

PART XI

APPENDICES TO SUBSTANTIVE REPORT

Y. MANUSCRIPT OF DISCUSSION PAPER: "PROPOSAL ON AN EVALUATION
OF ACCION COMUNAL AS AN INSTRUMENT OF AGRICULTURAL MODERNIZATION
AND NATIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT"

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process, and the distribution of rewards--all the while operating under the constraint that the means of socialization be also positively related to productive efficiency.² And socialization, productive or contraproductive, is essentially a matter of institutional renovation and institution-building, especially with respect to those institutions which form the integrating structural links to root the national effort most solidly in the expectations and commitments of the population at large.³

A second and related theme in Latin American history, one which in recent years has been played both accelerando and crescendo, is that of land reform. With strong overtones of political democracy and social justice, the theme in its simplest statement has involved a redistribution of property claims to land: hence, "pan, tierra, y libertad" or "techo, trabajo, y tierra." But a growing sophistication in understanding of agrarian reform--not to mention concrete historical cases in Latin America--has led to an awareness of the insufficiency of land tenure changes per se to improve rural conditions. Elimination of the traditional leadership and organizational arrangements of the latifundia-minifundia complex necessarily raises the question of more productive leadership and organizational replacements--particularly, in view of observed deficiencies in the central government mechanism, at a level of social organization fairly close to the actual processes of rural production.⁴

²In this sense, of course, socialization refers not to government ownership but to wider social participation.

³In this manner, the socialization objective overlaps another stated goal in Latin America, national integration, for the institutional links over which wider participation is attained are also the means for effecting a closer articulation of the interacting component parts of the socio-economic order. For example, socialization of the planning process would involve building into the planning process a communications link to feed into the national planned objectives the felt needs of the underlying population as well as feedback mechanisms to provide a continuing check, from the field, of the plan in process of implementation. Similarly, both integration and socialization imply a much broader communication and diffusion of the more advanced techniques, skills, and general economic knowledge (which presently exist at the "top" of the socio-economic structure) to the outlying sectors, thereby reducing the cultural disparities which characterize national structure today.

⁴It has been suggested that in Colombia the work of INCORA, the agrarian reform agency, is proceeding, perhaps necessarily, at a very slow pace with land for (Footnote 4 continued on bottom of page 3)

At a different level of consideration, as problems of the less developed regions have come to engage the attention of economic theoreticians, the focus of concern has ineluctably turned to matters of social structure and organization. In a society already moving along the route of material progress, the institutional prerequisites for growth may be taken as given, and economic analysis of the growth process may proceed largely in terms of such abstractions as the rate of capital formation, capital-output ratios, intersectoral and interindustry shifts of resources, and so on. But in a society still aiming for the take-off stage, the organizational instruments for performing the necessary economic functions may themselves be awaiting formation. In the latter setting one is reminded forcefully that economic development is, in the last analysis, something that people do, a pattern of behavior. It is, moreover, something that people do, at least for the most part, in organized groups of one sort or another. Thus, the human agents and the social arrangements through which they interact have moved to the forefront of concern.⁵

For these reasons, and stemming also from the present-day emphasis on self-help in mobilizing material, financial, and human resources for national development programs, there has emerged a special interest in the role of local organization in contributing to a grass-roots, self-sustaining process of economic development.

(Footnote 4 continued.)

parcellization being acquired almost on a "hectare by hectare" basis. It has been suggested, further, that if the INCORA work is to have a larger impact on the national agricultural sector, it might extend its influence to a much larger area via the Accion Comunal type of program. Thus, linking community development efforts more intimately to the agrarian reform would (a) serve to provide additional institutional support in reorganizing production in areas of tenure redistribution while (b) improving somewhat the lot of the regions which are, at least as yet, unaffected by the land redistribution program. At the same time, it may be that in certain areas the land tenure system itself constitutes a serious impediment to rural community development. Thus the two programs may be indisociably complementary in nature, each essential for the success of the other in the larger context of agricultural modernization.

⁵Thus, local community organization is simply, like haciendas and agricultural corporations, one of the social mechanisms or vehicles for getting things done in the rural areas.

