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**FROM THE "MOBILIZATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES" TO THE CREATION OF
A HUMAN SOCIETY**

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FROM THE "MOBILIZATION OF HUMAN RESOURCES" TO THE CREATION OF
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The task of forming a new society has been a priority throughout the short history of the Latin American nations. But few (histories) have had frustrations like this one. The history of Latin America. The Latin American republics came into being in a spirit of searching for a new society. However, with the passing of time this spirit still has not been molded. Elements and factors that maintain the molds of past times: such as vast landholding*, social privileges for the few, extensive and dehumanizing social injustice, the unresolved Indian problem, etc. are, some among many of the residual marks that indicate how the aspirations with which the Latin American nations emerged to independent life have yet to be satisfied.

However, more than a century and a half has not passed in vain. The unfolding of the history of Latin America shows how certain organization has been imposed upon its nations. Accordingly, since the middle of the 19th Century, these countries have been inserted in the international world market. They turn over their raw materials to this market. They buy the manufactured products that they need from it. The aforementioned "imposed" organization has been a principal result of the demands made on Latin America by her being put into the international world market. The setting up of production and the organization of the labor market have not been determined by the Latin American nations' own interest, rather by the dictates of those who control the main springs

Note: *latifundio: is the Spanish word.

of the world economy. Of course, important nuclei of Latin American leaders have consented happily, giving their self-interested and enthusiastic adherence in order to satisfy the adjustments required by the world economic centers.

For this reason, then, it should not seem strange that not only was the economic structure accommodated outside of Latin America, but also the political structures and legal institutions of these Latin countries were in more than one sense projections of the more advanced western nations. However, this did not mean, the initiation of radical transformations which might have opened the way to the formation of a new society. This did not mean a society, in which the Indian and the Creole, the city merchant and the rural producer, the previously privileged and he who up to then had been displaced, might have (all) found equal satisfaction. On the contrary, reflecting the demands of those who controlled the world economy, the Latin American society maintained its fundamental imposed characteristics and structures, even though it eventually accommodated to the requirements of 19th Century liberalism: "This is how the cry of Independence, as has often been said, did not implicate a radical divergence from the "senorial"* way of life: it was more than anything a formal type of operation with a changing guardian personnel. Its members were people from the highest level of society and clergy who were in favor of the change. They continued interpreting the liberal utopia to their own liking, inflating it even more by the creation of institutions that didn't affect the social and economic situation fundamentally." (1)

In spite of this, some changes took place. The Latin nations followed principally the demands for adjustment of their style of life to the needs of the controlling international world market imposed from the great power centers. This

Note: * "senorial": refers to the way of life of the well to do in what was nearly a feudal system.

is how certain modernization took place in Latin America, especially in the ideological area.

This modernization, especially in the countries on the Atlantic shores, received even more impetus by the impact of European immigration, which became rapidly a favorable factor for social change. Coming from countries where this (social change) was already in motion, having reached in some cases quite advanced stages, immigration brought with it new customs and new social expectations which were projected upon the form of life of the Latin American nations.

A great part of the immigration landslide stayed in the cities, thus contributing to their expansion and a first (phase of) acceleration in the process of urbanization. These immigrants arrived ready to work out a future, and if possible, a better world than that which they had just left. Nevertheless, the basic structures of the Latin American nations remained almost intact. It is true that small, inner-structure transformations were produced. But no real solutions were reached for the great social problems. When a few groups offered some solutions, either they were resisted with enormous passion and violence, or they were absorbed by the system and then domesticated. Adjustment and restraint were the two mechanisms of prime importance which explain why the social changes that some progressive Latin American groups came to propose during the last century did not take hold nor become concrete.

But with this century, things weren't so stable. The passing of time, like a full flowing river, threatens to leave its pre-established river-bed, to break barricades and dykes, to look for new space to expand in. If in past times the popular impetus could be smothered and the aspirations of the unsatisfied and disregarded domesticated, it is becoming more and more difficult, and in the long

run impossible. The demographic growth of Latin America, the inadequacy of the structures of production (especially agricultural) to the demands of the population and the economic growth of these nations, the rejection which these agricultural structures manifest toward enormous nuclei of the rural population which are then forced to migrate toward urban zones, the heaping together of these rural masses in slums and emerging populations of the cities, the insufficient industrial growth in the cities (determinant factor of unemployment of the majority of the internal migrants which continue tremendously increasing the number of those who make up the "industrial army in reserve" in Latin America), are factors which are showing how tense the social situation is in these nations. Many have already said it, and more and more people are becoming aware of it: This is not time for moderation. Changes are required.

Now, what kind of changes are these? Might it not be, once more, that the changes which are being considered are necessary for the satisfaction of the interests of those who direct and control the world economy? That is to say: are they changes which respond to the necessities of the Latin American nations, or instead are they those indicated as inevitable for the benefit of the oligarchies and the foreign allies? When these questions are planted, it immediately becomes obvious how difficult it would be to face the requirements of social change without the masses in Latin America taking active part in it. And when taking part is spoken of in this case, it is understood to mean at all levels: in that of action as well as that of decisions, that of tactics as well as that of strategy, that of concrete fighting for immediate objectives as well as that of long range planning. This is, precisely, where the difficulties appear.

Actually, to date the instances are exceptional in which the Latin American masses have come to have a truly active and important role in the search for their own destiny. Rather, what has been observed is that "very distinct political groups, extreme nationalist right, Fascists or Nazis, stalinistic communist, all varieties of trotskyism (in the same manner the most varied social sectors), intellectuals, modernized workers, professional and politicians of small burgess origin, military, sectors of the old land-holding "oligarchy" in economic or political decadence no less than the most unimagined combinations between all of these, have tried (some with success) to support itself on this human base, in order to achieve their political ends. As is obvious such ends don't always coincide with the aspirations of the very (social) stratum mobilized; although at times there can be identical aspirations and objectives between elites and masses." (2)

What is certain is that, up to now, the directing groups generally have tried to put limits and control the activity of the masses. This, at the same time, has been complemented by the fact that the popular contingencies generally have not participated in the elaboration of the goals and the necessary plan to be accomplished (nor) in the political movements in whose force they have been a part. This implies evidence of manipulation of the popular resources. The fact is that, without the support of the popular sector, practically no change of importance in Latin American society can be realized.

