

PLAN OF JOINT ACTION FOR AGRICULTURAL REACTIVATION IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

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AGRICULTURAL REACTIVATION IN
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN:
THE CASE OF HAITI

August, 1989

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INTER-AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR COOPERATION ON AGRICULTURE

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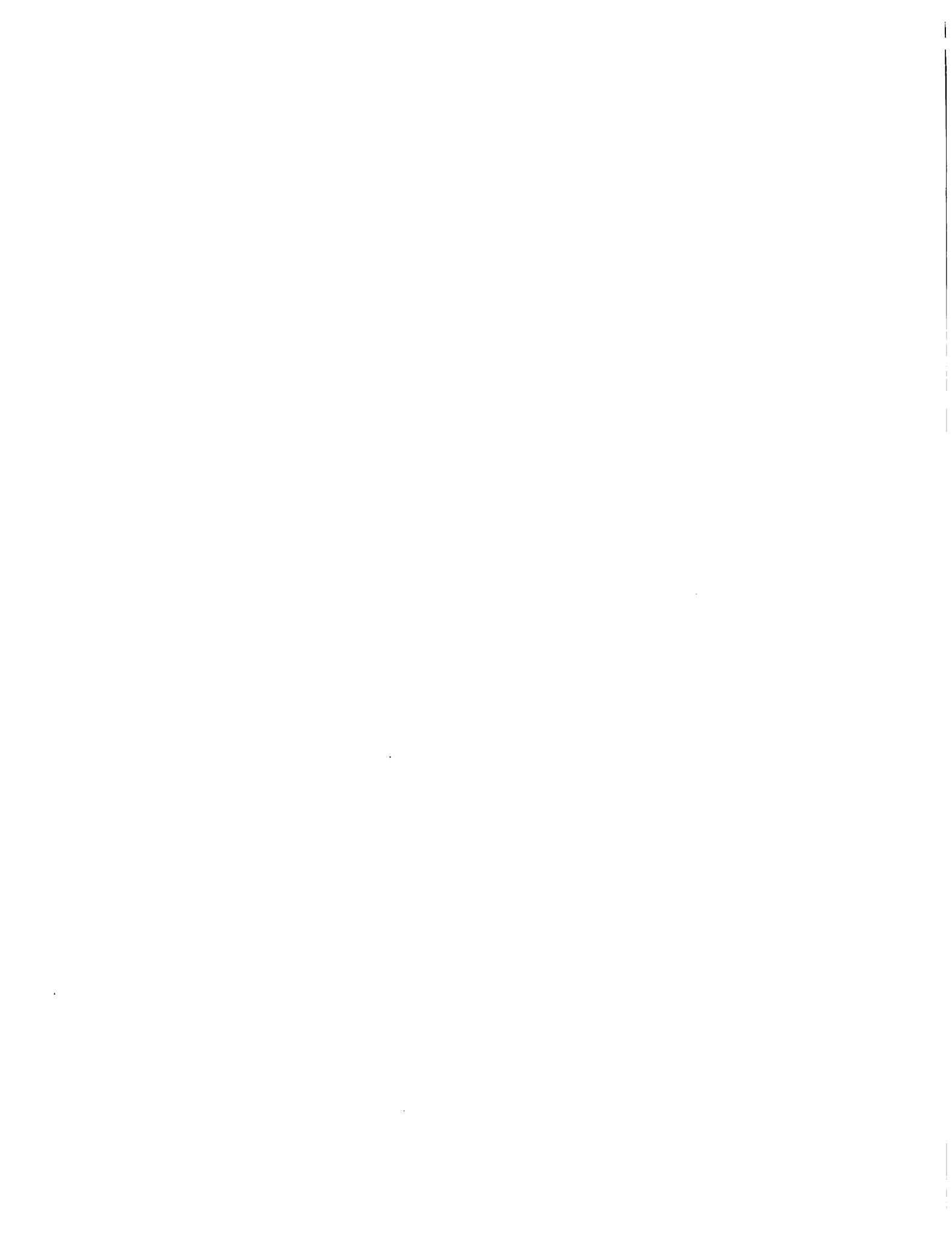
From its conception, the "Plan of Joint Action for Agricultural Reactivation in Latin America and the Caribbean" (PLANLAC) has been prepared through a participatory process of generating and coordinating ideas and proposals for joint action aimed at contributing to agricultural development in the region.

As a result, a large number of organizations and individuals have contributed in some way to completing this work, both through the widespread consultations, and through specific contributions made to the different documents which make up the PLANLAC.

Credit must therefore be given to all those who have, in one way or another, contributed to this task, while it is acknowledged that unintentional omissions may occur.

The preparation of this document was facilitated by discussions held with different Haitian officials and academicians, as well as with IICA's technical staff in the country. Mr. Jean Casimir was directly responsible for preparing the initial version of the document.

Global responsibility for preparation of the PLANLAC was given to Felix M. Cirio, who acted as coordinator; and to a working group made up of: C. Luiselli, F. Jordán, H. Mussman, C. Pomareda, R. Quirós, E. Trigo, D. Londoño, and F. Dall'Acqua. Assistance was also provided by an International Advisory Committee composed of: R. Campbell, F. Homem de Melo, D. Ibarra, R. Junguito, A. McIntyre, M. Petit, E. Schuh, L. Reca, M. Urrutia.



PRESENTATION

The IX Inter-American Conference of Ministers of Agriculture - a special conference of the Inter-American System, organized by the OAS, and held in Ottawa, Canada, in August of 1987 - in its Recommendation No. X, entrusted IICA with "the preparation, in collaboration with member countries, other organizations in the Inter-American System and other specialized institutions, of a strategic plan for joint action in support of agricultural reactivation and economic development in Latin America and the Caribbean". This resolution also received the support of the XVII General Assembly of the OAS, in October of 1987; and the Plan is to be presented to the Inter-American Board of Agriculture, at its regular meeting to be held in 1989 1/.

In carrying out this mandate, IICA has proposed and agreed on a broad framework of meetings and participation in order to involve the member countries, the regional institutions, and the technical and financial aid agencies interested in participating in this initiative for preparing the Plan.

Organization of the tasks 2/ for the preparation of the Plan includes the development of "plans of joint action for agricultural reactivation" in each one of the four sub-regions (Central; Caribbean; Andean and Southern) plus a special document for Haiti (and Mexico) to provide a solution to its specific problems. These include as main components: a "strategy", which aims to provide a framework on the key areas for actions by the countries and sub-regions in seeking to reactivate agricultural development; proposals for joint action (programs, projects, etc.), in areas of priority; and institutional and financial tools for carrying out the Plan.

The organizational guidelines for preparation of the Plan of Action were approved by the Executive Committee of IICA at its Eighth Regular Meeting held in San Jose from August 1 to 4, 1988, as well as by the Ministers and Assistant Ministers of Agriculture in the meetings in their sub-regional forums (Regional Council for Agricultural Cooperation in Central America, Mexico, Panama, and the Dominican Republic. (CORECA); Junta del Acuerdo de Cartagena (JUNAC); Caribbean Community (CARICOM)).

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- 1/ The working documents and the declaration and recommendations of IX ICMA can be consulted in: "Agricultural Reactivation: A Strategy for Development", IICA, San Jose, 1987.
 - 2/ See: "Plan of Joint Action for Agricultural Reactivation in Latin America and the Caribbean: Guidelines for Preparation" No. 1, IICA, June 1988.

With regards to Haiti, a document was prepared which made an in-depth analysis of the problems of rural peasant farmers in this country. This overview complements other cross-section, economic and agricultural analyses which will also be made available to PLANLAC's advisors.

While these findings demonstrate the vastness of the Haiti's problems, which obviously are beyond the scope of IICA and of PLANLAC itself, modest guidelines will be indicated which have definite potential for developing Haiti's rural economy.

The ideas presented here were discussed in Haiti on several occasions and have been modified to meet PLANLAC's guidelines. An outline of general strategic guidelines is given in the final section of this document. On the basis of these guidelines, specific joint actions have been recommended which aim to reach down to the poorest rural farmers, while also allowing Haiti to develop links with different organizations and institutions in the Hemisphere.

SUMMARY

The socio-economic context within which a strategy for agricultural reactivation and development in Haiti must be considered, presents levels of extreme underdevelopment, whose causes must be understood in order to find the solutions required. The Republic of Haiti is one of the poorest countries in the world. Considerable resources are required to reactivate its agriculture, and over the short and medium term only modest results can be expected.

Haiti's agricultural impoverishment can be partially explained, by the fact that the development model for the plantation economy has been exhausted. In this environment, the basic infrastructure, under which the population of workers survive and reproduce, has been established by these same workers without the participation of government officials. This unfavourable situation typical of plantation societies is aggravated in Haiti by the fact that the culture which attracts the overflow of this population is located outside of the national territory. No major pressure exists on the part of investors or workers to ensure that necessary measures are taken to stop the progressive deterioration of human and natural resources in the agricultural sector.

Relations between rural farmers and other members of the rural population, on the one hand, and the central government, on the other, do not share many common denominators, except for ethical, moral, or religious matters. Thus, in the rural Haitian world, a number of "institutions" crop up, of which the most important--undivided collective property -- serves to protect the farmers. This characteristic of Haiti makes it difficult for administration of the agricultural economy at a national level within the present framework.

Two factors accentuate this situation, and at the same time, provide a glimmer of hope for change. On the one hand, the rural economy is occupying all of the areas left vacant by the State and the ruling class, forcing the authorities to negotiate under the terms set by peasant farmers.

On the other hand, the international economic crisis is having negative repercussions on activities in Haiti which are integrated into the world economy. A more marked endogenous development is inevitable, and the guidelines for such an undertaking are linked to the rural population.

These two circumstances form options which do not fit into the scope of major projects, at a time when available resources are being used up at an alarmingly accelerated rate. In establishing an effective development strategy, the relationship between the development of Haiti's economic situation and its desperate search for a new social understanding cannot be ignored.

Recent events in the rural world and the occupation of new social and geographic areas by rural inhabitants demonstrate a type of "internationalization" of the national market. The impact of this on the development and development planning of this open dual society cannot be underestimated. Because of the variety of contexts in which Haitians live and the solutions for continuity within these contexts, the government operates as an interest group among other equally powerful groups. Under these conditions, the development plan can only be implemented if it is accepted, and if its guidelines are presented with rationality and common sense, ahead of the many different requests vying for the attention of Haiti's economic players.

A development plan should therefore create its own demand. This requirement raises the need to establish a system for dissemination of information and continuing education which takes into account the specific characteristics of its "clients". This client group would not only include the rural farmers and other related groups, but also all urban sectors and international aid organizations.

The plan for development and reactivation of agriculture in Haiti must be the most efficient formula for attracting human and financial resources, and above all, it must convince both the Haitian farmers and their national and international counterparts of this. Only then would the government be able to obtain the enormous amount of resources needed to reactivate its agriculture. Obviously, these resources would be made available to those people responsible for decision-making, and would include control mechanisms required under the transparency of the proposed intervention policy.

The strategy for agricultural reactivation and development should change the position of the peasant farmer - and of the rural population in general - within society at a national and regional level. Such a strategy involves six tools for intervention which will be made available to those individuals responsible for decision-making:

- i. An intervention policy (taxes, etc) aimed at capturing a major portion of the resources controlled by interest and pressure groups, for investment in agriculture.
- ii. An economic policy which makes the creation of services for agriculture a priority. These services would be offered by the rural population itself.
- iii. A policy for developing human resources, with the objective of creating specialized guilds through extension education, and of increasing the number of independent workers.
- iv. An information policy which is responsible for disseminating information on scientific and technical advances, and establishing a dialogue among the rural farmers, and between farmers and the elite.

- v. A research and development policy which commences by building an infrastructure, which does not exist at the present time.
- vi. A policy for regional cooperation which proposes to strengthen ties between Haiti and countries in the American region, particularly those countries in which Haitian colonies exist, in order to make use of the cultural, financial and technical resources of those Haitians and of their knowledge of the countries in which they are living.

