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CHILE 1979:

# THE MAPUCHE TRAGEDY

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The International Secretariat of IWGIA  
Frederiksholms Kanal 4A  
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THE MAPUCHE TRAGEDY

Copenhagen 1979

EDITORS' NOTE

IWGIA has tried for many years to have some of our Documents published also in a Spanish edition. We have always felt that at least the information about Central and South America should be made more easily available to the people concerned. We also felt that it would be of great help and support for the various indigenous organizations, all over the world, to get acquainted with each other's problems.

Despite many disappointments in these efforts, we are now applying for public funds to start publications in Spanish on a regular basis. Until these plans materialize, we will in each Document give a short informative article or summary in Spanish which refers to the subject treated in the Document.

For this Document on the Mapuche people of Chile, we have chosen to bring an article by Jacques Chonchol, "Quatro siglos de resistencia - Los Mapuches, la tierra robada y la persecución". Mr Chonchol is the former Minister of Agriculture in Allende's Unidad Popular Government. His article appeared for the first time in Le Monde Diplomatique, in June 1978.

This Document also brings:

- a major contribution by Vicente Mariqueno C., in which he outlines the historical, social and cultural background of the Mapuche people, as well as the political developments up to the military putsch in 1973.
- a United Nation report, an excerpt from the original document on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile prepared by the Ad Hoc Working Group for the General Assembly of the United Nations, October 1978.
- a short commentary on the new Law on Indian Affairs, passed in April 1979.

The views expressed in IWGIA Documents are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Organization.

Copenhagen, October 1979

The Documentation Department of IWGIA

Bajo el régimen de Pinochet tierras atribuidas a miles de familias Mapuches en virtud de la reforma agraria, han sido recuperadas por sus antiguos usurpadores y los Mapuches han sido condenados a volver a la miseria: el orden normal, el de la dominación y de la explotación, ha vuelto.

Pero el pueblo Mapuche, según sus dirigentes no ha dejado de esperar y conserva entera su voluntad de lucha. Tiene una experiencia histórica, vieja de cuatro siglos, de lucha por sus derechos y por sus tierras. Y se prepara hoy en la miseria y el sufrimiento para volver a luchar con la convicción de que más pronto o más tarde, llegará el momento de la justicia.

Jacques Chonchol

en LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, Junio 1978

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Vicente Mariqueno O.: Mapuche leader since 1958; founder of the Mapuche Committee of Roble-Huacho in the Mariqueno community at Padre Las Casas. He was the founder and leader of the Federación de Estudiantes Indígenas (Indian Students Union) in Temuco in 1964, and also secretary of the Federación Araucana TOQUI. From 1966 to 1970, he was president of the Cautin branch of the Sugar Beet Workers Association.

In December 1970, he was elected national leader at the 2nd National Mapuche Conference; President Salvador Allende and Minister of Agriculture Jacques Chonchol were present at this event.

From 1969 to 1973, he was employed as agricultural expert in the Corporación de la Reforma Agraria in the Malleco-Cautin area, where he was in charge of the Department of Restoration and Mapuche Conflicts.

From 1973 to 1974, he was imprisoned in Temuco, where he was badly tortured, along with hundreds of other Mapuche leaders.

In 1977 he participated in the 2nd Barbados Symposium and in the 2nd General Assembly of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, held in Kiruna, Sweden.

In 1978 he took an active part in the arrangement of the First Mapuche Gathering for Mapuches in exile in Europe which took place in London.

He was also a member of the Pan-Indian delegation which visited Germany and Holland during the months of May and June, 1978.

en razón de los golpes que la Unidad Popular había dado a su poder tradicional, y acentuado además, por el menosprecio racial que siempre tuvieron por los indígenas, tiene curso libre y es respaldado por los militares y los carabineros. En la reunión de Londres, centenares de testimonios sobre este aspecto fueron entregados por los dirigentes mapuches. Aquí algunos ejemplos:

Desde el final de Septiembre hasta el principio de Octubre 1973, miembros de la Fuerza Aérea chilena se ubicaron en las comunidades indígenas cerca de Llalma. Torturaron a comunidades enteras sin dejar escapar a las mujeres o a los niños. Algunos Mapuches fueron colgados de helicópteros en vuelo, en presencia de sus familiares. La comunidad más brutalmente torturada fué la de Allondo.

El 25 de Septiembre 1973 el dirigente mapuche Antonio Aníaco fué detenido por los carabineros. Fué torturado brutalmente y luego soltado. Por la noche los carabineros de Mallipenco fueron a buscarle en su casa. Su cadáver, junto con los de otros dirigentes, fué encontrado dos días después por miembros de su comunidad.

En los primeros meses después del putsch, y según los dirigentes que asistieron al congreso de Londres (y que habían permanecido varios años en la cárcel de Temuco), 80% de sus compañeros de prisión eran Mapuches. Hubo comunidades que tuvieron a todos sus dirigentes en la cárcel, muchos de ellos constantemente torturados y maltratados. Muchos veces, civiles del movimiento fascista "Patria y Libertad" fueron a visitar la cárcel y se llevaron a ciertos dirigentes que luego nunca más fueron encontrados.

Podrían citarse centenares de ejemplos para demostrar la crueldad de comportamiento de los blancos de la zona, pequeños y grandes así como el de las fuerzas militares al servicio de sus privilegiados y de su dominación.

Todo esto, naturalmente, en nombre de los más altos valores de la civilización cristiana.

agraria.

Por otra parte, la nueva política implicaba incitar el conjunto de las instituciones del Estado en la región (ministerios de la Salud, de la Educación, etc.) a desarrollar acciones especiales para mejorar las condiciones sociales y culturales de los campesinos mapuches.

Un tercer elemento esencial de esta política fue la decisión del gobierno de la Unidad Popular de adoptar el proyecto de una nueva ley indígena, proyecto elaborado por los representantes de las comunidades, y de enviarlo al Parlamento. Esta nueva ley buscaba, mediante la organización de instituciones apropiadas, como el Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena, promover de manera permanente una política general de mejoramiento de las condiciones de vida de los Mapuches. Aunque despojada de algunas de sus disposiciones en el curso de la discusión parlamentaria (la oposición era mayoritaria), la nueva ley fue finalmente promulgada el 15 de septiembre de 1972: era la primera vez que una ley de este género veía la luz, gracias a la iniciativa y a la lucha de las organizaciones de base.

Así, bajo el gobierno de Unidad Popular, los Mapuches vieron abrirse ante ellos un mejor porvenir y a sus dirigentes se les daba una mayor consideración, aún si un buen número de sus problemas sociales y económicos estaban todavía lejos de ser resueltos. Pero el golpe militar de septiembre de 1973 interrumpió este nuevo curso.

#### LA BRUTALIDAD DE LA CONTRA-REVOLUCIÓN

La contra-revolución de septiembre de 1973 golpeó a la población mapuche más fuerte aún que la mayor parte de los otros sectores de las clases populares chilenas. El odio acumulado por la oligarquía terrateniente y la burguesía local

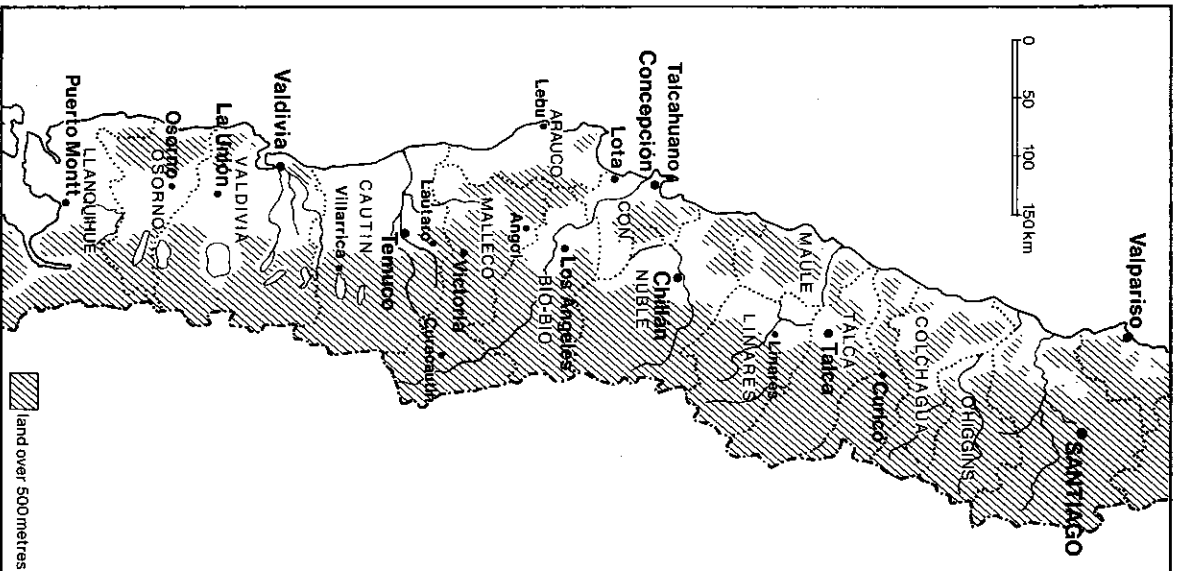
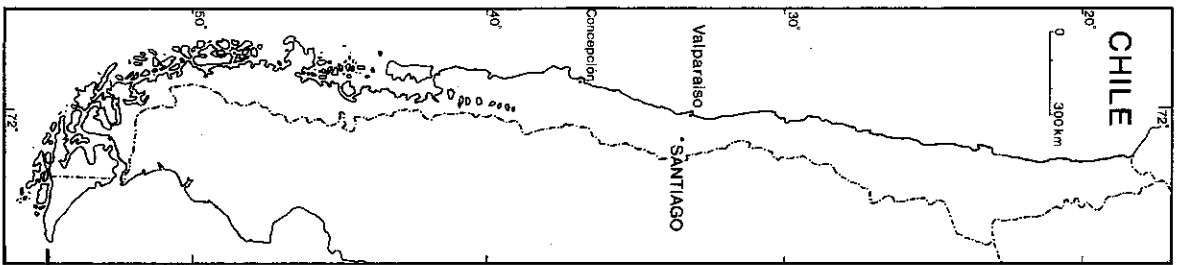
#### THE MAPUCHE TRAGEDY

This short account of my people, the Mapuche, is written in the midst of a difficult period for the Chilean people, and I myself am a long way from the Araucanian territory. Life in exile leaves time for writing, reading, listening, and thinking, as well as drawing some conclusions concerning the Indian issue from a global point of view, i.e. in respect of all our Indian brother peoples on the American continent.

In my account names and places in the Araucanian region will appear together with events and incidents which have not previously been written down. Throughout the story, the protagonists are the Mapuche. They belong to the millions of other human beings who live in anonymity, who silently maintain the hatred accumulated during centuries of resistance to the white aggressors and power elites. The characteristics of our struggle have become history: We fought against the Spanish conquest; against the forces of the Republic; as well as the latest struggle for freedom, which shows that the Mapuche people, together with other oppressed groups, seek their liberation and resolutely fight against those who oppress them and impose their system on them.

I am grateful to a great number of friends and Mapuche brothers and sisters who have made it possible for me to write this account and have it made available to all indigenous groups everywhere. I also wish to thank the editors who have enthusiastically welcomed the idea that Indians themselves should contribute to IWGIA Documents. Thanks to you all.

Vicente Mariqueo O.  
Bristol, 1978



Chile and the Mapuche Territory

especialmente creados para procesos indígenas que se prolongaban algunas veces, por decenas de años sin resultados positivos.

