

BOLIVIA

The distribution of land is not enough

**(A purpose of the study:
Second Agrarian Reform. A story that bothers)**

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Introduction

A few days ago the TIERRA Foundation has presented a book entitled "Second Agrarian Reform. A story that bothers", study examining the scope of the 1715 Law (INRA Law) and the results of the implementation of this law among the periods (1996-2006, 2007-2009, and 2010-2014) of reorganization and certification of all agricultural properties in Bolivia.

Among the various findings, the study shows that the rhythm of consolidation in recent years was greater because it reached 16.5 million hectares titled (representing an extraordinary improvement over the first and second period of the process) both at communal properties (in high and low land), smallholdings, the Original Community Lands (Tierras Comunitarias de Origen-TCO) and medium and large properties.

Stands out that land titled to medium and large properties in the east of the country added 2.3 million (13.9% of the total entitled between 2010-2014) including 56 certified farms each with an area of over 5,000 hectares, in a rising process in the case of the most productive agricultural land in the country and extensive livestock farming, expanding the commercial and agribusiness model towards indigenous communities and traditional territories.

They also highlight the agility¹ in the process of consolidation of small properties of peasants (of spontaneous and directed colonization of the 70s) and new settlements in the transition zones, as well as the consolidation of smallholdings west of the commercial area of Santa Cruz (mostly peasants from the departments of Potosi and Chuquisaca) bordering with TCO of the lowlands and also agribusiness. All around the agro-export model of soy production.

Stands out also that the consolidation process is headed in its final stage. Just be missing 14.5 million hectares to clean up, and that the best land - in terms of agricultural, livestock farming and forestry resources - are being consolidated to agricultural enterprises located in the central part of Santa Cruz and Beni.

Among the several final conclusions derived the study, excels inequitable land tenure and that has not been emphasized in end of latifundium that exist in the country.

On the other hand, at the book presentation, executives FTIERRA in addition to showing the results of the investigation, they complement the information emphasizing that in recent years, there is a large-scale foreignization of commercial agriculture in the east through the arrival of multinational companies that buy and rent land, and also have a control on the entire production chain of agribusiness in Santa Cruz, especially in the collection, production, processing, transport and export of primary culture dominant in the area , soy².

The problem is not only the distribution of land, is "the production model."

Despite all the transformations and change process that the country is going through in recent years on the subject of land, there are certain aspects that are evident and to be taken into account.

First, that the Bolivian state has been and is incapable of dismantle the prevailing unequal agrarian structure in the country.

¹ In contrast to the absence of titularization in the traditional areas of small property such as in the regions of the Lake Titicaca and the valleys.

² "What is happening in the last seven years, is the arrival of transnational agribusiness companies: ADM, Bunge, Cargill, who have started buying small industries, agribusiness companies such as ODS in Bolivia, which now belong to these capital. They control 90 percent of the soy" G.Colque, Erbol, 27/01/2016

Unlike other countries, Bolivia has been titled and distributed land to indigenous and native farmers in different regions; and they are actively involved in the formulation and implementation of agricultural development model currently implemented in the country.

This induces us to consider that in Bolivia, unlike other countries, the distribution / ownership of land is not the fundamental problem, although the land is in foreign hands (purchased directly or through third parties, or leased land / rented by foreigners).

In the east, where the best productive land (agricultural, livestock farming and forestry) are located, it has been set up agro extractive production system with operating logic or paradigm agroexport development mainly focused on soy, and consists of many different actors.

It also drives us to suggest that in the analysis is necessary to go beyond the distribution of land and agrarian reform³, and rethink the tendency is prevailing in the country in terms of the production system. That is, the unequal distribution of land is insufficient to understand the mechanisms of power that capital deployed for controlling rents.

So, if it is essential that indigenous peasants and indigenous peoples have effective access to land, to the control and benefits, of this resource, we must analyze and rethink the use of these actors are given this land.

Now, soy is being produced in various regions of Santa Cruz, not only for agribusiness but also by small and medium farmers and also by recent peasant farmers⁴ who received land distributed by the government.

These actors known for a few years as "intercultural"⁵, are more than 12,000 farmers who cultivate about 250,000 hectares of transgenic soybeans intensively using chemicals that pollute the environment and land, establishing monoculture, leaving produce staple foods, losing productive diversity, contaminating groundwater and increasing consumption of agrochemicals and genetically modified seeds⁶.