The above-mentioned tools for action will be used in the following areas:

- i. The structure of traditional layers of Haitian society. The strategy proposes to create an internal environment which is favourable to investment of human and financial resources in agriculture.
- ii. The area of environmental control, in which measures will be taken to reverse the deterioration currently occurring.
- iii. The area of control of the political economy, where the current structure of agricultural economic activity will be formalized, which will allow for a clearer arbitration of conflicts and the possibility of transparent relations between credit institutions and farmers.
- iv. The area of control of regional organization, in which the market hierarchy of the peasant farmers is reinforced; these regional markets will be converted into centers which provide many different services for agriculture.
- v. The control of agricultural marketing and production will be restructured using information systems and through extension training programs and community education. In this area there will be a reorientation towards greater capitalization in the agricultural sector.
- vi. The sphere of local social relations in which interventions will aim to reinforce the structures established by the farmers. Priority will be given to women's programs in development which concentrate on assisting merchants in agriculture.
- vii. The area of regional social relations. For this area, the strategy proposes implementing open regional cooperation beginning with the protection - by the Haitian government - of Haitian emigrants, and the strengthening of ties between emigrants and their communities of origin.

Among the plans for action which are required in the main spheres of intervention, it is necessary to include the following:

- In the area of economic development, the need:

- . to prepare a plan for conservation and development of natural resources;
- . to formulate a strategy for reorganization of the country in order to make better use of its resources, and to establish the necessary infrastructure for the circulation of goods and ideas;
- . to prepare an agricultural development plan which includes services for production and marketing;
- . to formulate a strategy for agrarian reform which respects the political divisions of the local society;
- . to develop systems of agricultural credit and to establish insurance companies for farmers and merchants;

- In the area of research and development, the need:

- . to promote research on protection of the environment, on alternative sources of energy, and on a scientific pedagogy which is adapted to the environment;
- . to promote studies on regionalization/decentralization in Haiti, and on the flow of goods and ideas;
- . to undertake planning of dwellings for improvised housing built without resources ("villes-relais") and of the "market sites", and to provide them with basic services for health and public well-being;
- . to ensure transparency in the market, to develop legal research on production and marketing of agricultural products, to create financial institutions specifically suited to the environment, to encourage research in the linguistic field to ensure that agricultural information is disseminated and understood.
- . to improve the gathering and analysis of economic data, to determine what possibilities exist for self-sufficiency in certain basic products, to develop the agro-industry and the services offered in the rural markets;
- . to study the migratory flows, the impact of funds sent from abroad, and the possibility of increasing the productive effectiveness of these funds sent and their use in agriculture.

- In terms of development of human resources and information, the need to:
- . undertake campaigns for developing awareness about the need to protect and conserve the eco-systems; to develop university and college level programs related to this protection; to develop voluntary associations and to create new associations of this type for conservation of the environment; to create national awareness on the most suitable ways to plan for the region in order to make a more efficient use of it;
 - . to establish in the rural environment, communication media directed exclusively to developing and reactivating agriculture; to develop a system of extension education; to form specialized guilds and independent enterprises which provide services for agricultural production; to use agricultural information in post-literacy programs;
 - . to give priority to teaching university programs for occupations related to farming, and to create the necessary infrastructure for such teaching; to train college-level technicians in agricultural and veterinary sciences;
 - . to distribute legal information on land tenure and other aspects of the Rural Code; to promote specialized university training in legal sciences and for updating skills of lawyers, notaries and legal assistants;
 - . to promote formal training for the position of agricultural merchant, to establish ties between these merchants and the credit institutions, and prepare them for the swings in international migrations;
 - . to create a system of agricultural information, and to distribute, information on investment opportunities in the primary sectors to both the rural and urban sectors;
 - . to promote public education and continuing education programs on migratory movements, characteristics of the "Diaspora", and life in Haitian colonies in other countries.

These strategic outlines and actions which are proposed as ideas for the reactivation and development of Haitian agriculture are basically national in character; and it is clear that actions at a local level are what will establish whether or not it is possible to accelerate the development of Haitian agriculture. The objective of these reflections on local problems is to identify subject areas which are relevant for the whole country.

Within the context of the "Plan of Joint Action For Agricultural Reactivation in Latin America and the Caribbean" (PLANLAC), which emphasizes multinational actions, certain areas are identified where Haiti's ties with other countries could prove to be beneficial, contributing to efforts at a national level. To this effect, actions are proposed in the area of communications for rural development and international cooperation in the generation and transfer of technology.

Haiti's participation in the PLANLAC should not be viewed, therefore, as a way of applying its global links to Haitian agricultural development, but rather as a way of bringing this country closer to others, through joint actions which may contribute to resolving certain common problems.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the Ottawa Declaration, adopted at the Ninth Inter-American Conference of Ministers of Agriculture, the Ministers of Agriculture of the Americas established that the majority of countries are facing an economic crisis, the magnitude of which has not been seen in this century. This crisis, they declared, demands profound changes in the traditional concepts concerning economics and development that have prevailed in countries in the region for many years.

The Joint Plan of Action aims at promoting all joint actions in countries in the Hemisphere so that this cooperation will assist these countries in overcoming the obstacles they face in reaching their potential.

In the complex case of Haiti, our objective was to prepare a document outlining a strategy and indicating aspects which limit and determine its agricultural development. Therefore, as well as providing a conventional statistical analysis of Haiti's agricultural and economic crisis (moreover, good studies already exist which can be consulted by the reader, especially by CEPAL, the World Bank and FAO), this strategy emphasizes the specific institutional and social structure of Haitian agriculture and particularly, its complex mechanisms for interacting with the economy (and the Government) in general.

The plans (and projects) for joint action are obviously presented here on a very modest and limited scale in relation to the profound agricultural and economic problems facing Haiti. Nevertheless, we feel that they address these problems well, and in depth, and may have a positive impact in conjunction with many other efforts and projects being carried out in Haiti. Therefore, while aware of the modest scale of these strategic projects, we feel that other projects will be added to these and that they will create a political process of change and - eventually - development. In summary, these are small steps in the right direction.

It is a fact that the way the Haitian economy is managed cannot be compared to other countries. In part, this is because it cannot be expected that the assumption about homogeneity of socio-economic concepts can do justice to the specific manner in which Haiti's different economic factors operate. Identifying the peculiarities of Haiti's agricultural sector appears to be a viable argument that the poor condition of this sector is an extreme case of evolution of the Caribbean model whereby it was attempted to juxtapose a rural economy onto a model which was predominantly plantation oriented.

A strategy for agricultural reactivation and development in Haiti needs to be designed with a strong sociological component, since the relationships between the economic players in this country are too complex, involving many different levels of society. Thus it

is necessary to understand the distinctions arising from the aborted reconversion of the plantation economy into a peasant farm economy. These distinctions affect not only the economy, but also the very fabric of society (its social classes and groups), its administration (the relationship between the people and their government), the nature of the State (the relationship between the people and the State, and between the State and the Government), its different social plans (the relations among its different cultures), as well as the possibilities of achieving social consensus for dealing with the problems of legitimizing the official proposals and the people's participation in their implementation.

This strategy will attempt to promote those solutions which diminish the distinctions and divisions inherited from the past. In order to change the relationship between agriculture and the rest of the economy, it proposes that some of the social networks between farmers and other Haitians be changed.

The strategy for agricultural reactivation and development is based on a group of proposals for implementing a plan, developed using macro-economic data, which is oriented towards the rural population. These proposals are based on :

- i. The analysis of the implications of popular resistance to the plantation economy, based on characteristics of Haitian rural farmers.
- ii. The analysis of the conflicts between reproduction of the basic social classes (particularly in terms of work) and the main social groups (especially the family).
- iii. The analysis of the distinction between the modernization policies of the governments and the directions of the state and the official civil population.
- iv. The analysis of the relationship between the Nation and the State and between resident and emigrant Haitians, the latter playing a very important role in Haiti.

The strategic proposals per se, will be described after developing these basic premises, and relate to the following:

1. The need to improve productivity of the work force, strengthening its control on its reproduction as a social and economic class (that is, controlling earnings or salary) and on its reproduction as a social group (that is, as a source of work which functions based on family or community organizations or on voluntary associations). This will have a direct effect on alleviating extreme poverty.

2. The need to promote the development of rural markets, strengthening the role of merchants, and ensuring the transparency of flows of products and capital, through suitable information or educational programs and projects.
3. The need to promote investment and savings in the agricultural sector, giving preference to farming by families, especially on inherited lands; and the need to encourage independent enterprises in the rural sector.
4. The need to develop techniques and topics for adult education and to implement the use of the Creole language in modern commercial and farming activities. Encouraging long-term ecological conservation of lands which will be cultivated, is of utmost importance.
5. The need to promote research and development activities and to encourage innovative formulas to popularize science and technology, applied to Haiti's specific conditions of relative overpopulation and ecological fragility.
6. The need to promote regional integration following the paths of emigration, and encouraging agricultural merchants to penetrate the market for importing inputs required for agricultural production and, likewise, to increase agricultural exports.

To provide background and details on these proposals, the first part of the study will describe the socio-economic context of agricultural development in Haiti. The second part will deal with Haiti's specific type of agricultural development. In the third and last section, a strategy for agricultural reactivation and development will be developed, within the context - and limitations - of PLANLAC.

II. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT

A. PEOPLE AND ENVIRONMENT

The Republic of Haiti covers an area of 27,700 km² in the western portion of the Hispaniola Island, which it shares with the Dominican Republic. It is known for its high population density. Close to six million inhabitants live there, that is an average density of 160 inhabitants per km² in 1973 and 180 in 1980. The density per square kilometer of arable land, went from 376 to 575 between in this same period. The Haitian environment is deteriorating at an accelerated rate. This process is generally attributed to demographic pressure, the overfarming of highly marginal lands, and deforestation, which is accentuated by the generalized use of charcoal as

fuel, the only current solution to the energy problem. This progressive erosion is so great that it is estimated that agriculture loses some 10,000 to 15,000 hectares of land annually.

B. ECONOMIC FACTORS

The income per inhabitant in Haiti is gradually deteriorating and today has dropped to the level it was at in the 1970's; it is the lowest in the Western Hemisphere and for 1988 annual income was about \$300. Evolution of the gross domestic product over the last three years has stood still. Its growth rate has gone from 0.3% in 1984 to 0.5% in 1987.

Despite the fact that the importance of the primary sector diminished in relation to the 1970's, it still produces 32% of the gross domestic product. The production of coffee and cocoa, primarily for exporting, dropped to 20.3% and 7.1%, respectively.

Since the company Reynolds left in 1981, bauxite, which represented the main product from the mining sector, has been replaced by marble, and also recently by limestone and clay. This sector represented barely 0.1% of the gross domestic product between 1984 and 1987.

The manufacturing industry has also been decreasing. Its portion of the gross domestic product has dropped from 17% in 1984 to 15% in 1987. On the other hand, organized trade is struggling with the growing contraband and in 1984, it represented only 17% of the gross domestic product. The service industry as a whole, representing 43% of the gross domestic product in 1986, increased in relative importance and in the early 1970's represented around 30%. It should be pointed out that electricity consumption has increased considerably, going from a growth rate of 4.09% in 1986 to 17% in 1987. This increase is basically due to residential consumption, which has gone from a growth rate of 38% in 1986 to 42% in 1987.

In the commercial trade between Haiti and foreign countries, imports of food products are becoming more and more significant. Food imports increased during the 1970's at an annual rate of 23.5% and in 1976 represented 37.8% of food imports and 65% of the imports of consumer goods. Haiti's external debt, at September 30, 1987, was estimated at \$760 million, and debt servicing totalled \$59.4 million for the same period. Prior to November 1987, the country received financial aid estimated at approximately \$177 million. Because of the flagrant violations in human rights, this was reduced to \$86 million.

C. SOCIAL FACTORS

In the last few decades, very high levels of absolute poverty and underdevelopment have existed. In Haiti, the main centers for the districts are called cities. One and one half million of its six million inhabitants live in these cities. Close to 90% of this urban population is concentrated in the capital, Port-au-Prince. The living conditions in these centers leave much to be desired. According to a study by the International Labour Office, 58% of the urban population are supplied with water at home or have access to a source. It is estimated that only 25% of the rural population have this service. On average, only 33% of inhabitants have access to water.