A este despertar contribuye también la no aplicación de la ley de reforma agraria en las provincias del sur, bajo la presidencia de Frei, así como el trabajo político de activistas del M.I.R. (Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria) en la región a fines de los años 60 y la campaña electoral por la presidencia de la República en 1970.

Cuando Salvador Allende llegó a ser presidente de Chile en noviembre de 1970, el clima político en la Araucanía era muy tenso y las ocupaciones por los Mapuches de tierras que les habían sido usurpadas, eran cada vez más frecuentes.

Un buen número de "comuneros" estaban organizados en las "Asociaciones Mapuches", que les habían servido de lugar de encuentro para la discusión de sus problemas. Estas asociaciones ya habían tenido un primer congreso en 1968 y preparaban un segundo que debía tener lugar en la ciudad de Temuco en diciembre de 1970. A este congreso, invitaron al nuevo presidente, que vino acompañado de sus ministros de Agricultura, y de Tierras y Colonización; presentaron entonces al gobierno de la Unidad Popular el conjunto de sus reivindicaciones.

El presidente Allende se comprometió ante los dirigentes mapuches, reunidos en Temuco, a trasladar durante dos meses, desde comienzos de 1971, el ministerio de Agricultura de Santiago a Temuco para estudiar con ellos, en el lugar, sus problemas; así se iniciaba una nueva política indígena.

Los aspectos esenciales de esta política fueron: por una parte, la aceleración de la aplicación de la ley de reforma agraria en las provincias del sur de Chile para restituir a los Mapuches la mayor cantidad posible de tierras usurpadas, extendiendo sus tierras de cultivo por la explotación de los grandes dominios. Solo en el año 1971, unas 70.000 hectáreas de tierras usurpadas fueron recuperadas por las comunidades mapuches en la aplicación de la ley de reforma



Por otra parte, el número de indígenas aumentaba, las autoridades administrativas responsables estimaban en 1960 que en promedio, cada Mapuche disponía de un poco más de dos hectáreas a fines de los años 60, la población Mapuche de Chile se calculaba en unas 400 mil personas (un poco más del 4% de la población total del país), esta cifra engloba la mayoría de indígenas que viven del trabajo agrícola en las comunidades, los que por falta de tierra, tuvieron que trans- formarse en asalariados agrícolas permanentes y aquellos que, por la misma razón, habían emigrado hacia las ciudades para buscar el trabajo que no encontraban en su tierra.

Pero este último grupo representaba apenas 10% de la población Mapuche, de tal manera que la inmensa mayoría de estos permanecía apegado a la tierra y al trabajo agrícola, incluso si la penuria de tierras y de capitales los obligaba a proletarizarse o semi-proletarizarse en los dominios de la región. En efecto, muchos miembros de la comunidad, no llegan a sobrevivir en las tierras demasiado exigüas de las cuales disponían, y debían, después de haber trabajado sus propios terrenos, emplearse como asalariados a tiempo parcial en los dominios vecinos grandes y medianos. Pero, aún con este trabajo complementario, el nivel global de su ingreso era tan bajo que ellos llegaban apenas a asegurar su subsistencia.

#### LA REFORMA AGRARIA Y LA UNIDAD POPULAR

Hacia los años 60, el comienzo de la reforma agraria y la nueva ley sobre sindicalismo campesino, promulgada bajo el gobierno demócrata-cristiano, contribuyeron a reforzar las viejas aspiraciones mapuches de recuperar las tierras que ellos habían recibido en el momento de la "pacificación" de la Araucanía y que fueron usurpadas más tarde por los colonos vecinos. Esta lucha ya antigua había conducido a muchas comunidades a entablar pleito ante los tribunales que habían sido

#### WHO ARE THE MAPUCHE ?

Mapuche : "mapu" (land) + "che" (people),  
i.e. "men of the land."

Chaf mapuche nqueñ : We share the same culture.

Quiñé mullfiñ nqueñ : We are of the same blood.

Quiñé ath nqueñ : We have our own distinctive features.

Our people define themselves in this way. This is how it is possible for us to identify as Mapuche, or Indians.

If we look at our definitions in view of the elements given by our pu-quinché (sages, historians), we find that the definitions given by them are very similar to those agreed upon by contemporary investigators.

The Mapuche make up a nation with its own territory (though certainly very diminished). We have our own customs, our own material and spiritual culture, all of which goes back to pre-Columbian times. We share special traditions, a common language, and we have a common biological descent, with distinctive features and physical characteristics which make it possible to identify us as Mapuche.

Our history has been written down by the huincas (Europeans). All that has been written about our history is by men of other nationalities, who agree on leaving only a small space for the Indians in their narratives. Instead, we find a number of huinca persons as protagonists in the most

insignificant historical events. A Lipschutz hits the nail on the head when he writes:

"In 1935, when I got in contact with the spiritual life of Latin America for the first time, one of the biggest surprises I had was the really exaggerated interest which is cultivated all over the continent in trivial historical events and figures of little or no importance." (Lipschutz, 1975.)

Before the Spanish conquest, we had a vast territory stretching from Aconcagua province in the north to Chiloé province in the south. After battling in one of the lengthiest wars that world history has ever recorded, our ancestors emigrated to Argentina. In his work, Cantos a la Tribu Aigo, the Argentinian anthropologist Miguel Alberto Bartolomé states that:

"The Spanish conquistadores in Chile had to fight against these people (Araucans), and the war between them lasted until the end of last century. As an echo of these fights, the first groups of the so-called Aucaés or "Indians of the Chilean War" arrived in our country (Argentina) at the beginning of the 17th century." (Bartolomé, 1968.)

Our ancestors lived in these territories, dedicated to peaceful work. Their principal activities were agriculture, hunting, fishing, and stockbreeding. Their food was based on vegetables, which grow plentifully and in great variety on our lands. Meat was obtained by hunting, and they especially ate the meat of the guanaco. However, after the arrival of the horse, the meat of this animal became the more attractive. Our brothers carried out their religious ceremonies or ngullatún, shamanistic dances, and wedding ceremonies

(toquis) de guerra mapuches, Caupolicán, Galvarino, Lautaro. El territorio de los Mapuches, conocido bajo el nombre de Araucanía, fué una frontera militar jamás conquistada por los españoles entre los siglos XVI y XVIII. Se le llamaba "La Frontera", y, después de la independencia de Chile, permaneció como frontera militar, entre los chilenos de un lado y los araucanos del otro. El río Bío-Bío simbolizaba esta línea de división. La colonización de la región no fué posible sino a fines del siglo XIX por los colonos chilenos o europeos recientemente emigrados una vez que los Mapuches fueron militarmente vencidos y aislados en las "reducciones".

Esta colonización, en la cual participaron entre 1883 y 1976, unos treinta mil colonos extranjeros (españoles, franceses, italianos, alemanes, ingleses, suizos), fué acompañada por la fundación de varias ciudades en la región. Las mejores tierras de los indígenas quedaron en manos de colonos o extranjeros mientras que los Mapuches se veían limitados a las tierras que se les dejaba en las "reducciones". Más de 10 millones de hectáreas que ellos poseían, fueron restringidas a poco más de 500.000 hectáreas, dada la población araucana de la época, reducida a un poco más de ochenta mil personas, quedó esta con un promedio del orden de 6 hectáreas, en lotes de 500 hectáreas y más.

Varias leyes definieron la situación jurídica de los Mapuches a fines del siglo XIX y la primera mitad del siglo XX. La mayor parte de ellos, obligados a vivir en las reservas, fueron transformados en "comuneros": miembros de una "comunidad" organizada alrededor de un dominio colectivo recibido por la comunidad en calidad de tal. Pero ninguna de estas leyes pudo impedir la invasión constante de los colonos blancos vecinos sobre las tierras que la República les había adjudicado. Así, varias decenas de miles de hectáreas fueron usurpadas aún en el curso del siglo XX, por usurpación pura y simple en provecho de las clases rurales dominantes a nivel regional.

#### CUATRO SIGLOS DE RESISTENCIA

##### LOS MAPUCHES, LA TIERRA ROBADA Y LA PERSECUCIÓN

Durante cuatro siglos, la lucha de los Mapuches por sus tierras, por su libertad y por su dignidad fué una de las más heroicas y tal vez también la más desconocida de la historia universal. Al momento de la llegada de los conquistadores españoles, en 1536, los Araucanos o Mapuches (hombres de la tierra) ocupaban el centro sur del territorio chileno, principalmente las actuales provincias de Bío-Bío, Arauco, Malleco y Cautín. Su población era del orden de 350.000 personas y vivían de la agricultura, de la crianza y de la caza. Tenían un espíritu guerrero muy desarrollado y, por la defensa de su territorio, tuvieron en jaque la extensión del imperio Inca hacia el sur. La guerra recomenzó con los españoles que querían colonizar sus territorios. Se prolonga, durante tres siglos y medio, contra los conquistadores hispánicos primero, desde mediados del siglo XVI, y luego contra la República Chilena después de la independencia, para no terminar sino a fines del siglo XIX en lo que los historiadores chilenos llaman la "pacificación de la Araucanía". Del período inicial de esta guerra y de las hazañas de los Araucanos proviene uno de los más hermosos poemas épicos de la lengua española, La Araucana, de Alonso de Ercilla, que describe los actos de coraje y la estrategia militar de los grandes jefes

throughout great stretches of our territory. All these customs have been preserved intact. Today, they still cook in the traditional fashion and they drink muday, which is based on fermented cereals.

#### THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL CLASSES

Traditionally, our ancestors were divided into three social classes, but there were no conflicts between these as opposed to the present system of Western and Christian dominance in Latin America. The three social classes maintained strong ties because of the common actions that they had to undertake. They stood united in the face of any eventuality, especially in times of war.

#### THE ULMENES

The ülmenes were the upper social class. Immediately after the arrival of sheep, cattle and horses, the ülmenes became large stock owners, and stockbreeding became their principal activity. At the end of last century, when the first laws of colonization of the Araucanian region were passed, the ülmenes were affected in a terrible way. All these laws meant robbery and plundering of our land. Colonization laws were issued to the great advantage of foreigners and Chileans, or, in other words, the huincas. The ülmenes of Nacimientto, Ercilla, Cholchol, Huichahue and

elsewhere were practically dispossessed of their properties by the introduction of the system of "reductions" (resettlements.)

#### THE QUIMCHE

The pu-quimche were the most notable persons socially. They were part of the ülmenes and they were renowned for their intelligence. They retained all of our history in their memories. Whenever there was a ceremony or assembly, they stood out as the most distinguished. They constantly cultivated and enriched our language, which is why it is so poetic and rich in expressions today. They told children's stories and composed all kinds of songs: love songs, war songs, work songs, religious songs, and hymns to nature. The best evidence of this assertion is expressed in Mapuche place-names, which are significant and philosophical, for instance Conun-huenü (entrance to heaven), Vitacura (big stone), etc. The last quimches known even managed to learn to read and write even though they had never been to school, because in the first decades of this century there was practically no type of school instruction available in the Araucanian region.

The quimches stand out in their defence of our traditions, customs and language. Despite all the aggression against our people and their cultural subjugation, the quimches never gave in, and they are still venerated for their masterly teachings. I said before that the white domination with its resettlement policy ("reductions") did away with the ülmenes, but there are still many quimches left in our communities. These are the successors of the ülmen Michimalonco who was the principal Mapuche authority known at the time of the Spanish arrival on the Mapocho river (where they founded Santiago de Chile.) That remote

religious and social organizations in Chile, and the Bishop of Temuco, who previously had expressed his concern and his solidarity with the Mapuche in an open letter, termed the new law "worse than expected" and declared that instead of insuring protection to the Mapuche it appeared rather to threaten them.

