

The Andean Programme

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The I.L.O. has been working for the improvement of the condition of indigenous peoples throughout the world ever since its inception. In the early years it confined its activity almost exclusively to the framing of international labour standards ; but in 1953 it entered the operational field with the Andean programme, which was designed to contribute to improving the lot of the Indian peoples of Bolivia, Peru and Ecuador (and, subsequently, those of Colombia, Chile and Argentina as well) with a view to integrating them in the national communities to which they belonged. This operational activity is carried on within the framework of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance and in close co-operation with the different specialised agencies¹ and the governments of the countries concerned. In this article Mr. Rens describes the historical background of the Andean programme, the basic aims underlying it, the actual projects undertaken and the results achieved so far.

BACKGROUND

IT is now 40 years since the International Labour Organisation first began to concern itself with aboriginal peoples. Beginning in 1921 the International Labour Office carried out a series of studies on indigenous workers in the independent countries, *inter alia*, within the framework of the Office's participation in the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Later, in May 1926, the Governing Body set up a Committee of Experts on Native Labour, which held its first meeting in July 1927, and the work of which resulted in the adoption of a whole

¹ The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (F.A.O.), the World Health Organisation (W.H.O.), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (U.N.E.S.C.O.), and the United Nations Children's Fund (U.N.I.C.E.F.). The I.L.O. is responsible for the general administration of the programme.

series of international labour Conventions and Recommendations¹ concerning nationals of independent countries, including aborigines, as well as indigenous peoples in dependent countries. But during the last 25 years the interest of the I.L.O. in the living conditions of indigenous peoples has been focused mainly on Latin America. In several countries in this part of the world one can still find the descendants of the peoples which lived there before the Spanish conquest. For various reasons, which there is no need to go into here, the attention of the I.L.O. has been directed particularly towards the Indian peoples living on the high plateaux and in the valleys of the Andes. In these regions live the Andean Indians, of whom there are believed to be about 7 million. In each of the countries where they are found, the economic, social and cultural differences between their conditions of living and those of the other population groups are such as to debar them from taking a normal part in the life of the national community.²

This state of affairs led the first two regional Conferences of American States Members of the International Labour Organisation to adopt resolutions on the living and working conditions of indigenous peoples. The first conference, held at Santiago in January 1936, asked countries with a substantial proportion of indigenous peoples among their population to "supply the Office with all the necessary information concerning the economic and social problems affecting the life and labour of that section of the population so that the Office may consider the possibility of international action leading to practical results".³

The second regional Conference of American States Members, which was held in Havana in November 1939, called attention to the social and cultural state of "these proletarian masses and particularly of those among which the descendants of the aborigines played a prominent role".⁴

In 1943 the I.L.O. took part in the work of a Commission set up jointly by the Governments of Bolivia and the United States to

¹ The Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29); the Forced Labour (Indirect Compulsion) Recommendation, 1930 (No. 35); the Forced Labour (Regulation) Recommendation, 1930 (No. 36); the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936 (No. 50); the Elimination of Recruiting Recommendation, 1936 (No. 46); the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939 (No. 64); the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention, 1939 (No. 65); the Contracts of Employment (Indigenous Workers) Recommendation, 1939 (No. 58); and the Labour Inspectorates (Indigenous Workers) Recommendation, 1939 (No. 59).

² See Alfred MÉTRAUX: "The Social and Economic Structure of the Indian Communities of the Andean Region", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXXIX, No. 3, Mar. 1959, pp. 225-243.

³ *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 5, May 1936, p. 675.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XLI, No. 3, Mar. 1940, p. 261.

inquire into living and working conditions among Bolivian workers, and more especially among the miners, most of whom are Indians.

However, it was not until 1944, when the International Labour Conference met in Philadelphia, and 1945, the year of the establishment of the Committee of Experts on Social Policy in Non-metropolitan Territories, that a clear distinction was drawn between indigenous workers in the non-metropolitan territories and the aboriginal workers of the independent countries. A resolution passed in Mexico City in April 1946 at the Third Conference of American States Members of the I.L.O. called upon the Governing Body of the International Labour Office to "establish a Committee of Experts on social problems of the indigenous populations of the world" and requested the Governing Body to "have prepared for presentation to the next Conference of the American States Members of the International Labour Organisation, which should take place within two years, a full report on the situation of the Indian population of the American countries based on the work of the Committee of Experts".¹

The Fourth Conference of American States Members of the International Labour Organisation, which took place in Montevideo in April-May 1949, also passed a resolution on the living and working conditions of indigenous peoples. This resolution called upon the Governing Body of the I.L.O. to—

Recommend that governments should take steps to put into effect legislation to adapt to the real needs and the special characteristics of life and work of the respective indigenous populations concerning, in particular—

- (a) equal pay for equal work;
- (b) regulation of the activities of private recruiting agents with respect to contracts of employment so as to provide adequate protection and guarantees for the workers, taking into account where appropriate standards established in international Conventions;
- (c) provision of adequate housing and medical, hospital and pharmaceutical care as an obligation to be established by contracts of employment;
- (d) recognition of the family as an economic unit in the extension of social insurance benefits and other forms of social assistance;
- (e) inclusion of indigenous workers in plans for land settlement;
- (f) general education and technical training of indigenous workers as a means to ensure their integration in the social and economic life of their respective countries.²

The same resolution also asked the Governing Body to—

Instruct the Office to study and co-ordinate the experience acquired by the various countries with respect to indigenous workers concerning—

- (a) the development of programmes of vocational training;

¹ *Official Bulletin* (Geneva, I.L.O.), Vol. XXIX, No. 2, Sep. 1946, p. 108.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, July 1949, p. 67.

- (b) the extension of social insurance and other forms of social assistance ;
- (c) the systems of land ownership and agricultural credit ;
- (d) the application of legislation concerning labour inspection and the prohibition of unpaid services ;
- (e) the division of agricultural wages between payment in cash and in kind ;
- (f) the conversion of Indian *comunidades* into agricultural and livestock co-operatives ;
- (g) measures for protecting the economic interests of indigenous home-crafts (problems of access to raw materials, credit, technology, marketing, etc.) ;
- (h) recruitment of indigenous agricultural labourers and mine workers for work within the country as well as abroad ;
- (i) adaptation of industrial safety devices to the risks of industry and in particular to mining, and methods of instructing workers concerning occupational risks and in the observance of safety regulations.¹

Lastly, this resolution also asks the Governing Body to—

ensure co-ordination of the activities of the International Labour Office in this field with any similar work that may be undertaken by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the Economic Commission for Latin America of the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council of the Organisation of American States, the Food and Agriculture Organisation, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, the World Health Organisation, the Pan American Sanitary Bureau as the Regional Office of the World Health Organisation and the Inter-American Indian Institute.²

Following the resolution adopted by the Mexico City Conference in 1946, the Governing Body of the I.L.O. decided in the same year to appoint a Committee of Experts to survey living and working conditions among indigenous peoples throughout the world. Countless studies had already been made all over the world of the history, language, anthropology, culture, folklore, etc., of these peoples, but their specifically social conditions had hardly ever been studied by experts. The I.L.O. was interested in their lot because of their extreme poverty, the way they were exploited and their almost complete lack of effective social protection. Almost everywhere in the world the aboriginal peoples have, in varying degrees, been shut out of the national life of their countries, although they are often not only citizens, but also the direct descendants of the original inhabitants. Shunned in their own countries, treated for centuries as pariahs, and forced to live as if in ghettos, they form a strange social phenomenon. It is only since the idea of social justice has gained ground sufficiently

¹ *Official Bulletin*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, July 1949, p. 67.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

throughout the world to reach the remoter parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, that the position of the aboriginal peoples of these continents has begun to show some slight improvement. The resolutions adopted on their behalf by the regional conferences of the International Labour Organisation are in fact signs of the progress achieved by the movement for social justice among the aboriginal peoples.

The First Session of the Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour was held at La Paz in January 1951 and was attended by a dozen experts from America, Asia and New Zealand. Pursuing the themes of the Montevideo Conference this Committee adopted some 15 resolutions, all of them revolving round the dominant idea that the legislation of each country should be extended to the whole population, including the aborigines, who had hitherto been excluded from its scope.¹

These resolutions urged the desirability for the aboriginal peoples of general education, vocational training, social security, protection of handicrafts, protection at the time of recruitment for employment, research into safety and health in the mines where they were employed, etc. In one of them the Committee of Experts suggested that the Governing Body of the International Labour Office should instruct the latter to intensify its activities in the collection of information on all facilities and studies concerned with the problems of indigenous labour. Following this recommendation, the Office in 1953 published a major survey which is a veritable encyclopedia of social conditions among aboriginal peoples throughout the world.²

In another resolution the Committee asked the I.L.O. "to ascertain how the International Labour Office, in close collaboration with the United Nations and appropriate specialised agencies, can best assist indigenous workers through the medium of the Expanded Technical Assistance Programme".³ This was the first signpost on the way towards what has now become the large-scale technical co-operation project known as the "Andean programme".

Since the beginning of the Andean Indian programme the I.L.O. has continued its standard-setting work in the field of indigenous labour, as a result of which a Convention and a Recommendation were adopted by the International Labour Conference

¹ See "First Session of I.L.O. Committee of Experts on Indigenous Labour", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXIV, No. 1, July 1950, pp. 63-64.

² I.L.O.: *Indigenous Peoples: Living and Working Conditions of Aboriginal Populations in Independent Countries*, Studies and Reports, New Series, No. 35 (Geneva, 1953).

³ *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXIV, No. 1, July 1951, p. 82.

in 1957.¹ It is of interest to note that the standards set forth in those instruments were framed by the I.L.O. in close co-operation with the four other international organisations which took part in the Andean Indian programme from the time of its inception—the United Nations, the F.A.O., W.H.O. and U.N.E.S.C.O.

THE BEAGLEHOLE MISSION

As a result of this last resolution the Technical Assistance Board began from the early part of 1952 onwards to receive applications for assistance in the field of aboriginal labour of the kinds mentioned in the resolutions adopted at La Paz in 1951.

