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PN-ABI-327
ISN-72138

A.I.D. Missions' Support

for

Land Reform Activities

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Agency for International Development
U.S. Agency for International Development
Washington, D.C. 20525

A.I.D. missions' support for land reform activities

333.31
A265

Agency for International Development.
A.I.D. missions' support for land reform activities : draft. -- Washington, D.C. : AID, 1980. 33 p.

- 1. Land tenure. 2. Agrarian reform.
- 3. Agriculture and state.
- 4. Agricultural productivity.
- 5. Income distribution. 6. USAID administration. 7. A.I.D.--Policy--
- Land tenure. I. Title

29 DEC 81 8026031 AIDBdc

Based on a Survey Conducted in February 1980

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BACKGROUND

A.I.D. has strongly and continuously supported efforts to bring about more equitable income distribution and to enhance agricultural productivity. One element of these efforts has been land reform. The establishment of the Wisconsin Land Tenure Center in 1964 marked the beginning of formal support for land reform. The Center was given responsibility for research and technical assistance on land reform issues, and for making recommendations to the Agency on viable land tenure policy. The Center's work was initially concentrated in Latin America, but in more recent years the Center's staff has undertaken research and consultation in other regions as well.

In the spring of 1970, an Agency-wide review of land reform was held, centering upon its potential impact on income distribution and productivity. Problems were identified and, insofar as land reform had been undertaken, these efforts were criticized and assessed. The effects of land reform, or lack thereof, were evaluated as to impacts on production, income distribution, peasant participation, and the overall character of the rural society. No formal followup to the 1970 Spring Review, in terms of Agency policy, was made until June, 1978, with the release of the A.I.D. Agricultural Development Policy Paper.

REASONS FOR AGENCY EMPHASIS ON LAND REFORM

The Agricultural Development Policy Paper of June, 1978 identifies access to assets, and in particular access to arable land, as a key issue in agricultural development. Access to land (including water) is considered to be

a basis for increased agricultural productivity, and for more equitable distribution of income. Support for reform is advocated where current land distribution patterns are viewed as constraints to economic growth with equity or where adverse changes in land tenure are anticipated as an outgrowth of technological intervention. Successful implementation and equitable distribution of the benefits of programs in research and extension, infrastructure, or marketing and credit, moreover, are shown to depend upon access of the rural poor to land resources.

Policy Determination (PD) 72 was issued in March, 1979, to further detail the reasons for Agency emphasis on land reform, to provide a frame of reference for further support of land reform and tenure security, and to outline alternative means for such support. It was also distributed to the delegates and participants of the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, held in Rome in July, 1979.

Inequitable land distribution is cited in PD'72 as a constraint to both equitable benefit distribution of development interventions and the increased agricultural production expected to result from development. It is also pointed out that equality of access is not synonymous with individual ownership of land, and that Agency support for land reform programs must be based on a thorough knowledge of the socioeconomic framework in which it is to be placed.

The Agency's policy on land reform has three major points:

1. Technical or financial assistance to achieve more equitable distribution of agricultural assets.
2. Reliance on Mission and Country assessments of the appropriateness of support for a host country land

reform, and the designation of means of assistance.

3. Provision of short-term food aid to cover transition periods following the implementation of land reform.

Further, the Agency is prepared, if so advised by the Mission, to consider withholding assistance that may be exacerbating inequities in the land tenure system. Two basic conditions for A.I.D. support of land reform in any country are: (1) host government commitment to institution and implementation of land reform; and (2) analyses of the agricultural development strategy, production systems and cost/benefit ratio of host government institutional requirements for effective implementation.

Policy Determination 72 lists four broad categories of land reform activities to illustrate the types of interventions that A.I.D. could support:

1. Land Ownership Redistribution - This may take place through transfer of ownership, expropriation by the state or communal decision, with or without payment to the former landowner by the state or new owner(s).
2. Land Tenure Reform - This is a change in the agreement between a landowner and land operator governing land use for agricultural production. Tenure reform addresses the legislative or regulatory aspects of ownership, use or transfer of land; tenancy security reform deals specifically with agreement for land use between landowner and tenant.
3. Land Consolidation takes a variety of forms - collectivization or communalization of holdings, consolidation of fragmented individual holdings, or mixed communal and

individual use rights (as in mixed grazing and cropland).

4. Settlement or Resettlement may take place due to the opening of new areas for agriculture or to alleviate population pressures on farmland in a region. Resettlement programs may be seen as an alternative to land or tenure reform by a host government and must be evaluated carefully before undertaking assistance to them.

The policy determination emphasizes the importance of studies and analyses of existing land use and agricultural production, and the income distribution potentials under improved tenure arrangements. These studies would also determine whether A.I.D. assistance to other projects might exacerbate existing inequalities. Under these circumstances, and where no commitment to land reform exists on the part of the host government, PD 72 provides that assistance that would worsen the situation may be withheld.

MISSION SURVEY

One year after Policy Determination 72 was issued, field Missions were surveyed (1) to elicit Mission assessments of the attitudes of governments toward land reform, and (2) to obtain a better reading of the nature of country land reform problems and how, if possible, the Missions proposed to deal with these problems. The outgoing cable is reproduced in Annex A. Briefly, the survey included the following questions:

1. Is access to land a significant problem for A.I.D.'s target population in the host country?
2. What studies or analyses of land tenure conditions, access to land, relevant government policies, etc., that relate to PD 72 exist? What studies/analyses are planned?

3. What projects and programs have been carried out or are currently being carried out which further the objectives of PD 72? What projects/programs are planned?
4. Summarize other relevant host country activity in this area which bears on Mission current or proposed programs. How is the Mission's plan to further the objectives of PD 72 affected by host country programs and plans and its commitment to these objectives? How is the Mission's plan affected by the magnitude or severity of the problem in country?

Responses were requested from a total of 64 Missions, Offices, A.I.D. Affairs Sections and Regional Offices (hereinafter referred to collectively as "Missions"). In three regions, Asia, Latin America and Caribbean and Near East, responses were required. In the fourth, Africa, three country Missions (Liberia, Kenya and Swaziland) were required to respond, and the remainder were requested to respond on an "as time permits" basis. It was the opinion of the AID/W Africa Bureau staff that both scarcity of field staff and the relative unimportance of land reform as an issue in Africa argued against requiring the Missions to respond. The three countries cited above were chosen by the Africa Bureau as representative of Agency efforts in land reform in Africa. As it happens, some of the most detailed and well-considered responses came from the African Missions. (See Appendix C for sample responses.) Time and resources that have been expended on this issue are reflected in these responses, which may be taken as indicators that land tenure questions are emerging in Africa with concomitant implications for development assistance.

As anticipated, land reform assistance involves both formal and non-formal assistance, using both direct and indirect means of support. Modes of assistance ranged from commissioned studies to dialogues with host governments on potential improvements, in addition to projects partially or totally concerned with land reform. Missions reported project assistance which directly or indirectly assists host governments in land reform, tenure security, consolidation, settlement and other efforts.

In all, 35 A.I.D. Missions, 8 A.I.D. Offices, 6 A.I.D. Affairs Sections and 3 Regional Offices responded to the inquiry (Total 52). All but one responded in cable form. Some included very full explications of the host country situation and the relationship of the A.I.D. strategy. Others were more terse and imparted less information. There was great variability in the number and type of studies and analyses reported, for example. Some Missions limited the studies reported to those which A.I.D. had funded; others listed other-donor and privately supported works. Although not specifically queried on this point, a number of Missions mentioned other donor project activities supporting land reform. Forty of the responses were keyed by paragraph to the outgoing telegram, and addressed all questions. Of the other 12 that did not, three (Ethiopia, Nigeria and Lebanon) were from Missions presently phasing out the A.I.D. program in-country. Four Missions (Egypt, Cape Verde, The Gambia and Chad) did not have copies of PD 72 available, but responded as fully as possible. (Copies of PD 72 were immediately pouched to them.) Of the other less-than-full responses, the South Pacific Mission described the land tenure situation briefly and pointed out that A.I.D. activities are "non-bilateral." Djibouti stated that there are only 300 farmers in-country and the A.I.D. focus is the large number of urban poor. The Sri Lanka Mission referred to its 1981-82 CDSSs and Congres-

sional Presentations, citing staff time constraints as the reason for an inability to respond directly to the inquiry, and Haiti responded that the situation was inequitable, no information was available and that land reform was not an interest of the GOH (see Annex B). ROCAP responded that land reform was a bilateral issue, a view agreed upon by the Central American Mission Directors.

OVERVIEW OF RESPONSES

Specific Mission responses indicated varying degrees of awareness and priority placed upon access to agricultural land as a major aspect of rural development. Based on the incoming cables the responses may be grouped according to levels of knowledge and activity as follows:

Category 1:

Unfamiliar with land tenure situation in country as it affects A.I.D.'s target group.

Category 2:

Currently gathering land tenure information to assess the need for programming on this aspect of rural development.

Category 3:

Familiar with land tenure circumstances for target population, but not programming activities due to host government political situation (e.g., no enforcement capability, no legislation, no desire for donor assistance to ongoing land reform effort).

Category 4:

Familiar with land tenure circumstances, which are not judged to be a priority problem for A.I.D.'s target population.

T A B L E 1

<u>Category 1</u>	<u>Category 2</u>	<u>Category 3</u>	<u>Category 4</u>	<u>Category 5</u>
Haiti	Ecuador Indonesia ^{2/} Lesotho ^{2/} Mauritania Rwanda Sierra Leone	Bangladesh Dominican Republic Egypt Ethiopia ^{3/} India Lebanon Morocco Pakistan Philippines RDO/Caribbean	Burundi Cameroon Chad Gambia Guinea Somalia South Pacific Zaire	Bolivia Botswana Cape Verde Chile ^{3/} Costa Rica Djibouti Ghana Guatemala Guyana El Salvador Honduras Jamaica Jordan Kenya Liberia Mali Niger Panama Paraguay Peru REUSO/WA ^{4/} Swaziland Syria Tanzania Upper Volta

- 1/ Excludes Nigeria (phasing out), and ROCAP (considers land reform a bilateral issue and did not submit a full response)
- 2/ Have proposed activities and Sri Lanka, for which adequate information was not available.
- 3/ A.I.D. program phasing out
- 4/ Regional Onchocerciasis-Free Area Planning includes Benin, Togo & upper Volta

Category 5:

Had activities programmed that affect access to agricultural land by the target population. A country-by-country breakdown, according to these categories is shown in Table 1.

The response from Haiti, the Mission in Category 1 is reproduced as Annex B. Missions in Category 2 are generally still looking for ways to assist host governments in providing more equitable land access. Two of these Missions — Indonesia and Lesotho — have projects in the planning stage that support PD 72 objectives. (At this writing Indonesia's remains a shelf item.) Category 5 also contains a number of Missions conducting separate studies, conducting studies as part of larger project activities, or, at least in one instance, collaborating with another donor on land use studies. With the exception of REDSO/WA, however, no studies of the impact of development on land tenure were mentioned.

Category 3 may be subdivided into Missions located in countries (India, Dominican Republic, Egypt and Morocco) where donor assistance in carrying out land reform measures has been eschewed, and those countries where land reform issues are currently politically intractable. (The Philippines may be considered a member of both subcategories because while A.I.D. did support a land reform effort that was subsequently limited by political opposition, unfavorable A.I.D.-sponsored evaluations of that support led to its termination by the GOP.)

In the subcategory of countries carrying out land reform independently, the responses indicated for the most part that donor assistance has been channeled elsewhere by these governments because the policy toward land reform has been one of gradualism, spreading the reform process over the

past 20-30 years (Egypt had some initial expropriation of foreign-owned lands). This slow process is not conducive to the types of assistance usually provided by donors. Although not directly involved in the legal aspects of land reform, however, it seems likely that other programs in agricultural development will reach members of A.I.D.'s target population who have already benefited from land reform. As with countries in Category 5, such as Bolivia and Peru, where substantial land reform has already taken place, follow-on agricultural services bolster land reform measures taken by host governments.

As for Missions located in countries with unfavorable land distribution and apparently insurmountable political problems (notably governments with weak political bases), no mention was made of conformance with the provision in PD 72 to withhold assistance that will exacerbate present inequities and its relation to the country strategy. Most cited other activities that were being pursued as alternatives. RDO/Caribbean commented that "(u)nless some effective mechanism is developed and implemented, land tenure and related constraints will continue to limit the effectiveness of these (other agricultural) programs."

Some Missions in Category 4 cited studies of the traditional tenure systems, and analyses to indicate that certain agricultural regions were strained by population growth but that primary constraints to equitable development lay elsewhere. Others in Category 4 acknowledged a lack of formal studies on land reform, but asserted that traditional land tenure prevailed in country.

Category 5 Missions claimed familiarity with the land tenure situation (or active pursuit of same) and programs in support of equitable access to land for A.I.D.'s target population. While a few Missions presented land reform support as part of a larger agricultural development strategy, for the overwhelming majority (over 90% of the Category 5 Missions) land reform support appears to be a target of opportunity, represented by a specific project (or subactivity within a project) and very much shaped by host government concerns. Project-specific activities tended to be regionalized, while studies on the land tenure situation that were listed tended to be for the 'country as a whole, thus omitting a necessary linkage between the project activity and a more localized information base. For example, little was presented concerning traditional land use patterns in areas where settlement projects have been undertaken. Of course, there were also studies cited as subactivities of projects, designed precisely to address the linkage problem. Little information on the sequencing of such activities was available, however, as the cable format of the responses did not allow for lengthy description.

IS ACCESS TO LAND A SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM FOR A.I.D.'s TARGET POPULATION?

Missions were asked to briefly characterize the land tenure situation in-country, specifically referring to A.I.D.'s target population and to the severity of the problem, if any, for this group. These responses required more qualitative statements than the other items, and are thus more difficult to summarize.

Some regional generalizations can be drawn from Mission descriptions of problems of land tenure. These generalizations derive from the descriptions in the cables, so they are an amalgamation of Mission statements of the problem.

The most salient issue in Africa is the contrast, and, in some cases, conflict between communal tenure rights and individual freehold. Presently, areas of

crop and grazing land are used by individuals who claim traditional rights of tenure through affiliation with a group which has access to a defined land area. The group and area they control may be defined by law or custom and the degree of control may vary widely, but the basic principle remains the same. Mission responses indicated that individual legal tenure, based upon ownership rather than customary group rights of use is becoming more common in Africa, with the latter form of land use corresponding primarily to areas of higher population density. The Mission assessments indicated that there is significant pressure on good agricultural land (for example, the Mossi Plateau in Upper Volta). The responses indicate a correlation emerging between pressure for high quality agricultural land (this includes adequate water supply) and action by host governments to legislate tenure regulations. The result, according to several cables, is movement towards conversion from communal to individual tenure rights, or, at least, the association of an individual with a certain parcel of land. These circumstances were not reported uniformly for Africa, as some countries (e.g., Botswana, Swaziland, Guinea) have enacted legislation designed to bring more land under communal tenure rights. Pressure on grazing land was mentioned only in connection with the effort to eradicate the tsetse fly and open new lands to settlement.

In Asia, according to the majority of the Mission responses, the population pressure on the land base overshadows the impact that any land reform measure can have. India, for example, has established landholding ceilings, and has been consolidating and redistributing units of land for the past 30 years. There are still large numbers of people who do not own land and who work as agricultural laborers. According to its response, the Mission's focus is on this latter group of landless, for whom further land redistribu-

tion would result in plots too small to be economically viable. In other Asian countries (i.e., Bangladesh and Pakistan) the problem was reported to be more severe, due mainly to lack of host government ability or commitment to enforce land reform legislation already enacted. The Bangladesh Mission responded that it is pursuing other strategies such as employment generation (on-and off-farm) and population control, while the Pakistan Mission reported that it "has attempted to favor our target group in distributing inputs." In Indonesia, land distribution was reported to be "relatively more evenly distributed than in many other LDC's, but quality arable land is still at a premium and the GOI has undertaken some resettlement activities."

The most significant problem in the Near East is the fragmentation of ownership due to Islamic inheritance laws which dictate that property must be divided according to set proportions among a man's wife and offspring. Land reclamation and development of water resources are the focus of Mission programming related to PD 72. For example, in Jordan, where the East Ghor Canal Project has been carried out, and support for the Maquarin Dam is being proposed, minimum and maximum limitations on individual ownership have been established for the Jordan Valley, focus of the A.I.D. assistance to agriculture. In the early 1960's the East Ghor Canal Project included implementation of a land reform measure by the GOJ as a condition precedent to A.I.D. participation in the canal's construction. Presently, land consolidation and redistribution are part of the government regulation for any area in which public waters are provided for irrigation.

The Latin American and Caribbean regional situation is probably the most complex. Some countries, such as Bolivia, Peru and Chile, have carried out extensive agrarian reforms. Comments from Chile summarized some of the

problems that persist:

That land reform is either equitable or efficient anywhere is a question which the Chileans in agricultural policy making positions will debate, but . . . they contend that it certainly was not in Chile. One of the realities is that those who received land under the land reform, as PD 72 predicts, were in no position to use it productively. These new businessmen have practically no business experience and little agricultural experience. They need credit, technical assistance and market information.