Sources: The Mapuches: A Call to Solidarity  
New York CIRCUS, January 1979  
Boletín Informativo Mapuche, No. 5,  
Mayo 1979 and No.6, August 1979  
Bristol, England.

considered as indigenous land, nor the owners as indigenous.

Article 3 establishes that anyone (i.e. also non-Mapuche) who works a plot within the reservation is to be considered as a settler (ocupante). In addition any ocupante can ask for the division of the reservation on which he lives, thus making room for non-Mapuche to take over Mapuche lands. Although it is possible for members of a community to oppose such a request, the law sets up certain conditions for doing so. These are:

- (1) the existence of pending juridical claims concerning the restitution of land or parts of it,
- (2) the existence of a pact of indivisibility signed by the current ocupantes, a pact that the Civil Law makes very difficult to establish,
- (3) that the reservation already be divided, in which case the lands would no longer have the status of reservation land.

In fact it is next to impossible for the Mapuche to meet any of these conditions. Furthermore, the opposing party is required to make a deposit equivalent to 10% of the fiscal valuation of the estate. This deposit would not be returned if the court decided in favor of a division.

Another important amendment makes it possible for financial institutions to secure their loans to Mapuche on the Mapuche's landed property.

Finally, contrary to the former law, no mention is made of the importance of the educational sector, and the former provisions for promotion of professional and technical education, establishment of craft centres, and the applications of preferential quotas for Mapuche students wishing to attend university, etc., have all been discarded.

Law Decree No. 2568 was immediately denounced by the Mapuche organizations both in Chile and abroad as demagogic, anti-democratic and an instrument in the legal extermination of the Mapuche people. These views were strongly supported by

leader of our people is still remembered as a wise and respected man in the Mapocho river valley. When Pedro de Valdivia and his troops arrived at the hill of Huelén (today Santa Lucía) in 1540, they met the Mapuche under the command of this lonko, and our people were betrayed with false peace treaties.

The quimches were also victimized. The huinca colonizers, moved by their greed and urge for supremacy over our territory, proposed to exterminate them because of the fact that the quimches, with their rhetorical skill, were capable of jeopardizing the privileges already established by the ruling minorities. One of the principal forms of putting an end to their influence was to impoverish them, to drag them down into misery, thus obscuring the talents they maintained as proud Indians. They killed them economically by stealing their land, and the Mapuche people were plunged into a permanent and tenacious war against the ideological penetration which tends to go against our traditions, culture, language, and all that is inherent in our nationality.

The Catholic Church is another enemy of the quimches. The Church traditionally exercises great power in Chile. From the time of the Spanish conquest, the Church has received tribute from those who robbed us of our land. The bandits who killed Indians, destroyed our property, made Mapuche women their servants and Mapuche children their future slaves, paid tithe to the Church in order to justify all their barbarity and free themselves of the consequences of their sins. Consequently, the Church could count on many resources for penetrating into our communities, but the resistance of our people to the so-called "civilization," Westernization or Christianization remains tenacious. The most outstanding persons in the defence of our cultural and religious values were the quimches and the lonkos, backed by all the Mapuche people.

Western religion is expansionist. In order to achieve their aims of ideological dominance, Western Churches destroy

other cultures and religious beliefs. For instance, they used to declare that every person who was not baptized was a barbarian and comparable to an animal. During my teens, I went to the mission school in my settlement. Many times I thought, "What a sad destiny our ancestors had; they are in hell now" because they did not receive a certificate of baptism. The Mapuche child undergoes confusion, at present, and it is our adult population who must completely reject these preposterous and malicious assertions. During the whole of this process of ideological dominance on the part of the Chilean clergy, our people have fought untiringly to make what is ours prevail. Our beliefs and religion have always been our exclusive heritage: our people have never tried to incorporate other nations into our religious ideals. On the contrary, it is forbidden for a non-Mapuche to participate in our ngullatunes. We are not expansionist like the Western churches. In our days, the image of the quinche is present in thousands and thousands of our brothers and sisters who live dispersed in the Mapuche communities, and elsewhere.

At present, the upper social class, i.e. the limenes, has been practically destroyed. It has been impossible for them to go on existing with the three hectares of land allotted to them by the Chilean authorities when they were "reduced" (resettled). On the other hand, the quinches go on existing in spite of the whole offensive which constantly tries to put an end to our race and our culture.

#### THE MIDDLE CLASS

The middle class of Mapuche society included the people who were specialized in some way; for example, the machis (traditional doctors) the midwives, the specialists in

#### CHILE'S NEW LAW ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

Last year the Chilean government announced the implementation of a new law on Indian affairs destined to "integrate the Mapuche definitely into Chileanly with rights and duties equal to the rest of the country."

At the same time the Minister of National Planification introduced a plan for the agricultural sector which contained three decisive aspects:

1. revoke the limit of eighty hectares for agricultural farms (previously there was an eighty hectares ceiling),
2. permit the installation of corporations in the countryside, and
3. permit the division of Indian lands in order to assign individual titles.

Deeply concerned with their future and having received no information as to the terms of the new bill, 155 Mapuche leaders, representing some 90 Mapuche communities, met in Temuco in September 1975, and issued an appeal to the government. The appeal asked the government to let the above modifications of Law No. 17,729 be known before being implemented, so as to allow a prudent amount of time for discussion and debate in the localities to be affected.

This appeal was reiterated at a new meeting in Santiago de Chile on October 12, same year, but to no avail. In March 1979 the new Law on Indian Affairs (Decreto Ley No. 2568) was signed. The Mapuche people had not even been informed, let alone consulted.

The new law brings important and far-reaching amendments to the former Ley Indígena No. 17,729.

Article 1 stipulates that privately owned plots of land resulting from the division of reservations will no longer be

It would be possible to cite hundreds of examples of the cruelty displayed by white people in the region, both great and small, and by the military in an effort to preserve their privileges and their domination. All this, of course, was done in the name of the loftiest ideals of Christian civilization.

Under the Pinochet régime, land allotted to thousands of Mapuche families under the Agrarian Reform Act has been recovered by its former usurpers, and the Mapuches have once again been reduced to poverty: the normal order - domination and exploitation - has been restored." (Chonchol, loc.cit.)

(59) Written communication received in Santiago during the Group's visit to Chile. This information is quoted verbatim.

(60) In connexion with matters of religion, the International Indian Treaty Council has submitted document E/CN.4/NGO/223, cited above, containing the following statement:

"The instalment of the "state of siege" and of night hours of "curfew", under which meetings of four or more people are strictly forbidden, has now been in effect for more than four years, thus impeding the celebration of the religious Indian feast "NGILLATUN" during which the Mapuche have traditionally thanked their gods for good harvests or asked for improvement of production. This is a violation of the human right of a people to live according to its habits and traditions." (p.3).

(61) Resolutions of the Mapuche National Congress (Ercilla, province of Malleco) in Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement, Geneva, Los Mapuches, pp. 23-24.

(62) Statement by the Mapuche representative to the International NGO Conference on Discrimination against Indigenous Populations - 1977 - in the Americas, in Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement, Geneva, Los Mapuches, op.cit., annex I.

(63) Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement, Geneva, Los Mapuches, op.cit., p.16.

(64) Millape Canuiqueo, op.cit.

(65) "Chile: The Mapuches under Military Government", Indígena, vol. 1, No. 3, p.7.

(66) El Mercurio, 6 August 1978.

(67) Ibid.

(68) E/CN.4/NGO/223.

in the handling of livestock, masters in hut buildings, silversmiths, and potters. All these persons were absolutely independent. There was no type of pressure on them that could limit their social and occupational freedom. They were very busy people, almost always absorbed in their work. When referring to persons of this social status, the Mapuche used, and still use, the word "Küme-che," which in ordinary terms means "good people."

There is no doubt that the machis were the outstanding professionals in society and numerous people have been devoted to this profession right up to the present. All the medicine used by them is obtained from the natural plants of our area, and the very act of treatment is accompanied by rites of a religious nature which are completely our own. As there were no professional doctors, the traditional Mapuche medicine was very well-developed, and the machis were quite consequent in their fees. They almost never took anything from the poor, but the people with more means had to pay in money or in kind.

The machis are discriminated against by the scientists. In Chile, the machis are simply ignored or sometimes persecuted because they are supposed to be exercising an illicit profession. The state of health is the responsibility of the Chilean State, which should be in charge of watching over the health of all Chilean citizens, including the Mapuche. In fact, there are a series of professional colleges in the health field, but these institutions completely exclude our machis. However, in spite of all forms of existing pressure, the machis continue to be of importance in our communities: they need our support for carrying on as long as we exist as a people.

THE CONAS

The third social class was known as the conas. They were people who so fully devoted themselves to work that the synonym of "cona" came to be brave, vigorous, or expert. The conas were happy as such, they felt proud to belong to this social class. They were extremely skilful in handling horses, lassos, and bolas, as well as being able hunters and fishermen. They were always at the service of the filmenes, but Mapuche society did not contain the antagonism which is so pronounced in Chilean society under the capitalist system.

The conas devoted themselves to work. They were happy because the treatment they received was good. There were no foremen or slave drivers or cruel bosses over them. They carried out their tasks conscientiously, as they were obedient and honest, and the cona women were very hard-working as well. There were even fewer social and occupational differences between Mapuche women of the different social classes. Generally speaking, they were occupied in weaving, and they produced beautiful textiles. Others were devoted to pottery making, and the majority of the machis were women. Consequently, Mapuche women often held a privileged position among our people.

The social differences in Mapuche society were insignificant. With the arrival of horses, sheep, cattle and other domestic animals, the filmenes emerged as a relatively wealthy social class and the need for mobile manpower became greater. These conas generally were young people; when they reached a certain age they left this kind of job and settled down.

the population growth, in 1960 the authorities estimated that an average of 2 hectares were available at that time per individual Mapuche: "Quatre siècles de résistance. Les Mapuches, la terre volée et la persécution", Le Monde Diplomatique, June 1978. Reproduced in Spanish translation in this volume, p. 60).

(54) Information received in Santiago during the Group's visit to Chile in July this year.

(55) For a much more detailed account of these events, see Chonchol, loc.cit.; Gómez, loc.cit.

(56) Ibid.

(57) International Indian Treaty Council, written communication submitted to the Commission on Human Rights on 20 February 1978, contained in document E/CN.4/NGO/223, p.2.

(58) Under the heading "The brutality of the counter-revolution", a writer has described some aspects of what happened to the Mapuches immediately after September 1973 in the following terms:

"The counter-revolution of September 1973 hit the Mapuche even harder than most other sectors of the Chilean proletariat. The land-owning oligarchy and the local bourgeoisie, assisted by the military and the carabinieri, gave vent to the hatred built up as a result of the Unidad Popular's assaults on their traditional power and accentuated by the racial contempt which they had always felt for the Indians. At the London meeting, Mapuche leaders gave hundreds of items of testimony on this subject. Below are a few examples:

"At the end of September and the start of October 1973, Chilean Air Force personnel installed themselves in the indigenous communities close to Llalma. They tortured entire communities, allowing neither women nor children to escape. Some Mapuches were tied to flying helicopters in the presence of their families. The community that was the most brutally tortured was the Allondó community."

On 25 September 1973, Antonio Aninac, the Mapuche leader, was apprehended by the carabinieri. He was savagely tortured and later released. On the same evening he was taken from his home by carabinieri from Malipenco. His body, together with those of two other Mapuche leaders, was found two days later by members of his community.

