

FROM CONSERVATIVES TO *MAPUS*.  
A STUDY OF RELIGION AND POLITICS IN CHILE (1935-1969)

A thesis

submitted by

Luz Díaz de Valdés

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

TUFTS UNIVERSITY

February 2013

Adviser: Peter Winn

## ABSTRACT

This work analyzes the political options that some influential Chilean Catholics chose from the late 1930s to the late 1960s. This is a study of the joint trajectory of some prominent clerical figures and some political leaders. A political history is intertwined with an ecclesiastical history, reflecting both the Vatican and Latin American hierarchies and also influential voices of Chilean clerics. This is also a history of how ideas influenced the actions and options of Chilean Catholics, and how they expressed themselves in the Chilean political scene. In political terms, it is about a trajectory toward the left, a trajectory that begins in the Conservative Party, passes through Social Christianity and the reformist Christian Democratic party, and ends in the left-wing *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario* or MAPU of Salvador Allende's Popular Unity coalition.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

To Peter Winn, whose guidance, rigor, patience and generosity made this research possible.

And with love to Juan Carlos, Juana, Luz and Sofia, my source of strength and perseverance.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	ii
Introduction	1
Part I. Social Catholicism: new challenges, new answers	
1. Taking positions: What to do with the social question	6
2. Facing positions: conservatives and <i>falangistas</i>	13
3. Catholics and the "Communist problem": a new division	22
Part II. Democracy and Christianity	
1. Social and political issues; development and peace	29
2. The Jesuit activism	35
3. A Catholic "Revolution"	41
Part III. Socialism on the horizon	
1. The countryside's crusade	48
2. The rebellion of the clergy	60
4. Rebellion within Christian Democracy	73
Conclusions	81
Sources and bibliography	85

## INTRODUCTION

On the morning of Sunday, August 11th, 1968, the fence surrounding the Cathedral of Santiago appeared chained and padlocked. A banner hung from its towers overlooking the Santiago Plaza de Armas, announcing: "For a Church with the people and its struggles". The Cathedral had been taken over by a group of 200 laymen, seven priests and three nuns who later on called themselves "*Iglesia Joven*" ("Young Church"). Inside, under photographs of one of Latin America's revolutionary icons, Che Guevara, and Colombian guerrilla priest, Camilo Torres, they celebrated mass and prayed for the war victims of Vietnam, the workers of Latin America and the political prisoners of Brazil. With this spectacular act, "*Iglesia Joven*" intended to draw the attention of Chilean Catholics, criticize the ecclesiastical hierarchy for distancing itself from the suffering of the majority, and raise their voices against Pope Paul VI's visit to Colombia to inaugurate the Second Conference of the Latin American Episcopate in the city of Medellin<sup>1</sup>.

The brief occupation of the Santiago Cathedral occurred under the rule of Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei Montalva, who became president in 1964 after an overwhelming electoral victory. Frei attracted wide support from the Catholic electorate in support of a reformist project called a "*Revolución en Libertad*" ("Revolution in Liberty"). Frei would develop major structural reforms showing respect for personal freedoms and democracy. By mid-1968, however, signs of disorder in and exhaustion of this reformist path appeared. Within the ranks of the Christian Democracy, the ruling party, an irreconcilable conflict began, and in the first months of 1969 it ended with the creation of a new party, with close ties with the Marxist left, the *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria* (Unitary People's Action Movement), popularly known as MAPU. A year later, the MAPU actively participated in the *Unidad Popular* (Popular

Unity), the political coalition that supported the candidature of the socialist Salvador Allende in the presidential election<sup>2</sup>.

Both the occupation of the Santiago Cathedral -and the subsequent formation of the group "*Iglesia Joven*"- and the creation of the MAPU were strong signals that a previously unknown leftist Catholicism was emerging on the Chilean political map. In the late Sixties, and especially just before the 1970 presidential election, some Catholics explored the possibility of a shared political project with the previously feared Marxist left, and of declaring themselves both Catholics *and* Marxists.

During the Sixties there were some expressions worldwide of a leftist Catholic movement, for which the figure of Camilo Torres, a Colombian priest who had taken up arms to help the poor and died a guerrilla, became a paradigm. Also in the first half of the Sixties, some European intellectuals explored the doctrinal possibilities of a Christian-Marxist dialogue, and conferences in Eastern European cities were an expression of that exploration. In Chile it was not until the late Sixties when a group of Catholics distanced themselves from the reformist path of Frei, and took a new left leaning path.

What was behind this expression of unease and disaffection by a group of Catholics with the Christian Democrat's project that years earlier they strongly supported? How did a group of Chilean Catholics embrace socialism and support the candidacy of Salvador Allende in 1970, something that sixty years earlier or even six years earlier would have seemed almost unthinkable? To answer these questions we need to analyze the political options that some influential Chilean Catholics chose throughout the early and mid-twentieth century.

Beginning in the early twentieth century and culminating in the late Sixties Chilean Catholics had traveled a long theological and political path. If at the beginning of the twentieth century, the only political option for Catholics was the Conservative Party, in the late Sixties the

political spectrum had widened for them. Corporatist and very conservative voices emerged from the right, including the group *Sociedad Tradición, Propiedad y Familia* (Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property) and the *gremialismo* of the Catholic University of Santiago, led by law professor Jaime Guzmán<sup>3</sup>. From the left, the already mentioned MAPU, and the *Izquierda Cristiana* (Christian Left), a group that also emerged from the Christian Democracy, were demonstrations of the variety of political options that Catholics were taking at the time<sup>4</sup>.

This trajectory "from conservatives to *mapus*", with its fears and prejudices, its ruptures and continuities, is the central theme of this work. This is a study of the joint trajectory of a group of Chilean Catholics, especially some prominent clerical figures of Santiago and some political leaders. It is also a study of the reasons why they made the political decisions they made. Here, therefore, a political history is intertwined with an ecclesiastical history, reflecting both Vatican and Latin American hierarchies and also influential voices of Chilean clerics. This is also a history of how ideas influenced the actions and options of Chilean Catholics, and how they expressed themselves in the Chilean political scene.

The analysis begins with the "social question", exploring how Chilean Catholics dealt with it. This "social question", evident in the material misery of the working classes of urban centers, was a problem that went far beyond national borders, and the European social Catholicism of the nineteenth century and the social doctrine of the Church inaugurated by Leo XIII with his famous encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891) had already responded to it. For them, the central concern was the de-Christianization of the working classes and the growing threat posed by the attraction of leftist parties among workers<sup>5</sup>.

Catholic social and political diagnosis experienced a major change in the 1930s and 1940s when there were serious attempts to give concrete answers to the "social question". Some Catholics, often isolated and condemned by their peers, sought historical and political

responses to social problems. A few clerical and political figures developed a more radical, political and ideological consciousness demonstrated in their diagnosis of Chilean social problems and their possible solutions. Here we find the beginnings of a left-wing Christianity which was expressed years later<sup>6</sup>.

The political change the Latin American Catholic Church experienced and the progressiveness of some of its groups have been the subject of extensive and varied studies. Initially, these studies examined the role of certain hierarchies and the impact of liberation theology. Then, interest moved towards the motivation behind this change and looked at some lay movements and especially the base ecclesiastical communities (*comunidades eclesiales de base*, commonly known as CEBs)<sup>7</sup>.

The Chilean case, and in particular, the dictatorship years and the defense of human rights by Santiago Archbishop, Cardinal Raul Silva Henríquez (1961-1983), and the creation of the *Vicaría de la Solidaridad* (Vicariate of Solidarity), are episodes that have been reviewed. The Chilean Catholic Church became a landmark case for the analyses of Latin American political-religious relations in the twentieth century<sup>8</sup>.

This study will cover the years from 1935 until 1969. We will follow the leftward path a group of Chilean Catholics took, one that has its roots in Chilean social Catholicism. We will examine the different political and theological answers they gave. Most of this history will be based on the experiences of these Catholics, their questions and beliefs, fears and motivations.

A first section begins by presenting the characteristics of Chilean social Catholicism in the early twentieth century and the ideological and political problems that a group of them had within the Conservative Party. In this section, the years of the *Falange Nacional* and the subsequent Social Christian Party, and the significance they had for Chilean Catholicism in the

Thirties and Forties are examined. This section will seek to understand the first and still isolated political responses from social Catholics in the early twentieth century, and also the problems that their responses generated within Catholic ranks.

A second section will be devoted to tracing the trajectory of the Chilean social Christian parties in the late Fifties and early Sixties. This section will examine the external forces, such as European Catholic progressive thought and the renovation of the Catholic Church that strengthened these social Christian options. In this context, the emergence of the Christian reformist project of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party will be analyzed. The focus of this section is the social, economic and political ideas developed by the Chilean Catholic Church, especially by some members of the hierarchy and of the Society of Jesus, and how these ideas brought together much of the Chilean Catholic world in support of the Christian Democratic project of Eduardo Frei Montalva.

A third and final section is devoted to the years when the principles emanating from the Second Vatican Council were received and adapted in Latin America. In the case of Chile, this happened in tandem with the increasing polarization of society and the high levels of popular mobilization. This section is devoted to analyzing the trajectory that led some Catholics towards political and ideological left-wing options, and the reasons behind their rejection of Frei's reformist path. The founding in 1969 of MAPU, a party formed mainly of Catholics, represents the culmination of this trajectory.

## PART I

### SOCIAL CATHOLICISM: NEW CHALLENGES, NEW ANSWERS

#### 1. Taking positions: What to do with the social question

If, in Chile, from the second half of the nineteenth century, the Conservative Party was the representative and defender of Catholic Church interests and the place that Catholicism would have in civil society, that relationship began to weaken in the first decades of the twentieth century. These differences no longer had to do with religious issues -as it was in the nineteenth century when the main differences between Liberals and Conservatives were of that kind-, but rather with social issues and their subsequent political implementation. It was then that a small group of Catholics, mainly composed of young Catholics from the Catholic University of Santiago and some figures of the clergy, raised their voice against the Conservative Party and proposed a new political path. These Catholics, inspired by social Catholicism, would come to trouble the political-religious relations of early twentieth century Chile<sup>9</sup>.

The "social question", and how Catholics understood and faced it, was a key element in the political division of Chilean Catholics. This "social question", the awareness of deteriorating living conditions of popular sectors, mainly workers of the urban and industrial centers, and their subsequent manifestations of unrest and protest in the first decades of the twentieth century, was in the center of public debate<sup>10</sup>.

From the working-class world, groups of workers and craftsmen built channels of resistance, protest and various associations to fight the "social question". Through strikes, popular uprisings and anarchic demonstrations, mutual-aid organizations and resistance societies, unions and leftist political parties -the first of them the Democratic Party founded in

1887- an answer was given to the “social question” and bases were set for the Chilean labor movement<sup>11</sup>.

Different episodes highlighted this debate about the terms and possible solutions to this “social question”. The events of 1890 and the first general strike that brought together workers from the nitrates mines of Tarapacá to the coal region near Concepción, demonstrated the capacity and strength of the labor movement. Then came the events of 1903 in the port of Valparaiso, where representatives of the Chilean anarchist movement demonstrated their strength by attacking the buildings of an influential right-wing newspaper, *El Mercurio*, and burning the offices of important shipping companies. Finally, the events of 1907 in the city of Iquique -capital of the nitrate producing province of Tarapacá- shook the country with a regional general strike that had a bloody end known as “Massacre of the School of Santa Maria de Iquique”, in which hundreds (perhaps thousands) of miners, their women and children were killed by the Chilean army<sup>12</sup>.

The Catholic world rapidly took position on this debate about the social question. Although it rejected the radical workers' responses and the emerging political left, Catholics after 1880 not only raised their voices, but also made efforts to alleviate the problems of the workers. To this end, a series of initiatives were generated, such as Catholic workers' associations, foremost amongst them the "Workers' Societies of San Jose" and "The Conference of St. Vincent de Paul". Also, in 1904, Monsignor Ignacio Gonzalez organized the First Social Catholic Congress. These efforts helped to raise awareness about social problems among Catholics and Chilean Catholic historiography has considered that they gave birth to Chilean social Catholicism<sup>13</sup>.

In the late nineteenth century, after Leo XIII published the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* in 1891, the teachings of the Catholic Church in Chile addressed the social question. In the context of an industrialized world, Leo XIII (1878-1903) tried to respond to the challenges that the secularization process imposed on the Church. He directly addressed the situation of the working classes, considered by many as a symbol of a group that distanced itself from Catholicism. Leo XIII began with an analysis of the workers' problems and the inability or unwillingness of the ruling class to address this reality. But he went beyond a mere individual diagnosis and criticized the capitalist economic order, which he blamed for having created an unknown social division and having established the conditions for the emergence of something far worse, Marxism. In the face of growing protests and labor unrest, the remoteness of the workers from the Church and the dreaded advance of socialism and anarchism in Europe, Leo XIII placed the workers in the center of his teachings and urged Catholics to take an active and concrete role in solving social problems, both in business and in the State. Leo XIII marked a turning point in the history of Catholicism, especially after the papacy of Pius IX (1848-1878), with its difficult relationship with the modern world and rejection of all forms of economic, social and political innovation since the mid-nineteenth century<sup>14</sup>.

In September 1891, the hierarchy of the Chilean Catholic Church officially reacted to *Rerum Novarum* through a pastoral document signed by the Archbishop of Santiago, Mariano Casanova<sup>15</sup>. Casanova's diagnosis and proposals were far from Leo XIII's and, instead, he spent much of his document denouncing the evils that socialism entailed. According to him, social equality was nothing more than a "dangerous illusion" that responded to an "inequality of conditions and fortunes", and was explained by a "natural inequality of talents, skills and strengths." In this context, socialism stood as "a formidable danger" and a "deranged doctrine". The only explanation behind the advance of socialism among working classes was that it

defended "the greed of the disinherited of fortune with the expectation of acquired wealth without work".

"The frivolous spirits are easily convinced of the apparent injustice they believe to discover in the providential fact that men that are equal in nature can have unequal social status, and this false belief is engendering a deadly antagonism between rich and poor, employers and proletarians, the favored by fortune and the disinherited of it"<sup>16</sup>

For Casanova the only solution was in the Gospel, that "teaches detachment to the rich and resignation to the poor", "forcing one to look at the poor as brothers, to be interested in their fate and to help them in their needs" and that imposes on the poor "a duty to search in honest labor and a moderate conduct the necessary resources for life "<sup>17</sup>.

Central elements of this Christian definition of the social question were given by the Christian value that was assigned to work and the distinction made between the "Christian" worker and the "impious" worker. The words of the director of the Society of Workers of *San José*, the priest Miguel León Prado, are eloquent efforts to understand these concepts:

"... Christian work, which mollified St. Joseph with his patience and resignation; Christian work which Jesus sanctified in the workshop of Nazareth; Christian work, which has love as its foundation; not the work that is based on hatred, despair; not of the work that is considered as a brutal load, as a curse always weighing on the worker"<sup>18</sup>

According to Prado, the essential difference between the "Christian" worker and the "impious" worker was a Christian acceptance of their poverty and a life attached to Christian values:

"In the home of the Christian worker, under the shadow of the Christ that hangs from the wall of his room, you can breathe a deep well being; therein is peace, joy, happiness; there, misery is not known; whereas in the home of the impious worker, on whose walls you can see the filthy sensationalist rag full of caricatures and gross indecency, you can breathe hatred, despair; he lavishes all kinds of scandals, beats his wife and children; in that household total misery reigns, together with the most shameful vices. While the Christian worker lives happily in poverty, the impious and corrupt worker is full of indignation and hatred against the rich; because he has no money to give free rein to his unbridled passions"<sup>19</sup>

By looking at the words of Casanova and Prado one could argue that the social question for Chilean Catholics had no economic or social basis, but rather a moral and religious one. The biggest problem was the moral deviation and distancing of the workers from the Catholic faith that ultimately led to socialism. That explains the importance given to religion and Christian values as they played a moralizing role for both rich and poor, but especially so for the latter. If the "social question" was rooted in the working classes distancing themselves and forgetting religion, the Church should dignify human work and re-Christianize these groups<sup>20</sup>.

The Chilean Conservative Party was in the same vein. In late 1901, it declared its commitment to a social Christian order, understood as a form of "proper coexistence" between "top and bottom" and with a strong emphasis on work and virtue. "The underdogs" should be resigned and be comforted, while the "top" should profess brotherhood and generosity<sup>21</sup>. Therefore, this adherence to social Christianity by Conservatives had little or restricted practical application, what for some historians was more a policy of "pious wishes" than a true social commitment<sup>22</sup>.

Among the responses of the Catholic world to the social question in Chile was that of Juan Enrique Concha whose ideas differed from those of other Conservatives. In 1899, as a young member of the Conservative Party he published his thesis to graduate as a lawyer from the Catholic University, called "*Cuestiones Obreras*" ("Labor Issues")<sup>23</sup>. In his thesis, Concha defined the "social question" as the penetration of "bad ideas", "religious disbelief" and the "seed of hatred of the worker towards the rich." This "social question" took form in strikes, meetings, proclamations, newspapers and clubs that did nothing more than express the people's unrest. So far nothing here differed from the teachings of the Church or other conservative activists. The difference was that most of his work displayed a solidary disposition

toward the worker's social situation and developed, from a legal and constitutional standpoint, a whole logic of inclusion and improvement of their working and living conditions. According to Concha, in the face of the "labor question" it was time to "think of attacking it in its crib, before it gained major proportions". This evil had not come "as an exotic plant brought by the doctrines of Karl Marx" or by "socialists in action." Concha also criticized economic liberalism for its misconception of labor and the upper classes for forgetting their obligations to their workers. Regarding labor, Concha stated one should not understand it as a commodity "to be bought and sold just like that"; rather it should be understood as "a human contract," which he defined as follows:

"The worker who sweats profusely near the center of a smelting furnace, the weaver at the loom weaving the threads without looking, distracted, moving her fingers with dizzying speed, hardly knowing what she does, who lives and dies in her craft, lives and dies as the spool, continuously coiling strands without changing its destiny; that miner drilling the coal layers hidden in the ground who looks like a moving lump of coal: they are not machines or goods, they are men who fight for their own life and for the life of a large family"<sup>24</sup>

Concha, besides having a different social diagnosis from that of most Catholics of his time and having raised his voice against Catholics' forgetfulness and indifference to the "social question", put forth effective solutions in a temporal plane. He gave a political response to the social question by giving laws and the State a key role in solving social problems.

"The silence of the law that is an ideal for individualists is a powerful cause of confusion and antagonism for society, because pure freedom, which is a negative principle, is insufficient because it only comes down to not restricting individual will; in society man has duties to his fellow men, that he willingly fulfills when he has a strong conscience; but when it sleeps buried in the folds of a sometimes embarrassing selfishness and indifference, an external force that awakens the conscience and forces it into action is necessary. That force cannot be other than the law"<sup>25</sup>

The "social question" not only had to do with charity, with moral issues and religious indoctrination. The "social question" not only had to do with individual and restricted actions directed to small groups of workers. According to Concha, the poor deserved special protection

delivered and secured by law and this "not only for moral reasons and conscience", but "for political reasons of general interest"<sup>26</sup>.

Concha's social and political ideas were unusual for a representative of Chilean conservatism of his epoch. Some representatives of the Catholic political world were some years away from raising the solution of these labor problems as their battle flag. However, a group of young laymen were already beginning to show some signals in that direction. In the 1930s, these young laymen, mostly gathered in the *Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos* or ANEC (National Association of Catholic Students), would play a central role in adapting the politics of social Christianity. Guided by a few clerical figures, they would break into the Chilean political arena and expand the political options of Catholics<sup>27</sup>.

