

Andean Amerindians and agricultural cooperatives during the Junta de Adelanto de Arica. Lluta, Azapa and the Andes foothills (1962-1976)*

*Indígenas andinos y cooperativas agrícolas durante la Junta de Adelanto de Arica.
Lluta, Azapa y la precordillera andina (1962-1976)*

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ABSTRACT

This article examines from a historical perspective the implementation of Cooperatives in the Department of Arica (1962-1976) and the participation of Andean farmers in these organizations. We describe the policies of the Corporation of Agrarian Reform, specifically, the actions of the Junta de Adelanto of Arica to promote association among indigenous peasants in the valleys and mountains of the extreme north of Chile.

Key words: rural cooperative, Andean Amerindians, Junta de Adelanto de Arica.

RESUMEN

El presente artículo analiza desde una perspectiva histórica la implementación de cooperativas en el Departamento de Arica (1962-1976) y la participación de agricultores andinos en este tipo de organizaciones. Para ello, se describen las políticas de la Corporación de Reforma Agraria y, puntualmente, las acciones que la Junta de Adelanto de Arica realizó para fomentar la asociatividad entre los campesinos indígenas de los valles y precordillera del extremo norte del país.

Palabras clave: cooperativas campesinas, indígenas andinos, Junta de Adelanto de Arica.

Introduction

Law N° 15,020 of 27 November 1962 initiated an agrarian reform in Chile, in order to “*give access to land ownership of those who work it, improve the quality of life of the rural population, increase agricultural and livestock production and improve the productivity of the soil*” (Ministry of Agriculture. 1962. *Agrarian Reform Law 15.020*. Art. °3). In order to do this, public institutions were modified. The Agricultural Colonization Fund was transformed into the Agrarian Reform Corporation (CORA), and the Institute of Agriculture and Livestock Development (INDAP) was created. Both

CORA and INDAP were authorized to promote the organization of cooperatives whose objectives were directly related to the production, commercialization and industrialization of farm products. The process of reconstruction of the farm sector which the government of Alessandri implemented at the national level had its effects in the Departamento de Arica in the foothills and mountains of *Huayllillas* and in the Azapa and Lluta valleys; the latter valley has high boron content in the water used for irrigation, which has limited agricultural productivity (Torres and Acevedo, 2008). This article explores the organization of agricultural cooperatives and their relation with some Andean farmers. We treat

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specifically the cooperatives which appeared as a result of the efforts of CORA, and a few cases generated by the Junto de Adelanto de Arica (JAA) which were discussed in depth in a study of this institution in the development and fomentation of agriculture at the regional level (Quiroz *et al.*, 2011). We also analyze the participation of the Andean Amerindians in these associations, which in our judgment inputs in the economic experience of Andean producers with respect to the regional market, the production in the northern valleys and their competitiveness in later periods (Vargas and Tapia, 2008).

Politics of Agrarian Reform in Arica and its valleys

Beginning with the process of agrarian reform changes were introduced in the coastal valleys such as re-distribution of farms, permanent habitation in them, fence construction and delimitation of property boundaries, improvement and preparation of soils, irrigation systems, functioning and strengthening of agricultural colonies and cooperatives. Beginning in 1962 the efforts of the Plan for Farm Development of the Junta de Adelanto de Arica, and those which resulted from the construction of the Lauca Canal, were developed in parallel with the process of farm restructuring which was implemented by the Alessandri government at the national level.

Cooperatives in the valleys of Arica (1963-1976)

Until 1963 the efforts of CORA in the Lluta valley were focused on improving soils which were potentially apt for agriculture, draining swamps, clearing areas and making them more accessible for production. At the end of 1963 CORA sent the JAA a report describing their activities. “1° The sum of E° 40,000 was awarded for the construction of the road in the valley of the Lluta River; this Junta will provide a second equal payment to finance this labor. 2° The studies and works to provide drinking water for the colony of the valley of the Lluta River have continued actively; this problem is expected to be solved satisfactorily soon; a change of plan was necessary since the drillings done by CORFO did not give the expected results. 3° The intensive studies of the water of the Lluta River have continued, to determine the elements it contains which may be damaging to agriculture. 4° The services