In the months immediately following the putsch, according to the Mapuche leaders attending the London Conference (who had spent several years in the Temuco prison), 80 per cent of their fellow prisoners were Mapuches. In the case of some communities, all the leaders were in prison and many of them were constantly tortured and maltreated. The prison was frequently visited by civilians from the Fascist movement "Patria y Libertad", who took away with them certain leaders who have never been found again.



## NOTES

- (44) This subject has not been dealt with in previous reports by the Ad Hoc Working Group. This part is based on oral and written information furnished to the Working Group during its visit to Chile in July 1978 and documentary information subsequently obtained by it.
- (45) Inés Gómez, "Mapuche Indians of Chile: the culture of resistance", Indígena (Berkeley, California), Fall 1974, vol.1, No. 2, p.9.
- (46) Antonio Millape Canuqueo, Background to the Mapuche Question, Special Report to Nueva Tierra. The author is President of the National Confederation of Mapuches.
- (47) The word "Mapuche" means "people of the land" ("Mapu" - land, "Che" - people) and is the name by which the Araucanian people refer to themselves. Julian H. Steward, Louis C. Faron, Native Peoples of South America (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1959) p. 274; and written statement submitted to the Commission on Human Rights by the International Indian Treaty Council on 20 February 1978 (E/CN.4/NGO/223), p.2.
- (48) See E/CN.4/NGO/223. The International Indian Treaty Council is a non-governmental organization in consultative status with the Economic and Social Council (category II) and a member of the NGO Committee on Human Rights.
- (49) "The Mapuches are a racial minority in Chile. Of the one million Mapuches, 600,000 live in 3,024 indigenous communities in rural areas from Bio-Bío to Llanquihue. They speak the Mapuche language...": "Chile. The Mapuches under Military Government", Indígena (Berkeley, California), Winter 1974-1975, vol.1, No.3, p.7.
- (50) Millape Canuqueo, op.cit., p.1; see also Institut Universitaire d'Etudes du Développement, Geneva, Los Mapuches, seminar by Mr. L. Necker, academic year 1978/1979, presented by Mario Ibarra, et al. (Geneva, June 1978), p.17.
- (51) See sources mentioned in note 7 above, pp.2 and 17, respectively.
- (52) The National Mapuche Confederation is the most important among nearly 160 rural workers' organizations formed in 1970, which have more than 100,000 members: Inés Gómez, loc. cit.

(53) Stuart and Faron, op.cit., p. 274. It should be noted that up to the 1880s the Mapuches possessed more than 10 million hectares. They were, however, reduced to little more than 500,000 hectares during the colonization of Mapuche territory (1883-1895) that followed their military defeat and their "reduction" on "reserves". Since the Mapuche population amounted to 80,000 at the time this meant an average of 6 hectares for every individual Mapuche. At the same time, more than 9 million hectares were distributed by the Chilean State to the new colonizers of those lands (including Chileans and also some 30,000 immigrants from Spain, France, Italy, Germany, England and Switzerland), in lots of 500 hectares and more. With

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION

Up to the "pacification of the Araucanian region," our people led their own way of life and had their own social and religious set-up. Land, sea, and manpower were their production resources. The land tenure system was better than the one introduced by the Spanish. Earlier, there were no conflicts about land because it belonged to everybody. Private property only existed where the Mapuche built their houses and farmsteads. Private ownership of land was limited to the kitchen garden; all the rest was communal property where the livestock grazed, and fruit and other foodstuffs were gathered. Nobody appropriated this land; it was the property of the whole Mapuche nation.

SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

As the supreme authority, the Mapuche had parliaments or futá traun. To a certain degree, these gatherings still exist. They normally take place every four years, at least this is the custom in my community Roble-Huacho. The president of this gathering is the lonko. He is the leader of the community; he stands out because of his wisdom and rhetorical gifts. His election is nearly always hereditary, provided that he fulfills the conditions for assuming such an important job, i.e. being a good, socially trustworthy orator

with much knowledge.

Apart from being the religious leaders, the Lonkos also were in charge of enforcing justice and social order in their communities. When the ngulllatun is to take place, they are in charge of performing and leading this religious act. In order to motivate our brothers and sisters and urge them to stand united in the common efforts to be carried out, they frequently call them together for meetings. Fortunately, this social discipline still exists in our communities. All efforts exerted by our enemies to destroy us have been unsuccessful.

In his capacity of tribal leader, the Lonko was in charge of the administration of justice. Prior to our "reduction" or the so-called pacification of the Araucanian region, there were no major conflicts inside our communities. There were only minor cases of delinquency, and in these cases the Lonko enforced justice among our people. Those who were found guilty of some crime were not executed or put in jail; instead they were advised by the Lonko, and if they repeated the offence, they received a hard moral punishment, and were given the label of huisache. This punishment was so serious that it fell back on the family or the descendants of the criminal. The word huisache means "bad people," and in our society nobody wants to be huisache. Until the beginning of this century, there was a Lonko in my home area who acquired a very good reputation among the people of the community. His name was Atus, and many people still remember him for his rectitude in the cases brought to him when he was a judge. He settled everything by his wise judgement.

#### THE TOQUI

The toqui was the supreme military chief of the Mapuche.

724. In its communication of 31 August 1978, the Government transmitted to the Group valuable information concerning the indigenous populations of Chile (see annex LXXX).

725. The Group also received a letter from the Permanent Representative of Chile to the United Nations dated 20 September 1978. To this letter he appended a photocopy of a cutting from El Mercurio of 12 September 1978, which relates to the statement made by General Pinochet on 11 September 1978 and to an Indigenous Peoples Act whose promulgation is envisaged in the near future (see annex LXXXI).

726. El Mercurio of 12 September 1978 also reproduces General Pinochet's statement, including the following excerpt on page 11:

#### "INDIGENOUS PEOPLES ACT

This morning I also wish to announce the promulgation in the near future of an act relating to indigenous property. This act, respecting the cultural values of the descendants of the Mapuche race, will enable those descendants voluntarily and freely to opt for private land ownership in those cases where they prefer this formula to the present system of community ownership."

727. In view of the importance of the subject of the indigenous populations of Chile, the Group has decided to examine it in greater detail in the report which it is to submit to the Commission on Human Rights in February 1979.

many persons who have no respect for the culture or ethnic specificity of the indigenous populations and strip the Mapuches of their land and other possessions. These persons reject the Mapuche tradition of retaining community ownership of the land, while granting rights of usufruct to family plots. The Group wonders whether this development will not serve to foster still more the process of allocating plots of land on the basis of individual ownership, which has been rejected by the indigenous populations in their statements.

721. According to information submitted to the Group during its visit to Chile:

a) Mapuche ethnic specificity has not been granted any degree of official recognition. Mapuche children have to learn Spanish, the only language used in school. They therefore face language difficulties and the Mapuche language is in danger of extinction as a result of these deliberate policies of the public authorities.

b) Malnutrition is inordinately high among Mapuche children (80 per cent). Lunch facilities at school have been hampered, with results such as those prevailing in the province of Malleco (by no means exceptional): Araucania school: 40 children, 12 have lunch; Cullin school: 200 children, 30 have lunch; Trangol school: 80 children, 20 have lunch; Manzanaco, 60 children, 18 have lunch; Toquihue school: 90 children, 20 have lunch. In May 1978, the public authorities excluded persons handling school lunch arrangements from all schools.

c) Now the Mapuches have to pay for health services which used to be given free of charge by the State. The Mapuches are not wage-earners and have no possibility of paying. Here again the economic privatization policies pursued by the present Government have had a much more serious effect on the Mapuches than on other Chileans.

722. The present economic policy of the Chilean Government has had particularly adverse effects on the Mapuche people. It has been stated in this connexion, that:

"We should say that... now it is a whole people (the Mapuches) who have been condemned to hunger, misery, unemployment, death; a whole culture and tradition condemned to disappear." (68)

723. According to a written communication received by the Group during its visit to Chile, an indication of the harsh economic conditions under which Mapuche families are living today can be found in the fact that in some communities, Mapuche parents have again started the practice - not engaged in during the last 15 years - by which they "rent" their children to well-to-do-families in the guise of helpers in domestic or agricultural chores. The children get no wages but their family receives food in compensation for the children's services.

History tells us that our people were a warlike nation. Before the Spanish conquest, they successfully resisted the territorial expansion of the Incas on Mapuche territory. The Quechua-speaking Incas tried to dominate the Mapuche by invading our territory from the north. They are said to have reached the province of Maule. The Quechua left some cultural inheritance reliably showing that this invasion really took place. They are believed to have introduced the cultivation of certain crops, as well as pottery, weaving, etc. Since then, in order to enable themselves to face the threat of any kind of invasion, our forefathers built up a military organization to defend their territorial integrity. That is why the toquis existed. They assumed the role of generals in times of war and they were elected by parliaments attended by many people and in the presence of the most distinguished lonkos gathered from all over the Araucanian region.

In 1540, from the time of Pedro de Valdivia, a long war began which did not finish until the end of last century with the so-called "pacification of the Araucans;" almost four centuries of armed resistance against the white dominators, first the Spanish and then the Chileans, who finally concluded their mission by depriving us of our land. Throughout this lengthy period, a large number of toquis gave their lives in defence of our existence as a people, as a Mapuche nation. As Indians descending from these people, we feel proud and recognize these leaders who shed their blood in defence of our freedom and sovereignty which belong to us by right. The bravery and courage of our toquis, along with their wisdom and ideals of freedom, remain alive in the hearts of thousands of our long-suffering Mapuche people.

The political and military organization of the Mapuche only existed on a local level, with no nation-wide structure. However, the local armies were able to endure one of the longest wars ever recorded in world history, with more than three hundred years of fighting against professional armies.

Their exploits and heroism have been well described by Alonso de Ercilla in his work "Ia Araucana".

When Chile attained national independence, it did not mean that an end was put to the war against the Mapuche who were still faced with occupation and submission. On the contrary, things were rather getting worse all over the Mapuche territory; the occupation of our land went on, and we were finally concentrated on tiny "reductions" or re-settlements. At the end of the 19th century, the so-called "pacification of the Araucans" was initiated, and the scene of this campaign was my home province (Cautin). Up to the present day, there is a great amount of evidence of the numerous atrocities committed by the white invaders in order to establish their supremacy in foreign territory.

An anonymous writer stated in 1904:

"The improvement of fire arms allowed the Chileans to penetrate more deeply and more safely into the Araucanian region. The Generals Cornelio Saavedra, José Manuel Pinto and Basilio Urrutia were the first commanders of the Chilean army to tread on traditionally native soil after conquering it.

They founded or reconstructed villages in the La Frontera area. All the villages they founded were given to the soldiers' families and officers of the army (of which they were in command.) Many of the people who also settled there were those who followed the battalions around, as well as a number of families coming from the northern provinces, who showed up to get their share when the booty of sites and land was distributed."

In other words, the wars of occupation, plunder, and genocide on our people did not end when national independence was declared on 18 September 1810. Other evidence can be

persons concerned and an assurance has been given that each case would be studied on an individual basis and that solutions would be sought. It is said that 6,000 cases have been regularized, while a further 6,000 are still pending (El Mercurio, 6 August 1978).

716. According to information supplied to the Group during its visit to Chile, unemployment in rural areas has reached extremely high levels; during its visit to Chile in July 1978, the Group was informed that the unemployment rate among the Mapuches stood at 80 per cent. Many Mapuches are not wage-earners, possess only tiny plots of land and are currently going through a period of severe financial hardship. The Group therefore wonders on what basis they can contribute to this normalization of titles and debts.