Not wishing to take definite action until the ground had been carefully prepared, the Technical Assistance Board at its 17th Session in January-February 1952 approved the appointment of a joint mission by the United Nations and the specialised agencies. The mission² was given the task of—

(a) reviewing previous attempts at social and economic rehabilitation of indigenous populations, assessing causes of past failures or success in order to determine the types of technical assistance that would ensure the maximum success in the continuation and expansion of existing projects or in the development of new projects;

(b) exploring, in consultation with the governments concerned, the practical possibilities and conditions for carrying out a first demonstration pilot project;

(c) determining the nature of this first pilot project;

(d) selecting an area for this first pilot project.

¹ Convention and Recommendation concerning the protection and integration of indigenous and other tribal and semi-tribal populations in independent countries. The Convention has been ratified by seven Latin American countries, namely Argentina, Peru, Mexico, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic and El Salvador.

² This mission was led by Professor Ernest Beaglehole, a New Zealand ethnologist who is particularly well known for his work on the integration of the Maoris (see "The Maori in New Zealand: A Case Study in Socio-Economic Integration", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 2, Aug. 1957, pp. 103-123), and consisted of the following members: Dr. Juan José Alcocer (Mexico) of the World Health Organisation; Mr. David Belloch (United Kingdom) of the International Labour Organisation; Mr. Carl Fritze (Switzerland) of the Food and Agriculture Organisation; Mr. Enrique de Lozada (Bolivia) of the United Nations; Mr. Oscar Núñez del Prado (Peru) of the United Nations; Mr. Gonzalo Rubio (Ecuador) of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation; Mr. Xavier Caballero (Bolivia) of the International Labour Office; Mr. Daniel Litowsky (U.S.A.) of the United Nations; Miss Gloria Penichet (Mexico); and Miss Maureen Romeril (United Kingdom).

The mission was also assisted by the following advisers: Mr. Aníbal Buitrón (Ecuador) of the Organisation of American States; Mr. Edmundo Flores (Mexico), an economist; and Dr. Carlos Monge (Peru), a biologist specialising in the physiology of life at high altitudes.

In January 1953, less than a year after its appointment, the Beaglehole mission submitted its report¹, in which, as a result of its investigations on the spot in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, it proposed that a series of projects should be started in each of these countries. It was made clear that the projects would fit into a regional programme requiring active participation by the governments concerned. It was also considered that the approach should be organic and comprehensive ; in other words, the experts should be organised into teams to tackle all the problems arising out of the living and working conditions of these aboriginal peoples. This report was simultaneously submitted to the United Nations Director of Technical Assistance and to the Director-General of the International Labour Office in a letter dated 16 January 1953, signed by the head of the mission. After consulting with the other organisations which had taken part in the mission, the Director-General of the International Labour Office drew up a detailed working plan, covering most of the recommendations made by the Beaglehole mission, which was approved in June 1953 by the Technical Assistance Board. This formed the point of departure for what has since become the Andean project. The scheme, in which the United Nations Children's Fund (U.N.I.C.E.F.) now participates together with the other organisations which shared in the Beaglehole mission, has since extended its operations to Colombia, Chile and Argentina.

In August 1953 agreements on the provision of technical assistance were signed with the Governments of Bolivia and Peru ; a similar agreement was concluded with the Government of Ecuador in January 1954. A regional field office to launch and direct a co-ordinated scheme in the three countries was opened in Lima in September 1953.

THEORY AND AIMS OF INTEGRATION

Before describing various features of this Andean project one should first define the theory of integration underlying it. Since it concerns indigenous or aboriginal peoples, all of whom live by their labour, one should first of all consider what is meant by the term indigenous or aboriginal worker.

The International Labour Conference, in the Recruiting of Indigenous Workers Convention, 1936, defined "indigenous workers" as—

Workers belonging to or assimilated to the indigenous populations of the dependent territories of Members of the Organisation and workers belonging

¹ See Ernest BEAGLEHOLE: "A Technical Assistance Mission in the Andes", in *International Labour Review*, Vol. LXVII, No. 6, June 1953, pp. 520-534.

to or assimilated to the dependent indigenous populations of the home territories of Members of the Organisation.

This definition recurs in subsequent Conventions dealing with indigenous workers.

The Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention, 1957, specifies that governments have the primary responsibility for developing co-ordinated and systematic action for the protection of the populations concerned and their progressive integration into the life of their respective countries. The scope of the Convention is defined as follows :

1. This Convention applies to—

(a) members of tribal or semi-tribal populations in independent countries whose social and economic conditions are at a less advanced stage than the stage reached by the other sections of the national community, and whose status is regulated wholly or partially by their own customs or traditions or by special laws or regulations ;

(b) members of tribal or semi-tribal populations in independent countries which are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the country, or a geographical region to which the country belongs, at the time of conquest or colonisation and which, irrespective of their legal status, live more in conformity with the social, economic and cultural institutions of that time than with the institutions of the nation to which they belong.

2. For the purposes of this Convention, the term " semi-tribal " includes groups and persons who, although they are in the process of losing their tribal characteristics, are not yet integrated into the national community.¹

The whole theory of integration is in a sense summed up in the Preamble to the Convention as follows :

Considering that the Declaration of Philadelphia confirms that all human beings have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity, and

Considering that there exist in various independent countries indigenous and other tribal and semi-tribal populations which are not yet integrated into the national community and whose social, economic or cultural situation hinders them from benefiting fully from the rights and advantages enjoyed by other elements of the population, and

Considering it desirable both for humanitarian reasons and in the interest of the countries concerned to promote continued action to improve the living and working conditions of these populations by simultaneous action in respect of the factors which have hitherto prevented them from sharing fully in the progress of the national community of which they form part, and

Considering that the adoption of general international standards on the subject will facilitate action to assure the protection of the populations concerned, their progressive integration into their respective national communities and the improvement of their living and working conditions. . . .

¹ *Official Bulletin*, Vol. XL, No. 1, 1957, p. 13.

In other words, integration is based on a humanist approach taken from the Declaration of Philadelphia which declares the attainment of conditions in which all men can share fully in the benefits of progress to be the overriding aim of any national and international policy.

This doctrine involves recognition of the cultural values peculiar to indigenous peoples ; its aim is, not to destroy these values, but to overcome the prejudices against them. For these peoples assimilation involves the sacrifice of their particular characteristics ; integration, however, gives them the right to take their place in the national life of the country in which they live while retaining their own personalities.

Integration, however, is not simply a question of these rights alone. In addition to meeting these peoples' needs and aspirations, it has an economic function. It fulfils, in fact, a twofold purpose—on the one hand it coincides with the aspirations of these down-trodden peoples, who throughout the world are on the move to win a better life ; and on the other hand it will help the underdeveloped countries in which they live (and which are trying to modernise their economies) to break down those barriers between the indigenous peoples and other sections of the community that hamper the acceptance of new production methods.

The Indian element accounts for a substantial proportion of the total population of Ecuador (35 per cent.), Peru (50 per cent.) and Bolivia (80 per cent.). These figures are much lower in other countries such as Colombia, Chile and Argentina, which, nevertheless, do contain Indian ethnic groups. Irrespective, however, of the size of the Indian community, these countries need the labour of all their citizens if they are to make the most of their economic potential. Already the Andean programme has strikingly demonstrated that integration is feasible. It shows that the Indians are perfectly capable of mastering any modern production technique and of reaching the same level of civilisation as their fellow countrymen. The way the programme has caught the imagination of the Indian *campesinos* shows how eager, and indeed how determined, they are to occupy their rightful place alongside the other sections of the community. The problem will demand a tremendous effort, for the aim is no less than the raising of the Indians, who now hardly live like human beings at all, to a level of civilisation which in these countries has hitherto been reached only by the other sections of the population.

These few remarks clearly show that integration is diametrically opposed to any kind of racial doctrine and is in a sense a modern, practical version of humanism—modern because it is relevant to social issues which are very much alive in a number of countries

despite the fact that some of them became independent a long time ago, and practical because in its present form it sets out to help the Indians, not merely by proclaiming equal rights and recognising the validity of social and economic needs and cultural aspirations, but also by taking action to make the rights an everyday reality so as to meet the peoples' needs and satisfy their aspirations.

The idea of integration, which is the mainspring of the Andean programme, is not simply designed to help Indians to free themselves by their exertions and labour from exploitation and servitude; it also appeals to the governing classes and every other section of the community in the Andean countries to open the gates of the nation to their disinherited fellow citizens, to provide facilities for general education and vocational training and to make it possible for them to enter any trade or occupation without restriction and with merit as the only yardstick. Thus integration has two sides to it. On the one hand it encourages the mass of Indians to learn how to improve their living conditions by their own efforts, while on the other it demonstrates to the non-Indian sections of the community how, by admitting their Indian fellow-citizens into the community on an equal footing, they actually strengthen it by improving its economic potential, social cohesion and cultural standards.

In a sense, integration is the application to the Indian peoples of the principle of social justice whereby every man must be given a chance of earning a living for himself and his family and be shielded at all times from adversity and poverty. Nowadays the idea of social justice attracts not only those who themselves suffer from privation and injustice, but also a host of individuals who have never endured hardship themselves. This link between social justice and the integration movement explains its impact in Latin America, not only among the Indians themselves but also to an increasing extent among the population at large. We shall have occasion to quote some examples of this impact later.