of agricultural engineer Carlos Mathews, who is one of the best professionals specialized in the management of soil and water, have recently been contracted to study these aspects in the valley of the Lluta River [...]. 5° Work has continued in the experimental farm of the Corporation in the Lluta Valley to establish different species of grass, corn, vegetables and others which best adapt to the soils and irrigation water, as well as to determine the amount of water necessary per hectare of crop, and thus estimate the surface of the valley which may be securely irrigated and the number of hectares which may be incorporated to agricultural use. 6° The drains to enable the different sections of the valley of the Lluta River are nearly finished; they consist of 140 km of covered conduits which will drain all of the 1948 hectares which the Corporation has in Lluta. Now the second stage will begin, dealing with the management of the soils and water and led by agronomist Carlos Mathews, from whose labors excellent results are expected. 7° The subdivision of the first and second sectors of the Julio Fuenzalida Riveros Colony in the Río Lluta Valley has been completed; the third and last sector will be subdivided soon. 8° The preparation of the soils of the Puro Chile and Santa Rosa colonies is well underway; the majority of the drainages have been built and the conduits will soon be laid and covered.” Archivo Histórico Vicente Dagnino (AHVD) Fondo Estudios Técnicos de la JAA, Vol. 391, 5 November 1963.

In the Azapa Valley, CORA began the implementation and organization of agricultural colonies to take advantage of the opening of new areas produced by changing the course of part of the Lauca River. The 1962 Agrarian Reform Law was complemented in 1967 by Law N° 16,640. This new law emphasized the organization of farmers in associations and syndicates to improve the associativity among producers, and added more specifications for the organization of cooperatives among the farmers. To stimulate these organizations, CORA re-distributed land and reformed areas in which it formed “settlements”. A settlement was a first stage in the social and economic organization of the farmers; land was assigned to them, and if during a period of three years they fulfilled the requirement of CORA to exploit the land efficiently they were given title to the lands, which could be individually or through Cooperatives.

In the Departamento de Arica, the settlements of the agrarian reform and the constitution of

cooperatives took place in sectors of the low valleys, particularly in Lluta and Azapa. In Lluta, CORA formed the settlements El Morro, Alberto Jordán and Puro Chile. El Morro was formed by 15 families who came from the Choapa valley, formally begun on 20 September 1968. Each family received an average of 8 hectares cultivated individually, and there was a proportion reserved for community use since there were small villages which implicated the community use of the crops. In this settlement production was mainly oriented to cattle and milk production. The Alberto Jordan settlement was also settled by people from the Choapa valley; it was legally constituted on 6 February 1970, in what previously had been Lot 16 of the Julio Fuenzalida Riveros Colony. The agricultural exploitation was done communally, according to an annual exploitation plan which was elaborated for each settlement by the farmers and representatives of CORA. According to the official documents (Conservador de Bienes Raíces, CBR), in 1975 the settlement Alberto Jordán was subdivided; CORA granted the property titles to the farmers of this sector. CORA required payment for the titles; the farmers paid for their land with money they had earned from the produce of their own lands. The Puro Chile settlement was formed by families which came from Vallenar, Ovalle, Ticnamar and Camiña on 10 October 1967. In 1972 the farmers who were partners in the Cooperativa de Reforma Agraria "Puro Chile", Ltda. received their property titles. This was an Act of Settlement which transferred the ownership of the Puro Chile settlement from CORA to the Cooperativa de Reforma Agraria "Puro Chile", Ltda. after a stipulated payment by the cooperative (CBR, Volumen Propiedad Tomo 3 fojas 796-1025, 1972). In the Azapa valley, CORA formed the settlements Sobraya, Santa Irene and El Chuval in the period 1965-1970. The Cooperativa de Reforma Agraria Mixta Sobraya, Ltda had formed part of the "lands located in the Sobraya valley Lot G", which were owned by the Ministerio de Tierras y Colonización. These lands were acquired in 1936 by the Caja de Colonización Agrícola and later transferred to CORA, which founded the settlement on 10 April 1965 by transferring the entire "Hacienda Pan de Azúcar" and 235 hectares of the Lot of the Sobraya Valley or Lot G or "Casa Grande", giving a total of 893.9 ha. Both sectors became known as Sobraya. In 1969 the property titles were awarded to the partners of the Cooperativa de Reforma Agraria Sobraya Mixta Ltda. According to CBR

