself and live in tune with his continent, and it is above all in the way we educate our young people that we can integrate our nations into a union which is truly a union of the whole continent; unless we first form the essential community of a culturally united America, we shall never fully realize the integrating ideal of liberators." 

Héctor Borrat is a strong defender of Latin American integration in his first editorial in Víspera. He thinks that every day the facts themselves show us more clearly this situation of anticipation which we are a part of. The facts are signs of the process of integration

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whatever interpretation is given to this process. Everywhere figures and data on our underdevelopment are summarized dramatically. Latin America is an interesting topic for many Europeans or North Americans. Sometimes Latin America is more obsessive problem for them than for us. Nevertheless we have started our own experiences of sub-regional integration. We have an increasing number of institutions which work in a multi national environment. There are continental awards for our literary men. A Centro-American University is in project. The South American competitions deal with the most different sports. There are beginnings of an ideological expansion from Latin American focuses and not solely from abroad. Guerrilla warfare is becoming internationalized as does the counter-revolution. There is a Latin American Bishops Council, and a common version of the Our Father has been approved for all our countries.11

Many political leaders and the Catholic Church take a Latin American approach. Rafael Caldera, the actual President of Venezuela said:

"Christian Democracy has raised one of the most beautiful banners that currently excite the imagination of our peoples: that of Latin American integration. We shall cease to be small, poor and relegated countries as soon as we unite and act as a single force, made up of twenty sovereign nations but linked by a single idea, expressed with a single voice. Integration presupposes a state of mind; it demands mutual trust; it requires decision and firmness. The achievement

of these requisites goes hand in hand with the growing influence of the Christian Democratic parties.”

Defending himself at his court martial in Camiri, Bolivia, Regis Debray declared:

"Above all, the prosecuting attorney states, they [Che's guerrilla fighters] cannot be compared with the guerrilla fighters for independence because they are foreigners. It is true there were foreigners among them, but naturally a minority. The vast majority were Bolivians, but there were Peruvians, Cubans and one Argentinean. Is this by any chance in contradiction with the profoundly national and patriotic nature of this liberation struggle? We need not cite the examples of Bolivar, Sucre, Santa Cruz, Belgrano and the four reinforcement armies from Argentina; of the Venezuelans, Chileans and Argentineans who founded Bolivia and all of Latin America. We need only speak of the guerrillas who fought for independence and not just the top leaders of the regular armies. We are speaking of the Padillas, the Warnass, the Lanzas... It is not the job of a Frenchman to teach a Bolivian military prosecuting attorney the history of his country. But since so much reference has been made to that history, gentlemen, here are the facts of history. Thus, Bolivia was liberated from the Spanish by men who came from every corner of Latin America to help found Bolivia and all of Latin America. Similarly, the same fraternal union of Latin Americans, tested in combat and the life of the battle campaign itself, will liberate Bolivia from Yankee imperialism. A socialist Bolivia will be founded, and the whole continent whose center is Bolivia will do the same. For Che the true differences, the true frontier, is not the one which separates a Bolivian from a Peruvian, a Peruvian from an Argentinean, and Argentinean from a Cuban. It is the one which separates Latin Americans from Yankees. That is why Bolivians, Peruvians, Cubans and Argentineans are all brothers in the struggle, and where one nationality is fighting, the others should also be fighting, because they have everything in common, the same history, the same language, the same patriots, the same destiny, and even the same master, the same exploiter, the same enemy which treats them all alike: Yankee imperialism."

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13 Regis Debray, "Declaration at His Court Martial," Reprint from Liberation, Feb. 1968, p. 22.
The Catholic Church, too, has increasingly emphasized the process of integration of Latin America. Manuel Larraín, former president of Latin American Bishops' Council, said: "This fact should be emphasized once more: Latin America is neither a European, North American nor African civilization. Latin America is Latin America and the human expression of its Christianity, its temporal existence, should necessarily reflect that reality." David Abalos, writing for Cross Currents introduces the Medellín Conference:

"At the conclusion of the Eucharistic Congress the Bishops of Latin America assembled in Medellín, Colombia for their Second General Conference, CELAM II. Some 750 bishops participated in the sessions that lasted from August 24 through September 6; it was perhaps the first time that the hierarchy of Latin America exercised collegial concern for the entire continent. The character of the conference cannot be summarized simply in terms of 'right' and 'left'; although some observers looked on its commission reports as an indirect criticism of Paul's emphasis on moderation and patience, the texts themselves draw heavily both on 'Populorum Progressio' and the decrees of Vatican II. What is beyond question, however, is that the Conference documents are specifically Latin American in their basic concern and over-all vision."

The last message of the Bishops of CELAM II said: "Latin America, besides being a geographic reality, is a community of peoples with a distinct history, with specific values and with similar problems. The framings and the solutions must be coherent with this history, these values and these problems. The continent holds very

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different situations but they need solidarity. Latin America is one and multiple, rich in her variety and strong in her unity."16

But this claim for a Latin American integration does not confine itself within the bonds of the twenty Latin American nations. The Medellin Conference itself after the statement previously presented on Latin America reality, goes on:

"Accordingly with her own vocation Latin America will try her liberation against any sacrifice not to be closed within herself but to be open towards a union with the rest of the world, giving and accepting in a spirit of solidarity. We think that it is especially important the dialog with the brother countries of other continents which are in situations very similar to our own. Working together through the same difficulties and hopes, we can make our presence in the world an instrument for a definitive peace. To the other countries who overcame already the obstacles that we are facing now, we like to remember that there cannot be peace if the international justice is not respected; justice which rests in the acknowledgment of the political, economic and cultural autonomy of of our peoples."17

The Chairman of the Executive Board of UNESCO, Mr. Mohamed el Fasi, when addressing himself to the Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning in Countries of Latin American and the Caribbean at Buenos Aires, said:

"By the very nature of this Conference its importance and scope exceed the strict bounds of the continent. It will be studying the prospects for educational development within the context of the economic and social progress of Latin America. Educators and experts in economic and social planning will be exchanging views and preparing the basis for the spiritual, intellectual and economic future of 230 million human beings. In this age

17Ibid., p. 11.
of world problems and solutions, you can well imagine the
interest which an undertaking of this nature is likely to
arouse in a world that is eager for progress, justice and
social well-being and has learnt, once and for all the truth
that only through education can these great historical aims
be attained."

This problem is not unique to Latin America. That fact makes
the following advice from Hélder Câmara quite pertinent: "At all
times we must make an effort to realize that we are inserted in one
great human family. Let us meditate, let us talk, and let us prepare
ourselves to act as Latin Americans or as North Americans, but also
as citizens of the world."

In this context of world citizenship, George F. Bereday
explains the purpose of comparative education:

"Comparative education seeks to make sense out of the
similarities and differences among educational systems. It
catalogues educational methods across national frontiers; and
in this catalogue each country appears as one variant of the
total store of mankind's educational experience. If well set
off, the like and the contrasting colors of the world

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19 Speaking, for example, of Nigerian education, John W. Hanson
made the same point: "Urgent as this civic and political education
for nationhood is, it is still not sufficient civic education for the
young African growing up in the twentieth century. No longer are we
merely citizens of a nation; we are or must become citizens of the
world. Modern society is not the product of one nation or one continent.
It is the product of our times and our merging heritages". (Nigerian
Education, ed. Okechukwu Ikejiani (Lagos, Longmans of Nigeria, 1964,
pp. 20-32, quoted in John W. Hanson and Cole S. Brembeck, eds.,
Education and the Development of Nations (N.Y., Holt, Rinehart &

20 Hélder Câmara, "Human Rights and the Liberation of Man in
perspective will make each country a potential beneficiary of the lessons thus received." 21

Sigmund Neumann makes similar remarks on the Comparative Study of Politics:

"To know thyself, compare thyself to others. The comparative approach is, above all, an eye-opener to a people's self-recognition and to its taking a stand. It is not accidental that great civilizations, like the Renaissance, were developed at the crossroads of mankind and articulated by the meeting of contrasting systems. This encounter alone made an awakening Europe fully aware of her own character and qualities. We are again living in such a period of open frontiers which will force us to recognize the values and concepts we live by and to test them anew against their challenge from abroad." 22

How then do we understand the concept "Latin America"? As referring to the entire continent of South America, Central America and Mexico which extends south of the United States. We must keep in mind that each country has its own peculiarities and that Latin America is a deeply heterogeneous continent. But, at the same time, Latin America has ties of similar culture and history and problems and aspirations. And lastly, we must remember that the heterogeneity and the efforts towards integration cannot be a movement of isolationism within itself. The Map number 1 reminds us of the threefold aspect of the Latin American concept. The frontiers between the countries show their differences. The fact that they are together could signify in a realistic way the necessary efforts and possibilities of integration. The presence of the lower United States and the


Map 1: Latin America: A culture area in perspective.
Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and even the three colonies reminds us the temptation to isolationism must be avoided.

In an attempt to discover the Latin American social situation as a context to frame Bolivian education our second question was: What elements do we take into account speaking of "revolution"?

Francis X. Murphy introduces Pesquet's book *A Church in the State of Mortal Sin*, and he comments on a small group of Latin American prelates who oppose the attempt at a fundamental revamping of Church life in Latin America.

"The popular heroizing of the lives of the Guevara and Camilo Torres does not warn them that deep and revolutionary forces are loose forces that threaten a fundamental and bloody revolution that will destroy them, their money, property and bourgeois tradition. Their only chance is to act quickly to revolutionize the foundation of their economy and political heritage in accord with the basic law of the gospel. The dire warning of Dom Helder Camara goes unheeded: 'With us, despite us, or without us, the revolution is at hand. Woe to those who oppose it!'" 23

30 years ago, while challenging, Professor Herbert E. Bolton's thesis of Greater America, Edmund O'Germán called attention to the same problem:

"How does Professor Bolton treat, for example, that transcendental historical phenomenon called "the revolutions"? He mentions them; but does he approach them intuitively as the specific problem of Latin America? Did he try to come close to them with the spirit, to understand them as an expiation of countries filled with inherited restlessness from a cultural past of the first order which is for me the only satisfactory way of interpreting them? Or will it be necessary, in order

to explain these profound, symbolic forms of history to go on contenting with the stale metaphor of the 'Young Nation'?”

But the term is not easy to define. Bishop McGrath presents and attempts an explanation. "The term 'revolution' -- he says -- has been so used and abused in Latin America that to a Catholic in Mexico it may be repulsive; to a Catholic in Brazil meaningless, and to a Catholic in Chile necessary. For the one it connotes religious persecution and political oppression; to the second it is merely a political phrase, the common currency of every politician; to the third it is a description, however general, of the longing for fundamental social changes which the great mass of the population ardently and justly desires.”

Trying to give a correct concept of revolution he goes on:

"We cannot conceive of revolution as a complete change, in the absolute sense. To be effective it must be radical, particularly in the new structures it seeks, but must also carry over many institutions and values from the past which must still serve. Nor should we fall into the facile manner, favorable to the advocates of violence, which would promise 'pie-in-the-sky' tomorrow as though by some quick political blow we could obtain the new structures our society needs without the long patient labor of human formation and economic development which must provide the under structures. This is particularly dangerous in the top heavy power structure of Latin America where the temptation to immediate political action so often tends to short-circuit this work of building the under-structures. Nor, theologically, can we fall into the perennial error of the revolutionary who speaks of a perfect world which will never come about on this earth, where, due to human

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24 Edmundo O'Gorman, "Do the Americas Have a Common History?" ed. Hanke, o.c., Doc. 4, p. 105.

limitation and the reality of sin, man's life upon earth, singly and collectively, will always be what Job described it to be: a never ending 'struggle' (Job. 7:1). 26

John Gerassi focuses in the problem of change and continuity when he presents the Latin American struggle between "medievalists" and "modernists":

"The medievalist is he whose ultimate allegiance in both official and private life is to an infrastate institution or class, be it religious, economic, or social. The modernist, on the other hand, may oppose the rule of current law, may even espouse 'totalitarian' methods, but his criterion is based upon the dictates of impersonal means for impersonal goals for the good of a state that favors neither class nor sect nor group. When it is 'for the good of human beings' that he acts, the modernist can be a ruthless demagogue. The medievalist's main objective is stability, a twentieth century slogan meaning status quo; sincerely or not, he claims to believe that liberty is more important than health, and freedom a ficher food than bread. The modernist's main objective is nationhood, a traditional slogan meaning dignity; openly or not, he knows that honest exploitation is a greater crime than a bank robbery and that freedom is the result, not the cause, of well-doing. The medievalist may shrink foul at the murder of one man. The modernist may approve the execution of a thousand. But the medievalist will keep his people in bondage -- with perhaps a 'free' press to condemn it -- while the modernist will give his people the tools -- though perhaps not the press -- to build its own true freedom . . . Sooner or later, these modernists will lead Latin Americans to claim that which is denied them -- their unalienable rights. To secure these rights they will convert "Latin America into an area belong to Latin Americans, by the gun if necessary. Today, as we shall see, it belongs to foreigners, mostly to citizens or companies of the United States. The great wave that has already begun to form to secure Latin America for its own citizens will be the Re-conquest of Latin America. Its overpowering assault is inevitable." 27

26 Ibid., p. 163-164.

Marina Bandeira presents the alternatives between two ideologies: conservatism vs. transformation; a step further J. Petras and M. Zeitlin face Latin America with a disjunctive: Reform or Revolution.28

The tension between what bishop McGrath called the "top heavy power structures" and "the work of building understructures" has been taken into account implicitly in Jurgen Moltmann's definition of revolution at the conference of the World Congress of Christian Students at Turku. He says: "What is revolution? In this context we mean by "revolution" the transformation of the bases of an economic, political, moral, and spiritual system. Whatever other transformation that does not touch the bases might be called evolution or reform."29

What has been said so far is clear testimony to the difficult task of defining "revolution". To give a tentative direction to our thinking, we may for the moment agree that any revolution can succeed authentically only if three inter-related elements are present: A system of values, economic development, and human formation. The system of values is generated through a historical process (Chapter II of this thesis). The economic development of an area involves the whole Society (Chapter III). Human formation arises through education (Chapter IV). When development becomes a value in a society such as Latin America, we can then speak of education for development in Latin America. The


work of a society towards its material welfare and towards the
liberation of its members must be the goal of any cultural revolution.

There is a practical conclusion to be made. Education cannot
put aside the other social forces; the sciences which are concerned with
the welfare of society are very closely related to education. If we
can speak of education for development, there is also the need of
developing education outside of any isolationist shell.

Let us look at some inter-disciplinary theoretical studies. In
the introduction to Education and Culture: Anthropological Approaches,
George D. Spindler wrote: "It is the virtue of this very generalizing,
holistic breadth that anthropology is particularly relevant to educa-
tion. Suitable to this mutual breadth, the theme of this chapter, if

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Peter F. Drucker explains how "education" and "social and
economic development" has become a value of modern society: "An abundant
and increasing supply of highly educated people has become the absolute
prerequisite of social and economic development in our world. It is
rapidly becoming a condition of national survival. What matters is
not that there are so many more individuals around who have been
exposed to long years of formal schooling -- though this is quite
recent. The essential new fact is that a developed society and economy
are less than fully effective if anyone is educated to less than the
limit of his potential. The uneducated is fast becoming an economic
liability and unproductive. Society must be an "educated society"
today to progress, to grow, even to survive. A sudden, sharp change
has occurred in the meaning and impact of knowledge for society.
Because we now can organize men of high skill and knowledge for joint
work through the exercise of responsible judgment, the highly educated
man has become the central resource of today's society, the supply of
such men the true measure of its economic, its military, and even its
political potential." Peter F. Drucker, "The Educational Revolution,"
SOCIAL CHANGE, Sources, Patterns, and Consequences, ed., by A. Etzioni
there can be said to be a single theme, is human nature in cultural

diversity." He defines anthropology of education this way: "The

anthropology of education is an attempt to understand better what the
teacher is doing and of what the educational process consists, by
studying the teacher as a cultural transmitter and education as a
process of cultural transmission." 32

Lucian W. Pye writes in the foreword of Education and Political
Development:

"The few pioneering studies of education in the developing
countries have concentrated mainly on manpower needs and the
requirements of education for producing the array of skills
essential for economic and industrial development. The relation­
ship of education to political development has been almost
entirely neglected, although the folklore of development contains
many ambiguous statements about both the positive and the
disruptive effects of the diffusion of education. This neglect
is odd because in the history of the West public schools grew
out of the ideas of citizenship, and higher education was always
linked to the need for responsible and capable public leaders." 33

The Preface of Education and the Development of Nations by J. W.
Hanson and C. S. Brembeck states: "The thesis of the book is that
education is one of the universals in the development of individuals
and nation. Understanding its developmental role is not an optional
matter. It is required if education is to achieve its great expecta­
tions. And this is particularly true for education in the developing
world today." 34

31 George D. Spindler, Education and Culture: Anthropological

32 Ibid., p. 43.

33 James S. Coleman, ed., Education and Political Development

34 Hanson & Brembeck, o.c., p. iii.
Now let us turn our attention to some practical inter-disciplinary efforts. Talking to the countries participating in the Karachi Plan, George Tobías said:

"We have come to the point where the benefits of education for economic development are universally recognized. The propriety of long-term financing of educational growth is accepted. The availability of external aid for such financing increases. It is necessary for the dialogue between educational borrowers and lenders to continue to grow closer and more confiding at all stages of educational planning, so that the requirements of each will be better understood by the other, so that their common objectives of human resources development are not obscured behind the historical distance between two groups, or made inarticulate because of their separate esoteric vocabularies." 35

In Latin America, the following are several inter-disciplinary efforts already under way. On March 5-19, 1962 a conference of education and socio-economic development of Latin America was held at Santiago de Chile. On June 21-28, 1966, a conference of ministers of education and ministers responsible for economic planning in countries of Latin America and the Caribbean was convened jointly by UNESCO and ECLA (Economic Commission for Latin America) at Buenos Aires. Latin America was present at Paris on August 6-14, 1968 in a conference of UNESCO on educational planning. The OAS (Organization of American States) is working in the relationship between education and economic development specially since the beginning of the decade. The first recommendation of the Commission which studied Latin American Higher Education and Inter-American Cooperation early in 1961 reads: "The Committee recommends that closer coordination be established among the

35 George Tobías, Problems in International Financing of Education (Paris, Unesco, 1964) p. 11, quoted by Hanson & Brembeck, o.c., p. 419.
national and international agencies devoted to the social and economic development of Latin America and those whose fundamental purpose is the promotion and organized expansion of education, in general, and of higher education, in particular." The Introduction of Reuniones Técnicas Sobre Planeamiento Educativo published by OAS in 1965, says:

"It seems that there is today a general agreement that educational planning must be integral, that is, it must take into account all levels and types of education at the national, regional and local spheres, and it must be integrated within the global planning for development, which means that educational goals and contents must give an answer to the needs of economic and social development. Even though these ideas are generally accepted, they are not being applied correctly in Latin America."  


How do these voices harmonize with the mood inside Bolivia?

What does Bolivia think of education for development?

Let us listen to some Bolivian concerns. The first annual report of ICE (Instituto Campesino de Educación, Peasant Institute for Education) states:

"Having a clear understanding that the basic problem of our country is the education and formation of peasants, we think

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that there is an urgent priority that this very valuable human capital be used. Then, these men and women, "developing a strong personality will become involved in the efforts of the national socio-economic reality and they will become the ground for the reconstruction of society. The world is subject to constant change. Everyday there is new knowledge being developed in the fields of science and technology. Thus, any hold in the evolution of the human person cannot be accepted, and still less, any backward step which could be the consequence of political or economic factors." 38

Presenting its own philosophy, ACLO (Acción Cultural Loyola) says that any work of promotion must be directed toward the integral education of the community. The community is the source of the technical skills and of the way of life which enables a development in the adult peasant of a mentality for change and a hierarchy of values which will enable him to take part in the social, economic, and cultural progress of his community. 39

In the field of private secondary education, the Third National Meeting of Catholic Education held at Cochabamba in October 1968 concluded in part: "We state that education must contribute to the liberation of the Bolivian people from the different yokes that tie them, and that Catholic high schools will assist this liberation." 40

During the First National Congress on Education, Dr. Guillermo Francovich, former Director of UNESCO in the West region, said:


"Education according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has as objective 'the full development of the human personality and the strengthening of the respect for the rights of man and the human liberties'. It cannot therefore just an instrument of material progress. The different efforts which have been made in this direction throughout the centuries have shown the devastating effects on the destiny of the peoples when the high human values are abandoned or under-estimated. Nevertheless, education, without forgetting the superior goals, can and must give to men the elements which will allow them to reach the material conditions necessary for the full development of their personality. An integral education, at the same time that it prepares men for attaining high human values, may help them to be active elements in the economic, social and cultural progress of the community to which they belong."42

The political parties and the Catholic Church became involved in direct criticism of the Government of the late René Barrientos. The Bolivian Christian Democrats addressed an open letter to the President of the Republic on Nov. 5, 1968. Their comments on the change of the educational system were: "If the government wants sincerely a radical change in the educational system of the nation, the first step must be an immediate convocation of a Congress for Education, so often postponed, where government, teachers, parents, church and the whole Bolivian society should take an active part in order to give the country a real revolutionary education which will help toward the creation of a new Bolivian man."42

Noticias Aliadas narrates a controversy between Mons. Jorge Manrique, Archbishop of La Paz, and the Ministry of Education about a

41 Guillermo Francovich, "Integración del Servicio Educativo en el Proceso de Desarrollo," Foro Universitario (La Paz, Bolivia) Año III, n. 28, Nov. 1967, p. 34.

strike against the Government by 25,000 teachers. The Declaration of
criteria issued by Mrs. Manrique was judged by the Ministry of Education
as a partisan political letter. Ultimately this controversy had to be
settled by the highest Churchman in Bolivia, the Cardinal of Sucre, and
the President of the Republic. 43

At the end of 1968, René Barrientos declared when presenting
the official educational reform:

"Among the works of national reconstruction, the reconstruction
of Bolivian education is indispensable because of its dimension
and importance. In this year 1968, so full of contrast and
bitter surprises, the strenuous work of educational reform will
assure the right of culture, science and technology which
revolutioned the world for Bolivians. The new man of this
country will be possible, individually and socially, only with
an education in touch with the present moment of the nation and
with its promising future. We understood that any transformation
of men is correlated with an integral change of an underdeveloped
society. My administration realizes that material delay can only
be controled by a human change, a mental and cultural transforma-
tion. We understood that the worst aspect of underdeveloppment
is not the economic dependance or in physical poverty, but in
the loss of dignity and hope." 44

And later on Barrientos presents some of the practical steps
taken. He wants to close the gap between education for the rich and
education for the poor and to construct genuine organizations of
teachers, parents, and students:

"In the effort towards unity that my Government tries to develop
in every corner of the country, education is an extraordinary
instrument. Thus we have tried to transform the system and
administrative education taking into account the unity of Bolivia

43 Cfr. Educación Latino Americana (Bogotá, Colombia) Vol. II,
We need an education attuned with our situation but having our integration as its goal. There cannot be, therefore, an education for the rich and another one for the poor. It cannot be accepted that the simple people have their schools closed when the private schools are open. It cannot happen any more that the mass of people pays for the political ambitions of bad leaders and that the honest teacher is enslaved by irresponsible bosses. For the same reason that we accept education as the most efficient method of national integration, no one in the sector directly concerned with it, teachers, parents, students, must be afraid. We are the genuine government of all Bolivians. We act always in good faith; therefore we made the teachers themselves manage the question of hierarchical rank, so that professional dignity is restored to the devoted citizens who are responsible for the formation of the Bolivian man.\textsuperscript{45}

What elements do we take into account speaking of "revolution"?

Within the scope of our present work we did not want to go into a full discussion of the meaning of "revolution". After showing some of the fascination as well as some of the misconceptions that the world might have, we selected three interrelated elements present in any revolution: a value system, a socio-economic development, human formation. Today education is a value for the socio-economic development of society, so, we have the right to speak of education for development. This education, on the other hand, has been developed also outside of its former frontiers; interdisciplinary work has been done between education and other political, anthropological, economic fields. In Latin America a special effort has been made in the integration of educational planning with the general planning for development. Bolivia has not been outside the general movement of education for development. Among the elements of revolution, education is playing a catalytic role.