The level of hygiene and of public health corresponds to the birth and mortality rates. The population is growing at a rate of 1.8%. Infant mortality is 124 per thousand. Malnutrition is chronic. The number of available calories per person is estimated at about 1,500, when, according to UNICEF, a female adult should normally ingest 3,000 calories. In Haiti, there is one doctor for every 8,200 inhabitants and there are 1,400 inhabitants for each hospital bed.

The levels of public schooling compare to the above-mentioned factors. Until very recently, the mother tongue of Haitians, Creole, was not a written language. Furthermore, according to official data, more than 77% of the population is illiterate.

Primary schools are attended by more than 80% of school age children. Secondary schooling is completely privatized. Of 423 schools at this level, only 8% are public with free attendance; 15% of the students, that is, 203,000, attend these schools.

The rate of full unemployment is at 10%, while under-employment affects 50% of the people active in the work force. Economic productivity is very low, and flows of emigrants are increasing more and more. Haitian emigrants can be found almost everywhere throughout the American Continent. Large numbers are concentrated in the Dominican Republic (120,000), the United States (50,000), Canada (40,000) and the Bahamas (30,000).

The seasonal migration of sugar cane cutters to Dominican plantations must also be added to this - approximately 40,000 per year, according to the International Labour Office in their study mentioned above. The swings in the migration of merchants is also on the rise. This phenomena has not yet been the subject of an empirical study.

Haitian emigrants send home just over \$112 million per year. This represents one of its most important sources of foreign currency, and compares to the financial aid received, which totalled \$177 million in 1987.

D. POLITICAL MANAGEMENT CRISIS

The country is going through a severe political crisis. This crisis affects all public life, its legal organization and its social and economic structures. The crisis becomes more and more visible as popular participation reaches unprecedented levels. The emergence of national values around demands related to human dignity, have not been overlooked by any institution. The catch phrase is the old saying "Tout moun se moun" (every person is a person), which means that all people have the same rights and prerogatives.

This structural change is not yet reflected in a new social agreement which is capable of reversing the trends towards impoverishment. In less than two years, two constitutions have been revoked. A number of governments have taken power. On September 17, 1988, a fourth government took office. The Constitution of March 29, 1987, sanctioned by a referendum, appears to be a rallying point for popular demands.

The national crisis is also aggravated by the conditions imposed on the governing elite by its traditional counterparts, for receiving financial and military assistance. These counterparts, who are also affected by the international economic crisis and are interested in Haiti's future, are placing greater pressure on the country, in order to bring about a change in its local political structure. Haiti's presence or image in the region can no longer be ensured by the success of a sophisticated elite, the old upper class, but rather depends on the brave efforts made by the people to rise up out of their poverty; on their tenacity, discipline and hard work in the countries which receive them, as well as on the intelligence and aggressiveness of their merchants.

The basis for a new social agreement within Haitian society, and between its State and the international community, appears to be the need for mutual respect among all of the players: "Tout moun se moun."

III. TYPE OF AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Reactivation of Haitian agriculture in order to improve output implies a change in the principles and customs governing exchanges among the social classes and groups. There lies the heart of the economy and more precisely, of small-farm agriculture. The strategy for agricultural reactivation and development in Haiti therefore recognizes that changes in the laws and trade customs among societies can only be implemented by these same societies. It is proposed that these trade principles be understood and followed as they gradually change.

A. THE PEOPLE AND TAXES

A strategy for reactivation and development of Haitian agriculture has been developed based on categories which accurately interpret the specific features of the environment where interventions will be made and explain similarities and differences with current situations.

It is possible to define the characteristics of Haiti's rural population in different ways. Based on this concept, some of the aspects of rural life can be described; but only using statistics which cannot capture the reasons for Haiti's backwardness, in terms of agricultural production.

Social studies, and particularly the efforts made by economists to provide an in-depth description of peasant agriculture, all complain of the lack of basic statistical data on the populations concerned.

Quantitative data is used to make the analysis prior to development or evaluation of the programs and projects when the type of agricultural development which applies to the populations being studied has already been identified. In the case of Haiti, this data is complemented by observing rural life, which provides richer information and allows classification of the specific characteristics of the social organization of one of the sectors of agricultural production.

However, in this perspective, relations with the outside world tend to become confused with the processes of the establishment and decline of peasant farming. In comparison with farming conditions in other parts of the world, this perspective generally views the peasant sector as having a natural economy, which can be barely differentiated while export agriculture, with a more advanced division of labour, capital and participation in the international market, would polarize and eventually displace this economy.

By viewing peasant farming as a traditional sector and intensive export farming as a modern dimension of the economy, the historical coexistence of these two systems of farming and the complexity of relations between them is not appreciated. This perspective establishes a priori the direction for agricultural reactivation and development and limits possible options, without explaining how these methods of farming continue to carry on their reciprocal relations.

It is very easy to erroneously believe that in Haiti the plantation economy has been replaced by administration (or rather leasing) of large plantations. Meanwhile, the Cuban and Dominican plantations have an impact on Haiti's rural human resources which studies on the national economy or society do not always fully consider.

To capture the style of development of Haitian agriculture, it is helpful to place it in its Caribbean and Latin American context. Agricultural production in Latin American countries was developed by European immigrants who established themselves in the region. Independently of the hostile relations between these immigrants and their Creole descendants, on the one hand, and the indigenous populations on the other hand, the primary sector continued to be mainly geared to meeting the needs of its people. Countries in the Latin American region form areas of colonization and they share common features with what is traditionally called the occupation of vacant land (or land which has been vacated by its inhabitants).

Agricultural production in the Caribbean, and specifically in Haiti, was organized by the ruling classes who had no intention of establishing themselves in the region. These territories were conceived as colonies of exploitation, whose *raison d'etre* was the enrichment of the metropolis by a very specific type of agricultural development.

Thus, while the subordinate classes of Latin America, especially the indigenous sectors, may consider their countries as colonies of exploitation, their States and ruling classes try to make them into colonized areas. For this, balance is needed between the supply and demand of products for the social classes within their planned societies and a minimum knowledge of the size of these classes.

In the Caribbean, this situation is reversed. The States and the ruling classes in the region established structures for maximum development of agricultural resources, while the subjugated classes struggled alone to turn these regions into colonies. Above all, these States were interested in harmonizing the flows of exports and imports.

The differences between Latin America and the Caribbean which result from the specific role of agriculture in their global social structure, are taken to the extreme in Haiti, with the early destruction of the protective nature of planters and the plantation society; and because of the exogenous nature of the effects of the polarization of the dominant agricultural economy. More than a balance between imports and exports, here attention was directed to taxes and different kinds of duties, to physically support the State.

B. THE "ABITAN" OR RURAL SETTLER

This type of relationship between the Haitian society and the State which heads it, was established since the beginnings of settlement of the island by the Europeans. People who, intend to reside or who reside there, are called "abitans". This archaic term, which resists the passage of time and is

found in the spoken language in Quebec and Haiti, comes from the French "habitant" and corresponds to the Spanish "colono" or to the English "settler". In modern day vocabulary, an "abitan" is simply a man from the country. The term "peasant farmer" does not reflect the manner in which this group of people laid their roots in the country.

This word, a key to Haitian culture, connotes all the opposition between rural civil life and the political structure since the seventeenth century. The term is a noun which expresses an intention to permanently establish oneself in the adopted country. It evokes the tie that links the immigrant with the land in which he settles; and, thereby, in the same process it makes the person indigenous. The relationship with the place of birth which we find in the adjective "Creole" which is a key word in Latin American countries, is not the one used here.

The "abitan" lives in a "bitacion". This "bitacion" is a domain. It can be a plantation or a parcel of land. The "abitan" can be someone without land, an independent farmer, a mason or a carpenter. The word does not define a profession, but rather the kind of participation in land organization. The importance of the social category "abitan" is emphasized by the way it incorporates or expresses the resident or settler's relationship with the outside world, which is first represented by the Caribbean city: seat of the State government, fortified city, seaport, import-export post. In this context, the word "abitan" is synonymous with "moun andeho", a person from outside, whose counterpart is the word "moun lavil", the city dweller. The "abitan" are outsiders in the city and, conversely, the city is not the expression of its rural countryside, the product of its hinterland.

People from outside and people from the city are dichotomous concepts. All of the "abitan" share characteristics which city dwellers do not and cannot have, and vice versa. The idea of belonging to the outside expresses the externalization of the "abitan's" universe in relation with the center, and defines the limits and domains of its extraversion. The "bitacion" develop around cities, and their relations involve conflict. The cities continue to house the structures of exploitation inherited from the times of colonization and the plantation society. On the other hand, in the "bitacion" the structures of colonization take root, that is, the foundations for land management to meet the needs of the people who occupy this land, despite the social plans which the city attempts to impose.

It is necessary to read the history of Haitian agricultural development and to evaluate its economic results based on these main relationships, as they exist objectively and are reflected by the language and culture of the people.

This can also be used to plan effective methods of intervention; it provides an integrated view of Haiti's particular style of rural development of peasant farmers, and covers the relationship between the agricultural sector and the national economy. The peasant farmer appears as a type of "abitan", who dedicates his time to agricultural production. It is necessary to study him in context, that is, within his relations with those who provide him services.

C. THE MANUAL LABOURER

The territory in which the Republic of Haiti is located was previously occupied by the French colony of Santo Domingo. Traditionally, its organization was primarily oriented towards the production and exporting of tropical products, and later to rural farming.

While the rural civil society seeks to reproduce and increase the "abitan", the State and the official civil society attempt to ensure that adequate manpower exists for the production of exports. Placing this work force into the ruling economic structure, implies forced labour or piecework. The main social plan is organized around the worker, or the slave or newly freed farmer, landowner, rancher or timber merchant. In this plan, there is no room for an independent farmer capable of organizing his life without needing to work on the plantations.

Piecework is the current method of remunerating manual work in Haiti. It involves hiring an independent worker (or head of a one-person enterprise) for providing a specific service.

Compensation for piecework, as for any head of an enterprise, does not necessarily equal all the indispensable resources needed to replace the energy spent by the worker. If there is an abundant supply of labour, the price of a service drops. In this, the agricultural labourer is different from specialized workers. There is an abundant supply of services and he is unable to obtain a basic minimum wage working in this way. Those people living below the absolute poverty line are proof of this.

Since the material resources which he obtains for his remunerated work are insufficient, the agricultural labourer cannot separate himself from a rural economic organization, from which he obtains the necessary resources for his subsistence. It is only in this complementary role that the peasant economy figures in management of public matters.

Agricultural workers form human groups involved in small-scale production of food; while plantations only supplement their resources needed for their survival. The measures taken by

the State aim to ensure a labour force adapted to demand for export agriculture. Agricultural workers reproduce themselves as a social class thanks to this state policy.

A peasant economy organized by the State in this manner, provides a continual surplus of manpower which is the key for the prevailing system of production to function. The progress in food production and particularly its resource structure remain completely outside the State's development strategies, despite all the statements to the contrary.

In order for the structural relationship between rural agriculture and the plantation system to gradually change State mechanisms, these two economies must at least rely on one identical political administration. In this, the agricultural economy of Haiti is different from that of other countries in the Caribbean. The pressures which arise from the reproductive needs of large human groups, do not affect the ruling classes' need for the State to guarantee the social class of agricultural labourers.

As there are no large-scale plantations in Haiti, its State functions under a precarious dominant system of agricultural production. It is forced to levy taxes on the distribution of products from the peasant economy, without having institutional mechanisms to intervene in the actual methods of farming under this economy.

The use of manual labour in general, and particularly agricultural labour, is therefore outside of the domains of the State's administration. The State finds itself unable to increase productivity, which it leaves up to the laws of supply and demand. This bottleneck derives from the logic of the system itself, that is, the division of work into tasks or services which are separately remunerated. It is reinforced by the workers' need for protecting subsistence crops.