More specifically, the object of this interest seems to be the sort of effort which is aimed at introducing and fostering local community organization, that is, structures and procedures through which initiative and resource mobilization functions are implanted and generated locally to set the community up as a productive going-concern.⁶ Given the concurrent interest in much of the Western world in attaining more effective political democracy and a more humanitarian distribution of material benefits, this emphasis on local organization or community development has been reinforced to the extent that on occasion it appears almost to have assumed the attributes of a cult.⁷ Uncritical assumptions abound, being matched more by an abundance of dedicated fervor and enthusiastic eloquence than by the sort of careful examination of the record one would like to find (except for some highly commendable U.N. studies)--and this notwithstanding the serious questions development economists have sometimes raised concerning the wisdom of pouring resources into large scale community development programs.⁸

⁶The concept, therefore, differs considerably from programs which aim chiefly at bettering one or another aspect of community life with most of the initiative and resources supplied from outside the community: e.g., central government services such as health centers, home demonstration agents to teach nutrition and hygiene, etc.--though these can be, of course, important adjuncts or auxilliary supports for a more "holistic" community development program.

⁷For North Americans, at any rate, one suspects that a fond attachment to the town meeting tradition is usually lurking not too far in the mental background as a prototype.

⁸At the same time, other economists have observed that the relevant resource concept included in a community development program must take into account not only those resources "poured in" from the outside but also those cultivated and developed locally by means of the "outside" catalyst--the latter being resources which might not exist in the absence of the community development program (with its injection of crucial "outside" resource). In terms of the opportunity cost concept, the local resources employed in community development may be, at least partially, costless.

In the first place, the resources channeled into such programs may well have alternative, and possibly more productive, uses elsewhere in the development plan: for example, in the urban industrial sector.⁹ They may even, it has been suggested, inhibit the movement of other resources in economically desirable directions.¹⁰ In the second place, there is at least the possibility that some versions of community development may simply constitute an euphemism for increased consumption on the part of the inhabitants of rural communities with the consequence that the resources devoted to the effort are lost for capital formation purposes anywhere in the economy. Third, perhaps in reaction to the unfortunately frequent passages in community development literature which seem to suggest that it's really the "spirit of the thing that counts," economists have wondered if well-intentioned but improperly conceived community development programs may not simply serve to arouse desires and heighten expectations impossible of fulfillment because of a failure to build into the programs as a primary feature the technical

⁹It may be, however, that the "alternative use" concept tends to blur qualitative differences in the resource input requirements of the urban sector as contrasted with the rural sector. Thus, the choice, to some extent, may lie between comparatively simple production improvements for rural development and more elaborate, complex improvements in urban-industrial sector. The character of the resources available for allocation (including human skills resources) may make their employment in rural sector development relatively easier to effect. Also at issue in this connection is the controversy over the underemployment of resources in the rural sector. In a given static rural environment, it may be that existing resources are not, strictly speaking, underemployed. But with the injection of relatively small increments of some critical resource deficiency and/or reorganization of local resource use, it is conceivable that the intensity of resource use and the range of production alternatives might be expanded not inconsiderably.

¹⁰For instance, it is thought that community development in rural areas might inhibit the rural-urban migration which is, or course, a desirable and more-or-less inevitable accompaniment of long-term growth. To the extent, however, that there exist constraints (industrial capital availability, skills levels of the migrants) on the shorter-term capacity of the urban sector to absorb migrants productively (as evidenced in existing urban unemployment in Colombia), a case might be made for decelerating this demographic shift and instituting capital-saving, labor-intensive measures to improve the productivity of the rural inhabitant in situ. Better rural vocational education might also prepare would-be migrants for a more rapid integration into the urban economy to which they move.

wherewithall for effective community action in pursuit of those desires and expectations.¹¹ The memorable quip about villagers sitting in their community development privies frustratedly contemplating their unused community development roads illustrates several aspects of the possible problems involved. In such cases, the last state may well be worse than the first, for there has been added to the "program circuit" an additional negative reinforcement confirming past unsatisfactory community-level experiences.¹² Finally, it is at least an open question as to whether or not a community development program as such accomplishes more than would be accomplished by a strengthening of various existing extension programs, the work of established ministries and other