\textsuperscript{45}Ibid., pp. VI-VII.
Alan Peshkin presents four dimensions of change which are present with varying degrees of emphasis in educational developing of the developing nations:

"First of all, there is a pre-eminent desire for reform: the problems of the nation are discussed, the limitation of traditional school system are identified, and ameliorative measures are specified. The second dimension, following logically from the first, is the importance attached to planning educational change or reform, that is, plans which take the shape of a central government's five, seven, or ten year plan and which integrate, to some degree, educational with economic and social plans. It is obvious that no nation moves simply from problem to planned change to implementation. Intervening are a multitude of difficulties which complicate reform efforts. The discussion of these difficulties constitutes the third dimension. The fourth dimension deals with what could be called the 'internationalization of educational development', referring to the fact that the developing nations are not attempting to plan their change or to resolve their problems alone, but, on the contrary, are utilizing the resources and manpower of public and private, national and international agencies."46

At this point, the purpose of the thesis may be justified. The Latin American social situation is a sound context for framing the Bolivian education. We accepted that the entire continent south of the United States is both a vastly heterogenous region and has a similarity in culture and history, problems and aspiration. We said, too, that Latin America wants to relate herself with the rest of the world. We might call this the 'horizontal axis' which was symbolized by the expanding waves on the surface of the lake and by the physical expansion of the universe. Education when applied to the reality of Bolivia started the formation of a 'vertical axis'. When education is

a value for the socio-economic development of a society, education for
development becomes involved with the history and culture of this
society, with the efforts and difficulties that this society finds in
its movement towards progress. The double direction of this 'vertical
axis' was visualized by the downward movement of the rock seeking to
rest on the bottom of the lake and by the upward progress of the
universe toward an Omega point.

2) Method and Sources

The preceding presentation on the purpose of the thesis has
given already the basic directions in our search for a coherent method
and valid sources.

When trying to explain the method of working, an image may help
us. A Bolivian Indian is walking on the Altiplano. An unlimited
number of directions are open to him. The horizon seems circular and
flat around him. He is moving, nevertheless, in the same direction
constantly. When he tries to measure his progress with the vastness
of his environment his movement seems insignificant.

Like the Bolivian Altiplano the Latin American social situation
is a vast context to frame Bolivian education. We cannot try to survey
it all. We will go in one direction: that of providing a sufficiently
wide range of facts and opinions which will allow us to arrive at an
attitude of sympathetic criticism towards different viewpoints on the
situation.

We will use a method similar to what Leften S. Stavrianos and
George I. Blanksten called a "flashback technique". This technique is a pedagogically sound method for getting rid of the shackles of chronology and the boredom of World History courses. It is realistic in accepting the need of selecting the most pertinent historical events, forces and personages out of an unlimited number of possibilities. It is up to date in its concern for a direct relation of past history with today's world.

Just a reflection on the sources used. We have introduced already most of the sources to be utilized in our work. These are books and magazines, reports of international agencies such as UNESCO and OAS, and reports of particular experiments as ICE (Instituto Campesino Educación) and ACLO (Acción Cultural Loyola). Also included

47 They describe it this way: "The Selections on "Politics", "Economics", and "Culture" all begin with an analysis of existing conditions and institutions. Then the flashback technique is used to make clear how these conditions and institutions gradually evolved through the ages. This device meets two basic difficulties that in the past have made the world history course unmanageable for teachers and unpalatable for students. One is the traditional chronological treatment, which simply breaks down when combined with the area approach. It is pedagogically impossible to rush through several thousand years of history in China, several thousand in India, and so on for the Middle East, Europe, Africa, and other areas. The flashback method solves this dilemma by selecting the most pertinent historical events, forces, and personages that help to explain the existing conditions and institutions defined at the beginning. Thus both teachers and students are freed from the shackles of chronology -- from the paralyzing 'one damn thing after another' approach to history. The second difficulty met by the flashback method is student apathy and boredom" (L. S. Stavrianos & G. I. Blanchen, EXTIN AMARICE: A Culture Area in Perspective (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1965) p. 2.
are statements of professional educators, historians, politicians, churchmen. We have had to translate original Spanish sources.

Our main concern in this variety of sources will be to keep an attitude of sympathetic criticism to the diversity of opinions. It might happen quite often that we do not agree with a concrete viewpoint or with a particular conclusion. There is nothing wrong with that; but we must make an effort to respect the person who speaks to us and try to understand what he is really saying and be ready to accept the values involved in his viewpoint or conclusion. We need, in other words, an authentic attitude of dialogue. This attitude of dialogue is especially important when by accepting the need for being selective and up to day in our method we cannot claim that our viewpoint alone is valid.

It seems to me that the philosophy of what has been said so far about the purpose, the method and the sources of our study is summarized quite accurately by the CELAM's description of "education for liberty." The Latin American bishops summarize some of the characteristics of education in Latin America and then go on to write:

"Our reflection on this panorama leads us to propose a vision of education more in accord with the integral development for which we are struggling on our continent. We might call it a 'liberating education,' that is, one that convets the student into the subject of his own development. Education is actually the key instrument in liberating the masses from all servitude and in bringing them 'from less human conditions to more human ones' keeping in mind that man himself is the one responsible and 'the principal author of his success or failure.' Because of this, education in all its levels must become creative and it must foresee the new type of society that we want for Latin America. Education must be grounded in the personalization of
the new generations, deepening the awareness of their human dignity, helping their free self-determination and promoting their sense of community. Education must be open to dialogue, to be enriched with the values that the youth intuits and finds valid for the future. Doing this the understanding of the young people among themselves and with the adults will grow. This will allow the youth to pick up the best of the examples and teachings of their parents and teachers in order to construct tomorrow's society. Education must also affirm with sincere appreciation the local and national peculiarities and integrate them in the pluralistic unity of the continent and of the world. Lastly, education must enable the new generations for the organic and permanent change implicit in any development. This is the 'liberating education' that Latin America needs if we want to get rid of unjust servitudes the first of which servitudes is our own selfishness. This is the education that is needed for our integral development."48

3) Division of Contents

Our purpose is to describe the Latin American social situation as a context to frame Bolivian education; our method will be that of providing a sufficiently wide range of facts and opinions which will foster an attitude of sympathetic criticism toward different points of view.

Historical background, socio-economic development, and educational situation will be the three areas of our research. We will devote one chapter to each of the three areas.

The historical background will give us some understanding of the questions: 1) How was the heterogeneous Latin America formed? 2) What are some of the peculiarities of Bolivia? 3) To which regions of the world are we more closely related?.

48 Celam II, o.c. p. 63-64.
The socio-economic situation will be examined: 1) Which are some of the main obstacles to socio-economic development? 2) Which are some of the present efforts and suggested directions of future development?

The educational situation will be clarified by these questions: 1) How does the present educational situation reflect our historico-social background?. 2) What are some suggestions for education-for-development?. 3) What are some of the efforts that are being made?
CHAPTER II

SOME HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Edmund J. King reminds us that "all education by its very nature seeks to perpetuate what is supposed to be the best of the past and to provide the growing generation with the best- tried tools for the future." To put in Xavier Zubiri's words a principle obvious to any historian: "What we are today is the entirety of the possibilities which we have because of what we were yesterday." At the same time the other direction is also true: When we want to get a better understanding of our today it may help to look at what we were yesterday. This is the basis for what Stavrianos and Blanksten have called a "flashback technique".

This general truth holds in a particular way when applied to Latin America. Mohamed el Fasi, Chairman of the Executive Board of Unesco, presents the earlier defenders of 'education for all' in the history of Latin America with the words:

"It might be said that education for all is an idea that is woven into the history of the Americas. It has had two types of advocates: the liberators Miranda, Bolívar, San Martín, Hidalgo, who fought mainly with the sword; and those men who created from

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within and helped to bring their nations into being, the teachers of the Americas, Sarmiento, Bello, Martí and many others. The ideas of the liberators on education complement their political ideas, as shown, for instance, by the circular of San Martín addressed to the Cuyo teachers in 1815: free governments should promote learning to allow men to follow their natural impulse towards enlightenment and knowledge. When the idea of popular education had not yet penetrated in the more highly organized nations, Sarmiento upheld it as a banner on high, regarding it as the most effective instrument of progress. That is to say, long before it was proved by modern statistics and sociological analyses, Latin Americans had already realized that investment in the education of their people was the best use to which the national resources can be put."50

Three modern Bolivian historians have shown their concern for the educational implications of history. The thoughts of Enrique Finot, Alcides Arguedas and Fernando Díez de Medina may help us in selecting the most pertinent historical events, forces, and personages which can explain the existing conditions.

E. Finot wrote: "In the first part of the twenty century they started to talk about the alphabetization of the Indian in a wrong way. They even talked of the creation of a national pedagogy, without understanding that the question was more socio-economical than pedagogical. The emancipation of the native people will not come as a result of the efforts of some military men or some ambulant schools, but as new understanding of the goal of our national community through the work of education and improvement of the level of life... Only since the beginning of the century some attention has been given to this fundamental problem which has not been solved yet by any Latin American nation."51

After dedicating his book to the "young students of my country", Alcides Arguedas offered his philosophy of life when facing the problem of Bolivian nationality: "The new people will know, if they read the book, that nothing can be a surprise for us because it is the fatal and

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50 UNESCO & ECLA, o.c., p. 63
logical consequence of our sad and irrelevant past. The country has been very often a toy in the hands of persons without moral values, persons with vulgar hearts and vulgar minds, who played a more or less prominent role because the military quarters took the place of the schools. And when, at last, we had schools we had there just teachers instead of educators. . . Among us politics have been, and still are, the art of making individual progress. Because of that, since the early independence, we have been in constant war to reach this goal hiding this purpose with grandiloquent names and concealing the intensity of our passion under the appearances of programs which we were unable to fulfill. . . Our history is ultimately a history of infinite sadness, because it is the history of a people poor and without culture. Our chroniclers wanted to beat around the bush telling some of the war-like actions of our leaders without paying any attention to the social aspect of these quarrels which show precisely the bitterness of the warlike activities. . . But all these conditions will cease. Our country, by her position in the geography of the Hemisphere, by her marvelous variety of products, by the shape of her land and the resources of physical and vegetal life stored there has an undeniable potential which is totally out of proportion with the human and economic factors which are available today. She has a reserve of possibilities and those who deny that are near-sighted. . .

F. Diez de Medina presents the present moment of Bolivia this way:

"Midway between a tiny republic and a modern nation, Bolivia is searching for her expression. She suffers hunger for unity, she has thirst for coherence. It is our duty, men of transition, put between a world which is falling apart and another which is being born, to give flesh and bones to this expression, to satisfy this hunger and thirst, to give a meaning to the rough present, to launch a message into the future. Maybe one day, our generation will be called 'the generation of faith.' And this will be our best reward."53

And he adds:

"To the question of the adolescent asking 'What is our nation?' there is just one possible answer: 'Look to yourself! This is your nation'. The nations are just what their people are. If we are small it is because we are loose... Bourgeoisie, bureaucracy and laziness are the three plagues of our national character. It is the morality of comfort which destroys youthness... Whoever wants to have a great nation must commit himself to the mystery of free servitude through suffering."54

Mohamed el Fasi pointed towards the efforts of Liberator and teachers in spreading the idea of education for all Latin Americans. E. Finot presented the necessary ties between education and the socio-economical situation. A. Arguedas emphasized the shortcomings of past history as a way of bringing attention to the need of a social honesty. F. Diez de Medina tried to awaken the necessary commitment of our people. In different ways all of them are directing us to the appropriateness of taking a look at the process which resulted in the formation of Latin America. Then, we will be better equipped to

54 Ibid., p. 49-50.
understand why education for all failed, how the social classes started, and to what values we must be committed.

1) **Formation of a heterogeneous Latin America**

Latin America when taken in the sense earlier described, includes twenty countries which comprise a total area of almost eight million square miles more than the area of Europe and the United States combined.

Map 2 presents graphically a comparison of the area of Latin America and the United States **55**.

There is a distance of some 7,000 miles from the northern tip of Mexico to the southern extremity of Chile, which is a greater distance than from London to Capetown. Extending the length of Latin America and forming its geographical backbone is a continuous chain of mountains in which earthquakes are frequent. Speaking of Latin American geography, Dr. A. Curtis Wilgus reminds us that "it describes the environment in which human actions take place. An understanding of the stage and the factors is essential to an appreciation of the life and culture of any part of

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**55** Stavrianos & Blanksten, *o.c.*, p. 8.
our globe. It is important to view here the environment as a whole and in its component parts and to see how human beings lived and acted in the Americas from the earliest times."\(^56\)

Stavrianos and Blanksten wrote:

"The Andes have historically been difficult to cross. Indeed, they are such impenetrable barriers that the crossing of the Andes by the armies of Bolívar and San Martín during the Wars of Independence early in the nineteenth century are still regarded among the greatest military feats of all time. Offshoots of the main Andean system form the mountains of northern Venezuela and most of the islands in the West Indies. Mountains also dominate the topography of México and the other Central-American countries and there are few extensive areas of flat terrain in these countries. The mountains of México are extensions of the Rocky Mountains of the United States. Other important mountainous areas are the Brazilian Highlands which cover almost half of Brazil, and the Guianan Highlands of southern Venezuela, northern Brazil, and parts of the Guianas."\(^57\)

They go on:

"Happily, the geography of Latin America has also been an aid as well as a hindrance. For one thing, four major river systems serve as important avenues of trade and communication in South America. The first of these is the La Plata River system which drains southern Bolivia, southern Brazil, Paraguay, northern Argentina, and Uruguay and empties into the Atlantic Ocean (Though La Plata is but an estuary, it pours more water into the ocean that any stream in North America). Second, the Amazon River system, the greatest in the world, drains northern Bolivia, eastern Perú, eastern Ecuador, southern Colombia, and northern Brazil. It carries the runoff of half a continent into the Atlantic Ocean. Third is the Magdalena River system which connects the interior commercial centers of Colombia with the Caribbean Sea. Finally, the Orinoco River system does the same thing for central and eastern Colombia and Venezuela."\(^58\)

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57 Stavrianos & Blanksten, o.c., p. 8.
58 Ibid., p. 9.
Maps 3 and 4 will show how the climate and vegetation of Latin America are spread through the continent. We can see also from a geographic point of view, the heterogeneity of Latin America. Hubert C. Herring point out that "the existence of great expanses of plateaus and valleys has gone far toward offsetting Latin America's chief climatic liability -- the fact that three-quarters of it total area lies between the Tropics of Cancer and

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59 Ibid., p. 9.
Capricorn. In México, Central America, and the Andean republics the majority of the people live in the cool tablelands from four to twelve thousand feet above the steaming tropics at sea level." On the other hand, the Amazon Basin, the widest expanse of uniformly heavy rainfall in the entire world, the Argentine pampa, and the Atacama Desert and the Patagonic Steppe are all elements of that continent we called Latin America.

Stavrianos and Blanksten have indicated the importance of the Andes in the past history of Latin America. Sometimes the symbolic value of the Andes is foreseen highly meaningful for the future. 61

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61 Speaking at the Inter-American Economic and Social Conference sponsored by the Organization of American States at Punta del Este (Uruguay) on August 8, 1961, Che Guevara, head of the Cuban delegation, tried to present the symbolic significance of the Andes for a united Latin America: "To all of you, fellow delegates, the Cuban delegation says in all frankness: We want to remain within the Latin American family. We want to live with Latin America. We want to see its countries grow, if possible, at the same pace as our own, but we are not opposed to another rate of growth. What we do demand is a guarantee of non-aggression against our frontiers. We cannot stop exporting our example, as the United States wants, because an example is something spiritual that pierces all borders. What we do guarantee is not to export revolution. We guarantee that not one rifle will leave Cuba, that no one weapon will go to another country. What we cannot insure is that the idea of Cuba will not take root in some other American country, and we can assure this conference that unless urgent social measures are taken, the Cuban example will take root in the people and then something that Fidel said on 26th of July will come true. Fidel said that if social conditions continued as they were then "the Andes Mountains will become the Sierra Maestra of America" (Ernesto Guevara, Che Guevara Speaks (N.Y.: Grove Press Inc., 1968) pp. 52-53. Ed. in First Evergreen Black Edition by George Lavan.)
The Andean mouatains haYe a special meaning for Bolivian geography and history. William Ly Schurz presents a picture of the inter-relationship between the geography and the lives of the Bolivian people:

"In Bolivia, there are three quite clearly definable ranges of the Andes. On the side towards the Pacific is the Cordillera Occidental, whose greatest heights lie over the border in Chile. The main range of the Bolivian Andes is the Cordillera Real, which culminates in a series of Himalaya-like peaks in the Department of La Paz. As the traveller approaches the capital from the railroad junction at Viacha, he sees before him a mighty wall of snow-capped mountains. Loftiest of these peaks are Illampu, or Sorata, to the northeast, and Illimani, which towers above La Paz, both over 21,000 feet high, while between them several other peaks rise to heights more than 20,000 feet. Near the point where the three Departments of La Paz, Oruro, and Cochabamba meet, another chain of the Andes, known as the Cordillera Oriental, or Eastern Cordillera, branches off to the east and finally descends by the rugged foothills beyond the valley of Cochabamba into the plains of Santa Cruz. Between the western and 'Royal' ranges of the Andes lies the altiplano or meseta, the bleak and desolate tableland, that is the home of the Aymara race and the center of the modern Bolivian's national life. The plateau floor is about 450 miles long, with an average width of 80 miles. Its average height above the sea is about 12,500 feet, ranking it with the Tibetan plateau as the highest inhabited region in the globe. Its cities and towns, like Oruro and Uyuny, are cheerless and silent places, with nights of penetrating cold. Only the warmth and brightness of the sun relieve the forbidding chill and grayness of these inhospitable heights, as they recall by some distanteatavism the peculiar appeal of the solar worship of the Incas. Yet, a few thousand feet below the general plateau to the east, as at Cochabamba and Sucre, is a climate of perpetual spring and a habitat highly favorable to human existence. Over the high divide of the Cordillera Real above La Paz the descent is rapid into the semi-tropical zone of the Yungas. This is a region of deep valleys among mountains that fall away toward the lowlands of the Beni. Due to the warm climate and heavy summer rains, these mountains are covered with vegetation, and wherever there is a relatively level shelf of land it is intensively cultivated. The similar zones in Perú and Ecuador are known as the montana. In contrast to the Yungas and montana districts on the eastern side of the Andes, the western slopes and outridges are barren wastes, since the humid winds which blow from the east across..."
the continent precipitate their moisture on the eastern watershed."

My first trip through Bolivia was in the opposite direction to that of W. Schurz. The plane took off from Sao Paolo on a foggy morning. Our flight over the Matto Grosso was cloudy most of the time. We had a better view over the flat and green plains of Sta. Cruz. Beneath us a road or railroad looked like a tiny straight line. From Santa Cruz to La Paz, the sight of the mountains surrounding the valleys of Sucre and Cochabamba provides a good basis for understanding the Bolivian communication problem. The first appearance of La Paz crowned by the snow-covered Illimani shows in its beauty the mystery of the Andes. Once you get off the plane, the difficult breathing reminds you that the airport of "El Alto" is the highest jet-airport in the world.

What is the racial and sociological background of the Latin American family to whom Guevara was referring? Hubert C. Herring summarizes it in this way:

"To tell the story of the Latin Americans we must start with some ten to twenty million Indians scattered over the broad area from California to Patagonia. These Indians were the first Americans, the first Latin Americans. Then Spaniards and Portuguese moved in. And then Negroes arrived from Africa. The importation of slaves was an act of both prudence and mercy: prudence, for shortage of labor prompted recruiting slaves from Africa; mercy, as the missionary friars sought to protect their Indian charges, who, they felt, possessed immortal souls, by substituting African Negroes who, some thought, did

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The chief concentration of Negro labor was in Brazil and the Caribbean, but the trade reached all area from Mexico to Argentina.

"These, then, were the racial origins of the Latin American people -- first Indians, second Europeans, third Africans. From the beginning intermingling was common. Whites cohabited with Indians, whites with Negroes, Negroes with Indians. Sometimes the unions were blessed by the Church; usually they were not. Children were born of every shade of color: red, brown, black, and white. This process has continued.

"Immigration contributed to the complicated patchwork of Latin America. Throughout the colonial period a few migrants drifted in from northern Europe, legally or illegally, and made their homes in the New World. After independence, and particularly after the 1850's, immigration increased. Spaniards, Portuguese, and Italians came in large numbers, as well as French, English, Japanese, Germans, and Slavs. Over the length and breadth of Latin America we find people who speak no word of the language suggested by their English, French, German or Dutch names. With a few exceptions these migrants became loyal nationals of the lands of their adoption, settle down, and intermarried."63

John J. Considine presents the modern common characteristics of Latin American people giving some figures on the distribution of the groups of different racial background:

"Compared with North America's Indian peoples, Latin America was favored by superior varieties who developed ancient civilizations that compared well with those on other continents. Today some 20,000,000 Indians in Latin America still maintain their identity as such. The largest body -- over 5,000,000 dwells in Mexico, while a similar concentration is found in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. Segments are likewise found in ten other republics. In the majority of nations, the most distinctive Latin American today is the mestizo. He represents 30% or more in 12 of the republics. Where he predominates, he possesses the deepest sense of belonging; and in many countries he contributes most to building the new middle class. The mestizo totals an approximate 75,000,000 in the Latin American world. In the temperate lands of southern South America -- in Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and southern Brazil -- European immigrants have

63 Herring, O.C., p. 16.
entered in considerable numbers during the last 75 years. Negroes and mulattoes in Latin America total approximately 35,000,000. The largest concentration is in Brazil, with a second heavy grouping in the coastal area of Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. Haiti, the Negro republic, counts some 4,000,000. The color of his skin does not in itself create a handicap for the Latin American Negro, but he must win social acceptance by education and cultural attainment.64

Pedro Henríquez Ureña makes a valuable remark: "Thirty years ago, in discussing Latin American civilization, it would have been considered unnecessary to mention the indigenous culture. Today, with the development and diffusion of sociological and historical studies, and of ethnology and archeology in particular, we think differently. Although the structure of our civilization and its basic orientation come from Europe, a good many of the materials with which it has been built are autochthonous."65

But a big part of this Indian past is still unknown. We have some clues that make the mystery less puzzling, yet much of the meaning is still hidden. Hubert C. Herring points towards some of these clues:

"Since the last years of the nineteenth century, skillful and patient men have slashed through the tangled growth of centuries, dug under the banked lava flow, uncovered old cemeteries, temples and cities. They have explored caves where they found clues as to the first migrants in piles of bones and shells, in buried campfires of forgotten men, from inscriptions on stone. The scientists have been able to reconstruct something of the story of the dispersal of men over the Western Hemisphere, their shaping into distinct tribes, with varied languages, customs,

occupations, religions. They report to us in diffidence, frankly admitting their incomplete knowledge. The story of Indian America must be written with soft chalk, easily erased and corrected."

Chart n. 1 will give some chronologically important moments of the Latin American history. Stavrianos and Blanksten have prepared it keeping the threefold basic division: Pre-hispanic period, Period of Conquest and Colonization, and National Period since the Wars of Independence.

Thomas A. Joyce, Wendel C. Bennet and Gordon R. Willey explain some of the findings of archeology:

"Knowledge of the prehistory of the continent is based on local traditions, accounts written by the first discoverers, and especially on archeological field excavations. Since traditions of any significance are generally lacking except for the Incas of Perú, and since historical accounts are limited to the conquest period, the dependence on archeology is even greater. Although much work had been done by the 1950's, there were still many unexplored regions so that reconstruction of the past was incomplete and uneven.

