

**Bernardo Berdichewsky:**

# **The Araucanian Indian in Chile**

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For the Secretariat of IWGIA

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## INTRODUCTION

The ARAUCANIANS are one of the larger of the native peoples of South America, and they include different ethnic sub-groups, some of which are now extinct. A relatively large population, once geographically spread extensively over the southern cone of South America, at present they are reduced to only two closely related ethnic groups: 1) the Mapuche of southern Chile (the largest one), and 2) the neighboring Argentinian Araucanians of the southwestern Neuquen province, (see Map on fig.1).

Is there an Indian problem in Chile and in Argentina? The answer is positive. Hundreds of thousands of Indians live in Chile, mostly concentrated in the rural areas forming important ethnic minorities which are racially discriminated against and socially exploited. At the same time that they share the problems of misery, pauperization, unemployment and economic exploitation of the working masses of the Chilean people (especially of the peasantry to which class most of them belong), they are the object of racial discrimination. Consequently they are subject to a double exploitation. Although principally their problem is a socio-economic one, it is aggravated by the racial discrimination against them; consequently, they also have problems of lack of ethnic freedom and absence of equal opportunities for cultural expression.

Although the Aymará Indian of northern Chile, and native populations elsewhere in the country, are exploited and discriminated against, the Mapuche Indians of southern central Chile are probably those who have suffered most. They are con-

centrated mostly in seven agrarian provinces from the Bio-Bio River Valley to the south. Of all the native groups in Chile -- which include Aymará, Quechua, and Atacama Indians in the north, Fuegian Indians in the extreme south, and Polynesians in Easter Island -- the Mapuche constitute the most numerous and important group. They constitute a strong demographic minority of the Chilean people, and also a large strata of the peasants, and in some of their southern provinces they are the overwhelming majority of the rural population, (Saavedra, 1970).

In Argentina there are fewer Indians, probably no more than 150,000 in total, concentrated in the Chaco area in the north-eastern part of the country;<sup>1)</sup> in the Andean area of the north-western part; in the southwestern Neuquen province; and in the Patagonian area, (Casamiquela, 1969). The Araucanians are in the Neuquen province, and the remaining isolated Tehuelche in the Patagonian area.

The Araucanian problem is similar to that of the peasant Indians in most of the Latin American countries, which is at the same time, a common problem of the overwhelming majority of all of the Latin American peasants, including Indians, blacks, and mestizos. The main problem of the peasant in Latin America is basically, and has been since the moment the "Hacienda" (plantation or cattle ranch) system was established -- one of superexploitation as the fundamental labor force in the agricultural areas. This has made possible not only agrarian production but also rent of the land for the landlord class. But in the case of the Indian peasant, it was always accompanied by a strong racial discrimination, the role of which was that of a disguise for the economic and social exploitation. This will be dealt with in this article, with special emphasis on the large Chilean Mapuche group rather than on the smaller Argentinian Araucanian group.

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1) See also N. Rodriguez, IWGIA DOCUMENT No. 21.

## ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF ARAUCANIAN SOCIETY

In relation to the ethnogenesis of the Araucanians we must go back in time to the beginning of the second Millenium A.D. - the period when the tribal agricultural community was developed in the central-south region of Chile (Berdichewsky, 1971a). During the 15th century when the Inca conquest of central Chile took place, and especially during the 16th century with the Spanish conquest, the three main ethnic groups of that area, which became very much related, finished structuring themselves into one people. Those groups were from north to south: Picunche, Mapuche, and Huilliche. They developed and identified so close to each other that, although preserving some of their differences, they unified into a single people known since then as the Araucanians, (Latcham, 1968; Menghin, 1962).

The name "Araucanian" was given more to the entire people than to each ethnic group, which had their own name, e.g. Mapuche. This name was used also to designate their language, which is recognized as a sub-family pertaining to the Andean-Equatorial language family; though the more appropriate name for the Araucanian language, especially the one the Mapuche speak is Mapudungun. The name given to this people is neither their own nor an Indian name, but one imposed on them by the Spanish conquerors. The first author to use the Spanish name "ARAUCANO" (Araucanian) was the famous Spanish warrior-poet Ercilla (1569), in the second half of the 16th century. There is not a consensus among scholars as to the origin of this name (Medina, 1882). The most favored assertion is a geographical one, i.e., the hispanization of the Indian name Rauco, a region in what is now, more or less, the Arauco province of Chile. The etymology of this name is "muddy water" (from raq or rau = clay, and ko or co = water). Another possible origin is that the Spaniards adopted and adapted the Quechua names Aucas or Poromaucas (from Purum = wild enemy and auka = rebel) given by the Incas to the population south of the Maipo River in central Chile, whom they failed to conquer. The habitat of the Araucanians during the

Inca and later the Spanish conquest was the region of central-south Chile, from south of the Choapa River (approximately Lat. 32° south) to the northern Chiloe Island (approximately Lat. 42° south). They were divided as we said before into three geographically contiguous ethnic groups: the Picunche (Pikun = north and Che = people), the Mapuche (Mapu = earth and Che = people), and the Huilliche (Huilli = south and Che = people). That means that these three names were given by the Mapuche, who were geographically located in the middle and considered themselves the "people of the earth" (Latcham, 1909).

The northernmost group, the Picunche, was the only one conquered, first by the Incas, and then by the Spaniards. After a few uprisings during the 16th century, they became totally dominated and subjugated in the 17th century. They mixed with the Spanish rural population the result being the mestizo peasant who grew up in the colonial time of the "Kingdom of Chile". By the end of that period, in the early 19th century the Picunche ethnic group disappeared completely, diluted in the emergent half-breed mestizo Chilean people, which constituted the labor basis of the Hacienda agrarian system. This system had more Spanish than Indian elements, and the mestizo became monolingual in the Spanish language.

The Mapuche and Huilliche, on the contrary, managed to keep their independence in the southern region thanks to long guerrilla warfare that they sustained for almost 400 years, first against the Incas, then against the Spaniards, and finally against the Chilean's themselves. These were known as the famous "Arauco Wars", (Jarä, 1971). During the prolonged vicissitudes of this almost permanent state of war (if not always a "hot war", at least a "cold war") these two Araucanian ethnic groups re-integrated under the hegemony of the Mapuche, and they expanded the Araucanian culture and influence to the east through the mountains, and even further to the Argentinian "pampas". As a product of this geographical expansion, other ethnic groups were incorporated and acculturated to the Araucanian people, especially the mountain Pehuenche, and part of the pampean Puelche (Zapater, 1970; Rodriguez, 1975), (See Fig. 1).



By the end of the 19th century, in the 70's and 80's, when the Araucanian people were finally militarily defeated almost simultaneously by the Argentinian and Chilean armies on both sides of the southern Andean Cordillera. After they were conquered by the well-equipped armies using repetition rifles they were divided into two groups which were forcedly incorporated into the two larger societies.