717. According to information received by the Group during its visit to Chile, in the field of education, the Mapuches have been adversely affected by the economic policies and the privatization of education promoted by the present Government, which result in limitations on access to education as well as on the types of education available. Agricultural schools, which were basically for children of rural workers, have now been placed under the National Agriculture Society (Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura), an entity comprising big landowners who promote their own interests, which do not always coincide with Mapuche interest. There is a project similarly to transfer industrial schools. The scholarship programme has been drastically reduced. The Group was also informed that young Mapuche girls who had hoped for education and related work, now see their future confined to working in the homes of the well-to-do as domestic servants.

718. Mapuche students have been excluded from State educational institutions and from dormitory facilities. Thus, in the State Technical University in Temuco, the 300 students who were expelled included 90 per cent of the Mapuche student population. Many of these were students about to graduate (65).

719. It is clear that there is an increasing presence of INDAP within IDI. It has already been noted that the Vice-President of INDAP is also the Government delegate to IDI (66). It was recently announced that an INDAP official had been appointed Deputy Executive Director of IDI, following the resignation of the former holder of that post. The new Director of IDI has emphasized the importance of co-ordinating efforts with INDAP in order to achieve "greater efficiency and harmonization of activities designed to benefit small landowners, especially Mapuches" (67).

720. It can thus be seen that there is a growing link between IDI and INDAP. IDI can be presumed to serve the special interests of the Mapuches, whereas INDAP serves the interest of

Characteristics of undivided reserves. These reserves are those which have lost the least since receiving title to the land; there the community retains its cohesion and there is a possibility of undertaking collective projects - sowing, harvesting, constructing fences and bridges, etc. These communities are those where the Mapuche culture is most intact, and they have the capacity to react to acts of aggression and attempts to steal their land. These communities played a leading role during the (previous) Government, and their defence organization was ready to go over to the attack; the land of these communities was the first to be recovered."

712. This statement fully corroborates the remarks made on the subject by the President of the Mapuche Confederation in an article written for Nueva Tierra, in which he also sets down the following conclusion (64):

"The aims and objectives of the division are extremely clear. Far from providing the necessary means which might enable the small landowner to progress, the division has led to the formation of ultra-small land-holdings and created conditions which force the great majority of Mapuches to leave their plots permanently unworked."

713. Despite this clear rejection of the division of the Mapuche reserves and communities, plans to divide up land into individually-owned plots have proceeded. In August 1978, the Vice-President of the Farming Development Institute (INDAP) and Government delegate to the Indigenous Development Institute (IDI) stated in Temuco that "within the next five years we hope to normalize the land-holding situation of more than 2,000 Mapuche communities occupying 234,000 hectares of land in Regions VIII, IX and X". This official noted that, between 1931 and 1978, only 816 communities had been divided up (El Mercurio, 6 August 1978).

714. During its visit to Chile, the Ad Hoc Working Group was informed by a representative of the Government that consideration is being given to the preparation of a new land-holding scheme under which land would be negotiable. Other sources of work have been promoted, such as handicrafts production, fostered by the Mothers' Centre (CEMA). The private sector has established "Sideres" corporations with the object of making use of natural products which previously, owing to ignorance, it had not been possible to exploit. These products include musk roses, mushrooms, special oils and blackberries.

715. One of the main problems is that of technical and financial assistance. Many Mapuches are behind in their debt payments, which prevents them from having access to such assistance. It has been recognized that slowness in repaying debts prevents further loans from being extended to the

added, expressed in our songs and rituals honouring the deities to which our people are so strongly devoted. Our songs are the verbal expression of our feelings as well as a treasure containing many of the historical and cultural events of the Mapuche people. When a common Mapuche Indian sings, you can hear how his voice reveals all his dark past full of hardships. The musical key is monotonous and sad, and the subject is almost always suffering, problems at work or about war. Lack of confidence is a phenomenon you will find everywhere. A social and racial inferiority complex is very near the surface. Besides, all the social prejudice and pettiness which the capitalist system imposes on the poorest social strata, particularly in our underdeveloped countries, also tend to influence the Mapuche community to some extent.

#### THE LAND PROBLEM

#### THE ARAUCANIAN TERRITORY

Our territory includes the southern central provinces of Chile, namely Arauco, Bío Bío, Malleco, Cautín, Valdivia, Osorno, and Llanquihue.

By the end of last century, the Mapuche found themselves defeated by the white invaders. That is when the controversies started over the possession of our land, and an extensive colonization programme was initiated. The first Colonization Act of the Araucanian territory was passed on 5 August 1873, and on the same day land distribution was decreed (Anon., 1904).

From this moment, the land tenancy and cultivation system changed abruptly. The socioeconomic system of Mapuche society tended towards socialism and it was to some extent replaced by feudalism as the best part of our land was taken over by private owners who created vast estates. On 4 August 1874, a very complicated law was passed dealing with the rights of the Indian population. At the same time, it dealt with individuals who wanted to set up their own colonies on Indian territory. Such individuals were granted up to 150 hectares (370 acres) of level land and twice this amount in mountainous areas and on hillsides. This measure was so unfortunate that it caused virtual pitched battles between Indians and colonizers, particularly in the Loncoche area.

About this tragedy, which our ancestors had to endure after losing the war at the end of last century, writer Staffan Berglund says (I quote from memory):

"The so-called Ley de Radicación de Indios (Indian Settlement Act) was implemented between the years 1884 and 1929. 3 078 free title deeds were granted, and 77,841 persons settled on 475,422 hectares."

He goes on to add:

"If we make a comparison ... we find that the Mapuche received less than 500,000 ha out of a total of 10 million hectares. The Mapuches got an average of 6.1 ha per capita whereas the huincas or non-Mapuche colonizers got an average of 500 ha per person." (Berglund 1977).

If we make an analysis of the entire process of seizure of our land, without going beyond the years of national independence, we can distinguish three phases and forms of

education and would increase migration and poverty, and that it is inadmissible for the Mapuches to have to pay taxes in respect of their own land. The document concludes with a statement demanding respect for their land, customs, culture and religion (60).

710. The idea of dividing the land and the communities has been systematically and explicitly rejected by the Mapuches. One illustration can be seen in the text of the resolutions adopted by the Mapuche National Congress in 1972 (Ercilla, province of Malleco), in which the following are included among the objectives to be attained: 3. "Recovery of unlawfully usurped land" and 4. "An end to the subdivision of communities" (61). At an international conference held in Geneva in September 1977 (62) a Mapuche representative, mentioning that "in 1968-1969 an Agrarian Reform Act was introduced", said that "this Act failed to take account of the rights of the Mapuche people and encouraged private land ownership, which runs counter to the cultural community-oriented principles of my people..." (our underlining).

711. At a recent seminar held at Geneva, Switzerland, in June 1978, the consequences of the division of the indigenous communities were described graphically in the following comparison between the characteristics of divided and undivided reserves (63):

"Characteristics of divided reserves. These reserves are characterized by constant disagreements and difficulties as far as the delimitation of the properties is concerned; there is no possibility of carrying out any collective work to improve roads, fences and bridges. Right from the start of the division, problems appeared, because the division is a swindle... (for the Mapuches), based on the illusion that the fact of being owners (of ultra-small plots) will enable them to progress and to put an end to their economic problems. The result of the division of the community is utter destruction, since each member of the community receives no more than five hectares, in the best of cases, and in some areas as little as half a hectare. In this manner, an owner's prospects of making this so-called progress are completely eliminated, since the smallness of his plot makes it impossible for him to obtain a loan and he is left with no other solution but to sell his land - not to relatives or members of his family but to someone outside the community, because his relatives are in the same position; he thus swells the ranks of the agricultural or urban proletariat or simply stays on in... the reserve, as an occasional or underemployed worker. A great deal of land which a few years ago formed part of the reserves has now been incorporated into the big estates. From the political point of view, these communities did not play a leading role during the (previous) Government, although they had extremely serious problems."

source of work and condemns it to virtually complete unemployment.

705. Furthermore, the Huellahue sector in which the community is situated does not have any access roads at present; the roads are impassable during rainy weather and the only access bridge collapsed one year ago when the river was in spate.

706. The division of land and, hence, of the Mapuche communities has recently been the subject of public statements by the Government, Mapuche organizations and the Catholic Church.

707. In April 1978, the National Planning Office outlined an "Emergency plan to combat unemployment" in the issue of El Mercurio dated 19 April 1978. The plan announced the ending of the basic 80-hectare irrigation limit and full ownership rights for the indigenous population. The plan states:

"In order to obtain credits and make fully productive use of the land, it is essential to have an effective title to the land. For this reason, it is proposed to grant an effective title, eliminating the State's custody of the land of indigenous populations." (El Mercurio, 19 April 1978).

708. The Standing Committee of Bishops issued a statement regarding this plan, in which it had the following to say concerning the agricultural question:

"5. The possibility of establishing agricultural joint-stock companies with participants other than peasants and the elimination of the 80-hectare limit would involve the virtual repeal of the Agrarian Reform Act.

6. Full ownership of their plots would be granted to the indigenous populations, without it being established whether they would receive sufficient assistance to be able to farm their land and not be obliged to sell it." (El Mercurio, 20 May 1978).

709. At a meeting held on 28 June 1978 in Temuco, the Council of Mapuche Peasants decided to send to President Pinochet a communication signed by the representatives of six Mapuche communities (three in Region IX and three in Region X). The representatives refer to the existence of the draft plan "which involves an attempt to divide up the indigenous reserves and to collect taxes", and express their concern and anxiety over the fact that to divide up the indigenous reserves would mean: 1/ the disappearance of the Mapuche people; 2/ the loss of Mapuche lands; 3/ the loss of Mapuche customs and traditions; and 4/ the loss of Mapuche lands which have been usurped. They go on to state that the division of the communities would lead to an even more serious lack of

despoliation:

1. The Mapuche lost the war. Their land was taken away from them by force and became property of the Chilean State.

2. The laws: Ever since the different laws on colonization, Indian settlements and auctioning of Araucanian land were passed, the definite despoilment of our land became irrevocable.

3. Seizure of land belonging to legally established communities: After resettling the Indians, the State granted title deeds to the communities, reducing the Mapuche land to five hundred thousand hectares. Subsequently, a number of laws and decrees were issued in order to "protect" the Mapuche and their land. However, in spite of all these laws and decrees, no positive result was achieved. On the contrary, the plundering of our land and the loss of our cultural and spiritual values were accelerating.

#### TWENTY CENTURY TRENDS

##### Tricks and legal intrigues

The Ley de Indios (Indian Act) among other things permitted that any community member could sell his shares and titles in his community, and if members of the Mapuche communities requested the competent authority to make a division of their community, this was always promptly done since there were always greedy landholders around who exerted pressure to this end. So the Mapuche could sell their tiny plots very easily, and many of our brothers did. This is how entire communities eventually disappeared, especially those situated near the big cities. Particularly affected were the Indian communities of Victoria, Cafete, Villarroca, and Pitrufrúen, according to a statistical account published by the Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena in 1978.

I remember a story I was told by a peasant living in the Lautaro area, who was a delegate to the 2nd National

Mapuche Conference held at Temuco in December 1970. He explained that a farm called "Poco a Poco" (Little by Little) in his home area wore this name because the large estate owners had been pushing their fences "little by little" in all directions, thus getting nearer the Indian communities all the time and taking possession of vast stretches of land.