THE ANDEAN PROGRAMME ¹

The recommendations of the Beaglehole mission, as approved by the Technical Assistance Board, gave the United Nations and four of its specialised agencies—F.A.O., W.H.O., U.N.E.S.C.O. and the I.L.O.—an opportunity of pooling their efforts to rescue the

¹ This chapter is largely based on the material received each quarter from the heads of the "action bases". For some of these bases we already have reports covering five, six and even seven years. The senior experts and their staffs give systematic reports (following a standard pattern) of the progress of their work, together with details of their successes and failures.

indigenous peoples of the Andean High Plateau from the wretchedness, poverty and exploitation which had formerly been, and to a large extent still are, their lot. These efforts resulted in a practical programme designed to show, by demonstrations and by using a variety of techniques, that it is possible to improve the living standards of Indians substantially and in doing so to facilitate their integration into the national life. A special committee made up of representatives of the participating organisations, since replaced by *ad hoc* meetings of the organisations concerned, was set up by the Technical Assistance Board. This committee was for several years responsible for preparing and supervising the operation of the Andean programme, the general management of which was left to the International Labour Office, but each participating organisation remained responsible for the technical work of its own experts. Thus, under the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance began a large-scale exercise in co-operation between five international organisations (later joined by a sixth—U.N.I.C.E.F.). By and large this enterprise has been remarkably successful. From the start of course there was no shortage of obstacles, in spite of the efforts sometimes made by national authorities before the practical implementation of the Andean programme had even begun; until then there had been no systematic or large-scale attempts to adopt the “over-all” or “comprehensive” approach in integrating indigenous peoples; there was a shortage of technically qualified experts with the necessary background of sociology and ethnology to be able to adapt their working methods to the special needs of the Indians; there were misunderstandings about the programme; there were prejudices about the Indians, which are still very common among the governing classes and official circles in the countries concerned; the funds available were exiguous in relation to the size of the scheme; many experts had difficulty in acclimatising themselves to hard work at 12,000 feet; and so on. Despite all these handicaps little time was wasted, and the first action base—at Pillapi, near La Paz—was opened at the beginning of 1954. Some months later, in October, two other bases were established in Bolivia at Playa Verde and Otavi. These were followed by the settlement centres at Cotoca (also in Bolivia) and Puno in Peru, together with the handicraft workshop at Quito (Ecuador), which began to function in December 1954. Subsequently a whole series of new action bases were established in Ecuador, where the Andean programme now covers the whole of the Sierra (the area inhabited by the Indians). In Colombia, work began with the opening of the Popayán action base in Cauca Province in October 1960; this base has in turn already opened up two branch centres at Silvia and Toez.

At this point it would be as well to say something about the staffing, duties and distribution of these action bases, which are the linchpins of the whole Andean programme. It is important to note that the bases are not organised on any standard pattern, so that, although they have certain features in common, no two of them are the same. Each action base is staffed by a team of local and international experts consisting of a leader, an agronomist, a doctor, an educational expert, a veterinarian, a woman social worker, a nurse, a midwife, a few vocational training and handicraft instructors, etc. Each is set up in a place agreed on by the government and the International Labour Office in consultation with the other participating organisations. The choice usually falls on a place in the middle of a typically Indian district from which it is possible to reach a fairly large population. Sometimes, as at Pillapi and Otavi in Bolivia, a base may be opened in a former *hacienda*, expropriated under the land reform legislation, which the government makes available to the Andean programme. Elsewhere, as at Puno in Peru and Riobamba in Ecuador, the local headquarters is in a small town from which the experts go out to work in the surrounding districts. In such cases some experts prefer to live in the towns themselves while others settle down in the nearby Indian villages. The offices serve as a place where the experts can meet delegates from the Indian communities and settlements. The base at Playa Verde, near Oruro, in Bolivia, occupies the pithead buildings of an old mine; the experts live in the houses formerly occupied by the engineers, while the workshops have been turned into schools and training workshops. The scheme launched from the town of Riobamba in Ecuador has been extended until now it covers all the neighbouring districts inhabited by Indians. One of the first achievements of the scheme was the building at Guano, a small village inhabited by Indian weavers some 20 miles from Riobamba, of a workshop where young Indians are now being trained in various trades and handicrafts. Although all the bases mentioned so far are in typically Indian areas and are designed to raise the living standards of the Indians in their traditional environment, there are also established settlement centres, such as that at Cotoca, which aim at shifting Indian families from the High Plateau towards the plains, or, alternatively, like the one near San Juan del Oro in the Tambopata valley, to assist those Indians who have emigrated of their own accord to lower-lying areas to grow more profitable crops.

Cotoca, on the Santa Cruz plain in south-east Bolivia, is an old village which has been inhabited for centuries by farmers of Spanish descent. This village was selected as an initial headquarters for the action base, which still bears its name. The scheme based on Cotoca



ANDEAN PROGRAMME PROJECTS

▲ ACTION BASES

▲ BRANCH CENTRES

△ PROJECTED BASES:

- Arica (Chile)
- Humahuaca (Argentina)

△ SPECIAL FUND PROJECTS:

- Huancayo (Peru)

Organisation responsible: I. L. O.

- Regions of:

Cochabamba (Bolivia)

Santa Cruz (Bolivia)

Tambopata (Peru)

Riobamba (Ecuador)

Organisation responsible: F.A.O.

has, since 1954, resulted in the building of two completely new villages in the middle of the plain—La Campañera and La Enconada, comprising about 100 houses, administrative buildings, a school, a training workshop, dormitories, sheds and garages, a water tower, brick kilns, etc. In establishing these villages, which have been built from scratch under the Andean programme, along the railway line between Santa Cruz in Bolivia and Corumba in Brazil, we have tried to prove that the Indians from the High Plateau (i.e. from regions at an average altitude of between 9,000 and 13,500 feet) can acclimatise themselves and live and work in the lowlands. After providing conclusive evidence that the Indians from the Oruro and Calcha districts settle down quite well to life in the plains, these villages are now being used as a springboard for a much wider settlement scheme using the large areas of fertile land available in the Santa Cruz district.

For some decades past, Indians living on the shores of Lake Titicaca, at a height of 11,400 feet, have been in the habit of emigrating down to the Tambopata valley, in Peru, at an altitude of between 6,000 and 7,500 feet, to pick the wild coffee which grows there. These seasonal migrants have finally settled down in the Valley and there are now several thousand of them. At San Juan del Oro, a small village which only a short time ago had no public services of any kind, the Andean programme has opened up a base which provides medical care and gives technical advice to the farmers. More experts will arrive soon to help the settlers in educating their children and processing their crops. A United Nations Special Fund project—a pre-settlement survey—is also being carried out by the F.A.O. in the Tambopata valley as part of the Andean programme.

This handful of examples shows the diversity of the action bases on which the Andean programme is founded. Nevertheless they all share the aim of providing services to give the Indians the help, advice and training they need to improve their living conditions. Each base develops in accordance with the special needs of the region it serves and so acquires a distinctive character of its own. Guano concentrates on handicrafts, Puno on vocational training and social promoters, Pillapi on agriculture and vocational training, Cotoca on settlement, Guaslan and Playa Verde on the training of Indian social workers or leaders, rural schoolteachers, women social workers, nursing assistants and veterinary assistants. But while concentrating on one type of activity the bases do not neglect the other features of the programme, which they are expected to carry out in full. All the bases are designed as demonstration and apprenticeship centres where children can be given a primary education, adults can learn to read and write, young people can

begin to acquire a trade and girls can take courses in dressmaking, nursing or midwifery; demonstrations and practical courses are constantly being held to show farmers how to improve their crops and livestock.

The going has not always been easy for the Andean programme experts. After centuries of exploitation and oppression the Indians are mistrustful individuals who always seem to be on their guard. Before the Indians can be helped, this mistrust must be overcome and they must be convinced that there are strangers who do not come to enslave or exploit them but rather to help them improve their conditions and earnings. Most of the programme's experts have succeeded in convincing the Indians of their true intentions and in enlisting their support for the programme. They realise now that the experts are not out to rob or exploit, but to give and help; this in itself is virtually a revolution. Once an Indian's confidence has been won, co-operation is fairly straightforward. In fact, it is not uncommon for officials of the Andean programme, while travelling about in the interior, to encounter delegations from remote villages who have travelled on foot for four or five days to seek their help over, for example, the building of a school or the appointment of a teacher. For many Indians the programme means first and foremost the building of schools and training workshops¹ where their children can be educated and taught a trade. Of all their needs, education is the one to which the Indians give the highest priority. For them education is the panacea which will enable their children to live in comfort. In their eyes an educated Indian is no longer an Indian—he has become a man. We have had many moving confirmations of this which account for the Indians'

¹ The training workshop is a vocational training establishment which has been evolved out of the practical needs of the Andean programme. The aim was to find a way of picking out those individuals in this overwhelmingly agricultural population who, if given a certain amount of vocational training, could set themselves up in handicraft trades (e.g. as carpenters, joiners, mechanics, blacksmiths or weavers) in the villages, or, alternatively, enter industry as skilled or semi-skilled workers. Since the Indians, with the exception of those in the mining districts, usually live in areas which are remote from the towns and centres of industry, they are completely lacking in any industrial tradition, while most of the children do not even receive a primary education. In other words, if young people are to be taught a trade, the need is for simple training centres which initially confine themselves to a few basic occupations, such as woodworking (especially carpentry), metal-working, forging and mechanical occupations. Usually the training workshops consist of two workshops plus, in some cases, a third where women and girls learn to handle sewing machines and to make dresses and knitwear. As the Indian districts are poor, the equipment of these workshops is chosen so that it can be used for production purposes; and in practice all the workshops carry out orders (for payment) on behalf of the local administrative and military authorities as well as on behalf of the programme itself (e.g. roofing timbers for schools, window frames, doors, benches, desks, beds, etc.).

willingness to help in building schools, for which the Andean programme supplies the plans and sometimes various materials which are not available on the High Plateau. In this way 150 schools have been or are being built on land given either by the Indian villages or by individual Indians, and by labour which, apart from a few exceptions, is always supplied free of charge. The action bases act as links between the Indian villages and provincial organisations and government departments in obtaining subsidies or the appointment of teachers.¹ Once the Indians realise that they can benefit from one of the programme's schemes they are always ready to co-operate and make the necessary effort. In this way we have managed, with the help of voluntary labour, to build a dozen training workshops near the field centres and 25 handicraft workshops² in Indian villages in addition to a fairly large number of ordinary schools. This method even proved satisfactory for the building of roads, dams or bridges. Recently the villagers of about 20 Indian communities near Otavi decided to build a hospital complete with operating theatres, consultation facilities, laboratories, etc., to serve an area with a population of 50,000. It is true that the programme's experts drew up the plans; but the Indians themselves put up this quite large building with their own hands and without any aid. Elsewhere (at Plateria on the Peruvian shore of Lake Titicaca) the Indians have built a fine maternity hospital by the same methods. In both cases the idea and the achievement came from the Indians themselves.

It is this thirst for knowledge, combined with good will, which explains the success of the programme's courses and demonstrations. There are few things more touching than to visit the adult classes where Indians—both men and women—come in the evening, often walking long distances after a hard day's work, to learn to read and write. Almost all the action bases run continuous courses for nursing assistants, midwives and veterinary assistants, together with domestic science courses, all of which attract large numbers of adults. This knowledge, combined with the general education and vocational training given to children and young people in the schools and training workshops, is giving rise to far-reaching changes in the outlook and behaviour of the inhabitants of the areas covered by the Andean project.