"The earliest inhabitants of South America were nomadic hunters, fishers and gatherers who pushed southward from North America by way of Middle America and the Isthmus of Panamá. There are to be sure, other possible migration routes including the transpacific, but the evidence for these was yet to be satisfactorily established in the 1950's. . . Various centers of plant domestication have been suggested, such as the marginal areas of the tropical forest, the high Andes, Middle America and even the old world for such plants as the bottle gourd, sweet potato and perhaps cotton. Wherever the origin, the highest civilizations of South America were based on intensive agriculture, and this was best developed in the Andean mountains and along the Pacific coast, particularly in the central Andes, which includes the mountains and coast of Perú and part of Bolivia.

"The long formative period was the basis for the distinctive regional cultures which flourished in almost every part of the

66 Herring, n.o., pp. 24-25.
TIME CHART FOR LATIN AMERICA

500-1000
- Mayan culture at highest level.

400-1532
- Incan civilization flourishes.

1375-1519
- Duration of the Aztec Empire.

1492-1504
- Four voyages of Columbus.

1496
- Bartholomew Columbus founds Nueva Isabela (now Santo Domingo), the oldest European-founded city in the Western Hemisphere.

1519-1522
- Cortés conquers Aztecs.

1531-1533
- Pizarro subdues Incas.

1538
- Oldest university in the Western Hemisphere, Santo Domingo, established in Nueva Isabela.

1551
- Universities of Mexico, Mexico City, and San Marcos, Lima, established.

1763
- Rio de Janeiro becomes capital of Brazil.

1804-1825
- Independence movements.

1806-1812
- Miranda as revolutionist.

1810-1825
- Bolívar liberates Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru.

1817-1822
- San Martín liberates Argentina and Chile.

1822
- Brazil separates from Portugal.

1835-1852
- Rosas rules as tyrant of Argentina.

1846-1848
- Mexican War with the United States.

1864-1867
- Short-lived reign of Maximilian in Mexico.

1879-1883
- Chile fights and wins the War of the Pacific against Bolivia and Peru.

1889
- Brazil becomes a republic.

1889-1890
- First Pan American Conference.

1903
- Panama becomes independent of Colombia, leaves Panama Canal Zone to the United States.

1933
- United States adopts Good Neighbor policy.

1936
- Franklin Roosevelt abrogates Platt Amendment.

1946
- Perón becomes dictator of Argentina, overthrown in 1955.

1948
- Organization of American States established.

1956
- Presidents of American States meet at Panama.

1959
- Batista overthrown by Castro in Cuba.

1960-1961
- Castro wooed by Communists.

1961
central Andes from approximately A.D. 300 to 1,000. This has been called the classic period because of the high artistic and technical achievements in ceramics, metallurgy, weaving and architecture. Some of the outstanding local cultures are the Mochica (also called Early Chimú) on the north coast of Perú, noted for faithfully modelled and realistically painted ceramics; the Natzca on the south coast, famed for polychrome embroideries and multicoloured clay vessels; Recuay in the northern highlands, with incised statues and small modelled figures on ceramic vessels; and Tiahuanaco in the Bolivian highlands, noted for polished and fitted stone masonry and low-relief carving.67

Map 6 shows the Indian Migration Routes and the site of the Maya, Aztec, and Inca Empires. Dr. George D. Spindler summarizes some of the basic features these three civilizations held together:

"Knowledge of the ancient civilizations of the Maya, Aztec, and Inca Indians of the Americas, increasing rapidly at present, makes it obvious that an impressive list of basic features are held in common: domesticated plants and animals, irrigation, cities and towns, metallurgy, states and empires, social classes, priesthoods, calendars and writing, mathematics and even pyramids."68

Let us take a closer look at Inca's cultural world. Pedro Henríquez Ureña gives a good summary:

"The nation comprising the Quechua-speaking peoples ruled by the Incas, merits the name of 'empire' in the Roman sense. From its capital, Cuzco -- founded in the thirteenth century and 'built at the greatest height above sea level of all imperial capitals', as the Argentine archaeologist Fernando Márquez Miranda wrote -- the Incas succeeded in ruling over a vast territory, extending into the Andean highlands and along both slopes of the cordillera, from Quito (conquered in 1487) in the north, to northern Chile and Argentina in the south. The southern boundaries of the empire are not known with certainty, but even in areas where military control was not effective, cultural influence did, in any case, penetrate. Thus, the Quechua language is still spoken in the province of Santiago del Estero, in Argentina.

68 Spindler, o.c., pp. 19-20.
"The religion of the Incas centered around the cult of the Sun, ancestor of the monarchs. He was surrounded by a pantheon of lesser gods. In addition, there were purely spiritual divinities, without a form that could be represented, such as Pachacamac, who animated the world and its creatures. The Incas had both priestly and military functions. The monarchy was hereditary: the reigning Inca chose a successor from among his sons, according to merit. There was, moreover, a kind of consultative council, whose advice was evidently necessary in order to make laws.

"Inca society was not organized along the lines of a democracy, as the Aztec society is said to have been, at least in its early stages, but was rigorously divided into classes, each having its distinctive dress and insignia. The upper classes included the monarch, the numerous descendants of the Incas (who were polygamous), and the provincial governors (curacas) and their families. On rare occasions, the Inca would elevate a man of merit to the privileged classes. The members of the upper classes received a special education; no one could belong to them in full right until he had undergone a severe examination and submitted to the ordeal of initiation.

"The common people had to perform agricultural labor or work in crafts. As with the Aztecs, the land was distributed among the heads of families (allotments were made annually), together with the rights to the supply of water needed for irrigation. Idleness was not tolerated, and no one was allowed to go hungry or without clothing. The proletariat had the obligation of cultivating, by turns, the lands belonging to the Sun and the Inca, and those set aside for assistance to the needy -- the aged, widows, children, and the disabled in general. In the granaries and storehouses they kept food, textiles, arms, and all kinds of raw materials, which were used to meet the needs of the army and, in emergencies, of the populace. Commerce existed on a small scale; it was permissible to sell any surplus individual production. Houses and household goods were private property.

"In order to govern this vast empire with such an economic system, it was essential to keep a detailed census of the population and its needs; the Incas carried statistics to a degree of precision that even today is unequalled in official practice in any civilized country. They retained the division of the inhabitants into the landholding communities (ayllus) that had been established before the organization of the empire."69

69Henríquez, o.c., pp. 15-17.
An understanding of the ayllu is important. Hubert C. Herring says:

"One secret of the strength of this far-flung empire was the respect accorded to the village community, the ayllu. The chief concern of the ayllu was the land upon which the people depended for life. A conviction long held by the Indian peoples was that land belongs to the community, not to the individual, and that the ayllu, the community, is finally responsible for its wise use. The Incas imbedded this conception of land and tenure into the framework of the empire. Land became the exclusive property of the Inca himself as trustee for all the people. The Inca in wisdom and bounty then divided the land three ways. One part was assigned to the ayllu, that is to the people. A second part was assigned to the sun, the symbol of religion, for support of the cult and creation of a reserve to meet the emergencies of stricken areas, to succor victims of pestilence and drought. A third part was assigned to the Inca himself, for support of the court, the government, and war. We do not know how fairly the system was administered, or how effectively justice and mercy were measured out to strong and weak. Some writers have expatiated upon the beauties of Inca 'communism' or 'socialism'. The Inca system was neither of these, but a highly organized theocratic paternalism."

So far, in our effort to understand the formation of a heterogeneous Latin America we gave especial importance to two factors: Geography -- what has been called "the stage" by A. Curtis Wilgus -- and the Indian -- the first actor of Latin America. Both, especially in the Andean regions, matched perfectly.

J. Merle Davis puts the association this way:

"Land is the foundation of the Indian economy. An Indian separated from the land is like a disembodied spirit. He has inherited from his ancestors the well developed system of agriculture of the Inca Empire. The Indians' world centers in and is bounded by the land. Here is the center of his superstitions, his rituals, his fables and traditions, his values and ideology and his motivations. The land and its progresses provide the source

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70 Herring, o.c., p. 52.
not only of his sustenance, but of his culture and the sum total and center of his desires. As Moisés Sáenz states in *The Peruvian Indian,* 'The Indian is a creature of the soil; his very being depends on the preservation of his bond with the soil: if we break that bond, we destroy the Indian'. Francisco Pastor in *El Indígena del Perú,* describes the animistic attitude of the Indian toward the land and states that the agrarianism of the Indian amounts to a kind of religion. He has inherited from his ancestors the concept of maternal earth. The actual deity is Pacha mama or Mother Earth. That is not the deification of the physical earth, but rather a spiritualized concept of the cosmic, creative principle. This mystic and sentimental agrarianism is diametrically opposed to the legal concept of land which European culture has imposed on Perú. The earth is the very life of the Indian and he does not understand nor has he ever wished to understand the matter of 'having title' to the land. His bond with the earth is far deeper than that.\(^{71}\)

When Columbus left Palos, August 3, 1492, a new era of Latin America's formation was opened. We have listened to P. Henríquez Ureña's remarks that "the structure of our civilization and its basic orientation come from Europe". Map 7 presents the development of the colonial settlements by Spanish and Portuguese colonists... The influences of Spain and Portugal are decisive in the Latin American background. A. Curtis Wilgus states:

"The basic fact of Latin America history is that for more than three hundred years (some eleven generations) the peoples of Latin America were under the paternalistic and repressive control of the mother countries Spain and Portugal, which discouraged political self-government, stifled individual economic initiative, and suppressed intellectual ambition. Nevertheless, these subject peoples were always ready to sacrifice their lives and resources for king or pope. Throughout these ages the colonists lived much the same manner as did the peoples in Europe of their days, but

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Expansion of Colonial Settlements, 1492–1800

Map 7: Colonial Settlements. From Hubert C. Herring, *o.c.*, p.151.
in most instances they were more handicapped by nature and natives and by disease and disaster. Certainly, Europeans at home did not have to cope with enormous stretches of roadless inhospitable, and partially explored territory as did these sturdy pioneers."

Bannon and Dunne expresses the same idea with an image:

"In fact, Latin American civilization, with certain reservations, might be somewhat facetiously described as the offspring of a European 'father' and an American or Indian 'mother', born and reared in the rugged surroundings of a vast New World. From both 'father' and 'mother,' the Latin American has received traits, qualities, characteristics which make him a fascinating person. The many things which are by his 'paternal' inheritance do not dwarf into insignificance the equally many things which he has by way of 'maternal' legacy. Both sides of his family culture tree must be studied."

Fernando Díez de Medina asks himself the question: What has the Conquest and the Colonization meant in the American history? Some of his reflections follow:

"It depends on the point of view: the largest evil and the largest good. The Conquest disorganized, destroyed the autochthonous empires; the Colonization gave a new psychological and social structure. . . Because of the sublime religion and the dynamic wind of the humanistic Renaissance, Spain freed herself from the cruel mistakes of the Conquest. . . They forgot the people to exalt the minorities. And this tragic inheritance, which started with the Conquest, went through the Colonization and survived in the Republic, directs us to the present divorce between the Indian majority and the white minority."

Sanford A. Mosk sees certain similarities between the social status of the people before and after the conquest:

"In some places -- notably México, Guatemala, and the Andean country -- the Spaniards came upon dense concentration of aborigines, living in villages and towns, cultivating crops such

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72 Wilgus & d'Eca, o.c., p. 3


as corn, beans, squash, and potatoes, and trained to perform a variety of craft and construction tasks. Once conquered, they could easily be parcelled out and forced to work for their European masters all the more easily because they were accustomed to working under compulsion for their own chieftains in the days before the conquest. In other parts of the Spanish dominions there were no great concentrations of Indians, but mostly the natives were sufficiently sedentary so that they could be captured and put to work. Later, if necessary, they were supplemented or replaced by Negro slaves. Throughout the Hispanic New World, in spite of some exceptions, it is clear that aboriginal conditions lent themselves to creating a laboring population of servile character, thus facilitating the introduction of feudal institutions. 75

François Houtart explains how the colonial aristocracy was formed:

"By royal authority the encomendero received a group of Indians. He put them to work and imposed various taxes on them. In return, he guaranteed to defend the territory. He assumed civil power. He evangelized the Indians confined to him. The encomienda system came to rest more and more on a basis of ownership of land. The source of such land might be confiscation, the sale of public domains, or gifts from the Crown for services rendered. The encomienda soon disappeared, giving way to the hacienda, a large rural property. Theoretically the worker on a hacienda was free, but his indebtedness kept him in servitude. In the seventeenth century, the state favored the extension of landed property. ... The owner of a latifundia was not interested so much in productivity as in the social prestige and the power that land gave him. He lived in town, leaving the responsibility for the exploitation of his property in the hands of a manager. He leased or granted plots of land to the expropriated Indians. The latter, in exchange for a bit of land reserved to their own use, worked without pay for a certain number of days a year. Despite the various dispositions, a large part of the land lay fallow. In Brazil, the fazenda (the equivalent to hacienda) and especially the sugar plantations represented a somewhat different social structure because the fazendeiro usually lived on his land. 76

75 Sanford A. Mosk, "Latin America versus the United States," Lewis Hanke, ed., o.c., Doc. 10, pp. 178-179.

Map 8 presents the movements of the Colonial Trade and Commerce. Agriculture and Mining were the two basic factors, John Gerassi says:

"Since the Indian cultures of Latin America were extremely complex, unlike those of North America, with extensive mining and farming (rather than hunting) operations, Spain quickly realized that continuing such operations for itself was the best way to reap its wealth. The ores were extracted and shipped home, while cattle was introduced to feed the invaders. Soon Spain began selling not only its Latin American mining products but also its staple and cattle surpluses, encouraging even more extensive farming developments. This in turn stimulated extremes in land tenure: The minifundio, tiny plots cultivated by the armies—supporting settlers for their own personal use, offset by the latifundio, huge extensions of land cultivated by peons (first Indians, then mestizos) for the Spanish Crown."

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77 Gerassi, o.c., pp. 24-25.
Luis Vitale challenges Sanford A. Mosk's interpretation that the conquest of America was feudal in character. He writes:

"For us the discovery, conquest, and colonization of America was a natural development for a country that had broken its ties with the rural economy of the Middle Ages. The conquest had a capitalistic purpose: the exploitation and commercialization of precious metals. Despite the presence of feudal manors, the colonial economy was not based on a natural economy or the small-scale production of the feudal estate, but on the exploitation of raw materials for the international market on a relatively large scale and through the employment of large numbers of native workers... In three centuries Spain extracted twenty thousand million francs in precious metals from American sources, and the principal colonial cities were created for the purpose of exporting raw materials to Europe. The exploitation of labor during the colonization was not feudal in character. Black slavery was not a feudal institution but a capitalist enterprise, organized with large amounts of capital... And the native laborers on the encomiendas, while in no way the typical workers of modern industry, did receive a 'bastardized salary'."

Paulo Freire arrives at conclusions similar of that of L. Vitale:

"The economic, social, political, and cultural supremacy of the colonizing centers -- Spain and Portugal -- structured the Latin American societies as agrarian and exporting societies, under a rural oligarchy, at the beginning made of foreigners, and, at any time, depending on external interests. This oligarchy controlled the people called depreciatively native and those who were born as a result of the racial mixture. During the whole period of the colony we were "closed societies", enslaved, without people, 'reflected'."

78 Luis Vitale, "Latin America: Feudal or Capitalist?," Petras & Zeitlin, o.c., pp. 36-37.

shows that this situation was somewhat alike all over America: "Likeness in the colonial systems were more striking than differences. All the nations entertained mercantilistic views of colonies, that is to say, they were for the benefit of their own people. Government at first was of the contemporary European pattern, adapted to the American frontier. Nearly every mother country revived in America some vestige of feudalism -- Spain tried the encomienda, Portugal the capitania, Holland the patroon system, England the property grant, France the seigniory." 80

On the other hand, as he develops his thesis, he recalls what Fernando Diaz de Medina called "the largest good" of colonization:

"In one respect the Indian policies of the Latin countries differed essentially from those of the Saxons. The 'Latinos considered the Indian worth civilizing and his soul worth saving. This was due largely to the influence of the Church. So in Brazil, Spanish America, and New France, the Missionary played a conspicuous role. There Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, Jesuits, and other orders labored on every border, and founded Indian missions and Indian schools. The brilliant Parkman made widely known the heroic work of the Jesuits in New France. Less famous in Saxon circles is the equally heroic and vastly more extensive work of the Jesuits in Spanish and Portuguese America. In colonial Mexico alone there were probably ten times as many Jesuits as in New France." 81

Magnus Mörner introduces the history of the Jesuits in Latin America:

"In the history of the Jesuits in Latin America and their expul-

sion, the facts and the myths are interlaced to a degree that

81 Ibid., p. 73.
makes it extremely difficult to make a clear distinction between them. Indeed, impartial historical research has as yet only begun to grapple with this important task... While the village of Juli in Alto Perú (Bolivia) put in charge of the Jesuits in 1579, as well as, possibly, the aldeias of Brazil, served as a model for later undertakings, no Jesuit missions were to be as famous as those among the Guaraní Indians of 'Paraguay'."82

Gabriel René-Moreno gives an example of the work of the Jesuits in Bolivian territory:

"It was a tropical region with extreme alternations of sky and soil. The low plain, which received the waters of six months of rain as well as the runoff from the eastern slopes of the ranges and the northern and western slopes of Chiquitos and Matto Grosso, was furrowed by thirty-four rivers which were navigable at any time for almost their entire length. It was split in half, south to north, by the tempestuous Mamore, with its often sunken, moving, and inconsistent banks. And yet it was all inhabitable by virtue of the wise economy of nature, which made Mojos hot and dry in winter and bathed by interminable rains in summer. Over all this and its population of 18,535 robust, docile neophyte Indians, reigned 23 regulars of the Society of Jesus with exclusive, absolute, and paternal authority, in the year 1767. The Indians, who were outstanding for their native ingenuity, kindness, innocence, liberality, and happiness, were neatly gathered into fifteen towns ranged around magnificent churches. No one was lazy here; everyone worked; they worked communally under the tutelage of the priests, without individual holdings, without knowing about the use of money or the give and take of business. They received everything from the hands of the priests; from their food and clothing for their families to blessing and religious instruction, from the teaching of crafts and the example in the work to temporal punishment and the examples of Heaven and Hell. They move, tanned leather, carved wood, melted and forged metal, sowed, boiled sugar cane, sewed, spun, made shoes, played instruments, sang, cultivated and worked the cacao, and herded the three species of cattle. They produced everything they needed for this rudimentarily civilized life. Furthermore, they produced a variety of desirable articles which were taken from Santa Cruz and sold in Upper Perú under the

auspices of the Jesuit agents in La Plata, Potosí, Oruro, Cochabamba, and La Paz."\(^{83}\)

There was a continuity in the new change of religion similar to that which Sanford A. Mosk showed in the social status. Hubert H. Herring describes it:

"The soil of the Indian America was well prepared for the seeds of the gospel. The religions of the aborigines made them hospitable to the teaching of the friars. To be sure, the Indians served many gods, but they tended to exalt one above all the others. The Incas subordinated lesser deities to the creator-god Viracocha. The Aztecs were also attracted by the idea of one supreme power. . . The Indians were not only prepared for monothelism but also for the promise of life after death; many of them held theories on heaven and hell, on rewards and punishments beyond the grave. Furthermore, both Aztec and Inca found the Spaniard's ecclesiastical organization not unfamiliar, for they too had convents and a hierarchy of priests. . . The Indians found it simple to shift their temporal loyalty from their own rulers to the king of Spain, and to accept new priests in the place of the old. The friars showed wisdom in permitting this seeming continuity of faith. . . If it was relatively easy to persuade the Indians to accept mass baptism, it was more difficult to compel them to abandon their pagan habits, idolatry, chief affront to the conscience of the friars, still flourished. Each Indian home had its household idol, which was invoked at times of planting or harvest or when sickness threatened man or beast."\(^{84}\)

It seems very interesting to me that recent studies confirm that this religious attitude which Herring describes is still alive in modern times. Let us present just two examples. They have an educational value insofar they show the persistency of certain values among the Indian communities.

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\(^{83}\) Gabriel Rene-Moreno, Biblioteca Boliviana. Catálogo del Archivo de Mojos y Chiquitos (Santiago de Chile, 1888) quoted by Mörner, o.c., pp. 151-152.

\(^{84}\) Herring, o.c., pp. 170-172.
John T. Dale made an anthropological study of the Indians of the High Andes twenty years ago. He reports:

"The religion of the Indian is not a complete substitution of Roman Catholicism for the old pagan religion. Where the two appeared to meet and were similar in ceremonies and beliefs, the Roman Catholic was taken but there were countless elements in the old religion which were not replaced. Thus, there is a mixture of the two -- both elements serving different needs. The Indian seems to be able to make the distinction in practice. The value which the Indian places on Roman Catholicism is that of an outlet to his frustrated life. In its ceremonies, ritual and fiestas the Indian forgets himself in the emotional release which it furnishes. The glamor of the Roman Catholic ceremony captivates and thrills him. The religious fiestas give him a chance to forget his misery in drink, dancing, and social contact, and to lose himself in the group. However, in those periods of crisis in life such as sickness, death and drought the Indian turns to his old religion for security. In time of danger to the individual as well as to the community it is to the medicine man that the Indian turns." \(^{(85)}\)

Last year, making a cultural and socio-economic study of Pampa Yampara, Sucre, Bolivia, the section of psycho-social investigation of Acción Cultural Loyola found three characteristics of peasants religion in that area: "First, we are convinced that our peasants keep worshipping their native gods. Second, there is a magical mentality visible in all their acts as a consequence of their old animistic polytheism. Lastly, there are still in force many pre-hispanic social norms, habits and customs covered with modern customs." \(^{(86)}\)

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\(^{(86)}\) ACLO, Estudio Cultural y Socio-Económico de Pampa Yampara (Sucre, Bolivia, ACLO, 1968) p. 34. (Mimeographed)
Chart 2 presents the gods in force at Pampa Yampara, Sucre (Bolivia). The chart is a vivid example of the magical polytheism which is still alive in many Indian communities after four hundred years of foreign influence.
As we have seen, the Indians reacted quite passively to the new religion of the colonizers. Their attitude was also of passivity in the movements for independence. Even though they were a large segment the Indian population had very little influence in the movements that from the beginning of the 19th century worked for independence.

Though they were a small minority throughout the colonial period, the peninsulares maintained the top positions in society, held the chief offices, and received the best salaries from State and Church.

Herring presents this concrete description of the situation:

"Of a total of 170 viceroys between 1535 and 1813, only four were American-born. Of 602 captains-general and presidents, 14. Of the 706 bishops, 105 -- but their dioceses were usually the less important ones. The creoles, no matter how proud their lineage, were holders of less important offices, landholders, business, and professional men, and artisans. The third social class was that of the mestizo, issue of the mingling of Spaniard and Indian, heir of Castile and Andalusia, of Cuzco and Tenochtitlan; these were chiefly the progeny of unblessed unions, who bore the stigma of their illicit birth, were fully recognized by neither the Indian nor the white worlds. The Indian and lastly the Negro were at the bottom of the social scale."88

Dr. Samuel Guy Inman presents the progress of education in the colonization period:

"The second stage of Latin American civilization began when the Crown of Spain finally took an active interest in its new posses-

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87 A. C. Wilgus gives these figures: "By 1800 the population numbered some 15 million, of whom 30,000 were peninsulares, 3 million were Creoles, 6 million were mestizos, and the remainder were Indians and Negros. The population of the vicerealties in 1800 is estimated as follows; New Spain, 7 million; New Granada, 2.5 million; Peru, 4 million; and La Plata, 1.5 million" (Wilgus & d'Ega, o.c., p. 93 and 95)

88 Herring, o.c., pp. 187-188.
sions, and men of a better class began to come to the New World, bringing their wives and daughters and establishing homes with whatever comforts could be found in the new land. In many cases, they were scions of noble families, who came either as viceroys or in some other administrative capacity; also men of letters. There also came learned monks, among these, philosophers, poets, musicians, painters and skilled artisans. Hence, some of the oldest descriptions of Latin America, in verse or in prose, in Spanish or in Latin, wonderful examples of wood carving in churches and private houses, beautiful specimens of the silversmith's art, fine paintings, beautifully illuminated books -- all portray the culture of early Spanish colonial days. Scholars early began to gather books imported from Europe, and to start libraries, mainly in the convents. Soon the necessity of educating the children of the Spaniards and the Indians appeared more pressing. Private schools and seminaries were established, as a first step toward the foundation of universities.