¹¹Recent experience in Colombia would seem to suggest that rural desires and expectations are already more than sufficiently aroused and that not much needs to be done, for the present, to "awaken" rural interest in change. Indeed, the awakening has likely outrun by far the capacity of the government to respond constructively to this (cultivated) rural initiative, so that the character of the response from government is the critical issue for the moment. In such a setting, there may be considerable validity to the view expressed by several persons in Colombia that community development requires primarily persons with technical competence (education, agricultural extension, marketing cooperative organizers, etc.) and some training in social organization rather than persons who are primarily "initiative awakers" with a more modest background of technical knowledge, for in such a manner the missing ingredient in the rural environment is supplied more effectively. In INCORA, Planeacion, FEPRANAL (the National Federation of the Private Sector for Accion Comunal), and the Escuela Superior de Administracion Publica, for example, there is at present some interest in placing the major emphasis in the Accion Comunal program on rural vocational education, agricultural extension, road construction, and marketing and credit cooperatives to deal with the principal bottlenecks to expanding agricultural output and moving that output more efficiently to market. So construed, the community development program in each community would (a) serve as an institutional nucleus (or organizational basis) for the community as a going-concern but also (b) serve as a coordinating focus for production-related efforts converging on the community from the outside (i.e., a communications channel for transmission and diffusion of skills and economically-relevant information). A study being sponsored by FEPRANAL seems to indicate that in Boyaca and Cundinamarca departments the most important of several obstacles to successful carrying through of community development projects is the inadequacy of financial resources--a finding that would appear to reinforce the arguments for placing initial emphasis on production-raising efforts (combined with means of capturing a portion of increased net returns for rural public investment purposes) rather than general social development components.

¹²Some informants in Colombia report that a process of disillusionment and frustration is already observable in Colombia's more than 10,000 juntas veredales.

government agencies and institutions.¹³

Yet, problems and controversies aside, the decade of the 1950's witnessed a considerable growth of interest and action in community development programs of various sorts, with Asian countries such as Pakistan, India, and the Philippines launching major efforts in this field. Latin America has been no exception: viz the S.S.R. of Brazil, the I.L.O.'s Andean Programme, etc. In 1959, there emerged in Colombia an organization named Accion Comunal to guide the development of a similar sort of program in that country.¹⁴ Related loosely to the pre-existing

¹³In this case, though, the issue may be misstated. Where serious public administrative problems are encountered--as, for example, in Latin America--a community development program may in theory and in practice turn out to be a suitable instrument for improving the work of existing development organizations which can be channeled through the community development structure into the rural field. Where, for instance, agricultural extension simply does not "extend" very far, its reach may be amplified by connection with community development groups. Moreover, the process of economic development is such that it involves a number of interrelated aspects and functions, in which effective growth implies more-or-less simultaneous change. But the several parts of the package are ordinarily housed in several government and non-government institutions, each of which may tend to operate largely independently of the others. National economic planning is one of the measures advanced for effecting a closer synchronization and articulation of the work of these separate organizations, but given the present state of development planning in Latin America, other lower-level coordinating mechanisms may be required. The experience of Mexico suggests that the several rural-related agencies of the central government have often proceeded rather haphazardly in this respect, and one suspects that the same situation obtains in other countries as well. Thus, a community development program is one of several possibilities available for working towards this desired coordination of efforts in the field (others being regional planning and regional development authorities).

¹⁴The enabling legislation was passed in 1958 but the implementing decree was given in 1959. Initially conceived as a part of the Ministerio de Educacion, in 1960 the Accion Comunal office became an administrative dependency of the Ministerio de Gobierno. Dr. Vicente Pizano Restrepo is currently Jefe of the Division de Accion Comunal. At the outset, according to one report, the program was conceived as an exclusively governmental undertaking but under Dr. Pizano the door has been opened to collaboration with non-governmental groups. In approximately fifty rural communities in the coffee-producing regions, for example, the community development effort is being organized and financed by the important Federacion Nacional de Cafeteros Colombianos as part of its extension work in the Seccion de Servicios Tecnicos (Dr. Alvaro Rodriguez Grandas is Director of the Division de Extension).