"It may be coincidental, however, but it is very significant that not only did no regime of military origin achieve substantial modification of the "latifundista"^{*} concentration, but the only regimes which achieved agrarian reform didn't come from military revolutions", said Gino Germani in 1962, seven years before the agrarian reform in Peru was put into action by order of the present military government of that country. Nonetheless, the same is true for this regime as for whatever other

Note: "latifundista"*: vast land holding.

Latin American government, the question remains: to what point is it possible to get a process of real and profound changes going in these countries without the human resources being really ready to favor them? The seriousness of the question is recognized by everyone; the Latin American nations are arriving at such a point that they hardly accept being manipulated. From this point we perceive a growing respect, or serious distance, which the groups that aspire to the government in Latin American nations, have against them or which they accept as their own. Having been aware of this problem over the last two decades, they have proposed a series of measures with the mobilization of these human resources in mind, in order that in this way they could establish the creation of a human society, all the more necessary for the existence of the Latin American nations. Toward its analysis we are going to dedicate the following reflections.

I. The middle classes, agents of change for a new society?

The end of the Second World War made it possible to tend to the emergency of the Latin American countries as ones in which could be placed a great and firm confidence. Promises of well being and development could be seen in their future. One had the impression that the past, traditional and contradictory, was left behind for good. The future expanded in the face of the possibilities of these countries, as if it were the kingdom of great opportunities. The only requirement was that the past should be overcome once and for all; upon the ruins of tradition there should be erected a new America, modern and powerful. The traditional ruling classes had shown themselves incapable for a task of this magnitude.

In order to accomplish "a new America" it was necessary to count on other human resources, more numerous and enthusiastic. It was in this way that little by

little the idea developed that the new destiny of Latin America was in the hands of the emerging middle classes. In fact, a simple observation of the Latin American social panorama showed that the transition from traditional society to modern society was to be found in countries like Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Costa Rica, in which their respective populations were composed of large middle stratum. On the other hand, countries which seemed to be motivated by a strong progressive impetus like Mexico and Brazil, had a population in which these middle sectors were growing. Besides this, the political forces which, toward the end of the decade of the forties appeared to be conductors of the Latin American destiny were precisely those that brought together the majority groups of the middle classes. The Democratic Action Party of Venezuela, The National Liberation Party of Costa Rica, The APRA in Peru, The "Authentic and Orthodox" in Cuba, the PRI of Mexico, the radicals of Chile, the MNR of Bolivia, the "Colorados" in Uruguay, etc., all form part of political groupings of the middle class. From this fact came the idea of the principal part that these could play toward the creation of a new society in Latin America. The Panamerican Union, published at that time, through its Dept. of Culture, six mimeographed volumes under the title Data for the Study of the Middle Class in Latin America. (3) To these, years later, was added the famous study by John J. Johnson, which postulated even more clearly the above thesis. (4)

What kind of a new society could these emergent middle sectors come to forge? In order to answer this question better, it is necessary to have in mind some of their basic characteristics. From these it is possible to understand what some of their aspirations and expectations could be, those that were projected as goals to be achieved in their search to realize a new society. It has been noted, and we believe justly,

that from the political point of view, "the middle class is democratic, liberal, with socialist tendencies, always in great part catholic, which does not mean that it is conservative." (5), implying that these emergent middle sectors toward the end of the 40's were conceived as apt instruments for the creation a society along the outlines of democratic liberalism. One should have this in mind to understand the great emphasis on education which was noted in that period in Latin America: the school was seen as the grand solution for all the ills of these countries. It was necessary to eradicate ignorance in order that, little by little, the people of the Latin American nations could be developing their capacities and making concrete their possibilities for a better life. And, of course, the type of education proposed didn't do more than consolidate the ideology of these middle sectors, which at the same time reflected the interests which the dominant groups of the West projected toward Latin America. This coming together of local and foreign elements in Latin America tried to establish in a short time a new society, whose principal characteristics we are going to enumerate now.

In the first place, it was a modern society, of a kind which corresponds to the ideals of the middle sectors when they still have not been won over by conservative or reactionary ideologies. This modern society, according to the aspirations of these sectors, was going to be forged through emphasis in two processes of great importance for Latin American life. On the one hand, a necessary industrialization which would permit at least semi-manufacturing of raw materials, opening in this way great opportunities to the Latin American population in the labor market. On the other hand, the process of urbanization, the fact being that the context of the city is the most favorable for overcoming the traditions which block the advent of a modern society.

In this (society), through urbanization and industrialization, the Latin American population would acquire maturity and autonomy; it would abandon then a sufficient degree of independence in order to open the necessary paths which would permit it to satisfy its needs and to continue realizing its own destiny. As is seen, the process which is indicated for entering a new society does no more than follow the beaten paths which the western societies had previously traveled, those which however, had not brought them closer to a society with human dimensions.

Second, another of the characteristics of the middle classes of Latin America, is that of a weak nationalism. This at times has taken the form of anti-North American sentiments; at other times, on the other hand, this has been expressed in a rather unstable economic protectionism. It is here where the most valuable tendency of this emergent impulse of the middle classes appears; in fact, for these (classes), nationalism is the distinctive ideology of the development which they seek, as has been well expressed by A. L. Machado Neto: "Nationalism represents the ideology of development itself, by being a national awareness on the part of the nations exploited by decadent colonialism". (This) "Nationalism is an ideology which is known as such, which is taken as an ideology". "This allows (us) to predict that the scientific interpretation which will be elaborated in respect to the phase of history which we are now in will be much more similar to the protecting ideology of our industrialization than to the conservative moral ideology, which (the scientific interpretation) will then completely reveal in its mythical contents in an unverifiable representation of reality." (6) Nevertheless, it should be brought out that this nationalism of the middle classes in Latin America was always limited by the model of development which they sought after. Inasmuch as this (model) does nothing except reflect

industrialization, the style of life and the values of the western world already developed. It is evident that the nationalism of the middle sectors never became truly militant. And it is in this area that the model has weaknesses. There are plenty of examples with the APRA of Peru, the radicals of Argentina and Chile, and the "Colorados" of Uruguay to prove it.