Official intervention in the rural economy, however desirable it may be, hits an unsurmountable barrier: the lack of tools to allow the State to change and modify the system of peasant farming. The problem is unsolvable because of the relations between the State and the rural civil society, which does not wish for nor authorize any major intervention by the political authorities.

D. THE MEANING OF LAND OWNERSHIP

At the present time, analyses of Haiti's agrarian structure distribute the regions of agricultural farming on a quantitative scale and invariably conclude that, despite there being a large amount of land concentrated in large-scale farms, the small agricultural farms are so numerous that the category of poor peasant farmers describes a social class

within the country. This method of analyzing the country's agrarian structure also generally is forced to limit its observations to agricultural farms due to lack of data on land ownership per se. Also, it recognizes that an empirical study cannot be undertaken which would differentiate landowners from those who do not have land, and provide insights on how these social classes reproduce themselves.

Current views in the quantitative studies on land ownership discuss the appropriateness of agrarian reform and suppose a priori that ownership of land can be redistributed so that more equitable conditions are created for development.

This illusion stems from not having analyzed the methods of reproduction of social classes and replacing this by an analysis of available quantitative data. The State possesses certain methods of production and the citizens divide up the rest. The "abitan" attempts to protect the few means of production which are within his reach, despite interventions by government authorities.

In Haiti, two basic types of agrarian ownership can be observed, each corresponding to the development of the social classes which we have just described, that is, the development of the "abitan" and the agricultural labourer, on the one hand; and the development of the plantation owners and large land owners, on the other hand. Each one of these types of ownership arose from specific forms of land occupation and social plans which sustain them and furthermore, they are governed by different systems of regulations.

Western-type private ownership, that is the right to use and abuse one's land, derives from the taking over of territory by the colonial State and from the effort to reconstruct plantations after its independence. Western-type private ownership is therefore, by principle, a large property, whether it concerns a plantation for tropical products using manual labourers, or lands belonging to the State. The State and its legal structure are responsible for the distribution of these properties to the ruling social classes, and also are responsible for their development and for managing the social structure in which they operate.

On the other hand, and in response to the monopoly of the State and its agents, the "abitan" occupies lands under the system of the so-called undivided collective property. This occupation occurs simultaneously with the formation of rural groups of people and more precisely, the group essential for the local reproduction of people: the family. The family acts as the guardian for agrarian goods, and the usual system of rules developed by it explicitly rejects the right to use and abuse ownership of land. The monopoly conceded by the State to certain planters and to their heirs, therefore is surrounded by a specific form of ownership which officially is called "unsupported occupation" sanctioned by the law.

The traditional quantitative analysis of the agrarian structure implicitly foresees the possibility of reconversion; but in Haiti no coordinated group of values suited to this exists. Large plantations are not maintained within the system of undivided collective land ownership. Neither is it possible to imagine consolidation of the small peasant farmers resulting in larger agricultural farms. To suppose a continuum of land which is under cultivation or owned is a statistical illusion which does not translate into any social reality in Haiti.

It is necessary to distinguish between the problems presented by excessively large or small farms, and the problems arising from the way in which they are defined or from their meaning. The use of a given surface of land depends on its meaning. As the land of the "abitan" belongs to families, its "non-division" arises from the "non-division" of the family; the one cannot be understood without the other.

This does not mean that the families do not split up, that a couple cannot separate itself from the larger family group, or from its heritage lands, to go and establish themselves elsewhere, including abroad. Even if a couple splits up, this does not affect the unity of the family whatsoever; the family remains as an unchangeable fact. In the same way, the unit of land of an agrarian inheritance has no relation with the division or destruction of its parts. The possible transactions with each one of these parts is limited to the logic of reproduction or survival of the "abitan" family. An heir cannot relinquish his farm except in favour of another heir. The exceptions to the non-division of agrarian properties are classified in the common laws and infractions are severely punished.

The successive divisions of a domain which originally belonged to one sole owner, follows the displacement of the family of this owner. This division and the dispersal of the lots which follow, are caused, on the one hand, by the nature of the unions (intermarriages) and, on the other hand, by the subsistence conditions arising from the monopolization of land by large State planters. As new families are being organized, the lots belonging to one couple become smaller and smaller and more different one from the other: this is the dynamics of small farms.

In an society where intermarriage exists, established on a limited area of land, in order to avoid excessive division of the farms within a land inheritance, it is necessary to disinherit most of the possible heirs by means of a clause similar to that of the "right of the first born". This would have the effect of producing a surplus labour force available for monopolization of lands by the State and its agents, as well as facilitating the eventual repurchase of very small farms by large plantation owners.

No empirical research exists at a national level which establishes the proportion of land cultivated by peasant farmers under the system of undivided collective ownership. However, it appears that, even when a peasant farmer adds land to his inherited lands, his offspring must still respect the non-division of the family lands which have been increased in such a way. Consequently, the total surface of the land possessed under the system of non-division, is constantly increasing or decreasing, following parameters which still have not been determined. There is no justification for statements that the undivided collective ownership is gradually disappearing.

Therefore, land is not a capital asset, in the sense that land is not subject to any kind of transaction in the capital markets. When capitalism was introduced to the island with its workers, it brought with it a definition of work and of capital assets. For capital used in the slave systems of the plantations, work is reproduced by displacements of the labour force, that is, by its geographic mobility and not by a natural process of reproduction, the simple game of birth and death.

The plantation system and the management principles which reached Haiti, did not foresee the reproduction "in situ" of the labour force. This, which was evident in the eighteenth century, is currently becoming disguised in the chronic poverty of the people and in the different facets of depopulation.

Thus the fundamental contradiction between the definition of "labourer" and farm ownership can be seen, according to the economy, which, on the one hand, is considered modern, and the definition of "abitan" and their land, on the other hand. Customs prohibit any transaction made with capital assets needed for reproduction of the families; or, in any event, it only tolerates it under exceptional circumstances.

E. INDEPENDENT FARMERS

The political institutions in Haiti, from the colonial times onwards, decided to obstruct the conversion of slaves and of newly freed slaves or agricultural labourers into "abitan". The State never concerned itself with offering services to the "abitan" and, above all, offering him services which he himself would control. It did not endeavour to ensure the reproduction of the population.

On the one hand, we have pressures on the rural environment, one aspect of which are taxes, which can not be significantly modified through any good or bad intention of the government regimes without creating problems for the actual structure of the State. On the other hand, we have the management of small

farms protected by a group of customs and rules which establish the independence of the rural farmer and which seem to justify the indifference of the State. The system for subsistence farming, which is a local cultural creation, is to a certain extent closed to official organizations. Any attempt to intervene and govern comes up against the mechanisms of family decision-making.

It is one thing to observe the subordination of an economic system to another and another thing to assert the inferiority of this system in comparison with the other. A system which is dominated is not, by this fact, archaic or traditional nor is it a natural economy.

A study which aims at improving or changing a given situation should discover how the system which it wishes to change operates. If an effort is not made to discover the functional nature of the institutions within the environment in which they wish to intervene, this study is contributing, consciously or unconsciously, to the very forms of domination which it eventually intends to fight.

Without a doubt, the "abitan" are resisting domination, which is demonstrated by the State's protection almost exclusively of export products and by taxes on peasant farming. But the rounds of tax collection and the plantation economy cannot appropriate everything for themselves, because in such a situation, there would be nothing left to collect taxes on nor a labour force to exploit. The ruling economy and society must establish an area for production and reproduction of the system of domination. This area is the area of urban demand for agricultural products. This demand is met by the small independent farmer.

Analyses of agricultural development are generally incomplete because they favour taxes and other methods of domination. It is necessary to remember that the flows go in both directions: The collection of taxes tends to converge around Port-au-Prince and types of resistance extending out to the most distant plots of land; centripetal efforts to collect taxes and centrifugal efforts of resistance. Between the two there is a meeting place: the marketplace.

The internal dynamics of production and reproduction of the "abitan" is the lever for all agricultural development. The rural society has something to negotiate with; even though the results it attains are more and more scanty, it does not appear that it is losing the game.

The "abitan" is the motor and the fruit of a society of peasant farmers, of a rural society which creates its own places for contacts with the ruling society. This is the only place where outside intervention is possible: this bridge

between the peasant society and the official society, or rather, this place where these two worlds confront each other. Any intervention beyond this boundary will be screened by the rural social system. It is necessary to respect and to trust in the system, and in its power of negotiation. To ignore the individuals to change collective behaviour, is the same as not wishing to be successful and not achieving the stated objectives.

In the case of Haiti, with distinctions being what they are within the structures of the country, the international economic crises facilitate endogenous development which does not involve intervention by the State and the ruling classes. These are periods of expansion of the peasant society. Despite all appearances, Haiti is experiencing a period of this type. In any case, opportunities for expansion of the peasant economy appear to be exhausted, provoking an unmanageable crisis.

F. THE MARKET

The market continues to be both the favoured place for urban domination and the first place where the rural world has penetrated into this economy.

It is in the market and through the market that economic conflicts are resolved between urban and rural life. The urban world takes advantage of and uses its favourite weapon in the market: politics and "extra-economic" interventions (regulations). The rural society advances, although with difficulty, on the basis of a strict economic organization. If we refer back to the colonial economic structure and to the measures which were taken during this period to impede the circulation of money; and if we observe the development strategies of subsequent governments, particularly those under the U.S. occupation, it can be seen that the local market in Haiti is, as for all of the Caribbean, a social invention of the rural farmers.

The plantation economy was established within an international framework which went from mercantilism to liberal capitalism. It ensured constant availability of manpower, which it increased by immigration which was more or less forced.

This method of controlling the reproduction of agricultural workers by immigration, is the key to the distribution of land in the non-Spanish Caribbean. The plantation society and its State had to prevent the workers from controlling their own reproduction. The ignorance of the worker was indispensable for this kind of organization: its rough undifferentiated work force was its main contribution to export agriculture. Thanks to this, the agricultural labourer was placed into the dominant system of farming without affecting the resources required for this system of production to operate.

Conversely, useful knowledge for the management of a plantation system refers to the colonial tools of exploitation and removes the need to study the processes of colonization. To the "abitan's" ignorance of modern options for development is added his lack of knowledge about the outside world. This isolation has been manipulated by the preparation and dissemination of incomplete information which does not explain the current situation. Absolute poverty is the best guarantee for international aid and the ignorance attributed to the peasant farmers justifies in the eyes of the outside world the distance between the State and nation.

This panorama of the relationship between the State and the working population became worse when the State no longer had any plantations to protect. The State thus became the manager of a reserve of manpower which had to be contracted outside of the country. This service is compensated for by taxes on rural production and by international financial assistance. In this way, when the crises of international markets are most severe, the tax mechanisms become more irrational (and the amounts of taxes will diminish with the value of the products), and the need for international assistance will increase proportionally.

The economic cells which are capable of polarizing the "national" economy, are located outside of the country. Government politics and administration over the long run become the only source of employment and income accessible to the local elites. The State is forced to operate on the basis of its authority and inherited status, which obstructs all social mobility resulting from personal efforts and individual accomplishments. The social classes which govern the system and the classes which do the work are defined a priori not by their achievements but by reasons which lie outside of the production system. The social and educational institutions for these opposing classes must teach and disseminate this system of meanings.

Thus there is a reversal in the definitions which are used in the international economy and society. The plantation economy and its services are considered as a modern sector of the country, while methods of subsistence, which are maintained despite the efforts of the ruling system, are defined as traditional.

In reality, the Haitian State and the official society have turned into a refuge for archaism and traditionalism; while the oppressed society is the source of all modern innovations and progress, where private initiatives of the market economy exist.

Despite having a subordinate role in the national market, the peasant farmer is not without means of defence. The official civil or urban society must live and eat. Unable to maintain

their standards of living during times of crisis, of the world economy, and even less, to satisfy their desires for extravagant consumption. The official civil society must negotiate with the rural economy willingly or unwillingly.

The rhythm of reproduction of the peasant farmer is the result of this negotiation between taxes and resistance. It can be said that this surge of peasant farmers on the centers where taxes are collected is due to the increase in the effects of the domination; or to a break in the equilibrium due to the saturation of space occupied by rural farmers, or is the consequence of the success of the rural economy and their occupation of new areas.