Other countries are currently undergoing reform (e.g., E1
Salvador and the Dominican Republic), and yet other countries are carrying out more limited programs of new land settlement, as in Costa Rica, Honduras, Guatemala, Ecuador, Guyana and Paraguay. In Paraguay, for example,

(A)ccess, per se, is probably not the heart of the land problem, but the widespread lack of title to farm lands seriously hinders the farmer's ability to become economically independent . . . Another serious problem stems from the overparcelling of land, especially in the central or minifundia region of the country. Despite the fact that the GOP has an active policy to promote colonization programs as a solution to the minifundia problem, it is very difficult to move farmers to new agricultural frontiers. Rather, the current tendency of farmers is to migrate toward more populated areas.

Where reform has not been carried out, problems identified included population pressure on available cultivable land, (e.g., Eastern Caribbean, Guatemala) increasing numbers of landless poor (e.g., Costa Rica), difficulty of some governments in enforcing existing reform policies (e.g., colonization in Honduras), and, in a few cases, total disinterest on the part of the host government in rationalizing the distribution of agricultural assets (e.g., Haiti, Eastern Caribbean).

Jamaica presents a rather unusual case in which

(S)ufficient underutilized land exists which the GOJ's Project Land Lease and other programs are making available to small farmers. However, the cultural preference of these farmers for private ownership conflicts with the

government's policy trend as stated in the 1973 Land Reform Bill for lease-hold rather than freehold. As a result of this GOJ Policy, farmers are reluctant to make capital improvements (fences, irrigation systems) and plant long-term crops on short-term leased lands.

To add to their own assessments of access to land for A.I.D.'s target group, many Missions drew on the work of other donors, particularly FAO and IBRD. Several Missions mentioned recently completed FAO studies on which they hoped to base strategies for addressing the issue of access. Programs being funded and implemented by the multilateral banks and the UN were also listed in some instances, along with multidonor projects, such as those in Swaziland, Guyana and Jordan, in which A.I.D. is participating. Of special interest, as well, is the role the Wisconsin Land Tenure Center (LTC) has played in technical assistance under the \$2.8 million contract with the Development Support Bureau. Three Missions mentioned active consultancies, and ~~thirteen~~ recent LTC studies on tenure issues were also listed.

WHAT STUDIES OR ANALYSES THAT RELATE TO PD 72 EXIST?

Missions were requested to list relevant studies available to them on the land tenure situation in the host country. In general, studies fell into two categories: (1) those specifically commissioned by A.I.D. or in a few instances host governments, for project design and general or background purposes, and (2) those carried out as independent research exercises, generally for academic purposes. These were tabulated according to two categories and the results appear in Table 2. The fact that 36% of the studies/analyses cited by Missions were commissioned by other sources indicates that there is generally a substantial effort to accrue knowledge on host country land tenure from a variety of sources, and to obtain a balanced picture, rather than a reliance only on self-generated or host government information.

T A B L E 2

Studies/Analyses^{1/} of Host Country Land Tenure Situations Reported by Missions
in Cable Responses^{2/}

Commissioned by AID or Host Governments				
<u>AFR</u>	<u>ASIA</u>	<u>LAC</u>	<u>NE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
30	11	49	2	92
Carried Out Under Other Auspices ^{3/}				
18	6	21	7	52
				<u>TOTAL</u> <u>144</u>

^{1/} May be components of projects listed in Table 3, but counted separately here, so totals will not agree.

^{2/} Listing is not assumed to be comprehensive, due to definitional problems

^{3/} Includes multinational donors (e.g., UN, IBRD).

WHAT PROJECTS OR PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT, ARE CURRENTLY BEING CARRIED OUT OR ARE PLANNED?

Responses to questions concerning past, present and planned land reform support projects and programs were tabulated by region, as shown in Table 3. As the table indicates, 54% of the 52 Missions fall into what has been designated as Category 5, those with ongoing projects which support host government efforts to improve equitable distribution of land. Seventeen Missions, or more than one-third of those responding, have such assistance in the planning stage (Categories 2 & 5). Almost three-fourths (71%) of the responding Missions referred to completed available studies or analyses of land tenure in the host country (Categories 2,3,4 & 5). This included bibliographies, listed as single items by eight of the Missions.

Current activities in conformance with PD 72 reported by Missions were divided into support for the legal aspects of land reform (ownership redistribution, tenure reform and consolidation) that would take place on existing agricultural land, settlement programs that would open up new lands and studies and analyses of land tenure. Tabulations of active programs are shown in Table 4. Forty-three percent (23) of the Missions showed no current land reform related activities in this priority area.

SUMMARIZE OTHER RELEVANT HOST COUNTRY ACTIVITY

Much of this information was combined with the assessment of the magnitude of the problem for A.I.D.'s target group (see p. 11). However, a number of responses mentioned other donor activities such as the FAO consultations in Sierra Leone which follows on a GOSL study entitled "Perceptions of Land Owners of Problems Related to Land Tenure and Action Policies Towards Rural Development." The Rwanda Office reported a group of activities in-

TABLE 3

Number of Missions Reporting

Land Reform Support by Mission	AFR	ASIA	LAC	NE	Total	% of Total Missions
Active Project Assistance ^{2/}	5		17	6	28	56%
Active Studies ^{3/} Sector Assessments	8		2	1	11	21%
Planned Project Assistance	7	2	10	1	17	35%
Planned Studies/Sector Assessments	5		4		9	17%
Completed Projects		1	5	1	7	13%
Completed Studies/Sector Assessments	17	4	16	3	37	71%
Conditions Precedent			1		1	2%
PL 480			1		1	2%
TOTAL	42	7	56	12	111	

Number of Missions in each region reporting: AFR-25, ASIA-6, LAC-16, NE-5. Total - 52

1/ Percent of Missions reporting. Term "Mission" is used to include AID Offices, Embassy Sections and Regional Offices as well as AID Missions. Actual breakdown: 35 Missions, 8 Offices, 6 AID Affairs Sections and 3 Regional Offices. Total: 52

2/ Missions may have more than one project in support of land reform, so this does not represent the total number of active projects in support of land reform, rather the total number of active missions.

3/ Includes bibliographies, listed as one item although the work may cite a large number of actual studies.

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T A B L E 4

Current PD-72 Activities ^{2/}	Missions ^{1/} by Region				
	AFR (25)	ASIA (6)	LAC (16)	NE (5)	Total (52)
Land Ownership Redistribution, Tenure Reform or Consolidation	2	0	12	6	21
Land Settlement	23		7		10
Studies & Analyses	11	3	4	1	19
Mission Responded - No Activities Reported	12	4	4	3	23

^{1/} Number of Missions reporting shown in parentheses next to regional abbreviation.

^{2/} Each Mission activity supporting land reform has been counted separately, so total number of activities will exceed total number of Missions responding.

cluding a UNFPA Vital Statistics Survey, a Belgian Nutrition Survey, and IBRD and CIDA resettlement projects. In Indonesia, the Mission detailed the \$400 million GOI/World Bank Transmigration Program. Other citations included the planned \$1 billion multidonor Maqarin Dam Project in Jordan, and the jointly-financed (U.S., IBRD, IFAD, GOG) \$44.2 million Black Bush Development Program in Guyana.

Other-donor activities were only one aspect of the assessments of host government activity. In addition to countries such as El Salvador, Dominican Republic, Morocco, Jordan, Egypt and Botswana where land ownership changes are occurring, the activities are quite varied and difficult to generalize meaningfully. Also, in most cases the discussion of host country activities was intimately connected to the next two questions in the outgoing cable, discussed below.

HOW IS THE MISSION'S PLAN TO FURTHER THE OBJECTIVES OF PD 72 AFFECTED BY HOST COUNTRY PROGRAMS AND PLANS AND ITS COMMITMENT TO THESE OBJECTIVES?

As most Mission plans consisted of projects or studies to be conducted, host government policies, etc., may be said to have a sizeable influence on Mission plans. Missions are planning studies or projects where host country situations will allow, and are not pressing the case in countries such as those in Category 3 and 4. In Category 3 countries, the reasons cited were political; in Category 4 they were basically economic — other problems have higher priority.

In some cases, such as Guatemala and Honduras, Missions have planned what assistance they believe to be feasible, given political constraints, and are moving ahead on the basis of a limited government commitment to

land reform: In the majority of cases, however, Missions cited examples of projects that "qualify" as PD 72 activities, but the responses to the final questions indicated that the projects were often isolated activities and not part of a larger strategy. In an interesting irony, the question on Mission plans and government policy frequently elicited a very narrow definition of land reform, so that many responses stated that the Mission had no plans to involve itself in land redistribution or any other legal aspects of land reform, while the projects they listed often were applicable only if a very broad definition of land reform was used.

HOW IS THE MISSION'S PLAN AFFECTED BY THE MAGNITUDE AND SEVERITY OF THE PROBLEM?

Some response to this question was made in the descriptive sections on the significance of the problem and Mission activities addressing the problem. Other than what can be gleaned from these sections, this question remained unanswered.

Sample responses to the final question in the outgoing cable are given below:

BANGLADESH:

E AND F. PLANNED PROJECTS: MISSION AT THIS TIME IS PLANNING NO PROJECTS BEARING DIRECTLY ON LAND REFORM OR REDISTRIBUTION AND HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF PLANS TO DO SO BY ANY OTHER DONORS OR BY EGG AGENCIES IN BANGLADESH. WE ARE NEVERTHELESS ENCOURAGED BY RECENT EGG INITIATIVES TO ACHIEVE LOWER POPULATION GROWTH AND GREATER FOODGRAIN PRODUCTION WITH MAXIMUM EMPLOYMENT AND OPTIMUM USE OF THE COUNTRY'S LAND AND LABOR RESOURCES. AT PRESENT HOWEVER, LAND REFORM IS BEYOND THE POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CAPABILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT EVEN IF AN EFFECTIVE SCHEME COULD BE DEVICED. MISSION BELIEVES IT MORE OPPORTUNE TO SUPPORT THOSE EGG INITIATIVES THAT CAN BE MANAGED EFFECTIVELY AND PARTICULARLY THOSE RELATED TO IMPROVING BROAD BASED ACCESS TO MODERN INPUTS, SO THAT SMALL FARMERS AND EVEN TENANTS CAN MORE EFFECTIVELY PARTICIPATE. MISSION PROGRAMS TO REDUCE THE PRESSURE ON THE LAND BY IMPROVING OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND REDUCED POPULATION GROWTH ARE ALSO PLANNED WITH THIS GOAL IN MIND.

CAMEROON:

F. CAMEROON FULLY RECOGNIZES CUSTOMARY TENURE AS LONG AS THE PEOPLE ON THE LAND CONTINUE TO USE IT.

CAPE VERDE:

9. WITHIN THE MRD, THERE IS SOME SUPPORT FOR WHAT WOULD RESEMBLE COLLECTIVIZATION OF TINY HOLDINGS ON BRAVA AND FOGO ISLANDS, PRINCIPALLY THE FORMER. MANY OF HOLDINGS ARE ALSO OWNED BY ABSENTEE LANDLORDS. GIVEN POLITICAL SENSITIVITY OF ISSUE AND LIKELY REACTION OF LARGE BRAVA IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES IN U.S., IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT GOVERNMENT WILL REQUIRE LANDOWNERS (IF THEY WISH TO SELL LAND) TO OFFER LAND FIRST TO GOCV. GOVERNMENT MAY ALSO PROHIBIT FURTHER DIVISION OF HOLDINGS (I.E. ABOLISH TRANSMISSION BY INHERITANCE).

10. GOCV HAS MOVED CAUTIOUSLY AND TREADED SOFTLY IN LAND REFORM AREA. CAPEVERDEANS HAVE A VERY STRONG SENSE OF PROPERTY (HOWEVER SMALL) AND GOCV AWARE THAT DONOR STATES, AMONG OTHERS, ARE VERY INTERESTED IN THEIR LAND REFORM PROGRAMS. WEST GERMANS, IN PARTICULAR, CONCERNED ABOUT POSSIBILITY OF ANY-THING RESEMBLING COLLECTIVIZATION ON FOGO AND BRAVA. EXPANSION OF LARGE AND EXPENSIVE WEST GERMAN IRRIGATION PROJECT ON FOGO AND EXTENSION OF PROJECT TO BRAVA WILL LIKELY HINGE ON WEST GERMAN PERCEPTION OF GOCV LAND REFORM AND TENURE INITIATIVES.

EGYPT:

9. (F). LAND REFORM IS NOT GENERALLY VIEWED AS A NEED BY THE GOE, NOR DO WE FEEL IT SHOULD BE. THE SITUATION OF LAND FRAGMENTATION IS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR DEFINING OUR PROGRAMS IN AGRICULTURE, AS WELL AS THE GOE'S, BUT WE VIEW IT AS A CONSTRAINT, NOT A POLICY VARIABLE, IN THIS ENVIRONMENT.

EL SALVADOR:

7. USAID ASSISTANCE TO AGRARIAN REFORM: USAID HAS MOVED SWIFTLY TO PROGRAM ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF THE NEW AGRARIAN REFORM. A PAAD HAS BEEN SUBMITTED TO AID/W FOR APPROVAL OF \$4 MILLION OF ESF TO FINANCE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, LOGISTIC SUPPORT AND PRODUCTION CREDIT FOR BASIC GRAINS PRODUCTION. THE BASIC STRATEGY IS ONE OF ADDRESSING THOSE AREAS MOST IMMEDIATELY CRITICAL TO THE PROGRESS OF IMPLEMENTING THE REFORM AND MAINTAINING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE VITALLY IMPORTANT STAPLE FOOD CROPS. ADDITIONAL PRODUCTION CREDIT WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE WITH THE LOCAL CURRENCY GENERATED BY THE SALE OF PL 480 TITLE I COMMODITIES. FURTHERMORE, AS A COMPONENT OF THE MARGINAL COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT PROJECT, \$2 MILLION IN DEVELOPMENT LAN FUNDS AND \$200,000 IN DEVELOPMENT GRANT FUNDS HAVE BEEN APPROVED BY AID/W FOR FINANCING COMMUNITY SERVICES (POTABLE WATER, ELECTRICITY ACCESS ROADS, SHELTER SOLUTIONS, ETC.) IN COMMUNITIES OF AGRARIAN REFORM BENEFICIARIES. A GRANT PROJECT IS NOW UNDER DEVELOPMENT WHICH WILL CONTAIN A COMPONENT FOR IMPROVING THE GOE'S CAPACITY TO UNDERTAKE AGRICULTURAL PLANNING AND FORMULATE POLICIES CONSISTENT WITH THE OVERALL OBJECTIVES OF THE REFORM. FINALLY, THE MISSION WILL SUBMIT TO AID/W FOR APPROVAL BY EARLY SUMMER A \$15 TO \$20 MILLION PROJECT PROPOSAL TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE DESIGNED TO ELLEVIATE THE FUNDAMENTAL REFORM IMPLEMENTATION PROBLEMS. PROJECT DESIGN IS JUST COMMENCING.

GUATEMALA:

(6) USAID HAS RECOGNIZED FOR SOME TIME THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM OF ACCESS TO AN ECONOMIC SIZED LAND HOLDING AMONG THE MAJORITY OF THE RURAL POPULATION, A CONCERN WHICH PROMPTED THE MISSION TO INDICATE "INADEQUATE LAND RESOURCES" AS THE FIRST OF THE THREE CONSTRAINTS TO AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY SET FORTH IN THE 1961 COOP. THIS SAME CONCERN WAS THE BASIS OF AID'S DECISION TO FINANCE THE PILOT RESETTLEMENT PROJECT IN THE NORTHERN TRANSVERSAL STRIP. THE MISSION HAS BEEN ENCOURAGED BY THE PRESENT GUATEMALAN ADMINISTRATION'S SUPPORT OF COLONIZATION ACTIVITIES IN THIS AREA. USAID IS ALSO AWARE THAT CHANGES IN THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW ARE PRESENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION BY THE GOV, BUT IT IS STILL TOO EARLY TO DETERMINE THE EFFECT THAT SUCH NEW LEGISLATION WILL HAVE ON PROGRAMS OF LAND REFORM IN GUATEMALA.

NIGER:

IN THE EARLY YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE SEVERAL IMPORTANT LEGISLATIVE MEASURES CONCERNING LAND OWNERSHIP WERE ENACTED:

- LAW 61-20 (MAY 25, 1960) GAVE THE STATE THE RIGHT TO ALL LANDS DEVELOPED WITH PUBLIC FUNDS; THIS LAW WAS CONCERNED PRIMARILY WITH IRRIGATION SCHEMES DEVELOPED BY THE STATE.