The courses are not simply designed to initiate the Indians into a trade. It is considered essential at the same time to single out

¹ In Ecuador 57 schools have been built under the Andean programme and it was planned to build another 50 during 1961.

² To be exact: seven at the Pillapi centre, four in the Playa Verde district, three in the Otavi district, seven in and around the Puno centre and four in Riobamba Province.

from the mass of Indian peasants those individuals endowed with initiative and leadership. Indian communities, like all human groups, have their own natural leaders. The experts have made a point of picking them out and arranging special courses for them to give them an idea of the elementary principles of organisation and administration as applied to their own communities. These courses for Indian leaders, or social promoters (as they are called in some places), include lessons in vegetable growing, the building of wells and latrines and the improvement of houses and crops. The Indians learn at these courses how they can obtain from the authorities such statutory assistance or subsidies as may be available for building roads, schools, water supplies, etc. At some bases they are also given an introduction to the principles, organisation and management of co-operatives. Lastly, they are taught something about their own country, of which they know nothing outside their own districts.¹

The Andean programme is naturally concerned first and foremost with improving production methods and conditions in this almost exclusively agricultural area. Under the Inca Empire agriculture had reached a high level of development, but since the Conquest the Indian population, abandoned to its own devices, deprived of its élite and completely illiterate, has lost its ancient traditions, with the result that today its farming methods are quite primitive. The work of the programme's agricultural and veterinary experts is now beginning to bear fruit. Efforts are being made by the agronomists to give the Indian farmers elementary notions of modern methods. The experts have introduced selected types of grains and plants with higher yields than the native strains. The vegetable gardens that have been started near the schools with advice from the experts are used to show the Indians that some hitherto unknown vegetables can, in fact, be grown in that part of the world very successfully. The result is that it is often the young pupils who show their parents what the soil can produce. In some cases the peasants have taken up market gardening as a result and have no difficulty in finding outlets for their produce in the nearby towns.

The work of the programme's agricultural experts is not confined to introducing new strains; it also involves giving practical advice on such matters as irrigation and drainage. Similarly, veterinarians have persuaded the Indians almost everywhere to

¹ These courses have been highly successful and most of the bases have organised some. In December 1960 the Puno action base held its eighth course for social promoters, the results of which were summarised in a pamphlet published by the Peruvian Ministry of Labour and Indian Affairs entitled *Programa Puno-Tambopata, Sección Bienestar Rural, VIII Curso de Promotores Sociales, N.E.C. de Ccota, 12-21 December 1960.*

dig troughs, and wall them with cement, to dip their livestock—parasite-free sheep give more and better wool. Special breeding stock has been acquired to improve the quality of the cattle and sheep. The veterinarians have also taught the Indians how to raise domestic rabbits as an extra source of cheap meat.

On the initiative of its former chief, an Argentine agronomist of considerable standing, the Puno base started a very interesting experiment a few years ago with the aim of turning the thin natural pasture into sown pasture, yielding in many cases several times as much. This experiment, which was undertaken on a large scale using over 100 varieties of grasses and leguminous plants brought specially from the United States, Canada, Norway, the U.S.S.R. and France, was conclusive (as was confirmed by a number of leading experts). It is exactly what Mr. Paul Hoffmann, Director-General of the Special Fund, calls a pre-investment project, and proved that, with an initial capital outlay, the High Plateau in the area of Lake Titicaca is admirably suited to large-scale stock rearing on an economically viable basis. At the present time Peru imports a large amount of the meat it needs, and a substantial increase in the number of head of livestock in the Puno district should be of direct benefit to the national economy. The Indian stock-rearers themselves would earn higher incomes, and the establishment of a meat-packing industry would become practicable and in fact necessary—which in turn would mean work for a number of Indian peasants. Such a development would also encourage the growth of a dairy produce industry which would make available greater supplies for the home market, improve dietary standards and raise incomes as well.

The reafforestation of the High Plateau in Bolivia and of the Sierra in Ecuador and Peru is another aspect of the Andean programme worth mentioning. As elsewhere in Latin America the mountainous areas of these three countries are insufficiently forested and as a consequence suffer from soil erosion. The lack of timber also largely accounts for the deplorable housing conditions, since the Indians cannot afford beams, doors, windows and furniture. Near most of the bases, therefore, a point has been made of establishing plantations of eucalyptus, a sturdy tree that stands up well to the climate and altitude and also has the advantage of growing quickly. Hundreds of thousands of eucalyptus plants have been distributed to Indian communities and individuals, and the effects of this reafforestation policy are now beginning to show. In Ecuador, where the eucalyptus was introduced a little over a century ago, it makes the landscape in many places somewhat less stark and more colourful than that of the High Plateau in Peru and Bolivia. Even though eucalyptus wood is of relatively poor quality, it is still quite

useful for both timber and fuel, the use of which will contribute to economic and social development in this part of the world.

Young Indians who have been taught a trade in the programme's training workshops often set themselves up as handicraftsmen in their own villages or go off to the towns and industrial centres, where they become wage earners. But, whereas formerly they entered industry without any skill whatsoever, those who have been through the programme's training workshops usually succeed in finding jobs as skilled or semi-skilled workers. Not only does the economy benefit from their skills but they themselves benefit by higher wages which enable them to improve their living conditions.

Various inquiries in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador have revealed the degrading conditions in which the Indians live, whether from the standpoint of housing, hygiene or diet. In May 1960 a U.N.I.C.E.F. team of experts which had made an investigation in Peru concluded that efforts made in the past to deal with sanitation, especially as regards improvements in water supplies and drainage disposal, had been negligible; in their reports these experts painted a depressing picture of living conditions among the Indians. Villages have no drinking water, latrines are unknown, houses have no windows, the Indians sleep on the ground, often with their small livestock, in appalling squalor. The conditions described in these reports are much the same as those discovered by the Joint Bolivian United States Labor Commission in 1943. It is hardly surprising that in conditions of this kind diseases should be rampant and difficult to treat. Tuberculosis, whooping cough and venereal diseases are common, while the mortality rate, especially among children, is unduly high. The work of the nursing assistants, midwives and social workers trained at the programme's courses has led to markedly higher standards of hygiene among the Indians living near the centres. Everywhere a special effort has been made to dig wells and provide drains. The Indians are taught how to construct latrines with septic tanks and how to refurbish the insides and outsides of their houses. As a result of these efforts, windows and wooden doors can now be seen everywhere, bearing witness to the progress that has been made.

At all the bases domestic science courses are held at which Indian women learn how to prepare varied and nourishing meals. Baby-care consultations are organised in most villages within the areas the bases cater for. Young people are being attracted in increasing numbers by the football, basket-ball and volley-ball clubs which have been set up nearly everywhere in the High Plateau. For the first time young Indians are learning the pleasures of physical exercise.

Taken as a whole the Andean programme amounts to a gigantic campaign of education and enlightenment among the Indian population designed to point the way to a better life. The experts have absolute confidence in the abilities of the Indians and are anxious to help them to free themselves from the servitude in which they have been kept by their exploiters and from the subjugation they have endured so long. This close, direct contact the experts have with the Indians not only enables them to provide invaluable general education and vocational training ; it also helps to give the Indians the feeling that their hopes for better life are within the bounds of possibility. The impact of this educational work is as many-sided as it is strong. The Indians living in the spheres of influence of the bases are becoming less interested in drink or the coca leaf and are instead taking greater interest in community affairs and, generally, becoming less resigned and more ready to work and show initiative. The Andean programme has had a stimulating effect on Indians, and this is reflected in the attitude of those who have felt its influence.

THE RESULTS

It is of course difficult to gauge with any accuracy the effect of a project as ambitious as the Andean programme. Nevertheless, there are a few pointers which may be helpful.

Let us begin by taking a look at the geographical area now covered by the programme. Work was begun in 1954 in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia; in 1960 it was extended to Colombia and by the beginning of 1961 to Chile and Argentina. At the present day the project thus affects most the countries in South America with any sizeable proportion of Indians among their populations. It is also constantly extending its sphere of influence within the countries which have participated from the start.

In Ecuador the programme, which was launched at Riobamba, in the centre of the country, now also covers the Imbabura area, with 17 Indian communities, and the Tungurahana area, with nine communities ; in the south it covers the Cañar, Azuay and Loja areas with nine, 11 and 13 communities respectively. It is estimated that the number of persons under the direct influence of the Andean programme in Ecuador is about 100,000 and that over 200,000 more are indirectly influenced. The programme now covers the whole of the Ecuadorean Sierra, and its present bases form a framework which can sustain a more ambitious scheme covering the whole of the country's Indian population.

In Peru the work of the project has been for the most part concentrated around Lake Titicaca ; but in this huge area three

bases have been established over the years—at Chucuito and Camicachi, respectively about 20 and 35 miles south of Puno, and at Traco, about 50 miles to the north of Puno. Another base has been established at San Juan del Oro, in the Tambopata valley, some 160 miles to the north-east of Puno. Each base is extending its influence over a steadily widening area. Between them the four bases cover more than 200 communities with a population of some 50,000 persons. The programme in Peru is run in close co-operation with the Picos project in the north of the country, which is sponsored by Cornell University in the United States.

In Bolivia the programme is operated from four bases, three of them on the High Plateau at Pillapi, some 30 miles from the Lake Titicaca base, at Playa Verde, near Oruro, and at Otavi near the town of Potosí. The fourth project, as will be remembered, is at Cotoca, in the plains to the east of Santa Cruz. The three bases on the High Plateau cover about 200 communities with a total population of over 100,000. The Cotoca settlement scheme has set off a spontaneous migration by several thousand Indians to the area, and there is good reason to believe that this is only a beginning.

On the recommendation of the leaders of the Andean programme, the Governing Council of the United Nations Special Fund endorsed five major projects in December 1959 which are now being put into effect and involve a number of new schemes in addition to the bases mentioned so far. In Ecuador an inquiry is to be held into the prospects of developing state-owned land in the Andean mountain valleys. In Peru the Special Fund is financing a similar survey in the valleys of Tambopata and Inambari, which is designed to ascertain the prospects of settling Indians from the High Plateau there. These investigations are being carried out by the F.A.O. The I.L.O. has been given responsibility for establishing a centre at Huancayo to teach vocational training instructors who will later work in the High Plateau regions. In Bolivia two Special Fund projects (also under F.A.O. responsibility) have been launched, the first consisting of a survey of settlement opportunities in the province of Santa Cruz, where the Cotoca base is located, and the other involving the establishment of an extension centre in the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Cochabamba which will train agricultural agents in various techniques so that they can help the Indian peasants to improve their farming and stock-rearing methods. In addition, a vocational training centre, which will be attached to the University of Cochabamba, is being established, partly with a grant from the Belgian Government. The I.L.O. therefore decided to transfer to Cochabamba a large amount of the vocational training equipment given by the Belgian Government, employers' organisations and trade unions a few years ago for

Cotoca. This equipment was too elaborate for such a relatively small centre and will be put to better use at Cochabamba, which is in the heart of a region inhabited by large numbers of Indians. In this way Cochabamba University will become an additional centre for activities within the Andean programme.