So we have at the present time, after about a century, two relatively differentiated modern ethnic groups of the Araucanian people, i.e., the Argentinian Araucanian, and the Chilean Mapuche, (See Map on fig. 1).

The Mapuche community was integrated into the Chilean agrarian system when it was mandatorily concentrated in Indian reservations, (Jara, 1956). This measure permitted and facilitated the expansion of the "Latifundio" from the central to the southern region of the country. The landowners aggressively got the most and the best land. At the beginning of the 20th century the Hacienda System, known in Chile as "fundos", was introduced practically all over the Araucanian area. These "fundos" incorporated in their system, in one way or another, the Indian reservations established four or five decades earlier, (Berdichewsky, 1976a). Before the middle of this century the system was totally established and the Indian reservations, known in Chile as "Reducciones Indigenas", became completely attached to the fundos, first by having their best land exploited and robbed by many of the fundos, through forced expropriation or "legal" tricks, and secondly by employing the cheap Indian labor force in the fundos, which force increased also as a result of a crisis in the reducciones indigenas. This crisis came up as a result of the loss of land, which together with a relative demographic explosion, drastically reduced the man-land relation to a maximum of only a few hectares per active peasant. This produced a latent unemployment in the reservations unchaining a migratory process from these. Most of those migrants became part of the labor force in the fundos, as "inquilinos" (tenant-servant) or "medieros" (share-cropper) or simple "peones"

(semi-salaried workers). Some of this Indian labor force was proletarianized outside the hacienda system in public construction or in private capitalist enterprises developing in the rural areas. In this way the Indian reservations became a reservoir of land and labor for the fundos and for other more advanced components of the capitalist system in the agrarian and rural areas. From relatively large communal production units the reservations became practically -- although they still kept a communal land tenure system -- small peasant family production units. The conflict and contradiction between the Indian reservation and the big hacienda estate, resulted in the former becoming a complement to the latter, that is to say to form that contradictory union of Latifundium-Minifundium. Legally the reservation still has a status of communal land tenure, but it really operates as a cluster of "minifundios". There are many reducciones which became even legally divided into small plots, thus making the de facto minifundium a legal reality, (Stuchlik, 1971).

In summarizing this paragraph we could say that, after the conquest and military control of the Mapuche, and the establishment of the reservation system, the expanding Chilean hacienda managed to convert the reservations into de facto or even legal minifundios, and with this into a potential reserve of cheap labor as an addition to the non-Indian Chilean peasant labor force. In this way it was really the hacienda system which incorporated the reservations into their own system, and integrated them so that the Mapuche Indians were living in all strata of the Chilean peasantry (Saavedra, 1970). The Argentinian Araucanian, although not formally established in Indian Reservation, under the expansion of the cattle ranch system were expelled from the "Pampas", and concentrated on the Neuquen Province, (Canals Frau, 1946).

## TRADITIONAL ARAUCANIAN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

It is difficult to define traditional Araucanian culture because so many changes have taken place in the last half millennium. So far, we can classify the Araucanian prehistoric and pre-Inca culture as that of a simple slash-and-burn agricultural tribal society, based on large and mostly patrilineal, but also matrilineal-extended families with very little political cohesion in the tribe, and with lineage or tribal ownership of land and possibly of llama herds as well. So the traditional culture of the Araucanians we know dates mostly from the historical period of Spanish colonial and Chilean independent times, referring especially to the Mapuche-Huilliche culture, (Latcham, 1922). There would be some small differences if we dealt with the Picunche or the araucanized Pehuenche and Puelche, (Cooper, 1946).

The aboriginal Mapuche-Huilliche subsistence base was principally cultivated plants. They also relied on collecting wild seeds, on hunting and fishing, depending upon where they were located, emphasizing one or another of these complementary activities. Their diet was, nevertheless, predominantly vegetarian. They also domesticated a few animals, mainly llama, and possibly guinea pigs and a sort of aboriginal chicken or duck, but the llama was the only animal with an economic importance. Its primary function lay in its wool being woven into textiles, but occasionally its meat was consumed. Their stable crops were maize and potatoes. Other important crops were beans, squash, chile peppers, quinoa, etc., cultivated in relatively permanent fields which from time to time were left fallow. In historical times other plants brought from Europe were added, especially wheat, which became, with time, the main stable crop. They introduced many important European domesticated animals, especially cattle and horses, but also sheep, goats, mules, and pigs. Together with these, the plow was brought into use. Food was stored indoors in bins or in woven, basketlike granaries, and outdoors on elevated platforms. They used smoked and sun-dried

meat. They boiled or roasted maize or made maize flour for bread or beverages or combined it with meat and vegetables in soups and stews. They also ate many types of beans and potatoes. Food was usually prepared by women. Horse meat was often consumed, (Cooper, 1946).

Aboriginal travel was usually by overland trails, goods being transported by human carriers or llamas, in fiber bags. Later the travel and transport was done on horseback. When horse transportation was not feasible, transportation by water-way was carried out on balsas, plank boats or dugout canoes. The aboriginal Mapuche-Huilliche manufactured pottery, stonework, baskets, cordages and nets, and also did woodwork and wove fine textiles from llama wool, and later from sheep wool. Hammered gold and copper metallurgy was known from prehistoric times and in colonial times silversmithing was added. Most of the manufacturing was done in the households, mostly by women. Later some specialists appeared, such as the silversmith. Trade was developed usually through gift reciprocity and barter, and became an important activity only in historical times, with the development of cattle- and horse-raising, hunting or looting. The cattle and horses were traded in large quantities with the Spaniards, and later with the Chileans. The aboriginal property system was communal in the tribe or lineage, especially in relation to land and animals. With the growing importance of cattle and horse-trading in historical times, a sort of private property held by the household head or, more often, by the Chiefs or Lonkos was developed. This property was based on the animals. Land remained massively communal. Those Chiefs who managed to accumulate wealth in animals became known as Ullmens. Otherwise there were not many differences between Mapuche households, occupying simple pole-and-thatch dwellings, usually isolated from each other, and never forming villages. There were only a few houses for the large family household which was organized in an exogamic patrilineage with patrilocal residence. Inheritance was also patrilineal. The residential group cooperated in clearing land, planting and harvesting, most of

these agricultural activities being done by women. There were other cooperative activities of the lineage or the tribe, the best known of which was the Mingako system of collective labor for building a house, cultivating land, etc.. Usually the Lonko invited the other parties for the Mingako and initiated the work.