In 1961 or 1962 the private-enterprise endowed Centro de Accion y Estudios Sociales in Bogota initiated the "Federacion Nacional del Sector Privado para (Footnote 14 continued on bottom of page 8).

revival of concern in rural community improvement fomented by Catholic social action efforts and the activities of Accion Cultural Popular (a quasi-public, church-supported venture, the most well-known feature of which is the network of radio schools),¹⁵ the community development program has acquired a potential new significance with subsequent passage of agrarian reform legislation.

Accion Comunal seems to be an organization sponsoring evolutionary change from the existing socio-economic-political system and as such has attracted varying degrees of support from the Church, the State, and, more recently, the private economic sector. As it develops, it may be able to achieve success where more revolutionary movements might fail, for economic, social, and educational advancement based upon modification of social institutions which

(Footnote 14 continued).

la Accion Comunal," in which the prominent Colombian engineer and diplomat, Mauricio Obregon, is playing an active role. Aimed at strengthening the Accion Comunal program, FEPRANAL has employed the well-known Community Development Counselling Service, Inc. of Arlington, Virginia (Mr. Gabriel Kaplan, president, Mr. Andrew Gregg, vice-president and consultant in Bogota) to assist in formulating the most effective means of providing this support. Currently, Sr. Salgado of FEPRANAL, with the collaboration of Accion Cultural Popular, is supervising the investigations referred to elsewhere in this report.

¹⁵Msgr. Salcedo is the head of Accion Cultural Popular. Professor Carlos Vargas is Jefe of the Seccion de Economia y Trabajo, which section is primarily responsible for the agricultural extension and other economically relevant activities of Accion Cultural Popular. At its Sutatensa location, ACP operates two schools for training community leaders for rural areas. By means of these, the radio broadcasts, and its newspaper, El Campesino, ACP has consistently encouraged community development work in Colombia.

Since around 1944, the bishops of Colombia have endeavored to encourage a vigorous program of social action, through the dioceses and parishes and through such other institutions as UCONAL (the national cooperative union) and FANAL (the peasant league). Charged with playing an advisory and training role in this social action program are the Jesuits, which order has recently established in Bogota a Centro de Investigacion y Accion Social. Frs. Miguel Gonzalez and Jaime Martinez are two of the members of the Society attached to this center.

It is probable that Social Action and ACP have been the chief instigating forces in formation of the majority of juntas veredales.

have had legitimacy for centuries may be likely to accomplish more in the long-run, and with less cost in human suffering, than changes which abruptly and radically disrupt existing social patterns. Furthermore, considering the possibility that the program could lay the basis for forging a political instrument which would provide a more effective voice for the rural population in the processes of national policy formations,¹⁶ Accion Comunal might well strengthen the forces being generated internally in Colombia which press for desirable modifications.

Insofar as present inter-American development policy rests upon the presupposition that gradualistic but effective and meaningful change is both possible and necessary for the maintenance of an option for democratic political structure, the experience of Accion Comunal merits special consideration. If this movement is successful in Colombia, it might serve as a useful example for other Latin American nations experiencing the same or similar problems--even discounting the special advantages which, there is reason to believe, exist in the Colombian milieu and which play their role in improving the lot of the rural population independently of the Accion Comunal program.

Additional and topical interest is lent such an examination by the current policy controversies in the Colombian scene. Some have questioned the utility of any such community development program, and questions of this sort have been raised both within the Colombian government and within non-Colombian groups that have to do with the allocation of external assistance. Still others, both inside and outside of Colombia, are inclined to support, in

¹⁶Perhaps an additional advantage lies in the problem-oriented, task-centered nature of such a grouping in contradistinction to the ideology-centered and ceremonial nature of other political groupings.

principle, a community development program as a valuable part of the national development effort but feel that the program as presently structured is seriously defective and that a fundamental reorganization and reorientation is required if sufficient benefit is to be derived from further investment in it.¹⁷ Such at least would seem to be the implications of the meager financial support and authority granted the program thus far by the Colombian government and the lack of support channeled to the program from private foundations and from Alliance for Progress sources--though the Peace Corps (which operates somewhat outside the framework of the AID program proper) has contributed personnel to the community development program while CARE has also supported it and the United Nations has sent two technicians to work with Accion Comunal.¹⁸

¹⁷See, for example, the Ensminger report. The Departamento Administrativo de Planeacion in the Consejo Nacional de Politica Economica y Planeacion has enlisted the services of a Chilean expert, Dr. Jorge Videla, who will be working with Dr. Jorge Martinez (Jefe) and Dr. Marco Altman in the Programacion del Desarrollo Social section of Planeacion.