"The first university founded in the New World, was that of Santo Tomás de Aquino at Santo Domingo, in 1538, now called the University of Santo Domingo. There also still exists that of San Marcos at Lima, Perú, founded in 1551; and the University of Córdoba, in Argentina, dates from 1613; that of Sucre in Bolivia, founded in 1623, or 13 years before Harvard, which dates from 1636; and that of Cuzco, in Perú, established in 1692, or nine years earlier than Yale, which was founded in 1701. The University of Caracas, in Venezuela, dates from 1721, and that of Havana, Cuba, from 1723. The printing press was introduced into México in 1535. . . The colonial restrictions of the Spanish government, however, tended to make the intellectual isolation of the colonies as complete as their political allegiance and their commercial dependence. Education was committed to the hands of the clergy. Although schools were established in many communities, their number was vastly inadequate to meet the demands of the growing populations. General, and especially primary, education was conspicuously neglected, although there were some notable schools developed for Indian youth by church leaders deeply devoted to the native population.89

Even when education was designed to make men submissive to monarchical authority in church and state, at the beginning of the 19th century, says Herring, "all Americans -- creole, mestizo and Indian --

joined in the clamor against the abuses of colonial rule with the creole the most vocal. Their grievances were more economic than political. They did not want to have the profits of American fields and mines drained off to support the waning magnificence of the courts of Lisbon and Madrid.

Map n. 9 on the following page, shows the movements of Independence in the first quarter of the 19th century.

In the midst of the fight, Simón Bolívar wrote his famous "Jamaica Letter". Some excerpts will help to understand the feeling of the liberators:

"The hatred that the Peninsula has inspired in us is greater than the ocean between us. It would be easier to have the two continents meet than to reconcile the spirits of the two countries. The habit of obedience; a community of interest, of understanding, of religion, mutual goodwill; a tender regard for the birthplace and good name of our forefathers; in short, all that gave rise to our hopes, came to us from Spain. As a result there was born a principle of affinity that seemed eternal, notwithstanding the misbehavior of our rulers which weakened that sympathy, or, rather, that bond enforced by the domination of their rule. At present the contrary attitude persists; we are threatened with the fear of death, dishonor, and every harm; there is nothing we have not suffered at the hands of that unnatural step-mother-Spain. The veil has been torn asunder. We have already seen the light, and it is not our desire to be thrust back into darkness. The chains have been broken; we have been freed, and now our enemies seek to enslave us anew. For this reason America fights desperately, and seldom has desperation failed to achieve victory. . . . We have been harassed by a conduct which has not only deprived us of our rights but has kept us in a sort of permanent infancy with regard to public affairs. If we could at least have managed our domestic affairs and our internal administration, we could have acquainted ourselves with the processes and mechanics of public affairs. We should also have enjoyed a personal consideration, whereby commanding a certain unconscious respect from the people, which is so necessary to preserve amidst revolutions.

Herring, o.c., p. 244.
INDEPENDENCE: WON IN 1821.

CENTRAL AMERICAN STATES ANNEXED TO IRELAND'S MEXICAN EMPIRE IN 1822. REBELLED AGAINST MEXICO IN 1823 AND FORMED A LOOSELY UNITED CENTRAL AMERICAN FEDERATION.

BOLIVAR LIBERATOR OF VENEZUELA, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, AND PERU 1812-1815

BOLIVIA INDEPENDENCE PROCLAIMED 1825

BATTLE OF AYACUCHO DEC. 9, 1824.
ASSURED THE FREEDOM OF SPANISH AMERICA.

SAN MARTIN LIBERATOR OF CHILE AND PERU 1817-1822

BUENOS AIRES
- REPUDIATED JOSEPH BONAPARTE ON MAY 25, 1810.
- INDEPENDENCE OF THE "UNITED PROVINCES OF SOUTH AMERICA" DECLARED ON JULY 9, 1816.

ARTIGAS "FATHER OF URUGUAYAN INDEPENDENCE" LED FIGHT AGAINST SPAIN BUT WAS BLOCKED BY JEALOUSY OF BRAZIL AND BUENOS AIRES 1811

Independence Movements, 1804-25

Map n. 9: Independence Movements: From H. C. Herring, o.c. p.245
That is why I say we have even been deprived of an active tyranny, since we have not been permitted to exercise its functions. . . . It is a grandiose idea to think of consolidating the New World into a single nation, united by pacts into a single bond. It is reasoned that, as these parts have a common origin, language, customs, and religion, they ought to have a single government to permit the newly formed states to unite in a confederation. But this is not possible. Actually, America is separated by climatic differences, geographic diversity, conflicting interests, and dissimilar characteristics. How beautiful it would be if the Isthmus of Panama could be for us what the Isthmus of Corinth was for the Greeks! Would to God that some day we may have the good fortune to convene there an august assembly of representatives of republics, kingdoms, and empires and to deliberate upon the high interests of peace and war with the nations of the other three-quarters of the globe. . . . I shall tell you with what we must provide ourselves in order to expel the Spaniards and to found a free government. It is union, obviously; but such union will come about through sensible planning and well-directed actions rather than by divine magic. 91

Commenting on the results of Independence, Marvin D. Bernstein writes:

"Many of the problems which beset Latin America in achieving independence still plague the region today: poverty, economic colonialism, overly large estates, semi-servile labour, disease and malnutrition, illiteracy, poor transportation and communication, rigid class distinctions, governmental inefficiency and instability. Public spirit and discipline left with crown officials and garrisons. Political responsibility and maturity were absent everywhere. Personal allegiance to political bosses became the order of the day, while the masses remained apathetic. Mines and banks could not operate, but large landholdings became larger. Church-state struggles after the end of the royal patronage added to the unrest. Worst of all was the neglect of the basic problem of all Latin America: the rural labourer, usually an Indian, and the land. In essence, the wars of independence failed to do more than cuss peninsulares in favor of creoles and some mestizos." 92

91 Simón Bolívar, Selected Writings of Bolívar, Compiled by Vicente Lecuna; edited by Harold A. Beerk, Jr.; Translated by Lewis Bertrand; Published by the Banco de Venezuela. (N.Y.: Colonial Press, Onc., 1951) vol. I, pp. 104 to 121.

Bolivian Characteristics

We have seen some of the elements which must be taken into account to understand the formation of Latin America. First we described a geographical trip which ended in Bolivian land. Then, we considered some racial and sociological background that allow us to introduce the Indians and their ancient civilizations and the results of the Spanish and Portuguese colonizations. We have seen the subordination of creoles and mestizos to the interests of the European countries which involved the formation of the latifundia. We saw too the influence of the Church in her efforts to Christianize the Indians and to develop education. Lastly, we surveyed the independence movements control of the political situation. Our concern has been to show the points in

93 Wilgus & d'Ega, o.c., p. 157.
common for all Latin America rather than the specific differences of countries. Even when we have made specific references to Bolivian geography and to Pampa Yampara’s community, it was mainly as examples of the general situation.

But there cannot be true heterogeneity unless there are genuine peculiarities among the nations. Of course, the diversity is especially clear when we look at the politically independent lives of the new republics; but the differences have really pre-existed that point. Bolivia is but one example. Our concern will go in the other direction: From Bolivia to the rest of Latin America.

Geography did not help much in the integration of Bolivia. Enrique Pinot says without qualifications: “These zones are so isolated from each other that communications between them by railroads or useable roadways is, and always has been, the most serious problem of Bolivia.”

Stressing more the human dimension of the situation, Díez de Medina agrees:

“Bolivia has a problem of organization... We Bolivians know our position in the world: a small country, with many potential resources, that fights against a lack of population and economic and social disorganization. We fight nevertheless... La Paz, Oruro, Potosí are mountain peoples, fighters, rough, enterprising and tenacious... The large central section is formed by the valleys of Cochabamba, Chuqisacá and Tarija: This section has the best physical proportions and is culturally the most attractive part of the country... What about the large and very rich regions of Santa Cruz, Beni, Pando, which are being incorporated into the active national life through the plane, trains and roads? The plains are the future of the country.”

94 Pinot, o.c., p. 24.

95 Díez de M., Literatura... pp. 42-48.
Presenting Arguedas' interpretation of Bolivia, William R. Crawford writes:

"Historian, novelist, and essayist, Arguedas first attracted attention with a contribution to the understanding of South American social psychology entitled 'A Sick People'. While he writes of Bolivia, much that he says can be applied to other countries, and his clinical examination of social ills, has been so appreciated that this book has gone through three editions, and he continued to revise it and add new material. Like many other authors who have attempted to give an explanation of the puzzle of Latin America, Arguedas appeals to geographic, racial, and cultural factors. For him, the geography is determining, for it lies back of the racial factors. 'The physical conformation of this solemn and desolate region has stamped... the character and the constitution of the Indian with their harsh traits... Down in the valleys the same race takes on a more attractive aspect; there you see in the women smiling and even pretty faces.' The race that has been shaped in the highlands of Bolivia by its relentless struggle with an ungrateful soil, depressing in the extreme of its psychic effects, is destined by its moral and physical deformity and its inferiority to final extinction, unless it can be saved and raised by the process of miscegenation."96

As we have seen, the colonization of Latin America took into account much of the Inca's civilization. In a similar way the Inca's empire did not start from nothing. Let us look at some of its former influences.

On Lake Titicaca's southern shore the pre-Inca, Aymara-speaking Tiwanaku Indians flourished. The data are not at all sure; Wilgus, for example, extends their prosperity from 400 to 900 A.D.; Gerassi from 600 to 900 A.D.97

97 Wilgus & dEca, o.c., p. 17. - Gerassi, o.c., p. 220.
Speaking of the pre-Inca cultures, A. Joyce, W. C. Bennett, and G. R. Willey write:

"Each of the original cultures started to expand as it grew stronger, and conflict followed. The Tiahuanaco culture became dominant and achieved the greatest extension. Its original hearth is not definitely known. The Tiahuanaco site, proper, of the Bolivian altiplano is the earliest (Classic period) center of the Tiahuanaco style; but an important secondary focus of a modified Tiahuanaco style is the slightly later site of Huari in the central Peruvian highlands. It seems highly possible that Tiahuanaco, or Tiahuanaco-influenced, culture spread to the Peruvian coast from this point. It can be traced throughout much of Bolivia, north of Chile and the coast and highlands of Peru. There are indications that this Tiahuanaco expansionist movement was strongly motivated by religion, but it was none the less sufficiently organized to eclipse most of the local styles which it encountered." 98

Henríquez Ureña states: "In the Andean region were to be found the civilizations of Tiahuanaco, at least two of which are known to have existed successively. Important ruins remain of edifices made of enormous stones." 99

The uncertainty is present also among the Bolivian authors. Pinot speaks of the "puzzle of Tiahuanaco". Diez de Medina says that the "Door of the Sun" is the Rosetta-stone of the Andes still unexplained. Nevertheless, the influence of Tiahuanaco was strong. 100

99 Henríquez, o.c., p. 12.
100 A proof of this influence is what Fr. Ludovico Bertonio, S.J., wrote as early as 1612: "Many of the Jesuit Fathers, myself for example, have learned Aymara in this town of Juli, province of Chucuyo or Lupaca. When we have gone to other towns, specially to Potosí—where because of the mining there are a great number of Indians, specially Aymara-speaking—without studying any other language we have preached to many thousands of Indians, and have heard many confessions, even when the Indians were from different Provinces such as Canas, Canchis, Pocases, Carancas, Quillaguas, Charcas, etc."

(Ludovico Bertonio, Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara, 1612, p. 3. Quoted by ACLO, Estudio Cultural... p. 2.)
We said before that the 19th century independence movement was founded on the out-spoken creoles force. But at the end of the 18th century, an Indian revolution started in Bolivia. Lillian Estelle Fisher called it "The Last Inca Revolt, 1780-83". She writes:

"Little has been written concerning the importance and extent of this uprising in South America. It stretched from Tucumán to Colombia and Venezuela through Perú, Bolivia, north-western Argentina, and part of Ecuador, covering a larger territory than that of our war for Independence on the North American continent, our Civil War, or most of the European conflicts preceding the world wars. It was the greatest Indian revolt in the Americas and fully taxed the resources of Spain and the genius of military officials to put it down. It is difficult to find a cause more righteous than that of the Indians, bowed down by years of oppression, from which no relief could be obtained through legitimate channels. Few causes have had as noble and upright a leader as José Gabriel Túpac Amaru, who tried all of the means at his command to remove the abuses suffered by his people. Only as a last resort did he take to arms."

Herring summarizes the story:

"In his innocence Túpac Amaru was sure that the Spaniards would recognize the justice of his petitions and yield to the fair claims of an abused people, and that whites and Indians could then live happily together in mutual respect. The representatives of the Spanish Crown were in no such conciliatory mood, and they summoned reinforcements from Buenos Aires and Lima. Within six months Túpac Amaru was captured, together with his wife, his sons, and members of his family and staff. Punishment was pitiless. Túpac Amaru witnessed the execution of his wife, sons, and aides. Then his tongue was cut out and he was torn to pieces by horses attached to his arms and legs. The bleeding members of his body were fixed on poles and exhibited in the villages which had supported him. The grim news spread from village to village, and thousands of new Indian recruits joined the revolt, plundering Spaniards wherever they were to be found. Murder and rapine swept the countryside for many months, until the victims of both sides numbered not less than eighty thousands."

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102 Herring, op.cit., p. 249.
Geography, Tiahuanaco and Tupac Amaru's revolt have been presented as three major peculiarities of Bolivian pre-independence life. Once more, geography is important to the young Bolivian republic. By her position Bolivia received the help of different Latin American countries in order to win her independence. The sixth point of Simón Bolívar's testaments commands: "It is my will that the medal presented to me by the Congress of Bolivia in the name of that people be returned to that country as promised, in token of the true affection which, to my very last moments, I shall have for the Republic." The first Bolivian constitution was another gift of Bolívar.

Bernard Moses presents its philosophical meaning:

"The Bolivian constitution has been described as modeled on principles which appear to have been taken from the Republic of Venice. Arosemena wrote that it 'excited much alarm by its provisions, which appeared opposed to liberty, and which consisted of a mixture of Roman, English, and American institutions, arranged with skill and, doubtless, in good faith'. Many persons criticized it severely, perhaps more severely than would seem justified after a thorough inquiry into the condition of the country, and on examination of the powers granted to the various governmental agencies. The Bolivian congressional committee on constitutional affairs, to whom the project of Bolívar had been referred, reported enthusiastically in favor of it, declaring it the product of 'experience and enlightenment, and the fruit of the most profound meditation'. The report closed with the statement that 'hitherto we have fought for independence; henceforth we ought to strive for the establishment and preservation of this constitution'. The attitude in Perú and Colombia was very different from this; the Bolivian constitution was adopted in Perú, but practically under compulsion; it was rejected in Colombia."10

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103 Bolívar, o.c., Vol. II, p. 767.

In his message to the Congress of Bolivia on May 25, 1826, Bolívar, after submitting to the legislators the draft of Bolivian constitution, says:

"God alone had sovereign power to call this land Bolivia. And what does Bolivia signify? A boundless love of liberty, and, after you had received it, in your enthusiasm, you could conceive of nothing equal to it in value. When carried away by the immensity of your joy you could find no adequate way to express the sweep of your emotions, you put your own name aside and adopted mine for all time to come. This act, which is without parallel in all history, is especially so in view of the sublime disinterestedness which inspired it. Your deed shall demonstrate to the ages that as yet exist only in the infinite years of the future how strongly you cherished your right the right to exercise political virtue, to acquire sublime talents, and to know the satisfaction of being men. Your deed, I repeat, shall prove that you were indeed fit to receive that great heavenly benediction -- the Sovereignty of the People -- the sole legitimate authority of any nation." 105

How did Bolivia accomplish Bolívar's wishes? John Gunther writes:

"The country is the fifth largest in South America, about twice the size of France. One cliché is that if it did not exist it would be necessary to invent it because it fulfills a historical necessity as a buffer state keeping Perú, Chile, Brazil, and Argentina from having a common frontier. It has had four capitals in its history -- Sucre, Cochabamba, Oruro, and La Paz -- and, like the Union of South Africa, has two now. La Paz is the de facto capital but the official capital is still the old colonial city Sucre, with its Spanish veneer, which houses the Supreme Court. The executive branch of the government and the legislature sit in La Paz. Probably, to go into deplorable superlatives, Bolivia is the most politically unstable nation in the world. One reckoning gives it 175 'revolutions' since independence in the 1820's; another says 179 'changes of government' have taken place in 126 years, better by a good deal than one a year." 106

John J. Considine saw it with a slightly different light:

"Bolivia, it is well to recall, is the 'poor little rich girl' of Latin America. Three fourths of her population of 4 million lives in her mountain area which represents one third of her territory. Bolivia is immensely wealthy in large deposits of almost every known material, with tin leading the list, and silver, gold, bismuth, tungsten, and copper following in the litany of her treasures in the earth. But Bolivia to date has not yet been able to weld together a political society that can give it a government. 'For four centuries now,' a Bolivian remarked wryly to me, 'Bolivia has been a land of the future.' Considine and Gunther repeated what Diez de Medina, Arguedas and Finot had said already at the beginning of the chapter. What is peculiar to Bolivia in relation with other Latin American nations after her independence? Tiahuanaco and Tupac Amaru were two out-going movements. After independence the movement prevailed in the other direction: The Bolivian-Peruvian Confederation created by Andrés de Santa Cruz in 1836 was short-lived. Mariano Melgarejo's Presidency (1864-71) had disastrous consequences: He sold border lands to Brazil and granted Chileans the right to exploit the nation's nitrate beds in Bolivia's Atacama province of the Pacific, setting up this way the basis for the Pacific War. During the Presidency of Hilarión Daza, Bolivia, together with Perú, lost the Pacific War (March 1, 1875 - May 26, 1880) against Chile. Here we cannot do an in-depth study of the Pacific War; but it is noteworthy that the accounts vary in the different countries. Bolivian history keeps a place of honor for Eduardo Abaroa and the battalion Los Colorados; in some Peruvian books, the Bolivians are

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presented as traitors. Today in all the Bolivian ears there is a reminder of the Pacific War, a label reading, "Sea for Bolivia", even though Iñamuel Montes signed a treaty surrendering Bolivian claims to the coast back on October 20, 1904!

World War I saw Montes as President for a second term. Although Bolivia did not take direct part with the Allies, all her resources in metals were at their disposal.

Bolivia disputed with Paraguay the possession of the Chaco. After more than 5 years of fighting, on July 9, 1938, a treaty of peace was signed in Buenos Aires. Bolivia renounced to nearly 100,000 sq. miles, after some 60,000 Bolivian and 40,000 Paraguayan soldiers had lost their lives in the struggle.

According to Vicente O. Vetrano, Bolivia retains now less than a half of her original land.108 Fernando Díez de Medina writes: "I would say that territorial losses have stimulated national spirit. If we look at it properly, the wars of the Pacific, Acre and Chaco, were fertile germs in the evolution of the national thought."109

The next chapter will take some of the socio-economic data more in detail. Now we can extend to Bolivia as a whole the comment that John T. Dale does on the Indian of the Andes: "In our observation of the Andean Indians we have been convinced that, down through the years,

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109 Díez de Medina, Literatura ... p. 211.
in spite of a hostile environment, they have survived because of a will to live. Tenaciously they have held on to life in spite of suppression, and their goal is to maintain the composite group intact in order to live here and now to the fullest.\textsuperscript{110}

3) Latin American Relationships

We accepted earlier Celam II's statement that "education must affirm with sincere appreciation the local and national peculiarities and integrate them into the pluralistic unity of the continent and of the world." Likewise we agreed with Bereday's proposal that "each country appears as one variant of the total store of mankind's educational experience." We see the importance of Latin America's efforts for liberation will open herself "towards a union with the rest of the world, giving and accepting in a spirit of solidarity". We have heard Regis Debray's and Che Guevara's claims that the true frontier is the one which separates Latin Americans from Yankees". The relationships of Latin America with the rest of the world have a twofold direction: with the other "underdeveloped countries" and with the United States.

One of the most significant features, placed as a challenge to the Christian social movements in Latin America by Marina Bandeira, is what she calls "the emergence of the third world":

"The contrast between fully developed and underdeveloped countries is another characteristic of our times. It must be recalled at this point that this same problem, this same contrast exists

within countries. In my own country, Brazil, we find areas of extremely fast development which are becoming richer every year—while the typically underdeveloped areas, the majority of the country, are becoming poorer and protesting against this state of affairs.

"The Second World War and the years that followed it saw the great awakening of the 'backward' peoples. The poorer countries began to accuse the richer ones of being responsible for their distress and castigated all colonial exploitation. The new type of nationalism declares that underdevelopment is not an inexorable decree of fate. The poorer countries demand fair prices for their products. The meeting of African and Asian countries at Bandung in 1955 should not be ignored. The meeting at Geneva in 1964 of the Conference of the United Nations Trade and Development showed Latin America closing ranks with other underdeveloped continents. It is the third world coming into existence. The third world is not necessarily against the rest of the world. Together they want to find solutions for their common ailing and fight for the enforcement of decisions which will benefit them all."111

Of course, this unitarian concern does not deny the heterogeneity of the "third world". W. D. Wall wrote:

"The developing countries can be broadly and somewhat artificially divided into three groups, each of which faces different problems in the development of its schools. There are those, like many Arab states, India, and the states bordering it to the northeast, in which a strong native educational tradition, rooted in an ancient religious culture, persists alongside the system introduced by a western power. In contrast, there are others, like parts of Africa, which have tribal cultures without a developed educational tradition other than the handing-on of traditional skills and a puberty-induction ceremony. Finally there are certain countries of Latin America in which education, of remote European (Spanish or Portuguese) origin, is by no means universal and has become associated with class or racial barriers which remain more or less potent today."112

111 Marina Bandeira, art. cit., Considine ed. Social Revolution... chap. 6, p. 91.

On the other hand, looking at the relationships between Latin America and the rest of the nations in the hemisphere, there are also special ties. More than 35 years ago Herbert E. Bolton presented his thesis of Greater America:

"There is need of a broader treatment of American history, to supplement the purely nationalistic presentation to which we are accustomed. European history cannot be learned from books dealing alone with England, or France, or Germany, or Italy, or Russia; nor can American history be adequately presented if confined to Brazil, or Chile, or Mexico, or Canada, or the United States. In my own country the study of thirteen English colonies and the United States in isolation has obscured many of the larger factors of their development, and helped to raise up a nation of chauvinists. Similar distortion has resulted from the teaching and writing of national history in other American countries. It is a time for change. The increasing importance of inter-American relations makes imperative a better understanding by each of the history and the culture of all. A synthetic view is important not alone for its present day political and commercial implications; it is quite as desirable from the standpoint of correct historiography."\(^{113}\)

But there is no question of forgetting the differences. Germán Arciniegas reminds us:

"If one reads any book of the national history of an Indo-Spanish republic, one will find that the process is divided into four periods: discovery, conquest, colony, and independence. Pausing to consider these four great divisions, one will see in a moment a natural flow of the evolution of countries whose discovery began with the arrival of Columbus, which were subjugated by formidable captains like Cortés and Pizarro in the conquest, which gathered the essence of what was the Spanish world during the colonial period, and which, upon winning independence, shone with men like Bolívar and San Martín. The history of the United States could be reduced to the same four periods, but in this case in exactly the opposite direction. There, first there was independence and then came the colony; from the colony it passed to conquest, and from conquest to discovery. This strange inver-

sion of the historical process explains the profound differences between these two Americas better than all that is said about climate, race, or religion." 114

When he presents U.S. policy toward Latin America, Edwin Lieuwen says: "Just as Latin America is politically, economically, and strategically important to the United States, so is the United States important to Latin America." 115. Edwin Lieuwen summarizes this relationship from the U.S. point of view:

"The final conclusion that stands out from analysis of the total historical record is that the emphasis in United States policy toward Latin America has gone through a series of cycles. There have been ups and downs. Certainly when Latin America began its valiant struggle for independence in 1810 the United States felt concern for the outcome of the struggle and gave much unofficial aid and support. And once Latin American independence was achieved, the Monroe Doctrine of 1823 announced Washington's determination to preserve it. However, after the threat of European reconquest subsided, the United States was preoccupied for the next generation (1824-1844) with its own tremendous problems of internal expansion and development, during which it practically ignored Latin America. However, a new period of intense interest and activity followed, the so-called Manifest Destiny Era (1845-60), when the United States expansionist surge divested Mexico of a third of her territory and brought imperialist threats to Central America and Cuba. Then in 1861, with the outbreak of the Civil War, began another long period of quiescence, lasting until 1889. After the war the U.S. had its hand full with the reconstruction in the South, expansion in the West, and industrialization in the East. But as soon as these problems were resolved -- once the South had been reconstructed, once the last frontier had disappeared in the West, and once the manufacturing complex in the East was sufficient not only to satisfy domestic needs but also to produce a surplus to export -- attention was again turned to the nations south of the Río Grande. This renewed interest coincided with a new kind of imperialism.