To defend the family or lineage and tribal group against attacks, they became involved in blood feuds, (Nuñez de Pineda, 1673). Their political system was characterized by a lack of cohesiveness, each household led by the extended family or lineage head and depending very little on the tribal Lonko. Only in late historical times did the authority of Lonkos and Ullmens increase a little. Sometimes, especially in case of war, a kind of tribal confederation arose under the leadership of some of the more important Chiefs. Generally there was a kind of council advising the Lonkos, keeping a sort of military democracy. At their peak of political cohesion, probably by the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the Mapuche developed a form of a diffuse Chiefdom. By that time a weak and incipient social stratification based on kinship status and wealth was developed. Polygamy was once widespread, especially among the Lonkos and Ullmens. The principal wife had more authority than the others and ran the household, (Titiev, 1951). Sororate, sororal polygamy, levirate, and marriage of brothers from one household to sisters of another were practiced to different degrees. The bride price was important, and was usually accompanied by a more dramatized than real bride capture. Conflicts between the Mapuche-Huilliche tribes, lineages or households, were settled through blood feud. There was no real warfare between the aboriginal Mapuche-Huilliche for conquest of land. Only with the long Araucanian War did they become engaged in organized warfare, as skillful cavalymen with great mobility and striking power. Mapuche-Huilliche took captives in war, whom they usually killed, displaying their heads as war trophies, (Nunez de Pineda, 1673). Sometimes they adopted them or used them as a kind of forced labor, (Jara, 1971).

The patrilineal and generational systems of the Mapuche have close parallels in the hierarchial framework of their gods, who are usually described as old people and as invisible and have rather specific and limited powers (Faron, 1968: 63). Their religion is polytheistic, with many gods categorized as major, minor, and lesser deities having ethnic, regional, and lineage importance. In the Araucanian aboriginal culture the Shaman or Machi was generally a man, whose role was passed from father to son. Only in modern times did Machi become more and more represented by women.

In the aboriginal conception of afterworld the dead are believed to enter into a spirit world in which existence parallels that on earth. Death was accompanied by a complex mourning and burial ritual, such as tearing of the hair, driving away evil spirits, shamanistic autopsy and partial preservation of the corpse. All this was done in ceremonial wailing. The consumption and libation of a fermented beverage called Mudai was also part of the ritual where the relatives and friends of the dead gathered together. The burials were on "cists" and graves, and later a canoe was sometimes used (Berdichewsky, 1975).

#### SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES IN THE RESERVATION SYSTEM

With the establishment of the Reservation System, the economic, social and cultural structure of the Mapuche-Huilliche society changed even faster. With the concentration on Indian reservations at the end of the last century, land tenure continued to be communal, now as a property of the Reservation with a property title, called Titulo de Merced (a favor title) which was granted in the name of the chief of the reservation, (Cantoni, 1969). With this act, the political power of the chiefs, which had greatly weakened, partially regained its strength, (Berdichewsky, 1976). Nevertheless, their power was rather fictitious, since they did not have any juridical-administrative powers from the State. For this reason, internal authority in the reservations on the part of these chiefs was

very weak, and often supplanted in the community leadership by other persons, such as the Machi or the Mapuche Schoolmaster or a Mapuche religious priest imposed on them by the larger society, or simply by some more "rich" Mapuche or some "natural" leader of the community. The indigenous reservation continues in every way as a socio-political unity which clings to the communal legality that gives it a collective land-holding, (Lipschutz, 1968: 111). In such a way it defends the land which was not taken over by the expansionist Hacienda System of the land-owning class, and it preserves the existence of its indigenous community, (Berdichewsky et al., 1970).

The subsistence economy continued to play a predominant role in indigenous reservations. The production of the indigenous peasant was not very different from their non-indigenous counterpart, (Titiev, 1951). The difference lay principally in the field of distribution and consumption. The Mapuche sowed wheat and they had small farms and some cattle; but only a small part of their products went to the market, while the rest was for internal consumption. They also developed various crafts, products of which were for their own consumption and for bartering with their neighbours as well, a small part being kept for the tourist market. Nevertheless, their subsistence economy did not remain outside or at the periphery of the national economy; on the contrary, it was incorporated into the latter while maintaining its semi-subsistence form, though a greater profit was permitted the intermediaries and, as a result, there was a more intensive exploitation of the natives. This exploitation was two-fold: directly it maintained a cheap manual labor force in reserve for the large estates, and, indirectly, it happened through the commercialization of native products which were sold at the cheapest price on the market. In this way, the commercialization of native products, especially wheat and cattle, did not generally produce any benefit, as one would expect, but rather it decapitalized the native making him sell far below the actual cost, thus increasing his poverty and dependence. In the first half century of the Reservation System, though the techno-

logy of the surrounding Hacienda System was low, except in a few cases of modernization, the technology of the indigenous community was worse still. Thus the productivity of work was also low, but still permitted the supplying and feeding of the communities. The man-land ratio was about 6 hectares.

Although the level of scholarship was minimal and illiteracy was common, primary school instruction was introduced into the reservation at this time. This schooling, rather than being state-supported, was fundamentally private, run by the Catholic Church or the Protestant Missions. The values of the Mapuche culture, although obviously modified, were preserved to a great extent in that period, (Faron, 1961). This was true as much for their spiritual values and world beliefs, as for their material culture, their ideas of work and cooperation, numerous traditional customs, habits, attitudes, family and kinship relations, and the preservation of their own Mapudungun language. This gave to their culture, however modified, the function of maintaining the group, converting it into a true resistance culture, against the culture of the larger dominating society, thus strengthening their ethnic identity as a defense against racial discrimination. Obviously the Mapuche's social mobility in that early period of the Reservation System was minimal and the social conflict generally acquired the character of racial conflict and appeared as a struggle of the Mapuche with the Huinca mestizo, and not only against the exploitative class. In the second and modern period of the Reservation System all the symptoms of the breakdown of this system appeared, sharpening its internal and external contradictions, (Berdichewsky, 1976a).

#### THE DEMOGRAPHIC ASPECT

The majority of modern statistics on the current Araucanian population in Chile is based on the 1960 census or on even earlier data, (Cida, 1966).

The 1970 census of the country, which recently prepared its figures and data, has not yet allowed the carrying out of a more



exact estimate of the country's total Mapuche population and its geographic distribution. Here we can only give approximate data when we refer to current Araucanian demography in Chile.