documents a total of 56 titles were paid and granted. The rest of the Sobraya area was occupied more or less spontaneously by groups of farmers from the sectors of Livilcar, Ticnamar, Belén, Camiña, Parinacota and Surire, many of whom had been living in Arica. The area called Pan de Azúcar in the Azapa valley was established in 1972 with a group from Livilear, which they called Hijos de Livilear, and other groups from Camiña, Parinacota, Murmuntane and Misitune were established in 1973 in the Pampa Algodonal Norte 2. This area was occupied by 20 families, who called the sector Camiña. Another group of 18 families, the majority from Surire and the rest from Camiña, along with Bolivians resident in Camiña and Timalchaca, settled in the sector called Surire (Pampa Algodonal Sur). The Settlement Act was created on 17 June 1974, along with a contract with CORA on 30 June to establish an Agricultural Agrarian Reform Society in the areas of Pampa Algodonal, Pampa Algodonal Norte uno, Pampa Algodonal Norte dos y Pampa Pan de Azúcar, together forming the Andean Farmers Group (AFG). According to Platt (1975), the AFG was the result of the search by Andean Amerindian farmers for access to agricultural land to exploit, including people from the mountain foothills, the Altiplano and Arica. In 1972 a group of producers from Livilear, who had suffered from the flooding of the San José River, indicated interest in occupying the high sectors of the Azapa valley, available since the construction of the Lauca Canal. In this year in the ACA sector, contingents exclusively of Andean origin were established. The migrations from the communities of Camiña, Parinacota and Surire to the sectors of the Pampa Algodonal indicates the persistence of a system of vertical mobility (from the mountains to the low valleys) activated by the ACA. Platt (1975) called this process "ethno-scientific experimentation" of "cultural tradition", since the Andean farmers implemented in the Pampa Algodonal sector the same system of terraces and canals.

The subdivision of the land this group occurred in 1975 and involved 373.7 ha.; property titles to 79 lots of 4.38 ha. were awarded, along with 5 lots destined for the construction of a school named G-31 for the children of the farmers and lots for the installation of villages. We note that this subdivision was achieved by the farmers themselves without the help of CORA, since the productive nucleus in ACA was composed a partner of the group and his wife,

with collaboration from the children who lived in Arica and the families in their towns of origin, thus the exploitation was done individually before the subdivision by CORA. The only community labors were construction of irrigation ditches, the assembly hall of the ACA, the school and the irrigation systems and the first stages of the preparation of the soil. The settlement El Chuval was composed almost entirely by people of Aymara origin, who until 1969 were renters or sharecroppers of the owner Manuel Rodríguez. This land was expropriated by CORA, which with 8 families constituted the El Chuval settlement in an area of approximately 54.59 ha. In October, 1970 the land of El Chuval was assigned to the partners of the Cooperativa de Reforma Agraria Limitada "El Chuval". According to the regulations of CORA the transfer included everything built, planted and seeded in the lands, but did not include water rights. Here most exploitation had been as individual sharecroppers in the production of tomatoes and green beans. The transfer of property rights in 1970 included the 8 families which had formed the settlement. From the same farm El Chuval expropriated from Manuel Rodríguez, CORA assigned land for the establishment of the settlement Santa Irene de Azapa in an area of 222.60 ha. This settlement was established with 7 families, and on 23 May 1970 it became a cooperative, formed almost exclusively by people of Aymara origin from the highlands of the Department. The transfer of property rights from CORA to the partners of the Cooperativa Santa Irene de Azapa included a plot of land and a house; at this time the agricultural production system varied between individual exploitation and sharecropping, oriented principally to the production of tomatoes and green beans. The Sobraya cooperative and ACA are faithful reflections of the large indigenous presence in the settlements of CORA, while in Lluta the reformed sectors were shared with non-indigenous people who migrated from the valleys of the Norte Chico. Apparently, the assignation of farms to Andean people in the former valley increased in the decade of 1970 during the administration of the military government; these producers came from the sectors which historically have been occupied by Andean people such as Sora and Molinos. González (1998) argued that the greatest beneficiaries in the assignment of lands and property titles during the agrarian reform were the Aymara of the region, more so in the Azapa valley than in Lluta, which is borne out

by the records of the CBR. CORA also promoted, although not as intensively, the organization of cooperatives in three sectors of the the Camarones valley; Cuya in the low part of the valley, Camarones in the intermediate zone and Esquiña in the foothills. The sector of Camarones was the area with most cultivation in the whole valley: on 1 October 1965 the Camarones settlement was founded, formed by a group of families who eventually became owners in the sector called Hacienda Camarones.