## **2. Opposing positions: conservatives and *falangistas***

The words of the Conservative Party's president, Héctor Rodríguez de la Sotta, at the party convention in 1932, demonstrated the general stance of the party on social issues. According to him, social order was part of a "divine mandate", in which the existence of rich and poor was a natural part of it. At the time, he criticized some party figures who represented an "advanced Catholicism" that pushed from within for a greater involvement in solving social problems.

"Meditate ... those who want to drag the party, with the best of intentions, but wrongly in my view, to advance absurd attitudes that do not belong in it, and that will simply mean its distortion, its dislocation and its death ..." <sup>28</sup>

Rodríguez de la Sotta's words might seem exaggerated at the time, however, in the light of subsequent events they were not. A few years later, in 1938, and after a hard presidential election, those Conservatives whom Rodríguez de la Sotta called "advanced" decided to break away from the Conservative Party.

Chile's Conservative Party was the symbol of Chilean Catholics' political unity. For a long time, this political unity had a unique value for many party members and most of the Chilean Church and, therefore, dissenting voices within the party and from the Catholic world were considered disruptive and received heavy criticism <sup>29</sup>.

From the 1920s some voices from the Catholic world criticized the Conservative Party, and some differences between traditional conservatives and "advanced" or social Christians became sharper. These differences must be sought in the years prior to the breakup of 1938, primarily in the ideological rift that existed between the two groups. Their conception of society and the role that they as Catholics should have in it were among the main differences

between these two groups. These elements that expressed themselves throughout the 1920s and which led to the breakup of 1938 are the ones we shall address in this section.

A first element that influenced the identity of the "advanced" was the so-called crisis of the liberal order that swept the world, including Chile, after World War I. In Europe, the crisis of the liberal order, along with the discrediting of capitalist development led to various revolutionary movements and the rise of local authoritarian and nationalist movements<sup>30</sup>.

In those same years, the European Catholic world was exploring new forms of Christianization and began to feel the first signs of the "Catholic revival" of the interwar period. The Holy See decided to distance itself from its former political allies and launched a new religious offensive with "Catholic Action" whose main characteristic was to give a prominent role to laymen and laywomen who should support the evangelizing work of the Church in their own contexts, but in a disciplined and subordinate way. It was after the successful experience of Joseph Cardijn's Catholic workers in Belgium in 1924, with his teaching of "see, judge, act" that Catholic Action became a key element in the re-Christianization of the world and began to be slowly implemented in other Catholic latitudes, especially in France and Belgium, but also in Latin American countries such as Brazil, Chile and Uruguay<sup>31</sup>.

In Chile, the 1920s was a decade of growing disenchantment of young Catholics and some members of the clergy with political activity and the way the Conservative Party behaved. Among the Catholic university students, who were known as the "30's Generation", a rejection of political practices and a search for influence from other areas of action to build a social Christian order prevailed in that decade. Preferably they entered Catholic associations, precursors of Catholic Action itself, like the A.N.E.C. or the "*Liga Social*" ("Social League"). These

organizations aimed to construct a Christian social order and to solve social problems afflicting a large majority of Chilean society<sup>32</sup>.

This was the backdrop against which the Chilean Catholic Church also began a slow –and at the beginning, a more formal than real - process of drifting away from the Conservative Party. Crescente Errázuriz, the Archbishop of Santiago from 1918 to 1931, actively promoted the distancing of the Church from the Conservative Party. In 1922, Errázuriz issued a pastoral letter in which he defended the political independence of the Church and forbade "all ecclesiastics ...to become representatives or agents of a political party"<sup>33</sup>.

Nevertheless, Errázuriz's position would not have a majority support among the Chilean hierarchy, and that was demonstrated through the attitude of the Bishop of Concepción, Gilberto Fuenzalida, who in November 1933 called on all Catholics to decidedly support the Conservative Party. After that, Fuenzalida, through the Papal Nuncio, Hector Felice, tried to settle the matter. On June 1st, 1934, through a letter signed by the Vatican Secretary of State, Eugenio Piacelli, the Holy See stated its position concerning politics. As in Europe, where the Holy See called for political independence of Catholics in European countries and for the strengthening of the Catholic Action movements, Piacelli legitimized the right of Catholics to belong to a party other than the Conservative Party<sup>34</sup>. Piacelli pointed out "the faithful should be given freedom, as duly qualified citizens, to establish special political groups, and belong to them". He did make clear the limits of this political freedom, by warning "as long as these (political groups) guarantee respect for the rights of the Church and the souls." Piacelli forbade any kind of political participation of the clergy and encouraged the formation of Catholic Action movements, which should remain distant from partisan political structures, even if they represented Catholics<sup>35</sup>.

The effects of Paccelli's letter were felt in the Chilean Catholic elites. Initially, apolitical options of lay movements were strengthened. But then Paccelli's letter was used to legitimize those political options other than the Conservative Party, like the *Falange Nacional*. The issue was not resolved and there were several examples of Conservatives and priests who defended the political unity of Catholics and criticized those who tried to break with that unity. The Jesuits Fernando Vives and Alberto Hurtado had several problems as national advisers of University Catholic Action. They both presented advanced social ideas and defended at first the non-partisanship of university students but then their *falangista* political choice. In the end, Vives and Hurtado were removed from their leadership positions<sup>36</sup>.

In Vives' short but influential career in Chile -limited to the years 1915-1918 and 1931-1935- he did not hesitate to distance himself from the Conservative Party. According to him, this party was dominated by a "set of stale ideas, ambitions and ignorance" and by people who were absolutely indifferent to social problems. As he explained:

"There is a political party that represents, believes and displays itself outrageously as the champion of Christian doctrines, but has them on its lips but not in its heart. From this party our separation is complete, because an ideological rift separates us ... because it is Christian only in words but pagan in its deeds"<sup>37</sup>

It was in this political and religious context and after receiving Paccelli's letter that a group of Catholic university students, mainly from the ANEC, decided to join the Conservative Party in 1935. Some party leaders, especially Rafael Luis Gumucio, supported their decision because they were worried by the indifference and disdain of these university students towards politics. Gumucio began discussions with a group of university students -amongst whom was his son, Rafael Agustín Gumucio- to convince them of the importance as Catholics to participate in politics and enter the Conservative Party. Finally, these students decided to enter the party in return for a certain assured level of autonomy<sup>38</sup>. These young people, first within the

Conservative Youth and then from the *Falange Nacional*, sought to modify the social thought and the conception of society within the party<sup>39</sup>.

These students remained critical of the liberal system and defended, at least in their early years, corporativism which they understood as an organic social concept that distanced itself both from liberalism and communism. As they explained, their main motivation for joining the party was their belief that from within they could push more strongly for certain changes in order to build a social Christian order. For the *falangistas* the social doctrine of the Church was not directed at controlling the individual behavior of Catholics, as conservatives believed, but rather at building a more just society. From this ideal of a social Christian society, firmly attached to their opposition to liberalism, the deepest differences between *falangistas* and the more traditional wing of the party emerged. These differences led to a final break between them in 1938<sup>40</sup>.

As European fascist regimes identified with corporativism –and Spanish fascism also used the name *Falange*- the Chilean *falangistas*' defense of corporativism was rapidly abandoned. From the mid-1930s, Chilean *falangistas* subscribed to Emmanuel Mounier's personalist thought and the political philosophy of Jacques Maritain with its defense of pluralism, democracy and its conception of "New Christendom"<sup>41</sup>.

Maritain and Mounier were rejected and banned in some European and Latin American Catholic circles, as well as in an important part of Chilean Catholicism<sup>42</sup>. Monsignor Luis Arturo Perez, after publishing *Integral Humanism* in 1936, denounced Maritain's errors, expressed concern about the influence Maritain could have on some young Catholics, and even anticipated the political divisions that his philosophy could generate among Catholics<sup>43</sup>.

While the differences between Conservatives and *falangistas* were very visible, their political differences increased in the late 1930s and the presidential election of 1938 proved to be a decisive date. For this election, Liberals and Conservatives formed an electoral coalition, identified with economic liberalism, and proclaimed Gustavo Ross Santa María as their candidate. The center-left, represented by Radicals, Socialists and Communists formed the *Frente Popular* (Popular Front)<sup>44</sup>. After lengthy negotiations it was decided that the Popular Front's candidate would be the Radical Pedro Aguirre Cerda, which appeased the majority of the Radical Party who looked cautiously at an alliance with the Communists, and put forward a government program based on industrialization and expanding the State<sup>45</sup>.

The choice of Ross as the conservative candidate was not accepted by the *falangistas*. For them, Ross represented the essence of the right-wing man and a defender of capitalism. Ross had been Minister of Economy during Arturo Alessandri's presidency of 1932-1938, when he was known as "the Minister of Hunger" and his political and persona encountered widespread popular rejection. As noted by Rafael Agustín Gumucio, "no young person with any idea of social justice dared to proclaim himself as a Ross supporter"<sup>46</sup>. The *Falange Nacional*, after extensive internal discussions and in front of the perplexity of Conservatives, decided to support the candidate of the Popular Front.

The election was tough and although the right believed it had secured Ross' triumph, the elected candidate was Aguirre Cerda. This victory seemed a threat to the right who presaged Aguirre Cerda's government path would be similar to the French Popular Front or even similar to the Spanish one, ending tragically in a civil war. This explains the Conservative Party leaders' reaction towards their unruly fellow party members. After a series of internal meetings, the leaders decided to exercise authority and enforce internal discipline and obedience for all party

members. This decision only served to harden the *falangistas'* position, and in November 1938 they decided to break with the party and form a new one under the name of *Falange Nacional*<sup>47</sup>.

According to Gumucio, the crisis with the Conservative Party was taken by most of the *falangistas* as a "favorable juncture for the development of Christian social thought". This episode also strengthened ties with the left, because as well as sharing certain social ideas, both "received relentless attacks from the same enemies"<sup>48</sup>.

At the time, it might have seemed a small circumstantial fact that responded to the logic of an electoral context. The party leadership tried to show that this rupture was not about doctrinal issues or anything very substantive, but rather a disciplinary issue, as the party's president, Horacio Walker said:

"The *Falange* did not leave due to doctrinal discrepancies of an economic-social nature or to difficulties encountered in the development of their action ... The *falangistas* did not leave over something essential. And they did not leave nobly ... "<sup>49</sup>

However, this division highlighted the differences between Catholic political forces that became untenable when choosing a presidential candidate. For the *falangistas* this episode had underlying causes that went beyond a difference of political judgment, as Eduardo Frei said years later to his friend Manuel Larraín: this was a reflection of a "very deep division," reflecting "a whole order of deeply opposed ideas, attitudes, mentalities", where the division in the party was "only a superficial manifestation of no great importance"<sup>50</sup>.

The first reaction of an important part of Chilean clergy was a condemnation of the *Falange* and the National Episcopate almost unanimously opposed the division of the Catholic party. Except for some individuals, a few but influential people such as Manuel Larraín and a few priests and Jesuits mentioned above, namely Fernando Vives and Alberto Hurtado, looked favorably upon this "act of rebellion" of young people and defended their advanced social ideas.

It was in this context that Father Alberto Hurtado, national adviser of Catholic Youth of Chile, published his controversial book "Is Chile a Catholic Country?". In 1941, Father Hurtado published this empirical work in which he analyzed some of the characteristics and problems of Chilean Catholicism of those years. With figures and statistics, Father Hurtado gave a detailed analysis of the social and religious situation in Chile. He analyzed the crisis of values, the lack of commitment of Christians to evangelize the people, the shortage of vocations and the rise of Protestantism. But he also spoke openly about the misery of the Chilean people, its lack of education and the poor quality of working class housing. The conclusions he reached confirmed the distance and indifference of many Catholics from the social and religious situation of the majority, a reality that, according to him, seemed an annoyance for those who called themselves Catholics<sup>51</sup>.

"It is a fact that the working class of our cities has overwhelmingly thickened the rows of Marxism that cannot but lead them to more painful experiences than the ones already had... But if these people want to find a legitimate improvement and request Christian associations for a picture of life where they can achieve their aspirations without abandoning their faith, unfortunately, in Chile, today, we cannot offer it. Where are the Catholic unions? Where are the mutual aid organizations? Where are the associations for a fair defense of workers' interests? Marxism presents itself. Catholics do not. Why? Certainly not because the Popes have not spoken; not because our prelates have not repeated these teachings and tried to apply them to Chile, but because they have not found an echo among Catholics ..."<sup>52</sup>

Hurtado's book shook up the Catholic elite. In the Chilean political and religious context it seemed a defense of the *Falange* that would end up "introducing misconceptions in the young people"<sup>53</sup>. A well-known Conservative politician, Carlos Aldunate, wrote an eloquent letter to Father Hurtado. According to Aldunate, it was a duty of priests to cooperate in the formation of a political consciousness of Catholics in favor of the Conservative Party. According to him:

"It is a pernicious work that of dividing Catholics in politics. Recognizing the unfortunate movement pompously called *Falange Nacional* in its legal status, as a party worth taking into account, and as a Catholic party. Equating it with the Conservative Party, placing them as equivalents in the conscience of Catholics is, in my opinion, a regrettable mistake: it will foster and deepen the division of Catholicism"<sup>54</sup>

Although a large majority of Catholics remained loyal to the Conservative Party and for decades the *Falange Nacional* was only a political minority, it became identified as the party representative of social Christianity and earned the respect of a small group of clergy. The foundation of the *Falange Nacional* meant a realignment of forces among Catholics. On one hand, there were those conservative Catholics, who would later be called traditionalist conservatives, with their fear of communism, their defense of the Catholics' unity in a political party, their paternalistic signature on social issues, and their liberal logic for understanding society. On the other hand, there was a minority, which called itself Social Christians, which defended political freedom for Catholics, had advanced social ideas and a more understanding policy towards communism. The coming years, as we shall see in the next chapter, enhanced these differences. In the end, their conception of anticommunism, in a new international context of the Cold War, resulted in a new division among Catholics.

### 3. Catholics and "the communist problem": A new division

While the rejection of communism was part of Catholic thought since the mid-nineteenth century and during much of the twentieth century it was at the center of Catholics' concerns, the early years of the Cold War coincided with an upsurge in Vatican policy toward communism. Pope Pius XI (1922-1939) in his encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*, published in March 1937 in the midst of the Spanish Civil War, had coined the famous phrase "communism is intrinsically evil." His successor, Pius XII (1939-1958) hardened his position towards communism and in 1949, following the strengthening of the Italian and French Communist Parties and their alliances with democratic parties together with the spread of communism in Eastern Europe, he published a decree that would punish, even with excommunication, any Catholic that supported communism in any way<sup>55</sup>.

Influenced by this new global context of the Cold War, the so-called "Communist problem" was also at the center of debate in Chile, especially in the period between 1947 and 1948. In 1946, Radical candidate Gabriel González Videla was elected President, after a tight electoral contest against the charismatic social Christian conservative leader, Eduardo Cruz Coke.

González Videla inaugurated his government with a cabinet composed of Radicals, Communists and Liberals. The Liberals conditioned their support on getting significant concessions on social and political matters -such as curbing any attempt to legislate concerning peasant unionization and counterbalancing Communist influence in government. The upheavals in some agricultural zones in early 1947, the strikes and protests in Santiago and the coal region in June and August 1947, and the electoral victory of the Communists in March 1947 generated

a radical change in González Videla's position towards the Communist Party, with which he has been strongly allied<sup>56</sup>.

The Catholic world actively participated in this Chilean debate about communism. During the period from 1947 to 1949, the existing differences between traditionalists and social Christians increased. For traditionalist conservatives, who represented the majority of the Conservative Party and much of the national clergy, there were philosophical and doctrinal differences between Christianity and communism and the words of the Popes highlighted this. communism was nothing but "a terrible, satanic denial of God and the spirit" and, therefore, a "total heresy"<sup>57</sup>. Therefore, they should use all available means to contain communism and reject any alliance with the Communists and all those who had links with them. The Communist Party, they argued, with its desire to destabilize the country and deliver it to the Soviet Union, was behind much of the demonstrations and strikes. These conservatives defended the use of force or legal measures to stop communism, and they supported González Videla as soon as he began his battle against communism<sup>58</sup>.

On the other side, social Christian group was formed by the *falangistas* and those within the Conservative Party called "social Christians"<sup>59</sup>. These groups shared their diagnosis regarding communism and its advances among the wage-earning masses, and the parliamentary debate of 1948 only highlighted this similarity. *Falangistas* and Conservative social Christians declared themselves opposed to communism, but had a less aggressive and more sympathetic vision of it. For them the key was to find and attack the causes that explained the attraction that this doctrine had for the workers and to fill the void left by Catholics in workers' representation and the labor struggles<sup>60</sup>.

In 1947, this comprehensive stance towards communism held by the *Falange* meant a tough argument with the hierarchy of Chilean church, which was on the verge of ending in the Conservative party's division. It all began on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1947 with the publication of a pastoral document called "*El deber de los católicos*" ("The duty of Catholics"). Among other things, the document talked about communism and "the mistaken solution" that it offered to social problems. It also said that communism should not be dealt with violence and coercion, but through "an act of true proletarian redemption in social justice and charity" where Catholics had the duty to undertake all "the just demands of the people"<sup>61</sup>.

The social Christian groups interpreted this document as an endorsement of their approach to social problems. Thus, on May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1947, the youth of Catholic Action decided to publish a manifesto where they accused the vast majority of Catholics of not acting against social problems and using their forces in "a sterile and harmful anti-communism." According to them, they had to find a concrete application to the "true proletarian redemption" raised by the Church hierarchy. Their tone was incisive when questioning the acceptance of many Catholics of the Social Doctrine of the Church:

"With deep sorrow we recognize that social Christian doctrine is still imprisoned in the books and documents of the Hierarchy; that a guilty silence has conspired against it and that our 'Catholics', responsible for all of the above, would rather defend their privileges and interests than fight valiantly for the implementation of social justice"<sup>62</sup>

The answer to these young people came from the person serving as director of the Catholic Action in Chile, the Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago, Monsignor Augusto Salinas. Based on the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*, he questioned their "futile and harmful anti-communism". According to Salinas, it was Pius XI who called communism "the conspiracy of silence" and "intrinsically evil" and none of this was in the manifesto<sup>63</sup>.

The *Falange Nacional*, which had not yet been directly referred to, responded to Salinas's accusations on September 1947. In a memorandum it declared that in order to present "a Christian solution that is different and contrary to the Communist one" they confronted communism in the fields where it "harvests and grows". Many times in the course of this line of action they coincided with Communists, a situation that did not involve a "union or partnership" with them. One of its final paragraphs would be the most upsetting to Monsignor Salinas and the more traditional Catholic sectors, when they said:

" In any case neither can it be considered 'a union with communism' not participating in a sterile anti-communism, in the last defender of materialistic capitalism; anti-communism whose inspiration and goals have nothing to do with social Christian doctrine"<sup>64</sup>

The controversy escalated and Monsignor Salinas responded harshly to the *Falange*. Salinas published an article in the conservative newspaper, *El Diario Ilustrado*, on November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1947, entitled "Enemies of Christ". With quotes from the Gospel, such as "who is not with me, is against me" or "who does not sow with me, scatters", Salinas attacked the *falangistas*. Salinas began by referring to the *falangista's* policy to act on the same ground as the "enemies of the Church". According to him, "strengthening a movement that intend to erase Catholicism from the world" was a serious injury. Salinas attacked those intermediate positions and said that it is necessary for Catholics to remain united in the battle "against the greatest enemy of Christ in modern times." In defense of the Catholics' united fight against communism, Salinas said "no kind of excuses are fit, much less ... under political compromises, in which Christ is sold in exchange for a vile handful of coins consisting in electoral benefits"<sup>65</sup>.