¹⁸Dr. Aloys Keune of Holland and Sra. Leonor Rangel Ribeiro of Goa are the United Nations experts assigned to the Division de Accion Comunal to work with Dr. Triana, Jefe, Seccion de Investigacion y Planeamiento. Mr. Theodore Banks is Deputy Director of the Peace Corps in Colombia.

In view of the complexity of the controversy regarding Accion Comunal, it is recommended that an overall evaluation of the program aim at providing information at three levels of analysis; if not to resolve the problems then at least to clarify their nature sufficiently that future policy formation can proceed with the relevant considerations identified:

1. The operational level; Accion Comunal as an action program:

--the objective at this level would be to indicate the strengths and weaknesses (particularly the critical deficiencies) of the Accion Comunal program as currently structured and considered in the light of the expressed and implicit logic of the program. Hopefully, the analysis at this level would provide the basis for practical improvements in the organization and operation of the program, should this appear justifiable in the light of the other levels of analysis and evaluation. It would be desirable to couch this analysis in terms of the "economizing" or allocation-of-scarce-resources-among-alternative-ends principle, giving special attention to those administrative and other features of the program which impede satisfactory application of this principle.

2. The community development program as an instrument of agricultural modernization:

--the objective at this level would be to relate the community development approach to the development requirements of the agricultural sector in particular and of the national economy in general to determine what functions, if any, might be more efficaciously handled by a community development program per se in the Colombian setting--what in other words, the logic of the Colombian program ought to be if it is to correspond to national needs and make a significant contribution to development. At this level of analysis it is appropriate to raise the question of alternative development mechanisms and to refer, where such are illuminating, to experiences of community development in other nations.

3. The role of community development in economic development processes:

--at this level, the objective would be to work towards a more rigorous statement of the theoretical implications of community development activities, abstracting from Colombian and, insofar as may be possible, other (especially Latin American) experiences in this field, and relating this as integrally as may be possible to the received body of economic doctrine concerning the development processes.

At the same time, it is hoped that it might be possible and fruitful to apply the insights derived from this level of consideration to the analysis of the two levels set forth above.

The following is a suggested outline for the overall structure of research, including incomplete suggestions for sources of information on various parts of the outline.

I The Setting of Accion Comunal in Colombia

- A. Rural regions: regional distribution of population, regional distribution of national product, location of principal crop areas, chief transport routes, relation of regions to urban centers, etc.--included as basic background, as regional differences tend to be quite pronounced in Colombia and may well necessitate substantial variations in approach and emphasis.¹
- B. Problems and characteristics of Colombian agriculture considered in the context of the problems of national development, with a particular attempt to discern regional peculiarities.²

¹It is suggested that Ernesto Guhl's classification of regions and an explanation of his classification system be taken as a point of departure. Other data in the course of the study could, it is believed, be projected meaningfully against the Guhl regional map. Professor Guhl is now affiliated with the Jesuit Centro de Investigacion y Accion Social, from which this map and classification scheme might be obtained.

²Among the available references, the following might be mentioned:

- I.B.R.D., The Basis of a Development Program for Colombia
- I.B.R.D., The Agricultural Development of Colombia
- F.A.O., The study of coffee in Colombia and other studies
- Antonio Posada, Ph.D. thesis, University of Wisconsin
- L. Currie, Operacion Colombia (and E. Feder's critique of O.C.)
- E.C.L.A., Analysis and Projections of Economic Development; III, The Economic Development of Colombia
- Banco Cafetero, La Industria Cafetera en la Agricultura Colombiana
- J. M. Hunter and J. A. S. Ternent, Poblacion, Ingresos y Requisitos de Capital; Colombia, 1957-1975.
- Mision "Economia y Humanismo," Estudio sobre las Condiciones del Desarrollo de Colombia (2 vol.)
- U. S. Department of Commerce, Investment in Colombia
- Eduardo Wiesner Duran, Barreras Artificiales a la Inversion Domestica en la Industria Nacional and Barreras Artificiales a la Inversion Extranjera en la Industria Nacional.