Cooperativa Agrícola y Ganadera of Putre

Beginning in 1963, the Cooperativa Agrícola y Ganadera Putre Ltda. "*progressively provided services for the population of the interior of the Department (Province) of Arica, including transport, outlet stores, agricultural machines and implements (tractors, balers, shredders), commercialization of cattle and handicraft, credits for manual work tools (picks, shovels, wheelbarrows, etc.), cement, etc.*" (AHVD. *Organización Cooperativa de los pueblos del interior*, 28 February 1975). It should be noted that this cooperative for years had a conflict of representation. The original objective of the Cooperativa Agrícola y Ganadera Putre Ltda. was to provide services for the farmers of different communities of the foothills, but had been frustrated due to its name. This situation generated "*the farmers have requested a change in the name of the cooperative, since according to their cultural conception, an organization identified with the name of a specific town will imagine, think and act identifying only with the problems of this town, and thus farmers from other towns are reluctant to join this organization. This is clear, since the populations of Socoroma, Murmuntane, Chapiquiña, Belén, Ticnamar, etc. have not joined the Putre cooperative because it has the name "PUTRE LTDA"*" (AHVD. *Fijación de Políticas Cooperativas*, Arica 28 February 1975). Other information allows us to understand some of the economic effects due to lack of representation. In 1971 the Putre cooperative received an agricultural credit of \$ 190,000 escudos from JAA; \$ 100,000 of this was for the commercialization of alfalfa, and the remainder for the commercialization of oregano. It is known that the community of Belén (close to Putre) was one of the largest producers of oregano, and that one of its main necessities was a commercial network, as testified by a letter published

in the local newspaper La Defensa in May, 1972. In this letter the community expressed its concern due to the lack of a direct commercial network, with direct reference to the loss of buying power for oregano; this was supplied by the Comercio Agrícola (ECA) for the producers, which served as a mediator between the producers and the (AHVD. Comisión de Agricultura Acta N° 7/72, 1972). The commercialization problem was directly related to the lack of means of transport for the farmers in the interior of the Department. In 1974 the Putre cooperative sent a request to the JAA for a bus to transport products and persons to improve the commercial network. It was finally agreed to build an 8-ton truck adequate to transport people and their products for the Putre cooperative, which was expected to improve the commercialization of its products. (AHVD. Comisión de Agricultura Acta N° 4/74, 25 April 1974, 8, 9). During these years the Municipality of Arica was trying to implement what it called “*rationalization of commerce*”, with the installation of new permanent open-air markets for farm products, assigning to the “*Asociación de Agricultores de Arica 4 stands in each of the permanent markets, in order to regulate the retail prices. The Junta de Adelanto judged that these markets were part of the chain of commercialization, and thus their construction and financing were necessary*” (AHVD. Comisión de Agricultura Acta N° 4/74, 25 April 1974, 11). The farmers of Putre had the fervent hope of having a more adequate commercialization system for their livestock products. Thus “*The Asociación de Agricultores of Arica asked the Junta de Adelanto to allow the rental of two stands equipped as meat markets which they promptly identified, and this institution indicated that there was no reason not to submit the project to study*” (AHVD. Comisión de Agricultura Acta N° 4/74, 25 April 1974, 12). In Arica, other commercial stores were being equipped to deal with agricultural and livestock products; the Lluta cooperative had a meat market in the Mercado Loa which had also been built by the JAA, while similar structures were being built in the Juan Noé, Radio El Morro and Población Pacífico” neighborhoods which needed this kind of service. The JAA provided the facilities so that CORHABIT, the institution responsible for installing the utilities in those places, would have specific sites for meat markets, and regulated the prices and sales of meat in the city. The presence of settlements and cooperatives increased with the

promotion beginning in 1965. The organizations became regular users; one of the benefits which the State agencies most awarded was agricultural credit. We may use these credits as an element of analysis to visualize how the Andean producers integrated into the programs which the State agencies implemented in the low valleys and foothills. We will also see that the different farmers’ organizations mentioned above began to function, by means of which the producers acted to obtain the economic resources to exploit the new assigned land, plant new crops, extend the olive plantations and assure the commercialization of their farm products.