Of a total population of more than nine million inhabitants in the Republic of Chile, the Mapuche (now with the Huilliche totally diluted and assimilated to them) amount to more than half a million people and are distributed principally in the large territory from the Laja River to the Gulf of Reloncavi (from about Lat.  $37^{\circ}$  to Lat.  $41^{\circ}$  south), which includes seven southern provinces of Chile: Arauco, Bio-Bio, Malleco, Cautin, Valdivia, Osorno, and Llanquihue. The majority of the Mapuche are concentrated in the provinces of Cautin and Malleco, and in the northern part of the Valdivia province. Of the more than 3,000 indigenous reservations which exist in those seven provinces, two thirds are found in the province of Cautin. In this and the neighboring Malleco province, the Mapuche constitute three fourths of the rural population. The Mapuche urban population is less than 50,000, i.e. not even a tenth of their own total population, and they are almost all concentrated in the larger cities, such as Santiago, Concepción, and Temuco, (Munizaga, 1961). By the beginning of the Agrarian Reform in the early 60's the land operated by Mapuches was 566,000 hectares, of which more than half (343,000 hectares) were in the province Cautin. They lived concentrated basically in their 3,040 reservations, (Bunster, 1964), most of them formally undivided, and about a fifth parcelled; but they also lived as independent small landowners, or as tenants on the large haciendas and small farms, or as day laborers, and rural and urban proletarians, and also incorporated in agrarian reform areas as workers on the Asentamientos of the Agrarian Reform. At the beginning of the Reservation System, at the end of the last century the Mapuche-Huilliche numbered about 120,000, while at the time of the Spanish Conquest of Chile, in the middle of the 16th century, the Araucanian people (including their three ethnic groups: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche) were close to numbering one million, (Cooper, 1946).

For the Argentinian Araucanians after 1880, when they were concentrated in the Neuquen Province, we have no estimated figures. According to the Argentinian census of 1947, the total population of the Neuquen was about 85,000, and of these no more than 3,500 were considered Araucanian, (Hilger, 1957: 264). Today probably no more than 10,000 Araucanians live in Neuquen and elsewhere in Argentina, and they are more acculturated to the Argentinians than their Mapuche brothers to the Chileans, although like them they are still strongly maintaining their cultural and ethnic identity, (Canals Frau, 1946; Casamiquela, 1964).

#### THE IMPACT OF AGRARIAN REFORMS

During the four decades of the second period of the Reservation System, which covers approximately the period from the middle of the 1920's to the middle of the 1960's, this system started to break down, as we have said, due to the internal socio-economic contradiction of Chilean agriculture and the pressure applied by the landowner. The breakdown of the system obviously was brought about when the economic infra-structure of the indigenous communities changed from communal property to small land property. The very subsistence economy was also radically changed, and without being totally destroyed, became increasingly tied to the market economy, (Stuchlik, 1971). This hybrid form turned into a specific tool of exploitation or supra-exploitation of the natives by the dominant classes of the region, landholders and rural-urban bourgeoisie, with the consequent sequel of poverty in the communities, and migration and proletarianization of the new Mapuche generations. These infra-structural changes also produce, as we have indicated, breaks in the ideological and social superstructure of the Mapuche society, undermining the social structure based on the kinship structures, as well as weakening the kinship leadership, which push their entire culture and identity values into a profound crisis, (Cantoni, 1972).

But this period is also characterized, in general, by an increase in class struggle in the country and, as a result of this, a greater organization and awakening of the peasants' social consciousness which was reflected simultaneously in the wording of the first law of peasant unionization in 1924 and in the growth of peasant organization through unions, associations, and confederations, (Affonso, 1971). On the other hand, the leading classes tried to hold back and obstruct this organization, persecuting its leaders, while at the same time making some kind of adjustment and reforms in agriculture. As a consequence of this and of the agricultural economic crises, the first attempts at agrarian reforms arose.

The first plan for Agrarian Reform which was realized in this period was of the so-called "expansionist" or "development" type, similar to what was carried out in the majority of Latin American countries at this same time (Cida, 1966) (with the exception of Mexico and Bolivia and later of Guatemala, Cuba, and Peru). They were attempts, incomplete and insufficient to carry out this plan, that helped the bourgeoisie more than the peasant, and which only succeeded minimally in benefitting them in any way.

Naturally the indigenous communities, in practice, did not receive any benefit from these attempts. This reform had two phases, the first begun in 1928 with the Ley de Colonizacion, whose instrument was the Caja de Colonizacion Agricola, and which lasted until 1962, creating only 120 colonies, with a total of 4,779 parcels of land, mostly small and making up only 2.5% of the existing landed property in the country. It did not expropriate the colonies from large landowners, but only bought and sold volunteered lots of the acquired farms with the consequent assignment to a new agrarian bourgeoisie which mostly came from the cities. The second phase began at the end of 1962, under pressure from the Alliance for Progress, with the promulgation of Law No. 15,020 of Agrarian Reform and which lasted until 1967 when Law No. 16,640 was dictated by the Christian Democratic Government which was in power. At the end of 1964,

when this political movement was taken over by the Government, the Agrarian Reform of the developmental type, after thirty-six years of existence had scarcely succeeded in benefitting some 5,000 small and medium size property holders.

At that time, agriculture had been recessing since the 20's when Chile's market of nitrate broke down and the world began to experience the Great Depression. The population rate had grown beyond the production of food since 1945. The importation of agricultural products had doubled, in spite of the abundance of land and the favorable climate. In 1964, only a quarter of the work force in Chile was employed in agriculture, which represents one of the lowest proportions in all of Latin America, (Barraclough, 1971: 4).

This Agrarian Reform affected only weakly and indirectly the indigenous communities and almost only in its second and last phase. This was by the indirect action of some new methods of commercialization, credit, and assignments of lands, such as SAG, INDAP, and CORA, created by Law 15,020 in 1962. Only by chance were some indigenous communities able to have any direct benefit from those institutions. This situation was provoked as a consequence of the earthquakes in the early 60's in the south of Chile, at the beginning of the presidential period (1958-1964) of President Jorge Alessandri. Some coastal Mapuche communities in the area of Puerto Saavedra were totally destroyed by the catastrophe and had to be moved from that place. Thus some of the first Asentamientos created by the Corporación de Reforma Agraria in the interior of Cautin province, especially in the commune of Cunco, had to be made up of a mixture of peasant groups in that region, and groups of those indigenous communities moved from the coastal region affected by the earthquake. But, with the exception of this special and rather forceful case, in neither of the two phases of the developmental Agrarian Reform were assignments of land made to indigenous owners nor was usurped land returned to the communities. On the contrary, many of the new colonists or even new settlers (in the second phase) not only produced conflict, legal or otherwise,

with some indigenous communities over questions of land, but they were also guilty of usurping or fraudulent buying of indigenous lands, (Berdichewsky, 1971b).

The sharpening of the contradictions in the agricultural system, during the four decades of the period in question, was mirrored in the economic and production crises, in the demographic changes and migrations, in the displacement of classes and the social mobility, in the involvement of the bourgeoisie in the agriculture and landholding sector and in the contradictions between those two classes. Likewise, these contradictions provoked social conflicts between the exploiting classes and the peasants and the consequent sharpening of class struggle which resulted in different adjustments and agrarian reform on the one hand and in the increase of the organization and social consciousness of the peasants, on the other.