114Arciniegas, Ibid., pp. 244-245.

and strategic involvement in the Caribbean and lasted through World War I. But following the war, isolationism was on the rise and a minimum of Washington's attention went to Latin America. Then, with the inauguration of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, began another period of intense concern lasting to the end of World War II. However, there followed a period of relatively neglect (1945-1960) when the U.S. considered the Old World, because of the immediate threat of Communism in Europe and Asia, the priority area. It took the Castro revolution to re-establish a high priority for Latin America in Washington.

"Though these cycles of rising and falling interest in Latin America are apparent, it is also apparent, if the chain of cycles is examined as a whole, that there has been over the years a long-range trend of ever-increasing U.S. concern over Latin America. With each crisis -- World War I, the great depression, the threat of fascism, World War II, and the threat of Communism -- has come a deeper involvement of the U.S. Government in Latin American problems."116

Héctor Borrat gives the Latin American side of the U.S. and Latin America relationship. Speaking at the last CICOP meeting in New York last January he said:

"The Celam, which is the major institutional expression of Latin American Catholicism, is a Latin American, not a Pan American institution. In this way the Church achieves an identity scarcely present in other continental bodies. Most of them, namely from the OAS to the Interamerican Press Association and the Interamerican Radio Association, were planned and are working at a pan-American level and therefore they are making and expressing their opinion from a pan-American, not a Latin American point of view. If we really want an inter-American dialogue, it would seem to me we should understand, first of all, that inter-American doesn't mean pan-American, but precisely the contrary. Because a dialogue presupposes at least two partners, and as history teaches us, Panamericanism has worked and is working as a U.S. monologue in which the other America plays a merely dependent, silent role, as a big colony (or neo-colony, if you like), not as a free nation as a servant, not as a partner."117

CHAPTER III

SOME ELEMENTS OF
SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The study of the formation of Latin America gave us an understanding of the class division. We spent time especially with the Indian background because it is more difficult to grasp and because the Indians are around half of Bolivian population. With the European presence, the mestizo (about 75 million now) and the Negroes and mulattoes (some 35 million today) won a numerical majority. Education was developed mostly through Church’s efforts, but it did not reach the mass of the people. The problems of latifundia and minifundia, and the Europe-oriented trade did not benefit the greater part of the population. With Independence the basic structure of society did not change; political instability just reflected this basic maladjustment. Bolivia’s national history during the earlier period showed its very strong will to live despite many historical obstacles. Lastly, we pointed out the relationship of Latin America with the other underdeveloped countries and with the United States.

In this chapter we will take a closer look at the situation of underdevelopment in Latin America: its problems, its efforts, its directions for the future. We will begin with an overview on the situation.

118 Vetrano, Ibid., gives 55%. Considine, The Church in... p. 166 says “almost half”.
When the question of "underdevelopment" is discussed a two-fold danger is present. "Underdevelopment" as a term is an abstraction. The concept may be applied to different countries at different stages of development. In that case the danger is either to deny the similarities or to deny the differences between the underdeveloped countries. Keeping this in mind, we can understand and profit from the following remarks of both Paul Hoffman and Roger Vekemans.

Paul Hoffman writes:

"Everyone knows an underdeveloped country when he sees one. It is a country characterized by poverty, with beggars in the cities, and villages eking out a bare subsistence in the rural areas. It is a country lacking in factories of its own, usually with inadequate supplies of power and light. It usually has insufficient roads and railroad, insufficient government services, poor communication. It has few hospitals, and few institutions of higher learning. Most of its people cannot read or write. In spite of the generally prevailing poverty of the people, it may have isolated islands of wealth, with a few persons living in luxury. Its banking system is poor; small loans have to be obtained through money lenders who are often little better than extortionists. Another striking characteristic of an underdeveloped country is that its exports to other countries usually consist almost entirely of raw materials, ores or fruits or some staple product with possibly a small admixture of luxury handicrafts. Often the extraction or cultivation of these raw materials exports is in the hands of foreign companies."

He continues: The United Nations designates as 'less developed' all countries and territories in Africa, North and South America, Asia and Oceania, with the exception of the Union of South Africa, Canada, the United States, Japan, Australia and New Zealand."

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119 Paul Hoffmann, One Hundred Countries: One and One Quarter Billion People (Washington D.C., Albert & Mary Lasker Found, 1960) p. 14
Quoted by Hanson & Brembeck, o.c., p. 45.
Yet the famous United Nations stereotype of Africa, Asia, Latin America is certainly basically wrong. Latin America although really underdeveloped, although poor because of this imbalance between economic development and population growth, because of the scarcity of resources available for today's population is nevertheless a middle class continent compared to Africa and Asia.  

We agree with the basic description of Hoffman but agreeing also with Vekemans, we do not want to accept a stereotype. This is why throughout this chapter specific references will be made quite often to the Bolivian situation. In ACLO (Acción Cultural Loyola)'s report, a list of criteria for underdevelopment are related to the Bolivian state of affairs:

"The following criteria are generally accepted as signs of underdevelopment which are perfectly applicable to our national situation:

1. Low national income per capita.
2. Scarce promotion of infra-structures.
3. Lack or shortage of technico-scientific teams.
4. Undernourishment and mass disease.
5. Primitive, non-mechanized agriculture, with demographic predominance in the agricultural sector.
6. Illiteracy.
7. Lack of industrialization.

Since they are interrelated, (e.g., primitive agriculture -- low production -- undernourishment), they result in a situation of marginal existence for most of the people."

In his typically passionate style, Che Guevara deals with the problem of Latin American underdevelopment while trying to analyze its causes:

"What is 'underdevelopment'? A dwarf with an enormous head and a swollen chest is 'underdeveloped' inasmuch as his weak legs

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121 ACLO, Informe, p. 1.
and short arms do not match the rest of his anatomy. He is the product of an abnormal formation that distorted his development. That is really what we are -- we, who are politely referred to as "underdeveloped"; but in truth are colonial, semi-colonial or dependent countries. We are countries whose economies have been twisted by imperialism, which has abnormally developed in us those branches of industry or agriculture needed to complement its complex economy. 'Underdevelopment' or distorted development brings dangerous specialization in raw materials, inherent in which is the threat of hunger for all our peoples. We, the underdeveloped, are also those with mono-culture, with the single product, with the single market; a single product whose uncertain sale depends on a single market that imposes fixed conditions -- that is the great formula for imperialist economic domination.... The latifundia, then, through their connections with imperialism, completely shape the so-called underdevelopment, whose results are low wages and unemployment. This phenomenon of low wages and unemployment is a vicious circle which produces ever lower wages and ever more unemployment, as the great contradictions of the system sharpen. And -- constantly at the mercy of the cyclical fluctuations of its own economy -- provides the common denominator of all the peoples of America, from the Río Bravo to the South Pole. This common denominator which we shall print in capital letters and which serves as the starting point for analysis by all who think about these social phenomena, is called THE PEOPLE'S HUNGER. Weary of being oppressed, persecuted, exploited to the limit; weary of the wretched selling of their labor-power day after day (faced with the fear of swelling the enormous mass of unemployed) so that the greatest profit can be wrung from each human body, profits that are later squandered in the orgies of the master of capital."

Map 10 shows that the "hungry nations" perimeter is wider than just Latin America.

122 Che Guevara, o.c., pp. 31-32.

"Where are the results to relieve this hunger?"

Trying to answer the question of William and Paul Paddock we shall ask three further questions directly of the Latin American situation: What are some of the main obstacles to socio-economic development? What are some of the present efforts and its future prospects? In what direction might a true Latin American integral development occur?

1) Some obstacles to development

There are both internal and external obstacles. All of them are interdependent. It is just for systematic reasons that we will deal
with them separately.

Three main internal obstacles will be outlined: Population explosion, agricultural situation, political deficiencies. They are responsible in a great part of what has been called "internal colonialism". Rodolfo Stavenhagen describes it this way:

"Perhaps the greatest single obstacle to economic and social development in Latin America (not localized growth) is the existence of internal colonialism, an organic, structural relationship between a developing pole of growth or metropolis, and its backward, underdeveloped, and underdeveloping internal colony. Quite often not even the best-intentioned policy makers are aware of this relationship, which exists on the economic, political, social, and cultural levels. Whereas several measures of a partial and limited nature can no doubt be taken by progressive government to remedy this situation, the only way out in the long run seems to be the social and political mobilization of the "colonized" peasantry, which will have to fight its own battles, except for the usual support it can hope to receive from radical segments of the intelligentsia, the students, and the working class. It is noteworthy that not even the governments that have formally acknowledged the need for land reform are willing to tolerate independent peasant organizations." 123

Pope Paul VI in a speech to Colombian rural workers said: "We know that social and economic development has been very uneven in the great Latin American continent; it has favored those who promoted it from the beginning, but has neglected the native population which is almost always left at a subsistence level and at times mistreated and harshly exploited." 124


124 Paul VI, "Discurso Campesino en Mosquera (Colombia) Aug. 23, 1968. Quoted by Celam II, o.c., p. 34.
Table 1 presents an estimation of the growth of population. It is interesting to note that since 1900 to 2000 Northern and Latin America have followed a contrary pattern. By the year 2000 Latin America is expected almost to double North American population.

Estimated populations of Latin America and Anglo-America, 1650 - 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Anglo-America</th>
<th>Latin America</th>
<th>Annual increase Anglo-America</th>
<th>Annual increase Latin America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1650</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-0.1%</td>
<td>-0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>312</td>
<td>592</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Population increase in America

\[125^{125}\] Stavrianos & Blanksten, o.c., p. 44.
Map 11 shows the projected population of each Latin American country for 1970. Reporting from Rio de Janeiro and Mexico, U.S. News and World Report, write:

"Whatever the individual worries and gripes of various countries, Latin Americans share staggering problems in common -- problems which are leading to widespread frustration, bitterness and an increasing amount of turmoil. The population explosion is the greatest of these. Growth of population in Latin America, running around 3 per cent a year, is the highest of any region in the world. It is putting more and more pressure on schools, health facilities, housing and agriculture."

126

From: Visión, April 11, 1969, p. 29.

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126 U.S. News & World Report, June 19, 1969, p. 31
Table 2 presents a relationship between population growth rates and required savings and investments.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Growth</th>
<th>Savings Required</th>
<th>Investments Required</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 per cent</td>
<td>3 per cent of national income</td>
<td>In order merely to maintain per capita income unchanged—meaning no improvement in the average living levels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 per cent</td>
<td>6 per cent of national income</td>
<td>A country must save and invest each year at least</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 per cent</td>
<td>9 per cent of national income</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Population Growth & Savings Required

The Latin American population growth is 3 per cent.

How does population growth affect Latin America? According to the Declaration of the Alliance for Progress at Punta del Este, Uruguay on 1961, one of the main aims was to have an annual increase in the real national product of 2.5 per cent in Latin America as a whole. During the first seven years there was an increase of 4.5 per cent; but when we take into account the per capita growth, the increase falls just to 1.5 per cent.  


Luis Olivos makes some projections for the year 2000 taking as starting point the present fact that today in Latin America about 40% of the people are under fifteen years of age and only 3% are over sixty-five:

"Children of primary school age (five to fourteen), who in 1975 will be 59 per cent more numerous than they were in 1960, will by the year 2000 have reached three times the 1960 figures. Without taking into consideration the funds needed for school construction, teachers, administration, and so forth, it is clear that the necessary investment in infrastructure, including human resources, will be of such magnitude that we must start seeking solutions immediately. Adolescents between the ages of fifteen and nineteen will be 57 per cent more numerous in 1975 than they were in 1960, and over three times more numerous by 2000. In preparing social plans, it is important to keep these people in mind, so that efforts can be made to motivate them, to help them adapt mentally to the new values, and to encourage them to participate in society."129

According to UNESCO's projection in the whole world, by the year 2000, there will be 2000 million children between 3 and 14 years of age; in 1963 there were 10 million teachers, but if we want to keep a ratio of 35 pupils for teacher on the year 2000 we will need 60 million teachers.130

To see how population growth affect health facilities, we can look at Bolivia. It has been noted that Bolivia have been growing at the same rate as the United States131. But the Bolivian rate of mortality is 18 per thousand.132 The problem is worse with the little

129 Luis Olivos, Ibid., p. 19.
131 Stavrianos & Blanksten, o.c., p. 44.
132 Vetrano, Ibid., But Vision, April 11, 1969 gives 20 to 22 per thousand.
children. Justiniano Canedo M. estimates that "actually we have an average of 110,000 deaths among the children less than 5 years old; most of these death are related directly or indirectly to lack of nutrition."\textsuperscript{133} ACLO's study of Pampa Yampara's community (Sucre, Bolivia) shows that 55 per cent of the children do not survive the first year of their lives.\textsuperscript{134} When the advocated standard is a minimum of 2700 calories of daily intake, Bolivia, together with Haiti, is at less than 1900 calories per day.\textsuperscript{135} In 1961, when the Latin American average number of inhabitants per doctor was 3,520 and the United States average 780, the Bolivian average was 3,900.\textsuperscript{136} The amazing fact is that there are around one hundred Bolivian doctors in Chicago!

\textsuperscript{134} ACLO, \textit{Estudio Cultural}... p. 71.
\textsuperscript{135} Considine (ed.) \textit{The Church in the New}... p. 90.
\textsuperscript{136} Gerassi, \textit{o.c.}, p. 37.
Maps 12 and 13 present the State of Food and Agriculture. We see the situation of Latin America as a whole and Bolivia within it.

STATE OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

DAILY CONSUMPTION PER CAPITA

Food Production in a country as a per cent of its consumption

Chart 3 shows the evolution of urban and rural population in Latin America. It is easy to see which direction it moves. On the other hand, chart 4 shows the proportions of the total population shared by the different sectors.

Chart 4: Proportion of Latin America's product. From: Vision, April, 11, 1969, p. 32

Agriculture is now in second place. Oscar Delgado ties up the problem of agriculture with education and the status of the Indian population. He writes:

"Latin America had a population of 199 million in 1960, according to a United Nations estimate. Of this total, 108 million or 54 per cent, live in rural areas, and of those, 28½ million are
economically active. All rural dwellers who are economically active have family and social responsibilities, but almost all of them are under-employed and many are victims of seasonal unemployment. Their income is extremely low, and considerable numbers of them live only on the margin of money economy. Generally speaking, they work the soil in a primitive or almost primitive fashion. The average percentage of illiteracy in rural Latin America is around 80; but vast areas have no schools at all and an illiteracy rate of 100 per cent. Indians form some 15 percent of Latin America's rural population. The majority of them speak only an Indian language, though some of them are bilingual."

He goes on in the selection of figures: Of the 28½ million farmers, 18 million do not have land at all; 5½ million have insufficient amount of land; 1.9 million have enough land; and 100,000 mostly absentee landlords, have too much. These 100,000 landlords represent 1.5 per cent of all landholders but they own 471 million hectares, that is 65 per cent of all land in private hands. Even though the percentage of rural population for 1970 is estimated at just 46 per cent of the total population, the number of agricultural workers will rise from 103 million in 1960 to 133 million.

After giving figures very similar to those of O. Delgado, Hugo Jordán concludes:

"In the agricultural sector more than in any other sector the majority of the population is apart from the national life. Its participation in the productive process is reduced to the contribution of passive and servile labor in the lower strata of an extremely rigid social structure. Any change in the structure in Latin America must consider a radical reform as a fundamental

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137 Oscar Delgado, "Development and Politics," Petras & Zeitlin, eds., o.c., p. 582.
and decisive element to assure the permanency of the change." 138

Rodolfo Stavenhagen thinks that the situation in which agriculture relates to the other sectors of Latin American economy can be called a situation of internal colonialism. He sees his ideas concretized in the fact that "in Latin America almost half of the economically active population works in agriculture, yet the agricultural sector receives little more than 20 per cent of the total income." 139

Bishop McGrath concludes: "The great problem of the peasant or the Indian is precisely his passivity, his lack of training, and his suspicion of all the top-level, cultured leaders and redeemers, including those revolutionaries, who promise him so much. He would rather hold on tenaciously to the little he has." 140 And Paulo Freire tries to give an explanation of this passivity:

"It seems to me that a possible understanding of the apathy of the popular classes (especially the peasant, but also the urban masses) follows as a result of political oppression among us. Their "fear of liberty" which was not dispelled by new liberal

138 Hugo Jordan, Ibid., p. 116. The military leaders of Perú understood this urgent need of radical agricultural reform. And on June 24, 1969, Velasco Alvarado's Government passed a law to put into effect agricultural reform in a radical manner. (cf. Vida, Jul. 18, 1969, pp. 10-12) Alberto Lleras' comments in the same magazine (p. 17) are not optimistic about results for the near future. He writes: "To this part of the Peruvian people (the Andean Indian) the reform will not do much good. Because the problem there is not just a question of equity, but the very complex one of civilization of a race put down and enslaved for centuries, whose immediate masters were the landlords. These landlords were not the only masters, since were many others within the Peruvian social, cultural and economic structure. That structure was partly based on servitude."

139 Stavenhagen, Ibid., p. 29.

governments is reinforced when these first efforts at participation fail. Moments of political oppression tend to revive the previous fatalistic approach to the world, an attitude typical of the oppressed mentality.\(^1\)

How does Bolivia fit into this agricultural pattern?

John J. Considine presents a summary of Victor Paz Estenssoro's reform:

"The revolution of 1953 relied on the campesino for success. The victors sought action by a six-point program:

1) redistribution of idle land;
2) development of Indian communities;
3) better conditions for agricultural labor;
4) agricultural development;
5) servicing of natural resources;
6) encouragement of migration to undeveloped areas."\(^2\)

The reform was important because as the Instituto Campesino Educación put in its report: It will be very difficult to move our country towards the path of progress, if we do not take into account the basis of support, its foundation, which in this case is the human capital. The Bolivian peasant constitutes 70 per cent of the population."\(^3\)

What are the concrete results of the reform of 1953?

In 1955, 3,400 land titles were given. In 1961 the given land titles amounted to almost 45,000. Three million hectares have been distributed; but 28.5 million were still in the hands of landlords who had more than 1,000 hectares each.\(^4\)

\(^{1}\) Freire, Ibid., p. 18.
\(^{3}\) ICE, o.c., p. 1.
\(^{4}\) See: Gerassi, o.c., p. 222; and Petras & Zeitlin, o.c., p. 387.
The Christian Democrats criticized former President Barrientos:

"There are about 100,000 land titles in the President's office that are not signed. Official statistics show that during the period 1964-1967, there has been less than half the work done during 1960-1963."\(^{145}\)

William and Paul Paddock say: "Bolivia is the only Latin American nation that has carried out in recent years a peaceful social revolution land reform such as the present Washington administration so strongly presses for, although 'peaceful' is an in-and-out word that you use depending on your past experience of the quiet or not-so-quiet life. Bolivia has had its land reform. The rural regions await, however, their rehabilitation."\(^{146}\)

A third aspect of the "internal colonialism", closely related with agriculture, may be called "political problems."

Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense, speaking at Montreal, Canada, on May 18, 1966, gave some worldwide figures: Between 1958 and 1966 there have been 164 violent changes of government of some international relevance and involving 52 different governments. Among the 27 wealthy nations -- with more than 750 dollars income per capita--only one experienced important conflicts. But 32 out of 38 poor nations -- less than 100 dollars income -- have had them. Out of 149 internal revolts the communists participated only in 58 (38 per cent); and 7 out of 58 have been directed against communists. He concludes:

\(^{145}\)Partido Demócrata Cristiano, Ibid.

"Development is security. Without development stability is impossible." 147

Merle Kling arrives at a similar conclusion from his study on Latin America:

"Political instability in Latin America is distinguished by three characteristics: (1) it is chronic; (2) it frequently is accompanied by limited violence; (3) it produces no basic shifts in economic, social or political policies. Political instability in a Latin American country cannot be evaluated as a temporary deviation in a pattern of peaceful rotation in office. In many Latin American republics, despite prescription of written constitutions, an abrupt change of governmental personnel through violence is a regular and recurrent phenomenon." 148

After giving a long list of shortcomings of Latin American political institutions, Frank Bonilla, tries to summarize some of the explanations given:

"These explanations cover the full gamut of developments in social theory over the last century. Racial arguments of a refined variety -- taking into account not only the global Iberian contribution but regional variations within the Iberian peninsula as well as variants in both the African and the Indian stocks that constitute the main elements in the Latin American racial mix -- have been periodically forwarded. Climate, terrain, topographical barriers to communication and transport, the existence of refractory indigenous communities, the inheritance of semi-feudal forms of social organization that quickly took root in areas readily adapted for profitable exploitation through monocultural or mono-extractive enterprises, a gradual but firmly cemented dependence on foreign markets and foreign financial interests, the absence of a middle class, the irresponsibility and incapacity of..."


lack of 'civic culture' of the masses -- all have been seen as contributing to, when not reflecting, the chronic shortcomings of political institutions."\(^{149}\)

Victor Alba, analyzing the groups which he claims are united by a "negative nationalism", concludes:

"They realize that to turn the country into a nation they will have to give up looking for scapegoats and face the real obstacle to their becoming a nation: the oligarchic system itself. Giving up these scapegoats, of course --Yankee imperialism, the Communist peril, the Spanish heritage or whatever else -- will entail accepting responsibility themselves for the present situation and accepting the blame in the eyes of history, if they fail to change the situation."\(^{150}\)

In the efforts to change the situation, the costs in military equipment are often seen as waste. Table 3 gives a comparison between several Latin American countries and the rest of the world. Latin America devotes to military equipment less than other underdeveloped countries. Nevertheless, it expends twice as much on armament as on efforts for the Alliance for Progress.\(^{151}\)

149 Frank Bonilla, "Brazil" Coleman, ed., 8.C., p. 197
151 Part. Dem. Crist., Ibid.
This is another element to take into account to understand the political confusion of Latin America.

The second cluster of obstacles to development is centered about what can be called "external colonialism."