The system of domination implies that mechanisms must be put into operation which to contain this surge of rural farmers who have been converted into rural workers through impoverishment. This dyke has been broken because the peasant economy entered the market, facilitated by the world crisis. Producers and merchants of products for local consumption are progressing in what the urban society perceives as the greatest disorder, filth and poverty. The rural markets are a creation of the peasant farmer; the regional markets also are, and thus Port-au-Prince, "The Republic of Port-au-Prince", is taken by storm by the peasantry and has become a huge slum.

Through development of the marketing of local products and its extension into the small business of manufactured goods, the peasant farmer invites the State and its civil society to negotiate following the rules of the game which he himself dictates.

This is the crux of the crisis which Haiti has been debating for several decades now: it is not a crisis of the rural economy but rather the effect of the current international crisis on urban society. The tools of the State are no longer able to establish any supply for traditional markets. They no longer carry out their functions and their legitimacy is questionable even in the eyes of their own associates.

The difficulty of managing the crisis of urban society above all resides in the fact that the urban society and its State do not realize that they do not control this negotiation. As the need for providing the urban sector with food can no longer be disregarded, the erosion of urban resistance to social changes progresses, though slowly. With the growth of a market economy and by not viewing this crisis in strictly economic terms, other obstacles arise in seeking a satisfactory solution, that is, an overall demand for management which is effective, transparent and honest, which the political elites still do not have the means of providing.

Advances in the market economy demand a modernization of the non-agricultural sector, and its administrative and political structures and decision-making mechanisms.

G. THE RURAL AGRICULTURAL CRISIS

The rural agricultural crisis in Haiti encompasses the crisis of the production and consumption of food within the peasant world. This crisis is caused, among other things, by the increase in food prices and the deterioration of the environment and available physical resources: the spectre of extreme hunger stalks the "abitan".

This crisis is placed into the crisis facing the entire Haitian society and also includes: 1) the crisis in production of export products, which is decreasing, and the prices of these products, which are also dropping. 2) the crisis of supplying the urban sector with imported manufactured products due to the growing shortage of foreign currency. 3) the crisis of supplying the urban sector with food, to which it is necessary to add the impact of the price increases of these foods, particularly their repercussions on food for the popular sectors.

The peasant economy does not face a market crisis. Quite to the contrary, its products obtain a good price and, in the present circumstances only contraband is favouring those who are not working in agriculture.

The above comments show that the actual crisis of the rural economy is nothing new. Following the evolution of the standard of living indexes in rural areas, it is noted that the only thing new about the present situation is its intensification. It is the visibility of the crisis which alarms the urban elite, the "Republic of Port-au-Prince".

The problem of peasant farming appears to be that, despite receiving better prices and controlling the market for its main products, it is unable to capitalize and to produce or absorb new technology.

Development of capital is at the heart of the problems of the rural economy. This crisis stems from the "abitan's" lack of control over the growth of production goods which are within their reach. Admitting that the peasant farmer has access to land, and that politically it is an inappropriate time to undertake agrarian reform, the growth of production goods changes in function of the growth of available scientific knowledge (including social scientific knowledge).

The adoption of new technology (including new forms of social organization) for rural agriculture (which, no doubt would resolve its crisis) is not considered as a priority in cultural development or public teaching. It is, above all, a political and legal question.

Since the birth of the rural economy to its present crisis, undivided collective ownership has constituted the key institution in opposition to the plantation system. It is through undivided collective ownership, and thanks to it, that the dominated class built an impregnable world in which they could survive and reproduce despite the power of the State. If at the present time, the peasant society can no longer manage its resources, (either because they are rapidly being depleted or because this same society has developed and diversified beyond its possibilities for management) the problem is not caused by undivided collective ownership. The block to rural development continues being the inability, with which the "abitan" has always been faced of situating its advisory institution in the legal and political framework of national development, that is, to change it into one of the institutions of the State.

Undivided collective ownership was created to protect the "abitan". If, at the present time, it seems to poorly serve the interests of the peasant farmers, it is because the State refuses to institutionalize their usual lifestyles under the pretext of adopting a modern approach outside of the Haitian system. Undivided collective ownership serves as a basis for the rural economy. It is developed through its market system and it becomes the national economy, which is projected to regional areas.

The bottleneck is that the rural institution does not have tools to arbitrate the new conflicts arising in the occupied areas. It is not that undivided collective ownership should invade the suburbs of Port-au-Prince or affect trade on the international market. But the fact that many rural settlers have established themselves in other areas away from their places of origin, or the fact that merchandise is being introduced in these new markets, creates situations at the level of the villages, which the community institutions are not capable of adequately administering.

The block observed is not inherent to rural institutions. There is a lack of institutions on a national scale, which allow local conflicts to be governed under the framework of rules and customs of the people.

The "abitan", when confronted with political and legal impasses, moves on to new lands. In the nineteenth century, the monopoly of the land by the State and its agents was avoided by an "invasion" (to stay within official ideology) of the highlands. In our time, the ownership of urban land which stops the advance of merchants of rural origin leads to the "invasion" of the streets. The deadlock in political negotiations during the last three decades has been avoided by migration; international borders do not create any serious obstacles for the migratory flows of Haitians. Therefore, the "abitan" bring their precarious levels of existence with them beyond the limits of the Caribbean.

A conflict is produced between the rise of the rural world in search of new areas of development (social and geographic) and policy as it is implemented by the ruling classes. This explains its parallel with "marronage" (the running away of slaves) and the "Diaspora" and the irritation expressed over the presence of this group in Haiti by many sectors of the urban elite. Notwithstanding its relationship with the State, the peasant society is forced to provide the services, good or bad, which it uses. In our time, it suffers, as always, from a shortage of services.

The failure of Haitian agriculture is a result of its type of development being exhausted. As a result, the "abitan" invades urban space and tries, as best as he can, to develop new strategies for survival. City dwellers can no longer survive on taxes, because every day production drops further. They do not know how to discover a system of relations with the rural population which would safeguard their predominance; and neither would they risk playing an inferior role in negotiations.

IV. INTERVENTION STRATEGY FOR REACTIVATION

A. INTRODUCTION

Haiti's profound agricultural crisis and the deterioration of its physical environment therefore require an ambitious strategy, to be implemented with considerable resources. This difficulty is increased by the fact that the mechanisms for mobilization of these resources are as large as the actual amounts involved. It does not simply require an injection of capital into the environment which is ready to receive help under any condition.

An analysis of the style of development of Haitian agriculture reveals that this is not solely a peasant agriculture, in difficult coexistence with the plantation agriculture. Above all, it is a peasant agriculture in the sense that it is created by the peasant farmer, despite the established authorities. The objective of the strategy proposed is to provide a project for integrated management of the social environment, which to be effective, is based on the structural characteristics of the primary sector. It provides suggestions for the different areas available to the peasant farmer.

As the peasant farmer is not an isolated individual, this strategy would attempt mobilization at a global level, defining the levels and kinds of participation for the peasant farmer and his counterparts. Thus, the objective is basically to change the rural inhabitant's ("abitan") place in the local, national and regional societies.

To develop this strategy, distinction should be made between the tools of intervention and the areas of intervention. The tools are political which cut through all the areas of intervention. They are not limited to agricultural development and should be included in all integrated planning. In any event, as the infrastructure for social coordination is so weak in Haiti, it is necessary to outline the characteristics of these tools. The six tools are described below:

1. Intervention policy;
2. Economic policy;
3. Policy for development of human resources;
4. Information policy;
5. Research and development policy;
6. Policy for regional cooperation.

By areas of intervention we refer to special places where, by changing the parameters which define their structure, it is possible to increase social exchanges and to create a ripple effect on agricultural activity. In analyzing the type of agricultural development existing in Haiti, the following six areas have been identified:

- i. The area of traditional distinctions in Haitian society;
- ii. The area for control of the physical environment;
- iii. The area for control of the political economy;
- iv. The area for control of land organization;
- v. The area of agricultural production and marketing;
- vi. Local and regional social networks.

In summary, the strategy which is proposed - a very modest one in relation to the magnitude of the problems and the large number of different activities required - aims to provide background information and to operate within the spectrum of social policies and agents, to create a positive synergy of events working towards gradually and patiently changing the Haitian social environment. It naturally favours the "abitan" and his rural economy, but in no manner is it limited to this. Therefore, we will now consider the tools and the locus for the strategic action recommended, within this framework of the limited number of reactivation projects selected.

B. INTERVENTION TOOLS

1. Intervention policy

The first measure required to be able to effectively intervene in the agricultural production system, consists of understanding and recognizing the strength of the rural culture and civilization. A strategy derived from this statement aims at reconciling the rural settler's conquest of new social areas.

A few technocrats are still proposing paternalistic action to intervene in situations of extreme poverty. It has already been discovered, after efforts to eliminate resistance to change, that there is a need for greater popular participation in the formulation and implementation of development policies.

It is technically impossible to absorb proposals for popular participation in the present normative framework of economic planning. While these proposals show respect to the peasant individual by deciding to listen to him and to include him as a counterpart in the building of his own future, they refuse to recognize the existence of social systems different from the prevailing ones, and to accept that the parameters which define rural life are as complex as the ones which define the structures of any modern economy.

Thus, projects and aid programs which do not go beyond the ideal of popular participation, create a certain amount of rejection in confronting an unknown system. This intent is revealed by throwing out actors against this system, causing unpredictable relations, and indefinitely propagating the restrictions which limit its negotiating power.

The proposed strategy postulates that rural agriculture is organized around a world of customs and family structures which have their own dynamics and which are capable within this same framework, of changing and adapting to new circumstances. This strategy does not claim that all solutions discovered by the rural population are good or better than the solutions proposed by previous forms of intervention. Rather it suggests, following numerous studies, that the solutions created by the rural people and based on them, should be recognized as the only viable ones for the socio-political conditions of Haiti. This strategy maintains that the apparently weak results obtained are in fact striking when the conditions in which the rural people exist are taken into account.

In studying colonies and former colonizations, researchers and technocrats usually assume that there is a continuity between the people - the Nation - and the State which manages their affairs. An intervention policy in Haiti's agricultural

environment takes into account the primary dichotomy between the State and the rural population, as well as the heterogeneity of the sectors which share the structures of authority - without this forming an invitation to interfere in the country's affairs.

An intervention policy for an agricultural development strategy is not designed to make an inventory of the State's omissions in order to solve them, because this route is a dead end. It could even be unjust because many public administrators have made a concerted effort and continue to work hard towards modernizing rural life, sometimes with some tangible and positive results.

To ask the State to diametrically modify its basic direction and to shower the rural inhabitant with attention and services, is the same as hoping that suddenly a society of plantations and peasant farmers should progress towards establishing farms in a system similar to that of the United States of America, or that the State should provide unlimited help to workers and peasant farmers; in a word, that all change is produced from the top down.

To fully appreciate the amplitude and the boundaries of the dichotomy between the State and the "abitan", it is necessary to distinguish between State social plans and the social plans of individual governments. While a government represents the State, it must not be confused with it. A State articulates and expresses the equilibrium between many social classes and groups, which preferably operate within the ruling institutions, expressing their interests, through pressure groups, or in a more general manner, within a framework of different and sometimes contradictory ideologies.

Usually, a government is the most important interest or pressure group in a given environment. The history of the Caribbean is full of examples where a government implemented policies radically different from the State's social plans. In the particular case of Haiti, this distance between the State and the government explains the often ephemeral nature of democratic government, as well as the above-noted consistency between political stability and dictatorships.

Haiti's political structures are undergoing a period of wide-scale change. While this crisis is being resolved and government relationships stabilized, the intervention policy will seek out the interstices for negotiating a strategy of agricultural reactivation and development.

Pressure groups and institutions operating at the State level, who help resolve the relationship between policy and the rural population include the academic institutions and schools, churches, mass media, the political parties and groups, professional associations, voluntary and good will

associations, international organizations and non-governmental organizations. In a very small society, the activism of certain pressure groups and the indifference of others constitutes two equally important groups of data.