This situation also produced, besides the changes already indicated in the system of Mapuche reservations, a major incorporation of these into the larger society, not only through a market mechanism, but also by their increased integration and partial identification with the other peasant strata. Therefore, we may consider that in this period the organizing of the natives as peasants increased, developing their social consciousness up to a point. This was projected in two directions, not necessarily contradictory, viz. an ethnic consciousness and a class consciousness. Thus, there was in 1953 the Primer Congreso Nacional Mapuche Indígena de Chile, and in 1961 the Federación Nacional Campesina e Indígena was founded in which the National Indigenous Association of Chile was integrated with other peasant organizations.

At the end of 1964, in the beginning term of the Christian Democracy Government of President Eduardo Frei (1964-70), and especially during the next two and a half years, the Law of Agrarian Reform begins a new phase. That is the process of Agrarian Reform which we could call the "reformist" phase. This brought about a new and last period in the history of the System of Reservations which is aptly characterized by the importance

of the impact of the Agrarian Reform. This reform somehow gives a deathblow to that system and eventually inaugurates a new epoch in the history of the Mapuche society. This is the current period which encompasses almost a decade from the middle of the 60's.

At the beginning of the Frei Government the peasant situation was disastrous. The per capita agricultural income represented less than half of the national average. Seventy per cent of the peasants had average incomes of less than 100 \$ a year. Unemployment prevailed in the Chilean countryside and it is estimated that one third of the peasant work force did not have productive employment. This million and a quarter of the poorest peasant population consumed very few industrial products. Their diets were deficient, their homes miserable and infant mortality high (Barracough, 1971: 4). Illiteracy was also very high and comprised, in fact, almost half the adult agricultural workers and small landowners of central Chile.

More than three-fourths of the cultivatable land remained in the form of large haciendas or estates (latifundios) which employed more than twelve workers, tenant farmers, or cattle herders. Many of the permanent workers received most of their salaries in kind and, principally, in the right to use a small amount of land. These tenant farmers could be dismissed at will, and depended on the landowners or patrons, for credit, for the commercialization of their products and for the possibilities of work. The unions were almost completely prohibited and peasant political participation was minimal. The use of land in the large estates tended to be extensive and not intensive. In spite of their great extension, the latifundios employed only 40 per cent of the peasant work force and contributed only 60 per cent of agrarian production. The small landowners or "minifundistas", who made up one fourth of the agrarian population, were concentrated on two per cent of the arable land and thereby increased the proletariat of peasant day laborers without a right to land.

At the end of this period, late in 1970, the Frei Government

expropriated 1,364 landed properties with 3,433,744 hectares, approximately 282,374 hectares of them with irrigation or around 18 per cent of the total agricultural land and approximately 12 per cent of that with irrigation which only benefitted some 25,000 peasants (Idem, p. 6).

The new Law of Agrarian Reform was now also accompanied by a new law of peasant unionization, in order to obtain a minimum peasant salary, and the eight-hour work day, and an attempt toward industrializing and modernizing the country. Its bourgeois reformist character, which was well established in the process of agrarian reform, succeeded much better and more effectively than the earlier developmental type in introducing modern capitalism into Chilean Agriculture. Its goal, which it did not succeed to reach, was to create a great quantity of small and middle-sized properties, structured in diverse cooperatives with credit and efficient technical assistance (Rivera, 1972: 6).

In any case it succeeded in dealing a complete blow to the landholding class in expropriating more than one-third of the latifundios with more than 80 irrigatable hectares or their equivalent.

Of the more than 5,000 larger landowners of 80 hectares, or more existing in 1965, the Frei Government successfully expropriated a little less than one third of them by 1970, and the more than two-thirds remaining were totally expropriated before the end of the three years of the Popular Government of President Allende, (1970-1973).

This new Government, although it continued the Agrarian Reform with the law of the earlier government, brought it to a further consequence, thoroughly accelerating it and definitively ending with the Gran Latifundio. This rapid and massive change in landholding was made almost without violence and without decreasing the planted area or the agricultural production, a unique case in agrarian reforms of this nature (Barraclough and Affonso, 1973: 77). Consequently, in order to continue this profound process of agrarian reform, the Popular Government

in its third year found itself with the necessity of passing its own law of Agrarian Reform, which deepened this process even more, now expropriating the small and middle-sized properties of 40 to 80 irrigable hectares, or their equivalent, an area of properties of the agrarian bourgeoisie which actually occupied more than 27 per cent of the total productive surface (Idem, 78). This was interrupted by the military coup of September, 1973.

The character of the agrarian reform under President Allende had a change in quality compared to that of President Frei, from the bourgeois reformist kind which claimed to maintain and reproduce the capitalist structure of the country, to a revolutionary kind which claimed to change the economic and social structure of the agriculture and of the country in the direction of a socialist society. Hence it will become associated with other structural changes in that direction, such as the nationalization of the basic wealth and the expropriation of foreign and national monopolies, creating with them the area of social ownership of the economy, and likewise the nationalization of banking and of credit and the redistribution of income. To this should be added the mechanism for worker participation in development and control, and the intent of educational reform, all of which would create a social and economic base for initiating the construction of socialism (Allende, 1973).

Peasant participation and social consciousness increased even more with the very growth of peasant unionization and with the creation of peasant communal councils, joined to the great growth of the social area within agriculture, made up of the Asentamientos, Centros de Reforma Agraria and Empresas Estatales which gave a structure to this reformed area of agriculture encompassing already about 40 per cent of productive agricultural lands in the country, and benefitting about 80,000 peasants.

Another fundamental distinction between this and the former Reforma Agraria is that while the former wished to create a great number of small and middle-sized peasant property owners, this one claimed to establish large collectivist or cooperative production units, reducing individual private property of the land



to a minimum. This fundamental difference in the criterion of landholding between the two reforms also made a distinct impact on the indigenous community.

The two governments that began the "Reforma Agraria" of the 60's, the expansionist of President Alessandri in 1962 as well as the reformist of President Frei in 1967 grasped the inconvenience of communal landholding existing in the undivided indigenous reservations as objectives of their agrarian reform. In the Indigenous Law of 1961 passed by President Alessandri, a blow was dealt to this communal holding, opening ground for the atomization and sale of reservation lands (Ley, 1961).