The *Falange Nacional* responded with an immediate "protest", in the understanding that those "enemies of Christ" were precisely them. In perplexity they wondered if Salinas's judgment was shared by all the Chilean bishops and called for a "prompt, public and categorical pronouncement" by the bishops concerning the accusations they had been victims of<sup>66</sup>. The

*Falange's* situation did not seem easy. They were accused of being heretics, of disrupting the sphere of Catholic Action, and Catholics were warned against them<sup>67</sup>.

To the surprise of the Falange, the Church hierarchy responded and backed Salinas on his anti-communist stance and in response to the public attacks to which he had been subjected by the *falangistas*<sup>68</sup>. In these circumstances, the party questioned its existence and opened itself to the possibility of dissolving.

In this context Manuel Larraín emerged as a mediator. According to him, the dissolution of the *Falange* would have serious consequences for the Church. First of all, the Conservative Party would be the only party for Catholics, "with all the disadvantages that such unions bring"; secondly, because it was precisely the Catholic *Falange* militants who had acted effectively in the social field; and thirdly, because the dissolution of the party would serve to fuel the idea that the Church is an "enemy of the worker and ally of capitalism"<sup>69</sup>. Manuel Larraín, through personal correspondence with Eduardo Frei and other members of the *Falange*, ended the conflict. In these letters he clarified his support and appreciation of its "profound Christian sense", "its adherence to the Church" and "its sincere desire to fight for the implementation of a true social Christian order"<sup>70</sup>. The conflict was overcome and the National Board of the *Falange* reaffirmed the continuity of the party<sup>71</sup>.

Although this episode was overcome, the situation did not calm down. A few months after the end of this conflict between the Church hierarchy and the *Falange*, González Videla came up with a harsh law against Chilean communism. This law included the removal of Communist voter registration, the dismissal of all Communists from public administration, and the deprivation of certain civil rights such as freedom of speech and association, of those belonging to this party. After a long debate in Congress, the bill passed with the support of a

large parliamentary majority, mainly Radicals, Liberals, some Socialists and almost all the Conservatives<sup>72</sup>.

The Executive based the defense of its law on factors of an international nature, with the strength that the Communists were gaining in the early postwar years. The situation in Eastern Europe and in the case of France and Italy, where the democratic parties broke relations with the Communists, called for quick action. "The world is experiencing a real war, a fact which our country cannot evade". To deal with this reality, Chile must have a serious, effective and univocal policy against communism<sup>73</sup>.

Congress became a trench for ideological confrontation between Catholic parliamentarians. Conservative congressmen and *falangistas* were on opposite sides. This may not have impressed anyone given the history of doctrinal differences and political disagreements between the two of them. But this situation was compounded by an internal division within the Conservative Party, between "traditionalists" and "social Christians" who had a position that coincided with that of the *falangistas*.

Although the vast majority of conservative congressmen were in favor of this law, prominent figures opposed it. It was the president of the party itself, Horacio Walker, and the former presidential candidate for the 1946 election, Eduardo Cruz-Coke, who were dissenting voices in the Senate. According to them, the bill threatened the very essence of the democratic system by legally prosecuting and punishing a political idea and depriving citizens of the exercise of a constitutional right. Behind their legal arguments, both emphasized that the true fight against communism was not through repressive laws and acts, but, as Walker suggested, should "penetrate the spirits" through "the propaganda of constructive ideas and a healthy

democracy". This meant "to solve problems that serve as a breeding ground for the disruptive action" of communism<sup>74</sup>.

The position of "traditionalist" conservatives was expressed in the Senate by Hector Rodríguez de la Sotta. He defended the legality and legitimacy of the bill based on the idea of accusing the Communist Party of being an unlawful association. The core of his argument was the denial of communism as a legitimate representative of the working class and response to its social problems. According to him, communism was only a "political instrument of social and revolutionary struggle" with the purpose of imposing a "police state of dominance and slavery"<sup>75</sup>.

Differences within the Conservative Party were notorious and the situation became untenable, and most criticism pointed to Cruz Coke<sup>76</sup>. Finally, in May 1949, and after a series of negotiations to seek party unity, it divided. On one side, there was the traditionalists' *Partido Conservador Unido* (United Conservative Party), and on the other, the *Partido Conservador Social Cristiano* (Social Christian Conservative Party), with Horacio Walker and Eduardo Cruz Coke as their main leaders, and with much of the Conservative Youth<sup>77</sup>.

These episodes in the years 1947 and 1948 meant an enormous division for Catholics. Even though the Communist problem had been a source of conflict among Catholics, in the late Forties it ended in a new alignment of political forces amongst Catholics. Social Christians, now represented in the *Falange Nacional* and the Social Christian Conservative Party, appeared united around a similar conception of society, a similar social diagnosis and a similar position against communism. Nevertheless, they were still a minority within Chilean Catholicism. Some time was needed for them to become a strong political force that would represent a Catholic majority<sup>78</sup>.

## PART II

### DEMOCRACY AND CHRISTIANITY

#### 1. Social and political issues; development and peace

It was in the late 1950s that social Christianity became a significant force on the national political scene. The strengthening of this force responded to a series of circumstances that went beyond Chilean borders. On the one hand, the hope that the Cuban revolution meant, and the reaction of the Catholic world -and also that of the U.S.- to this revolution, and on the other hand, ecclesiastical and pastoral renewal carried out by the Holy See and enthusiastically received in Latin America, influenced this strengthening<sup>79</sup>.

From the late 1950s onward, the Holy See and some European Catholic churches, especially the Spanish, German and Belgian churches, substantially increased their support to the Latin American Church. The reasons for this support responded to the region's quantitative importance to Catholicism, its shortage of priests, and to stop the advance of socialism and Protestantism<sup>80</sup>.

Regarding the renewal of the Church, the papacy of John XXIII was a key period in the history of global Catholicism. His social encyclicals, *Mater et Magistra*, in 1961, and *Pacem in Terris*, in 1963, and especially his call for the Second Vatican Council, were proof of that. In his encyclicals, John XXIII paid special attention to the social obligations of private property and promoted the right of both the State and intermediate agencies to oversee the correct use of this right. In addition, John XXIII raised his voice against new forms of colonialism, whether economic, cultural or political, and instructed the rich nations on their moral responsibility to

provide "selfless aid" to poor nations. Finally, John XXIII distinguished between false philosophies and the historical movements inspired by them and made possible a joint effort between Christians and non-Christians, as long as they both worked for a common good.

John XXIII, with his call for a Council, sought an *aggiornamento* or modernization of the Church in a new postwar context. The Council's organization demonstrated the pro-democratic openness that John XXIII was trying to pursue in the Church by proposing that all hierarchies and Catholic faculties of theology contributed with their projects and suggestions. A key moment in the development of the Council was December 1962, when Cardinals Léger, Montini and Suenens intervened and presented an amendment to the schemes of the Council. Their intervention contained the influence of the Roman Curia, and finally, the Council moved towards an update of the Christian message. The Council tried to end the harsh condemnation of modern world values and movements such as liberalism, socialism and communism and defined the role of the Church in the modern world as a prophetic and catalytic force, in which authority was exercised in a more collegial way and laymen and laywomen could occupy a central role.<sup>81</sup>

Some Latin American Catholics were very excited about the call for a Council<sup>82</sup>. In the years prior to it, the Latin American Church had created a new institutional framework. In 1955, the First Conference of Latin American Bishops was held in Rio de Janeiro, where Brazilian bishops prepared the creation of the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM), an organization that brought together all of the churches of the region. Two figures decidedly influenced CELAM: Brazilian Bishop Hélder Camara, who had previously promoted the creation of an Episcopal Conference in his country, the *National Conference of Brazilian Bishops* (CNBB), and Chilean Bishop Manuel Larraín. The influence of CELAM in the region was important after

the Council. In 1968, most of the Latin American bishops met in Medellín in order to adapt the principles and conclusions of the Council to the particular situation of the region. The Medellín meeting would adopt many elements of “liberation theology” including an option for the poor<sup>83</sup>.

The Chilean Church also experienced major changes in the late Fifties and early Sixties. In those years, the Church assumed leadership in the diagnosis of social issues, proposed a plan for development and identified and supported the Christian Democrat’s structural reform project. During this time, a generation of bishops and priests, with a history of strong social activism, also occupied leadership positions<sup>84</sup>. Changes came about in the Major Seminary of Santiago and in the formation of priests after the appointment of Emilio Tagle as its director, who promoted an instruction closer to the poor. In those years, Catholic Action movements, especially the University Catholic Action -established in Chile in 1955-, the Young Catholic Workers and the Young Catholic Students, exhibited a spectacular growth<sup>85</sup>.

Within the Chilean episcopacy, two figures had a strong influence on the Church of the early Sixties. One of them was the Archbishop of Santiago, the Salesian Raúl Silva Henríquez, who was also, for several years, the president of the Episcopal Conference of Chile (CECH), and the Bishop of Talca, Manuel Larraín, a renowned leader in the Latin American Church<sup>86</sup>. They both had a strong social concern and led a series of changes within the Chilean Church. Silva Henríquez, shortly after taking office, called for a General Mission, similar to the French missions<sup>87</sup>.

Manuel Larraín was respected within the Chilean and Latin American Church, where he served as vice president of CELAM between 1958 and 1963 and then was president between 1963 and 1966. The observations of a contemporary expert, Thomas G. Sanders, illustrate the influence of Manuel Larraín within the Chilean episcopacy:

"The fact seems to be that many bishops are personally little interested in these (social) matters and merely sign the documents other people write. Few spend much time thinking on broad social and national issues. Before 1960, Msgr. Manuel Larraín himself wrote most of the pastorals, and his colleagues, who respected him, signed them after few revisions. Since then, the pastorals have emanated from teams, drawing on such specialists as the Jesuits of the Centro Bellarmino"<sup>88</sup>

In 1965, Manuel Larraín published an influential document entitled "*Desarrollo: Éxito o Fracaso en América Latina*" ("Development: Success or Failure in Latin America"). In it, Larraín analyzed the concept of Christian development, as expressed in the social encyclicals of John XXIII *Mater et Magistra* and *Pacem in Terris* with his concern for the "material and spiritual underdevelopment of the people of the 'Third World'", "the misery of two thirds of humanity" and "the growing inequality with privileged nations". According to Larraín, this underdevelopment was "the greatest threat to peace" and, therefore, if this situation was not solved through, what he called, a "true development", the world would end in "tensions and riots" both locally and globally<sup>89</sup>.

For Chilean Catholicism, 1962 was an important year. On September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1962 a group of Chilean bishops delivered one of the most influential pastoral documents, entitled "*El deber social y político en la hora presente*" ("Social and political duties at the present time"). The bishops responded to the changing context, a context that was seen as an opportunity for Catholics. They spoke of a "difficult crossroad" and of a "time for action"

"... Facing front of a reality that it is not possible to conceal, and confronted by repeated facts that reveal a general unrest, we must make our children see that the solutions either are strongly suggested and motivated by us the Christians, or they shall be imposed even against our will, in ways that will hurt our dearest interests"<sup>90</sup>

This social diagnosis was built based on a set of empirical data<sup>91</sup>. The bishops described the terrible social and economic problems of the country and the poor living conditions in the shantytowns of Santiago. They stressed the high unemployment rates and unfair distribution of national income. They also denounced problems of poor nutrition and low literacy of the

majority of the people. But they also presented several solutions for what they called "material poverty". The solutions should come through "three aspects". The first one, "an assistentialist [material aid] aspect", traditionally promoted by the Church; then "a socio-economic aspect," which had to deal with justice and redistributive solutions; and finally, a "political aspect", in which the bishops called on Christians to assume "their social responsibilities through public service"<sup>92</sup>.

It was in this "political aspect" that the bishops called for a distancing from communism and for offering a political alternative to it. Quoting several passages of Pius XI's encyclical, *Divini Redemptoris*, they displayed their policy versus communism. They did not present "a negative or controversial view" of communism, but said they were "intimately convinced" that communism did not bring "the remedy for the ills we want to remove"<sup>93</sup>. The bishops acknowledged a "grain of truth contained in communism" related to its desire to improve the conditions of the working classes, to eliminate abuses and to get a fairer distribution of wealth<sup>94</sup>.

The bishops ended by calling on Christians to respond to their political and electoral duty. This duty should support effective political solutions against poverty and should unite Christians in a common front against communism.

"We have to promote a true reform of the country's structures by voting, and as far as possible, its appearance should be more in accordance with Christian principles..."

"This work of transformation must be honest and look at an authentic and real economic, social and cultural promotion of labor and does not orient itself towards a negative anti-communism, searching for the defeat and elimination of the adversary"<sup>95</sup>

With this pastoral that combined a sociological analysis of reality, with a proposal for structural reforms and an alternative political project to communism, the Church urged Christians to participate, and even lead, the "new historical stage". If Christians lived in the midst of a process of change, they should orient them in a Christian direction. This project of the

Church did not differ from the one proposed during the same period by the Chilean Christian Democracy with its “Revolution in Liberty”. Finally, the two of them converged on the same political path in the candidacy of Eduardo Frei Montalva.

## 2. Jesuit Activism

The change in the Chilean Catholic Church in the early Sixties cannot be fully understood without the influence and leadership of the Society of Jesus. From the late 1950s and under the direction of Juan Bautista Janssens, this religious order began designing a new institutional framework for Latin America which would combine theological reflection with strong social activism. One of the main objectives pursued by Janssens was to better respond to the Latin American reality of those years and, therefore, he decided to improve the Jesuit priests' training by complementing their studies of theology and philosophy with social science. This was the reason why many Chilean Jesuits went to complete their studies in European and American universities, and also why several Jesuits came from Europe to strengthen the training of Chilean novices<sup>96</sup>.

Among the Jesuit newcomers was an especially important social scientist who would have a huge influence on both ecclesiastical and political spheres. Belgian sociologist Roger Vekemans came to Chile to form the *Centro de Investigación y Acción Social* or CIAS (Center for Research and Social Action). In 1959, two other institutions were added to the CIAS: the *Centro para el Desarrollo Económico y Social de América Latina* Center or DESAL (Center for Economic and Social Development of Latin America), also led by Father Vekemans; and the *Instituto Latinoamericano de Estudios Sociales* or ILADES (Latin American Institute of Social Studies), led by French Jesuit expert on Church social doctrine, Father Pierre Bigó. Then, in 1959, CIAS incorporated the existing magazine *Mensaje* -which had been founded in the early 1950s by Father Hurtado-, in order to spread their ideas<sup>97</sup>.

The Jesuits decided to create the *Centro Bellarmino*, an influential organism during the Sixties. Edward L. Cleary considered the Centro Bellarmino "the grandfather of social research

and action centers in Latin America"<sup>98</sup>, and it brought together not only the most prestigious Chilean Jesuit priests, but also influential foreign Jesuits experts on social issues. The *Centro Bellarmino* strongly influenced the social thought of Chilean bishops, and Vekemans' and Poblete's advice in the writing of the Pastoral letter of September 1962 proved this influence<sup>99</sup>. But the Jesuits also influenced the formation of a reformist Christian consciousness both among young priests and the Catholic laity. The *Centro Bellarmino* regularly organized conferences, seminars and training courses and it became a meeting place for a select group of national clergy, nuns, intellectuals, politicians and university students<sup>100</sup>.

Roger Vekemans is an emblematic figure of Bellarmino's sociopolitical line of thought. Building on structuralism and developmentalism, he created the theory of marginality and became a strong supporter of a reformist Catholic project<sup>101</sup>. Vekemans confirmed the existence of large segments of the Latin American population, mainly peasants and urban settlers (in Chile, *pobladores*), who lived marginalized from society and did not participate in the decision-making. To remedy this situation, he argued, it was necessary to organize these sectors and stimulate their civic participation<sup>102</sup>. This led Vekemans, along with other experts, to subsequently work in Frei's "*Promoción Popular*" (Popular Promotion) program, which was focused on encouraging *pobladores'* participation in neighborhood organizations. This policy became one of the pillars of Frei Montalva's "Revolution in Liberty"<sup>103</sup>.

In the early Sixties, *Mensaje* became the platform from which the Jesuits spread their reformist Catholic thought and also the platform from which they defended the legitimacy of the Christian Democrats' project. In the late Fifties, Father Hernán Larraín was named *Mensaje's* director, and under his direction this journal became a benchmark of Catholic reformist thought.

In 1962, *Mensaje* published an entire issue entitled "*Revolución en América Latina. Visión Cristiana*" ("Revolution in Latin America. A Christian Vision"). Influential Jesuits participated in this issue, such as Chileans José Aldunate, who wrote "*El deber moral ante la situación revolucionaria*" ("Moral duty in face of the revolutionary situation"), and Gerardo Claps, author of "*El cristiano frente a la revolución violenta*" ("The Christian facing violent revolution"); Frenchmen Pierre Bigó and Jean-Yves Calvez, who wrote "*Cristianismo y Revolución en la época contemporánea*" ("Christianity and Revolution in the contemporary era"), and "*El cristiano frente al desarrollo*" ("The Christian in the face of development"), respectively; the aforementioned Belgian, Roger Vekemans, with his article "*Análisis psico-social de la situación pre-revolucionaria de América Latina*" ("Psycho-social analysis of the pre-revolutionary situation in Latin America"); and the Uruguayan Jesuit, Juan Luis Segundo, who wrote two articles, "*Diagnóstico político de América Latina*" ("Political diagnosis of Latin America"), and "*Los caminos del desarrollo político latinoamericano*" ("The paths of Latin American political development"). Some laymen also participated in this issue. One of them was the well-known economist and director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLAC), Raul Prebisch, who wrote on "*Planificación y Democracia*" ("Planning and Democracy"). Some Christian Democrats, who later would have important positions in the Frei administration, also wrote in this issue. Javier Lagarrigue<sup>104</sup> and Jacques Chonchol<sup>105</sup> wrote about the socioeconomic situation and the Latin American revolutionary context.

This issue on revolution opened with a statement about the Latin American revolutionary context. The editorial said:

"Strong revolutionary winds are blowing. An immense and growing majority is becoming aware of its strength, its misery and the injustice of this political, legal, social and economic 'order' that they are being forced to accept; and that majority is not willing to wait any longer. They demand a change: a quick, deep and total change of structures"<sup>106</sup>

That said, the editorial conceptualized the kind of revolution that it defended, in the following terms:

"Revolution is change but not all change is revolution ... It is not enough to change, it is necessary to 'want' that change and, therefore, "know" where you are going. Every revolution is necessarily 'ideology', programming the future and with a will to fulfill it... "

"Revolution is therefore 'reform'. But not this or that reform, but a comprehensive and radical reform. Therefore, it has urgency ... An authentic revolution encompasses all fields. It is clear evidence of the inadequacy, of the ineffectiveness and injustice of the existing structures; it is therefore, an unwavering decision to break radically with the present 'order', to do away with the past and, starting from 'zero', to build a totally new order that answers every man's desires"<sup>107</sup>

With the understanding that this was the kind of revolution that they were outlining, they went on to describe the role and attitude a Christian should have in this revolutionary context. They expressed in categorical terms that there was no possibility of combining "an authentically Christian attitude with a strong anti-revolutionary attitude, opposed to a radical and urgent change of structures". Therefore, Christians should face this reality of a "revolution in progress" and strive to "direct it within Christian channels", which was summed up in the concept of "'Christianizing' the coming revolution"<sup>108</sup>.