These institutions and organizations possess resources available for a strategy of agricultural reactivation and development. An intervention policy would seek to create awareness and to associate itself with these organizations, inviting them to orient their specific policies towards this strategy. The strategy will seek to gradually bring about a change in the numerous intervention projects carried out by these different entities to reflect rural logic, through a campaign aimed at increasing the visibility of the wealth and the shortages in the interior of the country.

As the Haitian peasant farmer is widely sought after by very different groups, including representatives of the State and candidates seeking this position, the strategy for agricultural development should transform the rural inhabitant into a speaker with influence; who is able to establish the validity of the logic behind his behaviour in the projects and decisions of those attempting to win his affiliation or attention.

2. **Economic Policy**

In the economic and political structure of the country, the rural population has never had access to the secondary and tertiary sectors and has never been able to create its own sectors to utilize the surplus manpower from rural agriculture. Apart from agricultural production, trade and public administration, in the countryside there are very few activities capable of retaining the labour force.

The alarming levels of unemployment and underemployment cannot be reduced through increased hiring by subcontracting firms or better locating of these companies. The excess manpower cannot be placed into the traditional urban tertiary sector or into the small provincial cities. All the analyses agree that the material and ecological resources available to agriculture are rapidly deteriorating. (What then, is the strategy for agricultural development capable of resolving its crisis without distorting its system of production?)

Subject to priorities determined at the planning level of for the national economy and the limits fixed by the capabilities in micro-regions, analysis of Haiti's style of agricultural development suggests that greater priority must be given to providing services for agriculture.

As it is difficult to intervene in the productive system, it is important to plan for the consequences of accelerated circulation of agricultural products in the rural world as a first priority. Considerable growth in the supply of services to agriculture should also enable the rural population, which is also growing, to absorb its farming surpluses. The careful determination of routes and means for procuring and compensating these services which they themselves would place on the rural market, would be left up to the rural population.

It is important to take into account that unemployment, under-employment, and the extreme levels of poverty would normally have provoked much more marked social disturbances than what is being seen at the present time. If the rural environment, despite its undersupply, still has not become a prisoner of an anarchical violence, to a great extent this is due to the game of family and community solidarity. Establishing prices of services to production offered by the rural inhabitant himself can be observed in the context of this solidarity: these prices will be initially established at extremely low levels.

Thus, unable to directly attack the mechanisms and types of taxes while government structures remain unchanged, the economic policy would have to change the relations between the tax networks and the production/resistance groups, trying to increase total production at a faster rate than the taxes levied on them. It would also tend to strengthen social relationships within the production and marketing systems, promoting new skills within the very cores of resistance. In this manner, the relative importance of the taxes levied by the State would diminish.

If the services provided by rural inhabitants could be reorganized, the structure of rural employment could be changed. The mechanism for producing employment would change and there would be equivalency in salaries. Earnings from piecework would lose importance as a main form of compensation for labour and payment for services in farm production would compensate for the energy spent by the workers.

The objective of this policy would be to promote economic structures of colonization within a national social plan. In this eventuality, the city, relying on relatively small resources coming from agriculture, would be obliged to redefine its relations with rural areas and to obtain food by offering more services to agriculture. An economic policy capable of unchaining a dynamic reversal towards the primary sector, would create the conditions needed for a more endogenous development. The internal structure of the cities would be modified by the differential productivity of services to the primary sector.

This agricultural development strategy implies that services to agriculture should be privatized, encouraging by every means possible the "private initiatives" of the rural inhabitants themselves and not simply the initiatives of the "large" urban capital. This strategy is based on a wonderful invention of Haitian rural settlers: the national market. More than a core of resistance, the market is an arena; the ideal place for social negotiations. Once the protection of national interests have been ensured, this institution, especially when highly transparent, becomes the economic base for any social agreement.

3. Policy for Development of Human Resources

An analysis of the training of human resources in Haiti should start from the fact that, except for public services and the few industrial enterprises, manual labour is not on a salary basis. The worker is paid by piecework. He is only bound to his employer by a service contract. This relationship is similar to the relationship of a carpenter, a plumber, or a hairdresser, hired by an individual. The manual labourer is basically an independent worker.

With regards to the strategy for agricultural development, a policy for development of human resources does not seek to create salaried jobs in rural areas nor smoother mechanisms for negotiation between workers and bosses. This policy postulates that agricultural production in the Haitian environment does not go through a work market per se, but rather involves a goods and services market offered by independent workers, paid by piecework.

This system of payment by piecework, after slavery, gives the worker the most reduced power of negotiation imaginable. The apprentice and the specialized worker place their specialized services on the market. But as there is a shortage of these services, a dynamism of prices and an opportunity for negotiations will exist; however, the work force is unaware of this opportunity.

The Haitian artisan is trained under a system of apprenticeship: he spends a specific amount of time with a boss, until he, himself, becomes a boss. To offer services to agriculture it is necessary to follow this same route: to train independent artisans. The salary will be introduced on its own into the system by the simple game of supply and demand, as well as the institutions for negotiating salaries and the possibility of ensuring that the results of these negotiations are respected.

This strategy is based on the existence of a demand for services which has not been met and it proposes that it should respect the extremely competitive nature of the agricultural

market. The strategy attempts to adapt itself to the atomicity of the players, which characterizes rural economy, to facilitate transparency in the market and to follow the competition among the players, in order to adjust the means of intervention accordingly.

For the training of these artisans, it should be remembered that formal education (public schooling) in Haiti belongs to the middle class. This class attempts to renew itself and to train its new recruits. Teachers are from the middle class, and students belong to this class or aspire to belong. Public schooling in Haiti does not necessarily provide a series of knowledge which allows citizens to remain in or to join this class but rather it directly gives them a membership ticket, for enjoying their apprenticeship, and for subsequent personal relationships. Public schooling, therefore, is part of the system for distribution of status and not of skills and competence among the players.

In this framework, the projects for developing human resources create misgivings which are justified because subsequent studies show that they tend to accelerate the migration toward cities. This problem can be avoided by implementing a project for extension education for the rural working classes, based on teachings from these same sectors, coordinated by a central nucleus of university professors, and wherever possible, excluding the intermediate levels of the public school system.

The objective of this project would not be to fix specific individuals into the working classes, but rather to provide them with tools for participating in the types of social mobility based on merit and personal achievements. The existence of an aggressive sector within the working class should shake up the traditional middle class and force the public school system to accelerate internal structural change.

To assist in improving the rural agriculture in Haiti, a policy for development of human resources would utilize:

- a. The most recent scientific data available.
- b. The study of this data by innovative teachers who must break down the information for use and application by artisans.
- c. More suitable techniques of communication, through extension education, which would ensure that this professional teaching reaches the rural populations.
- d. Continuing education programs with a mandate to raise the general public's level of knowledge on agriculture.

- e. Advanced techniques for linguistic planning, which ensure that the data available to the rural population can be immediately and easily used in rural communities for coordination.

4. Information Policy

The emergence of a private sector for services, as well as the development and increase in the numbers of guilds or unions, requires transparency in the market to increase at the same time. To achieve this, an innovative and aggressive information policy is a central aspect of the strategy for agricultural development.

Analysis of the style of agricultural development in Haiti reveals that the ruling institutions do not view the rural settler as a target for information, despite the fact that they are often the target of advertising. The imperfections in the circulation of ideas in Haitian society, in principle are not due to lack of material resources: they are a characteristic of the socio-linguistic structure of the country and stem from the asymmetric relations between its two national languages.

French and Creole are not used indiscriminately in any activity and they do not each portray all ideas and values. Each language is specialized in specific spheres of precise activities, so that their vocabularies and their concepts do not always cross over and do not necessarily cover the same semantic fields.

This specialization of the country's languages is the basis for the monopoly of information necessary for its style of management. This monopoly is exclusive to certain classes and social levels.

The development and adoption of new techniques depend on the media for production and transfer of knowledge. The organizations for development planning and the research and teaching institutions deal with social sciences or exact sciences; the rural population are not their clients. They are oriented towards specialists and officials in the middle class, who in turn, are responsible for contact with the rural population.

The culture of the "abitan" or rural settler, as it is an oppressed culture, does not have specific institutions for systematically producing knowledge and new strategies for action. To reactivate and develop agriculture, these institutions must be created and, at the same time, their clientele. The creation of clientele for the centers of higher learning becomes an information policy. As implementation of this policy enables teaching of a public who

are interested in the advances, the planning organizations and the research and teaching institutions will completely change. They will become modernized because they are becoming closer to the country's interior.

Thus, the strategy for agricultural reactivation and development will establish a bridge between the rural and urban poles of the country, and will be able to instigate a series of accumulative cultural changes leading towards greater cohesion and national unity.

To build or improve the bridges between the rural world and the urban world, the information policy will be responsible for the problems involved in popularizing science and technology. In addition, it will ensure that the main ideas or concepts for each one of the areas of intervention will circulate in both directions. Its objective is to encourage ongoing consideration of the agricultural development projects and programs, and to the responses of the agricultural farmer available to those who make the decisions.

5. Research and Development Policy

The State University of Haiti does not employ full-time researchers. The Faculty of Agriculture, which is the only exception in this matter, has very limited resources. The problem of unblocking Haitian agricultures thus presents itself at actual training level of the elites and of the country's participation in contemporary streams of scientific thought. This is just as important as disseminating this knowledge to rural settlers.

The creation of research institutions could also be achieved through reform and a change in direction in existing institutions which are undergoing a crisis because their traditional functions are no longer needed. However, it is necessary to start from the fact that the country does not have a tradition for research and that its institutions do not plan to organize groups of scientists dedicated exclusively to research.

The development or reactivation of agriculture cannot be conceived without a development program for science and technology in all the domains related to agriculture and the rural world, and to substantive methods for linking the one with the other.

6. Policy for Regional Cooperation

The Republic of Haiti is one of the most isolated countries of the continent. However, this isolation is the result of a lack of institutions capable of managing the intense relations between its people and people in neighbouring countries, and to capitalize on the resources generated or obtained during these exchanges.

At the level of the strategy for agricultural reactivation and development, a policy for regional cooperation would have the objective of protecting and serving the rural population. It would collaborate with projects and programs in neighbouring countries, in order to perfect its tools for intervention in the different areas indentified by this strategy.

Many development activities must be implemented for the island of Haiti as a whole. This is particularly valid for environmental protection, plant pathology, animal health, and the interpenetration of product and labour markets.

Programs for the dissemination and popularization of information should be carried out in close collaboration with other Caribbean countries where Creole is spoken. The implementation of joint projects in linguistic planning will result in a savings and create greater efficiency in the interventions.

As the organization of agriculture is essentially the same throughout the subregion, associations of producers and marketers (called "Madam Sara" in Haiti, "traffickers" or "higglers" in the Commonwealth Caribbean) as well as confederations of cooperatives and credit unions, should share their experiences on a regular basis, through meetings and conventions or, through exchanges of radio and television programs.

Exchanges of an academic, political, or economic nature, or for environmental protection, should be intensified between Haiti and the regional organizations of agricultural development.

Latin American countries possess extensive experience in the implementation of integrated strategies for agricultural development. Their teaching and research centers produce advanced knowledge which should be made available to the rural population and urban elites of Haiti.

The role of rural settlers in the Caribbean should be evaluated, through a study on the land. The emigration of farmhands and other Haitian labourers is to the Dominican Republic, the Bahamas, Suriname and French Guiana. Settlement projects for the interior of Guyana and Belize have been developed. The Haitian people in general and specifically the rural population, should be kept informed of these developments, the reactions to migrants in the areas where they are settling, and the general status of these matters.

C. AREAS OF INTERVENTION

1. **Traditional Distinctions**

The strategy for agricultural reactivation and development recognizes that the divisions: (a) between city dwellers and the rural "abitan"; b) between large farms and peasant agriculture; c) between large and small land-holdings, as well as; d) the differences between educated people and illiterates; e) the French language and the Creole language; f) the rulers and the oppressed) are not the result of underdevelopment or the existence of this type of phenomena over a long period of time. This enables distinctions to be viewed as an area for intervention.