The Executive Board of U.N.I.C.E.F. has also approved five projects to be carried out under the Andean programme. Two of these, in Peru and Bolivia, provide for the establishment and equipment of a health service in the rural districts around the action bases at Puno, Pillapi, Playa Verde, Otavi and Cotoca. A third project, in Ecuador, involves the establishment of health centres and posts where training can be given in health and hygiene, with special emphasis on care for mothers and children. Two other projects in Peru and Bolivia are designed to improve dietary standards in the Andes by conducting educational and training work among teachers and by giving demonstrations to housewives. These schemes will certainly help to extend the scope of the Andean programme, as is shown by the plan to establish a health service at Puno. Under this plan U.N.I.C.E.F. will open five main centres, each of them staffed by a doctor, a nurse, a midwife, a health worker and a social worker, together with ten sub-centres each staffed by a nursing assistant and Indian auxiliaries. It is estimated that this chain of centres and sub-centres will be able to cater for more than 100,000 people.

Lastly, and also within the framework of the Andean programme, U.N.E.S.C.O. is making preparations for the establishment of a new training centre for rural teachers in the Ecuadorean Sierra. As the rural teachers will on completion of their training have to teach manual subjects to their pupils, the I.L.O. is studying the possibility of co-operating in this project by providing vocational training material.

One interesting fact illustrating the extent of the area covered by the Andean project is that the two centres farthest from each other, Popayán in Cauca province in Colombia and Cotoca in Santa Cruz province in Bolivia, are about 1,800 miles apart as the crow flies.

While it is easy enough to measure the results of the scheme in terms of geographical expansion it is much harder to decide how radical its effects have been in the areas where it operates. Of course, wherever the influence of the Andean programme has been felt its results are apparent. In the previous section the achievements of the programme were listed in some detail, and, when one travels through the areas affected, one can discern its influence everywhere. The schools and training workshops catch the eye, not only because there are so many of them but also because of their spick-and-span and often attractive external appearance. Fre-

quently the Indians' houses, which are built of adobe, and in other areas are almost indistinguishable from the landscape, are brightly colour-washed. Here and there one sees a clinic, a brick kiln, a well or water pipes, or even dams, all of them bearing witness to the work of the Andean programme. But even though it is impossible to gauge at all accurately the extent of the changes which have taken place as a result of these innovations, there can be no doubt that they do represent the first step towards the rehabilitation of the Indians. The Andean programme has at last enabled the Indian peoples to resume the progress which was brought to a halt at the time of the collapse of the Inca Empire. And so the programme really is a turning-point in their history, and henceforth it can confidently be expected that they will gradually merge with the other sections of the population in their respective countries.

It is heartening to recall the degree of sympathy and support that the programme has attracted in the countries directly concerned as well as in the remainder of Latin America and everywhere throughout the world.

The Governments of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia (irrespective of the party in power) have not only given their full support to the Andean programme but now bear the main responsibility for its management. The fact that this support comes from all political parties is the best guarantee of continuity.

This support has been expressed in many public declarations by leading statesmen.

In Ecuador, President J. M. Velazco Ibarra advocated the integration of the Indians as early as 1955 in the following words :

The Indians must be incorporated in the Ecuadorean nation so that they can develop into skilled workers who progressively and of their own free will come to understand the value of modern techniques and how they can help in gradually mastering nature. . . . This will demand patience and wisdom, but it is a task that must be undertaken if we wish to build a united nation made up of millions of genuine citizens.¹

Three years later, in August 1958, President Camilo Ponce Enríquez said on the same subject—

The Andean Indian Mission, helped by the fathers of families, will construct ten rural schools in the province of Chimborazo ; and schools of rural co-operation are being organised for the fundamental education of adults and the elementary education of children, this being a step which is revolutionising the present system and will lead directly to the redemption of the indigenous peoples who have always been left outside our national life.²

In August 1960 Mr. Velazco Ibarra, who had returned to power, emphasised the point once more in his message to Congress—

¹ Message to Congress, 10 Aug. 1955.

² Message to Congress, 10 Aug. 1958.

The Andean Mission in Ecuador is the most determined and positive attempt yet made to help to educate and to rehabilitate the Indian peoples. In every political campaign and every demagogic speech reference is made to the neglect of the Indians; but the fact is that, after 400 years, the majority of our indigenous peoples have not yet been touched by modern civilisation; this is a blot on our society and an indictment of us all. It is estimated that the population of the Sierra amounts to one-and-a-half million Indians. The Andean Mission goes on from words to deeds: it enters into the life of the Indian communities and tries to rehabilitate them. Health and medical care, education and the building of schools, the improvement of farming and stock-raising methods, afforestation, social services, the improvement of family life, etc.—these are the methods used by the Andean Mission, which has been established by the Government with the help of the United Nations. At first the Indians, accustomed as they are to merciless exploitation, were mistrustful; but now they welcome the scheme with enthusiasm.¹

The President of Peru, General Manuel A. Odría, also in a message to Parliament (in 1955), devoted a large part of his speech to the Andean programme, which in Peru is often called the Puno-Tambopata programme. Among other things he said—

The Indian problem is a source of constant concern to my Government. The Presidential Order of 2 June last gave approval to the preliminary scheme known as the Puno Programme, in the planning of which account has been taken of previous research and experience within Peru and the findings of investigations by international experts.

After describing in detail the activities of the Andean programme in Peru, he concluded as follows:

The Puno scheme, both as a piece of planning and as a practical project, is not only an interesting experiment but a radically new departure. The experience acquired in this way will be used to extend the scheme to other similar parts of the country until finally a national programme can be launched to solve once and for all the problem of incorporating the Indian in the country's economic, social and cultural life.²

His successor, President Prado, in a speech made in Geneva to the 144th Session of the Governing Body of the I.L.O., also had words of praise for the programme for the integration of the Andean Indians. He said—

An undertaking of this kind would, however, only be limited in scope and effect if it did not succeed in bringing about a marked improvement in the living standards of the great mass of Indians, most of whom live in the mountains and on the Andean High Plateau. We are fully aware of the importance of this problem and we have drawn up a national plan for integrating the Indians based on the principles and standards laid down in the I.L.O. Convention on the subject, and drawing on the experience acquired under the Puno-Tambopata programme, which is working well with the

¹ Message to Congress, 10 Aug. 1960.

² Message to Congress, 28 July 1955.

help of technical assistance from the I.L.O. and the other specialised agencies of the United Nations taking part in its operation. A Presidential Decree was issued in December last setting up a committee to co-ordinate the work of the national bodies concerned with that of the international agencies.

A communiqué published by the White House following a visit paid to President John F. Kennedy on 21 September last by Dr. Manuel Prado, President of the Peruvian Republic, contains the following passage :

President Prado emphasised that one of the essential problems in the case of Peru is the integration of the Indian population in the life of the country.

In Bolivia Mr. Siles Zuazo, a former President of the Republic, has at all times maintained the closest working relationships with the leaders of the Andean programme. He gave his views on the subject in his message to Congress on 6 August 1960—

The Andean programme, which is administered by the International Labour Organisation in conjunction with other international agencies, is responsible in Bolivia for running the Rural Development Centres of Pillapi, Otavi, Playa Verde and Cotoca, which are equipped with carpentry, mechanical and electrical workshops designed to promote the development of these Indian communities. For health education purposes each centre is also equipped with a clinic and a hospital. Agricultural experts supervise the farming and livestock rearing to give practical demonstrations of modern methods. The scheme has been extended this year to the schools run by the Ministry of Rural Affairs, which are staffed by Bolivian teachers. The schools themselves have been modernised and 11 new ones have been built.¹

Mr. Paz Estenssoro, who is now President, was an early supporter of the Andean programme and has always given it enthusiastic support. He recently made the following statement :

The Andean programme is an effective instrument of international co-operation, in the fullest sense of the word, for the emancipation of the Indian peoples. It is making a substantial contribution to the efforts of the Government to improve the living conditions of the people, for it is providing the Indians with the technical training and general knowledge they need to perform the types of work which have to be performed today, and to improve their hygienic, social and cultural standards, without modifying any of the original and particular characteristics which make up the many-sided personality of the Indian people.

The fact that the majority of Bolivia's inhabitants are peasants and that an agrarian reform is at present being carried out gives the Andean programme a particular significance for the country.²

¹ *La Nación* (La Paz), 13 Aug. 1960.

² As President Paz Estenssoro's public statements all date from some time back or refer only to points of detail (for example his message to Congress in 1961), the author of this article asked him for his views on the Andean programme. In answer to this request the President was kind enough to send him a special declaration, of which this statement forms a part, on 17 October 1961.

In Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru, all the Ministers in charge of Indian affairs have given their support to the Andean project. They have made far too many statements to this effect for them all to be quoted, but mention should be made here of those who in recent years have given active support to the programme while in office.

In Ecuador it has been backed by Dr. José Icaza Roldos¹ and Mr. Cordero Crespo²; similarly, the present Minister of Social Insurance and Labour, Mr. José Antonio Baquero de la Calle, has publicly stressed the important part played by the Andean programme in his Government's policy.³

In Peru Mr. Pedro Beltrán, the present Prime Minister⁴, and all the Ministers of Labour and Indian Affairs who have held office in the past ten years, have been enthusiastic supporters of the programme and have given it their public endorsement—Dr. Víctor A. Casagrandi⁵, Mr. Carlos d'Ugard (subsequently appointed Regional Director of the Andean programme), Mr. Pinilla⁶, Mr. Elias Aparicio⁷, Mr. Luis Alvarado⁸, and Mr. José Luis González Suárez.⁹

The same is true of Bolivia, where all the Ministers for Indian Affairs—Mr. Ñuflo de Chaves, Mr. Álvaro Pérez del Castillo, Mr. Vicente Álvarez Plata, General Alfredo Pacheco and Mr. Roberto Jordán Pando, the present Minister—have all made active use of the Andean programme in furthering their department's policy.