Months later, in October 1963, the Jesuits published another special issue entitled "*Reformas revolucionarias en América Latina*" ("Revolutionary reforms in Latin America")<sup>109</sup>. It had the same tone as that of the 1962 issue, only this time it presented a detailed examination of the necessary structural reforms in Latin America in order to carry out a revolution of Christian inspiration.

The use of the concept of revolution and the tone set by *Mensaje* generated a controversy within the Catholic world. Jesuits were legitimizing a revolutionary path in Latin America and proposing a Christian orientation to that path. The Archbishopric of Santiago, through its newspaper, *La Voz*, quickly supported and even expressed optimism as to the path being proposed. Christian Democrats also defended *Mensaje*. Julio Silva Solar wrote, in *Política y*

*Espíritu* (a Christian Democrat journal), an article that would confirm the influence of the discourse of the Jesuits among young Catholics:

"It seems that a Christian conscience is headed toward revolutionary ideas in our country. While this situation had been long brewing, the influence of the two issues of *Mensaje* dedicated to the subject of revolution in Latin America has been decisive. The truth is that it does not seem easy now for a Catholic, especially if young, to reject the idea of a social revolution"<sup>110</sup>

Members of the Conservative Party protested against the Jesuits. Conservatives, through their newspaper, *El Diario Ilustrado*, manifested their surprise and disgust at the tone and proposal of *Mensaje*, and for them, this was much more serious after the support received from the Archbishopric of Santiago. For them, using the concept of "revolution" meant an infringement of Christian principles<sup>111</sup>.

The Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP), led by a few Catholic University students, also strongly criticized the Jesuits. They defended the sacredness of private property and rejected any form of dialogue or cooperation with Marxism. This Society had its roots in a group of Brazilian conservative Catholics, led by Professor Plinio Correa de Oliveira. They decided, in the early 1960s, amidst the crisis of Brazilian Catholicism and the explosion of Christian base communities (CEBs) to create this association and carry out acts of awareness among Catholics<sup>112</sup>.

According to the Chilean TFP, the Pastoral document of 1962 was the starting point of the complicity of the Catholic Church with the Christian Democratic project, which the TFP pejoratively called "confiscatory socialist reformism". Years later, they published a book that described the action of the Church in the early Sixties as follows:

"A socialist and confiscatory reformism was launched into the arena. The watchword suggested that it would be picked up, after the first impact, by leftist Catholic politicians: to combat communism, reforms must be done gradually and in freedom, the same reforms that communism would do by violence ... Bourgeoisies, you who fear the persecutory violence of Marxists, support a 'Christian revolution' ..."<sup>113</sup>

In the early Sixties, the Society of Jesus and specifically the select group that gathered at the Centro Bellarmino became spokesmen and symbols of an emergent clergy with advanced ideas that was on the rise. Members of this congregation were in the forefront of the Chilean socio-political thought, and thereby gave legitimacy to an option for development through a path of structural reforms. This path found its way in the Christian Democrat project of “Revolution in Liberty” which was the political expression of this thought and which the Jesuits themselves advised and on which they left their mark.

### 3. A Catholic Revolution

To understand the significance of the “Revolution in Liberty” within the Catholic world and the identification of a majority of the Chilean Church and laity with this project, it is necessary to understand Christian Democrat thought. In this section we will briefly review the history of European Christian Democrats and their influence on their Latin American counterparts, and then to analyze the Chilean Christian Democratic Party, its importance in the Chilean party system of the early Sixties, and its Christian reformist project of 1964.

In 1919, Sicilian priest Luigi Sturzo founded the Popular Party in Italy, a party that was the forerunner of the Italian PDC. However, it was during the interwar years and with greater force after World War II that the Christian Democratic parties strengthened, especially in Italy and Germany, and that they participated in the process of national reconstruction, the consolidation of democracy and the establishment of a European community. For them, democracy was particularly important in political life and in the solution of the social crisis, and was a temporal manifestation of Christian values. Christianity came to be a ferment of the social and political life of the Catholic laity and a bearer of temporal hope<sup>114</sup>.

These postwar European parties had great influence in Latin America, especially in countries like Chile, Uruguay, and Venezuela. In the late 1940s, a series of conferences organized by a few Christian Democrat leaders helped to spread a common ideology. In 1947, a few Latin American leaders met in Montevideo. In attendance were Eduardo Frei Montalva and Tomas Reyes, the Uruguayan Dardo Regules, the Argentinean Manuel Ordoñez and the Brazilian Alceu Amoroso Lima, better known by his pen name, Tristán de Athayde, among others. There they discussed the general guidelines for a Christian Democratic movement, which they defined as "a non confessional movement based on the principles of Christian humanism". They also

defended the rule of law and democracy in the region, and exhibited their concern about social problems and their rejection to capitalism<sup>115</sup>. In these meetings, the groundwork for the subsequent national Christian Democratic parties was set. In 1946, the *Comité de Organización Política Electoral Independiente* or COPEI, (Committee of Independent Electoral Political Organization) was founded; one year later, the Venezuelan Christian Democratic Party; in 1957, the Chilean PDC, and in 1962, the Uruguayan PDC<sup>116</sup>.

Despite this shared history with other Christian Democratic parties in the region, the emergence and strength of the Chilean PDC responded to a particular socio-political context of the country. In the late Fifties, Chilean social Christianity experienced an impressive growth. In 1957, the *Falange Nacional* won major electoral victories, never seen before, and Frei Montalva, after winning a seat in the Senate, representing Santiago, emerged as the undisputed leader for the presidential election of 1958. With this objective in mind, on July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1957, important social Christian political leaders gathered in the National Congress to officially create the Chilean Christian Democratic Party. From that moment on, the PDC's growth was extraordinary, as demonstrated over the next few years<sup>117</sup>.

Between 1958 and 1964, the Chilean party system underwent a special development, with the emergence of the so-called "three thirds". This new political arrangement, generated during the presidential campaign of 1958, was characterized by three political parties with similar electoral strength: the left with the Communist and Socialist parties united under the *Frente de Acción Popular* or FRAP (Popular Action Front); a highly ideological center identified with the Christian Democratic Party, with no intentions of making political alliances with other political forces; and a center-right alliance of Liberals, Conservatives and Radicals<sup>118</sup>.

Christian Democracy, apart from presenting itself as an option for reform anchored in the social doctrine of the Church, arose as a viable alternative to communism. The Cuban Revolution and the Alliance for Progress influenced the rise of reformist options in the region. From the late Fifties and throughout the Sixties, the United States turned its attention to Latin America, and following the Marshall Plan, they decided to focus on the region's development. The Sixties became the decade of "democratic progress", as John F. Kennedy called it in his speech on March 13, 1961 to Latin American diplomats and a few U.S. leaders. Throughout the 1960s, major obstacles that had plunged the region into underdevelopment would be overcome, hunger would be ended, and a broad access to elementary education would be reached. After this, the necessity for foreign aid would disappear and the Latin American republics would be masters of their own "revolution of hope and progress"<sup>119</sup>.

The Alliance for Progress was an ambitious program of economic and social aid to Latin America that proposed to improve sanitary conditions, expand access to education and housing, control inflation and increase agricultural productivity through land reform, in exchange for major U.S. economic support. A new project for development was raised with its motto of "Progress yes, Tyranny no!" in which freedom and respect for democracy were central<sup>120</sup>.

Moreover, Eduardo Frei's project, with its land reform and agricultural modernization, urban development and increased housing in popular sectors, coincided not only with the objectives of the Alliance for Progress but also with the Catholic Church<sup>121</sup>. As we have seen, the Christian Democracy of the early Sixties was also strengthened by the progressive identification that a majority sector of the Catholic Church had with this project<sup>122</sup>. The Chilean Episcopate, especially with the aforementioned pastoral of September 1962 and the work of the Jesuits from the Centro Bellarmino, attempted to demonstrate that Christian Democracy was a genuine

political option based on their social teachings and a force capable of containing the Communist advance. Thus, for the 1964 presidential election, little doubt was left that the Church's candidate was Eduardo Frei Montalva<sup>123</sup>.

This identification with and support given to Frei by a majority of the Catholic Church has important features to be considered. First, the Chilean PDC never defined itself as a clerical party, but rather proclaimed itself as a follower of the social doctrine of the Church and defender of the preeminence of Christian values in the social order<sup>124</sup>. It was clear in the party's declaration of principles in which it defined itself as a party that "fights for the fulfillment of a true Christianity"<sup>125</sup>.

The "Revolution in Liberty" contained a Social Christian conception of society: it proposed a humanistic and democratic reformist path, and appealed for solidarity rather than for a class struggle. Its revolutionary character was clear in its intention to replace in the short term "a social order by another" and its freedom was given because this revolution would come about "by democratic means"<sup>126</sup>.

Three were the cornerstones of this "Revolution in Liberty": first, the "chilenization" of copper, which consisted of the Chilean government assuming majority control of the copper mines in the country; second, a land reform which consisted of the redistribution of agricultural lands and a project of peasants' unions in order to modernize the Chilean agricultural sector; and finally, the so-called "*promoción popular*", a genuine expression of the communitarian ideal, which consisted of increasing popular participation and improving quality of life through the creation of intermediate organizations connecting the individual and the State, with special attention given to urban *pobladores* or settlers<sup>127</sup>.

Frei's triumph in the 1964 election responded to the consensus among most of the Chilean electorate on the need to carry out structural social changes and the identification of an important sector of Catholics with the Christian Democrat's project. However, these factors alone are not sufficient to fully explain Frei's triumph. It only became a reality after a peculiar episode known as the "*naranjazo*". In March 1964, six months before the presidential election, a deputy representing Curicó, the Socialist Oscar Naranjo Jara, died, and an extraordinary election had to take place to replace him. Public opinion focused on this election and its results had a premonitory character of what would happen in the presidential election. The candidate of the right-wing coalition was sure of his victory, considering that Curicó was an emblematic rightist area. An influential right-wing newspaper, *El Mercurio*, described the political environment before the election in Curicó in the following terms: "If in Curicó, the candidate of the Democratic Front (right-wing coalition) takes a hit, it would be difficult to consider with optimism the political future of that coalition on a national level"<sup>128</sup>. Contrary to expectations, the results of the election were adverse to the right and Oscar Naranjo Arias, son of the deceased deputy, won the election<sup>129</sup>.

These results meant a debacle for the Chilean right and the proof of that was that their candidate, the Radical Julio Durán, was taken out from the presidential race. The right decided to support Frei, although not without suspicion and concern. Meanwhile, Christian Democrats defended their "own path"<sup>130</sup> and Frei's statement that he would "not change one comma of his program not even for a million votes" was a proof of that<sup>131</sup>. The "*naranjazo*" changed the Chilean political scene in an election year, but mostly it demonstrated the viability of the Christian Democratic path as a containment of Allende's victory<sup>132</sup>.

The Christian Democratic Party in its first national convention, in May 1959, had declared itself contrary to communism:

"The Christian Democratic Party reaffirms its unalterable opposition to communism. There is a complete difference between them. They have a different concept of the person and their rights, of family, of the economy and the State. Their tactics and goals are different... We base our concept of man on the notion of person and not on the notion of class. We deny the criterion that a group calling itself representative of the liberating class will lead to a humanization of society and that also believes that it has the right to install, in the name of humanism and humanity, an iron dictatorship..."<sup>133</sup>

In the months before the presidential election, the Frei campaign developed a strong offensive against Allende, supported and funded by the U.S. and by some European countries that was called by the left the "campaign of terror"<sup>134</sup>. The presidential election became an ideological confrontation between Christianity and Marxism, and in this context the Catholic Church also strove to achieve Frei's triumph. The Church organized workshops to analyze the political context, to instruct Catholics on democracy, and to present the devastating effects of Marxism. The Church also used the media to spread the ideas of reformist Christianity. Facing this election, all expressions and intentions of a new treatment and conception of Marxism seemed to be left behind. During the months leading up to the presidential election of 1964, the anti-Marxism of the Church seemed similar to previous years and a return to old standings<sup>135</sup>.

Catholic Action movements were also active in electoral propaganda and its membership was so attracted to Frei's candidacy that many of its leaders and activists threw themselves into it. Later, many of them enlarged the ranks of the DC and worked in Frei's administration<sup>136</sup>. This active participation led to a great crisis within the Catholic Action, known as the "crisis of 1965". According to Bishop Carlos Camus, this crisis was patent when "the Catholic Action lost its apostolic identity, turning itself first into a social movement and then a political movement"<sup>137</sup>.

The Jesuits also gave their support, and *Mensaje* contained several articles on this election. In the editorial of June 1964, Catholics were propelled to form a common front against the left. It remembered several of the Church's condemnations of Marxism which was understood as "a system of ideas utterly incompatible with the Church". Therefore, it was not "legitimate for a Catholic to help install Marxism in our country ..." <sup>138</sup>.

On September 4<sup>th</sup>, 1964 Frei won by a landslide, with 56.09% of the votes. Allende was far behind with 38.93%. Frei's support came from a heterogeneous social and cultural basis: Catholics from all social sectors, large middle class sectors, urban workers, peasants, and especially women -Frei doubled Allende in female voters, with 744,423 against 375,776 votes, respectively <sup>139</sup>.

A Christian Democratic government was inaugurated in Chile and party leaders believed that history was on their side after the landslide victory of the presidential and parliamentary elections of 1965 <sup>140</sup>. Nevertheless, Frei's government confronted serious problems. By the end of that decade, the most advanced Catholics that had supported Frei opened up to more radical solutions. At the political level, a dissident group was growing in the Christian Democratic Party. This group was composed of influential politicians, student groups and intellectuals that, from the early 1960s, were for blocking any agreement with the right, and soon raised an alternative path of democratic socialism. The optimism with which Frei's presidency was inaugurated did not reveal these differences. Their time and significance would come later.

## PART III

### SOCIALISM ON THE HORIZON

#### 1. The countryside's crusade

While in Chile, as in other Latin American countries, the situation of the peasantry was one of even greater exploitation and neglect than that of urban workers, the Catholic world first attended to the latter and it was not until the early Sixties that it dealt with the agricultural situation<sup>141</sup>. Until that time, the country maintained a traditional social and economic structure, with large concentrations of land in *latifundios* (large estates), low productivity and a population living in poor economic, social, cultural and political conditions<sup>142</sup>.

During the 1960s, the agrarian structure and the role of peasants in society became central themes in every development plan for the region. For the offices of ECLAC or the U.S. Alliance for Progress, the rural sector was central in developmentalist policies as it was considered one of the main "bottlenecks" and source of social unrest of the Latin American economy. The slow growth of Latin American agriculture, its inability to meet the food requirements of a growing and more urbanized population and the high demand for food imports -especially in the case of Chile, which should have been "the South American California"- were some of the problems of the existing traditional Latin American agrarian structure that concentrated huge amounts of land in a few hands with extremely low productivity. Another cause of concern in relation to the countryside was the inability or slowness of the agricultural sector to absorb rural labor. This reality forced peasants to leave the countryside and migrate to cities. In Chile, Santiago was the city that received most of the peasant population. Marginal populations emerged as "*tomas*" or land seizures in the suburbs, mostly in the south of the city, generating social and economic problems for the government<sup>143</sup>.

Since 1961, when land reform was placed at the center of the Alliance for Progress, this reform became an urgent task and gained legitimacy in the eyes of many Latin Americans<sup>144</sup>. Latin American governments committed themselves by signing the Charter of Punta del Este, to promote land reform programs leading to an effective transformation of structures, land tenure and use. Paradoxically, in Chile, rightist President Jorge Alessandri (1958-1964) had to start, albeit reluctantly, a land reform process. Alessandri, in exchange for the funds released by the Alliance for Progress, sent the first agrarian reform bill, Law No. 15,020, to Congress. This initiative was ironically called by the opposition the "planter reform", because it made insignificant changes in the Chilean countryside<sup>145</sup>.

From the Chilean Catholic world, one of the first signs of change for the peasants came from the Episcopate. In 1962, the bishops issued a pastoral letter, "*La Iglesia y el problema del campesinado chileno*" ("The Church and the problem of the Chilean peasantry"). There, the bishops expressed support for the realization of serious reforms in the countryside and for a real integration of peasants into political life through the formation of unions<sup>146</sup>.

After these statements, the bishops received strong criticism from Catholics who interpreted the agrarian reform as a threat to the natural right to property and a dangerous mobilization of the peasantry through their unionization. The countryside, which had been for decades an impenetrable place, a bastion of traditional sectors and electoral support of the right throughout the twentieth century, became the scene of fierce disputes<sup>147</sup>.

The Episcopal document –inspired by *Mater et Magistra*, and specifically by the social conception of property- provided the foundations for an economy in which "the protagonists of economic development, social progress and cultural elevation of the agricultural and rural environments" were the same "workers of the land". The bishops recognized that it was time to

start a "Christian" agrarian reform. A Christian solution to the "peasant question" entailed a "profound transformation of rural structures", a solution that was based on the respect for the person and on Christian property rights<sup>148</sup>. As *Mater et Magistra* stated, property rights could have both an individual and social character, and this is where the bishops found the doctrinal basis to establish that the right to private property was not in itself an absolute right, but was rather determined by and should respond to the social function of property. The role of the state was key for these two aspects of property rights to come into practice. It was up to the state to ensure that the legal forms assumed by ownership met with this dual role, individual and social<sup>149</sup>.

The bishops began with a diagnosis of the reality of the Chilean countryside. They went beyond national borders, and inserted the agricultural problem as one of the problems of modernity. The bishops highlighted the countryside's abandonment by its inhabitants, the poor performance of agriculture, the growing unrest of the peasantry, the marked inferiority of agricultural income compared to industry, and the peasants' cultural and social backwardness<sup>150</sup>. They summarized the situation of the peasants in one sentence that equated being a peasant with being depressed<sup>151</sup>.

This pastoral document was not only abstract words. The bishops made observations and practical recommendations to solve the problems of the countryside. They also worried about the education of the peasantry and an upgrading of agricultural labor. Regarding land tenure, they stressed the importance of a new structure in which small holdings should be predominant. They also underlined the need to establish unions and professional associations for farm labor, which should be accompanied by legislation adequate to their reality. Finally, they talked about the issue of agricultural land expropriation by the state. This would have

absolute legitimacy if it was for the common good and was to obtain better yields. The bishops appealed to all those who with their "technical preparation, with their experience, their voice in Parliament, their expert opinion in the mass media" could "set up the environment and prepare the road" to the success of this total reform<sup>152</sup>.

The work of the Church hierarchy on the subject of the countryside was not only outlined in the letter of this pastoral document, but also put into practice. Agricultural education agencies were strengthened, such as the existing *Instituto de Educación Rural* or IER (Rural Education Institute) created in 1955 by the Rural Catholic Action, and the *Instituto de Promoción Agraria* or INPROA (Institute for Agrarian Development), founded in 1963. Throughout the Fifties and especially the Sixties, the Church promoted peasant association initiatives, such as the *Federación Sindical Cristiana de la Tierra* (Federation of Christian Unions of the Land), which in 1953 tried to unionize peasants in Molina who, after facing a strong response from the estate owners, decided to strike<sup>153</sup>. Then, in 1962, the Church founded the *Asociación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinas* or ANOC (National Association of Peasant Organizations). It had social duties, concerning the development of the community, and also religious ones, destined to stop the penetration of Protestants in the Chilean countryside<sup>154</sup>.

