

**THE AGRARIAN QUESTION  
AND REFORMISM IN  
LATIN AMERICA**

**Alain de Janvry**

The Johns Hopkins University Press  
Baltimore and London

BIBLIOTECA LUIS GONZALEZ  
EL COLEGIO DE MICHOACÁN

-----

# Contents

-----

<i>Preface</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Abbreviations</i>	<i>xv</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>1</i>

**Chapter 1. Laws of Motion in the Center-Periphery Structure:  
The Underlying Forces** 7

Evolution of Thought on Unequal Development	9
The Dialectic Between Production and Circulation	23
Contradictions of Accumulation in Articulated Economies	26
Contradictions of Accumulation in Disarticulated Economies	32
Dependency, Class Structure, and Social Disarticulation	40
Market-Widening and Market-Deepening	45
Mechanisms of Surplus Transfer Between Center and Periphery	50
Industrial and Financial Imperialism	50
Surplus Transfer Through Trade	52
Unequal Exchange	53
Unequal Trade	54
Unequal Rewards in the Formation of International Prices	54
Accumulation in the Center-Periphery Structure and the Current Crisis	55

**Chapter 2. Agrarian Crisis in Latin America: The Facts** 61

Integration of Latin American Agriculture into the National and World Economies	61
--	----

Patterns of Growth and Stagnation	68
The Rise and Logic of Functional Dualism	81
The Contradictions of Functional Dualism	85
<b>Chapter 3. Transformation of the Agrarian Structure and the Peasantry</b>	<i>94</i>
The Nature and Future of the Peasantry	95
The Marxist Classics	96
Peasantry as a Specific Type of Economy	100
An Alternative Conceptualization of Peasants	102
Roads to the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture	106
Modes of Production, Social Classes, and Types of Farm Enterprises	109
A Typology of Farm Enterprises	109
Empirical Characterization of the Rural Class Structure	114
Dynamics of Class Differentiation	117
Empirical Characterization of Class Differentiation: Global Data	118
Empirical Characterization of Class Differentiation: Country Studies	123
Mexico	123
Colombia	131
Peru	136
<b>Chapter 4. Disarticulated Accumulation and Agrarian Crisis</b>	<i>141</i>
Prevalent Theses on the Food and Hunger Crisis	141
Neo-Malthusianism	142
Technological Determinism	143
Monetarist Thesis of Stagnation	144
Structuralist Thesis of Stagnation	146
Overconsumption: Austerity and Aid	148
Poverty: Employment and Nutrition Programs	149
Material Determinants of the Agrarian Crisis	151
The Contradiction Between Rent and Profit in the Transition to Capitalism	152
Cheap Food and Foreign Exchange: The Contradictions	157
Food Self-Sufficiency Versus Comparative Advantages	158
Cheap-Food Policies Versus Development of Capitalism in Agriculture	162
Technological Bias Toward Laborsaving	169
Use Versus Reproduction of the Peasantry as a Source of Cheap Food	172
The Global Crisis	174

The New World Order: A New International Division of Labor for  
Agriculture? 175

**Chapter 5. The Political Economy of Reformism 182**

The Capitalist State	183
The Petty Bourgeoisie and Legitimation	187
The Peripheral State	191
Reforms and the Management of Crises	193
The Limits of Reformism	195
Legitimacy Crisis of the State	196
Fiscal Crisis of the State	196
Administrative Crisis of the State	197
Agrarian Reformism in Latin America	197

**Chapter 6. Types and Consequences of Land Reform 202**

A Typology of Land Reforms	203
Redistributive Reforms	207
Transition from Precapitalist Mode to Junker Road	208
Transition from Precapitalist Mode to Farmer Road	209
Shift from Junker Road to Farmer Road	209
Transition from Junker Road to Precapitalist Mode	210
Transition from Farmer Road to Precapitalist Mode	210
Shift from Farmer Road to Junker Road	210
Consequences of Land Reforms	211
Observation I: Market Expansion	211
Observation II: Development of Capitalism in the Nonreform Sector	214
Observation III: Political Stabilization Through the Reform Sector	218
Observation IV: Functional Dualism	220
The End of Land Reform	221

**Chapter 7. The Strategy of Integrated Rural Development 224**

A Typology of Rural-Development Projects	224
Criteria for the Evaluation of Rural-Development Projects	231
Puebla-Type Rural-Development Projects	234
The Puebla Project	234
The Garcia Rovira Project	235
The Cajamarca Project	237
Economic Achievements of Rural-Development Projects	238

Structural Characteristics of the Peasant Economy That Condition Technological Change	239	
Functional Dualism	239	
Semiproletarianization	242	
Labor Scarcity	246	
Profitability and Risk	247	
New Technologies for Peasant Agriculture		248
Effective Demand	249	
Risk	250	
Diffusion Strategy	250	
Extension Model	250	
Institutional Linkages	251	
The Political Economy of Integrated Rural Development		252