In place of the indigenous law of the Frei Government, which did not manage to pass in Parliament, a mortal blow was claimed against this type of holding, thus openly sanctioning the sale of indigenous lands (Ormeño & Osses, 1972). But if that proposal did not succeed, it has later been partially accomplished through changes (passed by a parliamentary majority in opposition to the Popular Government) and which have totally destroyed the value of projects for the Ley Indigena, presented to Parliament by President Allende (Ley, 1972). Therefore, to a great extent, the indigenous reservations remained marginal to the direct benefits of the Agrarian Reforms of the 60's, although obviously they were affected by the processes of change which gained strength throughout that decade, (Silva, 1968). It is true that a small part of the Mapuche peasants could integrate themselves as minority groups or individually to the Asentamientos de Reforma Agraria which were created at this time for the peasants of the zone. However, it must be noted that none of the settlements were purely Mapuche, nor were the reservations transformed into settlements. Likewise, the attempts at converting the indigenous reservation into agricultural cooperatives of production and consumption were minimal. Only very few of the mixed settlements had a Mapuche majority and in them almost always an ethnic conflict occurred between the two groups, Mapuche and non-Mapuche (Berdichewsky, 1971b).

Outside of this direct action affecting a very limited per-

centage of natives, the impact of the agrarian reform of that decade on the Mapuche was rather indirect. Apart from the general opening effect produced in the rural surroundings by the process of agrarian reform, which was especially felt in the second half of the decade (with the decreased power of landholders, the greater democratization, the increase of schooling, social mobility, and many other elements of transculturation felt by the Mapuche communities), the most profound effects were caused by two particularly significant phenomena.

In the first place, in the economic aspect, as soon as the process of agrarian reform increasingly introduced into Chilean agriculture a modernizing capitalist structure, it tended to generalize the market economy, especially through state credit arrangements and the commercialization of agriculture, which were linked with their parallel and proliferous private counterparts, and likewise, through a relative increase of the acquisitive power of the peasant and by the invasion of industrial products into the rural area. All this dealt a new blow to the semi-subsistence economy of the Mapuche communities, making them more dependent on the market economy. The other decisive impact was of a social order. The reform of the Frei period which was accompanied not only by industrialization and a widening of the national market toward the rural areas, but also by an increase of peasant organization through the new law of unionization, the constitution of peasant and indigenous committees, etc., allowed a greater social consciousness in the peasant, and also in the Indian peasant; it also increased a parallel process of proletarianization of the peasant, again including the Indian, and consequently of their political consciousness as well. Therefore the structure of the Sistema de Reducciones was weakened by contradiction, and the class struggle in agriculture worsened and led to social conflicts.

All these processes and contradictions provoked new frustration to the Indian communities, whose problems were not solved by the agrarian reforms. This produced a social movement that grew during the entire decade and which has continued to a cer-

tain extent during the Allende period, and has led to a peasant invasion of land. The Mapuche have played an important role in this movement. Actually we can consider it as one of the impacts of agrarian reform on the Mapuche, which, in the context of existing social and class conflicts, provoked the Mapuche communities to react and raise, and to start an active struggle to recover their usurped lands. On more than one occasion we have heard the Mapuche peasants say that the Agrarian Reform was made for the Chileans, and that their usurped lands should be returned to them by the landholders (Berdichewsky, 1971b). This attitude did not particularly hinder their social consciousness yet it gave rise to their ethnic consciousness as soon as they considered themselves discriminated against through seeing that the intended agrarian reform did not return their lands. This process of growth of an ethnic consciousness can also be detected in the proliferation of a great diversity of Mapuche organizations of local, regional and even national character (Berdichewsky, 1976b).

The Agrarian Reform of the Popular Government has had a direct impact on the indigenous Mapuche communities in the sense that within its policy of expropriation of landed estates there has been clearly explicated the restitution of usurped lands to the indigenous reservations. The Corporacion de Reforma Agraria (CORA), depending on the Minister of Agriculture with the collaboration of the Directory of Indigenous Affairs (DASIN), has echoed the petitions for land restitutions presented by numerous indigenous communities. Many of these lands had been previously taken by indigenous peasants, even before CORA took on the burden, after the respective expropriations or even before. But in almost all the cases CORA has dealt with, it has given back the lands to the communities and even, in numerous situations, has attempted to adjudicate to the reservations more land than they reclaimed. The intention of CORA has been not only to repair an injustice, in recognizing the existence of these usurpations by the landowners, but also attempting to lay down the bases for the building of large production units which would

enrich the reservation lands or would group various reservations or communities into one large unit of cooperative production or would even create settlements in them.

Between 1960 and 1970, in the decade of the two bourgeois agrarian reforms, the "expansionist" of Alessandri and the "reformist" of Frei, hardly 1,443 hectares had been restored to the indigenous communities. On the other hand, in the first two years of the "revolutionary" Agrarian Reform of Allende around 70,000 hectares were restored to the indigenous communities through an extra-judicial development and through the application of the CORA-DASIN agreement (Allende, Presidential Message, 1973: 312).

Diverse causes have obstructed the rapid and total realization of this policy, as was the wish of the authorities of the Agrarian Reform. Often the petitions for restitution of indigenous lands not only affected a large landholding property, larger than 80 irrigable hectares and therefore expropriable by law, but also a middle-sized property, including non-Mapuche small property owners and especially those over whom CORA had no jurisdiction. In some cases it was a matter of CORA buying some of those properties through an agreement with the Direccion de Asuntos Indigenas (DASIN) but this was not always possible. Sometimes the petitioners for indigenous land restitution affected the Asentamientos de Reforma Agraria which had been based on expropriated farms whose lands were reclaimed by the Mapuche.

Another source of conflict and difficulty was the justifiable suspicion of the Indians, so often deceived, toward agreements or units of production, preferring simply that the Instituto Nacional de Desarrollo Agro Pecuuario (INDAP) or the Banco del Estado (BECH) give them the necessary credits for each community or family for carrying out their plans of development, accepting in the majority of cases the necessary technical help.

Another factor which also worked against this policy's being accelerated and realized in a short time was the petty bourgeois mentality, a product of the small landholding reality which was brought out by the contradictions in the Sistema de Reducciones.

This factor produced reticence among many Mapuche to become a part of agreements or units of cooperative production. Perhaps we could add to all those other factors the confusion produced by the competition of political groups for winning over the Mapuche, not only on the part of Popular Government groups, or of the opposition, or the extreme left, but also the competition among the very combination parties of the Popular Government. This competition not only produced confusion among the Mapuche, but it made many of them see themselves simply as electoral clientèle of the parties, and consequently, as a reaction, they tried to find an apparent and immediate advantage of this struggle.