The Church also structured a land reform project on some of its own estates. This reform was not significant in terms of the amount of land, but it was symbolic. In mid- 1962, Manuel Larraín gave 180 hectares of land from "Los Silos" to peasant families. Then, the Archbishop of Santiago, Raúl Silva Henríquez, gave away some land that belonged to the Archbishopric to start its own land reform process<sup>155</sup>.

Manuel Larraín's eloquent words to the peasant families show the historical significance that this reform meant to the Church: "Today the *inquilinaje*<sup>156</sup> system ends.... Today we are

taking another step to make the teachings of Christ and the Church's social doctrines a reality". He described the unfair distribution of land in Chile and in Latin America, but also warned of the mistake of those who intended to eliminate private property and those who wanted to concentrate private property in a few hands. For him the correct formula was to have many owners<sup>157</sup>.

The Jesuits also entered fully into the agricultural issue and several articles were published in *Mensaje* throughout the 1960s. One of the Jesuit's most recognizable figures on agrarian issues was Father Gonzalo Arroyo. Paradoxically, Arroyo came from a prominent family of landowners of central Chile. After graduating in agronomy, he decided to enter the Society of Jesus in the early Fifties. Following the policy pursued by Father Janssens, Arroyo was sent to the United States and Canada to pursue studies in agronomy and economy. On his return to Chile, Arroyo was one of the experts on agriculture at the Society of Jesus, advised the Church in drafting its 1962 document and implementing land reform on ecclesiastical land<sup>158</sup>.

Arroyo wrote several articles for *Mensaje*<sup>159</sup>. In August of 1962 he defined the Christian sense of ownership, one that was much invoked in those years, and that, according to Arroyo, was little known. His main argument was that Christian doctrine of property placed man in the center and, therefore, the right to property, understood as "a fundamental right to the use of material goods," belonged to all men. Following this logic, the right to private property was "a secondary natural right". Arroyo added that property had a "social function" along with an "individual function", a conception that came from Thomistic thinking<sup>160</sup>.

Following Arroyo's logic, the right to private property had become a reality only through "positive laws and institutions". There was no natural law or an "immutable natural institution of private property", but a "specific regime" that "is not immutable". Therefore, the Church did

not defend the "status quo", but requested that the property regime be modified if it opposed people's full self-realization. Thus, Christians should defend a concrete regime of private property that would fit these two aspects, individual and social, and in which the individual could develop his human potential and could have a fair distribution of resources and opportunities. This regime should intervene to improve the lives of the peasants, increase farm productivity, and thus help obtain peace and social and political stability. Finally, Arroyo said that if these goals were not met, the purpose of property would be perverted<sup>161</sup>.

An appropriate agricultural structure should be found for implementing the dual role of property, in which a fraternal relationship between owners and workers could be attained. The Chilean *hacienda* (great estate), according to Arroyo, was far from fulfilling this ideal:

"The peasant often plays a mere passive role silently carrying out the foreman's orders, without being able to use his initiative or exercise his responsibility at work. Moreover, he is often subject to unfair wages and certain basic rights of association are denied to him"<sup>162</sup>

Arroyo attempted to "suppress employer absenteeism", "allow workers to participate in the profits of the company" and "make unionization a reality in the countryside". "Individual family property duly consolidated by cooperatives, credits and technical assistance" should be favored and in the end would finally be the "basis for land reform"<sup>163</sup>.

The Christian Democrat Jacques Chonchol, in his *Mensaje* article, presented the characteristics of land reform in Latin America. First, he described the urgency of an agrarian reform in the region if it wanted to accelerate its economic, social and political development. Land reform, according to Chonchol, should be "a massive, quick and drastic process of redistribution of land and water rights": massive, because it should be designed for "all the peasantry"; quick and drastic, because it should "take place in a period not exceeding five years". According to Chonchol, a land reform needed "political conditions" that would make it

possible. This meant "mobilizing political forces and the whole community" and "raising awareness in the popular majority and in the political groups representing them of the importance and significance of having a land reform". Concerning the compensation for confiscated land, Chonchol believed that it should be as limited as possible and not only based on an economic analysis. According to the author, to pay the market price "would be undeserved by those who never bothered to fulfill the social function of property"<sup>164</sup>.

The issue of land reform, together with the definition of private property, generated an endless controversy and a deep division among Catholic factions, a situation that increased with the inauguration of Frei as president with his intention of carrying out an intensive land reform. Even though Frei's agrarian reform had widespread support and there was a consensus on the need to carry out this reform, there were differences around the decision of what kind of reform would be implemented. The scope of the reform, the role the state should play in the process, the different economic and social aspects that it would imply, the different conceptions of property after the confiscation of land, and the speed the reform process should have, were some of the issues in dispute that would divide reformist Catholic forces.

One of the first battles that Frei's administration would face was the conception of property rights. The right to property, as established under the Constitution of 1925, was merely an individual right, and therefore, any reform initiative required a constitutional amendment. The Constitution of 1925 ensured the "inviolability of all property without distinction", and any modification of ownership must be "for reasons of public utility, described by a law"<sup>165</sup>. In 1963, when Alessandri began an agrarian reform, Congress had approved a constitutional reform of that article that allowed the expropriation of rural land "abandoned or notoriously badly exploited". The price for these lands would be paid 10% in cash and the remainder would be

paid in equal installments over a period not exceeding 15 years. This was already viewed with suspicion and distrust by the right; however, the external pressures of the Alliance for Progress, as well as internal pressures, coupled with the need to acquire fiscal resources, finally made this happen<sup>166</sup>.

Frei took a step further and in his constitutional reform gave the law the power to determine the "way of acquiring property, using, enjoying and disposing of it and the limitations and obligations to ensure its social function and to make it accessible to all". Thus, the State would be the entity that would oversee a "convenient distribution of property and the constitution of family property"<sup>167</sup>.

This 1965 amendment generated an interesting debate among Catholics on the meaning of the right of ownership. Tenacious defenders of the right of individual or private property emerged. For them, this right was also based on natural and divine law. The Society for Tradition, Family, and Property questioned President Frei because land reform was an "attack on the natural right to private property", an important "pillar of Christian Civilization"<sup>168</sup>. In that episode, only one representative of the Episcopate, Archbishop of La Serena, Alfredo Cifuentes, sent a public letter of support to the TFP. According to the TFP, the "silence of the Shepherds" was a sign of "collaboration" and "permissiveness" of the Episcopate<sup>169</sup>. From civil society, *Fiducia* was supported by law professors at the Catholic University of Santiago, such as Julio Philippi and Jaime Eyzaguirre, the leadership of the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party, the *Sociedad Nacional de Agricultura* or SNA (National Society of Agriculture), the *Sociedad Nacional de Minería* (National Mining Association), the *Sociedad de Fomento Fabril* or SOFOFA (Society for Industrial Development), the Central Chamber of Commerce and other business institutions<sup>170</sup>.

On the other hand, a large group of Catholics supported Frei's progress on land reform. The Episcopate gave explicit support, as hinted in the pastoral of 1962, as well as some important figures in the Society of Jesus, as was the case of Gonzalo Arroyo. Frei's land reform was seen as matching in spirit the Social Doctrine of the Church as expressed by Cardinal Silva Henríquez in *Ercilla* in early 1966<sup>171</sup>.

From 1965 onward, some differences among Catholics who supported Frei's agrarian reform emerged. The complex and sometimes unstable situation in the countryside strongly influenced these differences. In this context of social unrest, especially starting in 1967, illegal land seizures spread, most of the time promoted by leftist forces, such as the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario* or MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left). The government, overwhelmed by this situation, in some cases had to resort to the police force and suspended the expropriation process<sup>172</sup>.

But also in doctrinal terms, differences arose in Catholicism over the reformist interpretation of communitarianism. To some it seemed a concept difficult to put into practice, but excessive statism was also feared. A proof of these ideological differences among progressive Catholics was the publication of a much-discussed book, "*El desarrollo de la nueva sociedad en América Latina*" ("The development of the new society in Latin America"), in 1965 by two young Christian Democrats, Julio Silva Solar and Jacques Chonchol<sup>173</sup>. This book and the comments following its publication proved premonitions of the debates that would occur within the Christian Democratic Party a couple of years later.

Chonchol and Silva constructed a so-called "non-capitalist path of development" for Latin America, which was the essence of what they called "communitarian socialism". Thus, the

authors presented a new project of society that took aspects from the Church's social doctrine, Judeo-Christian tradition, and socialism.

The issue of ownership was a central part of their "communitarian socialism". According to the authors, "the common or social property system has a very solid background in Christian thought". Meanwhile, private property was "the basic structure of the capitalist social order":

"... property is a positive historical institution; so scarcely sacred, so scarcely eternal, so scarcely unnatural as slavery. As it is, property is a product of social development and will disappear by means of the same development, just as slavery disappeared. The image of ownership as an absolute institution, inseparable from man, is a pure myth created under the influence of the large landowners that have dominated society"<sup>174</sup>

For the authors "the suppression of private ownership of productive assets of social character, opposing them to productive assets of personal character" was a necessity. They understood the land and those productive assets as social goods that "by their very nature can only be exploited collectively". They should all become the "domain of the whole community". This was the essence of "communitarian socialism", which they defined as follows: "Theoretically, it can be said that it is a variation of socialism. Communitarian socialism (...) in which the principle of the worker's self-management regarding enterprises and the economy as a whole, is fundamental"<sup>175</sup>.

This book was the subject of responses from sectors of the traditional and conservative right through the pages of *El Mercurio* and *El Diario Ilustrado*<sup>176</sup>. But also a renowned French Jesuit from the Centro Bellarmino, Pierre Bigó, criticized this book, and had an interesting exchange of views with the authors. Bigó questioned the ownership structure proposed by the authors, accused them of lacking clarity in their definitions and misinterpreting the social doctrine of the Church regarding the conception of property<sup>177</sup>.

This debate between the authors and Bigó moved between the legal, ideological and theological spheres, ultimately under scoring an important conceptual difference between them. One point of divergence was the theme of community ownership. To Bigó, "society cannot institute a system in which property, even of productive assets, is suppressed". Bigó went a step further, saying:

"Clearly we can find a new type of company structure, but it must be fair and consistent. A system that assigned ownership of capital to workers by job title alone would be neither fair nor consistent... it is pure utopia to imagine an enterprise system without real ownership. Neither encyclicals nor Marxism have imagined such a situation"<sup>178</sup>

To Bigó, the problem was precisely in the conception of social property that the authors had expanded to include "all productive assets that can only be exploited collectively". Bigó wondered if they were asking for a "public ownership of the State" or a "private ownership of the community of workers". Bigó urged them to clarify the issue of communitarian property:

"...public ownership is consistent, but if generalized, requires a dictatorship (the Marxists rightly deduced this). Private ownership of the community of workers can give real ownership to workers, but in this case the right of those lending capital must be respected"<sup>179</sup>

According to Bigó, although the extent of public ownership was recognized as a need by *Mater et Magistra*, it never had the extension that Chonchol and Silva were demanding. Moreover, this encyclical clearly established property rights, even of productive assets, as a natural right. As Bigó said, "to think that the expropriation of all productive assets of 'social character' is the thought of John XXIII is, at the very least, very problematic"<sup>180</sup>.

In 1967, Frei's government had several great achievements. With the enactment of the amendment to the Constitution in relation to property rights, the peasant unionization law (Law No. 16,625) and land reform law (Law No. 16, 640), the government acquired the legal tools to accelerate the modernization of the Chilean countryside. Frei's administration said that it should consolidate what had been done before moving forward with new expropriations. Inside the

PDC, this decision brought to the surface substantial ideological differences. The agrarian issue became one of the battle flags of groups known as "rebels" and "third way" (*terceristas*) -in which Julio Silva Solar and Jacques Chonchol played an active role. These groups gradually approached their positions closer to the left.

## 2. The Rebellion of the Clergy

The Second Vatican Council opened a time of expectation and renewal within the Church, but also a time of confusion and crisis, in which the Latin American Church was at the center of debate<sup>181</sup>. An essential part of this post-conciliar environment was the emergence of a leftist clergy in several Latin American countries, such as Peru, Colombia and Argentina<sup>182</sup>, and in some European countries, especially Spain where clergy played a central role in opposing the Franco regime<sup>183</sup>. Many of this leftist clergy signed on to a revolutionary path and supported different expressions of socialism. The example of Colombian priest Camilo Torres who, in 1967, resigned his priestly commitment to take an active role in the guerrilla forces and soon after was killed in the Colombian jungle, marked the collective consciousness of the advanced Christians of the region<sup>184</sup>.

For some conservative Catholics, the emergence of this "rebellious clergy" was another element that added to the disorder and internal crisis that the global Catholic Church was experiencing after the Second Vatican Council. This crisis had a tangible and quantifiable expression in the significant reduction in religious vocations, and on increase in dropouts both in seminaries and religious congregations<sup>185</sup>.

The emergence of this Latin American leftist clergy responded to the new possibilities and characteristics of a Christian-Marxist dialogue that emerged in the 1960s. The Holy See took steps towards greater understanding between Christianity and Marxism and the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* of 1963 was an example of this. There, John XXIII distinguished between "error and who professes it" and between "philosophies and historical currents"<sup>186</sup>. In the mid-Sixties in Eastern Europe, Marxist philosophers, Vatican Council theologians and Communist leaders

from Eastern and Western Europe came together to consider the possibility of a dialogue between Christianity and Marxism<sup>187</sup>.

Paul VI's encyclical *Populorum Progressio* (March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1967) was considered a boost from the Vatican to the ideological and political options of those progressive Christians. It spoke of a social question that divided the world and made a strong call for solidarity with Third World countries. This encyclical incorporated some concepts previously used by the left such as "integral development", "solidarity" with dispossessed classes and peoples, social "liberation" and "neocolonialism". However, not all the teachings from Rome supported the progressive Christians and proof of this was the controversial encyclical *Humanae Vitae* (July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1968). It analyzed marriage and attacked birth control. *Humanae Vitae* appeared in the eyes of those who celebrated *Populorum Progressio* as a real setback in the road taken by the Church since the Second Vatican Council. The Pope was accused of ignoring the dramatic problems caused by the population explosion in poor countries, and was also accused of stopping the process of recognition of individual freedom and of a more collegial spirit initiated by Vatican II<sup>188</sup>.

By the mid-Sixties, a "liberationist" current arose in Latin America. This current linked the Judeo-Christian and a representation of the biblical liberation, with the Marxist tradition and its liberation of the proletariat and the imperialist forces. This liberationist Christianity, according to the Spaniard Ricardo de la Cierva, had two streams: one native, belonging to Brazilian Paulo Freire and his "Pedagogy of the Oppressed", and another, "foreign", from the theologies of revolution and violence of two European theologians, a former Salesian of Italian origin, Giulio Girardi, and the French Dominican, Paul Blanchart. Paulo Freire (1921-1997) was a Brazilian educator from Recife who proposed, in the mid-Sixties, liberation from within education. This would be achieved through a "process of consciousness-raising" of an

individual's social condition. From this point of view, education, based on a horizontal relationship, delivered the tools for knowledge and also helped to recover control of one's life<sup>189</sup>. The European theology of revolution and violence, of which Giulio Girardi was one of its spokesmen, was also an influence. Girardi, who in those years was a professor at the Ateneo of the Salesians in Rome, had published writings on Marxist humanism and had advanced towards a Christian-Marxist dialogue. French Dominican priest Paul Blanquart, who served as professor of sociology at the *Institut Catholique de Paris*, showed his sympathy for Marxism and discussed the possibilities of being both a Christian and a Marxist<sup>190</sup>.

This leftist Christianity drew on the progress made by the social sciences, especially with the so-called "dependency theory". This "dependency theory", developed by Latin American economists and social scientists in the second half of the Sixties, was based on Prebisch's center and periphery scheme, but it was a criticism of that scheme from the left. From a pessimistic analysis of Latin American economies, dependency theory demonstrated the existence of a progressive enrichment of the "center" to the detriment of the "periphery". Instead of structuralist theories, based on a series of failed structural reforms in Latin American societies, dependency theorists pointed to the existence of an international and "internal colonialism" and strongly critiqued any development that maintained the capitalist model<sup>191</sup>.

By 1967, the Alliance for Progress and the reformist path showed signs of exhaustion. While some targets had been achieved, they were insufficient. Income distribution remained unchanged, unemployment had soared over the decade, and little progress was achieved by the long-awaited land reform. Moreover, democratic regimes in Brazil, Argentina and Peru were destroyed and U.S. troops invaded Santo Domingo in 1965. Consequently, by the end of the decade, the Alliance for Progress was abandoned and dependency theory gained adherents<sup>192</sup>.

Dependency theory not only influenced academic and political circles, but also some members of the Latin American Church. This explains why some of these conceptions were included in the preparatory stage of the Medellín Conference, where Latin American bishops, theologians and experts gathered in late August 1968. Medellín would come to interpret the findings emanating from the Second Vatican Council in the light of Latin American reality. To do this, first, it sought to construct a social and religious analysis of the region, and then to seek a theological reinterpretation of it.

The Latin American Episcopal Conference gathered at Medellín, Colombia, from August 26<sup>th</sup> to September 6<sup>th</sup>, 1968. The idea of holding a meeting of Latin American bishops to discuss the reception of the Second Vatican Council to the region came from Manuel Larraín, who was President of CELAM at the closing of the Council in 1965. However, his death in 1966 prevented him from carrying it out and it was his successor, the Brazilian Avelar Brandao Vilela, who was in charge of the Medellín conference. Commissions were formed within CELAM and various institutes also participated in the preparation of this conference. There was also a series of preparatory meetings that raised issues that would be discussed later in Medellín<sup>193</sup>.

Medellín, with its aim of reflecting on the "Presence of the Church in the ongoing transformation of Latin America, in the light of Vatican II" was an event that marked the history of the Latin American Church of the late Sixties. In Medellín, the liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez and other unique members of the Latin American progressive clergy had an active participation. One of the most innovative and controversial conclusions of Medellín was the "Document on Peace", where the bishops coined the concept of "institutionalized violence" to describe the situation of structural injustice that existed in Latin America. In examining the situation of injustice in Latin America, where "fundamental rights" for people's fulfillment were

violated, "the temptation of violence" developed. The bishops made clear that peace was not synonymous with passivity or "non-violence" and that violence was not only armed violence, guerrilla warfare, terrorism or coups d'état, but could also be a state of injustice, "installed violence" or "institutionalized violence", which is often "disguised as order and legality"<sup>194</sup>.

Another issue raised in Medellín was that Latin America suffered from two evils: external domination and internal colonialism. This situation led to a desire for change, in which the Church should take part in defense of the poor, through evangelization and lay participation in grassroots communities.

Medellín meant a boost to advanced options and also gave legitimacy to the new theology that in those years was developing in Latin America, the so-called liberation theology<sup>195</sup>. Many theologians gave life to the liberation theology<sup>196</sup>, but in these early years Gustavo Gutiérrez is particularly important. He is a Peruvian *mestizo* priest who combined two worlds: on the one hand, from his years as a young priest, he had first hand knowledge of the poverty in the slums of Lima; on the other hand, he was educated in the Faculties of Theology of the Universities of Leuven and Lyon, where he had contact with the elite of the new European theology. Gutiérrez was one of the first to use the concept of liberation and it was in a lecture given in Chimbote, Peru, in 1968. From there he built a full theological reflection, which he later called "liberation theology" and, in 1971, published the first edition of his influential book "*Teología de la Liberación. Perspectivas*"<sup>197</sup>.