So far, we gave special attention to the population explosion, the agricultural situation, and to political shortcomings as three important factors which provoke a tension between a core of development in a country and the underdeveloped "internal colony". Something similar happens with "external colonialism". Very often the Latin American nations are not the masters of their resources and of their economic decisions. 152

When we treat of "external colonialism", the relationships between Latin American nations and the United States must be studied. Today there is a wide spread awareness of the misunderstandings in these relations. Bishop McGrath thinks that there is "very little genuine contact between our peoples". Powelson says that "one major problem is the communication gap"; Galo Plaza speaks of misinterpretation of the Alliance for Progress on both sides; Fidel Castro accuses President Nixon of being "a few years -- maybe 15 to 20 years -- behind the times"; Morray tells us about the bad image of Latin America in Washington; Petras condemns the U.S. policy as "a mixture of euphemisms, evasions, and violence"; Leynse recognizes anti-USA feelings within Confederation of Latin American Christian Trade Unionists; Calvinë

152Celam II, o.c., p. 36.
presents an attitudinal change to U.S. to obtain true friendship among
the two continents; Silvert gives an stereotyped list of stereotypes
which show how profound the misunderstanding has gone.153

The recent trips of Governor Nelson Rockefeller to Latin America
have shown clearly the situation in U.S.-Latin America relationship.
Juan de Onís writes in The New York Times:

"If Mr. Rockefeller went south of the border looking for a loud
viva for his long career as a booster of closer hemispheric
ties, he was doomed to disappointment. This is a moment in
which an accumulation of grievances and uncertainties over
relations with the United States has put Latin America in a
critical and revisionist mood toward its big, wealthy, hemi-
spheric neighbor. The issues are multiple, but they come down
to dissatisfaction with the degree of cooperation that the
United States has been providing through aid and trade for the
economic and social development of Latin America, to which the
United States is committed by the Alliance for Progress agree-
ments of the Kennedy and Johnson Administration."154

153 Mark McGrath, "Behind the Curtain of Myth: Bringing the
Powelson, "Why Don't Latin Students Understand Us?" Maryknoll (New
Americas (New York) Aug. 1969, p. 44. - Fidel Castro, "Ten Years of
the Cuban Revolution," New World Review, 1st. Quarter 1969, p. 58. -
o.c., p. 99-100. - J. Petras, "Revolution and Guerrilla Movements in
Latin America: Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, and Peru," Petras &
Zeitlin, ed., o.c., p. 354. - William C. Doherty, Jr. "Christians and
Workers' Movements," Considine, ed. Social Revolution ... Chap. 9,
p. 134. - Considine, ed., The Church in the New ..., p. 98f. - Silvert,
o.c., p. 279.

154 Juan de Onís, "U.S. and Latins: Rockefeller Finds Trouble,"
Marcio Moreira Alves comments along the same line:

"No one doubts Mr. Rockefeller's knowledge of Latin American affairs. He is an old hand in the continent and must know his way around quite well, for his personal investments in the provinces are huge and varied. His happy nature, fixed smile and command of Spanish also make him a simpático visitor -- if human qualities are important for this sort of mission. The trouble is the name. No other is more related in the minds of Latin Americans to American imperialism. Rockefeller means oil, oil means exploitation. (A particularly morbid joke making the rounds of Santiago these days says the mission must go on, as the large consumption of Molotov cocktails it brings about increases the profits of Standard Oil)."\textsuperscript{155}

From Europe, Emilio Menéndez del Valle, writes:

"It is political and diplomatic inability that sends Mr. Rockefeller, one of the richest men in the world, in 'mission of good will' to one of the poorest parts of the world. It might be political and diplomatic inability to send him now a short time after Washington declared that the Alliance for Progress is a 'political corpse'. We agree, nevertheless, that it is a trait of honesty to call the things by their own names."\textsuperscript{156}

\textit{U. S. News \\& World Report} tries to summarize "the reasons for this coolness":

"Why this anti-American feeling? The causes vary from country to country, but here are some of the major ones as seen by veteran observers:

*The biggest gripe is that the United States is not sufficiently interested in Latin America and its many problems. A Latin-American diplomat makes this complaint: 'Nixon has time for Vietnam and a trip to Europe and all that, but no policy for Latin America'. We are orphans, as far as the Nixon Administration is concerned.


\textsuperscript{156} Emilio Menéndez del Valle, "El viaje de Mr. Rockefeller," \textit{Cuadernos para el Diálogo} (Madrid), n. 68, May 1969, p. 24.
The much-ballyhooed Alliance for Progress, launched by President John F. Kennedy, has failed to provide the better life which many Latin Americans expected from it. President Nixon touched a sore point in a speech on Pan American Day in April when he observed that over-all growth rates in Latin America have been no greater during the Alliance years than in those preceding the program.

The complicated dispute between Perú and the United States -- involving an expropriated oil company, fishing boats, a sugar quota and military aid -- has put new and unwelcome pressure on many Latin-American governments to take sides.

The terms of world trade continue to run against Latin America, meaning that they must pay more than before for their imports, mainly of manufactured goods, while earning the same or even less income for most of the raw materials they export.

This last point is emphasized in a more recent Time magazine comment on Rockefeller's tour:

"The U.S. has long been the scapegoat for the continent's woes. Vitriolic accusations that the U.S. is using Latin America as merely a political backyard and an economic bargain basement are staple complaints. Because the U.S. is omnipresent in Latin America, it proves a convenient and often legitimate target for such criticism. U.S. investments come to be seen as covert efforts to despoin the continent of its riches, U.S. embassies and aid missions are viewed as sinister proconsulates. 'Independence in Latin America has only one referant today', says the Brookings Institution's John Flank, 'and that is independence from the U.S.'"

The emphasis on this economic independence from United States is widely expressed. M. Halperin points out that exports of raw materials from Latin America are made under conditions determined from the outside. R. Vekemans mentions the crisis of the deterioration of the term of trade. R. Calderas recalls that in 15 years the value of goods

157 "New Turmoil in Latin America; Its Meaning for U.S."

158 "Rockefeller's Tour: Painful Reappraisal of the Neighbors,"
exported by the United States to Latin America has tripled while the value of raw materials has not even doubled. G. Valdés asserts to President Nixon that Latin America is contributing to finance the development of the U.S. and other affluent nations. Lleras Restrepo in his meeting with President Nixon said that in 1954 it took 14 bags of coffee to buy one jeep and now it takes 43 bags; J. Martínez Terrero writes that many of the U.S. promises have only been a benefit for the U.S.; Cardinal Suenens said that the regulation of international commerce spells life or death for Latin America; S. Lena reminds us that every year Latin America loses $1 billion from unfavorable terms of trade; J. L. Segundo presents the U.S. as the metropolis of an empire whose proletariat is Latin America; Arguedas protests against Bolivian dependence on U.S.; the Bolivian Christian Democrats do not want so much influence of U.S. aid in the country. 159

Table 4 shows the evolution of Latin America's trade. We can see that the largest commercial relations of Latin America are with the U.S. The imports, however, from the U.S. are larger than the exports. Latin America's debts to U.S. are increasing. E. Ruiz G. presents a longer history: In 1958 the U.S. absorbed 30.1% of the exports of L.A. and almost 46% in 1959. Since then there has been a slight decrease. In 1964, it was 34%; the same year Latin American imports were 40.8% from U.S. and 18.5% from Europe. Making references to Latin America debts, Richardson wrote: "At the end of 1964, foreign debts owed by the Latin Americans amounted to 11.1 billions dollars and the interest on this debts costs them 1.6 billion dollars each year! In some countries the interest paid amount to 30% of the total income of the nation."  

Table 4: Latin America trade from Vision, July 4, 1969, p. 32.

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Sidney Lens analyzes the effects of U.S. investments in Latin America:

"Most Americans believe that capital - preferably private capital - is all the inter-American neighbors need to develop their economies and improve the plight of their people. But, in fact, it depends on what kind of capital, how it is spent, and what happens to the profits. Is capital used to provide what the poor need or to provide profits for the foreign investors and their upper-class native allies? Are the profits reinvested, or taken out of the country? For every new dollar of capital brought in by American cooperations today $1.75 is taken out. In a single decade, according to the Economic Commission for Latin America, $5.5 billion of private American money was invested in the 19 republics, while $9.5 billion was drained off in profit and dividends - and repatriated to New York."162

Time magazine emphasizes the other side of the story:

"Although the era of corporate colonialism has passed and most United States firms faithfully obey local regulations, United States business still has immense muscle on the continent, a fact that contravenes Latin America's understandable desire to control its own resources. United States business employs over 2 million Latin Americans, pays more than one-fifth of the continent's taxes, produces 12% of its total output and one-third of all its exports."163

Chart 5 presents the rising United States property investments in Latin America.

Marcio Moreira Valdes tries to understand how the U. S. investment system, described by Lens and Time and represented in Chart 5, works:

"According to the 'Survey of Current Business' new American investments in Latin America from 1950 to 1965 amounted to $3.8 billion, permitting, together with old holdings, the transfer of $11.3 billion to the United States. And how is this drainage financed? One has only to quote Celso Furtado, a Brazilian exiled economist now teaching at the Sorbonne: 'In the period between 1958 and 1964 total investment of American subsidiary firms in Latin America amounted to 4,310 million dollars, of which 815 million were supplied by funds brought from the U. S. Latin American funds were twice as great as those from the U. S. However, the main sources of financing were the subsidiaries themselves. If one has in mind that these subsidiaries distributed 42 percent of their benefits as dividends, the conclusion is that two-thirds of the funds imported from the U. S. could have been covered by local profits, which leads us to the acknowledgement that these firms could have financed 94 percent of their extraordinary expansion, independent of American funds." 164

David Horowitz makes a logical conclusion from this situation:

"In purely economic terms, the poor countries have become relatively poorer vis-a-vis the U. S. as a direct result of this expansion and its consequences, which include billions in repatriated profits escaping into U. S. coffers. This state of affairs will continue to worsen as long as the policy of the most powerful nations is dictated by the policies of business" 165 and he accepts Cleaver's "war on the rich".

Pope Paul VI arrived at similar conclusions in *Populorum Progressio*: "The poor nations remain ever poor while the rich ones become still richer. In other words, the rule of free trade, taken by itself, is no longer able to govern international relations." Lester B. Pearson gives some figures: "At the present the money gap between the income per person in developing and developed countries is $1,540. If the present rates of growth continue, by the end of the century the gap will be $5,450."

What is the growth rate? Western world's most developed nations grew between 1960-67 at the rate of 3.7 per cent; the Western less developed nations 2.5 per cent; Latin America 1.7 per cent. When the growth of world exports in 1968 was 10 per cent, Latin America growth was just 5 per cent. And there are differences between each Latin American nation and within them.

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Table 5 summarizes part of the socio-economic situation of 19 Latin American Republics\(^\text{169}\)

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Table 5: Socio-economic situation of 19 L.A. nations.

\(^{169}\)Ruiz, o.c., pp. 84, 393, 430 for Population, GNP per capita, and Trade. - Vision, April 11, 1969, pp. 30 and 33 for Total Product and Growth. There is no complete agreement on the figures; they vary according the sources: Presencia Dec. 31, 1968, Second Section, p. 22 states the improvement of Bolivian Exports as increasing 46% since 1964.
Another result of internal and external colonialism is the phenomenon of under-employment of the people. Let us consider the Bolivian situation. The under-employment goes in two directions: lack of employment in the nation and emigration to the exterior.

Between 1964 and 1968 there were in Bolivia 170,000 young people ready to work, but just 16,000, less than 10%, could find jobs. In their study of Bolivian emigration, Federico Aguiló and Luis Llano S. found that in 1967, 304,019 Bolivians were living outside their country. That constitutes 6.9% of the total Bolivian population. It is worth noting that 70% of the emigrants were between the ages of 15 and 49 years.

Chart 6 presents the places to which Bolivians emigrated. Most of the Bolivian emigrants go to Argentina in search of jobs specially during the sugar-making season.

Chart 6: Bolivian emigration.

From: Aguiló & Saavedra, O.c., p. 52.

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170 Par. Dem. Cris., Ibid.

2) Present Efforts and Future Directions of Development

We have seen some of the internal and external problems which the Latin American nations are facing. There are problems with population growth; there is an agricultural and urban problem which is increasing; there are serious political difficulties within our countries. On the other hand, efforts have been made to control the population explosion, to effect agricultural reforms, to obtain political leaders who genuinely work for the common good. The inter-American relationship has been criticized; at the same time new ways of basing and pursuing relationships are desired and sought.

We turn now to some internal efforts already made besides those previously mentioned. There are two encouraging facts to notice: A widespread and keen awareness of the problems, and an increasing process of integration of the Latin American economies.

The awareness of Latin American problems is spread among the educated people. Bishop McGrath speaks of a new epoch after the Second World War in which "characteristically the social problem becomes central -- even to religious considerations". Juan L. Segundo says that "because of our peculiar social conditions, it may be that we Latin Americans are obligated more than anyone else to see whether certain facets of socialism are not, after all, compatible with Catholic social teachings." The Bishops of Latin America when they look to the future are realistic in noting that "basic education will increase awareness and the demographic explosion will multiply problems and
tensions". They continue: "Nor should we forget the existence of all kinds of movements interested in irritating and exploiting these tensions."

R. Caldera wrote: "We Latin Americans realize that it is time to fulfill the destiny of our peoples; but at the same time we are aware of the fearful obstacles that our social situation places in the path of this formidable task." Fidel Castro recognizes that "a revolution must base itself upon an economic structure; and it has been precisely in the field of economic structure that our people have faced the most difficult challenge." Barrientos trying to avoid the faults of "economic liberators" accepts that we "do not need to rebuke all the good things of the past; we are the restless and faithful followers of the Bolivian revolution."

Galo Plaza believes that "we are in the forefront of a struggle that may last for many years; the goal is clear: social and economic development within a framework of freedom and justice." Jose Antonio Mayobre calls our attention to the fact that "it is already a common place to state that Latin America is undergoing a structural revolution and that a new and different society is being built up over the short term." Gilbert Chase describes the cultural approximate present of Latin America and concludes that "today, Latin America finds itself at a critical juncture, with many of its traditional values demolished or strongly threatened by social, political, and economic pressures. There is clamor for change everywhere, clearly reflected in the new realistic literature and in the restless activity of the masses". Che Guevara's
letter of farewell to his parents reads: "I believe in armed struggle as the only solution for those peoples who fight to free themselves, and I am consistent with my beliefs. Many will call me an adventurer, and that I am only one of a different sort, one of those who risks his skin to prove his truths." 172 There is also an increasing process of economic integration.

Although he expresses great reservations about the results of this integration, Miguel Teubal writes:

"The formation of a Latin America Common Market (LACM) has often been cited as a principal objective of policy makers coping Latin America's economic development. Observers of the European Common Market often believe that similar measures taken in Latin America would have similar results. Also, the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America (hereafter referred to by the Spanish initials CEPAL) has persistently prepared basic documents and research explaining the need for LACM and has organized the principal international meetings at which steps toward its institution were taken. The Treaty of Montevideo, signed in 1960, was instrumental in creating a step toward a full-fledged LACM. But LAFTA has not fulfilled expectations." 173

Roberto de Oliveira Campos criticizes the document *Latin American Consensus of Viña del Mar* saying:

"Our voice would have more authority if we should accept that, even when the United States did not fulfill all its obligations contracted at Punta del Este, we are not free of responsibility either. Especially motivated by an irrational nationalism and near-sighted protectionism, we failed in scheduling our regional integration. The LAFTA was retarded, and just now, very shily,

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the Andean Market is beginning to move." 174

José Martínez T. is more optimistic about Viña del Mar: "For the first time the Latin America nations demand their rights in a communal action. Nineteen mice wanted to bell the cat. This is a happy result of the controverted ALALC, the only organization which has contributed much to the union of the countries through the organization of meetings for transportation and other common activities. It is the culmination of a long historical process of our peoples toward maturity." 175

Galo Plaza talked of other projects:

"The new highway under construction on the eastern side of the Andes in Colombia, Ecuador, Perú, and Bolivia is already starting to infuse life into previously inaccessible areas. Another development of multinational importance is the Acaray Dam hydro-electric complex in Paraguay. When completed it will supply Paraguay's needs for electric power with enough left to export to Brazil and Argentina." 176

Bolivia, under the agreement between Yacimientos Petrolíferos Fiscales Bolivianos (YPFB) and Bolivian Gulf Oil, has started exporting natural gas to Argentina. That is an export whose value is put in more than $30 million. A new subregional economic group was formed in Bogotá on May 26, 1969, when Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Perú signed the Andean Pact. 177

175 Martínez T., Ibid., p. 314. ALALC stands for "Asociación Latino-Americana de Libre Comercio, in English LAFTA.
176 Galo Plaza, Ibid., p. 67.
When we look at the results of the external relationships of Latin America with the United States, there are some positive efforts and new directions. There is general concern with the actual situation as shown by Rockefeller's trip, and some new international policies have been proposed.

The concern is shown specifically by criticism of the Alliance for Progress and by comments on the death of Che Guevara. 178

It is especially interesting to see how the Christian theologians and Pastors have shown their concern. Richard Shaull writes:

"In the past, the Church has often been the bulwark of the status quo, or stood on the sidelines while the fight for a new society was going on. Fortunately, our awareness today of our Christian responsibility for economic development and national emancipation has pushed us beyond that point. Yet I suspect that for most of us, reliance on guerrilla warfare is not an attractive prospect. We are gightly horrified by the price this would demand, in bloodshed, the sacrifice of a new generation, and the long delay in urgent steps toward development. But do we have any alternative to offer? The only possibility I see is if Christians and the Church could become a catalytic force in the development of a new type of opposition to the present trend and power structures." 179

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And sixteen bishops of the "Third World" - a half of which were from Brazil - wrote:

"Governments must labor to bring to an end the class war which, contrary to what is usually maintained, has been unleashed, only too often, by the rich, who continue to wage it against the workers by exploiting them with inadequate wages and inhuman working conditions. Money has for a long time cynically waged a subversive war through the world, destroying entire peoples. It is high time that the poor peoples, upheld and guided by their lawful governments, should effectively defend their right to life." 180

New international policies are starting to work and more are proposed. There is a wide accord that Latin America, and all the countries underdeveloped, need external aid. According James Nelson Goodsell, Latin American correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor, the Inter-American Development Bank, is "one of the major agencies for financing Latin America's development efforts." Organized in 1961, the bank's total lending efforts has reached nearly $2.8 billion in the eight years the bank has functioned. During 1968 it has authorized loans of more than $430 million mostly in agriculture (22.6 per cent) and industry and mining (19.4 per cent). Latin American nations are matching every dollar lent by the bank with nearly two of their own. 181

The U.S. Government Foreign Assistance to Bolivia between July 1, 1945 and Dec. 31, 1967 has been of $398 million. The year 1967 alone saw $24 million, out of $644 million to the whole Western Hemisphere, go to Bolivia. 182

There have been different proposals some to the developed countries, some to the U.S. concretely. Lester B. Pearson asserts that "we must not even exclude revolutionary movements and governments from our cooperative help". He proposes two points about international development. First, direct the tremendous reservoir of good will of the fortunate people, as was done, for example, by the Canadian Government's proposal to the Parliament that by 1970, 1 per cent of Canada's national income should be contributed to international development and aid. Second, use economic development as a means of international collaboration.183 Barbara Ward spoke in the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Uppsala. She said: "Now, the economic system which is world-wide is a market system, an economic system, and a post-colonial system which was created without, in fact, any moral restraints of a coordinated and world-wide kind. It is therefore not surprising to find that it is still a very much nicer economy for the 20% of us who command 80% of the world's wealth than for the others". And she finds three critical reforms which have been used in the developed world the last 100 years should be applied in the international economy: the first change was taxation. The beginning of skills, the beginning of opportunity to which education was the key began with the acceptance of public responsibility via tax money for that reform. The second change was to invest opportunities and skills of our people to increase their

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collective bargaining power. The third one is the policy of full employ-
ment. 184

Addressing himself to the people of the U.S., John Gerassi pro-
poses a "Policy for Reconquest". He writes: "Latin America will have
its social, nationalistic revolution, one way or another. There is still
time for us to help rather than to hinder. Today we have no true friends
among the peoples of Latin America. Tomorrow, we can gain many. Not
allies, but friends. How? By encouraging them in their aims and aspir-
rations." And Gerassi goes on to describe four types of policies that
should be followed. 185 Sidney Lens sets forth the following premise
before stating his proposal for Latin America:

"Actually, America's only successes in the Cold War have occurred
when we used the social, rather than the military deterrent. If
it were not for the multibillion dollar aid to the Western European
powers, most of them would have succumbed to communism more than a
decade ago. That is certainly true of France, and Italy which
have large communist parties. The Marshall Plan, with all its
shortcomings, saved these nations from economic collapse and kept
them in Western Alliance." 186

He then, proposed some implementations in the United States foreign
policy for the 1960's with some specific references to Latin America.

There is constant need for adaptation if a permanent peace and
development is to be successful. Celam II, after asserting that above
all "peace is a work of justice" continues, "a community of persons

184 Barbara Ward, Rich and Poor Nations, pp. 1 and 3 (Mimeographed)
World Council of Churches, Fourth Assembly, Uppsala, July 1968. Document
28.
185 Gerassi, o.c., p. 415ff.
186 Sidney Lens, Revolution and Cold War (American Friends Service
becomes a reality in time, and is subject to a movement that implies constant change in structures, transformation of attitudes, and conversion of hearts." Peace, they conclude, is a work of love and an expression of real fraternity of men.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL SITUATION

The previous chapter was a discussion of the Latin American development. We saw some of the problems and some of the present efforts and future prospects. There was a double, and inter-related tension between two poles: the metropolis, which gets control of the power although it is a minority; and the country-side which constitutes the majority of the population and is often exploited. This tension between metropolis and country-side is found at national and international levels. There are efforts and directions to try to solve the problem; but, despite the often vivid perception of the difficulties, the obstacles are far from being under control.

James Petras explains what he calls a "policy ambiguity" in Latin America:

"The occasional policy 'ambiguity' of the Latin American ruling class flows from its perception of two opposing realities; on the one hand, its separation from the mass and their needs and on the other hand, the desire of the elite to assert its independence and to promote a relatively comfortable standard of living. The former pushes the elite toward the U.S. and in the direction of alliances to safeguard their current position and on the other side, the elite is pulled away from subordination to U.S. authority in order to maximize commercial and development opportunities. The occasional criticism, aired by Latin American diplomats at hemispheric conferences reflects these push-pull factors, the internal relationship of forces and the external opportunities and debilities which each decision-making group confronts." 188

In that situation the great problem is to mobilize the domestic human and national resources. And it is in this effort that education has a decisive role to play.

There are three basic questions that may help us to understand some of the realities of Latin American education:

1) How does the present educational situation reflect the historical and socio-economic background?

2) What are some of the practical steps suggested in educational reform?

3) Which are some of the efforts that are being made?

1) Present educational situation and historico-social background.

When presenting the purpose of the thesis, we touched this point already as part of an overview. We are going to concentrate now mostly in Latin American education and on the Bolivian situation within Latin America. At the end of our first chapter we accepted a vision of education more in accord with the integral development for which Latin America is struggling. Using Celam II's words, we called it "liberating education", one that converts the student into the subject of his own development. But in as much as our continent has not yet succeeded in its effort for development, its present education systems do not provide as yet a free community.

The desire for a liberating education is not restricted to Latin America. Hanson & Brembeck write:

"For all its humble beginnings, however, the faith in education that is growing among undeveloped peoples springs from a belief
that is basic to the attainment of a better life. Whenever men put their trust in schools and in the knowledge schools imparts, they are placing their faith in themselves and in what they may ultimately accomplish for themselves. This aspect of the new revolution, however humble its goals and however uncertain their realization, may be, cannot fail to impress the educator. The power of faith in education, far more than the power of the atom, is the truly great moving force that modern man is realizing everywhere, in countless ways. It is just that force, found in a Punjab village and multiplied in thousands of its counterparts across Asia, Africa, and Latin America, that this book is about. It concerns the crucial role of education in the drive to improve one's lot, to strengthen one's society and nation, to catch up with an age of science and technology, to 'escape' old and unsatisfactory fates."