In the third place, another of the distinctive elements of the Latin American middle sectors which we are referring to (and possibly the most vanguard) is the one which shows preference for the democratic society as the society of the future. In this way when the political forces which brought them (the middle sectors) together came to power, they always set out to implement certain social legislation based on the conviction that this was necessary for the best development of their respective countries. In this way in various Latin American nations towards the end of 1940's and at the beginning of the 50's important laws were passed which indicated the existence of certain interest for social justice.

It is necessary to locate within the same tendency the propositions in favor of agrarian reform which these middle classes held based on the belief that a greater distribution of production in the country would open new possibilities for the expansion of national industry, besides promote the necessary progress for these nations. All of this, in general, has meant that the middle classes in which so much hope was placed (that they would favor the creation of a more human society in Latin America), have upheld state intervention as a necessity in almost all important aspects of the nation's life, promoting then an increase in state "managing" through the nationalization of industry and other services.

Nevertheless, while these theses were being held, it was left unnoticed that

the really important changes that had a real place during that period in the Latin American countries, were precisely not those carried forth by those countries where parties from the middle class had been placed in power. The case of Peronism in Argentina, Vargasism in Brazil and the Guatemalan revolution, plainly demonstrate this. In these countries, an emergent proletariat, attracted to the urban centers by a incipient industrialization, proposed a nationalist policy of social reforms much more radical than those of the middle sectors. And it was through their effort that significant transformations were carried out to which the politicians of the middle sectors were often opposed. These (middle sectors) could hardly become factors of substantial change in Latin America. Their ideological colonization by the West had undermined the nationalism which they had sustained, constituting then the following paradoxical situation: while they maintained more or less daring ideological positions for that time, their behavior was far from daring, inclining more towards the conservative side. The distance between ideology and action within these emergent middle sectors, is obvious to any observer of the Latin American scene. Their goals for the Latin American society were permanently bartered and undermined by the basic liberalism which characterized them (their goals) and which has been, fundamentally, the determinant factor in causing the loss of the upward impulse of these middle sectors in the third and fourth decade of our century in Latin America. "The disconcerting conclusion arrived at by the sociologist who study the Latin American process, is that in some countries, where there is a higher social-cultural index, they suffer, for some years now, from a clear economic standstill. The enigma gave way to what Medina Echavarría brings together with the name 'Hoselitz' hypothesis, according to which the decisive factor of growth is not the relative size of the middle class, rather the nature of its composition and the role which it plays in an effective way.

Thus, the loss of its dynamic function and its consequent conformism which is observed today in the Latin American middle class is the result of the limited objectives established in it by the liberal ideology, , and the fact that its basic political attitude was formed and responds with total submissiveness, to this date , to the political parties originated under the influence of liberalism (a "domesticated" middle class, according to the acid description by Nietzsche)." (7) From all this comes the result that the project with its basis as Latin American development and the formation of a more human society in these countries out of the growing contingents of the middle sectors, did not function, nor can it at this time. The present situation, on the threshold of the decade of the 70's, does not permit (us) to observe growth in said social sectors, rather a process of impoverishment and weakening of these (social sectors). The fact is, the future of Latin America can't be promising when it is so dependent, in ideology, culture, and economy on those who traditionally have been dominators of these countries.

II. - The necessary condition for social change: a new enterprise elite.

For a long time C. E. P. A. L. has insisted upon the necessity for profound structural changes if a more just and human society is wanted in Latin America. Dealing with economics, one of the principal directions since its inception, already put in relief in 1950 some of the necessary points in order that the economic development of Latin America could become a reality. (8) When the Latin American nations really put, in a decisive manner, all of their efforts in favor of development, the investigations completed by CEPAL will be of enormous value. The importance of these (investigations) has been in emphasizing that economic growth and social development in Latin America cannot be obtained without a profound structural change in these countries. In this sense, the orientation of CEPAL has been completely

different than that of the International Monetary Fund; the latter has constantly proclaimed measures of "orthodox" character in the fiscal and monetary area, besides (establishing) an adequate money exchange mechanism in order to cure the weak economies of the Latin American countries.

On the other hand, CEPAL has untiringly indicated that the strengthening or weakening of the Latin American economy depend fundamentally on structural factors such as a rational agrarian reform, a necessary process of industrialization, the urgency of planning for development, the expansion of the market in order to find a place for the Latin American products, a new way to confront international commercial relations, etc. It is already known where the policy proclaimed by the International Monetary Fund has taken (us): to a greater indebtedness within Latin American economies, a shrinking of the market, and (above all) a greater poverty for the less fortunate classes. Foreign capital has obtained, at an increasing rate, fat winnings on its investments in Latin America. The precepts of CEPAL have been tried timidly by some governments, and there is no doubt that they are vigorously resisted by the great international capital centers.

Briefly, we have just mentioned the fundamental points of the program of CEPAL. It is necessary to spend a little more time with them in order to understand how it has tried to mobilize certain human resources having in mind their means. In the first place, one of the goals of CEPAL for impelling the development of Latin America has been to make the industrialization of these countries concrete as a step of greatest necessity. Raul Prebisch, in the above mentioned document, brings out with all clarity this requirement: "In Latin America, reality is undermining the outdated schema of the international division of labor. (...) Under that schema, the specific task that

fell to Latin America, as part of the periphery of the world economic system, was that (of) . . . producing food and raw materials for the great industrial countries. There was no place within for the industrialization of the new countries. Industrialization is nevertheless, being forced upon them by events. Two world wars in a single generation and a great economic crisis between them have shown the Latin American countries their opportunities, clearly pointing the way to industrial activity". The unavoidable road to promote the Latin American development passes through the industrialization of these countries, according to the thinking of one of the most noteworthy authorities of CEPAL.

It is unnecessary to say that throughout the long trajectory of this (organization) this principle has never been abandoned. In countries whose economies are based principally on the exploitation of one or two raw materials, this requirement becomes fundamental in order to promote a radical transformation of these (countries), in economical as well as social aspects.