- C. The approach to agricultural problems embodied in national policies with an overview of the various agencies and institutions operating in the agricultural field in Colombia, including the structure of the agrarian reform program.
- D. The environment of rural communities in Colombia, with an attempt to discern regional peculiarities.
1. Formal system of public administration: levels of organization and discretionary authority at various levels (national, departmental, municipios); lines of power among various levels and leadership and staffing policies at various levels (election, appointment); role of the regional development authorities.³

2(continued)

Eduardo Wiesner Duran, Control Personal de la Economia Colombiana
Miguel Urrutia M., Estudio Economico Social de la Poblacion de Bogota
Consejo Nacional de Politica Economica y Planeacion, Plan General de
Desarrollo Economico y Social (2 vol. available to date).

Laughlin Currie, Programa de Desarrollo del Valle del Magdalena y
Norte de Colombia.

Orlando Fals-Borda, La Teoria y la Realidad del Cambio Sociocultural
en Colombia.

Ministerio de Trabajo, Estudio Socio-Economico de Narino.

Camilo Torres R., La Proletarizacion de Bogota.

Tierra: 10 Ensayos sobre la Reforma Agraria en Colombia

Centro de Investigaciones Sociales, Seminar on Agrarian Reform:
Working Papers (to be published Spring, 1963)

Charles Anderson, INCORA study

Alberto Aguilera Camacho, Derecho Agrario Colombiano

Albert Hirschman, Chapter on Colombian agrarian reform

See also: CIDA studies, studies of the C.V.C., Paul Miller study of agricultural extension (referred to by Dr. Wallace Atherton of the Universidad de los Andes), and the various studies of "La Violencia".

³Studies of government organization in Colombia (available, possibly, through Fr. Camilo Torres and Mr. Kriesberg of the Escuela Superior de Administracion Publica in Bogota).

Included in the proposed field studies are surveys of local perceptions of the powers and utility of various levels of the formal government structure.

D. (continued)

2. The fiscal system and local finance: taxing and spending powers at each level of public organization, the share of each level in the total tax "take", and the portion and character of the public expenditures determined at each level.⁴

3. Informal power influences in the field of local organization: political parties, larger landholders, clergy, etc.⁵

4. Chief problems of rural communities: locally perceived or felt needs and needs as seen by "outside" studies.⁶

⁴Lucia Cruz Herran, Los Gastos de la Nacion en los Departamentos, 1957.
Javier Alvarez Cardona, Finanzas Publicas Departamentales y Municipales Comparadas en Colombia, 1957.

In addition, Dr. Wallace Atherton of the Universidad de los Andes mentioned that two foreign experts (one, I think, representing E.C.L.A.) have recently arrived in Colombia to study the fiscal system.

The proposed field studies would also survey local perceptions of the fiscal system and its correspondence to locally perceived needs.

⁵The works by Vernon Fluharty and John Martz might shed some light on this, with more, perhaps, revealed in the community studies listed below in note 6 and in the field studies. Very likely additional information could be obtained from Frs. Camilo Torres, Gustavo Perez, Isaac Wust, Miguel Gonzales, and Jaime Martinez. Particularly helpful might be:

Gustavo Perez Ramirez, El Campesinado Colombiano, un Problema de Estructura.

Andrew Pearse, paper on rural social structure in Centro de Investigaciones Sociales seminar on agrarian reform.

Gustavo Perez and Eugene Havens, paper on interest groups in Centro de Investigaciones Sociales seminar on agrarian reform.

Otto Morales Benitez, "La Organizacion de los Campesinos", Problemas Campesinos.

⁶Locally perceived or felt needs could be ascertained by examination of reports of Accion Comunal promoters, field reports of Peace Corps workers, Accion Cultural Popular records, the FEPRANAL studies, and the proposed field studies. Most of the same sources would provide as well an "outsider's" perception of community problems. In addition, see:

Centro de Investigaciones Sociales: 7 detailed community studies already made with 2 more in process; also less detailed information available on more than 100 additional communities.