- LAW 61-30 (JULY 1961) AFFIRMED THE VALIDITY OF CUSTOMARY RIGHTS TO LAND. IT LAYS OUT THE PROCEDURE FOR VERIFYING THESE TRADITIONAL RIGHTS IN CASE OF DISPUTE. NO INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVITY COULD BE FORCED TO YIELD THESE RIGHTS UNLESS THE LAND WAS NEEDED FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD, IN WHICH CASE EXPROPRIATION WOULD BE FAIRLY COMPENSATED. THOSE LANDS THAT NO-ONE CLAIMED THE RIGHT TO CULTIVATE BELONGED TO THE STATE.

- LAW 62-7 (MARCH 12, 1962) ABOLISHED THE VILLAGE CHIEFS RIGHTS TO LANDS CONTROLLED BY VIRTUE OF THEIR TITLES AND FUNCTIONS. THESE LANDS BECAME THE EFFECTIVE PROPERTY OF THOSE CULTIVATING THEM, OR THOSE DEMANDING POSSESSION OF THEM IN THE CASE OF VACANT LANDS. THESE LANDS COULD NOT BE RENTED OR SOLD.

- LAW 64-016 (JULY 16, 1964) GAVE THE STATE THE RIGHT TO ALL LANDS AND BUILDINGS INADEQUATELY UTILIZED OR ABANDONED FOR A PERIOD OF TEN YEARS OR MORE. THESE WOULD BECOME THE PROPERTY OF THE STATE WITHOUT INDEMNITY AND FREE OF ALL CHARGES AND DEBTS. ALSO, THE MINISTRY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IS PRESENTLY DRAFTING A NEW LAW ON TENURE AND GRAZING.

THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF NIGER HAS ALSO MADE SEVERAL IMPORTANT DECLARATIONS ON LAND TENURE AND OWNERSHIP. THE MOST IMPORTANT POLICY STAND TAKEN BY THE GOV IN RECENT TIMES WAS THE DECLARATION BY PRESIDENT FOUKATCHÉ ON APRIL 15, 1976, IN WHICH HE AFFIRMED THAT ALL AGRICULTURAL LAND BELONGED TO THE STATE, AND THAT THE RIGHT TO CULTIVATE THE LAND IS PROVISIONALLY GIVEN FARMERS PRESENTLY WORKING THE LAND. THE DECLINE IN SOIL PRODUCTIVITY IS DIRECTLY RELATED TO LAND UTILIZATION PROBLEM. GROWING POPULATION PRESSURE ON ARABLE LAND IS FORCING EXPANSION OF CULTIVATION ON MARGINAL LANDS.

PERU:

F. RELATIONSHIP OF HOST GOVERNMENT AND MISSION PROGRAMS. IN VIEW OF PERU'S VERY LIMITED AGRICULTURAL CROPLAND BASE, GOP AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS ARE DIRECTED TOWARDS (1) INCREASING THE PRODUCTIVITY OF THE EXISTING CROPLAND BASE THROUGH SUCH MEANS AS SUPPLEMENTAL IRRIGATION, SOIL AND WATER CONSERVATION AND IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL TECHNOLOGY AND INPUTS.

(2) BRINGING ADDITIONAL LAND INTO CULTIVATION THROUGH PROVIDING MARKET ACCESS AND OTHER REQUIRED INFRASTRUCTURE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF HIGH JUNGLE AREAS WITH GOOD AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL AND BY NEW IRRIGATION OR IRRIGATION REHABILITATION PROJECTS ON THE COASTAL DESERT AND (3) OPTIMIZING PRODUCTION OF LIVESTOCK AND LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS ON MANAGED AND NATURAL PASTURELAND.

ALSO THE GOP WILL NEED TO CONTINUE SUPPORTING PROJECTS WHICH PROVIDE ADDITIONAL RURAL OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR LANDLESS LABORERS AND MINIFUNDISTAS. THE MISSION PROJECTS DESCRIBED IN PARA D AND E (PLUS ONGOING AID-FUNDED RURAL ENTERPRISE AND AGRO-INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS) ARE IN DIRECT SUPPORT OF THESE ACTIVITIES. AID DOES NOT HOWEVER ASSIST IN NEW IRRIGATION PROJECTS ON THE COAST. THESE PROJECTS TEND TO HAVE BEEN OVEREMPHASIZED IN THE PERUVIAN INVESTMENT BUDGET AND, IN ANY EVENT, ARE FAR BEYOND AID'S CURRENT FUNDING CAPABILITIES.

SYRIA:

PARA 2, D, E AND F -- OTHER THAN THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR ANALYSES, TO BE COMPLETED BY APRIL 30, 1973 USAID/SYRIA HAS NO PROJECT OR PROGRAMS FOCUSED ON OBJECTIVES OF POLICY DETERMINATION NO. 72. SYRIA HAS NOT REQUESTED OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE WITH ITS LAND REFORM PROGRAM, NOR DO WE FEEL THAT SUCH ASSISTANCE IS NEEDED. AGRARIAN REFORM ISSUES DO NOT NEED TO BE REFLECTED IN CONDITIONS OR COVENANTS CONCERNING POLICIES OF OUR ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS TO SYRIA.

TANZANIA:

F. MISSION IS MORE SPECIFICALLY CONCERNED ABOUT WOMEN'S RIGHTS OF ACCESS TO AND AND PRODUCTIVE OPPORTUNITIES. A WID OFFICER IS ASSISTING MISSION STAFF AND TANGOV OFFICIALS IN DESIGN OF PROJECTS WHICH ACKNOWLEDGE THE CRITICAL ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND DECISION MAKING. BROADER TANGOV AGRARIAN REFORM OBJECTIVES ARE BEING FURTHERED THROUGH ALL OF MISSION'S PROJECTS. FYI MISSION NOT DIRECTLY PROMOTING COMMUNAL FARMS AND VILLAGES COLLECTIVES. END FYI

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions drawn here are based solely upon the content of the Mission survey responses. These responses were assumed to be an accurate reflection of the activities being pursued in support of the objectives of PD 72, and of Mission conceptualizations of the land tenure issues in the context of host country development. To the extent that the survey questions shaped the responses, the conclusions drawn reflect that same bias.

On the whole, land reform activities under PD 72 have yet to be rationalized. Very few appear to be part of a country rural development strategy. In most instances equitable land tenure is considered an obstacle to development, only where it is glaringly skewed, as is the income distribution. Although the survey requested programs or projects, projects dominated the responses without apparent ability to set them in the larger context of Mission rural development strategies. Few demonstrated in the cables a clear conception of the relationship of the activities cited to an overall rural development strategy, although the first and last survey questions were designed to encourage such linkages.

One response mentioned the use of PL 480 to meet short-term food needs in a reform area, and two others mentioned conditions precedent to Project Agreements that stipulated reform measures. Three responses also discussed dialogues with host governments. Generally, however, projects and studies were identified as the major efforts in land reform, with ^aminority indicating utilization of other available instruments to meet the objectives of PD 72.

Based upon Mission responses to the AID/W request for information on land reform and tenure security activities, some generalizations on the ap-

appropriate role for A.I.D. in implementing PD 72 can be drawn:

- Due to limitations and increasingly regionalized concentration of resources, A.I.D. does not appear able to bring about nationwide host government policy changes toward more equitable distribution through projectized assistance, but can support studies and analyses that demonstrate the importance of land reform to economic growth and political stability for achievement of both national and regional development goals. Through these studies, A.I.D. can also assist in defining the alternatives available to a government committed to land reform.
- Due to this apparent inability to leverage host government policies on land reform, Mission strategy, for the most part, appears to follow host country leads in land reform or tenure security. This assessment was derived from the descriptions provided in the cables, which served to emphasize both the politically sensitive nature of the issue and the degree to which the objectives of PD 72 have yet to be addressed by Mission programs. It should be possible for Missions to make better use of their resources and the variety of instruments available, for example, to demonstrate the needs for and benefits of reform, or to activate legislation that already exists but is not being adequately enforced.
- In many instances, Missions appeared to have no overview of the land tenure situation with respect to equitable access. Project activities often support land reform measures almost by happenstance, rather than design. Many Missions have adopted a wait-and-see strategy, declaring that government commitment

could not be assessed until the government takes the next step. Country Development Strategy Statements could reflect a more in-depth analysis of the land tenure situation and a stronger linkage between this and proposed strategies in the rural sector.

- Missions appear to be supporting land settlement activities unquestioningly, without analyzing the host government's political motivations. PD 72 cautions that Missions must thoroughly analyze settlement programs, as they may be used as a means of maintaining inequitable land distribution in already settled parts of the country. It is anticipated that the CDSS and project design process could be more rigorous and provide careful documentation to demonstrate that this is not the case.

Mission responses to the AID/W inquiries left no doubt that A.I.D. can play a useful supporting role in land reform. Land reform is obviously a delicate political subject for LDC governments, so A.I.D. must choose its interventions very carefully. This does not mean that A.I.D. must wait for the host government to demonstrate interest or political will in this area. A.I.D. can support studies, sector analyses, cadastral surveys or other information-gathering efforts. The result of such endeavors can: (1) assist host governments in understanding the effects that tenure problems are having on development, and (2) provide a source of information on which host government policy change and Mission strategy can be based. These data collection and analytical activities are specified in PD 72, but the linkage between their support and the implications their results should have for Mission strategies did not emerge from most cable responses.

Support of such studies would also allow a more active role for Missions in the area of equitable access to land. Agency policy, according to the

Agricultural Development Policy Paper, places primary emphasis on equitable asset distribution as a basis for agricultural growth with equity. Yet, Missions have turned to secondary goals within the area of rural development because the land tenure problem is thought to be politically intractable. The review process for both CDSS and individual projects can be more stringent with respect to asset distribution, so that more Missions are encouraged to develop a strategy that will include a spectrum of activities, depending on the individual country situation. PD 72 mentions some of the more major opportunities, but leaves open the possibility of identifying other types of support to land reform.

Missions may not need to adopt a wait-and-see with respect to host governments' support of limited land reform measures. If laws exist, as they do in a number of countries, but have rarely been enforced, conditions precedent to fund disbursement in Project Agreements may be used to activate these laws, at least in the project area. PD 72 also provides that aid may be withheld from programs which are believed to exacerbate land tenure problems. It is expected that in countries where movement on land reform is politically difficult or impossible, Missions will carefully consider the impact of A.I.D. support to the rural sector, and will take the lead in those countries gathering information on land tenure and land use questions for the reasons outlined above.

Similarly, A.I.D. support for colonization and resettlement activities could be analyzed in the context of the countrywide land tenure situation. While it was clear from some Mission responses that new land settlement was more economically than politically motivated, other governments are using colonization or resettlement as political pressure valves. What is more,

some Missions appeared to take the stance that it was acceptable to support settlement programs until all arable land was exhausted, ignoring any existing inequalities until some future date.

Finally, only one response, from a Regional Office, evidenced an awareness of or an attempt to deal with the potentially adverse impacts on land tenure of development projects. All development projects that improve the economic well-being of individuals in a finite geographic area, whether through a road, a health clinic, an improved seed or a more efficient tool, alter land values and human relationships, so that for example, a landlord may choose to operate a formerly tenant-operated farm, or a road may escalate property values on either side of it, causing a detrimental change in land use patterns. Care in project design, socioeconomic data collection during project implementation and in-depth evaluations can help avoid negative impact of development projects on land tenure.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Policy Determination 72 was the outcome of longstanding Agency concern to support host government programs and policies that will create conditions of equitable growth. It does, however, recognize that land reform is an extremely sensitive political issue and cannot be supported uniformly or unquestioningly.

On the basis of the Mission responses to questions on land reform support and the analysis conducted herein, recommendations for continued actions to address this issue were formulated. Most of the actions recommended are intended to make support for the objectives of PD 72 more comprehensive, while one or two suggest expansion of the Agency's activities addressing land tenure issues.

1. In countries with little or no knowledge of existing land tenure patterns, Missions should locate existing works or support new studies that will afford a thorough knowledge base, as detailed in PD 72. Studies should be of sufficient detail to comprehend regional variations, whether spatial or cultural. This work will serve a twofold purpose: (1) allow Missions to make informed judgments as to types of rural development programs they wish to undertake, and (2) provide a major input into host government decision-making on policy issues that affect land tenure.

Given the limited resources that Missions can bring to bear on land tenure problems, support for these studies (e.g., cadastral surveys, land use plans, microeconomic and sociological data collection, ecological and other biophysical surveys, sector analyses, etc.) can provide nationwide coverage and a broader understanding of rural problems and potentials at relatively low cost.

2. Technical assistance in planning studies and in analysis of data on land tenure, provided through IQCs or the Title XII program, can also have countrywide impact at relatively low cost. While implicit in PD 72, this strategy problem remains difficult, but the Agency has some resources available which should have wider use. Professionals from the Land Tenure Center, Title XII universities and other sources can bring expertise and objectivity to bear on the formulation of policy alternatives to be considered by host governments. These experts can advise on implementation of large-scale land reform, as they are presently doing in El Salvador, or on donor-financed projects which will affect land tenure.

3. New lands development, one of the candidates for support listed in PD 72, generally entails expenditure of large sums of money over many years. Yet, there appears to be little analysis conducted of prevailing government policies that affect land tenure on lands already in production, and that potentially affect new lands. In some instances, enforcement of extant poli-

cies or legislation may be at issue, while in others new policies will have to be formulated.

Analyses and implementation must be more rigorous in demonstrating and assuring government commitment to equitable access to land not just in the settlement area but country-wide. As PD 72 states, new lands development should not be justified in terms of an alternative to reform of land ownership in areas already under production. The review process for projects and programs involving new land settlement should focus on this issue of overall government policy on land allocation and access, rather than on the narrower issue of policy toward the settlement area alone.

4. Program funds should be identified for land reform activities in countries where little information is available, or where land reform is recognized as a serious problem for A.I.D.'s target population. In addition, PL 480, Title III, may serve as another source of funds for these activities in countries where agreements have been negotiated. This is another strategy issue raised, but not fully explicated, in PD 72. PD 72 addresses the uses to which funds may be put, but not their derivation.

5. Because land tenure patterns change through time, especially in the wake of development, efforts should be made to periodically update information on land tenure and use.

As some of the cables indicated, political or economic refugees and migrant workers are beginning to affect the shape of government planning and donor assistance programs. Development interventions themselves may alter traditional land tenure arrangements, as may environmental changes. Thus, constant updating of the baseline information specified in PD 72 is required, and should be a component of all rural development projects. As the recent impact evaluation of rural roads construction in Liberia has shown, changes in land values and tenure arrangements can be brought about by any develop-

ment project in the rural sector, and not just by projects that primarily address onfarm production constraints.

6. Collaboration with other donors in support of land reform enhances the coverage and impact of such assistance. Increased use of the collaborative approach is endorsed, provided, of course, that appropriate analyses have been carried out and benefits may be shown to accrue to A.I.D.'s target population. This is, again, a strategy to which PD 72 does not directly speak, but is consistent with other Agency guidance.

7. Finally, the Agency should establish some inhouse expertise in local law and its impact on land reform. While A.I.D. does have available through the Wisconsin Land Tenure Center some legal expertise on land reform law, this is insufficient to assist in assessing the relationship of host country laws and government policies to other types of rural development programs. For example, familiarity with the conflicts between individual ownership rights under constitutional law and group tenure rights under customary law might have helped to predict manipulation of the legal system by elites in the Liberian case.

The legal expertise required might best be provided as another category of technical assistance on a regional basis; that is, as part of the Development Resources/Technical Support offices in each geographic bureau. This expertise need not be confined to those with formal U.S. legal training, as political scientists with strong foreign experience, for example, would be equally qualified to evaluate the impact of local legal systems on land tenure in a development intervention.

Establishment of such a position would bolster Mission efforts to confront land reform problems and address the issue of the impacts of rural development projects on land tenure. It would give higher visibility to the Agency concern for the issues of equitable asset distribution and increased agricultural productivity, thus encouraging more activity in the land reform arena.

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UNCLASSIFIED		CLASSIFICATION SPECIAL CHARACTERS	
PPC/PD 1PR7=DCATON/JATHERTON 1/21/80 EXT. 21222		NAME TEL EXT	
AAA/PPD/PPDR:ESIDMAN		NAME	
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5-ASIA/TR/RD:DLPLUCKNETT		4-LAC/DR:JBALIS	
		6-CLERK:FRANCES	
		9-DS/RAD:HHOBGOOD	
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION			
DEPART PRIORITY		SEND TO LIST G	
INFO PRIORITY		INFO ADDRESSES	
SPECIAL HANDLING			
CAT/DAC			
E.O. 11652: N/A			
TAGS:			
SUBJECT: AID SUPPORT OF LAND REFORM			
<p>1. AID POLICY DETERMINATION NO. 72, ENTITLED "AGRICULTURAL ASSET DISTRIBUTION: LAND REFORM" WAS PUBLISHED UNDER AID HANDBOOK TRANSMITTAL MEMORANDUM NO. 1:19 IN MAY 1979. CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST HAS DEVELOPED REGARDING THE EXTENT TO WHICH PD 72 IS AFFECTING AID PROGRAMMING. TO RESPOND TO THAT INTEREST, AN ASSESSMENT OF AID'S ACTIVITY IN SUPPORT OF LAND REFORM IS NECESSARY. THIS COMPREHENDS SUPPORT FOR LAND OWNERSHIP DISTRIBUTION, LAND TENURE REFORM, LAND CONSOLIDATION AND LAND SETTLEMENT AND RESETTLEMENT.</p> <p>2. MISSIONS ARE REQUESTED TO ASSIST IN THIS ASSESSMENT BY ANSWERING THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:</p> <p>A. IS ACCESS TO LAND A SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM FOR AID'S TARGET POPULATION IN THE HOST COUNTRY? SUMMARIZE VERY BRIEFLY THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS OF TENURE AND ACCESS, SUFFICIENT TO INDICATE THE SEVERITY OF THE PROBLEM. PRESUMABLY, WHERE THE PROBLEM IS SEVERE, AN ANALYSIS IN THE CDSS CAN BE DRAWN UPON FOR THIS PURPOSE.</p> <p>B. WHAT STUDIES OR ANALYSES OF LAND TENURE CONDITIONS, ACCESS TO LAND, RELEVANT GOVERNMENT POLICIES, ETC.,</p>			
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THAT RELATE TO POLICY DETERMINATION NO. 72 EXIST? IN THIS REGARD, SEE PD 72, SECTION III C. IDENTIFY THEM BY TYPE, DATE AND AID OR OTHER DONOR INVOLVEMENT OR SPONSORSHIP IF APPLICABLE.