In spite of the fact that the last Agrarian Reform was the only one of the four attempts made in the country to benefit the indigenous peasant in any way and that it has tried, as part of its policy, to find a solution to the situation in which the indigenous peasant found himself and to integrate him into the processes of agricultural change, many factors have made this reform fail to advance fully in the desired direction. If we add to this the general context in which this situation existed, within an economic crisis produced in the country by the great structural changes including the Agrarian Reform itself, the sharpening of the class struggle and of social conflicts, the growth of the "black market" and also "parallel" markets in the rural areas, etc., we can conclude that the difficulties obstructing true incorporation really increased. This situation was brought about by the very instruments of the Agrarian Reform (such as CORA, INDAP, SAG, ECA, BECH, etc.) which expropriated and assigned lands, granted credit, opened paths for commercialization, etc., and which had weakened in their real power to help the indigenous communities, often giving priorities to the existing Asentamientos, CERAS, and State Enterprises. Other secondary results of this chronic contradiction were: symptoms of breakdown in many units of production in the reformed area by the appearance of problems such as parallel markets, union or functionary bureaucratization, problems of

bureaucracy of the very State institutions mentioned, etc. Those problems increased the lack of confidence and skepticism on the part of the Mapuche communities.

The integration of all the agricultural institutions into a single and functional structure of the public agricultural sector had partly allowed a solution to some of those defects. Nevertheless, in spite of all those difficulties, we should recognize that actually there was an appreciable number of Mapuche peasants in the units of production of the reformed area. Likewise, there was also a certain number of peasant cooperatives among indigenous communities. Numerous reservations received additional lands, whether as compensation of old usurpation or simply new assignments. The mechanisms of credit and state commercialization have also been opened for the Mapuche. The means of mass unionization and peasant organization through their incorporation into unions and communal councils had also reached them. Likewise, they also had the proliferation of their own Mapuche organizations, the creation of the Institute of Indigenous Education, (Instituto de Capacitacion Indigena) legalized by the Indigenous Law No. 17729 in September of 1972, the increase in grants of student scholarships to Mapuche children, their free entrance into political and especially popular parties, the relative increase in schooling and literacy programs, and also the slight increase of open health centers, all made up a new world of perspectives for the Mapuche society.

It was difficult to predict the future of that process since the impact of the Agrarian Reforms and the structural changes produced in the country and in agriculture, were just beginning to be felt among the Mapuche when the military coup took place. One fact is certain, it lead to the breakdown of the old System of Indigenous Reservations. If the process of Agrarian Reform continues and deepens, as is hoped, and if it succeeds in expressing itself in a new law of Agrarian Reform and in the improvement of indigenous law, then not only the definitive liquidation of the latifundio, but also the liquidation of its counterpart, the minifundio, can be expected.

If the process of cooperation and collectivity of agriculture which presupposes this new type of Agrarian Reform continues in the country, it is possible that indigenous reservations, as well as systems of landholding, will be converted in fact into their opposites: from mini-properties to large units of cooperative communal production. But this whole process was cut off by the reactionary coup of September 1973.

Not only was the system of Mapuche landholding in crisis, but also all the abrupt changes have ended by breaking down the very social organization of the communities. This is seen in the breakdown of kinship structures and in the way these were increasingly losing their importance in the economic as well as social life of the Mapuches. They no longer controlled the relations of production and of property, not even the inheritance of property or the choice of marriage partner (Faron, 1970). They cannot even act on the leadership or power structures within the community, as they have done before. The chieftainship based on kinship tends to disappear. In the early 70's the community leadership which emerged among the Mapuche was of a socio-political or economic character. No longer were leaders primarily the familial or kinship chiefs. Instead such positions were filled by union directors, political party members, representatives of communal peasant councils and communities, members of the Mapuche Federation, etc. In addition, leaders were drawn from the ranks of people having more land and/or more animals and for whom many of the others worked as sharecroppers.

These developments are related to two changes among the Mapuche during the last decade. We see the beginnings of social stratification. On the one hand, there was a rising group of small or sometimes middle-sized Mapuche landowners. Although this group was small and of little importance, its economic situation was comfortable and its capital significant in comparison with the poverty of the rest of the people. The other change was the increasing proletarianization, especially of the new Mapuche generation of salaried workers in private businesses or public works or, to a certain extent, also as members of the

Asentamientos or Centers of Agrarian Reform. This fact, more than the contradictions and conflicts indicated above, led the Mapuches to a marked social consciousness, not only of an ethnic nature, but also of a class character. These two processes of parallel consciousness sometimes become contradictory, although by nature they do not have to be so; on the contrary, ethnic consciousness and the corresponding ethnic identity can and should go together with class solidarity and the struggle for social and class assertion. This is understood more and more by the broader sectors not only of Mapuche but also of non-Mapuche peasants (Berdichewsky, 1976b).

The Popular Government, the first government that dealt with the restitution of the full rights of the Mapuche, as Chilean citizens, handed over more than 70,000 hectares of land in less than two years. More than this it also gave the Mapuche access to power and decision-making through their full incorporation into all the representative peasant organizations, the creation of their own organs of Mapuche representation, the attempts to improve indigenous legislation and to open ways for transformation and economic improvement, etc. With the advent of this open and positive policy toward the Mapuche people, one can understand the efforts to increase the schooling of Mapuche children and to create new schools for the communities and the Mapuche students. The accessibility to the schools, including the University, was improved, and the literacy of adult Mapuches not only in Spanish, but also in Mapudungun, was begun (Hernandez, 1973), and numerous other initiatives in the field of the arts and culture in general. This opening of the larger society which can be appreciated in the last ten or twelve years and especially in the last three years of the Popular Government has hastened and deepened the process of Mapuche transculturation.

When we speak of transculturation here, we do not think of the traditional anthropological criterion which equates it to an adjustment and conformity injected in order to make the indigenous people easier to exploit (Bunster, 1964). We believe



that this process has assumed in Chile a conflicting character because of its way of abruptly breaking down structures of the larger society as well as of the indigenous community. In fact it would be necessary to end this adjustment in order to end the exploitation of the natives and to promote the structural changes which would lead to a true liberation of the native. This new process was leading toward a radical change in the whole Mapuche culture which indubitably was prepared for the radical changes being produced in their mechanism of production and in their social organization, as noted above. These changes in their ideological superstructures, that is, in their culture, are not produced in a simple or even way, but, on the contrary, are contradictory in form, according to the aspirations and interests of the diverse levels of the Mapuche people, i.e., the majority of small landowners on the reservations, the more wealthy strata (rural as well as urban), and the rural and urban proletariat (including the Mapuche peasants of the reformed area), and also the growing Mapuche student groups.

There are assimilating tendencies which tend to dilute the Mapuche culture in the national culture, tendencies which find outside help in many sectors of the larger society, which simply see this assimilation as a final solution to the Mapuche problem. But generally, at the heart of the Mapuche people the majority of tendencies in this direction, although with different tones, tend to affirm in some way Mapuche culture and its ethnic identity. To our judgement they strengthen, at this stage, the tendencies which propitiate the change of culture and claim integration in the national Chilean society, but without any loss of their identity. Apparently this moves toward a revolution in cultural expressions and especially toward the search for new expressions that may include an outlet for the revitalization and literacy of their own language, which would allow the transformation of the existing oral literature (Berdichewsky, 1968) in a new and vigorous written literature in Mapudungun and also in Spanish. This process for now is only incipient and can be squashed; but, potentially, it is a real possibility.