Overall, the liberation theology of Gutierrez placed the poor in the center of theological reflection. At least in his early years, they were defined within the categories of Marxist analysis, and coincident with Marx's proletariat. He also used the concept of class struggle, which was the key to analyze the reality of Latin American society<sup>198</sup>. He combined this Marxist analysis of

society with the Judeo-Christian tradition, understanding that the poor were at the core of the faith by being in the mystery of Christ. Jesus had directed his message to the poor, but also was one of them. Thus, Gutiérrez focused on the historical figure of Jesus, a poor carpenter who had shared his life among the poorest. Gutiérrez spoke of a "rediscovery of evangelical poverty," which not only involved "solidarity with the poor", but also a "protest against poverty". This was, in short, an option for "the exploited classes", for "the struggle of the Latin American proletariat", in which theology also had a "perception of politics" and a "scientific rationality"<sup>199</sup>. The poor had to leave behind the passivity of hundreds of years of history and become the protagonists of their own history. Gutiérrez established three levels of meaning of the concept of liberation. One had to do with political liberation of the oppressed classes; another had to do with human liberation, in which everyone must assume his or her own destiny; and a third had to do with liberation from sin, in which salvation, based on biblical sources, was understood in a global sense with its earthly component<sup>200</sup>.

Thus, Gutiérrez came to sort out and synthesize a Christian thought that was latent in different sectors of the region, and the concept of "liberation" meant the epilogue of what many of them proposed and expected from Christian thought in accordance with the region's reality. Between 1968 and 1973, the Chilean Catholic journals *Mensaje* and *Pastoral Popular* published multiple articles about liberation. Several of them resorted to concepts of class, exploitation of the Latin American "people", and the need for true liberation, along with the importance of the historical and the political<sup>201</sup>.

This was the backdrop against which the first signs of a leftist clergy in the late Sixties were perceived in Chile. There was an additional element in Chile that did not occur in other

places that was an incentive for leftist Catholics: the exhaustion and disillusionment concerning the Catholic reformist project of "Revolution in Liberty".

Frei's administration showed its limitations after a favorable first three years. It had serious governance and political difficulties and the congressional obstacles to carrying out structural reforms was a demonstration of that. The government appeared pressured by the right and the left. But also some expressions of social unrest became common<sup>202</sup>.

Tensions in Chilean society led the Catholic Church hierarchy to raise its voice in defense of the unity of Catholics, as well as to distance itself from the Christian Democratic Party. From 1968 on, the bishops, either individually or collectively, attempted to mediate between opposing political positions. In April 1968, a pastoral document was issued in this sense called "*Chile, la voluntad de ser*" ("Chile, the will to be"). Concepts of "national community" and "coexistence" were highlighted, as well as the value of democratic institutions and the need to seek non-violent methods to resolve social conflicts<sup>203</sup>.

A short time later, during the month of August 1968, coinciding with the Medellin Conference and Paul VI's visit to Bogotá, the Chilean Catholic world would be shaken by an unprecedented event. On Sunday August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1968 Santiago's Cathedral was occupied by two hundred laymen and laywomen, among whom were workers, including the popular labor leader, Clotario Blest, *pobladores* from some parishes of the south of Santiago, university students -such as the former President of the *Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad Católica* or FEUC (Student Federation of the Catholic University) and main protagonist of the seizure of the Catholic University a year earlier, Miguel Ángel Solar-, and other members of a Christian movement called "Camilo Torres". There were also three nuns and seven priests, among who were the famous Jesuit Ignacio Vergara, the priest from the Sacred Hearts, Carlos Lange and the

advisor of the Association of the Catholic University, Diego Palma. Inside the Cathedral, members of "*Iglesia Joven*", name by which they identified themselves, hung pictures of Che Guevara and Camilo Torres and prayed for "the fallen in the Viet Nam War", for "the Latin American working class" and "for political prisoners in Brazil". They also held a press conference and issued a couple of documents<sup>204</sup>.

The target of this occupation, as its members said, was to find a more radical commitment of Christians with the poor and a greater participation in ecclesiastical decisions<sup>205</sup>. But they also sought to make an act of public accusation against Paul VI's visit to Colombia and the luxury with which he would be received, a protest against the encyclical *Humanae Vitae* and Vatican authoritarianism in this area, and a rejection of the expensive splurge that the construction in Chile of the Votive Temple of Maipú meant. They sought a free Church of the "people" who lived in poverty and simplicity, and would accompany them in their struggles. They denounced a series of injustices of the prevailing system, which they called "established disorder", which was characterized mainly by the "violence of the rich and powerful", the "exploitation of man by a system based on profit", "international imperialism of money", "the deception of a false democracy", "racial, cultural and economic segregation" and "the instrumentalization of education in favor of the ruling classes". They also clarified that their actions were not a personal attack against the Pope or Cardinal Silva Henríquez, but that they were only looking for a change within the Church that was manifested in five points: an Evangelical structure, a poor Church, a free Church, a servant Church, and a Church open to people<sup>206</sup>.

Cardinal Silva Henríquez immediately condemned this act of "desecration" and proceeded to suspend the priests who participated in it. However, after receiving a letter from

the priests, he quickly lifted the sanction. This only served to increase the division among Catholics. For some, the occupation of the Cathedral and the subsequent weak response from the Cardinal meant a testament to the unmanageable crisis and disorder that prevailed in the country and the Church. For rightist members of the Catholic elite this was a sign of "desecration" and "anarchic rebellion" and the photo published by the newspaper *El Mercurio*, in which one of the priests appeared smoking inside the Cathedral with the image of Che Guevara as a backdrop, was a clear demonstration of this transgression<sup>207</sup>.

*Mensaje* appeared in defense of the Cardinal and as a conciliatory voice. From its pages, Jesuits attempted to understand the spirit behind the occupation. Their editorial stressed that there was a majority of workers in the occupation. They did not justify this act, which they considered "a reckless gesture that would logically lead to all sorts of reactions and interpretations", but to respect the "Catholic concern" of the laity and priests who participated in it which "could not abandon those who trusted them."

"The gesture may have been exaggerated, but the intention was not rebellious, neither accusatory, much less of desecration ... But neither *El Mercurio* nor *El Diario Ilustrado* duly underscored the deep religious significance of the Mass celebrated by the 'rebels', their Litanies of ecumenical outreach, their dialogues and reflections that were erasing differences between workers, academics, professionals and intellectuals to make them understand that all were simply Christians ...just bent on giving a testimony of evangelical commitment"<sup>208</sup>

The Chilean Episcopal Conference rushed out in defense of the Cardinal and a few days later it published a pastoral document that analyzed the occupation of the Cathedral as part of the post-conciliar Chilean environment<sup>209</sup>. According to the bishops, the different adjectives that were used to define the Church were making an irreconcilable situation. The Church was called a "Church of the poor", a "youth church", a "traditional church", an "official church", an "underground Church", a "new church", which to the bishops seemed to be a simple manipulation of the Gospel towards worldly and political purposes. So they asked: "Have we

opened fully to His Gospel, to all His requirements, or have we arbitrarily chosen this or that verse that we use in support of a respectable thesis, but only a human one? ". With a sense of urgency, the bishops called for the unity of Christians:

"Let us not disperse, today more than ever ... A divided Church, a Church separated from its legitimate pastors, a church that does not bind around the successor of Peter, a Church 'shaken by every wind of doctrine' that follows prophets according to their whims, would not be the Church of Christ ... Seeking God in others, only in human society, in communion with longings of men of our time, without looking to Him, in the study of His word, in the contemplation of His mystery, is to defy oneself... The Christian, whether a sociologist or promoter of human development, must first be a believer and a witness. The testimony of his life must accompany his word and be a visible reflection of the mystery in which he believes ... <sup>11210</sup>.

The occupation of the Cathedral highlighted ideological and political differences in the Chilean Catholicism of the late Sixties, and these differences went far beyond the purely ecclesiastical and religious spheres. It was a strong signal of discomfort and impatience between those groups of progressive Christians and their conviction to push the Church towards more radical political positions. But it also showed the concern and fear of those traditional sectors concerning the disorder and excessive politicizing of the Church. The divisions within Chilean Catholicism multiplied and the occupation of the Cathedral only made this clear.

As early as mid-1967, *Mensaje* revealed a new ideological and religious discourse that began to take shape in the region. In Chile, this new discourse would respond to a new search that some clergy initiated into the world of the left. Several articles were published about the Christians' identification with the poor and their causes, the possibilities for a Christian-Marxist dialogue, the role that Christians should play in a revolutionary process, and the meanings of a rebel priest<sup>211</sup>. In August 1968, an editorial was published about Che Guevara's diary, which cost them a scolding from a member of the hierarchy<sup>212</sup>. Che, as a revolutionary leader, gave his life for his cause, and for that reason he would become an example for Christians:

"One thing is to talk, to give inflammatory speeches, to be parlor or newspaper heroes, to use the revolution as a springboard for travel to Europe, make money and occupy important positions,

and another thing is to live the revolution, to make sacrifices without pay nor applause, to be prepared to die. "

"Example and lesson for Christians ... we should love indeed, as Christ loved, without measure, without even counting our sacrifices. But do we do? The life and death of Che: example and lesson to meditate on at length and profoundly"<sup>213</sup>

*Mensaje* also hinted at the disappointment of some clergy around the Christian Democratic project. In an editorial in 1968, marking the fifth year of the Frei government, Jesuits spoke of the limitations of the "Revolution in Liberty" and of the need for a larger revolutionary change. This change, which required a "consciousness-raising effort" and a "change of mentality" should be "global, radical and fast" and could not be done under the legal structures of the time:

"Is it possible to achieve this through peaceful means? We have not yet tested all options and, therefore, cannot legitimately claim the only way can be an armed and bloody violence"

"... Given the weight of the capitalist powers and structures in the economy of our country, we believe that we cannot leave our underdevelopment by imitating their recipes but by using other, non-capitalist ways, that would have to be opened up, and that, not being necessarily a totalitarian collectivism, indeed meant an organic development of our economies adapted to the circumstances in Latin America and the effective participation of all workers in the economic, social, cultural and political life of the nation"<sup>214</sup>

A figure that is of vital importance among the leftist Chilean clergy was the already mentioned Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo. In the late Sixties, this well-known priest, along with other priests and laymen and laywomen, was closer to Marxism and dependency theory<sup>215</sup>.

Starting in 1968, Father Arroyo wrote in *Mensaje* several articles on Christian revolutionaries. He wrote two on rebel communities of Bolivia<sup>216</sup> and others on the issue of violence, following the line of the Medellin Conference<sup>217</sup>. In his articles on rebel communities, Arroyo began by rejecting the Church's social doctrine, which he considered abstract, deductive and dogmatic, and "totally separated from the historical situation" and "broadcasted from the pulpit and Christian professorships". He then highlighted the option of the "Christian guerrilla", embodied in the figure of Camilo Torres, which reflected "how far 'Catholic' Latin America was

from meeting the demands of the Gospel on justice and charity". His words gave testimony of the new spirit pervading this nascent leftist clergy, of which Arroyo was a true representative:

"Does not the position (of revolutionary Christians) rather reveal the authenticity of a Christian conscience reacting to the blatant injustice of the Latin American world? If your language is Marxist and your political commitment is with anti-Christian forces, could it be because that theory and these movements are the only ones you perceive as revolutionary? You cannot continue to ignore that help is not found in traditional Christian thought ..."<sup>218</sup>

According to Arroyo, a Christian reflection on social change should necessarily come from the same reality. This reflection had to start by accepting the "contributions from the secular world" and from "the scientific and social disciplines" and having "a fitter vocabulary ". With regard to Marxism, Arroyo spoke of building a "more critical consciousness concerning Marxist categories"<sup>219</sup>.

Father Arroyo also discussed the concept coined in the Medellin Conference, the "institutionalized violence". He discussed the possibilities of legitimacy of a violent action against the established order. Arroyo cited several "dependency" intellectuals and academics, and understood the reality of Latin America as a situation of "reactive violence" or "counter-violence":

"... one might wonder who is responsible for the subversive atmosphere that pervades so many countries of Latin American society, the discouragement and crisis of authority seem to invade every area, the increasingly acute tensions and conflicts present in politics, in social life and in colleges. Who is guilty? Only the one causing the institutional disruption? Is it the subversive nonconformist, -sometimes utopian extremist- increasingly present within the family, the parties, in social life and in the Christian community?"

"... We Christians who believe in the productiveness of peace, have we done anything more than talk about global changes of structures, have we committed all our efforts to suppress the action of institutionalized injustice? If we do not do it today, let us not be the ones to cast the first stone"<sup>220</sup>

Father Arroyo joined expressions of discontent towards the "Revolution in Liberty". His criticism was based on its excessive attachment to legality and preserving the existing order, but

he also criticized the "lack of mystique" of its leaders. This combination, according to Arroyo, finally turned Chileans against it:

"If Frei and his 'Revolution in Liberty' are going right now through serious difficulties, it is largely due to lack of mystique of a regime capable of planning reforms such as of land, education and massive grassroots organizing, but unable to unleash the spirit of sacrifice and austerity needed to make Chileans freely renounce the few capitalist advantages they already have and the many they aspire to possess. And Frei cannot banish by force the individualism of the leaders of the people, since he believes in democracy ..."<sup>221</sup>

By the late Sixties, *Mensaje* and Father Arroyo's thinking showed the ideological and political theological trajectory, finally made by those Chilean Catholics who were moving gradually from options inspired by reformist social Christianity towards more radical options. It was a trajectory that took some elements of Marxism, not without doubts or fears, and tried to create a different path from that proposed by the traditional left. This search had a theological basis and found in the Gospel and in some Catholic values a doctrinal foundation to defend new positions. But this search not only came from ecclesiastical spheres, but also from laymen and laywomen who were also gradually moving towards the left. We have to analyze the movement of some members of the Christian Democratic party, who after a series of disagreements of a different nature, would end by splitting away from it and joining in a new political conglomerate.

### 3. Rebellion among the Christian Democrats

"No task is more difficult in the world than to make a revolution in liberty. Some think that there is little revolution and a lot of liberty, and others that there is a lot of revolution and little liberty. In short, you make no one happy", said Eduardo Frei in a letter to Jacques Maritain on April 17<sup>th</sup>, 1967. His words reflected not only the problems of his government, but also the problems his own party experienced, which increased starting in 1967<sup>222</sup>.

The reformist political project's constraints and the dissatisfaction with Frei's administration increased starting in 1967. That year there were clear signs that the "Revolution in Liberty" had reached its limits and *Mensaje* was a tribune from which people from the ecclesiastical and political world gave their opinions about these limitations. In August 1968, a young university Christian Democrat leader José Joaquín Brunner, who used the pseudonym of Andrés Coste for his comments in *Mensaje*<sup>223</sup>, criticized the inability or abdication of the Frei administration to fight against the legal system. This showed the constraints of the reformist Christian Democratic project, which he called "the experience of the frustrated revolution":

"... For more than three years the country has lived the experience of a government that intended to carry out a 'revolution in liberty'. It would have been better to call this project a 'revolution within the law'! Today, very few question, although recognizing the progress made in some areas, that this revolution was thwarted ... "<sup>224</sup>

What happened within the PDC so that some of its members rejected in these terms the government and the project of society it proposed to conduct? Answering this question leads to a review of the ideological trajectory of the PDC from the inauguration of the Frei government.

Despite the good omens that the electoral victories of 1964 and 1965 carried, already in mid-1965 three internal lines are perceived in the Christian Democratic Party that ended in a total doctrinal and political disagreement. There were differences over the very nature of the

communitarian society it sought to build, but also about the speed and scope that the reformist project should have. There were also differences with respect to the political position of the party and around who would be its partners in the construction of communitarianism<sup>225</sup>.

The different tendencies within the party could be grouped as follows. One of them was loyal to the government, led by Patricio Aylwin and Jaime Castillo Velasco and defended from within the government by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gabriel Valdés, and the Minister of the Interior, Edmundo Pérez Zujovic. Their strategy was moderate in terms of the speed and scope of the revolution and its possible alliances with the left. A second tendency, "*los rebeldes*" ("the rebels") was represented by most of the youth of the party, led by Alberto Jerez, Rafael Agustín Gumucio and Julio Silva Solar, and which was later joined by Jacques Chonchol. They sought to have more influence in government decisions and to accelerate the pace of the revolution. And a third tendency, which surfaced in mid-1965, known as "*tercerista*" ("third way") tried to mediate between the other two. This was represented by Radomiro Tomic -the PDC's future presidential candidate for the 1970 election-, Bosco Parra and Luis Maira. For the presidential election of 1964 and until 1967, the first of these lines prevailed. From that year onwards, the situation became more complex and the differences and conflicts could not be resolved internally. This ended with a significant rupture of the Christian Democratic Party that kept together, up to that moment, the reformist Christian electorate.

A major player in the PDC that explained these internal struggles was the Christian Democratic Youth (JDC)<sup>226</sup>. On several fronts, it began to push for a radicalization of the revolutionary process. In mid-1966, one of its most important leaders, Rodrigo Ambrosio, endorsed the principles of "communitarian socialism". Ambrosio criticized the Frei administration and how the "Revolution in Liberty" was being put into practice. The JDC

proposed, through a political vote, that the party should define itself as favoring "a non-capitalist way to development." They defined "communitarian socialism" as follows: "revolution today is the transition from capitalism to a socialist society, and communitarian socialism does not represent an intermediate stage between capitalism and socialism, but another form of socialism"<sup>227</sup>.

The words of the JDC were part of a common logic shared with other progressive Catholics who from different places began to outline a new form of socialism. Ambrosio's and most of the JDC's new doctrinal construction coincided with what two important Christian Democrat figures, Julio Silva Solar and Jacques Chonchol, had described a few months earlier in their aforementioned controversial book.

In mid-1967 the National PDC Board elections took place, in which the "rebel" line won in the party. Rafael Agustín Gumucio was elected president, defeating Jaime Castillo, and Rodrigo Ambrosio was at the head of the Christian Democratic Youth. This meant that pressures on the government would be strengthened and that its own party now demanded an acceleration and a deepening of reforms. They published a document -considered "a milestone in the development of a program for Chilean progressivism"<sup>228</sup> - called the "*Proposiciones para una acción política en el período 1967-1970 de una vía no capitalista de desarrollo*" ("Proposals for political action in the period 1967-1970 for a non-capitalist way of development")<sup>229</sup>. A target was to achieve a "new worker society: solidary, popular and democratic", where a non-capitalist way of development, inspired by the objectives of the government program of 1964, would lead to the "building of a communitarian social economic system to replace the capitalist one"<sup>230</sup>.