C. WHAT STUDIES OR ANALYSES ARE PLANNED? INDICATE BY TYPE, SPONSORSHIP (INCLUDING AID), AND WHEN THE ACTIVITY IS PLANNED.

D. WHAT PROJECTS AND PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT OR ARE CURRENTLY BEING CARRIED OUT WHICH FURTHER THE OBJECTIVES OF POLICY DETERMINATION NO. 72? FOR EACH BRIEFLY DESCRIBED ACTIVITY INDICATE ITS TIME FRAME, COST, AND SPONSORSHIP. IN SOME CASES THE STUDIES AND ANALYSES REFERRED TO ABOVE WILL FORM PART OF A LARGER PROJECT OR PROGRAM. FURTHER, IN SOME CASES THE RELATION TO PD 72 WILL BE REFLECTED IN CONDITIONS OR COVENANTS CONCERNING POLICIES, AND NOT INVOLVE SUBSTANTIAL PROJECT COSTS. THIS SHOULD BE INDICATED.

E. WHAT PROJECTS OR PROGRAMS OTHER THAN STUDIES ARE PLANNED? BRIEFLY DESCRIBE THEM AND INDICATE THE TIME FRAME, DONOR SPONSORSHIP, ESTIMATED COST, ETC.

F. SUMMARIZE ANY OTHER RELEVANT HOST COUNTRY ACTIVITY IN THIS AREA WHICH BEARS ON MISSION (CURRENT OR PROPOSED) PROGRAMS. HOW IS THE MISSION'S PLAN TO FURTHER THE OBJECTIVES OF PD 72 AFFECTED BY HOST COUNTRY PROGRAMS AND PLANS AND ITS COMMITMENT TO THESE OBJECTIVES? HOW IS THE MISSION'S PLAN AFFECTED BY THE MAGNITUDE OR SEVERITY OF THE PROBLEM IN COUNTRY?

3. RESPONSE TO THESE QUESTIONS IS REQUESTED BY MARCH 15, 1978, DIRECTED TO PPC/PDPR/RD, AID/WASHINGTON.

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E. O. 120657 N/A
TAGS:

SUBJECT: SUPPORT OF LAND REFORM

REFS: A. STATE 034899, B. STATE 033449*

1. RELIABLE AND USEFUL INFORMATION ON LAND TENURE PATTERNS IN HAITI IS SCARCE AND SPOTTY. THUS ALTHOUGH LEAD BELIEVES THAT ACCESS TO AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND ARE PROBABLY MAJOR PROBLEMS IN HAITI WHERE POPULATION IS EXCESSIVE AND AVERAGE FARM UNIT IS LESS THAN 1 HA. IN SIZE, WE CANNOT INTELLIGENTLY AND USEFULLY COMMENT ON THE SIGNIFICANCE AND SEVERITY OF THE PROBLEMS.

2. LAND REFORM IS NOT A GOH PRIORITY AND, GIVEN THE WEAKNESSES OF GO- INSTITUTIONS, IS NOT LIKELY TO BECOME ONE IN THE NEAR FUTURE
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TELEGRAM

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AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 03 NOJAKHOTT 01058

AIDAC

FOR PPC/PDP/2/RD, AID/WASHINGTON; ABIDJAN FOR REDSO

E.O. 12065: N/A
SUBJECT: AID SUPPORT OF LAND REFORM

REF: STATE 032805, STATE 034059/01

1. PROBLEMS IN MAURITANIA OF LAND TENURE AND USE ARE RECOGNIZED BY BOTH GIANS, FOREIGN DONORS, AND THE GENERAL POPULATION AS A MAJOR BARRIER TO DEVELOPMENT. THESE PROBLEMS ARE NATURALLY COMPLEX AND STEW FROM BOTH THE COUNTRY'S OWN UNIQUE CULTURAL SITUATION AND SAMEL-WIDE CIRCUMSTANCES. IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO THINK THEM EITHER EASILY UNDERSTANDABLE OR SOLVABLE BY GENERALIZED STEREOTYPED SOLUTIONS THAT HAVE LARGELY ORIGINATED IN OTHER CONTEXTS. (I.E. LATIN AMERICA OR ASIA) THUS, WHILE PD 72 IS VALUABLE IN EMPHASIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF LAND TENURE CONSIDERATIONS IN PROJECT DESIGN IT HAS NOT PROVIDED SO FAR A USEFUL TOOL FOR PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION PURPOSES.

2. IN MAURITANIA THE BASIC PROBLEM IS NOT LAND BUT WATER AND ACCESS TO IT. THE PRINCIPAL CATEGORIES OF LANDS INCLUDING THOSE WITH WATER ASSETS, ACCESS TO

THEM, AND THE NATURE OF TENURE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

A) LANDS THAT UNDER NORMAL CONDITIONS ARE REGULARLY FLOODED BY THE SENEGAL RIVER AND SUITABLE FOR RECESSION AGRICULTURE. THXIE ARE OWNED, DEPENDING ON THE AREA, EITHER BY INDIVIDUALS OR A FEW LARGE FAMILIES. THEY MAY BE CULTIVATED BY THE OWNER OR HIS FAMILY, RENTED TO OTHERS, SHARE-CROPPED, OR SOLD.

B) LANDS IN WADI (QUED) OR FLOOD BASINS THAT ARE ALSO SUITABLE FOR "ECES" ON AGRICULTURE. THESE ARE MAINLY IN AREAS TRADITIONALLY DOMINATED BY PASTORAL GROUPS WHOSE TRIBUTARIES WORKED THEM IN THE PAST. TODAY MOST OF THESE FORMER TRIBUTARIES WORK THE LAND FOR THEMSELVES, BUT CONFLICT AND AMBIGUITY EXIST AS TO WHETHER THEY OWN THE LAND OR WHETHER THEY ONLY HAVE RIGHTS TO ITS USE.

C) OASIS AREAS WHERE CROPS, MAINLY DATES, ARE IRRIGATED FROM WELLS. THESE ARE THE PRIVATE PROPERTY OF THE OWNER, WHO ACQUIRED HIS RIGHTS BY DIGGING THE WELL AND PLANTING TREES. HOWEVER SALE TO OUTSIDERS OR OTHER SOCIAL GROUPS MAY BE RESTRICTED BY SOCIAL PRESSURE OR BY UNRECOGNIZED RIGHT OF PREEMPTION WHEREBY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONTROLLING GROUP ARE GIVEN FIRST OPPORTUNITY TO PURCHASE.

D) DRYLAND AREAS WHERE AGRICULTURE IS DEPENDENT ON RAINFALL. THESE, EXCEPT FOR A FEW SPECIAL CASES DUE MAINLY TO PROXIMITY TO SETTLED COMMUNITIES, ARE AVAILABLE TO ALL ON A FIRST-COME BASIS. THERE IS NO PERMANENT VESTING OF PROPERTY RIGHTS BEYOND THAT OF CONTINUED USE.

E) GRAZING LANDS OPEN TO ALL WITH NO RESTRICTIONS TO ACCESS.

R) FORESTS, EITHER UNPROTECTED, "CLASSIFIED" OR "PROTECTED". THERE IS NOW A GENERAL NATIONAL DEFERENTIAL ON TREE CUTTING; OTHERWISE UNPROTECTED AREAS ARE LEFT TO ALL, "CLASSIFIED" AREAS ARE SUBJECT TO USE THROUGH PERMITS (I.E., TO CUT OR MAKE CHAFODS), WHILE "PROTECTED" AREAS ARE TO BE LEFT UNTOUCHED.

G) URBAN LAND (INCLUDING GARDEN AREAS) WHERE OCCUPATION RIGHTS, BOTH PROVISIONAL AND PERMANENT, MUST BE OFFICIALLY ALLOCATED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THESE USUALLY REQUIRE PAYMENT OF A FEE, ARE THEREAFTER TAXABLE, AND, ONCE OWNED, ARE ALIENABLE.

H) GOVERNMENT-SPONSORED PROJECT AREAS. THESE REPRESENT A NEW PHENOMENON FOR MAURITANIA (THOUGH SIMILAR AND CLOSER EXAMPLES EXIST IN OTHER COUNTRIES). GENERALLY PROJECTS TRY TO WORK WITH THE PEOPLE ON THE SPOT OF REDISTRIBUTING LAND WITH PRIORITY RIGHTS TO FORMER USERS. HOWEVER, NO MEANINGFUL COMPENSATION HAS GENERALLY BEEN PROVIDED FOR CONFISCATED LAND.

3. TENURE PROBLEMS WHERE THEY EXIST IN REFERENCE TO THE ABOVE CATEGORIES OF LAND INVOLVE NOT ONLY LIMITED ACCESS BUT SOMETIMES EXCESSIVE ACCESS AND, AT OTHER TIMES, FOCUS ON DECISION-MAKING AND CONTROL RATHER THAN POSSESSION. SPECIFICALLY, IN SITUATIONS "A", "B", "C" AND "D", DUE TO THE DROUGHT AND RESULTING DESERTION OF MUCH OF THE LAND, THE MAJOR STUMBLING BLOCK TO DEVELOPMENT IS NOT AVAILABILITY OF LAND PER SE, BUT ABILITY TO PUT LAND INTO MEANINGFUL PRODUCTION. IN THE CASE OF "E" (GRAZING LAND) THE MAJOR PROBLEM IS NOT LACK OF ACCESS BUT LACK OF REGULATION THAT

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FM AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4725

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 03 NOUAKCHOTT 01350

AIDAC

LEADS TO OVER EXPLOITATION. IN REGARDS TO "F" (FORESTS), THE PROBLEM IS THAT RIGHTS TO USE MAY BE TIED TO WEALTH OR POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THAT REGULATIONS ARE INAPPROPRIATE, I.E. SIMPLISTIC OR DUMBLY (I.E. SUGGER INSTITUTION OF AN ACROSS-THE-BOARD PROHIBITION AGAINST CUTTING TREES MEANS FARMERS CANNOT FENCE FIELDS WHICH IN MANY AREAS MAKES GROWING FOOD CROPS IMPOSSIBLE). IN THE CASE OF "G" (URBAN LAND, INCLUDING URBAN GARDENS) TENURE ONCE OBTAINED IS THE MOST SECURE AND MOST PRIVATE. HOWEVER, SPIRALLING PRICES MAY QUICKLY RESTRICT FUTURE ACQUISITION TO THE MORE WELL OFF, I.E. SPECULATION DUE TO RISING PRICES, WHICH IS PARTIALLY A PRODUCT OF SECURITY OF OWNERSHIP, MAY DIVERT POTENTIAL CAPITAL FROM LESS SECURE RURAL INVESTMENT. CATEGORY "H", GOVERNMENT PROJECT LAND IS A PHENOMENON UNTO ITSELF. IT CUTS ACROSS ALL OTHER CATEGORIES AND, GIVEN THE NATURE OF MOST DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE, IS USUALLY THE PRIMARY TARGET OF DONOR PROJECTS THE SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SUCH LAND STEM FROM THE GIPHS DUAL ROLE AS THE ULTIMATE LEGITIMIZING AUTHORITY AND THE ULTIMATE SOVEREIGN WITH RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN. THE HOPE OR EXPECTATION OF A FUTURE PROJECT CAN CAUSE LANDS TO BE UNUSED, WHILE TRADITIONAL PROPRIETORS PREVENT OTHERS FROM USING THEM BECAUSE THEY FEAR GIVING RISE TO COMPETING CLAIMS. THESE PROBLEMS HAVE PROVED VERY ACUTE IN THE OASIS IRRIGATION PROJECT EXPANSION AND MUST BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED IN FUTURE OMS ACTIVITIES. OWNERSHIP CAN ENCOURAGE INVESTMENT, WHILE RECOGNITION OF ONLY USUFRUCT RIGHTS CAN IMHIBIT LARGE-SCALE, LONG-TERM INVESTMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, SECURE TENURE CAN RESULT IN LAND QUICKLY PRICING ITSELF OUT OF THE REACH OF THE COMMON CULTIVATOR. IN THE CASE OF LARGE SCALE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, FURTHER PROBLEMS ARISE IN THAT, REGARDLESS OF THEORETICAL OWNERSHIP RIGHTS, PROJECTS OFTEN DEPRIVE PARTICIPANTS OF DE FACTO CONTROL OVER USE. (I.E. WHAT AND WHEN TO PLANT, SERVICES TO BE PAID FOR, ETC.) THIS RESULTS IN PROJECT PARTICIPANTS BEING DENIED BOTH THE INCOME SECURITY OF AN EMPLOYED LABORER AND THE FREEDOM AND FLEXIBILITY OF A PRIVATE OPERATOR.

4) ALL THE ABOVE SITUATIONS EXIST TO SOME EXTENT IN MAURITANIA. IN FACT, THIS HODDLE-PODDLE CONDITION CONSTITUTES A MAJOR PROBLEM. THE ABSENCE OF AN AGREED-UPON, EVENLY APPLIED, LAND POLICY, THE LACK OF ANY REAL UNDERSTANDING OF LAND AND RESOURCE REGULATION AND MANAGEMENT IN CONTRAST TO SIMPLISTIC PERMISSIONS OR PROHIBITIONS, AND THE FACT THAT LAND USE JURISDICTION IS NOT CENTRALIZED IN A SINGLE REGULATORY AUTHORITY BUT IS SPREAD AMONG NUMEROUS COMPETING GOVERNMENTAL SERVICES WHO OFTEN HAVE THEIR OWN OVERRIDING INTERESTS TO PROTECT, ARE STIMULING BLOCKS THAT MUST BE OVERCOME BEFORE MEANINGFUL LAND REFORM CAN BE ENACTED, AS SUGGESTED IN PD 72.

5) WHILE THE SEVERITY OF THE LAND TENURE PROBLEM IS RECOGNIZED BY ALL, NO INTERIM, PUBLIC, MAURITANIA-SPECIFIC STUDIES EXIST TO OUR KNOWLEDGE. THE SITUATION IS OFTEN DISCUSSED IN THE NATIONAL NEWSPAPER, PRIVATE REPORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO THE GIPHS BY SPECIALLY APPOINTED COMMITTEES, AND SEVERAL IN-HOUSE STUDIES BY

SCHAUER SOCIETY "TITON DE POUR LE DEVELOPEMENT RURALES AND OMS HAVE BEEN MADE. A BIBLIOGRAPHY IS BEING ASSEMBLED AND WILL BE FORWARDED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. MUCH OF US AID KNOWLEDGE COMES FROM A SPECIAL IN-HOUSE STUDY CONDUCTED THIS SUMMER IN PREPARATION FOR THE OMS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT RP. AT PRESENT THE RANG PROJECT TEAM (RURAL ASSESSMENT AND MANAGEMENT SURVEY) IS STUDYING THE SITUATION AS PART OF ITS OVERALL PLANNING, WHICH SHOULD BE A MAJOR INPUT TO THE COUNTRY'S NEXT DEVELOPMENT PLAN. 6) MISSION POLICY IS MAINLY AIMS AT DEALING WITH PROBLEMS NOTED IN PARAGRAPH 4 THROUGH ENCOURAGING A BETTER COMPREHENSION AND GRASPING CAPACITY ON THE PART OF MAURITANIANS TO ACCESS, PLAN AND MANAGE THEIR COUNTRY'S RESOURCES, ESPECIALLY LAND AND WATER. THIS INCLUDES OUR SPECIFIC PROJECTS (I.E. RANG, RENEWABLE RESOURCES, GUIDANMA IRD), SPECIAL ACTIVITIES (NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCE CONFERENCE ON ENVIRONMENT) AND THE ENDOAGEMENT OF MAURITANIANS PARTICIPATION IN SPECIAL TRAINING AND CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES. LAST YEAR WE SPONSORED THE ATTENDANCE OF A MEMBER OF THE GIPHS LEGAL ESTABLISHMENT AT THE ROME CONFERENCE ON AGRARIAN REFORM. MEANWHILE, WE TRY TO INSURE THE CHOICE OF SPECIFIC COMMUNITIES FOR OUR PROJECTS (OASIS DEVELOPMENT, RURAL LAND RECLAMATION, RE-DYSTATION ETC.) CLEARLY CONFORM OR CAN ADAPT TO THE NECESSARY STANDARDS OF EQUITABLE LAND AND WATER DISTRIBUTION AND USE ADVOCATED BY PD 72.