Cooperativa Agrícola Valles Hermosos

Some requests for credit were made by the Cooperativa Agrícola “Valles Hermosos”, which since 1971 was the owner of the Hacienda Valles Hermosos. This organization functioned regulated by the Ley de Cooperativas, according to Decree N° 2 of 4 January 1971 which gave it legal status. This cooperative requested credit from JAA to buy a 3-4 ton truck, an 8-10 ton truck and a tractor-plow and harrow. The requested trucks were mostly to be used to transport the harvests to the centers of consumption in the city. To convince the Junta of the need for this loan, they stated that:

1. The production of corn is about 250,000 cobs monthly from June to December each year, as well as a considerable harvest of onions, chard, hay, etc. The intention is to deliver the product directly to the open-air neighborhood markets, avoiding the price increase due to intermediaries. We plan to deliver the animals raised by our members to the centers of local consumption; so far this year there have been 30,000 broilers, 2000 layers and nearly 1000 pigs, sheep, goats, rabbits, etc. The transport of fertilizer to the fields, transport of personnel and other transport within the Hacienda requires a 3-4 ton truck.
2. Last year part of the corn harvest was lost due to the refusal of DIRINCO to allow transport of this product to the mining centers of the extreme north and the south of the country. One of the factors in their decision was the price increase by the intermediary. We wish to deliver our harvests directly to the centers of consumption in the Norte Grande, miners

and cities, at production cost plus the commercialization percentage which DIRINCO establishes. For this we need an 8-10 ton truck (AHVD. Comisión de Agricultura Acta N° 9/72, 17 August 1972, 13, 14).

The partners in this cooperative demonstrated management capacity in placing the products not only in the local centers of consumption, but also in all the Norte Grande. They decided to continue increasing the cultivated land of the cooperative, so they worked to prepare *“part of the pampa to seed castor beans to extract their oil, which is in great demand in other countries”*. To do this *“they have the following machines: two tractors, harrow plows, rakes, mowers, pumps, fumigators, etc. This has not been enough to take care of their increasing activities. For this reason they solicited a tractor-plow with harrow”* (AHVD. Comisión de Agricultura Acta N° 9/72, 17 August 1972, 13, 14).

Cattle Raising Development Plan of Lluta

The JAA transferred E° 2,969,200 to CORA to finance the Plan for Livestock Development of Lluta, also called the Plan Lluta, which began with the agreement signed by JAA and CORA on 22 December 1969. The objective of the plan was to foment livestock raising in the valley, making better use of the renewable material resources, and to provide capital for livestock development, providing better supply for the community and saving money. The structure of Plan Lluta was that JAA financed the entire project, while the Comité de Desarrollo Agropecuario for the northern zone (CODEAGRO) administrated the funds destined for development loans and to stimulate the capitalization of the producers. CORA was responsible for maintaining administrative control and accounting of the Plan Lluta. Funds were provided to the agricultural producers who applied for them according to the strictures of the Reglamento de Crédito de Desarrollo Agropecuario de Lluta approved by agreement N° 4507 of 1 April 1970 of the H. Consejo de la JAA (AHVD. Acuerdo 4.520 del 18.04.1970, 4). The objective of the credit was to promote the development of the milk industry, as well as to allow the rational use of the human and natural resources of the valley to benefit the community and provide capital for: a) Establishment of alfalfa fields; b) Milking implements and installations; c)

Acquisition of cattle; d) Acquisition of agricultural machines and implements and e) Establishment of other forage crops. The type of guarantee required of the users and the repayment time differed among the credits, which were awarded either in equipment or in cash (AHVD. Project of credit rules for the Plan Agropecuario de Lluta, presented by CODEAGRO, 1 April 1970, 1, 2). The Lluta Plan functioned in the CORA settlements, which at this time included El Morro, Alberto Jordan and Puro Chile. The first two were oriented to cattle and milk production, so it is logical to assume that they formed part of the plan; we do not know about Puro Chile, which unlike the other two was composed of Aymara people. This comment is intended to provide more background information about the functioning of the Plan Lluta, that is, whether or not the producers of the valley responded to the offer which JAA and CORA made with respect to livestock production. We know that some of them did, but we are not sure how many or which ones. The heterogeneity of the farmers who inhabited the valley (producers originally from the Third Region in El Morro and Alberto Jordan, and Aymara in Puro Chile) may have been a factor in the way in which livestock raising and milk production were done, since in Puro Chile there were no sectors of communal use (villages), while the farmers from Choapa did have these villages, which probably allowed them to maintain a different kind of social relation; this may have influenced the success of the Plan Lluta. This plan had been applied by implementing a cattle breeding center in the valley. This center hoped to develop and increase the livestock and milk production in Lluta and in Camarones. This center kept the livestock in good conditions, and for this there was a monthly charge to their owners, although its cost was less than it would have cost the farmers to maintain the cattle in their own farm (AHVD. Comisión de Agricultura Acta N° 3/74, 28 February 1974, 6). CORA received and raised in the center the calves brought by individuals and producers, using an artificial system whose cost was 70,000 escudos, while the natural system cost 142,000 escudos. However, the results of the center in 1974 were not those expected by JAA and CORA, since only 4 or 5 farmers had sent cows for milk production; alternatives were discussed to give incentive to the program, one of them suggested that CORA should take charge of milk production. The council