CARE-FWCC, Accion Comunal en Colombia.

CIDA studies

Paul J. Deutschmann, La Comunicacion de las Ideas entre los Campesinos Colombianos.

Guillermo Franco Camacho, Industria Artesanal del Tolima.

G. Reichel-Dolmatoff, The People of Aritama

T. Lynn Smith, Tabio: A Study in Rural Social Organization.

T. Lynn Smith, Sociologia Rural: La Comunidad y la Reform Agraria.

Orlando Fals-Borda, Hombre y Tierra en Boyaca.

Orlando Fals-Borda, Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes.

E. Emergence of the community development movement.

1. Possible contributing factors (the concatenation of forces operating to change the rural environment):

- a. The 19th century coffee boom with its thrust towards commercialization of agriculture and development of regions outside the capital metropolis.⁷
- b. Twentieth-century urbanization, industrialization, and transport-communications development: geographically dispersed character of these development centers, from which new influences emanate to the surrounding countryside, and regional "balance"; the market-pull of urban growth in the 14 cities of over 100,000 population.⁸
- c. "La Violencia": breakdown of the established political system with ensuing social disruption, breaking the "crust of tradition" and shaking up rural society, making old ways of life no longer tenable.⁹
- d. Rapid commercialization and expansion of various new agricultural activities in the 1950's.¹⁰
- e. Absence of cultural dualism in Colombia.

2(continued)

William Stewart, Study of San Miguel (available from Professor Miguel Urrutia of the Universidad de los Andes).

The bibliography of Professor H. Sterling on colonization might provide special information on new communities in Colombia.

⁷See E. E. Hagen's recent work and the research-in-progress of Wm. McGrevy of M.I.T.

⁸Studies currently underway at the Universidad de los Andes (under direction of Dr. Wallace Atherton) may shed a revealing light on the income-elasticity of demand for food--a significant factor, considering the rapid urbanization which has made Colombia already more than 50% urban in its population.

⁹Fr. Camilo Torres might be a helpful guide to the available evidence on the psychological impact of "violencia"; see also the new study by Eugene Havens and Aaron Lipman of psychological consequences.

¹⁰See L. Currie, Operacion Colombia. (all influences treated in I.E.1 should be located on the Guhl map).

2. Development of the Catholic Social Action programs after the mid-1940's; the Conferencia Episcopal and "Coordinacion Nacional de Accion Social":

a. Diocesan and parish level activity.¹¹

b. U.T.C. and FANAL¹²

c. UCONAL: an organization including over 100 cooperatives and reflecting the Social Action goal of promoting these organizations.¹³

3. Establishment and growth of the Accion Cultural Popular program and its communications network for penetrating the rural areas.

a. Radio Sutatensa: location and growth of schools, curriculum.

b. Agricultural extension work: measure and location of accomplishments.

c. Formation of juntas verdales and activities

d. The rural leadership schools: number and geographical origins of students, content of training program (i.e., skills transmitted), geographical distribution and present activities of graduates, evaluation of leadership effectiveness.

4. Other community development efforts (e.g., some departmental governments are involved in the field, as is the case in Boyaca where rural teachers receive community development training).

¹¹See Fr. Jaime Martinez, S. J., Jefe de Coordinacion Nacional de Accion Social.

¹²See Fr. Vicente Andrade, S. J. Asesor de U.T.C.; and Fr. Vieira, S. J., Asesor de FANAL. The National Farmers Union is beginning a leader training program with FANAL.

¹³See Fr. Andrade. Also relevant are:
Ernest Feder and Ernesto Velez, The Lagging Growth of the Cooperative Movement in Colombia.
Jose Manuel Hernandez, Cooperativas Agricolas y Pecuarias de Colombia.
Dr. Eva J. Ross, (of Trinity College, Washington) study near completion on agricultural cooperatives in Colombia.

Past experience in cooperatives is especially noteworthy as the Peace Corps-- Accion Comunal program plans to begin shortly to promote rural cooperatives.