As a consequence of all these tricks and legal intrigues, the 500,000 hectares allotted by means of laws and decrees had been reduced to half by 1950. The average area owned by the Mapuche had now gone down to less than 1 hectare (2 acres) per person. Entire Indian villages had disappeared. The landless Mapuche went in different directions, some settled down in other communities, on possessions belonging to their spouses or on some inherited estate. In these cases our race has always been generous; however small and poor our houses, the doors are always left open to receive our landless brothers. Others emigrated to other parts of the country, where they worked on the farms at the most degrading and exhausting jobs. A great number of these Mapuche have forever settled down in Argentina where they are better off. By the Chilean laws, which are used by the ruling cliques, they have been deported from their home country.

#### Internal conflicts

It is well-known who the winner is when the oppressed stand divided. There is no doubt that the ruling classes acted deliberately when they imposed private property on the Mapuche and gave them the said 6.1 hectares per person. As the first generations of Mapuche grew up after the resettlement of the Indians, the special lawcourts called Juzgados de Indios (Indian tribunals) were flooded with claims, lawsuits and trials between brothers. It is very sad to have to recall these dramatic and unfortunate events in which our

Siembra Y Cosecha settlement, dissolved and divided into plots.

It should also be borne in mind that many peasants were excluded from the parcelling-out process, since the authorities denied peasants who had been sympathetic towards the Unidad Popular Government the possibility of acquiring land. The Mapuches whose land had not been divided up and the reserves which are systematically refused credits are living in the most inhuman poverty."

700. According to information provided to the Group during its visit to Chile, an overwhelmingly large proportion of the land occupied by the Mapuches was acquired through legal procedures, and by virtue of documents drawn up in accordance with the legal provisions regulating agrarian reform, although there were some cases, never regularized, in which Mapuche groups seized land before the legal formalities which would have granted them formal title to it had been completed. There are many instances in which, although the legitimate possession of land by the Mapuches had been affirmed by unobjectionable legal means long before 1970, the former owners requested and obtained, after September 1973, the return of the land and the expulsion of the Mapuche communities settled on it. The following case may be mentioned by way of illustration.

701. On 22 March 1966, Expropriation Decree No. 359 was issued, recognizing the members of the indigenous community of Catrinhuala as the lawful occupiers of the Cordillera Inestroza and Fundo Huelleluue estates, which they had occupied since 1934.

702. At the beginning of 1974, representatives of the "Camerros" company, which was the former owner of the property, initiated action to dislodge the Mapuches from the land, pleading that it had been seized unlawfully. On the basis of false reports by officials of the Indigenous Development Institute (IDI), affirming that the Catrinhuala community consisted of only 12 persons, none of whom were of Mapuche descent, a further decree, repealing Expropriation Decree No. 359, was issued.

703. The members of the indigenous community were then obliged, under duress, to sign an act of actual delivery of the property. The Catrinhuala community now consists of 56 families, or slightly more than 300 persons, most of them of Mapuche descent, who are in a very worrying and uncertain situation, since they stand to be ejected from their land at any time, lose all their possessions and find themselves with nowhere to live.

704. In addition, for more than two years now there has been a total ban, imposed by the National Forestry Corporation (CONAF), on the exploitation of any kind of timber, a prohibition which deprives the indigenous population of its sole



only 15 head of breeding stock and 60 pigs.

Trangol reserve. Was in the process of recovering land. Comprises 800 families.

Traro Sanchez reserve. The reserve had a pig-farming cooperative, with 130 pigs. It had succeeded in recovering 150 hectares of land, for the support of 200 families. After 11 September 1973 the inhabitants were obliged to return 75 hectares of land, they lost their pig-farming business because credits were withheld, and all they have left is a tractor.

Queipul reserve. Composed of 700 families. They were members of the Union and all of their land was under seed. After 11 September 1973, they received neither credits nor seed. Today not more than 10 per cent of their land is under seed.

Heculhueque and Railloa Tori reserve. This reserve possessed a co-operative and its land, 170 hectares in area, was being used for experiments in seed reproduction. Following 11 September 1973, everything came to an end. The machinery is in the hands of the No. 4 Transport Battalion, Victoria. Nothing can be sown in this reserve, which has 600 families.

#### SITUATION OF SOME MAPUCHE SETTLEMENTS

Santa Maria settlement. Dissolved and divided into plots. The holders of the plots receive no assistance of any kind, whether in credits or in seed. Should a holder succeed in obtaining such assistance, through the Farming Development Institute (INDAP), officials of the Institute come along and draw up an inventory of the holder's possessions and brand his animals with the stamp of the Institute, which is also applied to any machinery or tools which he may possess, for possible distraint if the holder is unable, because of a bad harvest or for some other reason, to repay his loans.

The picture is similar in the case of other settlements which have been divided up.

Cullinco settlement. Dissolved and divided into plots.  
Aurora de Chile settlement. Dissolved and divided into plots.

El Dumo settlement. Dissolved and divided into plots.

El Colo settlement. The situation of this settlement is special. The settlement was 3,000 hectares in area. Although it had been divided up, the military appropriated 2,000 hectares of land and parcelled out only 1,000 hectares of land. Very few Mapuches succeeded in obtaining a plot.

California settlement. Dissolved and divided into plots.

race played a major part, as they queued up at these offices created in order to make us dig our own grave by fighting among ourselves. The Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas (Bureau of Indian Affairs) and the Indian tribunals lost prestige during the 1950s. Besides, they became virtually inoperative; the lawsuits became interminable; people could not use this means for claiming their rights and finally stopped taking their cases to court. However, there was much internal discord and our usual enemies were happy to see us using all our energies on these internal conflicts. At the same time, the huinca usurpers never stopped taking possession of the most fertile land within the Mapuche communities, and all this despoliation was done openly and with the full knowledge of the Chilean authorities.

What could be done in this situation? We were suffering from a devilish domination and extermination war as well as from the scourge of numerous diseases. We were facing the highest child mortality rate anywhere in Chile. Our children were segregated and looked down upon from their first year in school. The illiteracy rate was nearly a hundred per cent, and we had no possibilities of obtaining decent jobs owing to lack of education. The communities were getting overcrowded; and finally, we had no way of reaching international organizations in order to tell the world about all the numerous cases of abuse and outrage committed against us. Faced with this general situation, we were forced to find new ways of fighting for our rights, and this is how a number of Mapuche organizations came into being.

MAPUCHE ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR PARTICIPATION  
IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN CHILE

From the twenties and thirties onwards, several organizations were created. They all had a very similar scope: it was necessary to make ourselves heard by Chilean authorities in order to demand them to put an end to the usurpation of our land, as well as denounce the lack of social legislation and protection for the Mapuche. It was argued that the Mapuche would be able to defend themselves if they learnt to speak Spanish, write letters, or get representation in Parliament. We would have to start to compete in the parliamentary election game so as to ensure that some of the abuse committed against us would be publicized in the records of the House of Deputies or the Senate.

Consequently, certain victories were attained by this method bringing a little moral satisfaction and hope for the devolution of our territorial possessions. Several Mapuche were elected members of Parliament, particularly in Cautin province during the presidential term of Carlos Ibañez del Campo. Our people cast their votes honourably trusting in the viability of this form of expressing their hopes. But these hopes eventually vanished as we found ourselves facing dishonesty and betrayals. Our representatives compromised with those in power, they became servants of the traditional political parties, which represented the most reactionary and racist oligarchy of Chilean society.

698. Very important among the complaints that have been raised by all Mapuche entities, including the Rangulí Confederation, are the taking of Mapuche land which is being "recovered" through various means by non-Indigenous persons and the persistent talk about dividing the Mapuche reserves (reducciones) and communities and attributing individual property rights to their members.

699. With regard to this "recovery" of land, the Group has received the following communication (59):

"Merely to take the case of the province of Malleco, and in particular the municipality of Victoria, in whose vicinity there are a number of reserves, the situation was the following as of June 1978:

Huenchulao reserve. In 1971, the Huenchulao Agriculture Co-operative, grouping together 300 families, was set up. After 11 September 1973, credits were withheld from them and their personal possessions were seized. The Co-operative is paralysed and 70 per cent of its members are unemployed.

Chequimil reserve. Situated in Selva Oscura. The Mapuches had set aside part of their land for collective stock-raising. After 11 September 1973, all technical assistance and credits were cut off. All members of the reserve are unemployed.

Valle El Toro Association. This Association had been allocated land and was affiliated to the Galvarino Peasant and Indian Union, which supplied it with credit. The Association comprised 150 families engaged in agricultural work. It had 18 oxen and breeding heifers. The Association had also succeeded in recovering land which had been usurped fraudulently. After 1973, credit was cut off, the families were obliged to sell their livestock to pay off certain loans and, even more serious, the land recovered was returned to the big landowners.

Chavol reserve. Organized into a land-donation co-operative. It had also recovered 40 hectares of land. After 11 September 1973, this land was returned to the usurpers.

Toguhue settlement. Had recovered 300 hectares of land, which was being put to excellent use. After 11 September 1973, this land was returned to its former owners.

Las Cardas reserve. Was on the point of recovering 700 hectares of land, but this also remained in the possession of the big landowners.

Palahueque and Calquin reserves. In these reserves there was no general co-operative, and it was only through the union that their members secured credit and seed to enable them to work the land. Some of their land had been usurped and they failed to recover it. The reserves contain 770 families. A group of families formed a small pig-farming co-operative. Since 1973, they have been denied credit, and today they have

Government "the Mapuches gained back a great part of their land and were able to express freely their habits and traditions... On the day of the coup, the big landowners, the land barons, the military and the carabinieri started a great manhunt against the Mapuches who had struggled and gained their land back; we should mention the massacres of Lautaro, Cunco, Meli-Peuco, Nehuentué in the province of Cautín; Lonquimay in the province of Malleco; and Panguipulli in the province of Valdivia." (57)

694. Information received in Santiago during the Group's visit to Chile points to other killings in the province of Paine, soon after September 1973; more than 1,100 persons were killed, including a great number of Mapuches (58).

695. It has been reported to the Group that all efforts to investigate and clarify these killings and other repressive measures mentioned above have been harshly quelled.

696. Thus, many persons who had been charged by the Mapuches with the task of investigating acts committed against them have either disappeared, or been murdered or arrested and prevented from carrying out their work. All such persons are reportedly subjected to constant surveillance, harassment and persecution.

697. To mention but a few examples based on oral and written information received by the Group during its visit to Chile, Esther Valdebenito, a Mapuche woman leader who had been sent to the province of Cautín to investigate possible disappearances and murders, was arrested in August 1976. During her detention she was tortured. She went abroad as a result of the first amnesty granted by the Government. She now lives in the Federal Republic of Germany. Eusebio Painimal, who has also been investigating cases of murder and disappearances, is periodically arrested and detained for questioning on his activities. He is a former leader of the first Indigenous Federation of Chile. A leftist activist whose family name is Chavón has been missing since the end of 1976. On 4 June 1978, Juan Antonio Colihuinca Reilaf was found dead on the rails between the cities of Victoria and Pua, the victim of what was described as "a railroad accident". On 8 June, his home was searched. The suspicious circumstances of this alleged railroad accident have never been investigated; the searching of his home gives rise to questions as to why this is so if he was not under investigation or suspected of anything prior to his "accident", as has been alleged by the authorities. Colihuinca had reportedly been investigating several cases of murder of Mapuches, including the murder of Darma Lizama, who was a known leftist leader, and that of a Mapuche man who had been killed by a landowner on his property in December 1977 when the Mapuche failed to produce the necessary identification papers.