How (is it possible) to achieve this industrialization, and consequently this structural change? At this point, appears another of the great requirements which time and again is repeated in the proposals of CEPAL. It is necessary to untiringly fight against the forces which weaken the Latin American economies; these come from the Latin American countries themselves, as well as from abroad. In order to confront them, with certain possibility to overcome them, it is the greatest necessity that the Latin American economies be well planned and programmed. In order that the forces of development be expanded rationally in Latin America, it is necessary to understand that such an expansion "could not be the result of the spontaneous interplay of forces, as has happened in the capitalist evolution of the advanced countries". To which the

author of these lines, the same Raul Prebisch, adds: It has been a very perturbing concept that that evolution could reproduce itself in our countries". (9)

As a consequence, because now it is not possible to repeat this experience of history, and (because) finding new roads is imposed (upon us), these will have to be well planned and correctly programmed. At this point there appears, implicitly presented, the great responsibility of the leadership to conduct (us) as is called for (on) these roads. The same (leadership) must accept with maturity the necessity of planning. "Planning means a rigorous method (even though not rigid) in order to attack the problems of development, a continuous discipline in the activities of the State. It is a series of preventive acts, anticipation of future needs, rational relating of the means for satisfying them with the scarce resources available". (10) It becomes important to keep in mind that there have been very few times that the Latin American leaders have known how to apply their capacities to the service of this requirement for planning; for this reason a change in the formation of the very leadership is necessary.

This change, this conversion if you like, is even more necessary if it is kept in mind that there are factors outside of Latin America, of enormous influence for obstructing the development of these countries, even strangling it, and thereby provoking the deterioration of the Latin American economies. In order to avoid these problems (besides pushing forward Latin American manufactured or semi-manufactured products, and defending the price relations of economic interchange), the necessity to expand the Latin American market is presented. For this reason, CEPAL constantly includes among its demands for planning, the requisite of keeping in sight the creation and expansion of the Latin American Common Market. This goal implies, as much as

the previous ones, a mature group, prepared and capable to impel these transformations of enormous importance. If this group doesn't exist, according to the tenor of CEPAL, it would hardly be possible to consolidate, or even start the process of development for the Latin American countries. And, without this structural change, there will not be possibilities for a new society more human than the present.

Now if the thinking of CEPAL appears to be more rigorous and accurate than that of those who tried the promotion of a more developed society by means of the emergent impetus in the middle sectors; there are two things which call the attention to this thinking (of CEPAL). In the first place, the political asepsis with which it has been formulated (in spite of the fact that this constitutes a political judgement on the traditional groups that have not come to see that the future of Latin America, to overcome the great problems that bind the life of these nations; requires the structural changes indicated by CEPAL). The problem is rooted in the fact that the method of overcoming the vices of liberalism which impede the adoption of the planning and realization of such structural changes is unknown. It is a strange fact that in the documents of CEPAL and in the writings of many of its more important men an easy optimism exists which is expressed in the belief that economic liberalism can permit, with certain adjustments of course, the effectualization of the plan. The planning effort is to be channeled, then, in industrialization and Latin American integration. This is an evident error of calculation or perspective.

In the second place, after having proposed the solution of integration, it is strange that the specialists of CEPAL never clearly denounce the implicit danger in this: That instead of favoring Latin American development, basically integration is an instrument which will permit the expansion of private foreign capital, a determinant

factor (in the first degree) of the Latin American underdevelopment. If this occurrence was not foreseen because of political or ideological asepsis, it is necessary to bring out that this is bordering on an inconvenient innocence. In fact, everyone knows the negative role that private initiative has generally played in Latin American development. To open the door for private capital so that it might work with greater liberty in the process of integration means that the potential development will not be "harmonic", since it will not overflow with benefits for all Latin Americans. The benefits will be for the private foreign sector (the strongest) and the small national nuclei that operate in conjunction with said groups of the foreign private initiative. Of course, to denounce openly the action of these groups would be the same as leaving the political asepsis in which CEPAL aspires to maintain itself. The worst of this position is that it is unaware that foreign influence (extremely important throughout all the history of Latin America), is a structural factor, inserted and acting from the very core of the economy, the society, the politics and the culture of these countries, constituting one of the strongest obstacles, if not the most important, to Latin American nations being allowed to truly shape their destinies according to their own designs.

Now, as has already been brought out repeatedly, in order that this project get moving it is of vital interest that there exist, convinced, dynamic groups capable of promoting industrialization, integration of the Latin American markets, modernization of the economy of the society, all of this through what Prebisch has called "a rigorous planning". It is in this sense that CEPAL has emphasized the preparation of leadership teams for the Latin American economy. Toward this

end it is worthwhile to note the work which the Latin American Institute of Economic and Social Planning (ILPES) has tried to realize since 1962 (II). Through the preparation of this new group of leaders for development, CEPAL tends to accomplish that which its directors believe is the primary task in favor of Latin American development. In effect, with the crisis in the traditional structures in Latin America, the leadership that up to the present was in charge of directing Latin American development is (now) left behind by the new situation. The hacendado*, traditional leader of political and social life in Latin America now is not the one who can impel the changes which the present situation demands, basically because the hacienda is, from the point of view of the demands of production and development, an obsolete structure. For this reason, the emergence of a new leading class is urgently imperative. Faced with the political vacuum left by the traditional directive groups (which has resulted in a notorious lack of power structure which could respond to urgent Latin American problems) it is of great necessity to form a new class of directors which is at the height of the answers which (above all) can give direction to the energies of the new emergent classes that already are pushing forth to the satisfaction of their aspirations.

It is easy to find the source of these thoughts which some of the more renowned men of CEPAL practice. (12) Jose Ortega y Gasset, the well known Spanish thinker, has applied himself to these questions (of course in a more general context), from the second decade of this century until his death in 1955. (13) Among the studious (men) of CEPAL there are some who are dedicated disciples of Ortega, applying themselves to expressing his ideas and projecting them on to the present Latin American situation. As is (well) known, Ortega always presented the need for

Note: *"hacendado": rancher or landholder.

uniting the social body, which would necessarily consist of a backbone between the masses and the elites. The (elites) must know how to direct the (masses), at the same time, the masses are unable to do anything without an elite to direct them. One can ask if the thinking of Ortega, so attractive for many reasons (even though not because of this aristocratism), really corresponds to the present demands of the Latin American nations. At a time when the situation of these (nations) reveals the emergency of the popular nuclei (proletariat, industrial army in reserve, etc.) more than the middle classes, it becomes evident that development not only demands the presence of adequate conductors, but also the effort and participation of the great majorities.

Here the work of CEPAL (so praiseworthy in other aspects) is frankly insufficient, when not in error. In fact, the access of the masses, (the necessary people), to a society of complete participation is not carried out only through the preparation of the leadership nuclei.