With respect to traditional expressions of their culture, such as handicrafts, religious beliefs, etc., the majority of them are in a clear crisis. Some of these aspects may resurge but obviously they would be in a modified form; others, undoubtedly are disappearing. New cultural expressions also emerge, as for example the introduction of stage or scenic art, as shown by the proliferation of theatrical ensembles by Mapuche youth during the short period of the Popular Government.

Let us finish this section by saying that the Mapuche people were experiencing a process of deep change accelerated in the direction of their real liberation, whose outcome it is not possible to predict. But one fact is certain: their ethnic identity has been affirmed and their culture is not only alive, but also shows symptoms of renovation and crystallization.

#### THE COUNTER AGRARIAN REFORM AND THE INDIAN COMMUNITIES

With the military coup of September 1973, and the death of President Allende, the process of radical structural changes headed by the Popular Unity movement came to an end. A military Junta was installed, the parliament was dissolved, political parties prohibited, and the democratic liberties suspended indefinitely. The repression of the popular movement and all progressive groups and persons was begun. All the structures and mechanisms of popular power, such as the parties, CUT (the national workers trade unions), Cordones industriales (industrial sector worker councils), JAP (neighbourhood unions for price control and supplies), student organizations, county and peasant councils, etc., were immediately suppressed and destroyed, and the local trade unions, although not dismantled, were deprived of any real power.

This reactionary and repressive aftermath of the coup also affected the peasants, including the Mapuche. Those who were more involved in the process, such as union leaders, activists in political parties, in the county or peasant councils, and in the Mapuche ethnic organizations, and also the many Indians

who participated actively in the land invasions were the most affected. How many of these Mapuche were killed, imprisoned, and tortured it is impossible to tell; but we must figure a few thousand. In addition most of the rest of the Mapuche population was affected by the reaction and by the new pattern that could be called one of counter agrarian reform (Feder, 1970).

The new regime stopped agrarian reform immediately. No new expropriations of fundos or invasions of land were accepted, and although the regime maintained most of the institutions related to the former agrarian reform program, such as CORA, INDAP, SAG, BECH, etc., it was only in order to keep and control the already existing reform areas, but without initiating any new ones. Close to 80,000 peasants had already benefitted from the agrarian reform, most of them still living in the Asentamientos. So, technically speaking, it was impossible to disrupt what was already done. Nevertheless the regime initiated a process of return (to the former landowners) of hundreds of fundos, which were not yet legally expropriated by CORA. It also began to assign small plots of land to a list of about 10,000 peasants already living in Asentamientos in order to start changing the land tenure form of the Asentamientos of the reformed areas into small peasant properties (Collarte, 1974). At the same time it passed a decree establishing free enterprise, not only in the urban areas but in the rural area also, making it clear that anybody could sell or buy land property (Infor. Econ., 1974). If this is not yet a clear counter-reform, it is at least the beginning of a process which will lead toward it. There is no doubt that this process is already affecting not only the peasants as a whole, but especially the Mapuche peasants. Negatively they have begun to lose again important amounts of land through returns to landowners. If these counterreform measures continue, there is no doubt that in a short period of time a neo-latifundio system will develop in the rural areas of the country and also the minifundio will multiply with all the consequences of poverty and misery that this means. If we add to this the new burdens imposed, in particular to the Chilean popular masses, such as

increasing unemployment (about 15%), and an abrupt decline of real income, with the sequel of poverty and famine, we could assume that the peasants and Indians are returning to their situation of about forty years ago, in the early 1930's, one of the worst periods in Chilean agrarian history (Winn, 1974).

There are, nevertheless, other variables that it is necessary to take into account in order to figure how the process may develop. In the first place, in that extraordinary period of a little more than a decade of a constantly increasing process of agrarian reform, the old hacienda system was almost destroyed. It is difficult to imagine that it could be restored to its former state. There is no doubt, however, that the countryside is entering a process of counter agrarian reform which is leading to a neo-latifundio system, with its counterpart of minifundios. But it will be mostly in the form of groups of middle-sized fundios under the control of landowner families or companies, which will operate in a more capitalistic way, with very few tenant-service peasants and many more wage rural laborers, thereby increasing the rural proletariat. This and the class solidarity already gained during the agrarian reform process, will make the peasants much more socially aware and class conscious. So we must assume that in relation to the Mapuche, both their ethnic and their class consciousness will not decline, but probably will be reinforced. It is also necessary to assume that their culture will be developed again toward a culture of resistance, against racial discrimination and social exploitation.

The Araucanian people, and especially the Mapuche, have experienced many defeats, but they were never completely put down or destroyed, and they will re-emerge in the future when the country will change again to a more just and dignified society.

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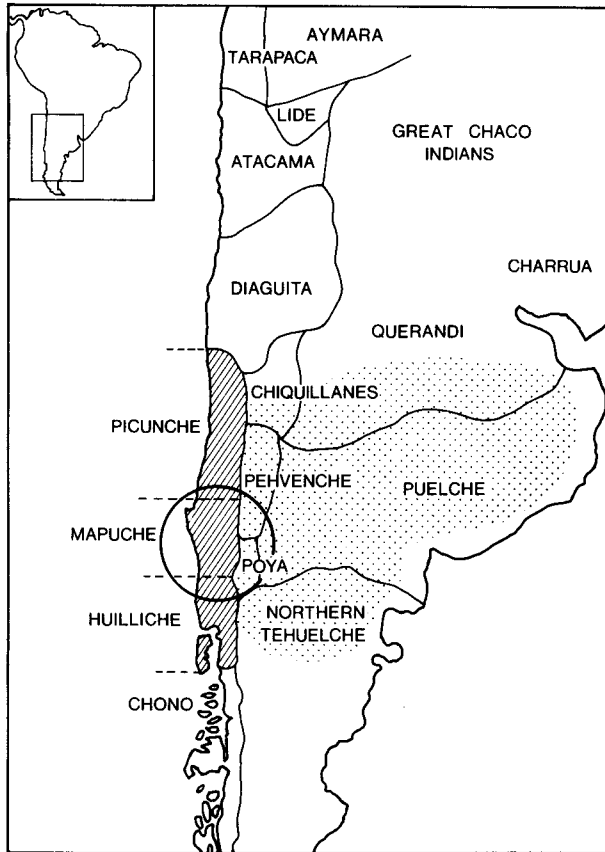
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

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