**Chapter 8. The Agrarian Question and Change in Latin America: Conclusions** 255

Policy Proposals for Growth with Equity	255	
Employment Creation	256	
Integrated Rural Development	256	
Redistribution with Growth and Basic Needs		256
New International Economic Order	257	
Redistribution Before Growth	257	
The Limits of Reformism	259	
The Political Economy of Equitable Growth		264

<i>Notes</i>	269	
<i>Selected Bibliography</i>	303	
<i>Index</i>	307	

**Figures**

1.1. Structure of an Articulated Economy	27	
1.2. Structure of Disarticulated Export-Enclave Economies		32
1.3. Structure of Disarticulated Import-Substitution Industrialization Economies	33	
1.4. Productivity of Labor and Real Wages in Manufacturing, United States and Brazil, 1966-74	35	
1.5. Social Class Structure and Alliances	42	

3.1.	Social Classes and Types of Farm Enterprises in Latin America	110
3.2.	Dynamic Process of Class Differentiation in Latin America	117
6.1.	Typology of Land Reforms in Latin America	205
7.1.	Types of Agrarian Reforms	225

## Tables

1.1.	Average Annual Growth Rates in Gross Domestic Product, Manufacturing, and Gross Fixed Capital Formation	19
1.2.	Growth and Income Distribution, 1960-70	36
1.3.	Share of Different Income Strata in Total Consumption, 1974, and Growth Rate of Production by Type of Commodity, 1967-68 to 1975-76	47
1.4.	Mexico: Distribution of Income and Consumption in Urban Households, 1968	49
1.5.	Flow of Funds Related to Direct U.S. Investment, 1960-72	51
2.1.	Agricultural Production in Latin America, Selected Years	69
2.2.	Rate of Growth of Production by Commodity and Country, 1948-52 to 1968-72	72
2.3.	Real Price Tendencies (Rate of Change per Year), 1950-70	74
2.4.	Share of Large Farms in Total Production, and Mean Area Harvested per Farm, 1950-71	75
2.5.	Share of Production Sold and Share of Labor Hired, by Crop	77
2.6.	Grain Dependency: Share of Imports in Total Consumption, 1948-52 and 1968-72	78
2.7.	Share of Selected Foods in the Urban Wage Basket, Selected Years and Countries	79
2.8.	Share of Exports in Total Production, 1948-52 and 1968-72	80
3.1.	Rural Social Classes in Latin America: Distribution of Households and Land	115
3.2.	Dynamics of Land Tenure Systems: Initial and Terminal Percentages	119
3.3.	Size of Farms Less Than 5 Hectares in Area for Eleven Central and South American Countries, 1950-70	122
3.4.	Mexico: Hectares of Land Benefited by Major Federal Irrigation Projects as a Percentage of Total Hectares Cultivated, 1940-60	125
3.5.	Mexico: Value Share of Agricultural Production, 1950 and 1960	126
3.6.	Mexico: Distribution of Cultivated Area and Value Share of Production by Farm Size, 1940-70	127

- 3.7. Mexico: Average Area per Landholding, 1960 and 1970 128
- 3.8. Mexico: Number of Farms, Percentage of Farms, and Total Land Area in the Private Sector Controlled by Farms, by Farm Size, 1940-70 130
- 3.9. Colombia: Value Share of Total Production by Type of Crop, 1950-55 and 1971-76 133
- 3.10. Colombia: Land Area Cultivated, by Type of Crop, 1950-55 and 1971-76 134
- 3.11. Colombia: Land Distribution by Number and Size of Farm and by Total Area, 1960 and 1970 135
- 3.12. Peru: Distribution of Farms and Agricultural Land by Farm Size, 1960-70 139
- 4.1. Price of Nitrogen Relative to That of Wheat and Corn at the Producer Level in Latin America and Elsewhere 165
- 4.2. Wheat Yields and Relative Prices Received by Farmers, 1968-70 166
- 4.3. Comparison of Annual Rates of Change in Selected Economic Indicators in the United States, 1950-68 and 1968-77 177
- 6.1. Statistical Information on Land Reforms in Selected Latin American Countries, 1917-76 206
- 7.1. Puebla: Profitability of Farm Activities by Farm Type, 1970 241
- 7.2. Cajamarca, Puebla, and Garcia Rovira: Distribution of Farms by Farm Type, 1970-73 243
- 7.3. Cajamarca, Puebla, and Garcia Rovira: Sources of Net Household Income by Farm Type 244
- 7.4. Cajamarca: Sources of Net Household Income by Farm Type, 1973 245