In this tendency, there is an implicit contempt of the (people) which determines, before hand, the invalidness of this program. For, in Latin America society will be more human because of the participation of the majorities, or it won't exist at all. Latin American development, if it becomes reality, will necessarily deserve the support of the great sectors of the population, or it will not be development. For this reason, it is appropriate to give impetus to methods of communication on the popular level in order that the nuclei (which have until now been, time and again, placed on the periphery of the decisions which touch the destiny of the decisions which touch the destiny of the Latin American people), can have a voice and effective participation in the unfolding process. This, taken to its end, will necessitate the overcoming of certain schemas

that, in spite of good intentions, continue to keep the popular consciousness, when they try to promote, in a situation of submission and dependence. The defect lies in doing communicating in a paternalistic manner. For this same reason, even though it seems paradoxical, there is not much difference between a regime of technocrats and one of educated military; in its own way each suppose themselves to lead the people toward a more advanced society; in their own way, too, both are lacking the popular voice and action, without which a human society can't exist.

III. - The integration of the periphery groups, or a new society which is the same as it always was.

Many have seen that the most important potential presently available to the Latin American people, (to forge a more human society), is not found, precisely, among the reduced nuclei which its leadership make up. Rather, (and noting in some important extensions that result from observation of the social process) (many) understand that this potential is found in the great human reinforcements which have migrated to the urban centers. Looking for a better destiny, they have left their birth place, entering (the city) to add to the number of those who live in slums and emergency "barrios"* which multiply in the large cities of Latin America. Regrettably, among those millions, there are very few who come to obtain a dignified stable job which permits them a style of life that can be considered acceptably human. In fact, the industrial growth index. For this reason, many of the human contingents that migrate from the agricultural zone to the urban zone, scarcely, if at all, can survive in a state of semi-employment, lowering themselves provisionally to jobs as badly paid as unstable. This is the nucleus of persons which in the last two decades has doubled, and even tripled, the populations of Lima, Santiago, Caracas, Sao Paulo, etc. To many observers, the

Note: "barrios" :Housing area, zone of the city or neighborhood.

dissatisfaction of their expectations, the prolonged frustration of their hopes, are motives which do nothing except feed a blind resentment. This is increased, also, by the lack of means of living, by the misery that conditions their existence and, above all, by the contrast of their poverty with the easiness of life that others (generally a smaller nucleus of population) enjoy.

For this reason, although the formation of groups that have to fulfill a function of leadership in the process of development and change toward a new society is understood to be necessary, they simultaneously indicate the priority of the task of motivating these great human contingents (which some call, incorrectly, marginals*) so that they will impel from their end a process of changes through which they permit them to satisfy their most elemental needs. In other words, besides a change of economic structures, a process of social development is also thought necessary. The model that this follows has been understood until now according to the patterns that come from the modern society, which some authorities believe to be the dynamic society par excellence (that in which "change becomes an institution"), and whose political style corresponds to democratic liberalism as it is practiced in the Western countries. In summary: it is impossible to enter into a modern democratic society without the participation of the great popular contingents. These must be mobilized in two ways: on the one hand, their participation should be impelled into the social process with their complete integration into the society in mind. And on the other hand, their mobilization in total social complex should be sought, for purpose that they accelerate the process of economic

Note: "marginals"*: on the margin of society, forgotten, left out.

and social development through the pressure which arises from their demands. Social development as a consequence, should go beyond the mere elites, and should reach all the people, especially the least privileged stratum which in the present situation in Latin America, can be extremely dynamic and possessors of a great political potential for change.

The proposed goal is the modernization of the society. How to reach it?

According to what is known, modern society is much more complex than traditional society. While in this one the primary relations prevail, in that one the most important mechanisms for social functioning are made up by the secondary institutions. To the extent that these reproduce and multiply themselves, the social complexity grows, but at the same time the human contingents which are integrated and participate harmoniously with the commanding social system are more numerous. That is, the social change that is proposed is one that leaves things the way they are. It's possible that a larger group of people form a part of these secondary associations; it is even possible that through their integration into these groups they have the feeling that they are participating in a more or less significant manner in the social process. Nevertheless, in the last analysis, (and even though some might have prospered in their personal situation) they haven't done more than consolidate the ruling system.

It is true that there has been mobilization of the great human masses; but at the same time, it is necessary to bring out that it is no less certain that through this mobilization they have been integrated to a system which doesn't suffer great changes from the action of these processes. As Gino Germani says, mobilization belongs to the social psychological process through which the groups submerged in "passiveness" corresponding to the traditional normative patron (domain of prescriptive action .

through the fulfilling of internalized norms), they acquire certain capacity for deliberative behavior, they reach levels of aspiration different from those fixed by that preexistent patron, and consequently, in the political field they come to actively participate" (14)

This participation, because it is integrated in the system (in spite of appearances) doesn't mean in any way starting of a process of significant social changes toward a more human society. It would be different if, instead of looking for integration in the system of these mobilized human resources, they tried to make them dynamic with the idea of radical transformation of the society. If, in one case as in the other, it comes down to a political manipulation (which in the last analysis implies a contempt for the people) this manipulation is the worst kind of crime when it seeks integration of these groups into the system. Because, (as is seen very well by Gino Germani), integration can be defined as "a particular form of intervention of the mobilized groups) on the one hand they are brought about within the institutionalized channels by authority of the commanding political regime (and such intervention possesses at least a certain degree of effectiveness, besides a formal recognition); b) on the other hand, it is perceived and experienced as 'legitimate' by the mobilized groups, it should be added that in this feeling of 'legitimacy' is also included, in an explicit or implicit way, conscious or unconscious, the total institutional picture, that is, the political regime on the one hand, and at least, certain basic values which assure a minimum of integration in the social structure".

And he adds: "As is well known these mechanisms can be accompanied perfectly well by extreme verbal attitudes that imply a total rejection implicitly be "suspended" and postponed for an unspecified future time". (15) Keeping these definitions of Germani in mind one easily understands that the so-called "Representative democracy" in Latin America has rested precisely, in the last thirty years, in this mechanism of

mobilization and integration. Toward this end they have operated basically in two ways: on the one hand, the necessary institutional channels were created (the above mentioned secondary institutions, generally) that permitted the popular mobilization: political clubs, divisional centers, partisan cells, commissions for improvement of neighborhoods or zones, mothers clubs, all kind of associations, which came together as centers for deliberating on common problems including those people who until now had not traditionally taken part in things of general interest. The result is easily seen: thank to this mobilization, those persons had the illusion of really participating in the discussion and decisions concerning their social existence. But, it was not more than an illusion at the same time, in these secondary institutions the style has been such that in these discussions a consensus appropriate for the stability and order of the ruling system has predominated.