But James D. Cochrane writes:

"Latin Americans value education and have done so since the Spanish Conquest. They value it as an end and as a means. As an end it is a status symbol. 'A good education and cultural background have long been . . . the main distinctions between the upper class and the lower'. As a means it is a pathway to attractive, prestigious, and profitable occupations and opportunities. This is especially true for the members of the middle class or middle sectors, a group which has considerable ambition and desire for social, economic, and political advancement. For them, education is often the only pathway for advancement. Society as a whole values education for its contribution to development. (The fact that education is valued should not be interpreted to mean that all individuals and groups in society favor universal public education. Some members of the oligarchy regard universal education as a direct threat to their social, economic, and political position. And, some members of the lower class, particularly the Indians, resist education, seeing no personal benefits in it and regarding it as an attempt by the government to further subjugate them and despoil their culture). As one would expect, the Latin American political elite possesses a high degree of education. The day of the illiterate caudillo is past."

In his address at the opening session of the Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning in

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189 Hanson & Brembeck, op. cit., pp. 3-4.
the Countries of Latin America, and the Caribbean at Buenos Aires, on June 21, 1966, Rene Maheu, Director-General of Unesco said:

"We are convinced that education, by its effects on productivity, is, with your great plans for the internal reform of your institutions and for the integration of your economies, one of the ways of achieving a balance. Education was always regarded by the statesmen who built up your nations as an instrument of liberation. There now remains to make of it the wealth of all and the means of each. I say all, because, for man, misery is far easier to endure than injustice. I say each, because, in the final resort, it is the individual who counts."191

A word of caution makes this faith in education more realistic. As Herbert S. Parnes puts it "to say that education is essential to attain some social and individual goals is not to say that it can produce automatically by itself the desired goals. Education might be a necessary condition, but it is not self-sufficient to reach the proposed objectives."192 The whole relationship between school and society is expressed by the double question: "Dare the schools build a new social order?" or "Dare the social order build a new system of schools?"193

191 UNESCO & ECLA, o.c., p. 58.

192 Herbert S. Parnes, "La Integración de los Recursos Humanos y el Planeamiento Educativo," ed. by OAS, Reuniones Técnicas... p. 24. For another word of caution, see: Coleman, o.c., p. 195.

Table 6 will give us a general view of the educational levels for different Latin American countries. It will present a numerical picture of how the social order and the school system have been related.

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<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
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<td>50</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>55</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>110.2</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>50</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>79</td>
<td>47.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>22.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
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<td>68</td>
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<td>--</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<tr>
<td>Re.Dominica</td>
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<td>--</td>
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<tr>
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<td>--</td>
<td>16.4</td>
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<tr>
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<td>80</td>
<td>229.1</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Different levels of L.A. education.

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*Survey SJ, Sociografía Educativa de Bolivia (La Paz, C.I.A.S, UNESCO and US aid, but p. 6 notes: "The statistics are taken generally from international organizations. They differ according to the intention of the publishers which gives a great range of divergency. On the other hand, the statistics from Bolivian sources are almost non-existent.")* 

194 Survey SJ, Sociografía Educativa de Bolivia (La Paz, C.I.A.S, UNESCO and US aid, but p. 6 notes: "The statistics are taken generally from international organizations. They differ according to the intention of the publishers which gives a great range of divergency. On the other hand, the statistics from Bolivian sources are almost non-existent.") 1968 p. 11 (mimeographed ed. The indicated sources are
By looking at table 6 we can understand some of the criticism made to Latin American systems of education.

Celam II, for example, notes the great number of illiterate people, mostly among the Indians. They note, too, that many children and young Latin American people do not attend classes and those who go to school often get a very formalistic type of education. Even when they recognize the efforts of creating a popular culture, they do not think that the universities in Latin America have given an answer to the problems of the continent. 195

The Conference of Ministers of Education and Ministers Responsible for Economic Planning in the Countries of Latin America and the Caribbean gathered at Buenos Aires on June 1966 recognizes that "despite the very satisfactory results obtained during the last ten years" there are grave problems remaining. The Conference selected nine which are of particular importance:

(1) Still inadequate degree of integration between educational planning and social development planning;

(2) The low retention rates at the different levels of education;

(3) Deficiencies in the quality of education;

(4) Antiquated structure of educational systems which do not match development needs and lack liaison between the various levels of education;

(5) Deficiencies in educational administration;

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195 Celam II, o.c., pp. 60-63.
(6) Shortcomings in the training and in-service training provided for teachers, and their unsatisfactory economic and professional status;

(7) Inadequacy of technical and vocational education;

(8) Existence of over 50 million illiterates in the adult population and lack of proper attention to indigenous education; and,

(9) Inadequacy of resources from national economies and limited amount of international economic aid. 196

After these general criticisms of Latin American education by Celam II and UNESCO & ECLA, it is easier to understand some of the basic assertions of Comparative Education experts. G. F. Bereday writes: "In comparative education one must always bear in mind this basic lesson. Educational facts are deeply enmeshed in a matrix of other social circumstances. They cannot be compared without a careful accounting for the total situation." And E. J. King states: "It is impossible to divorce educational trends and needs from comparative studies of society, economics, and technology undergoing rapid change - all with a view to prediction and decision... Such a divorce is unthinkable, and a study of the evidence which can be brought in from other academic disciplines and fields of experience can help the more scientific penetration of the problems of education itself."

Hanso and Breabeck agree with Bereday and King:

"Much of the knowledge that is relevant to using education as a means toward modernization must come from fields other than of education per se. Increasingly, the educator must look to the

196 UNESCO & ECLA, o.c., p. 6.
economist, the political scientist, the anthropologist, and the social psychologist for knowledge requisite to the determination of informed educational decisions and sound educational programs." 197

The education of Latin America is being affected by the population growth, by the rural problem, by deficient policies, by dependence from the outside. We dealt with these difficulties from a socio-economic point of view when discussing some obstacles to development in the previous chapter. The short presentation of the educational consequences of these socio-historical background will follow.

We saw already, in Luis Olives projections for the year 2000, how population growth will affect education. Dr. Jaime Posada gives concrete educational figures: Since the population growth of Latin America is 2.5% the population is predominantly young. 20% of the population are between the ages of 7 and 14 years. Between 40% and 45% of the Latin American adult population is illiterate. Only about 20% of the young students finish primary education. Around 44% of the teachers do not have full preparation and degrees. 198

The problem of population increase is specially pressing in primary education. This is why special efforts, and until certain point with successful result, have been made in this level. In 1957 there were in Latin America 14.7 million children between 7 and 14 years of age that did not attend school, that is, 41% of the total population of this age. In 1965, even when the number of children out of school

197 Bereday, o.c., p. IX. - King, o.c., p.l. - Hanson & Elslgebeck, o.c., p.6
198 OAS, Reuniones Tecnicas, p. 61. - UNESCO & ECLA, o.c., gave 25%.
remains practically the same (14.6 million) the percentage of children out of school is lower (30.8%)\(^{199}\). We look closer now at Bolivia. The first big problem is the scarcity of reliable statistics to show the relationship between the general development programs, education, labor demand, and man-power needs over the next few years.\(^{200}\)

In a manifesto to the nation, the Bolivian Christian Democratic Party analyzes the "crisis of instruction, education and culture" of the country. In the quantitative aspect there has been a favorable evolution since 1952. Primary education attendance has jumped from 28% to 53%. In secondary education the increase in registration has been from 8% to 20%. The registered youths who attend the universities do not go beyond 3 per thousand of the total Bolivian people. And, at the most, the proportion of professionals who each year begin working in the country is 3 per ten thousand of the population. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that the most expensively trained professionals, such as doctors and engineers, emigrate from Bolivia in larger numbers. About 60% of the primary teachers are temporary; and 50% of the secondary teachers are interim too.\(^{201}\) According the data


\(^{200}\) UNESCO & ECLA, o.c., p. 27, n. 41.

\(^{201}\) Part. Dem. Crist, "Bolivia debe despertar a la verdad," Presencia (La Paz) Aug. 9, '68 pp. 4,6 and CIDOC (México) Doc. 68/104. Another important factor to bear in mind that complicates the educational picture, but that cannot be developed here, is the problem caused by the fact that native Populations speak different Indian languages.
of *Fe y Alegria* 65% of Bolivia is illiterate. There are 1.4 million children of school age, but just 690,000 attend school (49.08%). There are 26,345 schools for primary education, but there is a need of 11,919 more. In secondary education there are 2,252 schools, but 9,737 are needed.\(^202\)

The second problem was rural education. Speaking of Latin America as a whole the Reunión Técnica Sobre la Determinación de Metas Educativas, gathered by the OAS in Washington from Feb. 1 to 5, 1965, informs that "in order to make the educational planning coherent with the goals of the socio-economical development, it should have goals that take into account the fact that in the present system there are very large numbers of drop-outs from one grade to the next or within the different levels. This is especially true in primary education and mostly in rural areas in which the problem takes dramatic dimensions."\(^203\) UNESCO informs:

"The objectives of general education of the child from a rural area are recognized the same for the child of the urban areas. But this affirmation is truer in theory than in practice. It is more a matter of principle than of fact. It is more a long range commitment than a reality. The rural school is still an incomplete school (the efforts to change this situation for what has been called 'complete unity' are just being developed). This means that the children from "the incomplete school" do not have the chance to develop a plan and program of studies that will develop their personality."\(^204\)

\(^202\) Survey SJ, o.c., p. 56 and 22. - UNESCO, o.c., Apend. A, p. 18 gives a number slightly higher than *Fe y Alegria*.

\(^203\) OAS, Reuniones Técnicas... p. 47, n. 23.

In 1965, 74% of all primary schools in Latin America were in rural areas, but only 40.23% of all the students who are in primary level.

Let us look closer at Bolivia.

According Nazario Luna P., director of rural education in Bolivia, the rural population over 14 years of age in 1965 was set at 1.44 million persons of which only 204,601 persons were literate. This means that over 85% of the people living in the rural areas were illiterate. Of 100 children who enter the first grade, only 7 arrive at 6th grade.205

The Jesuit Survey gave these data: In 1965 the percentage of schooling in the rural area was 44.9% against 76.7% in the urban area. In 1966 there were 278,108 children without schools in the rural level which means that 9,270 classes and teachers were needed. The amount of money needed was put at $12 million. 206

Making a study of the department of Chuquisaca, ACLO gives this figures. There are 90,000 children and young persons of school age but just 16,849 of them attend school. That is 18.7%. There are 551 salaries made available when the real needs would require the addition of 2,943 more, which suppose an increase of 600%. There are at the present 323 schools when 1,720 more are needed.207

206 Survey SJ, o.c., pp. 17-18.
207 ACLO, Informe, p. 6.
The third point in which education reveals its ties with the social problems is the deficient educational policy. Two main points that show the deficient policy are the cost and the number of drop-outs. Both points are related. The cost is the investment, the drop-outs part of the results. We have presented already the expenses in education of the Latin American national budgets. (table 6) According to Dr. Gabriel Betancurt's estimations the schools in Latin America spend $1.65 billion a year. This means an average expenditure per capita of more than $50 a year per person in training, from the grade school to the university. 208

Ismael Escobar V. gives some complementary figures: Since the expenses on education are associated more with the number of teachers than of students, in the developing countries the salaries of the teachers amount to 90% of the total expenditures in education, while in the developed countries is only 50 or 60%. Latin America invests an average of 3 per cent of its national incomes; the United States invests 6 per cent, twice as much as Latin America. U.S. invested $641 in 1966 in the primary and secondary students. Latin America $420 in its University students. 209

We gave already some data on drop-out students in Latin America.

The report of Reunión Técnica Sobre la Determinación de Metas Educativas,

208 Considine, ed., The Church in the New... pp. 70-71.

previously mentioned, says: "At primary level the drop-outs constitute a fundamental preoccupation. Very few students finish their studies. The problems are results not only of ecological conditions but also for other aspects within the system itself which force drop-outs."210 But in secondary education it is worse. Around 87% of the students do not finish this level. Only 4 of every 10,000 Latin American people get a university degree.211 The drop-out problem is more significant when the school enrollment is already a minority. A Report issued in 1961 by Pan American Union on Latin American Higher Education and Inter-American Cooperation states: "Of the total school enrollment in Latin America (about 20 million), 91% is in elementary schools, 7% in secondary schools, and only 1.75% in institutions of higher education. The United States of America and the Latin American countries have approximately the same population (180,000,000). While the U.S. has an enrollment of 4,000,000 students in institutions of higher education, Latin America has scarcely 350,000."212

Charles C. Hauch writes:

"Absenteism and school drop-outs constitute a serious problem in most of Latin America. They exist at all levels. The factors behind this situation are a combination of socio-economic and educational conditions. Frequently enrollments in the first year or two are so large for the limited facilities that one objective of the educational system seems to be weed out pupils as rapidly as possible. Poor economic conditions, lack of adequate food and clothing, malnutrition, disease, and poor health

210 OAS, Reuniones Técnicas... p. 17.
211 Ibid., pp. 61-62.
212 OAS, Latin American Higher... p. 4.
conditions are contributing problems. Particularly in the rural areas, the advantages of education not related to needs and local environment are not always apparent to either parents or children. Parents demand that children work in the home or the field, and they often live great distances from the schools.\footnote{213}

As a result of cost and absenteeism there is a deep feeling of frustration with the present policies. Iván Illich concludes:

"Contemporary Latin America needs school system no more than it needs railroad tracks. Both spanning continents served to speed the new rich and established nations into the industrial age. Both, if now handled with care, are harmless heirlooms from the Victorian period. But neither is relevant to countries emerging from primitive agriculture directly into the jet age. Latin America cannot afford to maintain outmoded social institutions amid modern technological processes...

"Before poor nations could reach this point of universal schooling however, their ability to educate would be exhausted. Even ten or twelve years of schooling are beyond 85% of all men of our century if they happen to live outside the tiny islands where capital accumulates. Nowhere in Latin America do 27% of any age group get beyond the sixth grade, nor do more than 1% graduate from a university. Yet no government spends less than 18% of its budget on schools, and many spend more than 30%. Universal schooling, as this concept has been defined recently in industrial societies, is obviously beyond their means...

"Schools grade and, therefore, they degrade. They make the degraded accept his own submission. Social seniority is bestowed according to the level of schooling achieved. Everywhere in Latin America more money for schools means more privilege for a few at the cost of most, and this patronage of an elite is explained as a political ideal. This ideal is written into laws which state the patently impossible: equal opportunities for all.\footnote{214}

And with a recent speech in Río Piedras (Puerto Rico) he continued to explain his idea. Puerto Rico devotes 30% of the national budget to education:

\footnote{213}{Hauch, o.c., p. 21.}
\footnote{214}{Iván Illich, "The Futility of Schooling in Latin America," CIDOC, Doc. 68/66 and Saturday Review Ap. 20, '68 pp. 57-59, and 74-75.}
"The School is the 'secular church', which represents a period of history that is ending. The movement for universal schooling started some 200 years ago, as a crusade to incorporate all the children into the national-industrial society which was being born. This society had its apogee and the school had a place there. In the industrial metropolis the school integrated the nations. Within them, and in the colonies of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the schools have affirmed the dominant class and have inculcated in the masses the alleged superiority of their master because they had schooling. Neither the nation, nor the industry of the pre-cybernetic age can be conceived without the obligatory immersion of the children in the school baptism. In this society the one who does not fulfill the school ritual is called 'desester' and 'school deliquent' as some time ago the Moslem was called sinner."215

How cost and absenteeism are affecting Bolivia?

The average cost for each student, without taking into account the Universities, was $47. When divided by levels a student of primary education costs $41, of secondary $62, of teacher-training $133. In the universities in 1966, there is a difference among themselves more than $50. At the University of San Andrés of La Paz expenditure was $258, and in the Technical University of Oruro the cost was $198 per student.216

The drop-out rate is presented in Table 7.217

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of school</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>%from public schools</th>
<th>%from private schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: Drop-out rate in Bolivia

215 Iván Illich, "Mensaje en Ocasión de la Colación de Grado Celebrada en el Recinto Universitario de Río Piedras el días 6 de Junio de 1969" (Xeroxed copy) p. 9.

216 Survey SJ, o.c., pp. 3, 61.

As an average the total of drop-outs in primary education in 1965 was 49.2% in the urban areas, and 93.6% in the rural. The average desertion rate in the same year at the secondary level was 69.77%. There have been made a partial study of the university desertion rate in the University of S. Andrés of La Paz which in 1966 had 5,639 students the 38.1% of all higher education students of Bolivia. Only 1.7% of those who entered the university completed their studies; the drop-out rate is 98.3%\(^{218}\)

For Bolivia the cost and the drop-out problem are examined by Oscar Justiniano:

"When we studied all the theories and reform projects from forty authors and modern statistics with diverse current of thought, socialist, individualistic, positivistic, idealistic, orthodox or heterodox, we found a common trait and only one: the spirit of reform grounded on economic considerations. The second-hand educational systems now existing in Bolivia and in some other countries of Latin America are being substituted by an educational restructuring toward a future progress according the real needs of the modern world. In Bolivia we have had a mummified, old education system which, as shown with clear evidence, drags us along and results in the loss of our best human resources..."

"The average time in Bolivia to get a profession with academic degree is a minimum of 18 years. This long period of time which requires not only time but also a financial support, is only possible for 2% of the families. The recent statistics are clear: 65% of the high-schools students applying for universities were rejected because of insufficient preparation; that shows that even when the high-school is finished the students face the threat of failure."\(^{219}\)

And he concludes pointing out the need of technical schools mostly in agronomy and veterinary science as a way of development and economic independence.

\(^{218}\)Survey SJ, o.c.c., pp. 30-31, 28, 57, 59.

Another problem which in Bolivia has close connections with cost and drop-outs is the public and private schools debate. The Jesuit Survey states:

"It can be said that public education has common problems in all levels: scarcity of money, deficiencies in material and teachers, insecurity in the rhythm of classes... Private education, in all its levels, can overcome these difficulties. But it also has specific problems which must be faced without further delay. The factual discrimination of the students, very often discrimination at academic level, but also for economic reasons. The private schools generate a resentment, almost unconsciously, among the mass of students that do not have an opportunity of having a well organized and planned education." 220

While the private schools, three fourths of which are Catholic, say that they save $5.4 million each year of Government expenses, Andrés Soliz Rada wants them to pay taxes as any other business since some of them get a $13,000 profit every month. 221

One friend of mine who is teaching in a rural school for teachers (Normal Rural) wrote me recently: After some comments on the lack of honesty within the teachers association in his area says:

"The essential problem in our system of education, in the level which I know, is a depressive poverty matched with lack of excelling among the individuals. For a materialist the lack of excelling is caused by lack of food. It seems to me that this is a consequence of being wrapped up in day to day concerns, without a desire for taking long range problems. This is a very complex thing with very deep historical roots." 222

The last point to be presented was the dependance from the outside. Kalman H. Silvert writes: "Latin America has always been a

220 Survey SJ, o.c., p. 1.
222 Personal letter to this writer.
hearty consumer of European ideas and practices, and the university has long played a vital part in the process of importation, adaptation, and propagation. The present search for ideology, technique, and science has broadened the university's role in the mimetic process.\footnote{Silvert, o.c., p. 121.}

In Bolivia, besides the academic dependence, there is a heavy economical reliance in U.S. aid and some other international agencies. The Jesuit Survey informs:

"Bolivia can spend a relatively high percentage of its National Budget in education because of the external aid. This help is an unavoidable need under the present circumstances. Studying the level of credits offered by the U.S. to Bolivia during 1961-68, we can understand the meaning of economical mortgage, the risk at all levels, but mostly in education which is practically impotent for self-finance; there is implicated perpetuation of the mortgage."\footnote{Survey SJ, o.c., p. 5.}

Dr. Abelardo Villalpando R., President of the University of Tomás Frías of Potosí, informs that during 1965 the Universities of La Paz had received a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank of $740,000 and $300,000 respectively. The University of Cochabamba received $500,000; that of Oruro $400,000; the one at Sta. Cruz $300,000. But the request of "Tomás Frías" was not attended.\footnote{Abelardo Villalpando R., Informe de Labores del Año Académico de 1965 (Potosí, Bolivia: Ed. Universitaria, 1966) p. 12.}

2) Some of the suggestions for education-for-development

The suggestions will be divided, according their more immediate goal, in two groups. The first group has in mind Latin American as a whole, the second the situation of Bolivia. Within the first group the
suggestions come from four different quarters: UNESCO, OAS, the Catholic Church, non-denominational professionals in the field of education. The Bolivian suggestions will come from both directly Church-related groups and others without ties to the Church. This is mainly a systematic division.

We are going to point out and highlight some of the main points of the work of Unesco in Latin America for education-for-development. The main starting point was "the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America" which was born as result of three meetings held in Lima in April and May 1956: The Unesco Regional Conference on Free and Compulsory Education, the Second Inter-American Meeting of Ministers of Education, the Second Meeting of the Inter-American Cultural Council. A fourth meeting was held at Huampani on May of 1956 as a Seminar on Plans and Programs for Primary Education Studies in Latin America. Ten years later there was at Buenos Aires, June 1966, a commission that worked in the evaluation of this Major Project but the final report's purpose of the Conference of Buenos Aires was "to formulate guiding criteria and principles to help Member States in Latin America in planning the development of education at the national level, and to make recommendations concerning the nature and trend of Unesco's future education programmes in the region following the termination of the Major Project on the Extension and Improvement of Primary Education in Latin America." The Conference gave

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226 UNESCO, o.c., pp. 16-17.
227 UNESCO & ECLA, o.c., p. 3.
recommendations in ten different areas; they made 81 recommendations and endorsed 46 other recommendations of the Caracas Regional Conference on the Planning and Organization of Literacy Programs.

The trend of thought of the recommendations of UNESCO is mostly concerned with two basic ideas: The need of coordination and the need of democratization. There is a coordination needed between education and the social situation, and between the different levels of education themselves. Commission I was more concerned with the structure of educational systems. Commission II touched more on the relationships between economic-social development and education. The need of democratization can be called too "an expansion need" to make education available to children and adults in Latin America. A fair sample of the conference are Mr. Rene Maheu's words to encourage educators' dialogue with economists:

"I would say to educators that their cause can but gain by such exchanges of views, by such comparisons or even clashes of opinion; not only because they can thus help those responsible for allocating the country's resources to understand better the nature and magnitude of the financial needs of education, but also, I would even say principally, because they can thus take part in the discussion of the aims, and the very priorities, of development. And this is vital if they are to be able to see that proper weight is given to the ethical considerations which, in the last analysis, must be the essential criteria in determining such aims and priorities. Development is designed to serve man, and not vice versa." 228

As Dr. Jose A. Mora noted 229 the OAS has been concerned with the study of the techniques which may help to solve the crisis of education


229 OAS, Reuniones Tecnicas... p. 56.
which resulted from lack of adjustment between the school and the society. The OAS concern for "Education, Science, and Culture" was symbolized with the reform of the original document of the foundation of OAS (Carta de Bogotá, 1948): A new chapter with six articles dealing specifically with education, science, and culture. Article 45 sets forth the goal of education for development with these words: "The States Members will give primordial importance within their plans for development, to stimulate education, science and culture aiming at the integral betterment of the human person as the basis for democracy, social justice and progress."  

At the recent meeting of the IAOC (Inter-American Cultural Council) in the capital of Trinidad and Tobago, Port of Spain, the following three objectives were determined for the Regional Program of Educational Development: 1) To complement and reinforce national efforts for the improvement and broadening of educational systems; 2) to foster research and modernization of education; 3) to increase multinational cooperation in educational matters and to aid regional efforts directed toward effective integration through education. Guillermo de Zéndegui highlights the Hemisphere awareness that the goals of development cannot be successfully achieved solely through better exploitation and distribution of national resources, but that the improvement of the present levels of individuals skills is necessary.