Mr. José Elias del Hierro, the Colombian Minister of Labour, who is now in charge of Indian affairs, has been one of the most ardent advocates of extending the Andean programme to his country and on many occasions has publicly declared his support for it.

It would be easy to add to these declarations of support. A number of conversations which the author of this article has had

¹ Dr. José ICAZA ROLDOS, Minister of Social Insurance and Labour: *Informe a la Nación*, 1955-56 (Quito).

² I.L.O.: *Record of Proceedings*, International Labour Conference, 42nd Session, Geneva, 1958 (Geneva, 1959), pp. 72-73.

³ Dr. José Antonio BAQUERO DE LA CALLE: *Informe a la Nación*, 1960-61 (Quito), pp. xxiv and xxv.

⁴ Speech to the Chamber of Deputies: see *La Prensa* (Lima), 20 Aug. 1960.

⁵ Inaugural speech to the Executive Committee of the Programme for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions among the Indian Peoples in the Department of Puno, 24 June 1955.

⁶ *Record of Proceedings*, International Labour Conference, 42nd Session, op. cit., pp. 322-334.

⁷ Idem, 43rd Session, Geneva, 1959 (Geneva, 1960), pp. 289-292.

⁸ Statement to the Press on his return from the 44th Session of the International Labour Conference (*La Prensa*, Lima, 27 June 1960).

⁹ *Record of Proceedings*, 45th Session, Geneva, 1961 (Geneva, 1961), pp. 122-123.

with heads of States and governments and with ministers, bishops and senior civil servants in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia have convinced him that the highest circles in these countries are now completely won over to the policy of integrating the Indians and to the Andean programme which is pursuing this policy. In these circles the economic, social and cultural advantages of incorporating the Indians in the nation are fully understood. Prejudice is strongest among the lower middle class, the poor and minor officials. But for some time, even in these circles, the policy of integrating the Indians through the Andean programme has come to be better understood and is beginning to attract interest and even support.

Four years ago, at the Playa Verde base, I encountered about 30 students from the universities of La Paz and Oruro who had come to spend their holidays working alongside the programme's experts. They were working as bricklayers, teachers and instructors in the training workshops or agricultural extension services. At the same time, a group of young students from the Quito Social Service School had established themselves in the small Indian villages of the province of Chimborazo, near the Riobamba base, to prepare their final theses while giving a hand to the doctors, nurses and social workers.

These examples gave me the idea of appealing to the student body at a special meeting at the University of San Andrés in La Paz.¹ In response to this appeal, the professors and students of Sucre University in Bolivia recently decided to launch on their own initiative a new base which, although forming part of the Andean programme, would be entirely run by themselves.

The trade unions, for their part, are also beginning to come out in favour of the Andean programme, as can be seen from the official statement made by the Peruvian Workers' Confederation through Mr. Arturo Sabroso Montoya, its General Secretary.²

The clergy has given generous support to the programme, an example being the booklet on the Andean mission in Ecuador published by the Latin American Episcopal Council in June 1958.

The daily newspapers in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, as well as in a good many other Latin American countries, are constantly publishing articles about the programme, and so help to make public opinion in these countries aware of the existence and magnitude of the Indian problem. As most of these articles are

¹ *La colaboración de la juventud universitaria en el Programa de la Misión andina, para la integración de la población indígena en la vida económica, social y cultural de Bolivia*, talk by Mr. Jef Rens, Deputy Director-General of the I.L.O., on 2 May 1958 at the University of San Andrés, La Paz (mimeographed).

² Article by Mr. Arturo Sabroso Montoya in *La Tribuna* (Lima), 13 Sep. 1957.

full of praise for the programme, they also have an educational effect by helping to demolish long-standing prejudices and to foster a favourable climate which in time will make it easier to apply a nation-wide integration policy.

It is both surprising and heartening to find that the Andean programme is arousing similar interest far beyond the borders of the countries immediately affected. Throughout Latin America this integration experiment is being closely followed with a great deal of sympathy. References to it are to be found in speeches made at the International Labour Conference in 1958 by Mr. Pico, the Argentine Government delegate¹, the late Dr. de Alba, the Mexican Government delegate², and Mr. García Bauer, the Guatemalan Government delegate.³

The Mexican Government has given tangible evidence of its interest in the Andean programme by contributing a model school to the Riobamba project in Ecuador.

A number of prominent personalities, such as Mr. Felipe Herrera, the Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, Mr. Horwitz, the Director of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau of the W.H.O., Mr. David Blejer, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Inter-American Indian Institute, and Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the United States permanent delegate to the United Nations, all brought back from their recent journeys through Latin America an extremely favourable impression of the work being done under the Andean programme.

In Latin America the strongest manifestation of sympathy occurred a short time ago at the plenary session of the special meeting of the Inter-American Social and Economic Council at the ministerial level at Punta del Este, Uruguay, from 5 to 17 August last. At this meeting a number of tributes were paid to the Andean project. Typical of them was the statement by Mr. Jaime Nebor Velasco, the Minister of Development of Ecuador—

It is also our concern to discuss the basis for the co-operation necessary to assist countries in their efforts to achieve the rapid integration of their rural population into other sectors under development. In countries where the aboriginal population retains its traditional ways of living and methods of production, the problem is particularly difficult to solve and will require great changes in the economic and social structure and an active policy for the promotion of communities. To awaken in these a desire for progress and to teach them how to help themselves by means of adequate organisation use can be made of the lines of practical policy adopted by some countries, among them Ecuador, with the assistance of the Andean Indian programme

¹ *Record of Proceedings*, International Labour Conference, 42nd Session, op. cit., pp. 231-233.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 467-469.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

and the participation of the I.L.O. The results are satisfactory, but it is evident that the work has to be greatly expanded so as to achieve in reality the rapid integration of the indigenous population, especially at the present time when some countries have already initiated, or intend to initiate, programmes of agrarian reform. My country believes that this is a field for fruitful inter-American co-operation and will submit a draft on this matter for consideration by this meeting.

This interest in the Andean programme is not confined to the Latin American countries. It is encountered throughout the world and arouses a good deal of sympathy which sometimes takes tangible form. Scores of articles on it have been published in newspapers and magazines in North America and Europe. The British Broadcasting Corporation and the Canadian National Film Board have each made a film about it, while the French television service is also preparing to make a film on the spot. A number of foreign universities are keeping a close watch on its progress, and Cornell University in 1960 sent a team of students to the base at Riobamba to study certain special features of the scheme. In 1961 a delegation of teachers and students from Bristol University, in the United Kingdom, visited the action bases in Bolivia. Many foreign visitors, after watching the experts at work, have declared themselves to be greatly impressed by what they saw. Tributes have been paid by the Ambassadors to Bolivia, of the Federal Republic of Germany, France and the United States, by the French Ambassador to Peru, by Mr. David Owen, the Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board, by members of the Governing Body of the I.L.O. (Mr. George L. P. Weaver¹, United States, and Mr. S. T. Merani, India), by Mr. Baier, the chief expert of the Confederation of German Trade Unions, and Lord Lansdowne, the

¹ "I can best illustrate what the intelligent administration of an aid programme can accomplish by describing the I.L.O. Andean Indian programme in Ecuador. This country, on the north-west coast of South America, has a rich potential but lacks technical know-how, and in general lacks education for the majority of the people who live in the country. For these reasons Ecuador is one of the most undeveloped countries of South America.

A vital social aim is to integrate into the life of the country the vast numbers of Indians (approximately one-fourth of the total population) who still live in isolation. The people, being illiterate, do not vote. They make their livelihood as subsistence farmers or as serfs on the large haciendas of the Sierras. We saw fat, good-looking cattle grazing in the lush mountain valleys while the Indians tried to scratch a meagre living by farming the steep, almost perpendicular adjacent mountain slopes.

The I.L.O. has pointed the way through a successful project I visited this spring. We saw schools, home craft projects, gardens from which plants are distributed and a housing project. The outstanding impression we received came not from the physical aspects—although the progress was impressive—but from the interest and attitude of the Indian people who participate. They portray a warm and enthusiastic spirit and a desire for improvement. We can easily understand that in the beginning these people

Under-Secretary of State of the United Kingdom Foreign Office. All these visitors declared themselves (sometimes very enthusiastically) impressed both by the methods in use and by the results so far achieved. Few, if any, technical assistance schemes have brought in as many gifts and voluntary contributions as the Andean programme. The Governments of Denmark, France, Belgium, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom have made substantial contributions in one way or another. In some cases they have financed the building of a vital road ; in others they have given large quantities of medicines or equipment for vocational training or transport ; while in yet others they have made money gifts of varying amounts. The trade union organisations in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and the United States, as well as the employers' organisations in Sweden, Denmark and Belgium, have also made substantial contributions which have enabled us to equip a number of training workshops. The United States private welfare society, C.A.R.E., has given really impressive support ever since the start ; and it is this help which has provided the equipment for some of the scheme's training workshops as well as most of the handicraft and village workshops, thereby making a great contribution towards the efficiency of the bases. Similarly, C.A.R.E. has given large quantities of medicines and medical instruments which have enabled health and anti-tuberculosis campaigns to be carried through. This society has also kept a large number of schools built under the programme supplied with food for school meals.¹

This trend is continuing, as can be seen from a glance at the latest reports from the scheme's senior experts. At the beginning of this year the Puno base received from Father Charles Girnius,

were shy and largely unresponsive. All of that has been overcome. In fact, at this point the people themselves are going beyond the proposals of the I.L.O. staff in improving their homes and in donating their own land and resources. What we saw is that these people have made a real beginning towards becoming citizens and responsible members of their community perhaps for the first time in their history and certainly for the first time in many hundreds of years. It is this most important and tangible benefit arising from the I.L.O. Andean Indian mission which provides optimism for an expansion and extension of this type of social project.

Although these Andean Indians are farmers first, the more simple commercial and industrial activities can also be introduced and taught to them. Commerce and the kind of industry they can engage in at this stage of their development are necessary for their incorporation into the economic as well as social and political life of the country. In addition to the human factors involved, Ecuador would gain a new and vigorous asset represented by the people whose talents and latent potential is now so largely wasted."