This is, precisely, what is happening when the social leaders undertake the mobilization of "those on the periphery" with acceleration of the process of modernization of the society in mind. Among the social contingents of those which are suspected of a great political potential for change, the starting of this kind of mobilization tends toward nothing except integrating them in a system which up to now has done nothing except exploit them, thus putting off indefinitely the realization of their own destiny. In fact, for Latin America, and above all for its people, to postulate as a goal of their social development the modern society according to the western models, implies maintaining their countries in the sphere of dependence on that same West which up to now hasn't done anything except exploit, frustrate and semi-strangle them. Instead of permitting these same

groups to have their own say, project their own ideals of a new society, and seek for the necessary ways to forge it, the elites of Western inspiration try to get ahead of events and thus promote a giant mobilization of the periphery groups. Why? In order to mold a replica of the dehumanized societies which have up to now debased the Latin American nations. As modern as they may seem, the Latin American nations reject this model for a new society.

For this reason those attempts should be clearly denounced. Now it's not even possible to refer to "mobilization, rather manipulation of human resources. This net work of secondary institutions in which the manipulated have the illusion of exercising a certain degree of liberty, in the last analysis they play the sinister role of holding back the dynamism of the people. This force comes from their spontaneity and like a sure arrow goes straight in search for the realization of their most genuine interests. In order to prevent this occurrence, the directive groups have restricted and (still) restrict popular participation to within the framework of the secondary institutions which have been designated for the people. In this way, in spite of the illusion of change due to the mobilization and integration of the periphery groups in the social process, what occurs is the maintenance of the status quo. (16)

It is deplorable that this manipulation can be confused by some with a revolution. If this is a profound and radical change of the existent structures which in the last analysis are channeled into the establishing of a new order, it is difficult to understand how they can be confused with changes that only tend to favor the dominant groups, and above all the foreign imperialistic power that have subjugated the Latin American nations. This "revolution" which they

try to bring about by preponderant orders and by way of vertical mechanisms cannot lead in any way to the formation of a more human society. Rather its installation would be the apex of the dehumanization of Latin America, by way of the alienation that the nations which had adopted it would be suffering. And, instead of a revolution in reality it is a counterrevolution. So, a dark night would be occupying the place of a new day for the Latin American nations.

But these (nations) are coming to the point where they do not let others talk for them. They understand that they have arrived at the place where they should start to say, without stammering, their own words. This process has already begun, and even if a lot of struggle will be necessary to bring it to its culmination, what's important is that it's begun. (17)

IV. - The word should be from the people, or the opportunity for a human society. -

The three conceptions of social change in Latin America, being based on the mobilization of certain human resources, with the forging of a more human society in mind, have not satisfied us. First, because the "middle sectors", have already lost the impetus of growth and development which might have characterized them in the early decades of the century. Instead, in the passing of the decade of the 60's, their political definitions have been more conservative, opposed to change, and in more than one way situated on the verge of reactionary. Think, rather, of the manner in which these sectors encouraged and participated in "The March for God, Nation, and Family" which prolonged the overthrow of the government in Brazil, toward the end of March 1964; and in the same way in October 1968 condemned the mobilization of the Mexican students. In critical moments, the so-called "middle sectors" take on a conservative behavior. The experience of this is not only Latin America.

As everyone knows, during the two decades that followed the First World War, fascism in Italy, as well as nazism in Germany, emerged and developed with the support of the small bourgeoisie. As a consequence there is no reason to hope for any significant change toward a more human society in Latin America based on the action of these sectors. But, in the same way, these changes will not become molded in an acceptable form for all the people, if in order to reach them we only wait for what the new elites can do. In fact, in order that the change be effective, there has to be much more than a change of attitude in the leaders; on the contrary, it should be a change in which the majority has a decisive influence.

If it's not this way, as modern as the elites might be, as favorable to change as they might be found, upon lacking popular support it will be easy for those who decide the destiny of the American nations to enjoy the greatest benefits possible from them. In reality, the leaders for conducting the popular multitudes cannot be imposed on the masses. They (the leaders) do not appear as a result of a process of preparation, selection and study. They emerge from the same popular ranks; they are perceived by the people through their efforts and struggle, and the people place in these leaders not only their confidence, but also their wholehearted support. For this reason, elites and power groups, as educated as they might be, without the populace don't accomplish much. If they want to make their efforts succeed and make their goals concrete, they will someday have to put themselves in the service of the popular sectors. Besides they should do so while under the orders of the populace, not while trying to manipulate them. This is what falsifies the third intent which has been commented here: a matter of uniting the people, giving them the illusion a participation in the

process of changes and at the same time integrating them through these ways to a system which time and again crushes and destroys them. When (leaders) talk about the periphery groups, and don't denounce the fact that (these groups) are on the periphery because there are those who direct a system of oppression that exploits them, and at the same time they believe themselves mechanisms that will lead (the periphery groups) to an integration in the same system, then at that point there are no possibilities for a more human society. What is being seen is a starting up of the most subtle and at the same time, most alienating mechanisms in the fight against the interests of the people.