The party's internal situation worsened as disagreements between the government and the party increased. This led to the "*Junta de Peñaflores*", a special meeting held in January 1968,

where a number of party decisions would be taken. Even Eduardo Frei took part. He was directly involved in conducting the meeting and made a strong appeal to his party to support his government. According to Frei, the document on the "non-capitalist path of development" did nothing but divide the party and create confusion in the public. This was simply unacceptable to his government and he proposed to discard it. Two political votes were presented and finally the official faction ended up winning. Facing this situation, Gumucio resigned and the Christian Democratic leaders proceeded to elect a new board to represent the voice of the official party line. Rodrigo Ambrosio presaged a "severe bleeding" for the party<sup>231</sup>. The JDC issued a strong statement, titled "*Contra viento y marea seguir avanzando*" ("Moving forward against all odds") in which they demonstrated their belief in the non-capitalist path:

"The revolutionary energy catalyzed and put into action by Gumucio cannot stop today. Aware of this, the JDC shall not isolate itself within its borders. On the contrary, our first responsibility is to conquer for this task all sectors of the party who have a strong desire to break with the capitalist system and the classes that support it"<sup>232</sup>

The JDC came to lead the PDC's internal dissent and became a voice of opposition to the government. But these young men also moved a step further and encouraged a union with leftist forces. In a public account in July 1968, Rodrigo Ambrosio referred to the irreconcilable differences that existed between them and the official party line. With an eye on the 1970 election, Ambrosio said that, by then, the "centrist" and "thirdist" alternatives must disappear, because they distorted and muffled what was happening in Chilean society. Two fronts, "compact and exclusive", should replace them. One of them represented by "the right and imperialism", which he called "*Frente de la Reacción*" ("Reactionary Front"), and the other identified as a "popular movement" aimed at building a socialist economy, called "*Frente de la Revolución*" ("Revolutionary Front")<sup>233</sup>.

The situation inside the PDC worsened and the bloodshed that occurred in Puerto Montt ended any possibility of understanding between the "rebels" and the government. It was in early 1969 that a group of poor people decided to illegally occupy some land in Pampa Irigoín, near the southern city of Puerto Montt. On March 9, the government, specifically the Ministry of Interior, ordered the police to evict the participants of the occupation. This eviction ended in a confrontation and ultimately with eight dead and more than forty wounded. These acts of violence by the government provoked a strong attack on it by the parties of the left, the *Central Única de Trabajadores* (CUT), some student organizations and the left-wing press. The Minister of the Interior, Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, was accused of being politically responsible for the slaughter for having given the order to the police, as was the government for justifying Pérez Zujovic's action<sup>234</sup>.

The Pampa Irigoín events united the PDC internal dissenters<sup>235</sup>. The JDC raised its voice against the government and its president, Enrique Correa, demanded the Minister of Interior's resignation. He called him the "symbol of the growing rightist tendency" of the government, and announced a definitive break with the party:

"This new repressive act by the government is the result of a policy increasingly distant from and contrary to popular interests, that needs, therefore, to be imposed with an increasingly larger share of authoritarianism. This is just a demonstration of the government's failure to fulfill the task of uniting the people to destroy the anti-“people” power of the economic right ... This is not the way ... This is the opportunity to lead the popular movement, rather than suppress it with bullets and riot police. The Government refused and chose the anti-“people” path of being the guardian of an 'efficient capitalism' ..."

"Our absolute conviction is that the people shall be released from the bullets only when they are truly in power and have made the state their home. Only in a foreign State and government and opposed to dominant interests, will the people get rid of repression, injustice and exploitation."<sup>236</sup>

"Rebel" parliamentarians, through a statement signed by Rafael Agustín Gumucio, Alberto Jerez, Julio Silva Solar, Vincent Sota and Jacques Chonchol, sympathized with the JDC.

According to them, keeping quiet in the face of events like the one that had taken place meant an "act of tacit acceptance". They recognized their struggle "to emphasize the revolutionary spirit" that should preside government acts and reaffirmed their "conviction that all political and social forces that were willing "to prevent the access of the oligarchy to power and to establish a "people" government in Chile ", had to unite, transcending partisan sectarianism" <sup>237</sup>.

Frei's supporters also reacted to the events in Puerto Montt and defended the government's action. *Política y Espíritu* qualified the actions of certain members of the party as a violation of "all standards of human and political consideration":

"Without further examination, with no internal discussion, contrary to the mandates of the National Board, (and) relating these facts with analogous political interpretations to those of our major adversaries, they have offended the honor of their comrades and caused political discredit to the government"<sup>238</sup>

After the government chose to keep Perez Zujovic as Minister of the Interior, the PDC leadership through Bernardo Leighton disavowed "in its entirety" the statement of the JDC and summoned the Disciplinary Tribunal to apply the corresponding sanctions<sup>239</sup>. A group of DC senators also gave their support to the government and rejected continuing criticism that it received from their party comrades. In their view, the "unfortunate events of Puerto Montt" were part of a larger picture, driven by socialism and communism meaning to destroy the revolutionary process led by the Christian Democrats<sup>240</sup>.

Finally, in May 1969, the bleeding predicted by Ambrosio almost a year before came true. In a national meeting that was to define positions and prepare internal party election strategy for next year's presidential election, the three lines in the DC were raised again: Frei's line representing his political proposal of an "own path"; a second position, represented by Gumucio, Jerez and Silva Solar, demanded that the party should define itself as leftist and that, therefore, an alliance must be attempted with the Marxist parties of that line; and a third

position, called "*rupturista*" and driven by the JDC, similar to the second, but more radical and that advocated the option of forming a "revolutionary front"<sup>241</sup>.

Basically, these three lines revealed fundamental differences within the PDC. Two of these groups were open to alliances with Marxist leftist forces, with which they would feel more identified. Finally "rebels" and "*rupturistas*" presented a common political vote, which backed the union of all the leftist parties behind a single presidential candidate, and was even open to the possibility that this candidate would not be a Christian Democrat.

The official Frei line was approved by a narrow majority, and the "rebels" decided to leave of the party. On May 18<sup>th</sup>, 1969 they founded the *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria* or MAPU (United Popular Action Movement)<sup>242</sup>. The older figures of the Christian Democrat "rebels", represented mainly by congressmen Rafael Agustín Gumucio, Vicente Sota, Julio Silva Solar, Jacques Chonchol and Alberto Jerez, joined the MAPU too<sup>243</sup>.

This rupture of the PDC and the consequent formation of MAPU were the expressions of the growing political and ideological distance that existed within the Christian Democrats. The concept of "communitarian" society and the proposed "Revolution in Liberty" were ideological constructions that presented serious difficulties when implemented. Whether it was because they were very abstract concepts, their definitions too broad, or the difficulties of building an intermediate way in the late Sixties, the truth is that the Chilean Christian Democrats during Frei's administration saw their differences grow and their positions radicalize. Illustrative are the words of Gumucio who, in an emotional letter to the party president, Jaime Castillo, resigned when faced with the impossibility of uniting the currents within the party:

"... in our party, forces have consolidated that have nothing in common with what I think ... The ideal that always brought us together was the struggle against the injustice of capitalist

structures, the struggle to change this society in a real and profound way. Christian principles have inspired our action. "

"But I now see that things are different. The most advanced currents of Christian thought are no longer chosen by us and in fact more than an instrument of revolutionary change of society we are an instrument of the social status, a force managing the system, guaranteeing the established order"<sup>244</sup>

During the MAPU's founding act, Jacques Chonchol, as president of the National Coordinating Committee of the Movement, presented the doctrinal lines of this new party. According to Chonchol, MAPU was born as a new "leftist movement" capable of contributing to "the unity of the people for the conquest of power". Chonchol emphasized that to achieve a true "unity", "sectarianism should be banished" and a "total respect for pluralism of ideas and beliefs" should be promoted. Only thus would it be possible to build a "socialist and communitarian society", that was an "authentic democratic society"<sup>245</sup>.

MAPU joined forces with the Marxist left for the 1970 presidential election and became part of the Popular Unity, a political alliance that brought together leftist parties under the candidacy of socialist Salvador Allende. The significance of the MAPU with its future political-electoral alliance with the left represented a political and ideological rupture from the PDC, a party that throughout the Sixties had brought together Chilean Catholic progressivism. But additionally, the MAPU, seen in this long-standing process, marked the culmination of this long ideological and political trajectory that began in the 1930s<sup>246</sup>.

## CONCLUSIONS

One of the most visible features of leftist Chilean clergy in the late Sixties and early Seventies was the intensity with which they participated in national events. The popular saying "*Ya no basta con rezar*" ("It is no longer enough to pray"), which was the title of Chilean filmmaker Aldo France's 1972 movie represented the path chosen by a priest in Valparaíso, and vividly represented the religious and political choices that leftist Chilean clergy chose.

The three decades from the late Thirties to the late Sixties witnessed a long route toward the left for a sector of the Catholic political elite and for a group, however small, of the national clergy. Chilean Catholicism experienced major changes in institutional, theological, cultural and political terms. Its concerns and emphasis changed, its actors and agencies were restructured and adapted to new challenges, to the lifestyles and needs of the Church itself, and to the particularities of Chilean society.

The political options for Catholics also experienced important changes. In the late Thirties, the Conservative Party represented the only place for Catholics within the Chilean political spectrum. Then, by the late Fifties, with an emerging social Christian reformist project, the range of political options for Catholics appeared more open and plural. Nevertheless, as late as the 1964 election it was still unacceptable that Catholics allied with leftist forces, and the Catholic Church still raised its voice to warn the civil society about the philosophical and ideological differences that separated Catholicism and Marxism. By the 1970 election, the situation had considerably changed. If six years earlier it seemed impossible to go along with Marxist forces, and for the 1964 election a strong campaign warned about the perils of Allende's victory, in 1970 a Christian-Marxist alliance was a real possibility.

This work described this political and ideological trajectory that begins with a Catholic conservative core, assistentialist and liberal in terms of its conception of social problems, and fearful of communist secularism. Then, an important branch split off from this Conservative core. At first, it was a minority group, but, on the eve of the Sixties, it was capable of uniting and representing the feelings of Catholics behind a developmentalist project and of containing revolutionary impulses through a path of structural reforms. The end of this trajectory responded to the frustration and disappointment with that reformist project, which ended in a previously unknown alliance between Christianity and socialism.

This opening up to the left by some Catholics can be seen in Chilean politics as early as 1967. The fear of Marxism, that had been present in the entire history of Catholicism, began to erode, and Marxism was no longer viewed with the previous distrust and fear. Whether responding to the disenchantment with the Christian Democratic reformist project, or the problems within the Church after the implementation of the Council, or the worldwide revolutionary environment, the fact is that by 1970 the political options for Catholics were broad.

In Chile, the renewal of the Church during the Sixties and the reception of Vatican II coincided with a period of immense social and political transformations. These huge transformations that Chilean society underwent also had expression in the religious field. The subjects of this study, both the leftist clergy and the Catholics grouped under the MAPU, were proof of that. They decided to play a central role in the process of social and political change. They, who years earlier supported and participated in the “Revolution in Liberty”, now defended and decided to actively participate in the “Chilean road to socialism”.

The experiences of these two groups have important similarities. This was a shared history and the following years, with the presidential election in September 1970 and subsequent triumph of socialist Salvador Allende, confirmed it. On the one hand, the leftist clergy provided legitimacy and accompanied the laymen and laywomen on their path towards the left. The clergy provided religious substance to the ideological and political options they took, and this was not something new. In the past there had been a doctrinal and personal closeness between figures like Manuel Larraín or Father Alberto Hurtado and some *falangista* leaders. Proof of that was Bishop Larraín's intervention in order to end the conflict of 1947 between *Falange Nacional* and the Chilean Episcopate. On the other hand, the laity was a "spearhead", and they helped in the process of raising the clergy's consciousness about social problems and its more radical political solutions.

Since the late Sixties, and especially during the Popular Unity years (1970-1973) there were emblematic cases of closeness or symbiosis between clerical groups and political activists or governmental advisers. Some priests, such as well-known Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo, had an active political participation through the influential leftist think tank, *Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Nacional* or CEREN (Center for Studies of the National Reality), dependent on the Catholic University.

In this context, the clerical movement "*Cristianos por el Socialismo*" ("Christians for Socialism") also had a remarkable closeness with the Marxist left. It was founded in early 1971 by some priests from southern shantytowns of Santiago and it brought together much of the leftist Chilean clergy. For them the Church should have a real social and political commitment to the poor and, therefore, if the poor were with the Popular Unity they should be too. Many of these "Christians for Socialism", besides providing pastoral testimony, had political participation

within the Popular Unity administration. Some of them had an active membership or closeness to leftist political parties, especially MAPU and MIR, and also participated on the *Juntas de Abastecimiento y Precios* or JAP (Supply and Price Committees)<sup>247</sup> that handled rationing at the grassroots level.

All this happened under Salvador Allende's administration. In the late Sixties, when our study ends, some dispersed expressions of a leftist Catholicism began to emerge. This leftist Catholicism would become stronger after Allende's triumph in 1970. That is another history that was woven into the dynamics of those three years of the Chilean road to socialism.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Periodical sources

*Mensaje* (Santiago, Chile) 1962-1968

*Política y Espiritu* (Santiago, Chile) 1945-1949; 1962-1969

*Ercilla* (Santiago, Chile) 1962-1968

*El Diario Ilustrado* (Santiago, Chile) 1947-1949

*El Mercurio* (Santiago, Chile) 1965-1968

### Sources

Ahumada, Jorge. *En vez de la miseria*. 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Santiago, Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, 1965.

Aliaga, Fernando, et. al. *Documentos de la Conferencia Episcopal Chile. Introducción y textos, 1952-1977*. Vol. 1: 1952-1961 y Vol. 2: 1962-1970. Santiago, Chile, Equipo de Servicios de la Juventud, 1978.

*Alianza para el Progreso. Documentos Básicos*. Punta del Este, Uruguay, [s.n.], 1961.

Assman, Hugo. *Opresión-Liberación: Desafío a los cristianos*. Montevideo, Uruguay, Tierra Nueva, 1971.

------. *Teología desde la praxis de la liberación: ensayo teológico desde la América dependiente*. Salamanca, Ediciones Sígueme, 1973.

Boff, Leonardo. *Iglesia, carisma y poder: ensayos de eclesiología militante*. Bogotá, Colombia, Indo-American Press Service, 1982.

Castillo Velasco, Jaime. *Las fuentes de la Democracia Cristiana*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, 1968.

Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular. *Teología de la liberación: Instrucción Vaticana, pronunciamiento de los obispos colombianos. artículos y entrevistas desde diversos ángulos de la polémica. Cardenal Alfonso López Trujillo, Leonardo Boff, Jon Sobrino, Jean-Ives Calvez, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Jesús Vergara Aceves*. Bogotá, Colombia, Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 1985.

Centro para el Desarrollo Económico y Social de América Latina (DESAL) *La Alianza para el Progreso y el desarrollo social de América Latina: sinopsis del informe preliminar*. Santiago, Chile, DESAL, 1963.

------. *Informes sobre poblaciones marginales*. Santiago, Chile, [s.n.], 1963.

------. *Proyecto pobladores*. Santiago, Chile, DESAL/IDE, 1963.

------. *Programa de equipamiento comunitario para las poblaciones marginales de Santiago, Valparaíso, Antofagasta y Concepción*, [s.n.], 1964.

Concha, Juan Enrique. *Cuestiones obreras*, Tesis de Licenciatura en Leyes y Ciencias Políticas, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile, Imprenta Barcelona, 1899.

- . *Conferencias sobre economía social*. En "Memoria Chilena", de la Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos de Chile (DIBAM)  
[http://memoriachilena.cl//temas/documento\\_detalle.asp?id=MC0013891](http://memoriachilena.cl//temas/documento_detalle.asp?id=MC0013891)
- Congreso Internacional de la Democracia Cristiana. Santiago de Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, 1957.
- Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano. *La Iglesia en la actual transformación de América Latina a la luz del Concilio*. Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Paulinas, 1969.
- Fernández Larraín, Sergio. *Falange Nacional, Democracia Cristiana y Comunismo. Texto de la Conferencia que el Señor Fernández Larraín dio en el Club Fernández Concha, el 3 de julio de 1958*. Imprenta Z.A.I., 1958.
- Freire, Paulo. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos, New York, Herder and Herder, 1970.
- Garaudy, Roger. *From Anathema to Dialogue. A Marxist Challenge to the Christian Churches*. Translated by Luke O'Neill, New York, Herder and Herder, 1966.
- Girardi, Giulio. *Marxism and Christianity*. Translated by Kevin Traynor. Dublin, Gill, 1968.
- González Cruchaga, Carlos. *Historia de una polémica. Monseñor Manuel Larraín y los orígenes de la Democracia Cristiana en Chile*. Santiago, Chile, Fundación Eduardo Frei, 1997?.
- Grez, Sergio. *La 'cuestión social' en Chile. Ideas y debates precursores (1804-1902)*. Santiago, Chile, Ediciones de la Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, 1995.
- Gutiérrez, Gustavo. *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*. Translated and edited by Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson. Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1973.
- . *Praxis de liberación y fe cristiana*. Bilbao, Zero, 1974.
- Hurtado, Alberto, S.J. *¿Es Chile un país católico?* Santiago, Chile, Splendor, 1941.
- Larraín E., Manuel. *Desarrollo: Éxito o Fracaso en América Latina*. Santiago, Chile Ediciones Universidad Católica, 1965.
- . *Don Manuel Larraín. Un Profeta para el Mundo de Hoy*. Talca, Chile, Fundación Obispo Manuel Larraín, Junio 1970.
- López Trujillo, Alfonso. *Análisis marxista y liberación cristiana*. Santiago, Chile, Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, 1976.
- . *De Medellín a Puebla*. Madrid, Católica, 1980.
- Muñoz, Ronaldo. *Nueva conciencia de la Iglesia en América Latina*. Salamanca, Ediciones Sígueme, 1974.
- Oficina Nacional de Estadística de la Acción Católica Chilena. *Estado de la Iglesia en Chile*. Santiago, Chile, 1946.
- Pinochet de la Barra, Oscar. *Testimonios. El Cardenal Silva Henríquez, luchador por la paz*. Santiago, Chile, Edebé-Editorial Don Bosco, 2006.
- Richard, Pablo. *Cristianos por el Socialismo: historia y documentación*. Salamanca, Ediciones Sígueme, 1976.

Sanders, Thomas G. Letter sent to Richard H. Nolte, Institute of Current World Affairs (New York, U.S.), "The Chilean Episcopate", July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1968. In <http://icwa.org>

----- Letter sent to Richard H. Nolte, Institute of Current World Affairs (New York, U.S.), "The Centro Bellarmino", November 23<sup>rd</sup>,. En <http://icwa.org>

Secretariado General del Episcopado. *El deber social y político en la hora presente. Los Obispos de Chile hablan*. Santiago, Chile, Secretariado General del Episcopado de Chile, 1962.

*Sesiones de la Cámara de Diputados*, 1948.

*Sesiones del Senado*, 1948.

Silva Solar, Julio y Chonchol, Jacques. *El desarrollo de la nueva sociedad en América Latina*. LOM Ediciones, Santiago, 2009.

Sociedad Tradición, Familia y Propiedad. *La Iglesia del silencio en Chile: la TFP proclama la verdad entera*. Santiago, Chile, La Sociedad, 1976.

Torres, Camilo. *Camilo Torres, sacerdote y guerrillero. Revolución popular: imperativo de cristianos y marxistas*. Buenos Aires, Argentina, Ediciones Unidad, 1986.

#### **Books and Articles**

Alba, Victor. *Parásitos, mitos y sordomudos. Ensayo sobre la Alianza para el Progreso y el colonialismo latinoamericano*. México, D.F., Centro de Estudios y Documentación Social, 1964.

Aldunate, José, et al. *Crónicas de una Iglesia liberadora*. Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2000.

Aliaga, Fernando. *Itinerario Histórico. De los Círculos de Estudios a las Comunidades Juveniles de Bases*. Santiago, Chile, Corporación, 1977.

Allard, Raúl. *La reforma universitaria en Chile. 1967-1973*. Santiago, Chile, Universidad de Santiago, 1997.

Álvarez Espinosa, Daniel Francisco. "Cristianismo y marxismo: ¿Un diálogo de otro tiempo?". *Historia Actual Online*, No 18, 2009

Angell, Alan. *De Alessandri a Pinochet: en busca de la utopía*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Andrés Bello, 1993.