In this framework, agricultural development needs to become the main concern of the urban social classes, thereby modifying their image of national society. Because of the nature of the characteristics of the secondary and tertiary sectors of the Haitian economy and the economic, social and political costs of the subcontracting industry, by restructuring this area it would be possible to mobilize the considerable resources of city dwellers for investment in agriculture, without incurring major expenses.

While the complexity of the universe of the rural settler should not be ignored, and his lifestyle and farming methods be respected in order to effectively intervene in agriculture, the historical tradition which created the structures and mechanisms of the Haitian state must also be taken into consideration.

The prejudices often held by government institutions which scorn the rural environment can be refuted by observing the culture and economy of the peasant farmer. These same observations show the responsibility of the State, and its successive governors, in establishing the structures responsible for rural backwardness and poverty.

It is extremely important to understand how difficult it is for the urban environments (taught that anything rural implies only ignorance and filth) to now realize that this rural "abitan" could be an excellent harbinger of modern change, progress and development. These negative attitudes have been upset during recent political crises, but it is important to develop a systematic plan to destroy these attitudes in order to prevent the systems of discrimination from building up again and to free up resources for agricultural development. Because of the

unemployment problems in the urban environment, by increasing the visibility of agricultural problems, challenges, obstacles and possible solutions, new human resources will be attracted to the sector.

Haitian society and the rural population itself must realize that the organization of rural society is just as or more efficient than the organization of the official society because it is based on personal accomplishments rather than inherited status; because it respects competition and the laws within the market; because it is the result of an endogenous development which is capable of integrating new methods and techniques. They should also realize that the official urban environment, by its very structure, is incapable of undertaking any campaign or project without favouritism and that, within this framework, the law is never the same for each person.

One way or another, the elites of intellectuals and technocrats are requested to become involved in carrying out any strategy for change. These elites must be shown that the rural economy and society are complex, strongly integrated systems, and that the best place for intervention in development is the competitive market, as it has been implemented by the rural inhabitant. These elites should become aware of their role in building a new style of agricultural development, and understand that they should support the demands of the rural people rather than the rural settlers having to adapt to the demands of public and private administration.

A strategy for agricultural reactivation and development should plan programs, activities and concrete projects aimed at creating a more favourable urban context for the investments of material and human resources in the primary sector.

2. Control of the Physical Environment

A clear awareness of the severity of the problems presented by the accelerated deterioration of Haiti's natural resources does not exist. Furthermore, there are no continuing education programs or concrete projects on a large enough scale for preservation of the environment. The efforts of some groups and voluntary associations come up against unsurmountable obstacles. To a certain extent, the Haitian rural inhabitant is the victim of a set of expectations and uncertainties which influence (and therefore act upon) the problem of progressive deterioration of his very base of sustenance (his lands, his environment) - a "prisoner's dilemma".

These difficulties derive from the shortage of resources invested in this area and also from the characteristic divisions of Haitian society. We find that in the national language no term exists to refer to nature. No socio-linguistic research has attempted to fill this apparent omission, and since the uniformity of Creole has diminished, due to recent social changes, decision-makers are already increasing the use of French words, which make it even more difficult to carry out these projects.

The strategy for agricultural reactivation and development interprets the problems of controlling the environment in the framework of and based on farm production. To this end, it has been recommended that national-level organizations and voluntary associations dismantle and relocate their operations to the rural environment, appointing artisans, traders and farmers to be responsible for providing paid services for controlling the environment.

The strategy would also ensure that this problem area is emphasized by the agricultural information systems. Large infrastructure projects and national campaigns cannot achieve results without a continuing education program.

3. Control of the Political Economy

This item deals with placing the rural settler into the structures of power. The crux of the reactivation of Haitian agriculture lies in the "problem" of land tenure. The social inequalities described in quantitative analyses of the agrarian structure are very obvious; but this does not imply that they can be resolved by redistributing land ownership. The main question of agrarian reform in Haiti is the relationship between the State and the rural population.

As there is long-standing opposition between city and rural inhabitants, interventions in the distribution of land must be carried out very cautiously. Often such interventions are necessary and requested for resolving inheritance disputes and conflicts between rural settlers and urban landowners. It can, therefore, be conceded that such interventions are possible; however, certain questions still exist. (How does one convince the rural "abitan" that the State may wish something good for him? How can he be convinced that the State, contrary to usual, does not intend to only serve the large absentee landowners but also the small rural settlers?)

Only once the mechanisms used by the State to control the rural population are functioning normally, will it be possible to speak of a global redistribution of land. At the present time, projects for intervention in land ownership are almost always poorly timed because they propose, without saying so, to surreptitiously integrate institutions into the country's political structure, which were created to protect the rural people from the negative effects of a system of outside domination over the rural society.

However, in the present socio-political situation, the difficulties in redistributing the agricultural lands do not affect the urgency of legalizing and changing the existing methods of land tenure. A strategy for agricultural reactivation and development should unchain the rural production unit and assist it in maintaining stable relations with other sectors of the national economy.

Once the deficiencies of national institutions which block agricultural development have been rectified, the injection of capital and new technology can be considered, because growth from increased productivity will then be directed to the community itself. The option is not between capital assets (that is, well-being) and undivided collective property (or poverty). The alternative considered rather would control the scarce local resources or the absence of local control over a hypothetical national wealth. The progressive unblocking of rural farming, primarily organized around undivided collective property, is obtained by changing Common Law to a formal Positive Law, thereby making it possible to arbitrate conflicts arising in the smallest cells of the population at a societal level. This program of common law would involve an acceleration in the changes occurring in the political and legal structures.

Formalization of the principles of undivided collective ownership would create greater visibility for the structures developed by the rural population and would allow the rural "abitante" to take the necessary measures to control his investments and savings. By this same token, the credit institutions and the rural world would acquire the necessary mechanisms for their reciprocal exchanges, since the context of development of capital assets (land and credit) would be openly controlled and arbitrated. If, on the other hand, we ask the rural settler to dismantle his stronghold - undivided collective property - in order to have access to bank credit, and other "modern" services, this would be a proposal which would not merit any serious objective consideration.

In addition to formalizing common law, the strategy proposes to accelerate the speed with which legal information on agricultural production and marketing is circulated. Rural participation in agricultural reactivation and development is based on its negotiating power. A strategy with the objective of improving this negotiating power, should implement a continuing education program set up in such a way that the level of information provided to the rural audience is gradually increased regarding the positive laws regulating the exchanges between the agricultural farmer and those negotiating with him. It is urgent that the current monopoly of legal information be broken, which until now has been the exclusive property of lawyers and notaries, so that each person may become familiar with all of his rights and obligations.

Furthermore, the provincial legal assistants (court clerks, officials from the civil service) have come from rural areas, if they are not rural inhabitants. Professional training programs would increase the efficiency of the judicial system and the negotiating power of rural inhabitants. Creole is the best route for this democratization of information.

Finally, popular education would involve dissemination of the laws, regulations and practices governing relations between farming activities and credit institutions. This would facilitate the farmers' access to capital and would allow landlords to adapt their activities to rural needs. The role of usurers and other players handling emergency loans perhaps would not drop sharply, but services for agriculture would definitely benefit.

4. Control of Land Organization

The centers for land organization within the country developed simultaneously with the establishment of the Haitian family. Unfamiliarity with the rural family unit goes hand in hand with the government prejudices about the rural environment. The principles of undivided collective property correspond to the common laws governing family structure. The need to formalize this system of guidelines parallels the need to classify the principles related to family structure. The creation and reproduction of rural families supposes that a method of agricultural production has been established. Farm production results in the creation of rural, regional and national markets.

In opposition to this arrangement made by the rural people themselves, the State proposes the growth of export trade as a primary objective for management of the economy. The State has implemented farming structures

which, from 1915 onwards, the date of the U.S. occupation, resemble a military occupation of the countryside, centered around the rural "section chief". The State therefore, boxes the country into administrative units which are charged with implementing its policy.

These are the two dimensions of land organization whose contradictions are in the process of being resolved in favour of the rural population, as the international economic crisis hinders the relaunching of export agriculture and large farms. Many community government institutions legally exist but do not function as established by the law, or were never effectively established. Usually, the rural settler is manipulated through his ignorance of the true provisions of the law, and by hindering his access to mass media.

The meeting point for the structures of colonization and the structures of exploitation is the market. The presence of government authorities can be seen by the presence of the tax collector or police official. The other "services" provided by the State are less than a strict minimum. Roads and highways, the marketplace, its washroom facilities, its storage facilities, the lodging of merchants, restaurants, health services - are all inadequate. However, the large number of people in these marketplaces inspire some of the most beautiful Haitian paintings.

Reactivation of Haitian agriculture requires repairs to the crossroads and provincial cities which serve as regional markets. These links between rural life and urban life should be modified to play a major role in modernizing agricultural production. They would bring together all of the services offered to the rural people and their networks would serve for the exchange of goods and ideas.

These crossroads could also attract certain services which are presently concentrated in the capital or in large provincial cities. Maintaining the highway network, maintenance of vehicles for transporting traders and merchandise, branches of banks and credit institutions, regional offices of cooperative groups, voluntary associations, health centers, etc. should be located there.

The regional markets should also serve as a focal point for professional teaching institutions which seek to create guilds related to agricultural development, as well as providing the infrastructure to allow these artesans to provide their services.

5. Agricultural Production and Marketing

The marketing of agricultural products originally was a rural activity. This activity is slowly developing to include other products and to become involved in importing and distributing manufactured goods. The basis for this activity is the same, whether the markets are strictly rural or whether they include imported goods; only the goods traded and the merchants vary. This development is endogenous, and the extent of its success emphasizes the potentials of the local culture.

The strategy for agricultural reactivation and development can not assume that its methods are better than those of the actual rural settlers, who on their own have made their own discoveries and solutions. The strategy proposes creating an informational system to inform merchants about current prices and other pertinent information, offering them an analysis of market fluctuations and forecasts on volumes produced in the different regions of the country, quality, the need to supply different markets, etc. This system would primarily include data on the sale of seeds and other inputs, their prices, seasonal variations, availability, participation in the cost of production, and estimates of yields due to its use.

Development of the commercial sector and its occupation of all available space merits national recognition, in the form of formal apprenticeship for the profession of merchant. In the policy framework for developing human resources, this involvement needs to be assigned top priority. It is suggested that teaching centers be created, close to the regional markets, which would systematically provide the necessary skills for carrying out this profession. Courses would include geography of the rural markets, the problem of swings in migration, and marketing techniques.

Formalization of the profession and the offer to train future merchants, would open the way to capitalization of a commercial system and to the participation of merchants in the banking circuits. Thus, we could hope for significant investments, that is, the polarization of agriculture through marketing and, eventually, greater specialization in farming production.

The priority area under a strategy for agricultural reactivation and development is without a doubt that of production itself. If we propose a detour through the service sector and more precisely through trade, this is explained by the fact that traditionally a gap exists between the State (and official institutions such as the banking community) and the rural settler. As initiatives

planned under other aspects of the strategy are developed, the opportunity for inducing a change in the system of agricultural production increases.

By observing the style of agricultural development, it can be seen that the areas of production and marketing are slowly being differentiated, although obviously they are still closely linked. The strategy is also concerned with the process itself and the commercial information system described should respond by making the modifications required to meet the needs of the farmer.

Rural production can be changed by improving its inputs. The range of professional specializations offered in each of the branches of the primary sector varies from one micro-region to another. The implementation of programs and projects which should bring greater productivity to the sector, must take into account each of the intervention tools mentioned. The experience of micro-projects reveals that the participants need to be trained first, so that they may produce their own production tools by themselves: from a piece of machinery to the spare parts, from improved seeds to the seedbeds themselves. A massive supply will be created from the production process itself.

It is also necessary to consider making the decision-making systems more flexible, offering continuing education to adults and suitable training to future mothers and fathers of rural families, according to the above-described model. The classical rural school should be the object of activities which disseminate information on rural social life and its regulatory structures.