The people, as is well known mobilize themselves in some manner to express what's bothering them. In spite of the alienation which they suffer, they go out to protest against the conservative governments, they put themselves on the line against the "gorillas" in office; students and workers are already almost daily martyrs in the streets of the cities, as the peasants are in the country. There is a whispered rumor that soon will be transformed into an uncontrollable clamour; the hour of real transformations has to arrive. Little by little the people understand that they have to say their word. Until now, they have repeated the words of their oppressors; they have added themselves to the choir that gave echo to the speeches that they didn't understand and that didn't reach them. Those words had nothing to do with the people; they referred to plans and projects in which they had not intervened and for which they felt no necessity to fight. But now things are beginning to change. More and more there is the conviction that the destiny of Latin America, (if it really wants to mold a more human society)

cannot be determined by the great centers of world power, nor by the minorities who have until now taken their turns in the government of the republics south of the Rio Grande. In other words it is the very Latin American people who have to seek their own development, the social structure which is best for them, in accord with their own culture and their own values. It is not a matter now of repeating schemas, nor projecting themselves on models that have had more or less success in other parts of the world. Rather, it seems to be the proper moment to begin, through daily effort and struggle, exacting little by little, the new society toward which the Latin American nations must tend. Only in this way will they be masters of their own fate. If this does not happen, the secular alienation which they suffer will continue. Their economic dependence abroad will become even more consolidated, and in this way will be accordingly dominated by the nations on whom they depend; the dialectic of master and slave has passed, being that of coding the international relations which exist between the centers of the world economy and the peripheral countries. Moreover, the same is true for the cultural relations. In fact, the countries which dominate and control the world international market are not satisfied with that, instead they also try to establish cultural colonization of the dependent countries. In this way they induce them to travel social roads which will maintain them within their sphere of influence. To this extent, alienation is very serious. Economic and cultural dependence constitute powerful obstacles for the formation of a human society, and for the humanization of those who live in an underdeveloped world. It is necessary then, to break the ring of alienation. This is what the task of liberation basically consists of. (18) This supposes, consequently, a process of relations of conflicts and

dialectics (contradictory) between the oppressed and the oppressors. This process, even though it can be of a rather limited duration, can be conceived for Latin America as long and painful. It depends on the consideration of the type of alienations which she suffers and the seriousness of these. This process, with all certainty will have to resolve itself (by imposition of the present circumstances) in a violent form. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take into consideration other elements that are also indispensable in the whole task of liberation.

Among these elements, if one assumes that the populace is going to forge its own destiny, a new orientation in education is fundamental. Education, up to now, tends rather to impose the values of the oppressor than permit a gestation of the Latin American individual. This (Latin American individual) still remains hidden not daring to come out into the open. He carries the burden of the oppressor, the imposition of his way of life, etc. The education which exists in Latin America has profound dehumanizing consequences. With it a more human society will not come; on the contrary it is an obstacle on the way towards that society. Now then, this new orientation in education should be directed so that the voices, up to now silenced, can have (at last!) their word. These minds that were hidden by the mind of the oppressor, dominated by their (own) estimation of reality, should liberate themselves from this yoke and become themselves, free and active. In this sense, this renovating education which is already being practiced in Latin America (19) is something more than a cultural fact: it supposes a political definition. It's very methodology, based in frank dialogue and in the intent to create critical consciousnesses as a first step in exercising freedom, constitutes a precious element in the construction of a truly popular

democracy. For this reason Fanon wrote: "The masses should be able to come together, discuss, propose, receive instructions. Citizens should have the opportunity to talk, express themselves, invent. The circle reunion, the committee meeting is a liturgical act. It is a privileged occasion that is granted to man to listen and say. At each reunion the mind multiplies its paths of association, the eye discovers each time a more humanized panorama" (20)

From the start with the critical, reflexive and mutual dialogue, one observes the liberating process of becoming aware toward which the new education is tending. Here the human resources are not manipulated; what it's about is that the person becomes master of his possibilities and is ready to mold them. Education understood in this way does not consist only in an intellectual act; it is realized in free, transforming action. In other words, this education consists in taking to persons full consciousness that which already exists in him in a potential form. It is this potential consciousness, which we can also call visceral, which in the end causes the behavior of the individual. In the same way as with the starved man, (even though many times those who have been this way all their lives are not immediately conscious of their hunger), his consciousness looks for satisfaction of irresistible necessities. Along this road, he is oriented toward the stability of his organism, tries to escape his precarious living and achieve a much more appropriate existence. All this goes to show that awareness which seeks to make history dynamic is not only intellectual, rather fundamental action. A true awareness makes the total being of a man dynamic, his body and his spirit, toward an activity of liberation which on the other hand, in order to be really liberating must be realized in a continual way. In this sense, the process of gaining awareness can be

understood as a permanent education. And such, in fact, is the experience of the nations who set themselves out decidedly toward their liberation: they grow, develop, emerge and put in relief their own characteristics and values. In summary, they live a true process of humanization which is channeled unchangeably into the constitution of a more human society. Such has been what happened to the oppressed nations that over the last fifty years have been able to make their liberation concrete.

According to what we have just seen, in the search for a more human society, a new concept of education, based on dialogue and culminating in action, is an irreplaceable element. But it's not enough. For the populace to become dynamic in the search for a new future, it's also important that, little by little, they visualize in a more clear way the new society toward which it projects itself. The gaining of consciousness cannot be complete unless it transcends the present moment and orients itself toward the future, organizing and planning to make it possible. To the extent that it clarifies that vision of the new society, if (the vision) responds to the needs and urgencies of the people, undoubtably it will attract (the people to it) more and more. Here then appears the importance of ideology as an assisting instrument in the formation of a more human society, something which is worth indicating even though the noise of those who were singing the requiem to the ideologies of our times has not died out. As is well shown by Luis A. Gomez de Souza: "It is important to see how, in thinking of a future world, we don't leave aside the ideological dimension, nor can we avoid taking a position. And, this willful act is, essentially, in these cases a political act. It is function of this act that political analysis is made. What utility would it have, and specially in Latin America, to study tendencies, without tracing out political alternatives toward the future? These political alternatives take on meaning within an ideological

projection. Jean Lacroix makes a distinction between foresight and projection. Gaston Berger makes it between projection and perspective. Someone said that what is important is not to guess the probable future, rather to prepare the desirable future and even maybe go further: seek to make possible the desirable future". (20)

Is it possible, at the present time, to spy on this desirable future? We think so. First of all, for Latin America, it supposes the breaking of the existent social system. This social system is alienating, dehumanizing, and carries with it the mark of disgrace and pain for the Latin American nations. In second place, and as inference of the above, the break with the 'established disorder' demands the overcoming of the dialectic domination-dependence, which is what presently marks the life of Latin American countries. This implies the creation of a new style in international commercial relations, and in the political ones too. Third, the new society toward which the Latin American nations tend should have awareness of their limitations and capacities. It will be necessary to review constantly their style of life, plans and projects. In this sense, it will be an open society, on the road to continual transformation. In fourth place, in this society, man will necessarily be master of nature as well as of his own history. This implies that the index of technological application should increase notably in relation to the present, rather it will not be property of only a few, but rather will belong to the national resources and will be administered by the people. In fifth place, and in relation with the above, in the new society, in order to be more human, once and for all the control will be eliminated that the minorities exercise over the

majorities, the same for whatever form of paternalism of some social groups over others. Instead, relations in the society will be established in terms of liberty and justice. Social participation will not be, then, manipulated. In summary, the goal that the Latin American people are getting a glimpse of is that of a society for a mature and free humanity (which is not the same as the modern society).