#### FRUSTRATION, PESSIMISM AND DISTRUST

The Mapuche people had gone through another experience. Frustration, pessimism, and distrust entered our minds. We felt defeated and defrauded. As a result, the existing Mapuche organizations became weaker or remained at a standstill for a long time, and in the meanwhile the Chilean huincas continued to take our land, the Indian tribunals were kept busy over lawsuits between members of the Mapuche community, and between Mapuche and outsiders. However, any claim made against the usurpers of our land was a waste of time, because the latter always managed to get their robbery legalized since they knew very well how to use the Law for their own benefit. Because of these many complications and difficulties, the great majority of people living in our communities rejected all participation in organizations of any sort, whether it be political, social, or Indianist.

#### A FEW EXCEPTIONS

Dating back to the days of the radical governments, and starting in 1938 with Pedro Aguirre Cerda as president of Chile, an important political, social and economic process was initiated all over the country. Industrialization began, and provisions for social rights and protection were laid down. By this time the Mapuche got a wider access to education, and the illiteracy rate gradually went down in the Mapuche communities. Some Mapuche succeeded in obtaining the status of settlers and were awarded pieces of land by the State. Some young Mapuche were admitted to teachers training

colleges; others joined the Carabineros (Police force) after completing their compulsory military service; others emigrated to the industrial and mining areas in different parts of Chile. As a result of this approach between the two societies, we can now detect the presence of new social phenomena within the Mapuche community.

First of all, there has been a clear increase in the number of Mapuche voters. In 1952, for instance, in two Mapuche communities near Temuco with a population of some 300 people, there were about fifteen Mapuche with a right to vote. Since that time, our communities received a lot more visitors, especially during pre-election periods, as hundreds of candidates, politicians and intriguers of the most different tendencies all wanted to show us that they were our friends. In their speeches they all talked about and praised the heroism displayed by our foquus. Everything they told us was flattery and promises, and the Mapuche vote has helped to elect several presidents of Chile.

From about 1960, this approach between Mapuche and Chileans produced an involvement on the part of the former in the political organizations and trade unions of Chilean workers. After the creation of two university centres (one Catholic and one State-owned) at Temuco, young Mapuche found it easier to be admitted to higher education. They founded a militant organization called Federación de Estudiantes Indígenas (Indian Students Union). Some years later (in 1970) when Dr. Salvador Allende was elected president of Chile, the Mapuche found more advanced ways of organizing themselves. For instance, they joined the local peasants councils and increasingly demanded a higher degree of participation in the decision-making of the Unidad Popular, Allende's coalition government.

After being on the defensive for many years, the Mapuche now began to take the offensive and succeeded in getting some of their land restored to them in various places in Arauco, Malleco, and Cautín provinces. In many cases, however,

688. Partly on this basis, an estimate of the present rural Mapuche population was prepared in 1972 by the National Mapuche Confederation, showing a total population of 403,536 persons (51, 52).

689. To this total figure should be added those Mapuches who live in urban centres. These have been estimated to be about 400,000 persons, making the total Araucanian population, including mestizos, about 1 million people, in other words, nearly 10 per cent of the population of the country.

690. The Mapuche population and territory are much smaller today than in precolonial and colonial times, but the Mapuche language is still widely spoken, especially among the older people, who rarely speak Spanish (53). Educational programmes and materials used for indigenous communities and groups are the same as those prepared in the capital and designed for urban schoolchildren. The linguistic difficulties and cultural differences of the Mapuches have never been taken into account in the administration of justice. These communities have not been allowed any real participation in shaping the Government policies affecting them (54).

691. Indeed, after many decades of inaction in the presence of increasing encroachment upon Mapuche lands and absence of programmes for Mapuche economic, social and cultural development, towards the end of the 1960s the Agrarian Reform Act and the Rural Workers' Trade Unionism Act were passed, and this helped to reinforce the Mapuches' old aspirations to recover the lands that they had been allotted at the time of the "pacification" of the Araucanía, many of which had later been usurped by neighbouring Chilean and immigrant colonizers. However, procedures in the courts specially created for Indians moved very slowly and were still pending after many years. The agrarian reform made very little headway in their area until 1970 (55).

692. The new policies adopted by the Unidad Popular Government meant, among other things: 1/ an effective acceleration of the real enforcement of the Agrarian Reform Act - in 1971 alone 70,000 hectares were recovered by Mapuches in legal proceedings; 2/ stimulation of the Ministries of Health and Education, among others, to take the necessary action to ameliorate the social and cultural situation of the Mapuches; and 3/ the adoption, with the effective participation of the representatives of the Mapuche communities, of a new Indigenous Peoples Act to develop institutions and actions intended to improve the general conditions of life and work of the Mapuches. This Act was passed on 15 September 1972 (56).

693. Contrasting the conditions under which the Mapuches lived just before September 1973 and those under which they have to live now, it has been stated that while under the previous

UNITED NATIONS REPORT

E. THE SITUATION OF THE INDIGENOUS POPULATIONS (44)

685. In Chile there are several indigenous population groups, namely: the Quechuas and Aymaras of the north; the Pascuences of Easter Island; the Alacalufes, Yaghan and Ona peoples of the Magalánica region in the south and the Araucanians or Mapuche people, in the central and centre-south regions (45). It has been stated:

"In Chile, every time the need has arisen to debate the Indian question, the basic model considered has been the Mapuche population. The reason resides in the fact that the Mapuche are the most numerous existent native population in the country. In parliamentary debates to modify indigenous legislation, ministers of state and public officials as well as members of the National Congress formulate their positions in terms of the difficulties faced by Araucanians." (46)

686. This part of the report will concentrate on the Mapuches (47), since the bulk of the information received by the Ad Hoc Working Group concerns them, they are the largest indigenous ethnic minority in the country and they seem to have been particularly affected under the present régime. The Group is aware that, at the thirty-fourth session of the Commission on Human Rights, the International Indian Treaty Council suggested that the Commission should give special consideration to the situation of the Mapuche Indians in Chile (48).

687. The Mapuches have been estimated at a total of 1 million people, most of whom live in the rural areas in more than 3,000 communities (49). In this connexion, in 1956 the Department of Indian Affairs issued information, in which the rural Mapuche population of Chile was estimated at 322,916 persons living in 3,048 reserves located in the provinces of Cautín, Malleco, Bío-Bío, Arauco, Valdivia, Osorno and Llanquihue (50).

the news media labelled these undertakings as "communist activities."

THE LAND REFORM ACT OF 1967

In 1967, the Christian Democrat government of Eduardo Frei promulgated the Land Reform Act (Ley de la Reforma Agraria No. 16,640, 1967) as promised in its electoral programme. In those days, it was not difficult for Frei to obtain strong parliamentary support, because land reform was also included in Allende's programme (the latter had been defeated by Frei in 1964). Furthermore, the right-wing political groups were less powerful and arrogant after the general elections in 1965 than they used to be. As a matter of fact, they almost disappeared from the political scene as they gained a very poor number of seats, and so conditions were good from all points of view for initiating reform work. Thanks to this situation, the Land Reform Act was passed without much trouble. One of the things which the government aimed at was creating 100,000 new landowners by the end of this government's six-year term.

A very simple and quick analysis of this act makes it plain that it was not conceived for the Mapuche. It was the representatives of the different political parties in the Chilean parliament who were responsible for it. It is true that a few peasants union leaders were heard, as well as a few agricultural cooperatives, but nobody thought of inviting us along when the act was drawn up. This is why it has had such discriminatory and negative results for our community.

During the presidential terms of Frei and Allende, the Mapuche affected by the redistribution of land were less than two per cent of the Indian population. Less than a thousand families benefited, out of a total of about 100,000 Mapuche families. Only towards 1973 (under Allende) did the Mapuche start to join the CERA (Land Reform Centres). These centres had been set up in order to fill the vast gap left by the Land Reform Act in relation to the Mapuche who were practically left out of its scope and benefits. With these new

CERA a new provisional land tenure scheme was commenced on the expropriated estates, which allowed the Mapuche to join it seeing that the conditions for becoming a CERA member were flexible. It was no longer necessary to take economical units or family relations into account; any person above the age of sixteen, both men and women, could apply for membership.

After the promulgation of the Land Reform Act of 1967, an expropriation scheme basically aiming at arable land was carried into effect, and on this land new peasant settlements were established. However, when Frei's presidential term expired in 1970, only some 30,000 families had benefited from the reform compared with the 100,000 new agricultural landowners he had hoped for originally.

During the first months of Dr. Allende's government period, expropriation was speeded up remarkably, affecting all holdings over 80 hectares (200 acres) of irrigated land in the agricultural provinces of Chile. In the summer of 1971, the Ministry of Agriculture under Jacques Chonchol was moved to Temuco in Cautín province. Consequently Temuco became an important centre for decision making as regards expropriation of land, but the Land Reform Act was little known to most Mapuche, and practically all of them received no benefit from it.

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SOME MAPUCHE WORDS AND PHRASES

Aucaes: insurgents  
 Chaf mapuche nguein: we are of the same nationality  
 Conas: worker, cowboy  
 Huinca: "thief," derived from the word huincufe  
 Huisache: criminal, offender  
 K'ime che: honourable people, fine people  
 Lonko: chief, local leader  
 Machis: traditional Mapuche doctors  
 Muday: drink made from cereals  
 Ngullatün: Mapuche religious ceremony  
 Quimché: wise men, sages, intellectuals  
 Toqui: wartime leader, major or general  
 Trarihue: sash or belt  
 Ulmen: rich man, farmer, stock breeder  
 Welú petü nehuen-nguein: but we still have strength.

THE INDIAN ACT OF 1972

At the end of December 1970, the Mapuche held their 2nd National Conference. President Allende and Minister of Agriculture Jacques Chonchol were present at the closing session. All existing Mapuche organizations in Chile attended the conference, and this was the first occasion on which a dialogue with Salvador Allende came into being. The land problem was the most burning issue, and we asked the President

- a) for a revision of the Ley del Indio No. 14,511,
- b) that the Mapuche be included in the land reform schemes, and
- c) for a solution to the unemployment and education problems of the younger generation of Mapuche.

At the closing session held in the municipal stadium at Temuco, Allende solemnly promised to support all the Mapuche's undertakings; and, on 15 September 1972, the Indian Act (Ley Indígena No. 17,729) was signed at the presidential palace of La Moneda by President Allende, Minister of Agriculture Jacques Chonchol and Land Minister Humberto Martones.

Several hundred Indian leaders, headed by the president of the Confederación Mapuche de Chile, Antonio Millapo C., attended the conference, including the executives of the Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas, Daniel Colompil and Javier Huenchullan. Also were present various well-known Indianists, among these Alejandro Lipschutz, together with leading figures of the U.P. government coalition parties.

Act no. 17,729 lays down regulations on Indian affairs. It changes the Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas into Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena (Institute for Indian Development).

It includes judicial, administrative and educational provisions and also modifies or abolishes a number of laws and regulations.

However, the military coup d'état in 1973 totally destroyed this recently enforced act, preventing it from becoming an effective instrument for solving many of the Mapuche's problems particularly those connected with land. To this can be added the lack of protection and disregarded rights of this racial minority struggling bravely for survival, in the face of numerous attacks from the racist, reactionary and oppressive rulers of the country.

Article 17 of the Indian Act lays down procedures for restoring the land that has been seized by individuals over the years. When the act was promulgated, steps were immediately taken to make these long-standing aspirations of the Mapuche a reality. However, such efforts were violently curbed by the military coup which took place exactly one year after the act was promulgated. In its Section 29, Paragraph 4, the act dealt with expropriation of land to be given to the Indians. Specific areas were listed and declared to be of public utility and social interest, and CORA (Corporación de Reforma Agraria) was authorized to expropriate all or part of the country estates mentioned in this section, at the request and on behalf of the Instituto de Desarrollo Indígena (Ley de Indios No. 17,729, 1972).