(Message by Mr. George L. P. Weaver to the 1961 Shrine Convention, Cincinnati (Ohio), 20 August 1961 (*U.S. Department of Labor News*, 21 Aug. 1961, pp. 3-4).)

¹ The Appendix gives a full list of these contributions.

a priest at Acora, a consignment of medicines for the Plateria health centre which included 10,000 tablets of isoniazide for tuberculosis cases, 1,000 cases of sulfadiazine and 4,000 tablets of empirin. Towards the middle of the year, the base also received from a citizen of Lima, Mr. Mariano Prado, a gift of 2,000 bags of cement, which were particularly welcome at that time because cement was unobtainable on the open market. This gift enabled us to build a large training workshop at Taraco which has been equipped by the Confederation of German Trade Unions. The Maryknoll Fathers at Puno have just offered the same base a large consignment of medical supplies, including 25,000 tablets of isoniazide and 30 large cases of vitamin tablets, bandages, penicillin, medical instruments, etc. The senior expert at Otavi recently reported that 200 bags of cement have been given by the Sucre Cement Works as a contribution towards the building of the hospital at Otavi, towards which the wives of the members of the Diplomatic Corps at La Paz have given 5 million bolivianos. Similar help has been given to the programme in Ecuador by businessmen and by members of the Rotary Club.

I believe I am right in regarding these numerous voluntary contributions as evidence of an awakening social conscience throughout this part of the world. They are items in the credit balance of the Andean programme which has attracted them.

FINANCE

Within the limits of this article it has only been possible to paint a very incomplete picture of the Andean programme, which involves the co-ordination of a large number of widely varying activities, all of them designed to better the lot of the Indians and to integrate them in their nation and which has steadily been extended over the last ten years until now it operates in six countries. But this sketch would be far too incomplete without a few details about the way the whole programme has been financed.

The bulk of the international funds which have gone into the Andean programme come from the Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (E.P.T.A.). For the period 1951-62 the I.L.O. has received or will receive from E.P.T.A. a total of \$2,431,893, the United Nations (U.N.T.A.O.) \$342,048, F.A.O. \$312,772, U.N.E.S.C.O. \$756,858 and W.H.O. \$306,541, making a total of \$4,150,022. Over and above these international contributions are credits totalling \$190,500 to cover the cost of the five projects approved by U.N.I.C.E.F. in November 1960 for the establishment (under the Andean programme) of three rural health services in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, catering mainly for mothers and child-

ren, as well as two projects in Peru and Bolivia to improve standards of nutrition in the Andean areas by means of an education programme (costing a total of \$161,000). Also coming under the Andean programme are five projects, drawn up by the Governments of Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, to which the Special Fund has decided to contribute a total of \$1,488,300.¹ Other international contributions include a grant from the Executive Chairman of the Technical Assistance Board out of his contingency fund for the purchase of land-clearing equipment at Cotoca (\$31,000 for a bulldozer) as well as two grants, one of \$6,000 for preliminary survey missions in Argentina and one of \$10,500 for the opening of a centre in Chile. Colombia, where the programme did not begin to operate until 1960, has been granted \$10,300 from the Contingency Fund of the E.P.T.A. and a further \$11,700 in 1961 under the regular programme.

In all, the various international funds set up to finance multi-lateral technical assistance programmes have thus contributed \$6,059,322 to the Andean programme over the past ten or 11 years. It should be added that the whole of this sum has by no means been spent, because it includes the credits made available to the participating agencies by the E.P.T.A. for 1962. Moreover, the five projects which the Special Fund has decided to finance, as well as the five the cost of which will be borne by U.N.I.C.E.F., have only just been launched, and the expenditure incurred in respect of these ten projects will be spread over 1962, 1963, 1964 and probably 1965 as well.

The financing of the Andean programme has not been carried out with the help of international funds alone; the governments concerned have also made substantial contributions.

Since 1954 Ecuador has paid, or undertaken to pay, \$691,000 to supplement the contributions of the E.P.T.A., \$178,275 as counterpart to the contributions of the Special Fund and \$200,000 to supplement the U.N.I.C.E.F. contribution, making a total of \$1,069,275.

Peru has contributed or will contribute \$549,000 towards the projects being financed by the E.P.T.A., \$331,207 towards projects being financed by the Special Fund and \$644,000 towards those being financed by U.N.I.C.E.F., making a total of \$1,524,207.

From 1954 to 1961 inclusive Bolivia paid or undertook to pay the following sums: \$737,000 towards the cost of projects under the Expanded Programme, \$333,450 towards the Special Fund

¹ The figures for the projects financed by the United Nations Special Fund are purely indicative in character; they are at present under review by the Special Fund administration, and the final decisions have not yet been published.

projects and \$998,000 as counterpart to the U.N.I.C.E.F. contribution, making a total of \$2,069,250.

The Colombian Government paid \$6,061.61 in 1960 and \$224,863.63 in 1961.¹

The value of the gifts mentioned earlier is estimated to be of the order of \$297,420.²

In all, the Andean programme, which has a direct impact on the living and working conditions of a population of some 250,000 people and—it is estimated—an indirect impact on two or three times as many, and which is usually considered to have brought about a marked improvement, has in ten years cost the governments concerned, the E.P.T.A., the Special Fund, U.N.I.C.E.F. and the organisations and governments which have made voluntary contributions less than \$8 million. In addition to this, the E.P.T.A., the Special Fund, U.N.I.C.E.F. and the beneficiary governments have pledged slightly more than \$3 million for expenditure under the programme over the next three or four years.

The expenditure under this programme in the past ten years and the pledges to keep it going in the immediate future amount to \$11,250,400.

THE FUTURE

I hope I have succeeded in giving an idea not only of the widely varied activities which go to make up the Andean programme and the results that have been achieved so far but also of its continuing expansion and influence. Nevertheless, despite its scale and the number of persons who have felt its direct impact, the programme is still far from achieving its objective, namely the integration of the Indian peoples—estimated to number between seven and eight million—in the six participating countries. The quarter of a million or so Indians who are directly influenced by the programme, even taken together with two or three times that number who are indirectly affected, only account for a small section of the great mass of Indians still awaiting their absorption in the national life of their countries. Far be it from me to belittle the achievements of the Andean programme, which has shown that, given the same chance as their fellow citizens of Spanish descent, the Indians are equally capable of benefiting from education, smartening up their homes and modernising their villages. The Andean programme has also shown the value of the Indians' innate sense of solidarity as a means of securing improvements in their standard of living, and has

¹ The project only began in October 1960.

² This estimate does not include the many gifts made by private individuals.

pointed the way towards co-operation, which undoubtedly has a great future in the Andean regions.

The programme has also shown that, if the conditions are right, the Indians of the High Plateau make excellent settlers, whether in the lush temperate valleys to the east of the Andes range or on the plains of the coast and Oriente region. This means that the development of large areas of fertile land is now possible.

The funds available for the programme hitherto have been so limited that it has been out of the question to do any more. But it must be acknowledged that so far the programme has hardly developed beyond the stage of a large-scale pilot project. The time appears to be ripe in each of the participating countries to convert the experiment into a fully-fledged government policy of extending administrative, educational, health and technical services to make them available to the whole of the Indian population. This was in fact urged by the Seventh Conference of American States Members of the International Labour Organisation, held at Buenos Aires in April 1961, which noted that—

The Inter-American Programme of Social Development recommended at Bogotá offers particularly favourable opportunities for completing, consolidating and extending the work already done in this field within the framework of the economic and social development plans being carried out or to be undertaken in the immediate future in the Andean countries ¹,

and inviting the I.L.O., the United Nations and the other specialised agencies participating in the Andean programme to provide countries at their request with technical assistance in—

planning policy for the integration of indigenous populations and organising action for carrying it out at the national level in co-ordination with general economic and social development plans and special plans relating to an agrarian reform, land settlement, education, health and rural development, in collaboration when appropriate with non-governmental organisations.²

In the Punta del Este Charter, adopted on 17 August 1961 by the representatives of the American republics ³, the fundamental aim of the Andean programme was solemnly reaffirmed in the declaration that national development programmes should include

¹ Resolution concerning the integration of indigenous populations, adopted on 21 April 1961. See *Official Bulletin*, Vol. XLIV, 1961, No. 2, p. 53.

² *Ibid.*, p. 54.

³ The representatives of the American republics, meeting at Punta del Este (Uruguay) from 5 to 17 August 1961, decided jointly to establish an "Alliance for Progress"—a "vast effort to bring a better life to all the peoples of the Continent". See Organisation of American States: *Alliance for Progress*, Official Documents Emanating from the Special Meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council at the Ministerial Level, Punta del Este (Uruguay), 5-17 August 1961 (ES-RE-Doc. 145 (English), Rev. 3 (corrected)).

self-help efforts directed, *inter alia*, "to ensuring, in countries with Indian populations, the integration of these populations into the economic, social and cultural processes of economic life."¹

The inclusion of this passage in the Charter of the Alliance for Progress opens up prospects of technical and financial assistance for the integration of the Indian peoples on a scale more in accordance with what is required.

Talks in Washington, Geneva and Montevideo (at the Punta del Esta Conference) with Mr. Felipe Herrera, the Director of the Inter-American Development Bank, and with his subordinates, have shown that there is a real possibility of obtaining substantial aid in the form of either loans at exceptionally low rates of interest or technical assistance for the improvement of social conditions among the Indians. In view of this favourable reaction, the Director-General of the I.L.O. has instructed the regional Director and staff of the Andean programme to place themselves at the disposal of the governments concerned to help them draw up national plans for extending the facilities created by the Andean programme to all the Indian peoples. Working parties are at present meeting in the capitals of the countries concerned and are helping government departments in formulating their plans, which are being carefully dovetailed into general economic and social programmes. The governments concerned will put these plans, when completed, forward in support of their applications to the Inter-American Development Bank for financial aid to cover all or part of their cost.

The preparatory work in progress involves the establishment of a network of action bases throughout the High Plateau, the Sierra and the valleys inhabited by the Indians; these bases will develop in time into regular administrative centres. The aim is to reach a point where government departments serve the Indians in the same way as other sections of the population.