7) IN SUM, LAND TENURE PROBLEMS IN MAURITANIA ARE SERIOUS BUT NOT INSOLVABLE AND THE GIPHS IS CAUTIOUSLY TRYING TO WORK ITS WAY THROUGH THE EXISTING POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND FINANCIAL MAZE IN WHICH IT IS ENTHANGLED, TOWARD A SOLUTION. IN THE END, THE PROBLEM MUST BE SOLVED BY THE MAURITANIANS THEMSELVES ACCORDING TO THEIR FELT NEEDS AND IN A WAY SPECIFICALLY ADAPTED TO THIS COUNTRY. FOR

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AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY

UNCLAS SECTION 03 OF 03 NOUAKCHOTT 01058

AIDAC

MAURITANIA, THE MISSION FEELS THAT FOR THE MOMENT THE
BEST AID POLICY IS TO HELP MAURITANIANS EVOLVE THEIR OWN
POLICY ON LAND USE. FUTURE US ASSISTANCE WILL CONTINUE
TO CONSIDER PROBLEMS AND POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS PER PD 72.
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FM AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE
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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN JOSE 1469

AIDAC

INFO COPY: LAC/DR/RD & DSE/RAD

ATTN: PPC/PDR/RD, AID/W

EO 12065: N/A
SUBJ: AID SUPPORT OF LAND REFORM

REF: STATE 034699

1. ALTHOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT TO MEASURE THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE PROBLEM, THE FACT REMAINS THAT ACCESS TO LAND IS A PROBLEM FOR AID'S TARGET GROUP IN COSTA RICA.

2. AS BACKGROUND, IT HAS BEEN ESTIMATED, USING INFORMATION * CONTAINED IN THE MISSION'S AGRICULTURAL SECTOR ASSESSMENT OF 1977, THE 1979 CENS AND THE 1978 RIORDAN REPORT ON THE LANDLESS POOR IN COSTA RICA, THAT APPROXIMATELY 275,000 RURAL POOR IN COSTA RICA DO NOT OWN ANY LAND -- ABOUT 57 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL RURAL POOR POPULATION. THE LANDLESS POOR, REPRESENTING THE MISSION'S MAJOR TARGET POPULATION, CAN BE DIVIDED INTO TWO PRIMARY GROUPS. THE FIRST LACK OWNERSHIP OR USE OF LAND AND WORK AS AGRICULTURAL LABORERS ON A REGULAR OR CASUAL BASIS. THE SECOND HAVE EFFECTIVE OWNERSHIP OF LAND BUT LACK LEGAL TITLE AND AS A RESULT ARE CUT OFF FROM CREDIT SOURCES AND OTHER ASSISTANCE WHICH RESTRICTS THEIR ABILITY TO IMPROVE THEIR LAND AND CONSEQUENTLY THEIR ECONOMIC STATUS. A PORTION OF THIS GROUP AS WELL AS SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF POOR WHO POSSESS TITLES TO LAND HAVE ACCESS TO LAND OF SUCH POOR QUALITY THEY CAN BE CONSIDERED TO BE LANDLESS.

THE POPULATION PRESSURES, ESPECIALLY OF THOSE WITHOUT LAND, HAVE LED TO A REVERSAL OF TRADITIONAL COSTA RICAN MESETA CENTRAL TO OUTLYING AREAS MIGRATION PATTERNS, AND THE MESETA CENTRAL IS NOW EXPERIENCING THE FULL RANGE OF PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH RAPID GROWTH. AT THE SAME TIME, A SECOND MIGRATION FLOW IS OCCURRING FROM OVERPOPULATED RURAL REGIONS ON THE PACIFIC COAST TO SECTIONS OF THE COUNTRY WHICH OFFER GREATER ACCESS TO LAND. HOWEVER, THE AGRICULTURAL FRONTIER HAS CONTRACTED AND UNDEVELOPED LAND WITH AGRICULTURAL POTENTIAL IS BECOMING SCARCE.

3. AVAILABILITY OF LAND WITH PRODUCTIVE POTENTIAL IS A MAJOR CONSTRAINT TO INCOME IMPROVEMENT FOR A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF THE SMALL-FARMER AND LANDLESS POOR TARGET GROUP. LAND USE STUDIES OF COSTA RICA REPORT THAT IN 1973 THERE REMAINED ONLY 364,000 HAS. (OR 7.1 PERCENT OF TOTAL LAND AREA OF 5,136,000 HAS.) OF UNUSED LAND APT FOR AGRICULTURE. IN ADDITION, ACCORDING TO INFORMATION CONTAINED IN THE 1977 AGRICULTURAL SECTOR ASSESSMENT, THE LARGE CONCENTRATION OF LAND IN EXTENSIVE LIVESTOCK OPERATIONS, PLUS A SERIES OF CREDIT, TAX, AND PRICING POLICIES, SEVERELY LIMITS THE TARGET GROUP'S ACCESS TO PRODUCTIVE LAND RESOURCES.

4. AS IN THE CASE WITH POOR FARMERS, THE NON-FARM RURAL POOR ARE DISPERSED THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. HOWEVER, IN TERMS OF PROVINCIAL CONCENTRATION OF RURAL LANDLESS POOR (RLP) IN COSTA RICA, THE PROVINCE OF ALAJUELA RANKS HIGHEST WITH APPROXIMATELY 25 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL RLP IN THE COUNTRY, FOLLOWED BY SAN JOSE (22 PERCENT), GUANACASTE (15 PERCENT), CARTAGO (14 PERCENT), PUNTARENAS (13 PERCENT), PEPEDIA (6 PERCENT) AND LIMON (5 PERCENT).

5. THE FOLLOWING ARE SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT STUDIES AND ANALYSES OF COSTA RICAN LAND TENURE CONDITIONS AND RELATED MATERIAL THAT PERTAIN TO POLICY DETERMINATION NO 72.

- A. LAND TENURE STUDY IN TUCURRIQUE, COSTA RICA, S. SELLERS, 1977, CATIE.
- B. THE IMPACT OF AGRARIAN REFORM IN COSTA RICA, S. SELLERS, 1978, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA.
- C. LAND REFORM IN COSTA RICA, M. SELIGSON, 1977, LAND TENURE CENTER.
- D. TENURE SECURITY, LAND TITLING, AND AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN COSTA RICA, C. SHERZ AND C. F. KNIGHT, 1971.
- E. LANDLESSNESS AND NEAR-LANDLESSNESS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES (INCLUDING COSTA RICA), M. EYMAN, 1976, CORWELL UNIV.
- F. AN INNOVATIVE AGRARIAN POLICY: THE CASE OF COSTA RICA, J. SALAZAR AND E. RODRIGUEZ, 1977, LAND TENURE CENTER.
- G. PEASANTS OF C.R. AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRARIAN CAPITALISM, 1977, THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN PRESS.
- H. C.R. SELF-IMAGE, LAND TENURE AND AGRARIAN REFORM 1940-1965.
- J. RIISHANDEL, 1972, UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND.
- I. LEGAL ASPECTS OF FENCING, SHARE-CROPPING AND OTHER INDIRECT LAND TENURE FORMS IN C.R., 1972, STANFORD UNIVERSITY.
- J. LAND TENURE AND THE RURAL EXODUS IN PERU, CHILE, COLUMBIA AND COSTA RICA. R. SHAW, 1976.
- K. A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF MAN-LAND RELATION IN CENTRAL AMERICA, V.M. UPHAM, 1963.
- L. DESCRIPTION OF THE LANDLESS POOR IN COSTA RICA, J. RIORDAN, 1979, AID (LAC/DR).
- M. AN ASSESSMENT OF THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR IN COSTA RICA, AID.
- N. AGRICULTURAL AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN COSTA RICA, BID-AD-BIRF, 1977.
- O. POVERTY IN COSTA RICA, C. GONZALEZ, ET AL, LA ACADEMIA DE CENTRO AMERICA, 1977.

Handwritten notes and initials on the right margin: AID, LAC/DR, LACE, IDP, UNCLAS, USAG, POP, PDR, PPRB, FM, ES, SER, IDCA, AID, STATE.

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN JOSE 1469

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6. THE MISSION PLANS TO CARRY OUT DURING THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS THE FOLLOWING STUDIES AND ANALYSES IN CONNECTION WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF A PROJECT PAPER (AGRARIAN RESTRUCTURING-ATLANTIC REGION):

- A. AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF COSTA RICA'S LAND AND COLONIZATION INSTITUTE (ITCO)
- B. A SOCIAL ANALYSIS OF THE INTENDED BENEFICIARIES OF THE ITCO PROJECT.
- C. AN EVALUATION OF THE LAND TITLING COMPONENT OF A FORMER AID LOAN PROJECT (LOAN 515-L-022).
- D. VARIOUS PRE-FEASIBILITY STUDIES AND ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL/CREDIT ANALYSES, RELATIVE TO THE ITCO PROJECT.

IN ADDITION, THE WORLD BANK PLANS TO CONDUCT A SERIES OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT STUDIES IN FIVE ATLANTIC REGION CANTONS.

7. ALTHOUGH THE MISSION IS PREPARING A PROJECT PAPER DEALING WITH AGRARIAN RESTRUCTURING, IT IS NOT PRESENTLY IMPLEMENTING PROJECTS WHICH SPECIFICALLY DEAL WITH AID POLICY DETERMINATION 72, LAND REFORM. HOWEVER, DURING THE 1970-75 PERIOD, THE MISSION UNDERTOOK A \$3.7 MILLION LOAN PROJECT ACTIVITY WITH ITCO INVOLVING LAND TITLING AND LAND SALE GUARANTEE ACTIVITIES, WHICH WAS PART OF A LARGER LOAN PROGRAM (LOAN 022). THE GENERAL OBJECTIVE OF THE LAND TITLING ACTIVITY (\$2.7 MILLION) WAS TO PROVIDE GREATER TENURE SECURITY TO SETTLERS ON NATIONAL RESERVE LANDS, THEREBY PROVIDING (A) AN INCENTIVE FOR FARMERS TO INVEST MORE, AND (B) EASIER ACCESS TO CREDIT. SPECIFICALLY, THE ACTIVITY RESULTED IN THE TITLING OF APPROXIMATELY 600,000 HAS. OF UNTITLED FARMLAND IN COSTA RICA. THE LAND SALE GUARANTEE ACTIVITY (\$1 MILLION) WAS DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE THE PRIVATE SALE BY OWNERS OF LARGE TRACTS OF LAND TO GROUPS OF PEASANTS OR SQUATTERS. LOAN FUNDS WERE USED TO GUARANTEE TO THE SELLER INSTALLMENT PAYMENTS TO BE MADE BY THE BUYER UPON A LAND SALE CONTRACT.

IN ADDITION, ITCO IS PRESENTLY RECEIVING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FROM UNDP/01T STAFF IN THE AREA OF AGRICULTURAL DIVERSIFICATION, RURAL HANDICRAFTS AND EDUCATION. SIMILARLY, THE WORLD BANK, BID, THE GOVERNMENT OF TAIWAN, CAEDI AND THE PEACE CORPS ARE OR WILL BE SHORTLY PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO ITCO.

8. AS INDICATED ABOVE, THE MISSION IS PRESENTLY PREPARING A PROJECT PAPER DEALING WITH AGRARIAN RESTRUCTURING IN THE ATLANTIC REGION OF COSTA RICA. THE PURPOSE OF THIS \$10.0 MILLION PROJECT IS (1) TO INCREASE THE INCOME AND ASSETS OF THE ATLANTIC REGION'S RURAL POOR THROUGH A PROGRAM OF LAND TITLING, AGRICULTURAL INTENSIFICATION, AND CAMPESINO ENTERPRISES; AND (2) TO INCREASE ITCO'S CAPABILITY TO CARRY OUT SIMILAR PROGRAMS ON A NATIONAL LEVEL. THE PROJECT'S PURPOSE SUPPORTS A BROADER GOAL WHICH IS THE PERMANENT SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT OF COSTA RICA'S POPULATION, ESPECIALLY ITS POOREST GROUPS, THROUGH INCREASED ACCESS TO AND MORE PRODUCTIVE USE OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION. DIRECT BENEFICIARIES OF THE PROJECT WILL BE AN ESTIMATED 9,000 RURAL POOR FAMILIES. OF THESE, APPROXIMATELY 7,000 WILL RECEIVE TITLES TO LAND, THEREBY IMPROVING THEIR TENURE SECURITY AND ACCESS TO PRODUCTION CREDIT.

9. IN REFERENCE TO ITEM 2F OF THE SUBJECT CPELE, THE COOR HAS PLACED A HIGH PRIORITY ON DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATLANTIC REGION. IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT ITCO WILL PROVIDE A WIDE RANGE OF SUPPORT

SERVICES TO BOTH ITS COLONISTS AND THE BENEFICIARIES OF ITS TITLING PROGRAM IN THE ATLANTIC AREA: PROMOTION, AGRO-INDUSTRY AND FARM IMPROVEMENT, ROADS AND OTHER INFRASTRUCTURE, AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICES, TITLING, HOUSING ASSISTANCE, COOPERATIVE FORMATION AND COUNSELING, ORIENTATION AND SPECIAL PROGRAMS IN AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

FURTHERMORE, THE MISSION'S PLAN TO FURTHER THE OBJECTIVES OF PD 72 (E.G., EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURAL ASSETS, INCREASED PRODUCTION AND THE POOR'S ACCESS TO THE FACTORS OF PRODUCTION, INSTITUTION BUILDING, ETC.) ARE FULLY CONSISTENT WITH -- INDEED ARE RACED ON -- COSTA RICAN PRIORITIES IN THE AREA OF LAND TENURE AND COLONIZATION.

ALTHOUGH THE MISSION'S PROPOSED PLAN RELATIVE TO PD 72 DOES NOT ATTEMPT TO COVER THE WHOLE SPECTRUM OF LAND TENURE AND ASSOCIATED ISSUES IN COSTA RICA, IT WILL ADDRESS THE TENURE PROBLEMS IN AN AREA OF HIGH SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE GOVERNMENT, AND IT IS ANTICIPATED THAT IT WILL HAVE POSITIVE BENEFITS FOR A SIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF RURAL POOR.

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 GEORGETOWN 1005

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E.O. 12055: NA
SUBJ: AID SUPPORT FOR LAND REFORM

REF: STATE 034699

A. ACCESS TO LAND IS NOT A SIGNIFICANT PROBLEM FOR AID'S TARGET, I.E., LOW INCOME, POPULATION IN GUYANA. 1979 RURAL FARM HOUSEHOLD SURVEY (RFHS) WITH REFERENCE PERIOD OF CY 1978 INDICATED ONE-THIRD OF HOUSEHOLDS WHICH WERE NON-TARGET GROUP CONTROLLED LESS THAN ONE-HALF OF THE PRIVATELY OCCUPIED FARMLANDS IN GUYANA. THIS SKENNESS IN DISTRIBUTION NOT NEARLY AS SEVERE AS ONE MIGHT ENCOUNTER ELSEWHERE. STATE LANDS ARE AVAILABLE FOR LEASE AT EXTREMELY LOW COST. THESE LANDS, HOWEVER, ARE IN THE UNDEVELOPED HINTERLANDS WITH NO INFRASTRUCTURE AND RELATIVELY POORER QUALITY LAND. RFHS FURTHER INDICATED THAT ALTHOUGH LAND AVAILABILITY AND USE APPEARS ONLY MODERATELY IMPORTANT AS A FACTOR DISTINGUISHING TWO-THIRDS OF THE FARM HOUSEHOLDS THAT CONSTITUTED TARGET GROUP FROM NON-TARGET GROUP, QUALITY OF LAND, ESPECIALLY WITH RESPECT TO WATER CONTROL, IS MOST IMPORTANT TO EFFICIENCY OF CROP PRODUCTION.

AVERAGE FARM HOUSEHOLD OWNED JUST OVER ONE-HALF OF ITS LAND BY FREEHOLD, GRANT, OR TRANCPORT, ALL OF WHICH ARE TRADITIONALLY SECURE MEANS OF HOLDING LAND UNDER ENGLISH COMMON LAW. AN ADDITIONAL ONE-THIRD OF THE LAND WAS HELD UNDER LONG-TERM LEASES THAT EXCEEDED 21 YEARS. CONSEQUENTLY, ONLY ABOUT 13 PERCENT OF LAND HELD BY FARM HOUSEHOLDS WAS HELD ON SHORT-TERM LEASES OR BY OTHER TEMPORARY MEANS. IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, IT IS DIFFICULT TO CONCLUDE THAT TENURE MIGHT BE A MAJOR DETERRENT TO LAND ACQUISITION AND CAPITAL IMPROVEMENT OR THAT SIGNIFICANT TENURE REFORM IS NEEDED.