These producers make the country more dependent on imports of these inputs⁷ and influence the deforestation of vast areas of land.

According to the Ministry of Environment and Water in 2013 they were deforested nearly 162,000 hectares and unauthorized deforestation totaled 88,486 hectares, of which 19% came from peasant and indigenous communities and the balance of private property (Los Tiempos 06/21/2015)⁸.

More current data indicate that in the month of September 2015, the average level of deforestation in eastern Bolivia was 324.40 hectares / day, especially in the municipality of Pailón ([www.Guyra.org, py](http://www.Guyra.org.py)) that characterized by one of the most representative in soybean production in Santa Cruz.

³ This does not mean that it is important to analyze the type of investment, the amount of monopolized land, strategies for land dispossession, displacement of indigenous peoples, poverty, peasant proletarianization, migration to urban centers and other topics.

⁴ Actually in these regions there are three types of peasant farmers from the western part of the country who have changed their traditional crops for cultivating soybeans: farmers have little parcels but above all offer their labor for the crops of soybeans and other export products; smallholders who have property 50 hectares (extensions endowed by colonization programs of the past) and medium / large peasant proprietors who are between 180 and 200 hectares / average each.

⁵ Aymaras, Quechuas, Guaranies and other indigenous peoples who migrated from western of country to subtropical areas in search of better living conditions, which in the past were called colonists.

⁶ In this regard, see the different studies related to soy. Kopp A. (2015); Pérez M. (2007); Zommers A. ; Medeiros G. (2009); Prudencio J (2014) and others.

⁷ On imports of agrochemicals and their increasing dependence of the country, see Prudencio J. (2015)

⁸ What we on the other hand also means the emission of large amounts of carbon dioxide or emissions of greenhouse gases that contribute to climate change.

With the current government impetus to the expansion of the agricultural frontier, the authorization of clearing area 5-20 hectares and "forgiveness" from fines for illegal logging, deforestation will further increase.

Therefore, we can say that these intercultural actors are starting to live it in a different production logic, the logic of the monoculture, which in turn implies:

i. Login to the mercantilist game and do great disservice to investment / transnational corporations by buying them GM seeds, machinery, chemicals and other inputs, and inserted into the mercantilist logic agro exports.

On the other hand, it is favorable to the transnational corporation and even is in need of this peasantry not only to extend gains (from the sale of GM, agrochemicals, etc); but also to have cheap labor and to appropriate the "differential rent" (in the language of economists) in soybean prices.

ii. Losing their cultural references, losing their traditions, losing their way of "doing"; to produce. Lose their productive logic which is no longer reserved part of their harvest for the next planting seeds (they have to buy GM seed), they can no longer supplement their crops with other crops as they did in their places of origin or their ancestors, and they can't do integrated pest management they have to fumigate with increasingly powerful agrochemical use.

They are losing their productive rationality (which consists of the diversity and complementarity among others) their ancestral knowledge developed and passed down for generations, and cosmic socio nature (established by his human environment and not human, or the interrelationship of nature and culture).

In short, the prevailing agro extractive in this region involves not only trans-nationalization of agriculture but especially denaturation native indigenous peasant agriculture.

Thus, to the east agribusiness transnational company and export soy, endowments and land titling for small and medium farmers is no longer a technical and political obstacles to their interests, rather these "intercultural" are added the transnationalization of agriculture by facilitating the expansion of the export model of genetically modified soybeans.

Regression and contradiction

The actions of "intercultural" contrasts sharply with the approaches and practices of other producer organizations indigenous peasants from Bolivia seeking to stop once the extractive agro-based system monocultures in agrochemicals and GMOs. They pose the agroforestry system that implements the peasant household economy through soil remediation / land, harvesting and proper water management, rescue and conservation of seeds, integrated pest and plant protection, crops covered management, productive diversity and crop rotation, technical training, the creation of food reserves and conservation techniques among others, as suggested by various instances and moments⁹.