Of course, between the gaining of awareness which is now being produced in the Latin American nations and the moment in which (by some manner) this society can be molded, there is an important lapse. During this lapse, the popular efforts should organize themselves with aims for making possible a firm and coordinated action which might permit them to approach the objectives which guide their action. What is the most appropriate form for such an organization? Will it be necessary to follow some classic model, or a more or less heterodox one at this point? These are questions which at this time cannot be answered in a definitive form. At most, if it is scarcely possible to give (in an approximate way for those answers) some reflections which are deduced from contact with the populace that is becoming aware of the necessity for change toward a more human society.

First, the organization of the popular forces should be characterized by a dialectic equilibrium of communal discipline and spirit. Discipline is necessary for the efficiency that is required by the political action which seeks the changes; without it, anarchy becomes dominant and efforts are dispersed and nullified. The communal spirit is necessary so that discipline and search for effectiveness don't pervert the process of humanization. Firmness and gentleness, if you like, according to the words of Che Guevara; both are necessary. Second, the popular organizations can't

do without leadership; this is necessary for the directing of the struggle and in order to avoid childishness and uncontrolled acts. Nevertheless, an effective control of the base nuclei should be exercised over the leadership of whatever popular organization. Only in this way, throughout the march toward a new society, will the concern be kept that this society be really human.

Someone might say: this type of organization doesn't exist within the popular sectors of Latin America. If we stay with the facts as they are, it's necessary to say he's right. But, if on the other hand, we look at the political evolution of those sectors and their growing maturity, there is no doubt that a type of such organization is in process. The solidarity which some popular movements manifest in Latin America, their concern for a democratic structure in their organization, the generosity of life which are made evident by their members, are the best guarantee for a more human society for the future. Because of their example they appeal to the others; because of their dedication to the popular cause, they make the people have their own say and project themselves toward a new tomorrow. This tomorrow continues being forged by these groups without being manipulated by others, without paternalism, without contempt for anyone, rather with the style of a new human being in process, a human being who not only endeavours to be effective but who also endeavours to be man.

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FOOTNOTES:

- (1) :O. Fals Borda: La Subversion en Colombia. El cambio social en la Historia, pg. 103. Ed. Dpto. de Sociologia de la Facultad de Ciencias Humanas de la Universidad Nacional de Colombia, y Edic. Tercer Mundo; la. edic. , Bogota; 1967.
- (2) :Gino Germani: Clases Populares y Democracia Representativa en America Latina, in Desarrollo Economico. pg. 38. Vol2, Julio/Setiembre 1962.
- (3) :Theo R. Crevena, Ed. :Data for the Study of the Middle Class in Latin America (6vols.): Pan American Union, Washington; 1950/1951.
- (4) :John J. Johnson: Political change in Latin America: the Emergence of the Middle Sectors. Ed. Stanford University Press, Stanford; 1959.
- (5) :Victor E. Alba: The Latin American Style and the New Social Forces, in Latin American Issues, pg. 51; Ed. Albert O. Hirschman; The Twentieth Century Fund , New York, 1961.
- (6) :Cit. por Hiber: Conteris in Hombre, Ideologia y Revolucion en America Latina, pg. 106; Ed. ISAL, Montevideo; 1965.
- (7) :IBID, pg. 100
- (8) :C. E. P. A. L. : El Desarrollo Economico de American Latina y sus problemas principales. Ed. O. N. U. , 1950. (The true manifesto of CEPAL, was written by who would later become the director of the Organization, the Argentinian economist Dr. Raul Prebisch, in 1949).
- (9) :R. Prebisch: Hacia una dinamica del Desarrollo Latinoamericano, pg. 20; Ed. Banda Oriental, Montevideo; 1967.
- (10) :IBID, pg. 26.
- (11) : The principal functions of ILPES are: (1) To extend the technical Knowledge of the Latin American specialists, through training and direct practice in service. (2) To help governments establish the technical institutional organizations required for carrying out more effectively economic and social development. (3) Assist the governments, on a technical level, in the preparation of their economic and social development. (4) Carry out studies necessary for the betterment of the techniques of planning which are applied in Latin America.

- 2) :In particular, of Jose Medina Echavarría: Consideraciones sociológicas sobre el Desarrollo en América Latina; Ed. Banda Oriental, Montevideo; 1964.
- 3) :Cf. especially, de Jose Ortega y Gasset: España Invertebrada; El Tema de Nuestro Tiempo; La Rebelión de las Masas; En torno a Galileo; El Hombre y la Gente; etc.
- 4) :G. Germani: Op. cit., pg. 29.
- 5) :IBID, pg. 30.
- 6) :Cf. IBID, pg. 41 "The existence of this feeling of participation doesn't necessarily have any relation with the effective influence that popular levels can have on the government. "Even though, as was already brought out, manipulation might have limits, they are however, extensive limits. Nor is there a direct relation with the betterment of an economic sort which these regimes can effectively give. Contrary the widely held opinion that the adhesion of the popular levels is achieved on the basis of demagogic promises of an economic type, the real basis for support is that "Experience of participation" which we have tried to describe".
- 7) :According to the text of the song "Caminando", by Gerald Vandre, prohibited in Brazil:
"vem, vamos embora
que esperar não é saber
quem sabe faz a hora
não espera acontecer".
- 8) :Cf., in this sense, a classic par excellence, even though almost our contemporary. De Franz Fanon: Les Damnés de la Terre; Ed. Maspero, Paris; 1967.
- 9) :The principles of this new pedagogy have been expressed principally by Paulo Freire. Cf. his work La educación como Práctica de la Libertad, esp. pg. 104-105; Ed. Tierra Nueva; Montevideo; 1969.
- 20) :Luis A. Gomez de Souza: El Futuro de las Ideologías y las Ideologías del Futuro; in Vispera, No. 12, pg. 31; Montevideo; Setiembre/1969.