We have made several references to Célan II. The concern of the Catholic bishops for Latin America as a whole, their definition of "liberating education" as closely related to the integral development of the continent, their criticism for some of the present characteristics. David Abalos presents the Medellín Documents related to the divisive debate on conscientização as meaning fundamental transformation or simply a tool for social integration:

"Here are two clearly conflicting views of modernization, the latter, a gradualist, self-help, reformist approach; the former, radical and revolutionary. Leaders on both sides waited to see whether the Church would use the language of the Gospel to preach moderation and patience, or announce a message of liberation and radical conversion. In the document on education adopted at Medellín the Latin American hierarchy made an unambiguously clear choice for radical transformation."232

The introduction of the document on education states the will of the Latin American bishops to commit the church in the process of transformation of the Latin American peoples and recognizes that education is a basic and decisive factor in the development of the continent. Speaking of the great numbers of marginal people they do not recommend to incorporate them into the existing cultural structures that can be oppressive, but they propose to develop an education that "consists in equipping them so that they themselves, as authors of their own progress, may in a creative and original way develop a cultural work in keeping with their own rich heritage that would be the fruit of their own efforts."233

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233 Célan II, o.c., p. 60ff.
later on they give the theological reason: "Since all liberation is an anticipation of the redemption of Christ, the Church in Latin America is particularly in favor of all educational efforts that tend to free our people". They give pastoral directions for the cooperation among parents, students, and teachers and recommend that the Catholic schools and universities make an effort toward openness and democratization.

This commitment of the Church in the development of Latin America, especially in education, was prepared by different departments of Celam. DEC (Departamento de Educación del CELAM) publishes a monthly magazine and has sponsored many meetings.

The fourth group of suggestions come from what might be called "independent group" in as far as they are not directly related to any of the three groups already mentioned. They discuss from different point of view some of the changes that must be made in education. Many of them have a direct concern for developing nations. From this angle they give criteria that may be useful for our Latin American situation. Let us point out some of their comments.

The last chapter of Hanson & Brembeck's book presents a "Theory of Education for Development". They ask: "Where do we now stand in understanding and employing education as a means of development in the

emerging nations?" They present several cautions for the educational enthusiasts and recognize the need of a better theory. They give 12 requirements of a sound theory. Four central criteria are present in these requirements:

(1) There must be a clarification of the situation, the goals, the priorities;

(2) There must be a balance between change and continuity;

(3) Research and imagination are needed to be economical, to pick up the right variable, and to avoid simplicism;

(4) There must be democratic encouraging of wide participation.

They conclude restating their "underlying conviction that the ultimate vindication of any educational theory, of any education itself, lies in the richness and meaning it gives to the lives of those who receive it."236

Alan Peshkin studies the dimensions of change of education in the developing nations. We mentioned early the four directions of his work. He gave five criticisms and reforms that can be stated as objectives for educational change:

(1) education must provide trained manpower and favorable attitudes to economic growth;

(2) education must emphasize national unity and reduce parochial loyalties;

(3) education must be open to all the children;

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235 Hanson & Brembeck, ed., O.C., p. 499.

236 Ibid., p. 505.
(4) literacy must be extended to young and old alike;

(5) education must respond to the varied interests and needs of the students and to their fullest cognitive growth. 237

In a proposal for a planning seminar aimed at the development of basic education alternatives, Everett Reimer and Iván Illich analyze the present school system and its social functions. They re-affirm their primary interest in education and "the best education as that which maximizes life-time learning". Consequently they state the priorities of a reformed school system: First the major code of natural language; next the sub-languages of mathematics, sciences, and arts and the major meta-languages such as linguistics, philosophy of science; finally several value systems. They conclude studying the possibilities for economy in education and presenting an outline of strategy variables. 238

Let us take a closer look at some of the suggestions made for Bolivia. The National Congress of Education gathered in La Paz at the end of 1967 had as its goals: "To promote the objective examination of the problems implicated in the betterment of national education through the coordinated action of all the organizations that help to maintain the schools, public and private, in all levels of education. Other goals were to integrate education with the needs of economic development of the country and to promote help the country to become aware of the

237 Peshkin, Ibid., p. 57.


need for making education a basic factor of the socio-economic development. The Jesuit Survey summarized the Congress's conclusions into 13 points:

1. Improve the relations between schools and the centers of work;
2. Have more vocational schools;
3. Have more peasant students in high school and universities;
4. Have more participation of the Universities in the national economic development;
5. Have 8 years of Primary education and 4 of Secondary;
6. Make alike urban and rural education;
7. Have a service of vocational orientation especially in the passage from one level to the next;
8. Have an apprenticeship institute controlled by the Government for the country's special needs;
9. Have a Secondary education degree according maturity;
10. Have full-time teachers;
11. Have graduated salaries;
12. Work out a feasible financing; and,
13. Demand teacher-training as a requirement for teaching.  

Some of the reaction among the Catholic Church in Bolivia. The IPLA Document recognizes that the human education is an activity of the whole human society under competent authorities, which do not need be always the Government. The Church must take part in the effort of the

\[240\text{Survey SJ, ecc., pp. 14-15.}\]
whole society to provide good education for all. The Catholic National Congress on Education held at Cochabamba, October 1968, states that education must help the liberation of the Bolivian people and the Catholic school must work for that liberation but it recognizes that in fact the situation of the Catholic schools, as result of history, causes a division between a privileged minority and the marginal mass of people. In a week of reflection on education held in La Paz at the beginning of 1969 the Jesuit Survey concluded that Jesuit education has been very often going along with a society which wanted to perpetuate the present social situation. Other times our schools have kept an unrealistic isolation without radical commitment. The Jesuit schools have not been "agents of change" but have served a concrete type of social class. To break the vicious circle that joints intellectual and economic discrimination we ought to direct our schools to the low-middle class and low class, make a sacrifice of our intellectual prestige to serve the people who undergoes political and social chaos, not accept concrete impositions of a class-divided society such as trips, feasts, etc.

3) Some of the present efforts in education

We saw that two of the main problems in Latin America's education were the increase of population and the amount of cost. Mr. Rene Maheu was optimistic about the efforts made. He analyzed the improvements

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241 Ibid., p. 39.
243 Documentos del Survey, La Educación en Bolivia y la Compañía, (Mimeographed).
made from 1957 to 1965. Primary education has risen every year at twice the rate of population. The non-qualified primary school teachers represented in 1965 only 37 per cent the total number of teachers at work, as against 53 per cent in 1957. The number of secondary and higher students doubled during the same period. He continues:

"The second positive item to be noted is the closer relationship that has developed between educators and economists. Recommended by the Lima Conference of 1956 and tried out for the first time at the Santiago Conference in 1962, it is again in evidence here today thanks to the presence, which I particularly welcome, of the Ministers for Economic Planning side by side with their colleagues the Ministers of Education."^244

Among the marginal mass of people the conscientização has been spread. "Initially, says Henrique C. de Lima Vaz, conscientização was something strictly pedagogical, a technique used in Brazil's unique basic education program. It meant a 'first step in the revolutionary effort, the effort to liberate the Brazilian man.'"^245 But the MEB (Basic Education Movement)'s technique was subjected to a discussion in the early 1960's by the Brazilian Bishops Conference and the government and its program was watered down under government pressure. By now conscientização has Latin American repercussion and the political connotations presented by D. Abalos.

We are going to concentrate now in Bolivia's efforts. Looking at the problems which confront Latin America education, we pointed out some of the deficiencies in Bolivian educational system. Presencia (La Paz,  

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^244 UNESCO & ECLA, o.c., p. 54.

Bolivia) explains the effort of the Supreme Council of Education in the elaboration of the re-organization of Bolivian education: "The re-organization of education consists of three essential activities which interrelated at national level bring about the student's performance. The re-organization leads to a new conception of education matched with the needs of Economic and Social Development to which the Constitutional Government is committed." 246

As bases of the re-organization three Supreme decrees were published by the government; Nov. 27, 1968, a statute concerned with a new kind of administration at national level; Dec. 4, 1968, a statute which rebuilds and modernizes the educational system; Dec. 6, 1968, a detailed regulation of associations of teachers, parents, and students. 247

The President himself presented the scope of the educational reform. René Barrientos O. presented four goals:

(1) Keep the Christian humanism that directs all the actions of the government;

(2) defend the national values and keep the cultural structures of Bolivia;

(3) guarantee, against the anarchic influence of politics, the real availability of education for all citizens teachers, parents, and students;

(4) prepare the Bolivian people for the urgent needs of develop-


247 Consejo Supremo Educación, o.c.
ment which means integral liberation of the country in all dimensions of political, social, and cultural life. 248

Chart 7 presents the structure of Bolivian education prior to this last reform. Chart 8 presents the new educational system. Some of the recommendations made by the National Congress of Education have been literally applied. Primary education has been extended and secondary shortened and divided into a common and differentiated cycles. Provisions are made also for adult, special and cultural types of education 249 The Administrative Organization with the Supreme Council of Education as its highest organism has been structured in National and District Directions under a National Direction of Co-ordination which includes rural, urban, decentralized, public and private sectors of education. The goal was to make the system more integrated, efficient and simple. The regulations of associations related to education had in mind to make more precise chapters 32 and 33 of the Code of Laws so that extra-educational pressure would not disturb the normal development of the school year.

A second experimental project, related with the problem of cost, is on the way. A decree of the Government on February 7, 1969, authorized "the creation of a pilot plan of the Ministry of Education to start a

248 Ibid., p. II.

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Chart 7: Bolivian Educational system until 1968.

Key to symbols:
A University institutions (faculties, institutes)
B Higher technological, vocational and artisan institutes outside the university
C Teacher training institutions outside the university
D Doctorate
E Practical work in factories, hospitals, etc.
F Examen de ingreso (entrance examination)
G Baccalauréate
H Licenciado
I Diploma de maestro (certificate of rural primary school teacher)
J Diploma de maestro (certificate of urban primary school teacher or vocational teacher)
K Diploma de profesor de educación física (diploma of teacher of physical education)
L Diploma de profesor de enseñanza media (diploma of secondary school teacher)
M Maestro de taller (teacher of handicrafts, carpentry, etc.)
N Catedrático (accountant)
O Diploma de técnico (technical certificate)
P Diploma de ingeniero o arquitecto (professional title of engineer or architect)
Q Diploma de bellas artes

Enseñanza Primaria

Enseñanza Media

Academia de Bellas Artes
Conservatorio de Música
Escuela Profesional Femenina
Instituto de Comercio
Escuela Primaria
Colegio: Secundario
Escuela Industrial
Escuela Normal Rural

Enseñanza Superior

Filosofía y Letras
Economía y Finanzas
Derecho y Administración
Medicina y Cirugía
Odontología y farmacia
Enfermería Obstetricia
Ingeniería y Arquitectura
Escuela de Asistencia Social
Instituto Tecnológico
Escuela Normal Urbana
Escuela Normal Técnica

Key to symbols:
A University institutions (faculties, institutes)
B Higher technological, vocational and artisan institutes outside the university
C Teacher training institutions outside the university
D Doctorate
E Practical work in factories, hospitals, etc.
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Q Diploma de bellas artes

(UNESCO 1966, pp. 222-223)

Academia de bellas artes: academy of fine art.
Colegio secundario: general secondary school.
Conservatorio de música: academy of music.
Derecho y administración: law and business management.
Economía y finanzas: economic and finance.
Enfermería: nursing.
Enseñanza media: secondary education.
Enseñanza primaria: primary education.
Enseñanza superior: higher education.
Escuela de asistencia social: vocational training school for social welfare workers.
Escuela industrial: vocational secondary school for industrial occupations.
Escuela normal rural: rural teacher training school for primary school teachers.
Escuela normal: teacher training school for teachers of technical subjects.
Escuela normal urbana: urban teacher training school.
Escuela primaria: primary school.
Escuela profesional femenina: vocational training school for girls.

Philosophy and arts: philosophy and arts.
Ingeniería arquitectura: engineering and architecture.
Instituto de comercio: vocational training school of commerce.
Instituto de educación física: college of physical education.
Instituto normal superior: higher teacher training institute for the training of secondary school teachers.
Instituto tecnológico: technological institute.
Medicina y cirugía: medicine and surgery.
Odontología y farmacia: dentistry and pharmacy.

(UNESCO 1966, pp. 222-223)
PROYECTO DE RESTRUCTURACIÓN DE LA EDUCACIÓN EN BOLIVIA

SUPERIOR

GRADO

UNIVERSIDAD

EDUC SUPERIOR

DE

RESTRUCTURACIÓN

Educacción en Bolivia

MÉDIA

COMÚN DIFER. BOLIVIANO DE APRENDIZAJE

BACHILLERATO POR MADUREZ

PRIMARIA

BÁSICA

PRE-ESCOLAR

1° ANO CICLO BASICO DE PRIMARIA

2° ANO CICLO BASICO DE PRIMARIA

3° ANO CICLO INTERMEDIO DE PRIMARIA

4° ANO CICLO BASICO DE PRIMARIA

5° ANO CICLO INTERMEDIO DE PRIMARIA

PRE-ESCOLAR

2° ANO EDUCACION PRE-ESCOLAR

1° ANO EDUCACION PRE-ESCOLAR
cooperative school in which the government and the parents will share equally the financing through a system of long-range credits for education backed by cooperative savings of the parents who freely want to take part in the project. Resolution n. 345 of the Ministry of Education made the commitment of paying over $40,000 the first year with an increase of 8% each year. The committee organized a school for 480 students ($90 expenditure per student). The date of payment of the loan is not until seven years after completion of secondary education by the student. And from the beginning of the eighth year after the completion of the secondary education the former student must pay the education of a new student, at the current amount of cost for as many years as he himself had been in school. When the student is a minor his father assumes the legal responsibility of the son paying about $2 monthly as savings and administration expenses. The Loyola School is now functioning at Pura Pura, La Paz, as a concrete example of this Pilot Plan.

The second of the problems of today's education was the rural area. ICE (Instituto Campesino Educación) and ACLO (Acción Cultural Loyola) are two of the present efforts to answer the problem. Map 14 presents the range of influence of ICE. ACLO is working in the Department of Chuquisaca with its headquarters at Sucre. As seen in map 14, ICE's center of operation is Cochabamba. ICE is an Institute for Peasant Education that was founded Sept. 1, 1967 by A.R.A.D.O. (Acción

\(^{250}\) Decreto Supremo n. 08644, Feb. 7, 1969, Article 1 (mimeographed) They sent me mimeographed copies of the Resolución Ministerial n. 345, and of Proyecto de Estatutos para una cooperativa de Ahorro y Crédito Educacional.
Zonas en que el "I.C.E." ha dictado cursos.

Referencias:
1.- Cochabamba. 5.- Phaulaukani 9.- Muyurina
2.- Sud Yungas (L.G.) 6.- Uyuni. 10.- Sagrado Corazón
3.- Huayllamarca. 7.- Mizque
4.- Bella Vista. 8.- Valle Grande

Map 14: ICE's range of influence. From: ICE, op.cit., p.20bis.
Rural Agrícola de Desarrollo Organizado, with collaboration from DESEC (Desarrollo Social y Económico). ICE's goal is the integration of the peasant in Bolivian society: while realizing his rights and duties, he will be able to pursue his professional or practical capabilities and his readiness to solve his technical and economic problems. In ICE's direction there are two representatives of A.R.A.D.O. and two from DESEC.

ACLO was founded Jan. 10, 1967 "as a private entity working for the integral human promotion related to the departamental development as a part of the national development. Its primordial efforts are aimed at the rural communities of Chuquisaca within which it wants to develop change through a planned work undertaken with collaboration from the community." ACLO's method of work are several: Socio-economic investigation, as the study mentioned on Pampa-Yampa; social media of communication, especially a radio-station; workshop with the leaders of the communities; some concrete works within the community. They work for functional literacy and rural, sanitary, educational, socio-ethical promotion of the communities. One of the conclusions of ACLO's study of Pampa-Yampa reads: "The best way to accelerate the processes of change is to make them be accepted as suggestions through indirect motivation, helping this way their adaptation into a system of values and cultural trades" They prefer a deep change in two generations than a rushed one which provokes contempt of the own values and mistrust of the others.

251 ICE, o.c., pp. 2-3.
252 ACLO, Informe, p. 2.
253 ACLO, Estudio Cultural... p. 72.
The "Asociación Escuelas de Cristo" is working with the Peasants for more than 60 years. We could not get direct information from them.

In the effort to cope with the very rapid increase of educational needs - the first of the problems mentioned - Fe y Alegria defines itself as "a Movement of Integral Popular Education and Social Promotion, organized to give an education as wide as possible to the children, youth, and adults of the popular class which is the most needy in Latin America." The first three years of Fe y Alegria's work in Bolivia provided schooling for 6,894 children in 15 schools with over 300 hundred persons involved as administrators or teachers.

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254 Survey SJ, o.c., pp. 54-55.
CONCLUSIONS

We might organize our conclusions around Pascal's pensée which headed the thesis: "You do not show your greatness by standing in one extreme. You must touch both extremes at the same time filling up the in between". We have three types of conclusions: Negative, positive and prospective conclusions. All of them show some of the implications of the Latin American context for Bolivian education.

(A) Negative conclusions. The negative conclusions share in common the first part of Pascal's pensée: "You do not show your greatness by standing in one extreme." There are three negative conclusions that can be related to each of the last three chapters:

1. Education cannot be looked upon as a panacea.
2. The socio-economical situation cannot be helped with superficial changes. And,
3. When facing the historico-political situation, we must beware of polemics.

Let us explain what we mean by each of these three warnings.

1. Education cannot be looked upon as a panacea. When faced with the dilemma: "Dare the schools build a new social order? or Dare the social order build the school system?" we cannot just decide one way or the other insofar as the school system reflects many of the characteristics of the social order and at the same time affects them. Education
is a necessary element in any development, but if it is taken as a remedy for all diseases, we are forgetting that other elements are involved as well. When we look concretely at Latin American and Bolivian social situation we see that education can generate new troubles. Education can produce more trouble by making the people aware of the unjust situation in which they live and by making them realize that they do not find the type of working conditions for which their education has prepared them. The inter-relation between school and society, between educators and economists, is a two-way street.

2. The socio-economic situation cannot be helped with superficial changes. It is a matter beyond question that regarding the socio-economic situation in Latin America, as in the world at large, the majority of people still exists in a marginal position. Economists tell us that 20% of the people controls 80% of the goods of the earth. History shows that for a long time, perhaps since the "Indian Empires", and all through the Iberian colonizations and after Independence, the majority of Latin America has been playing a passive role. Too many people are living in "less than human conditions". This problem must be faced. And any change that tries to reform the socio-economic situation without solving this basic problem can only be called "superficial". Frustration is growing because every day more and more people are being deprived of their rights. Violence thrives because an exploiting minority does not want the real liberation of their brothers.

3. When facing the historico-political situation, we must beware of
polemics. "Polemics" can have a double pejorative meaning: the art of controversy, and the attitude of being against. We need a certain amount of open controversy and discussion to thoroughly expose problem areas; but often we waste much time and energy just talking about the Latin American problems without doing anything to show that we mean what we say. We must keep a sensitivity which can detect the injustices that are going on in our present world; but too often a merely negative attitude - "anti-American" and "anti-Communist" - just hides a lazy spirit and a lot of self-righteousness. It is easy to blame the U.S. or the Communists, but the situation requires more than just that. The real problems of Latin America have inside as well as outside roots. A negative attitude does not accept that there is always something both sides can learn from each other; there is always someone who needs "my" help, and there is always some aspect in "my" situation to be improved. To be "polemical" might evoke quick reactions, but they will probably be short range reactions. The concept itself of "liberating education" which aims at the development of the whole person must accept the idea that quick outburst and controversy clear the air but they do not establish ground works. Bolívar's "Jamaica letter" on the feelings of the Independent Latin America towards the Spaniards can be repeated again and again by "Anti-American" and "anti-Communist" groups alike. But these groups fail to go all the way with the efforts that Bolívar made for helping Latin America's liberation.

(B) Positive conclusions. Pascal said further: "You must touch both extremes at the same time." Even when we realize that the extremes
are too far from each other for us to touch them, at the same time, our realization gives us no right to neglect efforts at understanding the relationships between the different elements. There are two positive conclusions that correlate education, sociology, and history:

1. The problems of education in Bolivia reflect and maintain a mercantilistic society. And,

2. The mercantilistic Latin American societies have geographical as well as historical roots.

Let us explain these conclusions.

1. The problems that Bolivian education is facing reflect and maintain a mercantilistic type of society. Four relevant problems present in Bolivian education are: lack of schools facilities; dependence of rural areas; deficiencies of a system that is both too expensive and suffers too many absenteeees and drop-outs; and, external dependence for getting subsidies. These educational problems reflect and maintain a society which in many ways is controled by a mercantile system. There is a group of people whose main interest is to secure their supremacy over other groups which are kept in state of colony. There is an internal and an external colonialism. Some elements of Bolivian internal colonialism are concretized in problems such as wasteful distribution of the land, and political instability. The external colonialism is seen mostly in the fact of Bolivian economic dependence from the United States.

2. Further, these problems in education and sociology are better
understood when we look at Latin American geography and history. The mercantilistic societies of Latin America have geographical as well as historical roots. In the Andean region, for example, geography itself presents a problem of communication that prevented the coordinated development of the area. In the Andes, the Indian has been attached to the land in a peculiar way so that even today Pachamama and the ayllus have a special meaning in the Indian culture. At the same time a class division which had started even before the Iberian colonization and had shown all the features of the "mercantilistic society" in the region during the European settlements, has helped to perpetuate the marginal existence of the majority.

With these correlations in mind, our research method has been an effort to cover a wide range of facts and opinions with a sympathetic balance. We did not hold back from the frequent use of quotations -- sometime even long ones -- to mark the importance of certain point or to present a well balanced summary of a problem. Criticism of divergent opinions has often been indirect. Instead of making direct comments, we chose to present other opinions which either agreed with the view presented or contradicted it. Our method has been a dialectical flash technique. We could not hope to cover the whole area under investigation or even all the important points. We presented some relevant points taken from different authors. Also, according to the goal of the thesis, we tried to move within a two way axis: the vertical axis in which the area of education, sociology and history have been integrated, and the hor
izontal axis developing a movement from the heterogeneous Latin American continent to a close-up view concentrating on Bolivia.

(C) Prospective conclusions

The negative and positive conclusions are inter-related, so that we can move forward in an effort of "filling up the in between" as Pascal puts it. If our analysis of the situation is correct, there are three elements that will play a relevant role in the future of Bolivian education: The indigenous population, the Church, and the politicians.

We can say that:

1. These three elements have a catalytic power for the future of Bolivian education. And,

2. They must be a constructive challenge to each other if further progress ought to be made.

Let us explain these statement.

1. The indigenous population, the Church, and the politicians have a catalytic power for the future of Bolivian education. In Bolivia the indigenous people are the Indians who form half of the population, We cannot disregard them when dealing with what Bolívar called the "sovereignty of the People" and with what Celam II presented as "liberating education". By the Church we mean the concerted efforts of all Christian groups. The politicians referred to are those who form the Governments. Each of these three elements presents a challenge to the others and must interact with the others if a healthy change is to come about. The Indians have a very old culture and group virtues that must be preserved and developed, but there is too much passivity in them as a group. Christi-
anity has a message of hope and brotherhood, but too often it has had strong ties with the ruling minority who have oppressed the rest of the continent. The Government is in charge of the national development, but too often -- in Arguedas' words -- individual progress has been the main concern of our politicians.

2. Indians, Christianity and Government must be a constructive challenge to each other if further progress ought to be made. It is very difficult to predict how each of the three elements will respond to future challenges. The recent events are encouraging. The Indians have shown more active participation in Bolivia's national life and taken active part in programs such as ACLO (Acción Cultural Loyola) and ICE (Instituto Campesino Educación). The Catholic Church, as well as other Christian groups, is promoting with new dynamism the integral development of the Latin American countries; Celam II is a good example. The Government have taken concrete steps in social and educational reforms for the benefit of the whole population. But more is needed. The passivity of the Indians may become more active involvement if Christianity is able to present meaningfully the message of hope and if the Government wins the confidence of the people in its developmental goals. Christianity will be more purified when it gets more committed to the service of the poor and preaches -- through deeds and words -- to the ruling classes that Christian freedom is not an opportunity for selfishness, but, through love, an opportunity to become servants of one another. The Government will fulfill its mission by taking real steps towards the further integration of the majority and by democratically accepting the criticism to its work.
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The thesis submitted by Joseph M. Subirats, S.J. has been read and approved by two members of the Department of Education.

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The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

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