All the necessary conditions now seem to exist for the achievement of this purpose. Not only have the governments accepted the policy of integration; they are determined to carry it out. National integration plans, based on the work already done by the Andean programme and providing for the establishment of new action bases in other areas inhabited by Indians, have already been officially approved in Chile and Peru. In Bolivia the Government is drawing up a national plan for rural development which will be administered on the same lines as the action bases of the Andean programme. In addition, in pursuance of the policy of transferring responsibility for the Andean programme to national authorities which has been followed by all the international organisations

¹ Punta del Este Charter, Title II, Chapter II, para. 2 (c), loc. cit., p. 9.

involved since 1959, the action bases of the Andean programme have already trained a fairly large number of officials who are able to take over responsibility for various branches of the programme ; lastly, the international and regional institutions in a position to provide the additional finance have shown themselves to be well disposed. It must be hoped that this aid will be granted soon and will be sufficient to enable the governments of the Andean countries to make progress towards overcoming their Indian problem once and for all.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The international organisations have often been taxed with failing to co-ordinate their activities properly. The Andean programme has given them a unique chance of proving their solidarity and ability to work together, and it is by no means the least of the programme's achievements that it has induced the United Nations and five specialised agencies to give their joint aid to six governments in a concerted effort to raise some seven million Indians to the status of fully fledged citizens.

Nobody thought it odd when the Director-General of the I.L.O. gave responsibility for carrying out the programme to an Egyptian Assistant Director-General, who is assisted by an Argentine colleague. They have progressively delegated wide powers to the regional Director of the programme, who is Peruvian and whose deputy is a British official of the F.A.O. Nor has there ever been any objection to the fact that the experts working on the Andean programme belong to such a variety of nationalities—apart from the nationals of the countries directly affected there are experts from the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Belgium, Switzerland, Sweden, Costa Rica, Brazil and the Federal Republic of Germany.

All the action bases—with one or two exceptions—are now run by national officials, most of whom have taken over from the international experts who helped to train them. There are many other posts which at the start were filled by foreign experts but are now held by local staff, some of whom have in their turn become international experts in other Andean countries where the project (having begun later) is less advanced. In this way the programme applies one of the cardinal principles of international technical co-operation which is that after a certain time the governments and nations of the receiving countries must themselves take over full responsibility for the activities which were conceived and launched by international experts. And so we see these experts, who at the start actually ran the action bases, now serving as advisers to the locally recruited managers who have taken their

places. The time is not far off when these local managers will perform their duties without any outside advice at all. In this way, when the governments of the Andean countries (quite certainly with external assistance) launch nation-wide programmes covering all their Indian population groups, the Andean programme will have enabled them to fill most of the administrative and technical posts which will have to be established.¹

Everyone who has seen the programme's experts, whether national or international, at work has been struck by the deep interest taken by these men and women in the whole purpose of the project and by the enthusiasm with which they throw themselves into their work.

I have often been asked why the I.L.O. attaches such special importance to the programme. The foregoing account is to some extent an answer to this question. But perhaps I may make a few more points. Initially the I.L.O.'s attention was drawn to the Indian peoples of Latin America on account of their physical poverty and their neglected condition; today the Organisation—like all the other international bodies involved—is seeking practical ways and means of ridding the Indian peoples of these scourges and bettering their lot. In order to overcome the degradation of the Indians, their whole existence has had to be changed; and this explains why the programme has adopted a comprehensive approach which affects all their living, production and working conditions. This approach is itself a great attraction for those engaged in the project because all the various activities involved, although in different fields, supplement and affect each other and help to bring new life into these neglected communities. The results achieved by this method have exceeded the most optimistic forecasts and show that it is possible to help a people to rise out of a state of utter decadence. The revival of these Indian peoples, the fallen heirs of what was once a great civilisation, has caught the public imagination and enlisted interest and sympathy for the Andean programme. We have not confined ourselves to formulating the problem of integrating the Indians. The programme has shown, through its chain of pilot bases, that

¹ It appears, from a news release issued by the Inter-American Development Bank on 22 September 1961 after a visit by Mr. Prado, President of Peru, to Mr. Herrera, the President of the Bank, that the latter might be prepared to offer financial aid to the Andean programme to permit its expansion. This is the implication of the following passage in the release: "We exchanged ideas with President Prado on the manner in which the Inter-American Bank could co-operate technically and financially in the implementation of the 'Andean Plan', which is benefiting broad sectors of the Indian population of Peru and several neighbouring republics. This programme is sponsored by the International Labour Organisation in co-operation with other international agencies."

integration is actually possible, and it has worked out a series of techniques by which integration can be achieved. In Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia the Andean programme has helped to prod public opinion into recognising that it can no longer ignore the problem of integrating the Indians into the community or the need to solve it in each country's own interest.

One of the programme's main achievements is to have stirred public opinion as deeply as it has, made it aware of the seriousness of the problem by revealing the degrading conditions in which the Indian masses live in all these countries, and thrown light on the needs and aspirations of the Indians themselves. Another merit is that it has worked out an approach which benefits everybody and can take place in an orderly way, without coercion, by appealing to the community spirit of all citizens, irrespective of their origin.

These successes of the Andean programme do not concern the Latin American countries alone. Its methods can be used—with suitable adjustments—in any country where there are indigenous peoples who wish to be integrated into national life. Moreover, some of the techniques which have proved themselves in the Andes may also be helpful in any agricultural and rural development programme.

In fact the significance of the programme extends far beyond the frontiers of the six countries immediately affected and even beyond the American continent itself.

Whereas, elsewhere in the world, emancipation movements are often accompanied by disorder and violence, the Andean Indian peoples are evolving peacefully towards equal rights with other sections of the community. The way in which this integration is taking place—an integration which they themselves desire and which is accepted as just and necessary by the governing classes of their countries—can serve as an example to a world tormented by divisions and conflicts.

APPENDIX I

Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance

GIFTS TO THE ANDEAN INDIAN PROGRAMME

1. *United States of America*

(a) Machine tools and hand tools for the equipment of two workshops, one at Puno (Peru) and the other at Pillapi (Bolivia), to a value of \$50,000 (at cost price), were provided by the American Federation of Labor in November 1955.

(b) The Co-operative for American Remittances to Everywhere (C.A.R.E.) has provided some 200 carpenters' kits, agricultural workers' hand tool kits,

and resettlers' kits for use within the various projects of the Andean Indian programme. This body has also supplied milk and cheese in all the bases, and rations have been regularly distributed to all the indigenous populations coming under their jurisdiction. In addition, medicaments for an anti-tuberculosis campaign have been provided. These various donations, to a total value of \$55,000, were made during the years 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958 and 1959.

(c) The American Friends Service Committee (Philadelphia) has decided to donate a gift of educational materials to the Andean Indian programme and will make the gathering together of these materials a part of its 1960-61 programme.

2. Belgium¹

(a) Antibiotics to a total value of 3 million Belgian francs were provided by the Belgian Government to the Andean Indian mission in Ecuador, Bolivia and Peru in February 1956.

(b) In August 1957 the Belgian Government put a sum of 400,000 Belgian francs in convertible currency at the disposal of the I.L.O., to be used exclusively for the construction of a community centre at Cotoca (Bolivia). In February 1961 it placed a further sum of 500,000 Belgian francs (\$10,000) at the disposal of the I.L.O., to be used for buildings for the vocational training programme in Bolivia.

(c) Machine tools and tools to a value of \$40,000 were provided in September 1956 by the Belgian employers' and workers' organisations (*Fédération des industries belges, Fédération des entreprises de l'industrie des fabrications métalliques—Fabrimetal, Groupement des hauts fourneaux et aciéries belges, Fédération générale du travail de Belgique, and Confédération des syndicats chrétiens de Belgique*) for the establishment of a workshop at Cotoca (Bolivia).

3. Federal Republic of Germany²

(a) Machine tools and hand tools to the value of \$10,000 (at cost price) were provided by the Federation of German Trade Unions in November 1955 and a further consignment to the value of \$4,450 in January 1958 for the project in Puno (Peru).

(b) In November 1959 the Federation of German Trade Unions put a sum of 95,000 German marks (approximately \$22,000) at the disposal of the I.L.O. for the purpose of building a vocational training centre in Taraco (Peru).

4. France

(a) In July 1959 the French Government provided 11 Citroën 2 h.p. vehicles with standard and auxiliary spare parts for use within the various projects of the Andean Indian programme to a total value of 5 million French francs (approximately \$10,000). In December 1959 the French authorities provided used vocational training equipment to an approximate value of \$3,000.

¹ In March 1960 the Belgian Government donated some medical drugs (blood plasma substitutes) to the Governments of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru for use in emergency and maternity wards.

² The Government of the Federal Republic is giving consideration to the question of providing equipment and a building for a vocational training centre at Otavi (Bolivia)

(b) The *André Citroën* firm put a sum of 500,000 French francs at the disposal of the I.L.O., to be used to contribute to the purchase of additional Citroën vehicles for the Andean Indian programme. This gift was made in July 1959.

5. *Mexico*

In August 1960 the Mexican Government donated a prefabricated metal school, complete with furniture and school requirements, to the Andean Indian programme in Ecuador. It is equipped with a full library, gramophone and projection equipment. It is a one-teacher school for about 40 children with living accommodation for the teacher.

6. *Sweden*

(a) The Swedish Confederation of Employers and the Swedish Confederation of Trade Unions provided hand tools for the Playa Verde project (Bolivia) to the value of \$7,300 (at cost price) in February 1958.

(b) The Swedish Red Cross donated 50 nurses' kits and 200 clinical thermometers to a total value of approximately \$1,500 during 1958 and 1959.

(c) The Swedish Co-operative Movement donated equipment for 25 local workshops to Playa Verde to the value of \$2,000 in December 1958.

(d) The Swedish Consul-General in La Paz, Mr. Einar Johansson, donated five sets of 11 different elementary tools to five communities in the Playa Verde area to make it possible for each of them to establish its own carpentry workshop in 1959.

7. *Denmark*

The Danish Employers' Confederation and the Danish Federation of Trade Unions provided in November 1957 woodworking machines and tools for the Riobamba project (Ecuador) to the value of \$3,600 (at cost price).

8. *Norway*

The Norwegian Trade Unions Federation provided in February 1958 hand tools for the Riobamba project (Ecuador) to the value of \$1,750 (at cost price).

9. *United Kingdom*

70 rams, of a total value of about \$6,000, have been donated by the Government of the United Kingdom for the Andean programme in Ecuador.