of the JAA thought that this indicated the lack of interest of the producers in milk production. The council stated *“for these reasons people are moving south, and the Plan Lluta was made to colonize the valley. There is also an agricultural crisis in the north of the country, and there is an excess of alfalfa in the whole country. The milk problem in Arica is a distribution problem; the milk center is not important, as long as there is milk. The problems in stimulating livestock production had already been faced by State entities, “in 1962 the JAA sold by agreement 900 sheep to the farmers of Lluta. The more the farmers bought, the lower the charge. After a year and a half (1963), the farmers were threatening to give back the sheep”*. One of the causes of the failure of this plan was the lack of projects to increase the amount of grassland needed to feed them. The lack of grass in the valley had increased the demand and with it the price, which meant that it was more beneficial for the farmers to produce fodder than to raise cattle or produce milk. In Putre the price of fodder increased from 50 to 200 escudos (AHVD. Comisión de Agricultura Acta N° 3/74, 28 February 1974,8). The objectives of the State institutions for the programs of productive development depended upon the terms imposed by the farmers, who as we see did not always react positively to the incentives of the JAA; in some cases they rejected the incentives to increase livestock production and intensified the traditional production of alfalfa, to take advantage of the greater profit generated by this crop. The breeding center in Lluta helped the reformed sectors, that is, those producers who had title to their property because they had fulfilled the State requirements during the agrarian reform. The Andean farmers did not accept all the development projects promoted by the State agency; they were selective. The described cases reflect in part the way in which the Andean producers adopted the credit modality, promoted their applications to the corresponding entities and looked for solutions to confront the difficulties arising in their agricultural business. The producers accepted the economic conditions and one way or another they followed the requirements of the market. Credit requests through the cooperatives was one way the farmers found to get loans from the JAA; since the quotas were charged to the cooperative, the farmers had less risk of losing their land legally. The military government continued forming cooperatives but attempted to regionalize

them, that is, that a cooperative functioning as a company would have a limited area of activity, in which it could function as efficiently as possible, trying to improve production and productivity; this led to the modification by decree of Law N° 445, the Ley General de Cooperativas (R.R.A.) N° 20 of 1963. Thus in the Departamento de Arica they tried to create a farmer company with the name of Cooperativa Andina with an administrative structure based on a general assembly, an administrative council, committees and specialized departments in direct relation with the neighborhood organizations of the communities of the interior such as Ticnamar, Chapiquiña, Putre, Murmuntane, Socoroma, Caquena, Parinacota, Visviri and Chucuyo. The design of a regional cooperative called Andina is, in our opinion, a reflection of recognition by the State of the particularities of the Andean farmers in the Department of Arica (see Figure 1).

Commentaries

Considering that the conformation of settlements and cooperatives which CORA undertook to restructure the system of land ownership in Arica in an attempt to modernize the farming system of the country, it is useful to ask what regional role the JAA played in the agrarian reform process. The historical documentation analyzed shows that the JAA was indispensable in the application of the agrarian reform in Arica (1963); until 1974 the JAA used 5% of its budget on this item. Thus the resources of CORA included fiscal contributions from the central government, 5% of the budget of the JAA and monies from the recovery of agricultural lands by CORA. A newspaper article indicated that *“10% of the annual income of the Junta is given to the Corporación de la Reforma Agraria to acquire lands destined to be subdivided in the Departamento de Arica. Between 1959 and June 1964 Cora has received from the Junta E° 4,020,317.22, which has made a possible labors whose fruit may now be appreciated”* (La Defensa, Arica, 15 October 1964).

Andean Amerindians participated actively in all the programs jointly implemented by CORA and JAA, producing a social and economic dynamic of the farming sector, generating complex political channels at the level of supply and demand, and activated the local markets in the foothills and in the Azapa and Lluta valleys.