B. RELATED STUDIES/ANALYSES IN GUYANA:

1979 GUYANA RURAL FARM HOUSEHOLD SURVEY. SECTIONS ON LAND TENURE, LAND USE, FARM SIZE, COST OF PRODUCTION, HOUSEHOLD INCOME, ETC. A.I.D.

1979 SECOND RICE MODERNIZATION PROJECT FEASIBILITY STUDY AND REPORT. SECTIONS ON SOCIAL STRUCTURES IN THE RICE GROWING AREAS, LAND TENURE, FARM SIZE DISTRIBUTION, SOCIAL SOUNDNESS ANALYSIS. A.I.D.

1978 INCOME AND LAND DISTRIBUTION IN GUYANA: A SURVEY OF EXISTING INFORMATION. INCLUDES SUMMARY OF EXISTING INFORMATION ON LAND DISTRIBUTION IN GUYANA UP TO 1978. A.I.D.

1978 GUYANA DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROJECT. AMERINDIANS. A SOCIAL SOUNDNESS ANALYSIS, BRIEFLY DISCUSSES THE ROLE OF AMERINDIAN WOMEN ON RD. A.I.D.

1976 THE INTERMEDIATE SAVANNAHS REPORT. STUDY OF THE BERBICE RIVER AREA, INCLUDES SOIL AND LAND CAPABILITY. A.I.D.

1974 BLACK BUSH HOLDER FEASIBILITY REPORT. STUDIES A GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENT SCHEME ON THE EAST COAST INVESTIGATING THE EXPANSION OF THE SCHEME, PRIMARILY INVOLVED IN RICE CULTIVATION. A.I.D.

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1974 SUPERNAM FEASIBILITY REPORT FEASIBILITY STUDY FOR A LAND RECLAMATION PROJECT. A.I.D.

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1974 GUYANA'S FOODCROP SYSTEMS. AN ANALYSIS FOR DEVELOPMENTAL PLANNING A STUDY ON FARMING AREAS PRODUCING CROPS NOT PRIMARILY ORIENTED TO EXPORT MARKETS, IDENTIFIES EXISTENCE OF GROPLANDS IN THE COASTAL AREAS NOT BENEFICIALLY OCCUPIED. A.I.D.

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1974 EAST BANK RESOURCE SURVEY. INCLUDES SECTIONS ON LAND USE ESTIMATES AND LAND TENURE. GOVERNMENT OF GUYANA.

1973 TAPAKUNA IRRIGATION PROJECT FEASIBILITY REPORT. A STUDY ON GOVERNMENT SETTLEMENT SCHEMES SIMILAR TO BLACK BUSH AND SUPERNAM. IBRD.

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1973 ESSEQUIBO ISLANDS: LAND TENURE AND LAND USE. PROVIDES INFORMATION ON ASPECTS FROM THE HISTORY TO PRESENT DAY TENANCY ARRANGEMENTS. UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA.

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1973 FARM SIZE, DISTRIBUTION, AND TENANCY PATTERN: ANNANDALE TO LEFT BANK SUPERNAM RIVER. PRESENTS TABULATION BY SIZE OF HOLDING AND TYPE OF TENURE. UNIVERSITY OF GUYANA.

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1969 AMERINDIAN LANDS COMMISSION REPORT. LAND CLAIMS OF AMERINDIANS AND RECOMMENDATION OVER RESOLUTION OF CLAIMS, LAND USE. GOVERNMENT OF GUYANA.

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UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 AMMAN 01642

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FOR PPC/PDPR/RD

E.O. 12065: N/A SUBJECT: LAND REFORM IN JORDAN VALLEY

REF: STATE 034699

1. THE FOLLOWING RESPONSES, LABELLED BY CORRESPONDING PARAGRAPH OF REFTEL PROVIDE BEST INFORMATION READILY AVAILABLE TO USAID/J. AID/W IS ALSO REFERRED TO THE USAID AGRICULTURE SECTOR STRATEGY. RESPONSES BELOW REFER PRIMARILY TO CONDITIONS IN JORDAN VALLEY. USAID HAS LIMITED DETAILED KNOWLEDGE OF UPLAND AGRICULTURAL SITUATION. HOWEVER, UNDERSTANDING IS THAT PRIMARY PROBLEM IS SMALL SIZE OF HOLDING AND THAT GOJ IS STUDYING POSSIBILITIES OF A PROGRAM FOR LAND CONSOLIDATION.

2. (1A) A. ACCESS TO AGRICULTURAL LAND IS NOT A MAJOR PROBLEM FOR MAJORITY OF AGENCY'S TARGET POPULATION, I.E. THE POOR, IN JORDAN. PER PRELIMINARY FINDINGS OF 1979 CENSUS ABOUT 63 PERCENT OF COUNTLESS THUS MOST OF JORDAN'S POOR ARE URBAN. JORDAN HAS LIMITED ARABLE LAND AND NATURAL RESOURCES, AND PER FY82 CDS MOST OF RURAL POOR ARE TENANT FARMERS OR NOMADS IN MORE ARID NORTHEASTERN AND SOUTHERN REGIONS OF JORDAN. FOR POOR IN MORE FAVORED JORDAN VALLEY, POVERTY IS MORE A PROBLEM OF ACCESS TO MODERN TECHNOLOGY THAN ACCESS TO LAND. WITH RISING EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AND SIGNIFICANT PROSPECTS FOR HIGHER PAYING JOBS IN CITIES AND GULF STATES RURAL RESIDENTS ARE LEAVING AGRICULTURE OR RURAL AREAS. THIS PARTICULARLY EVIDENT AMONG BEDOUIN AND IN UPLAND AGRICULTURAL AREAS WHERE DROUGHT DURING 1975-79 HASTENED EXODUS. BUT ALSO, EVEN IN JORDAN VALLEY, COUNTRY'S MOST FAVORED AGRICULTURE AREA, AGRICULTURAL LABOR INCREASINGLY BEING PERFORMED BY FOREIGN LABORERS FROM EGYPT, PAKISTAN, ETC. AGRICULTURE IS A SECTOR OF DECLINING IMPORTANCE TO GDP, REPRESENTING ONLY ABOUT 10 PERCENT, WHILE ECONOMY IS DOMINATED BY SERVICES SECTOR.

2. (1A) B. LAND DOES ENTER PICTURE, HOWEVER, IN UPLANDS WHERE FARM UNITS ARE FREQUENTLY TOO SMALL, FRAGMENTED, AND OFTEN JOINTLY OWNED AS WELL, TO PERMIT FULL-TIME FARMING AND PROVIDE SUFFICIENT RETURN. IN JORDAN VALLEY LAND DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM IMPLEMENTED IN CONNECTION WITH DEVELOPMENT OF IRRIGATED AGRICULTURE HAS TRANSFERRED OWNERSHIP RIGHTS TO NEW OWNERS AND REDUCED SIZE-RANGE OF INDIVIDUAL LAND OWNERSHIP TO FIT WITHIN LEGALLY PRESCRIBED MAXIMUM FARM SIZE OF 20 HECTARES AND MINIMUM OF 4 HA. THIS EFFORT WILL CONTINUE ON NEW LAND AREAS COMING UNDER IRRIGATION, INCLUDING THOSE FROM MAGARIN DAM PROJECT. THIS RE-DISTRIBUTION DID NOT, HOWEVER, EITHER SEEK TO OR ACHIEVE A SUBSTITUTION OF OWNER-OPERATED FARMING FOR TENANT FARMING.

MAJORITY OF VALLEY FARMS ARE SMALL AND LARGELY SHARECROPPER OPERATED. HOWEVER, ECONOMIC SETUP ARE GOOD, THERE IS COMMERCIAL CROP ORIENTATION, AND LABOR SHORTAGE GIVES SKILLED SHARECROPPERS REASONABLE BARGAINING POSITION VIS-A-VIS LAND OWNERS. AS PRACTICED IN VALLEY SHARECROPPING MAY BE MORE EFFICIENT AND EQUITABLE THAN IS TRUE IN OTHER COUNTRIES. THEREFORE, GIVEN ECONOMIC AND LAND TENURE SITUATION IN VALLEY, DISTRIBUTION OF LAND DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE MAJOR ISSUE. IN UPLANDS LAND REFORM MAY BE MORE ONE OF CONSOLIDATING VERY SMALL PARCELS OF LAND TO CONSTITUTE VIABLE ECONOMIC UNIT, THEREBY ALSO REDUCING NUMBER OF OWNERS, THAN OF BREAKING UP AND DISTRIBUTING LARGE UNITS OWNED BY ONE INDIVIDUAL AS IS MORE OFTEN THE CASE IN LDC'S.

- 3. (1B) MOST RELEVANT STUDIES ARE: A. FRAENKEL'S SOCIAL SOUNDNESS ANALYSIS OF MAGARIN DAM, 1980, USAID. B. FERNEA'S SOCIAL SOUNDNESS ANALYSIS FOR JORDAN VALLEY FARMERS ASSOCIATION, USAID. C. HAZELTON'S SOCIAL SOUNDNESS ANALYSIS FOR JORDAN VALLEY FARMERS ASSOCIATION CREDIT PROGRAM, 1978, USAID. D. HISHAM SHARAB'S REPORT, AGRO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF TENANCY IN THE EAST JORDAN VALLEY, 1975, ROYAL SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY.

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E. JARED HAZELTON'S STUDY, (THE IMPACT OF THE EAST GHOR CANAL PROJECT ON LAND CONSOLIDATION, DISTRIBUTION AND TENURE,) OF DECEMBER 1974 PUBLISHED BY ROYAL SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY.

F. CHAPTER 7 OF MICHAEL MAZUR'S 1979 BOOK (ECONOMIC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT IN JORDAN) PUBLISHED BY VESTVIEW PRESS.

4. (I.G). NO USAID STUDIES ARE CURRENTLY PLANNED. THE JORDAN VALLEY AUTHORITY IS CONDUCTING A LIMITED REVIEW COMPARING CURRENT SITUATION IN JORDAN VALLEY ON OWNERSHIP AND SIZE OF PARCELS WITH SITUATION IN 1962 BEFORE REDISTRIBUTION TOOK PLACE.

5. (ID). A. IN CONNECTION WITH ITS SUPPORT FOR CONSTRUCTION OF THE EAST GHOR CANAL, USAID/J DEMANDED LAND REDISTRIBUTION IN THE AREA SERVICES BY THE CANAL. THIS REDISTRIBUTION AND CONSOLIDATION TOOK PLACE IN THE EARLY 1960'S, AND JVA AND THE MISSION NOW HAS FAIRLY COMPLETE RECORDS OF THE PROGRAM. SEVERAL OF ABOVE LISTED DOCUMENTS CONTAIN ASSESSMENTS OF THE IMPACT OF THIS LAND REDISTRIBUTION EFFORT.

5. (ID). B. CURRENTLY, GOJ REGULATIONS REQUIRE LAND CONSOLIDATION AND REDISTRIBUTION WHEN PUBLIC IRRIGATION WATERS ARE PROVIDED. THE FOLLOWING RECENTLY COMPLETED AID-ASSISTED IRRIGATION PROJECTS FALL UNDER THIS REGULATION: 1) EAST GHOR CANAL EXTENSION, 276-0193, FY73, DOL 10 MILLION, 2) ZARQA TRIANGLE IRRIGATION, 276-0194, FY75, DOL 4.5 MILLION. NEW LANDS TO BE IRRIGATED AS RESULT OF CONSTRUCTION MAQARIN DAM WILL FALL UNDER SAME STATUTES.

5. (ID). C. THE CURRENT AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM OF USAID/J IS ORIENTED TOWARD INCREASING AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE JORDAN VALLEY AND IS CONCENTRATED IN THE AREAS WHERE LAND REDISTRIBUTION HAS TAKEN OR WILL TAKE PLACE. THE RELEVANT PROJECTS ARE: 1) WATER MANAGEMENT TECHNOLOGY, 278-0192, FY77, DOL 1.3 MILLION, 2) JORDAN VALLEY FARMERS ASSOCIATION, 278-0185, FY77 DOL 1.6 MILLION, 3) AGRICULTURAL CREDIT, 279-0207, FY78, DOL 1.5 MILLION, 4) CROP PRODUCTIVITY, 278-0241, FY80, DOL 2.8 MILLION (ESTIMATED).

6. (IE). PER ABOVE, ONLY NEW PROJECT NOW ENVISAGED WHICH MIGHT FURTHER PD 72 GOALS IS MAQARIN DAM PROJECT. USAID MAY COMMIT IN FY80 INITIAL TRANCHE OF AID'S DOL 150 MILLION CONTRIBUTION TOWARD CURRENTLY ESTIMATED DOL 1200 MILLION TOTAL CONSTRUCTION COST. IBRD APPRAISAL BEING PREPARED. BANK WITH AID, UK, WEST GERMANY AND VARIOUS ARAB STATES ARE DONORS.

7. (IF). MISSION'S PRINCIPAL SECTOR OF PROGRAM EMPHASIS IS WATER. WITHIN THIS SECTOR EMPHASIS IS

SHIFTING FROM AGRICULTURAL USES TO URBAN USES, ESPECIALLY FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION. GIVEN GOJ LAWS AND PAST AID INVOLVEMENT IN INCREASING SUPPLY FOR AGRICULTURAL PURPOSES, MISSION'S EFFORTS HAVE AFFECTED PD 72 THRUST. FOR FUTURE, PROVISION OF AGRICULTURE TA GEARED TO INCREASING JORDAN VALLEY FARMERS', INCLUDING SYMBOCROPPERS', PRODUCTIVITY (AND THEREBY INCOMES) SHOULD MAKE POSSIBLE FULL REALIZATION OF BENEFITS TO BE DERIVED FROM GOJ IRRIGATION DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR ASSOCIATED LAND TENURE PROGRAMS. VELIOTES

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 DACCA 0984

AIDAC

PASS PPC/PORR/RD AND ASIA/TA/AGR

E.O. 12065: N/A
SUBJ: AID SUPPORT OF LAND REFORM - BANGLADESH

REF: (A) STATE 034099; (B) STATE 040752
(C) FY 1981 AND FY 1982 CDS

1. SUMMARY: WHILE THE CURRENT LAND TENURE SITUATION CONSTITUTES A CONSTRAINT TO EQUITABLE GROWTH IN BANGLADESH THE EVIDENCE TO DATE DOES NOT SUPPORT THE CASE THAT LAND REFORM IS EITHER A NECESSARY OR SUFFICIENT CONDITION TO DEVELOPMENT. SINCE LAND REDISTRIBUTION WOULD LEAD TO FRAGMENTATION INTO SMALL ECONOMICALLY UNVIABLE PLOTS, IT MIGHT HAVE LITTLE POSITIVE IMPACT ON AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTIVITY AND RURAL WELFARE. MOREOVER, BECAUSE THE PATTERN OF LAND DISTRIBUTION IS BASICALLY A REFLECTION OF THE COUNTRY'S RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE, LAND REFORM MEASURES WOULD BE UNENFORCEABLE, OR AT BEST TRANSITORY, IN THE ABSENCE OF OTHER BROAD SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE. THE MISSION'S STRATEGY FOR IMPROVING THE LOT OF THE LANDLESS POOR INVOLVES OTHER ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS WHICH WILL ENCOURAGE LAND TO BE USED FOR ITS PRODUCTIVE POTENTIAL, MEANWHILE PROVIDING ALTERNATIVE OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES. NOTE: MISSION SUPPLYING ONLY INFORMATION REQUESTED BY REFTEL THAT IS NOT AVAILABLE IN CDS OR IN REFERENCED COMPLETED STUDIES FUNDED BY USAID/BANGLADESH. SUGGEST YOU CONTACT CRANDALL DURING AID/W TDY WHO PER REF B IS ABLE TO RESPOND TO ANY FURTHER QUESTIONS. END SUMMARY.