6. Local Social Networks

While agricultural production results in an amazing number of omissions, marketing appears to be carried out with immense efficiency by individuals coming from the same environment as the agricultural producers. We must agree that this divergence in development is inconsistent and justifies carrying out an integrated study of the rural primary, secondary and tertiary sectors.

The marketing of farm products is typically a woman's activity. The center of this trade is the retailer or "Madam Sara". This is the most dynamic player in the rural environment and her behaviour serves as a guide for a whole range of business professionals at all social levels.

The strategy of agricultural development and reactivation should be involved in activities which are a priority: a group of programs and projects revolving around the rural

woman and more specifically around the "Madam Sara", the trader, who negotiates with agricultural products. Furthermore, training in the work itself is necessary and as well as producing radio and television programs, promoting the creation of retailers associations, similar to those existing in other Caribbean countries, and using this framework to grant loans and other facilities, for example for importing inputs for agriculture.

The retailer operates using a network of "secretaries" and "agents" who are usually male. This network could carry out a number of functions such as gathering information, and distributing cultural products related to agricultural production (pamphlets, folders and posters) within the post-literacy programs.

These young adults would be the target of programs and projects for professional extension training, described under the policy for developing human resources. The training of young farmers, particularly in the areas of specialized production (cultivation of rice, coffee, cocoa, fish farming, livestock) should be included in the program offered to merchants and be maintained within the network of trader-secretary-agent.

The large political mobilization of youth and their participation in voluntary associations (religious communities, cooperatives, sports organizations) predispose them to be development agents. The monitors created among them clearly demonstrate this group's ingeniousness. The intervention policy in this area must respect the social networks - both family and community- which are woven around them and which are sufficiently strong to keep them in the countryside. In any case, this power of retention will only be effective if the global relationship of the rural world and the urban world of the "abitan" and the "citadin" (city dweller) changes in the direction we proposed when we described the intervention policy and changes to be introduced in the area of traditional distinctions in Haitian society.

7. Regional Social Networks

Haitian emigration has created a great deal of bloodshed in the rural population. A strategy for agricultural reactivation and development should try to strengthen the links among rural people residing in Haiti as well as links with their family members living abroad.

The first area of intervention under this heading involves all of the Haitian farmhands in the Dominican Republic, both seasonal workers or permanent migrants. Facilities need to be created to protect this group abroad and to facilitate their repatriation as well as the

repatriation of their modest savings. Special information programs during periods of recruiting would attempt to prepare the workers for this adventure and would inform them of their rights and contractual obligations.

Likewise, the strategy for agricultural reactivation would provide services to the Haitian "Diaspora" established in the Bahamas and in other Caribbean countries, in the United States and in Canada. The exploitation of "ethnic markets" of agricultural products should constitute a particularly important source of foreign exchange in this particular time when the prices of export products are low.

Empirical studies will assist in determining the ways and means of channeling the remittance of funds to rural populations towards productive investments in agriculture and in the trade of agricultural inputs. Once again, the chess game of social relations should serve, as much as possible, as a framework for the projects and programs created for this.

V. PROPOSED PROJECTS

Appendix 1 outlines - by area of strategic intervention - a large number of possible projects which could be carried out. Here we are highlighting those projects which will initiate strategic action for Haiti within the PLANLAC. As it can be seen, they fit perfectly into the policies and areas of strategic intervention outlined herein. Not only do they have an intrinsic significance, but also they will have a notable rippling effect and, furthermore, could involve widescale coordinated action from other countries and institutions within (and outside of) the Hemisphere, as established in the Ottawa Agreement which resulted in the PLANLAC. Finally, these projects are linked to others which are already being implemented by IICA in Haiti, i.e. the development of coffee plantations, basic Haitian agriculture (animal health and plant protection, rural development and extension, etc.). These projects are listed below:

A. INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHENING AND EXTENSION SERVICES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Basically, different messages will be broadcast - mainly in Creole - to many small farmers in the rural farming community of Haiti. This will be achieved through specific messages via radio, written documents, videos, etc. One component is training and the other component is widescale dissemination of information. The subject areas are broad, and will be dealt with in depth, aimed at covering the "intervention areas"

mentioned above. The following areas will be highlighted: ecological and conservation work, trade, basic technical education, animal health and plant protection, farming techniques, etc. Obviously one component of the project will aim to improve and strengthen some of Haiti's basic institutions (educational, research, marketing, etc.). IICA has prepared a detailed profile of this project, which could have a very broad impact. Naturally it will be closely linked with the project described below.

B. GENERATION AND TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY FOR AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN HAITI

This project responds to the need for improving Haiti's ability to make optimum use of its national, regional and international resources for the generation and transfer of technology for agricultural development. It will provide Haiti with significant firm ties with countries and institutions involved in technology development for exchanging experiences and human resources in key areas in the generation and transfer of agricultural technology. These are key areas for agricultural reactivation starting at the rural productive base. Exchanges, short courses, scholarship programs, exchanges of experts and materials, joint programs, etc. will be organized which will provide Haiti with status in the international networks and other mechanisms for coordination. With its experience and international status, IICA can be a good catalyst for these efforts. Basically, meetings are planned with CIAT (already in place), CIMMYT, CIP, CATIE, CARDI, IRRI, ICRISAT, and Latin American universities, among others. Also once again, IICA has a detailed profile of the project.

These two projects can therefore serve to initiate a series of events, and progress can begin on the arduous but possible route of rural agricultural reactivation in Haiti. This is the reason behind selecting these projects to lead what should be a long series of international projects and work in support of agricultural reactivation and development in Haiti.

APPENDIX

POSSIBLE PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS FOR ACTION

Environment

- Preparation of a plan for development and conservation of natural resources, including ocean resources.
- Development of the search for protection and conservation of natural resources and the environment (geology, geography, biology, engineering, etc.).
- Research development in alternative sources of energy.
- Development of a scientific and technical teaching framework, adapted to linguistic aspects, structures of the productive system, adult education, especially for farmers.
- Promoting awareness in the adult population and school programs on specific characteristics and opportunities for control of the environment in the regions and micro-regions identified by research and development institutions.
- Development of career programs in universities and colleges for the protection and conservation of natural resources.
- Allocation of tasks for environmental conservation, which may be implemented by small farmers and rural entrepreneurs, within specific areas (mountainous regions, plains, coastal regions, forest, ...).
- Suitable campaigns and school programs regarding apprenticeships and the use of alternative forms of energy.
- Promotion and creation of interest groups to work towards protecting the population against natural disasters; support for carrying out these prevention campaigns.

Territorial Organization

- Creation of a strategy for reorganizing the country, by defining the special role of regional markets as important centers in the relations between the countryside and the city.
- Development of the necessary infrastructure for the flow of goods and ideas.

- Development of shipping, as well as the construction of boats and different types of coastal vessels.
- Development of research on regionalization and micro-regions; preparation of models and scenarios for regional organization; planning of urban primacy.
- Development of models and scenarios for ideas, notices and information on agriculture.
- Studies and physical planning of the markets and related services, to be installed in major centres. Establishment of infrastructures required for the marketing and transportation of agricultural products.
- Preparation of a national spectrum of micro-regional capabilities for scholastic teaching and continuing education programs.
- Teaching in schools and continuing education programs related to aspects of regional and rural markets.
- Training of artisans in construction and conservation of silos and small reservoirs, as well as water catchment and management, and other infrastructures for regionalization.

Economic Policy

- Research development aimed at facilitating transparency of the market, establishing areas of market relations, and areas of production where there is no exchange of money, as well as its respective structure.
- Development and implementation of a system for extension programs and continuing education, adapted to the socio-linguistic characteristics of Haiti.
- Transfer of police jurisdiction of social conflicts in rural areas to jurisdiction under the civil courts.
- Development of guilds for artisans and entrepreneurs to promote farming and marketing of agricultural products.
- Training of audio-visual technicians specialized in dissemination of agricultural information (scientific, technical, and legal).
- Dissemination of legal information on land tenure, production, transformation and marketing of agricultural products, refresher training for officials and assistants in the legal system, as well as for lawyers and notaries, and information related to the Rural Code.

- Specialized university training in legal sciences, adapted to the conditions of farming and marketing of agricultural goods, training of legal assistants and lawyers specialized in Agrarian Law.
- Preparation of a policy for the dissemination of information on the agricultural economy; use of agricultural information in post-literacy programs.

Agricultural Production and Marketing

- Preparation of an agricultural development plan for the sub-sector; preparation of a development plan for the services required for producing and marketing agricultural products.
- Creation of an agrarian reform strategy, respecting the structural duality of Haitian society and initially emphasizing the formalization of current types of land occupation and the establishment of legal institutions capable of arbitrating conflicts regarding land tenure.
- Establishment of a credit system for small businessmen and eventually for the production of foodstuff.
- Legalization or creation of financial institutions responsible for handling funds sent from the "Diaspora", while taking into account the need for protecting illegal workers.
- Establishment of private insurance companies for shipments of agricultural products, particularly by sea.
- Development of an insurance plan for protection against losses to certain basic farm products resulting from natural disasters.
- Improvements to the gathering and analysis of economic data by region and sector, related to the production and marketing of agricultural goods.
- Studies on possibilities for self-sufficiency in basic agricultural products and exchange alternatives, which could utilize the marketing infrastructures already established.
- Analysis of services offered to agriculture in rural markets, and development plan for these services.
- Studies of manufactured products used in the rural market, sources of supply, relative prices, possibilities for subsidizing inputs.

- Development of food technology, transformation and preservation, as well as marketing of agricultural commodities.
- Studies on insurance models suitable for the activities of merchants of agricultural products.
- Place priority on teaching of university professions related to agricultural production (agronomy, biotechnology, genetic engineering, etc.); installation of laboratories, experimental farms and other indispensable infrastructures.
- Formal teaching of the occupation of merchants of agricultural products, particularly with the objective to establish ties between this profession and the credit institutions; to stimulate polarization of production through the trading of agricultural products; and to prepare for the swings in international migration of the traders.
- Training of artisans and experts in agricultural and veterinary sciences, food preservation, packing, storage, distribution of inputs and of agricultural products, and other subjects.
- Creation of a system for commercial information on agricultural products.
- Dissemination in the rural and urban areas of the investment possibilities in rural areas; studies and proposals on tax exemptions and methods of subsidization and protection for agricultural production and marketing.

Community and Regional Relations

- Studies and negotiation for projects for repopulation of vacant lands in the Caribbean (Belize, Suriname, Guyana, Cayenne); studies on relations between the emigrants, their country of origin, and the host countries.
- Agreements on hiring farm labourers in the Dominican Republic. Negotiation of similar agreements with the Governments of Suriname, Cayenne, Canada, and the United States.
- Promotion of tourism in rural areas, to encourage members of the "Diaspora" to visit their towns of origin or birthplaces on a regular basis.

- Preparation of a plan for developing services for the "Diaspora", particularly for farm labourers and merchants, which will ensure and protect their ties with Haiti.
- Studies and dissemination of analyses on social relations, specific to the production and marketing of agricultural goods, aimed at highlighting aspects particular to the Haitian agricultural environment.
- Studies on the types of management of human resources specific to the rural family; development of project methodology, favouring youth who wish to establish themselves.
- Sociological and demographic studies on international migration.
- Economic models on supplementary income from the "Diaspora" and its impact on the national economy in general and on the rural economy in particular. Women's role in obtaining and using these earnings, and analysis of the ways and methods used to convert them into capital.
- Analysis of the possibilities for developing tourism of expatriates and encouraging sending funds home, providing services to the "Diaspora".
- Periodical inspection and analysis of living and working conditions in countries of immigration. Dissemination of information on the living and working conditions, as well as on the rights and obligations of emigrants, methods of hiring, methods of repatriation of funds, customs in the host country, etc.
- Formal teaching and continuing education programs on the characteristics of local institutions for mutual assistance and rural development.
- Formal teaching and continuing education programs on migratory patterns, relations with the "Diaspora", life in Haitian colonies in other countries, remittance of funds home, etc.
- Periodical campaigns for mobilization and recognition of the role of agricultural merchants.

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