II. Accion Comunal as an operating program

A. Establishment of the Division in 1959

1. Legislated objectives.¹⁴
2. Expectations, sources of support, criticisms and resistances.¹⁵
3. Post-establishment changes in expectations (i.e., changing concepts as reflected in the area of public discourse)¹⁶

B. Structure of the Division de Accion Comunal

1. Organizational chart and functions (planned and actual) of sections: personnel, personnel backgrounds; appropriations.
2. Planned relations with other entities: ministries, departmental and municipal governments, Planeacion, INCORA, ACP, FANAL, FNCC, CVC, CAR, etc.
3. Promotores: numbers and recruitment, training, remuneration (compared with other government jobs), assignment methods.
4. Methods of locating and training local leaders.
5. Extent and character of foreign assistance.
6. Differences of approach between Accion Comunal, FNCC, ACP, etc.

¹⁴Ministerio de Gobierno, Division de Accion Comunal, Boletin #2, "Accion Comunal, su Organizacion y Funcionamiento", and Boletin #3, "Desarrollo de la Comunidad y Servicios Conexos."

Ministerio de Educacion Nacional, Division de Educacion Campesina, "Accion Comunal."

Depto. Administrativo de Planeacion y Servicios Tecnicos, Apuntes Sobre la Accion Comunal en Colombia.

¹⁵Analysis of Congressional speeches, committee hearings, and the press (El Siglo, El Tiempo, El Espectador, La Semana) to ascertain prevalent opinions and points of view, making a special attempt to identify the points of view of various interest groups and comparing their positions on Accion Comunal with their role in the agrarian reform program as analyzed by Charles Anderson.

¹⁶Analysis of sources noted in #15 and interviews with persons in Accion Comunal, INCORA, Planeacion, FEPRANAL, the several Ministerios, FANAL, ACP, CVC, CAR, FNCC, UCONAL, etc., especially to record alternative formulations of role and emphasis and alternative views of the desirable administrative location of Accion Comunal.

See also Ruben Dario Utria, La Accion Comunal como Programa de Gobierno.

C. Accion Comunal in practice

1. Planning procedures and allocational criteria (contrasted with FNCC and ACP).
2. Geographical distribution of promotores (compared with FNCC, ACP, and other community development undertakings, and compared with CVC and INCORA activity).
3. Problems (operational) encountered by promotores in the field, and relations of promotores with other agencies and institutions.¹⁷
4. Actual relations of the Division de Accion Comunal with other government and nongovernment agencies and institutions (II. B. 2) and relation of these to viewpoints recorded in II. A. 2 and 3. 18
5. Possible significance of FEPRANAL
6. Accion Comunal as a shadow political structure.¹⁹

D. Material accomplishments of Accion Comunal (differentiating these from those of other ministries, agencies, and institutions) and geographical distribution of these accomplishments.²⁰

¹⁷Accion Comunal and Peace Corps field reports; FEPRANAL, ACP and FNCC reports; proposed field studies, interviews with promotores. The object is to determine to what extent actual operating conditions deflect the activities of the promotores from the intended role and to assess the consequences of this deflection. Also, the material covered in II. B. 3. must be assessed in this light. See also Orlando Fals-Borda, Accion Comunal en una Vereda Colombiana, and Professor Joaquin Pineros Corpas, now with the Fulbright office, who directed a community development project undertaken by the Universidad de los Andes. Dr. Eduardo Camacho, Dean of Students at de los Andes, also participated.

¹⁸Accion Comunal and Peace Corps field reports, selected interviews, November 1962 Informe of Accion Comunal, internal records of Accion Comunal division.

¹⁹ESAP study (proposed).

²⁰Reports of Accion Comunal and field studies to check the accuracy and realism of reported statistics.

III. Summary and evaluation

- A. Cost-benefit relationships in the Accion Comunal program.
- B. Relation of operational problems to achievement of intended goals and optimizing the cost-benefit relationship: nature of chief impediments--contrasts and comparisons with community development experiences elsewhere.
- C. Achievements and problems of Accion Comunal in the context of national development objectives.
- D. Significance of the Accion Comunal experience for the theoretical role of community development in economic development.
 - 1. The economic implications of community development as stated in community development literature.
 - 2. The "pros" and "cons" of community development in the literature of economic development.
- E. Problems and community development in other Latin American countries: towards a comparative analysis.