What has become of all that? The Land Reform Act has simply been abolished by the military régime, and so the Indian Act is left incomplete as far as expropriation of land for the Mapuche is concerned. There will be no more expropriation because CORA was the only agency with the necessary legal and financial basis for this sort of operation.

The Mapuche can wait. This seems to be the slogan constantly used by our oppressors, who have issued so many

our territory: less than 10 per cent of the workers at these factories are Mapuche, and a similar tendency is visible at the universities. I have had a close look at the subject of Mapuche students admitted to the two universities of the Araucanian region: Universidad Católica (private) and Universidad de Chile (government). For this academic year (1978-79), there are 1,980 student places distributed in twenty-nine courses. 4,355 students have applied for admittance, and out of these only 103 are Mapuche (Indigenous Minority Research Group, 1977).



proudly carry with us wherever we go. Those of our people who forsake their race are very few. A small number have changed their names; for example, by substituting French, Italian, German, or Spanish surnames for their Mapuche ones. Those who do are disliked by our brothers and sisters, who reject and despise that sort of thing. Fortunately, these cases are not very numerous; fewer than in other Latin American countries. In Peru, Bolivia, and Paraguay, the situation is worse, since Indians there have to change their surnames in order to enrol at the universities because of the widespread discrimination.

Ever since the subjugation of our race became a fact, we have found ourselves pushed into the background under miserable conditions. At present, there is no place for us within the social class structure; in the Chilean or Latin American context, we, the Mapuche, are the poorest of all. We are below the social level of the proletariat and are treated as a marginal group by Chilean society. When they try to compete on the job market, the Mapuche have a number of serious disadvantages: the Spanish we speak is perhaps imperfect, we have a different colour of skin, and many of us are illiterate. There is no question whatsoever about this fact. If anyone feels any doubt concerning this statement, he or she ought to go and visit the Araucanian region and the important industries located there. There are several forestry enterprises in the provinces stretching from Arauco to Chiloé, including cellulose plants in Bío Bío and Arauco. There are also : 3 sugar mills in Los Angeles, Puerto Varas and Rapahue; a cooking oil factory in Padre Las Casas; a beer factory in Valdivia; as well as less important industries along the same lines. Whether private or government-owned, these enterprises discriminate against us, and for this reason our people emigrate to other places. Besides, there are more and more settlers coming to the Araucanian region, both in order to take our land away from us and as engineers and experts. Industrialization is a modern way of colonizing

laws on Indian affairs throughout our history. The various acts are dated September 4, 1866, August 4, 1874, and January 20, 1883; we have Act No. 4,169 from September 8, 1927; Act No. 4,802 from February 11, 1930; and Act No. 4,111 of July 9, 1961, as well as other legal provisions.

We now have to add Act No. 17,729, dated September 15, 1972, to the long list. For how much longer shall we have to put up with this kind of mockery? Our history shows us, beyond doubt, that no matter how many laws are passed, our territory is getting smaller and smaller.

#### THE MAPUCHE TODAY

The physical and cultural domination exerted against the Mapuche nation is above all visible in the way our land is being taken away from us, together with the natural resources of the soil and subsoil, forests, minerals, and hydro-electric potential. Another consequence is the division of the land that we have been left with into even smaller areas. Internal and international frontiers cut across our territory, isolating and dividing us as a people, and we are exploited whenever we work for non-Indians, being paid less than the fruit of our labour is worth. This domination takes place, not only locally or nationally, but also internationally. The large multinational companies are out for our land, natural resources, labour, and products, and they are supported by the powerful and privileged groups in the non-Indian societies.

These physical domination policies are based on force

and violence (cf. 2nd Declaration of Barbados, 1977). There are plenty of historical precedents eloquently showing the real intentions of those in power. They actually do want to do away with the Mapuche; our land is too exhausted from hyperexploitation, and from the lack of nutritive elements to ensure a continued production. Our brothers and sisters in the areas of Lumaco, Puzén and Capitán Pastenes in Malleco province, live in miserable conditions because their soil has become completely eroded. Only a few years ago, Malleco and Cautín provinces were the granaries of Chile. The erosion process is continuing, and the most exposed areas are to be found on Mapuche soil near the Pacific coast. Just one look at the Carahue and Puerto Dominguez areas in Cautín province will show how erosion is advancing, the most affected villages being Quechucahuín and El Alma.

Our Lafguenche brothers and sisters on the coast lost their best fields as a result of the tidal wave in 1960. Our Pehuenche brothers and sisters living in the Andes are losing their resources, especially the Araucan pine trees are being exterminated, and these trees supply the most important ingredient in the food of the Pehuenche in the form of pine nuts. The abundant forests of bygone days no longer exist, and the energy problem badly affects all Mapuche. The only energy source that we have ever used is firewood and similar material found in the forest; now, this vitally important element is no longer available on Mapuche territory.

Consequently, our people suffer from cold and lack of suitable dwellings and thus it is clear that the physical extermination and permanent aggression against the Mapuche is continuing in the same way as when we were at open war. Our young people find themselves compelled to join the masses migrating to the cities, an extremely common phenomenon in all underdeveloped countries.

The white settlers have gone much too far in their urge to extract natural resources from the soil and subsoil in Indian territories, and over a short period of time, they

#### CONCLUSION

At the present time, about 10 per cent of the Chilean population is Mapuche. The Mapuche have very numerous families; for example, my father was married twice and we were 20 brothers and sisters all together. I calculate that an average Mapuche family consists of 8 or more people.

According to the statistics compiled by the Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas, there were 323,720 Mapuche living in the villages in 1964. However, this is only what the official government statistics say; in Indian organizations, we think that there are many more of us, if we include the people who leave their communities every day. Mapuche emigration to Argentina has been continuous, ever since the moment the first tracts of land were taken away from us in Chile. I estimate that so far, in this century, some 200,000 Mapuche have gone to live on the other side of the Andes. Also, the Mapuche have joined the general trek of rural populations towards major cities, especially following the industrialization of Chile during recent decades.

In recent years, Mapuche migration to Santiago de Chile has been particularly noticeable. Unfortunately, this is what the upper classes and white society want: to weaken us by wrenching the population away from our territory and transferring it to urban areas. They do not want to see a powerful, united Araucanian nation, with a numerous population fighting for their own land to be restored to them. In any case, those of our brothers and sisters who leave the villages continue to maintain their identity as Indians and Mapuche, because this is a heritage which we

This Mapuche migration leads to a strong clash between two different sets of realities. Emotionally speaking, the teenagers receive a shock when they are faced with the problems connected with other lifestyles. When I was 13 years old, I got a job as shepherd at a farm called Las Hortensias which was situated 40 kilometres from my home village. I remember how I cried for hours during the first nights, because I found the place utterly strange. For our young people this is an everyday phenomenon. However, the mentality of young teenagers is eventually changed; they adapt themselves fairly easily to the dominant culture - they quickly learn to speak Spanish, and in some cases they even forget our traditions and language.

This situation has remained unchanged for a very long time. It is a result of our being deprived of land, as well as of the desire of our enemies to integrate the Mapuche and make "Chileans" out of us. If they succeed, our nationality, customs, traditions, culture and language will eventually be lost. Our songs are being replaced by the "new wave" music and our traditional clothing by Western clothing. If I were to mention anything in particular in connection with the resistance of our people to these pressures of "Civilization," I would say that our Mapuche women are notable in their efforts to retain our cultural heritage. Many of the women still use traditional clothing; they do not want miniskirts or any other exotic fashion.

have destroyed millions of acres of woodland with fire. I remember from my childhood, in the forties, that we usually had humid and hot summers, with occasional showers of rain which were sufficient to water the fields and gardens. Recently, there have been notable ecological changes. Last summer was dry and very long; the yield of the grain fields has gone down abruptly. The food reserves of the Mapuche, which normally would be used up by September or October, this year became exhausted in June and July.

#### THE CHILDREN AND THE WOMEN

Right from the very moment they are born, Mapuche children have to fight tremendous battles in order to survive. They receive no medical attention because medicine is expensive, and the greater part of the health services offered are in private hands. As far as the government health service is concerned, most centres or hospitals are located a very long way from the villages of the Mapuche. Moreover, in Chile, we have always had to put up with a persistent racial discrimination; everywhere we are despised and disliked. All these attacks on our dignity as human beings cause our women to be afraid to go to a hospital or health centre, where they will be met by a huinca; generally speaking, this means that they are treated without respect, and sometimes one can see women in tears standing outside these institutions of public service. The financial situation of the Mapuche is so bad that they have constant trouble trying to find enough money to satisfy their basic needs. A clear illustration of this can be seen at the open market at Temuco, where they sell birds, poultry, eggs, fruit and garden produce; in this way they earn a little money which, in many cases, is barely enough to pay the bus fares. When they go by bus, they are almost always left to stand, whereas

the white settlers (and anyone else of non-Mapuche background) are able to remain seated. This fact is an outrage against our dignity, and Mapuche women are strongly affected by the tragic stigma of social discrimination.

Mapuche women carry their burden of poverty along with the rest of their families. They have no kind of social protection during pregnancy but are forced to work in order to subsist. The majority of women living in Mapuche communities occupy themselves with weaving; they make beautiful rugs, ponchos and blankets. Their life conditions compel them to work without a break for all of their lives, and when they reach old age, they receive no form of retirement pension so that they may live free from worry. Under the prevailing social and political system in Chile, it is the Mapuche women who suffer most, especially during pregnancy.

Mapuche children have practically no childhood at all. It is painful to see how our children are made to look after livestock soon after they learn to walk. The reason for this is that our villages and reservations have no infrastructure or fencing for keeping sheep and pigs safely confined. Therefore, it is necessary to take care of the animals, lest they should eat the crops, and so our children have to be around all the time. We have all gone through that period of our lives looking after stock, and we can all testify to this reality. I would invite anyone interested in seeing for himself to go to the Mapuche territories and take a look at our children; he will see how Chilean society strives to eliminate them from an early age, and how they are victimized just like their parents are. The sad life of Mapuche children can be seen at Lumaco, Cholchol, Imperial, Roble-Huacho or in the Andes; in fact, all over the area. At the time they reach school age, they must perform heavy chores. When I was a child, I never experienced the joy of holding a toy or similar Christmas present in my hands, nor did I have opportunities to enjoy myself like non-Indian children do. At my local village school, we were some two

hundred Mapuche pupils. We had only one football at our disposal, and some of us made balls out of rags or seaweed, which enabled us to have some fun in those important early years of life. In the wintertime, we could not go to school on frosty days, because we had no warm shoes nor clothes to protect us from the cold. The education of Mapuche children is thus interrupted owing to the extreme poverty of their community; this has further repercussions on their future possibilities of continuing to study in grammar schools and establishments of higher education.

#### THE YOUNG PEOPLE

The young people among the Mapuche live in conditions of tremendous uncertainty. When they reach the age of 14, they are considered suitable for performing any physical or manual work. At harvest time, many go to the neighbouring haciendas and work for people who usually exploit them, and they receive a low salary for doing jobs which are more proper for adult labour. Others are employed in stock herding, forestry or service functions, and only a small percentage of our teenagers are able to study in secondary schools. The situation is even worse for girls. When they reach the age of 14, they are compelled to leave their loved ones in the village or community. They go to the large cities in order to seek better work opportunities, because at home there is only poverty to be found owing to overpopulation. They are employed in the cities as domestic servants. No less than 75,000 young Mapuche of both sexes live under these conditions of uncertainty. They enjoy no stability; they have to be constantly on the move from one place to another, with no possibility whatsoever of making any real progress in their lives.