A. LAND TENURE SITUATION IN BANGLADESH: WE CALL YOUR ATTENTION TO MISSION'S 1981 AND 1982 CDS ANALYSIS OF CURRENT LOCAL LAND TENURE SITUATION AND OUR ASSESSMENT OF ITS IMPACT ON THE TARGET POPULATION FROM THE PERSPECTIVES OF EMPLOYMENT, PRODUCTIVITY, INCOMES AND NUTRITION. MISSION CDS VIEWS LAND TENURE SITUATION AS QUOTE FOREMOST UNQUOTE AMONG CONSTRAINTS TO GROWTH WITH EQUITY. DUE TO THE LINK BETWEEN LAND AND ACCESS TO MODERN PRODUCTION INPUTS, A SIGNIFICANT SHARE OF AID'S RURAL TARGET POPULATION WITH NO ACCESS TO LAND HAS NO MEANS OF PARTICIPATING IN OR BENEFITTING FROM MODERN PRODUCTION. LAND OWNERSHIP IN BANGLADESH MEANS COLLATERAL FOR LOANS TO BUY MODERN INPUTS. THOSE WITH NO LAND, EVEN IF THEY GET INPUTS, OFTEN MUST SURRENDER HALF THE CROP AT HARVEST AS RENT UNDER CURRENT SHARECROPPING ARRANGEMENTS. THE ONLY GOVERNMENT MEASURE TAKEN SINCE INDEPENDENCE TO ALLEVIATE THIS SITUATION HAS BEEN THE DECLARATION OF AN EASILY EVADED 33-ACRE CEILING ON LAND OWNERSHIP. NO NEW MEASURES ARE IN THE OFFING DESPITE RUMOR THAT THE GOVERNMENT CURRENTLY HAS UNDER STUDY THE FURTHER REDUCTION OF THE LAND OWNERSHIP CEILING. IT HAS NEVER BEEN THE CONTENTION OF SERIOUS POLICYMAKERS, HOWEVER, THAT EVERYONE WANTING LAND SHOULD GET IT. NOT ONLY WOULD THIS LEAD TO A FRAGMENTATION OF LAND INTO ECONOMICALLY UNVIABLE UNITS BUT IT FAILS TO RECOGNISE THE POTENTIAL FOR RAISING RURAL WELFARE THROUGH OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT. THE CURRENT LAND TENURE SITUATION IN BANGLADESH THEREFORE DOES CONSTRAIN DEVELOPMENT AMONG AID'S TARGET GROUP, BUT EVEN IF RESOLVED THROUGH LAND REDISTRIBUTION THE EFFECT MAY BE LESS FAR-REACHING THAN OTHER MEASURES PURSUED BY AID AND THE BOG TO IMPROVE THEIR WELFARE.

B. COMPLETED STUDIES: THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE AND UP-TO-DATE PROFILE OF LAND TENURE CONDITIONS CAN BE FOUND IN THE STATISTICAL TABLES IN THE AID-FUNDED REPORTS BY F. T. JAHNUZI AND J. T. PEACH: REPORT ON THE HIERARCHY OF INTERESTS IN LAND IN BANGLADESH (1977) AND BANGLADESH: A PROFILE OF THE COUNTRYSIDE (1973). THESE REPORTS ARE BASED ON COUNTRY-WIDE LAND OCCUPANCY SURVEYS OF 34,000 RESPONDENTS IN 1977 AND 1973. LOS-77 AND LOS-73 CONTAIN BIBLIOGRAPHICS AND FOOTNOTES LISTING NEARLY ALL OTHER STUDIES ON LAND TENURE CONDUCTED IN BANGLADESH UP TO THAT TIME. THE ONLY MORE RECENT PUBLICATIONS ARE VILLAGE-LEVEL STUDIES BY: (1) JOHN P. THORP, TITLE: DARIPALIA, (DACCA 1973) FUNDED BY CARITAS; (2) MARTY CHEN, TITLE: WHO GETS WHAT AND WHY? (DACCA, 1979) FUNDED BY BRAC, A LOCAL VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION WORKING IN RURAL DEVELOPMENT; (3) JENNEKE ARENS AND JOE VAN BEURDEN TITLE: JHAGRAPUR (AMSTERDAM, 1977) THIRD WORLD PUBLICATIONS; (4) BETSY HARTMANN AND JAMES BOYCE, TITLE: NEEDLESS HUNGER: VOICES FROM A BANGLADESH VILLAGE (INSTITUTE OF FOOD AND NUTRITION, WASH D.C., 1979). AN OVERVIEW OF THE LAND TENURE SITUATION FROM THE BOG VIEW-POINT PLUS AN IDEA OF THE STATUS OF OFFICIAL THINKING REGARDING HOW TO COPE WITH IT WAS PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE AND FORESTS, TITLE: BANGLADESH COUNTRY REVIEW, MAY 1978 FOR THE FAO WORLD CONFERENCE ON AGRARIAN REFORM AND WORLD DEVELOPMENT IN ROME.

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C. PLANNED STUDIES: AID CURRENTLY HAS UNDERWAY TWO STUDY ACTIVITIES EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF THE PRESENT LAND TENURE SITUATION ON ACCESS TO PRODUCTIVE AGRICULTURAL INPUTS. THE 3-YEAR \$7,000,000 RURAL FINANCE PROJECT INVOLVES ANALYSIS OF VARIOUS SCHEMES FOR DELIVERY OF CREDIT TO SMALL AND LANDLESS RURAL BORROWERS. OF PARTICULAR INTEREST IN THIS PROJECT IS THE ATTEMPT TO SET UP FINANCIALLY SOLVENT CREDIT DELIVERY MECHANISMS THAT COMBINE NO LAND COLLATERAL WITH HIGHER INTEREST RATES TO COVER DEFAULTS AND BETTER LAON SUPERVISION. UNDER THE FERTILIZER DISTRIBUTION IMPROVEMENT PROJECT A \$300,000 FERTILIZER EQUITY STUDY BY IFDC AND BARC IS LOOKING INTO THE IMPACT OF FARM SIZE AND LAND OWNERSHIP AS WELL OTHER VARIABLES ON ACCESS TO AND USE OF CHEMICAL FERTILIZER, ASIDE FROM THESE USAID-FUNDED ACTIVITIES, MISSION IS NOT AWARE OF ANY OTHER STUDY EFFORTS CURRENTLY PLANNED OR UNDERWAY THAT DEAL WITH LAND TENURE PROBLEMS IN BANGLADESH.

D. COMPLETED PROJECTS: TO THE MISSION'S KNOWLEDGE THERE HAVE BEEN NO PROJECTS IN BANGLADESH DESIGNED FOR LAND REFORM PURPOSES. SOME LAND HAS BEEN RECLAIMED UNDER POLDER, CANAL, DIKE AND OTHER RURAL WORKS ENDEAVORS ASSOCIATED WITH FOOD FOR WORK ACTIVITIES BUT LAND REFORM WAS ONLY AN INDIRECT OUTPUT OF THESE EFFORTS. GOVERNMENT INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND IRRIGATION SCHEMES, ASSISTED IN SOME PARTS OF THE COUNTRY BY THE WORLD BANK AND ADB, MAY BE CONTRIBUTING TO AMELIORATING SOME OF THE PROBLEMS OF SMALL FARM AGRICULTURE BUT CONTAIN NO LAND REDISTRIBUTION COMPONENTS. WE ARE AWARE OF NO PAST ACTIVITIES IN THE AREA OF CADASTRAL SURVEYS OR LAND TITLING THAT WOULD FORM THE BASIS FOR LAND REFORM PROJECTS. A FEW BDG AGENCIES AND SOME PVO'S ARE EXPERIMENTING WITH GROUP FARMING AND OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT PROJECTS AMONG LANDLESS AND SMALL TENANT CULTIVATORS. AMONG THESE ARE: (1) AN FAO-FUNDED 3-YEAR \$40,000 ACTION/RESEARCH PROJECT FOR SMALL AND LANDLESS LABORERS IN EIGHT VILLAGE LOCATIONS IN 1977-79; AND (2) A SIMILAR UNDERTAKING BY THE LOCAL VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION, BANGLADESH RURAL ADVANCEMENT COMMITTEE (BRAC) WHICH BEGAN IN 1973 AND IS NOW REACHING OVER 1,000 GROUPS OF 10-15 FAMILIES EACH. BOTH ARE DESIGNED TO IDENTIFY WAYS IN WHICH SOCIAL GROUPS COULD POOL RESOURCES AND TAP GOVERNMENT SERVICES. NONE OF THESE EFFORTS, WHILE OFTEN SUCCESSFUL ON A MICRO-SCALE HAS SOLVED THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO EXPAND SUCH PILOT PROJECTS IN A COST-EFFECTIVE FASHION AMONG THE 65,000 VILLAGES IN BANGLADESH. THE MOST PROMISING DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY EMERGING FROM THESE ENDEAVORS, SHOULD BASIC LAND TENURE, SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STRUCTURES NOT BE CHANGED, IS THE BRAC OFF-FARM PROGRAM WITH THE LANDLESS WHICH, BY STRENGTHENING THEIR PURCHASING POWER, SKILLS, AND ACCESS TO RESOURCES, IS HELPING OFF-SET TO SOME EXTENT THE NEGATIVE EFFORTS OF THE EXISTING LAND TENURE SYSTEM.

E AND F. PLANNED PROJECTS: MISSION AT THIS TIME IS PLANNING NO PROJECTS BEARING DIRECTLY ON LAND REFORM OR REDISTRIBUTION AND HAS NO KNOWLEDGE OF PLANS TO DO SO BY ANY OTHER DONORS OR BY BDG AGENCIES IN BANGLADESH. WE ARE NEVERTHELESS ENCOURAGED BY RECENT BDG INITIATIVES TO ACHIEVE LOWER POPULATION GROWTH AND GREATER FOODGRAIN PRODUCTION WITH MAXIMUM EMPLOYMENT AND OPTIMUM USE OF THE COUNTRY'S LAND AND LABOR RESOURCES. AT PRESENT HOWEVER, LAND REFORM IS BEYOND THE POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CAPABILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT EVEN IF AN EFFECTIVE

SCHEME COULD BE DEVISED. MISSION BELIEVES IT MORE OPPORTUNE TO SUPPORT THOSE BDG INITIATIVES THAT CAN BE MANAGED EFFECTIVELY AND PARTICULARLY THOSE RELATED TO IMPROVING BROAD BASED ACCESS TO MODERN INPUTS, SO THAT SMALL FARMERS AND EVEN TENANTS CAN MORE EFFECTIVELY PARTICIPATE. MISSION PROGRAMS TO REDUCE THE PRESSURE ON THE RURAL POPULATION BY IMPROVING OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND REDUCED POPULATION GROWTH ARE ALSO PLANNED WITH THIS GOAL IN MIND.
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E.O. 12065: N/A

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SUBJ: AID SUPPORT OF LAND REFORM

REF: STATE 34699

1. ANSWERS KEYED TO QUESTIONS REFTEL PARA 2.

A. ACCESS TO LAND

FROM 1952 TO 1973 THOSE WHO BELIEVED IN LAND REFORM WERE GROWING IN POWER. LAND WAS EXPROPRIATED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE NORMS LATER ADOPTED BY AID 'M PD 72 AND EITHER CASH OR GOVERNMENT BONDS WERE GIVEN IN EXCHANGE FOR LAND EXPROPRIATED. THE EXPROPRIATED LAND WAS IN THE GREAT MAJORITY OF CASES COMMONLY FARMED AS ASENTAMIENTOS AND VERY FEW LAND TITLES WERE TRANSFERRED. THE MOMENTUM OF THE LAND REFORM BAND WAGON PICKED UP SPEED IN 1970 WHEN THE ALLENDE GOVERNMENT ACHIEVED POWER. FROM 1962 TO 1970 4 MILLION HECTARES WERE EXPROPRIATED; FROM 1970 TO 1973 6,300,000 HECTARES WERE EXPROPRIATED AND POSSESSION WAS GIVEN TO AGRICULTURAL GROUPS (ASENTAMIENTOS).

WHEN THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT ASSUMED POWER IN 1973 IT SET ABOUT PASSING STATE LAND TO PRIVATE HANDS. THE LANDS IN THE HANDS OF ASENTAMIENTOS WERE BROKEN UP AND TITLE TO THE LAND WAS GIVEN TO THE POOR ON AN INDIVIDUAL BASIS. THUS THE PINOCHET GOVERNMENT RECENTLY FINISHED THE TASK OF LAND REFORM STARTED 18 YEARS AGO. THAT LAND UNFIT FOR CULTIVATION WAS KEPT IN LARGE BLOCKS FOR ECOLOGICAL REASONS AND WAS EITHER SOLD AS ONE PIECE OR RETAINED AS STATE LAND.

THE GOC ESTIMATED THAT US\$1 BILLION WORTH OF LAND WAS REDISTRIBUTED UNDER THE AGRARIAN REFORM TO 35,000 RECIPIENT FAMILIES. IT ESTIMATES THAT THE COST OF ADMINISTERING THE TRANSFERS WAS APPROXIMATELY US\$1 BILLION. TODAY LAND IS MORE EVENLY DISTRIBUTED IN CHILE THAN IN ANY OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRY.

MOST OF THE FORMER LAND OWNERS WHOSE LAND WAS EQUITABLY TAKEN FROM THEM RECEIVED LITTLE OR NOTHING FOR IT, INFLATION HAVING DEPRIVED THEM OF THE VALUE OF THE CASH AND BONDS WHICH THEY HAD RECEIVED.

THAT LAND REFORM IS EITHER EQUITABLE OR EFFICIENT ANYWAY, IS A QUESTION WHICH THE CHILEANS IN AGRICULTURAL POLICY MAKING POSITIONS WILL DEBATE, BUT WHICH THEY WILL CONTEND THAT IT CERTAINLY WAS NOT IN CHILE.

ONE OF THE REALITIES IS THAT THOSE WHO RECEIVED LAND UNDER THE LAND REFORM, AS PD 72 PREDICTS, WERE IN NO POSITION TO USE IT PRODUCTIVELY. THESE NEW BUSINESSMEN HAVE PRACTICALLY NO BUSINESS EXPERIENCE AND LITTLE AGRICULTURAL EXPERIENCE. THEY NEED CREDIT, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND MARKET INFORMATION. WITH THE GENERAL PUSH TO A FREE MARKET SYSTEM IN WHICH THE EFFICIENT SURVIVE AND GROW, THE NEW AGRICULTURISTS WHO RECEIVED LAND AS A RESULT OF THE

LAND REFORM ARE IN TROUBLE. MANY SUFFERED LOSSES AND PRODUCTION DROPS LOWERING THEM TO SUBSISTENCE FARMING AND FINALLY TO SELLING OUT.

THE MINIFUNDO PROBLEM

ABOUT 150,000 SMALL FARMERS FACE SERIOUS PROBLEMS CAUSED BY THE FRAGMENTATION OF LAND HOLDINGS DUE TO SUCCESSIVE DIVISION OF SMALL FARMS. THESE PROBLEMS INCLUDE:

- A) HIGH INDICES OF POVERTY
- B) DESTRUCTION OF NATURAL RESOURCES (LAND WATER, FORESTS, ETC.)
- C) THE PRACTICAL IMPOSSIBILITY OF PROVIDING APPROPRIATE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE OR CREDIT BY EITHER PUBLIC OR PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS.
- D) THE DIFFICULTY IN ACQUIRING FARM INPUTS AND SELLING OF FARM PRODUCTS.

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ALTHOUGH FOR THE PAST 20 YEARS THE INSTITUTO DE DESARROLLO AGROPECUARIO (INDAP) HAS PROVIDED CREDIT AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO THIS SMALL FARM SECTOR, NEVERTHELESS, THIS ASSISTANCE HAS SERVED AS A PALLIATIVE, BUT NOT A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. THE GOVERNMENT HAS NOT GIVEN APPROPRIATE ATTENTION TO THESE PROBLEMS BUT EXPECT THAT THE MARKET FORCES WHICH HAVE BEEN GIVEN FULL REIN BY THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT WILL SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS. THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THESE FORCES CAN CONTRIBUTE IN GREAT MEASURE TO SOLVING THESE PROBLEMS IN THE LONG TERM BUT CERTAINLY NOT IN THE SHORT ONE. THE LARGE PROGRAM OF SANITIZING LAND TITLES UNDERTAKEN BY THIS GOVERNMENT WILL PERMIT THE BUYING, SELLING AND THE USE OF THESE PROPERTIES AS GUARANTEES FOR BORROWING. THIS WILL ALLOW THE MORE SUCCESSFUL FARMERS TO ENLARGE THEIR LAND HOLDINGS AND CAN CONTRIBUTE TO THE CREATION OF ECONOMICALLY VIABLE FARM SIZES. FURTHER, THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN ACTIVITIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF IMPROVED AGRICULTURAL SERVICES WILL ASSIST THE PRESENT OWNERS AND THOSE WHO SELL THEIR PROPERTIES, BUT ONLY AFTER THEY HAVE RECEIVED SUFFICIENT TRAINING.

NOTWITHSTANDING THE ORTHODOX LOGIC OF THESE PREDICTIONS THE GOVERNMENT HAS BEGUN TO REALIZE THAT THE IMPERFECTIONS OF THE MARKET PREVENT THESE SOLUTIONS FROM DEVELOPING IN THE SHORT RUN. POSITIVE ACTION MUST BE TAKEN IN THE FACE OF EVER LOWERING LIVING LEVELS OF THE MINIFUNDISTAS AND THE CONTINUAL DETERIORATION OF THE NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY. THE GOC HAS BEGUN TO REALIZE THAT THESE PROBLEMS DO NOT ALLOW A PROGRAM OF WAITING FOR NATURAL MARKET PHENOMENON TO AMELIORATE THE SITUATION. THE GOVERNMENT MUST ASSUME THE INITIATIVE AND UNDERTAKE MEASURES TO ALLEVIATE THE PROBLEM AND TO SOFTEN THE IMPACT OF THE NATURAL MARKET FORCES ON THE POOR.