The approaches of producer organizations as CIOEC are a real alternative to Bolivian agriculture as shown by the results of various projects implemented under this productive logic, in regions such as Tarija, Potosi and even in Santa Cruz, with positive results in terms conservation of biodiversity,

⁹ In this regard see the "Declaration of CIOEC and farmers' organizations and indigenous peoples to the World People's Conference on Climate Change in Cochabamba and COP 21 in Paris." (Coordinadora de Integración de Organizaciones Económicas Campesinas Indígenas y Originarias de Bolivia), 15/X/2015.

production increases, agricultural diversification, agroforestry and livestock complementarity, soil remediation, among others¹⁰.

While this approach or productive logic of indigenous peasant sector poses some years ago in the global context, only now, with the aggravation of climate change, international institutions are beginning to value and recognize these practices.

Thus, the FAO adds to previous recommendations through the recent presentation of a research entitled "Save and Grow"¹¹ which holds to perform agricultural crops associated with shady trees, leaving crop residues as cover, crop rotation to improve soil, intercropping, efficient water management and integrated pest management with natural methods.

But be argued that "intercultural" take another productive system as demanded other original indigenous peasant organizations in the country then it becomes a bit unrealistic, not only because the productive rationalities are totally contradictory, but because through many economic resources¹².

A agribusiness (domestic and foreign) no serve anything to have next to their agricultural export production, agroforestry farmers producing variety of healthy foods and to diversify their production. Agribusiness partners needs entrepreneurs, farmers businessmen that demand their seeds and inputs and simultaneously supplying them with the raw material (soybean) at discounted prices.

The new agro extractive speech.

The process of partnering / incorporated into the trans-nationalization of agriculture that are implementing the "intercultural" in the east of the country is not only subjugation to the commercial logic but is also serving as a pretext for the development of a new discourse by the agro business from the east (linked to transnational corporations) that seeks to justify the trans-nationalization of agriculture.

Thus, often hear representatives of this sector (Cámara Agropecuaria del Oriente/CAO; Instituto Boliviano de Comercio Exterior/IBCE, Cámara de Exportadores/CAMEX) argue that the model being implemented in the country is the ideal and they have not touched the rights of ownership of land and natural resources of the peasants (intercultural); the national food security is promoted; that it creates jobs and the income are redistributed; that laws are not violated; that there is the introduction of modern technology necessary for the peasantry; that environmental impacts are limited and acceptable by the presence of peasant communities who live in the productive environment; being constructed adequate production infrastructure; productivity increases; that there are local development; there is a reduction of poverty in the region; there is a complementarity and coexistence / peaceful and exemplary coexistence of agro business (domestic and foreign) and small / medium and large rural producers; there is a training opportunity for peasants become business entrepreneurs; which is the

¹⁰ In the Mancomunidad of Municipalities Heroes of Independence/Tarija (www.iiccatarija.org); in northern Potosí (www.isalp.org.bo); in Chiquitos with the producers association Minga, among others.

¹¹ Including its Director General (G. da Silva) he did not hesitate to declare that "... to eradicate poverty and to address climate change a change of paradigm is required towards a more sustainable and inclusive agricultureIt must resort to natural processes of ecosystems improve the basis of natural resources from agriculture and reducing dependence on chemical inputs it is time that the ideas that have worked for farmers to apply more ambitious national programs "(www.fao.org).

¹² "The issue of GM was discussed inside the Unity Pact that integrate organizations of native and indigenous peasant movement as CSUTCB, Conamaq, Cidob, Women Bartolinas well as intercultural ... The debate was profound, some brothers said zero GM and conventional products...although some brothers eastern intercultural want GM ... The confrontation was who were thinking of the money and who believed in life, that was the debate Some brothers said radically zero GM and conventional products ... (that) there is any difference with me (I have challenged) to agricultural producers organizations of the Unity Pact to ensure organic food to all people, but not they felt "able to" ensure domestic demand. ... What we encourages us is that GM in the world have the best price, that will allow us to encourage organic production. " Evo Morales, President of the Plurinational State. Conversation with journalists from El Alto, granted to Radio San Gabriel (played by ANF 31.01.2016)

modernization of the countryside; it is a process of inclusion in accordance with the position of the government; that binds vertically and horizontally chain soybeans; that there are more competitive and several other arguments more than at the bottom shows a paternalistic and dominating discourse.

¿new roles and functions in agriculture?