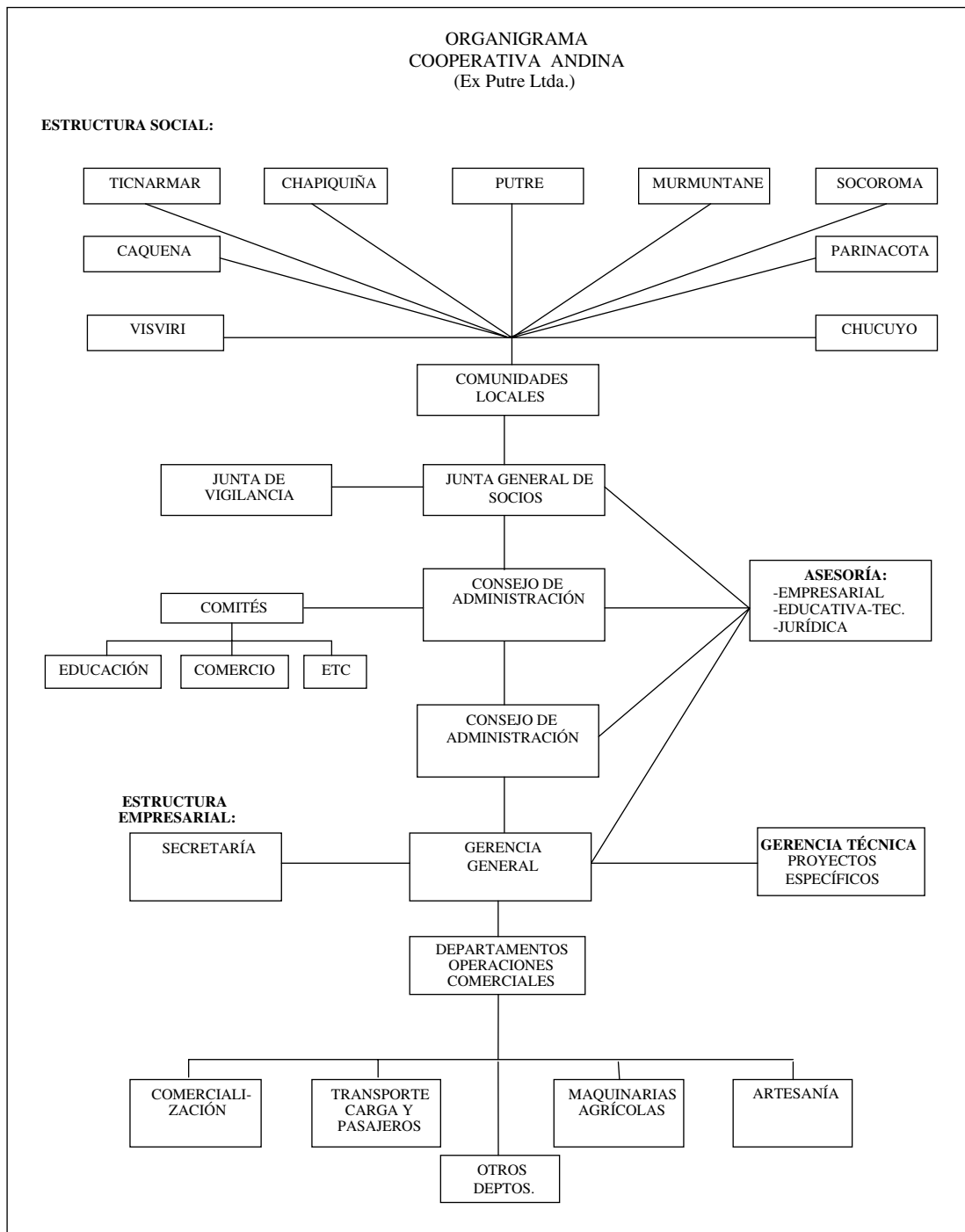


Figure 1. Andean Cooperative Organization Chart 1975.

Source: AHVD. Fondo Estudios Técnicos de la JAA, 1975.

The indigenous people, considered as one of the farming segments of the country, became involved in the format of socioeconomic associativity permitted by the cooperatives, simultaneously integrating networks of sociability of an Andean culture which, seeing the signs of the times, activated agency

mechanisms of social changes and adjustments within the communities, providing Arica with the agricultural products of the valleys to activate the regional markets and the social and dynamic migrations of the valleys and the development of agriculture in the north.

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