IN ADDITION TO ITS PROGRAM IN THE PROCESS OF CLEARING LAND TITLES, WHICH COULD BE EXPANDED, THE GOVERNMENT IS STUDYING OTHER MEASURES WHICH SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN.

COLONIZATION OF RURAL AREAS

CHILE IS A SPARSELY POPULATED COUNTRY WITH ITS POPULATION NOT EVENLY DISTRIBUTED OVER ITS TERRITORY. ALMOST HALF OF ITS POPULATION IS LOCATED IN TWO CENTRAL REGIONS AMONG THE 13 EXISTING REGIONS. POPULATION DENSITY VARIES FROM 290 INHABITANTS PER SQUARE KILOMETER IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA TO 0.1 INHABITANT PER SQUARE KILOMETER IN THE XII REGION.

FOR BOTH DEVELOPMENT, ECONOMIC AND NATIONAL SECURITY REASONS, THE STATE IS ENCOURAGING THE COLONIZATION OF VAST AREAS OF THE COUNTRY, ESPECIALLY IN THE SOUTHERN PART. FOR EXAMPLE, THE GOVERNMENT STARTED THE CONSTRUCTION OF A 800

KILOMETER ROAD WHICH WILL TIE THE AREA OF THE NATIONAL MARKET AND ENCOURAGE THE SETTLEMENT OF OTHER AREAS ALONG THIS ROUTE. THIS WILL SERVE AS AN IMPETUS FOR THE COLONIZATION PROGRAM. PRELIMINARY STUDIES ARE UNDERWAY TO INTENSIFY THIS COLONIZATION PROCESS.

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IN THIS AREA OF ACTIVITY TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND INTERNATIONAL FINANCING WILL PROBABLY BE REQUIRED.

IN SUMMARY, THE ANSWER TO THE QUESTION POSED IN REFTEL, PARAGRAPH 2A IS:

A) THE PROFILE OF LAND DISTRIBUTION IS SATISFACTORY IF COMPARED TO THAT IN OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES AND FURTHER LAND REFORM IS NEITHER POLITICALLY FEASIBLE NOR ECONOMICALLY ADVISABLE;

B) THE PROBABILITY OF THE PRESENT EQUITABLE LAND DISTRIBUTION REMAINING IS RELATIVELY LOW. IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR PRESENT OWNERS OF INDIVIDUALLY ASSIGNED COMMUNITY HOLDINGS TO RETAIN POSSESSION OF ECONOMICALLY USABLE FARMS; THE MAJOR PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THE PRESENT COMMUNITY HOLDINGS RECENTLY ASSIGNED, ARE THEIR INCORPORATION TO THE LARGE FARMS AND THEIR GRADUAL SUBDIVISION INTO ANTI-ECONOMIC SMALL FARMS DUE TO THE DEMOGRAPHIC PRESSURE;

C) WITH RESPECT TO THE CONSOLIDATION OF SMALL FARMS (MINIFUNDIOS) THERE IS A PRESSING NEED TO STUDY THE PRESENT SITUATION. THE PLANNING FOR, AND IMPLEMENTATION OF CONSOLIDATION PROGRAMS TO FOSTER ECONOMICALLY VIABLE UNITS AND PROMOTE ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT IS REQUIRED BY THE SMALL OWNERS AND IS IMPORTANT FROM THE NATION'S POINT OF VIEW.

B. MAJOR STUDIES MADE ON LAND REFORM IN CHILE.

SEVERAL AND IMPORTANT STUDIES HAVE BEEN MADE RELATED TO LAND REFORM. AMONG THESE ARE:

1. "STUDY OF LAND TENURE IN CHILE" PREPARED BY THE COMITE INTERAMERICANO DE DESARROLLO AGRICOLA (CIDA) PUBLISHED IN 1955.

2. "NATIONAL PLAN ON AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT FOR 1965-1980" PREPARED BY THE OFICINA DE PLANIFICACION AGRICOLA (ODEPA).

3. WORK UP OF AREA PLANS. A SERIES OF REGIONAL PLANNING STUDIES THAT COVER ALL OF THE AGRICULTURAL AREA OF THE COUNTRY TO SERVE AS BASIS FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF ASENTAMIENTOS. CARRIED OUT WITH IICA'S TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN 1966 AND 1969.

4. TABLE OF BASIC ECTARES EQUIVALENT. PREPARED BY THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE, 1966.

5. PHOTOGRAMETRIC PROJECT, PREPARED IN 1960-1962, WHICH SERVED AS BASIS TO UPDATE THE PROPERTY TAX AND QUALITY OF AGRICULTURAL LAND.

C. STUDIES PLANNED

SEVERAL STUDIES OF THE AGRICULTURAL SECTOR ARE PLANNED. ONE WILL BE DONE BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE, SUPPORTED BY THE OFICINA DE PLANIFICACION AGRICOLA (ODEPA), A. I. D., AND FUNDACION CHILE.

UNDER THIS STUDY THE UNIVERSITY OF CHILE WILL DEVELOP SIMULATION MODELS OF THE EFFECTS THAT VARIOUS ACTIVITIES IN THE AGRO-BUSINESS AREAS (E.G. PROCESSING OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS) MIGHT HAVE ON FARM PRODUCTION AND THE ECONOMIC RAMIFICATIONS OF THESE ACTIVITIES.

THERE IS ALSO A PLANNED STUDY TO BE DONE BY CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY SUPPORTED BY ODEPA, FUNDACION CHILE AND A. I. D. TO DETERMINE COMPARATIVE ADVANTAGE OF VARIOUS CROPS BOTH IN EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL MARKETS. THIS STUDY WILL BE DISAGGREGATED BY REGIONS.

D. AND E. PROJECTS AND PROGRAMS BEING CARRIED OUT AND PLANNED FOR FUTURE.

SINCE LAND REFORM IS A "FAIT ACCOMPLI" THE IMPORTANT ASPECT OF THE PROCESS NOW IS TO RETAIN THE EQUITY STATUS ACHIEVED AT TREMENDOUS SOCIAL COST BY PROVIDING TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, CREDIT AND OTHER SUPPORT SERVICES.

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AID LOAN 513-T-067 WAS DESIGNED TO INCREASE THE VOLUME AND EFFECTIVENESS OF PRODUCTION CREDIT CHANNELLED TO SMALL SCALE FARMERS THROUGH PUBLIC SECTOR LENDING INSTITUTIONS AND ENCOURAGE PRIVATE SECTOR BANKS TO LEND TO SMALL FARMERS. IT WAS ALSO TO ASSIST THE CHILEAN OFFICE OF AGRICULTURAL PLANNING (ODEPA) TO IMPROVE ITS CAPACITY TO GATHER AND ANALYZE AGRICULTURAL INFORMATION FOR POLICY AND PLANNING PURPOSES.

THIS LOAN IS STILL ACTIVE. \$24 MILLION HAS BEEN MADE AVAILABLE IN CREDIT TO SMALL FARMERS THROUGH THE CENTRAL BANK. THE PRIVATE BANKING SYSTEM HAS HAD ACCESS TO \$4.5 MILLION OF LOAN FUNDS TOGETHER WITH A MATCHING CENTRAL BANK CONTRIBUTION FOR AGRICULTURAL LENDING TO SMALL FARMERS. THE AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE (INDAP) IS RECEIVING \$7.5 MILLION OF AID FUNDS TOGETHER WITH A MATCHING AMOUNT FROM THE CENTRAL BANK FOR RELENDING TO SMALL FARMER (MINIFUNDISTA USUALLY WITH LESS THAN 5 BASIC IRRIGATED HECTARES OF LAND) CLIENTELE. BOTH AID AND THE GOC MADE A \$12 MILLION CONTRIBUTION TO THE REVOLVING FUND.

\$12.8 MILLION WORTH OF LOANS TO ELIGIBLE FARMERS FUNDED BY THE ROTATING FUND HAVE BEEN MADE BY 11 PARTICIPATING COMMERCIAL BANKS SINCE THE LOAN PROJECT'S INCEPTION. INDAP HAS MADE \$13.7 MILLION WORTH OF LOANS ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE PROJECT. THE FOLLOWING FIGURES GIVE AN INDICATION OF THE IMPACT ON THE TARGET GROUP OF THE LOAN PROJECT.

AGENCY	TOTAL AMOUNT LENT	NUMBER BENEFICIARIES	AVERAGE SIZE OF LOANS
INDAP	US\$13.74 MILLION	44,038	312
BANKING SYSTEM	12.81 MILLION	9,810	1,306
TOTAL	US\$26.55 MILLION	53,848	1,493

IN 1979 INDAP PROVIDED A TOTAL OF US\$30 MILLION IN CREDIT AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO OVER 60,000 SMALL FARMERS. IT IS PROJECTED THAT THIS WILL REACH US\$35 MILLION IN 1980 REACHING 100,000 SMALL FARMERS. IN ADDITION US\$ 2 MILLION OF GOC FUNDS WAS SPENT IN 1979 BY THE MINISTRY OF AGRICULTURE TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, THROUGH THE PRIVATE SECTOR TO 10,000 SMALL FARMERS. THE GOC IS RESTRUCTURING THE GOVERNMENT'S EXTENSION/CREDIT SERVICE TO ENHANCE ITS OUTREACH. WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF THE A. I. D. PROJECT IT HAS INVOLVED THE CENTRAL BANK AND PRIVATE BANKING SYSTEM IN LOANS TO THE BETTER OFF SMALL FARMER SO INDAP CAN CONCENTRATE ON THE LEAST WELL OFF. MORE RELEVANT AND EFFECTIVE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, NECESSARY CREDIT AND PRODUCTION FOR MARKET ARE REQUIRED. INDAP, WITH AID ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT IS DEVELOPING AN ACTION PROGRAM TO IDENTIFY AND PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND OTHER INPUTS REQUIRED BY SMALL FARMERS WITHIN GEOGRAPHICALLY DEFINED AREAS. IT IS REORGANIZING IN THREE AREAS OF THE COUNTRY TO ALLOW FIELD AGENTS

TO CARRY OUT THIS PROGRAM. DUE IN LARGE PART TO AID SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE, INDAP DEVELOPED A PILOT INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT IN THE IX REGION. AID'S EFFORTS IN BOTH THESE AREAS HAS LED INDAP TO A REALIZATION OF THE ROLE COOPS CAN PLAY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL FARMER AGRICULTURE. INDAP HAS NOT ONLY BEGUN TO UTILIZE EXISTING COOP STRUCTURES, IT HAS ASSISTED IN THE CREATION OF SIMILAR ORGANIZATIONS TO CHANNEL TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND OTHER SERVICES TO THE SMALL FARMER. THE USE OF SUCH ORGANIZATIONS BY INDAP SIGNALS A MAJOR POLICY REVERSAL.

COORDINATED EFFORTS UNDER LOAN T-055 TO SUPPLY CREDIT AND TO STRENGTHEN COOPERATIVES THROUGH A COOPERATIVE FINANCING ORGANIZATION, IFICOOP, AND A COOP DEVELOPMENT GRANT HAVE RESULTED IN THE FINANCING AND STRENGTHENING OF THE COOP MOVEMENT. AID'S EFFORTS HAVE RESULTED IN THE STRENGTHENING OF 8 AGRICULTURAL COOPS SERVING THE REFORM SECTOR, THE FORMATION OF 15 NEW AGRICULTURAL COMMITTEES (SMALL FARMER PRE-COOPS) AND THE FORMATION OF A MULTI-REGIONAL FEDERATION OF AGRICULTURAL COOPS TO ASSIST ESPECIALLY IN THE MARKETING OF MEMBERS' PRODUCE. THE LOANS THROUGH IFICOOP HAVE BEEN ESPECIALLY EFFECTIVE IN IMPROVING THE COOPS' MARKETING NETWORK. ALL OF THESE ACTIONS ARE DIRECTED AT SUPPLYING THE REFORM SECTOR FARMERS WITH THE CREDIT, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND SERVICES NEEDED TO ENABLE THEM TO PROSPER.

F. AID IS PHASING OUT IN CHILE AND NO NEW PROJECTS ARE BEING PLANNED.
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RANCHES, PROMOTING MORE EFFICIENT MARKETING SYSTEMS AND ASSISTING IN DEVELOPING INSTITUTIONS TO SERVE LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT.
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6. LAND SETTLEMENT AND RE-SETTLEMENT. WHEN TGLP RANCHES WERE SET UP, CONSULTATION HEARINGS WERE HELD WITH LAND BOARD AND THE COMMUNITY TO LISTEN TO CLAIMS. THERE ARE NOT PERMPNENT SETTLERS IN MANY OF THESE AREAS SINCE MOST OF THE RANCHES ARE IN THE WESTERN SANDVELD AREAS. HOWEVER, THERE ARE SOMETIMES "REMOTE AREA DWELLERS" (BUSHMEN/HUNTER-GATHERERS) LOCATED IN THESE AREAS. WITH THE HELP OF USAID (RURAL SECTOR GRANT) GOB IS PROPOSING TO DEVELOP SERVICE COMMUNAL AREAS TO CATER FOR NON-WATER RIGHT HOLDERS DISPLACED FROM LEASEHOLD RANCHES CREATED UNDER TGLP.

7. RESEARCH. GOB INTENDS TO ESTABLISH AN APPLIED RESEARCH UNIT WITH LIMITED ASSISTANCE FROM THE USAID RURAL SECTOR GRANT. THIS UNIT WILL CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN ALL AREAS RELATED TO THE PORTFOLIO RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LANDS AT BOTH CENTRAL AND LOCAL LEVELS. THESE WOULD INCLUDE:
1) REVIEW OF ADJUDICATION/ALLOCATION PROCEDURES INVOLVED IN ALLOCATING TGLP RANCHES WITH ATTENTION BEING PAID TO THE COVERAGE, DEPTH AND EQUITY OF SUCH HEARINGS AND THE EFFECTS OF COMMUNAL RIGHTS. 2) STUDY OF THE ALLOCATED RANCHES WITH REGARD TO THE DEVELOPMENTS THAT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT, WHETHER THE CONDITIONS OF THE LEASE HAVE BEEN FULFILLED AND SO ON. 3) SOCIOLOGICAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND LAND USE INVESTIGATIONS IN COMMUNAL AREAS WHERE PLANNING BY THE DISTRICT AUTHORITIES IS GOING AHEAD AND AS REQUESTED BY THE DISTRICT AUTHORITIES. 4) ARABLE ALLOCATION POLICIES OF INDIVIDUAL LAND BOARDS AND HOW EFFECTIVELY THEY ARE BEING IMPLEMENTED. EFFECT OF BOTH GRAZING AND ARABLE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS ON THE ALLOCATION POLICY AND VICE VERSA. 5) ACCESS TO SOCIAL SERVICES WITH ATTENTION BEING PAID TO THE EFFECT OF ALDEP ON ACCESS. 6) EVALUATION OF THE REMOTE AREA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM AND DETERMINATION OF FUTURE POSSIBLE POLICIES. 7) EVALUATION OF SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, 35:.

8. DONOR ASSISTANCE. USAID IS PRESENTLY INVOLVED IN STRENGTHENING THE LAND BOARDS AND LAND USE PLANNING CAPACITY OF THE GOB. THIS WILL BE FUNDED THROUGH THE RURAL SECTOR GRANT (633-0077) AS MINISTRY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND LANDS (MLGL) SUBPROJECTS. THE LAND COMPONENT OF THIS UMBRELLA PROJECT IS ESTIMATED AT DOLS 750,000 OVER LOP. A LARGE COMPONENT OF THE LAND BOARD DEVELOPMENT SUBPROJECT IS THE FUNDING OF TRAINING FOR LAND BOARD PERSONNEL. USAID IS ALSO FUNDING A COMMISSIONER OF LANDS AND A LAND TENURE OFFICER UNDER OPEX ARRANGEMENT. BRITISH AID HAS FUNDED THE PHASE I OF LAND BOARD DEVELOPMENT WHICH WAS LARGELY THE PHYSICAL CONSTRUCTION AND EQUIPPING OF THE LAND BOARDS OFFICES. AS PART OF A VILLAGE AREA DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (VADP), SIDA HAS SUPPORTED AN EXTENSIVE O

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF 2 LAND BOARDS IN TWO DISTRICTS OF BOTSWANA. THE EDF HAS FINANCED A COUNTRY WIDE AGRICULTURAL RESOURCE ASSESSMENT. IBRD HAS FINANCED TWO LARGE LIVESTOCK PROJECTS ASSOCIATED WITH TGLP (TRIBAL GRAZING LAND POLICY). THE FIRST LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT PROJECT WAS PRINCIPALLY A LAND DEVELOPMENT SCHEME FOR REMOTE, UNINHABITED AND UNUTILIZED LAND THROUGH FORMATION OF RANCHES, STOCK ROUTE DEVELOPMENT, AND MONITORING EFFECTS OF FENCING AND RANCHING ON WILDLIFE MIGRATION AND RANGE CONDITION. THE SECOND LIVESTOCK DEVELOPMENT PROJECT CONSISTS OF DEVELOPING

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