Of discourse analysis and previous approaches protrudes this actor, the investor or capitalist agro business - coinciding with the ideas of the "Law of responsible investment" of the World Bank¹³ and the "New Investment Promotion Act of Bolivia" (Law 516 of 04/04/2014)¹⁴ - it going to develop the role now than in the past, in the decade of the 70s, played the World Bank in Bolivia¹⁵, investing capital and accompanying intercultural now to join as "their new partners ". That way, the reproduction of capital and control practices and traditional knowledge of farmers more easily expand, without the need to monopolize land.

By the side of the "intercultural" peasant, they no longer play the old roles assigned by classical economics (produce cheap food, produce raw materials for the manufacturing industry, create jobs, to free labor for industry and cities) nor the new functions that are already playing indigenous peasants and indigenous peoples in several regions of the Andes (www.abaayacucho.org; www.idmaperu.org; www.cesa.org.ec) as to nourish the population (with the necessary amount of healthy foods and quality, ensuring real security to food sovereignty), enabling the land to regenerate without polluting the environment (in balance with the ecosystems and biodiversity among others) and ensure the welfare of their own actors (in terms of decent jobs and adequate income) in terms of "Good Living".

In the east of country, now is the time where two important development actors are playing new roles in agriculture trying to create an instance of legitimizing this type of "social and productive" system, in which the government is sponsoring to some through credits, granting of public lands, and support for negotiations to obtain higher sales prices of the raw material by the exporters. To the other, through finding new export markets with better prices (now that the international price has decreased) by expanding export volumes; and the non-collection of taxes on soybean exports, among others.

Thus, from the state, it is seeking to integrate these two actors, that is, integrate knowledge and peasants practices to the logic of agribusiness plantations, so it would not be necessary to physically move them. They argue that industrialization will happen to the expansion of exports so it we must form a strong national capital that will stimulate economic growth.

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¹³ Which raises that large investments build infrastructure, transfer technology, create jobs, increase productivity and others through 7 principles: 1) the rights to land and natural resources are recognized and respected, 2) investments do not put in endanger food security, 3) processes are transparent and monitored, 4) all affected people are consulted, 5) investments ensure respect the laws and are economically viable, 6) investments generate social distributional effects and 7) environmental impacts must be mitigated. in "access to land, essential for the poor April 8, 2013," <http://www.bancomundial.org/>

¹⁴ Which raises protect foreign investment, encourage joint investment (state-private) to create the required infrastructure for diversification; the absorption of a technology capable of promoting the diversification of the productive structure; the strengthening and modernization of the Bolivian state among others.

¹⁵ Investing (20 million dollars) through the Integrated Rural Development Programs/IRDP to implement the "colonization programs" in the east of country. (With respect to IRDP and the settlement programs in the colonies of San Julián and Yapacaní, see CERES studies -1980; and especially Blanes J; Calderon F; Dandler Prudencio J. and J. 1980).

Conclusion

Then, we are in the formation of a new type of "agricultural enclave" of the same features of "mining enclave"¹⁶ that characterized Bolivia in the past years, emphasizing its focus on global markets, intensive use of modern technology, use of wage workers, capital mobility and a relative dynamism in the towns / regions where it is implemented. But with the novelty - that is unique in Latin America - of a "new global convergence of actors" - farmers and agribusiness producers of GM soya¹⁷ - with new forms of productive regulation, governed by the changing international commodity prices.

¹⁶ See In this regard Cardoso FH y Faletto E. 1968.

¹⁷ ¿How long you can last this new convergence of actors between "intercultural" and national agribusiness eastern (who are the representatives of foreign investment and transnational corporations (TNCs) from soy)? This question arises because voices of intercultural already heard in the sense that ... "we never got mentioned in the statistics us peasant producers ... we produce more soybeans than many agribusiness ... agrochemicals they give us are often adulterated and sold to us at a price very high ... they pay us soybeans below the international price... we pay so late ... We have to export directly". As intercultural is a social sector which has support from the current government, not unlikely that it mediates with TNCs to make intercultural also access directly to transnational capital exporting soybeans. What would this mean for the country and for the whole of peasant farmers from the east and west of the country? Certainly the creation of a new peasant petty bourgeoisie settled in the east of the country and greater depth of differentiation inside the original indigenous peasant sector of Bolivia.

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