Araneda, Fidel. *El Arzobispo Errázuriz y la evolución política y social de Chile*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Jurídica, 1956.

----- *El clero en el acontecer político chileno: 1935-1960*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Emisión, 1988.

Arrate, Jorge y Rojas, Eduardo. *Memoria de la izquierda chilena*. Vol. 1: 1850-1970. Barcelona & Santiago, Chile, Editorial Javier Vergara, 2003

Barnard, Andrew. "Chile". Leslie Bethell y Ian Roxborough (eds.) *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War 1944-1948*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Barraclough, Solon. *Agricultural Policy and Land Reform*. Presented on the "Conference on Key Problems of Economic Policy in Latin America" (Chicago, 1966), 1966.

- Beigel, Fernanda. *Misión Santiago. El mundo académico jesuita y los inicios de la cooperación internacional católica*. Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2011.
- Benavides, Leopoldo, et. al., *El Partido Comunista en Chile: una historia presente*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Santiago, Chile, FLACSO-USACH, Catalonia, 2010.
- Berríos, Fernando, et. al. *Catolicismo social chileno. Desarrollo, crisis y actualidad*. Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2009.
- Berryman, Phillip. *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts About the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America, and Beyond*. New York, Meyer Stone Books, 1987.
- Bethell, Leslie. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Vol. 4 y 5: 1870-1930. New York, Cambridge University Press, 1984-2008.
- Botto, Andrea. "Algunas tendencias del catolicismo social en Chile: reflexiones desde la historia". *Teología y Vida*, Vol. XLIX, 2008.
- Bresci, Domingo A. *Movimiento de Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo. Documentos para la memoria histórica*. Buenos Aires, Argentina. Centro Salesiano de Estudios San Juan Bosco; Centro Nazaret; Comisión de Estudios de Historia de la Iglesia en Latinoamérica (CEHILA), 1994.
- Brignardello, Andrés. *La Iglesia olvidada: la Teología de la Liberación en Valparaíso*. Valparaíso, Chile, Editorial Punta Ángeles, Universidad de la Playa Ancha de Ciencias de la Educación, 2010.
- Bruna, Susana. "Chile: Luchas campesinas en el Siglo XX". Pablo González Casanova, *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos*. Vol. 4, México, D.F., Siglo XXI Editores, 1985.
- Brunner, José Joaquín. *Universidad Católica y cultura nacional en los años 60: los intelectuales tradicionales y el movimiento estudiantil*. Santiago, Chile, FLACSO, 1981.
- Buruma, Ian. *Taming the Gods: Religion and Democracy on Three Continents*. Princenton, Princenton University Press, c 2010.
- Cárdenas, Eduardo. *La Iglesia hispanoamericana en el Siglo XX (1890-1990)* Madrid, MAPFRE, c1992.
- Cardoso, Fernando Enrique y Faletto, Enzo. *Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina*. 14<sup>th</sup> ed., México, D.F., Siglo Veintiuno, 1978
- Castel, Robert. *Las metamorfosis de la cuestión social: una crónica del salariado*. Traducido por Jorge Platigorsky. Buenos Aires, Paidós, 1997.
- Castillo, Fernando. *La flecha roja: Relato histórico sobre la Falange Nacional*. Santiago, Chile, Francisco de Aguirre, 1997.
- Castillo, Fernando. *Los tiempos que hacen el presente: historia de un rectorado. 1967-1973*. Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 1997.
- Cavallo, Ascanio (ed.) *Memorias. Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez*. Santiago, Chile, Copyghaph, 1991.
- Cid, Francisco Javier. *El humanismo de Fernando Vives*. Santiago, Chile, Instituto Chileno de Estudios Humanísticos, 1976.
- Cleary, Edgard L. *Crisis and Change: The Church in Latin American Today*. Maryknoll, Orbis Books, c 1985.

- Crouzet, Edward. *Sangre sobre "La Esmeralda": sacerdote Miguel Woodward, vida y martirio*. Santiago, Chile, Eds. Chile-América-CESOC, 2001.
- Collier, Simon & Sater, William F. *A history of Chile, 1808-2002*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Cambridge, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Correa, Sofía, et. al. *Horacio Walker y su tiempo*. Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Aconcagua, 1976.
- Correa, Sofía. *Con las riendas del poder: la derecha chilena en el Siglo XX*. Santiago, Chile, 2004.
- . "La opción política de los católicos en Chile", *Mapocho*, No 46, Second Semester 1999.
- . "El corporativismo como expresión política del socialcristianismo". *Teología y Vida*, Vol. XLIX, 2008.
- Covarrubias, María Teresa. *1938: la rebelión de los jóvenes*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Aconcagua, 1987
- Cristi, Renato. *El pensamiento político de Jaime Guzmán. Una biografía intelectual*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edición, LOM Ediciones, 2011.
- Cruz, María Angélica. *Iglesia, represión y memoria: el caso chileno*. Madrid, Siglo XXI, c2004.
- Cunningham, Adrian, et. al. *Slant Manifesto: Catholics and the Left*. London, Sheed & Ward 1966.
- Da Silveira, Fabio Vidigal Xavier. *Frei, el Kerensky chileno*. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Translated by Consejo de Redacción de Cruzada, Buenos Aires, Cruzada, 1968?
- De Cea, Macarena. "El legado de Illades en la UAH". *UAH Noticias*, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago, March 2008, No 51.
- De Ferari, José Manuel. *La Iglesia y el movimiento obrero en Chile durante los años de 1901-1908: el testimonio de "La Revista Católica" y de la prensa diaria católica de Santiago*. Doctoral dissertation Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 1976.
- De Gasperi, Alcide. *El tiempo y los hombres que prepararon la Rerum Novarum*. Translated by Manuel E. Ferreyra. Buenos Aires, Difusión, 1948.
- De la Cierva, Ricardo. *Jesuitas, iglesia y marxismo, 1965-1985. La teología de la liberación desenmascarada*. Barcelona, Plaza & Janes 1986.
- DeShazo, Peter. *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.
- Deves, Eduardo. *Los que van a morir te saludan. Historia de una masacre Escuela Santa María de Iquique, 1907*. Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 1997.
- Doig, Germán. *De Río a Santo Domingo*. Lima, Perú, Editorial Latina, 1993.
- Donoso, Teresa. *Los cristianos por el socialismo en Chile*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Santiago, Chile, Talleres de Comercial Gráfica Millantue, 1976.
- Dodson, Michael & Nuzzi O' Shaughnessy, Laura. *Nicaragua's Other Revolution. Religious Faith and Political Struggle*. Chapel Hill and London, The University of North Carolina Press, 1990.
- Drake, Paul W. *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932-1952*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, c1978.

- Dussel, Enrique. *Caminos de liberación latinoamericana*. Buenos Aires, Argentina, Latinoamérica Libros, 1972.
- . *De Medellín a Puebla: una década de sangre y esperanza, 1968-1979*. México, Edicol, 1979.
- . (coord.), *Historia general de la Iglesia en América Latina*. Salamanca, Ediciones Sígueme, 1981.
- . *Los últimos cincuenta años en la historia de la Iglesia en América Latina, 1930-1985*. Bogotá, Colombia, Indo-American Press, 1986.
- Egido, Teófanos, et. al. *Los jesuitas en España y en el mundo hispánico*. Fundación Carolina, Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos, Madrid, Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, 2004.
- Espinosa Santander, Pedro, S.J. "¿Es Chile un país católico? Polémica en torno a un libro del padre Hurtado". *Teología y Vida*. Vol. XLVI, No 4, 2005.
- Falconi, Carlo. *The Popes in the Twentieth Century, from Pius X to John XXIII*. Boston, Little & Brown, 1968.
- Faúndez, Julio. *Marxism and Democracy in Chile: from 1932 to the Fall of Allende*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988.
- Fernández Fernández, David. *Historia oral de la Iglesia Católica en Santiago de Chile desde el Concilio Vaticano II hasta el golpe militar de 1973*. Cádiz, España, Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Cádiz, 1996.
- . *La "Iglesia" que resistió a Pinochet: historia, desde la fuente oral del Chile que no puede olvidarse*. Santiago, Chile, IEPALA, 1996.
- Fleet, Michael. *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Fogarty, Michael Patrick. *Christian Democracy in Western Europe, 1820-1953*. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1957.
- Furtado, Celso. *Dialéctica del Desarrollo: diagnóstico de la crisis del Brasil*. Translated by Benjamín Hopenhayn. México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965.
- Garcés, Mario. *Tomando su sitio. El movimiento de pobladores de Santiago, 1957-1970*. Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2002.
- García de Cortázar, Fernando y Lorenzo Espinosa, José María. *Los pliegues de la tiara. Los Papas y la Iglesia del siglo XX*. Madrid, Alianza, c1991.
- Cristóbal García-Huidobro, "De pijes a revolucionarios: La toma de la UC y el movimiento de reforma universitaria". Andrés Baeza, et. al. *XX. Historias del siglo veinte chileno*. Santiago, Chile, Ediciones B Chile, 2008.
- Gil, Anthony James. *Rendering unto Caesar: the Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998.
- Gómez, Juan Carlos. *La frontera de la democracia. El derecho de propiedad en Chile, 1925-1973*. Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2004.

- Gómez Ugarte, Jorge. *Ese cuarto de siglo...: veinticinco años de vida universitaria en la A.N.E.C., 1915-1941*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Andrés Bello, 1985.
- González Casanova, Pablo. *La democracia en México*. México, Era, c1965.
- . *Sociología de la explotación*. México, Siglo Veintiuno Editores 1969.
- Grayson, George. *El Partido Demócrata Cristiano Chileno*. Buenos Aires & Santiago, Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1968.
- Grez, Sergio. *Los anarquistas y el movimiento obrero. La alborada de 'la Idea' en Chile, 1893-1915*. Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2007.
- Gumucio, Rafael Luis. *Apuntes de medio siglo*. Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Chile-América, Cesoc, 1994.
- Gunder Frank, Andre. *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil*. New York, Monthly Review Press, 1967.
- Halperin Donghi, Tulio. *Historia contemporánea de América Latina*. Madrid, Alianza, 1998.
- Hanley, D. L. *Christian Democracy in Europe. A Comparative Perspective*. London, New York, Pinter Publishers, 1994.
- Hebblethwaite, Peter. *The Runaway Church*. London, Collins, 1975.
- Hermet, Guy. *Los católicos en la España franquista*. Translated by Carmen A. Hernández-Rubio Díaz. Madrid, Siglo XXI Editores, 1985.
- Hobsbawn, Eric. *Historia del Siglo XX*. Barcelona, Editorial Crítica, 1995.
- Hodara, Joseph. *Prebisch y la Cepal: sustancia, trayectoria y contexto institucional*. México, D.F., El Colegio de México, 1987.
- Horn, Gerd-Rainer & Gerard, Emmanuel (ed.) *Left Catholicism 1943-1955. Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*. Leuven, Belgium, Leuven University Press, 2001.
- Hübner, Jorge Iván. *Los católicos en la política*. Santiago, Chile, Zig-Zag, 1959.
- Huerta, María Antonieta. *Catolicismo social en Chile: pensamiento y praxis de los movimientos apostólicos*. Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Paulinas, 1991.
- Huerta, María Antonieta & Pacheco Pastene, Luis. *La Iglesia Chilena y los cambios sociopolíticos*. Santiago, Chile, Pehuén Editores, 1988.
- Huneus, Carlos. *La guerra fría chilena: Gabriel González Videla y la Ley Maldita*. Santiago, Chile, Random House Mondadori, c 2008.
- Ivulic Gómez, Jorge, et. al. *Importancia del Partido Conservador en la evolución política chilena*. Santiago, Chile, Universidad Bernardo O'Higgins, Area de Ciencia Política, 1998?.
- Jo, Young-Hyun. *Sacerdotes y transformación social en Perú (1968-1975)* México, UNAM, Centro Coordinador y Difusor de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2005.
- Jobet, Julio César. *Ensayo crítico del desarrollo económico-social de Chile*. Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 1951.

- . *El Partido Socialista de Chile*. Santiago, Chile, Prensa Latinoamericana, 1971.
- Kay, Cristóbal. *El sistema señorial europeo y la hacienda latinoamericana*. Translated by Roberto Gómez Ciriza. México, D.F., Ediciones. Era, 1980.
- Kay, Cristóbal y Silva, Patricio. *Development and Social Change in the Chilean Countryside: from the Pre-Land Reform Period to the Democratic Transition*. Amsterdam, CEDLA, 1992.
- Keogh, Dermot. *Church and Politics in Latin America*. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- Klaiber, Jeffrey. *Religion and Revolution in Peru*. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1977.
- Kselman, Thomas A. & Buttigieg, Joseph A. *European Christian Democracy: Historical Legacies and Comparative Perspectives*. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, c2003.
- Labarca, Eduardo. *Chile invadido: Reportaje a la intromisión extranjera*. Santiago, Chile, Editora Austral, 1968.
- Landsberger, Henry A. *Iglesia, intelectuales y campesinos. La huelga campesina de Molina*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, 1967.
- Larson, Oscar. *La ANEC y la Democracia Cristiana*. Santiago, Chile, Ráfaga, 1967.
- Lernoux, Penny. *People of God: the Struggle for World Catholicism*. New York, Penguin Books, 1990.
- Levine, Daniel H. *Religion and Politics in Latin America: the Catholic Church in Venezuela and Colombia*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, c1981.
- (ed.) *Churches and Politics in Latin America*. Beverly Hills, Sage, 1980.
- Levinson, Jerome & De Onís, Juan. *The Alliance that Lost its Way. A Critical Report on the Alliance for Progress*. Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1970.
- Lira, Luis Felipe. *Estructura agraria, crecimiento de la población y migraciones: el caso de la zona central de Chile, 1952-1970*. Santiago, Chile, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, Comisión de Población y Desarrollo, 1976.
- Loveman, Brian. *Struggle in the Countryside*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1976.
- . *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Löwy, Michael. *The War of Gods. Religion and Politics in Latin America*. Londres, Verso, 1996.
- Lynn, Tracey. *In the Footsteps of Cristo Obrero: Chile's Young Catholic Workers Movement in the Neighborhood, Factory and Family, 1946-1973*. Doctoral Dissertation University of Pittsburgh, 2009.
- Macauley, M. G. *Ideological Change and Internal Cleavages in the Peruvian Church: Change, Status Quo, and the Priest. The Case of ONIS*. Doctoral Dissertation Notre Dame University, 1972.
- Magne, Marcelo Gabriel. *Dios está con los pobres. El Movimiento de Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo: prédica revolucionaria y protagonismo social, 1967-1976*. Buenos Aires, Argentina, Imago Mundi, 2004.
- Mainwaring, Scott. *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1986.

- Mainwaring, Scott & Wilde, Alexander (ed.) *The Progressive Church in Latin America*. Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1989.
- Mainwaring, Scott & Scully, Timothy (ed.) *Christian Democracy in Latin America. Electoral Competition and Regime Conflicts*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2003.
- McAfee Brown, Robert. *Gustavo Gutiérrez. An Introduction to Liberation Theology*. Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1990.
- Meinvielle, Julio. *De Lamennais a Maritain*. Buenos Aires, Nuestro Tiempo, 1945.
- Michnik, Adam. *The Church and the Left*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Mondin, Battista. *The Popes of the Modern Ages: from Pius IX to John Paul II*. Città del Vaticano, Urbaniana University Press, c2004.
- Montero, Feliciano. *El primer catolicismo social y la 'Rerum Novarum' en España (1889-1902)* Madrid, CSIC, 1983.
- Moulián, Tomás. *La forja de ilusiones. El sistema de partidos 1932-1973*. Santiago, Chile, Universidad ARCIS/FLACSO, 1993.
- Moyano, Cristina. *MAPU o la seducción del poder y la juventud. Los años fundacionales del partido-mito de nuestra transición (1969-1973)* Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago, Chile, 2009.
- Mutchler, David. *The Church as a Political Factor in Latin America: With Particular Reference to Colombia and Chile*, New York, Praeger, 1971.
- Novak, Michael. *Will it Liberate? Questions about Liberation Theology*. New York, Paulist Press, 1986.
- Nuzzi O'Shaughness, Laura & Serra, Luis H. *Church and Revolution in Nicaragua*. Ohio University, Center for International Studies, Latin America Studies Program, 1986.
- Ochagavía, Juan, S.J. "A cuarenta años del Concilio: Nosotros esperábamos...". *Mensaje*, No 514, November 2002.
- Olavarría, Arturo. *Chile bajo la Democracia Cristiana*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Nascimento, 1966-?
- O'Malley, John W. *What Happened at Vatican II*. Cambridge, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008.
- Orsy, Ladislav. *Receiving the Council: Theological and Canonical Insights and Debates*. Collegeville, Liturgical Press, 2009.
- Ortiz Letelier, Fernando. *El movimiento obrero en Chile (1891-1919)* Madrid, Michay, c1985.
- Pacheco Pastene, Luis. *El pensamiento sociopolítico de los Obispos de Chile, 1962-1973*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Salesiana, 1985.
- Pereira, Teresa. *El Partido Conservador. Ideas, figuras y actitudes, 1930-1965*. Santiago, Chile, Fundación Mario Góngora, 1994.
- Perloff, Harvey S. *Alliance for Progress: a Social Invention in the Making*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1969.

- Phayer, Michael. *Pius XII, the Holocaust, and the Cold War*. Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2008.
- Pinto, Aníbal. *Chile: un caso de desarrollo frustrado*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Universitaria, 1958.
- Pinto, Julio. "¿Cuestión social o cuestión política? La lenta politización de la sociedad popular tarapaqueña hacia fines del siglo, 1889-1900". *Historia*, Vol. 30, 1997.
- . *Desgarros y utopías en la pampa salitrera. La consolidación de la identidad obrera en tiempos de la cuestión social (1890-1923)* Santiago, Chile, LOM, 2007.
- Pires, Monseñor Jose Maria. "Testimonio de un padre conciliar: Concilio Vaticano II y la Iglesia en compás de espera". *Mensaje*, November 2010, No 594.
- Portales, Ana María. *Los conflictos internos en el Partido Demócrata Cristiano durante la primera etapa del gobierno de Eduardo Frei (1964-1968): la dimensión ideológica de un debate político*. Santiago Chile, FLACSO, 1987.
- Powalson, John. *Latin America. Today's Economic and Social Revolution*. New York, McGraw, 1964.
- Prebisch, Raúl. *Raúl Prebisch: un aporte al estudio de su pensamiento*. Santiago, Chile, Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, Naciones Unidas, 1987.
- Ramírez Necochea, Hernán. *Historia del movimiento obrero en Chile. Antecedentes, Siglo XIX*. Santiago, Talleres Gráficos Lautaro, 1956.
- Rioux, Jean-Pierre. *The Fourth Republic, 1944-1958*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Romero, Catalina y Peirano, Luis. *Entre la tormenta y la brisa. Homenaje a Gustavo Gutiérrez*. Lima, Peru. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones (CEP); Instituto Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2010.
- Saball, Gustavo (comp.) *Manuel Larraín: evocaciones, cartas y discursos*. Talca, Chile, Editorial Universidad de Talca, 2004.
- Scully, Timothy. *Rethinking the Center. Party Politics in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century in Chile*. Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992.
- Serrano, Sol. *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República? Política y Secularización en Chile 1845-1885*. Fondo de Cultura Económica, Santiago, 2008.
- Sigmund, Paul. *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976*. Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977.
- . *Liberation Theology at the Crossroads, Democracy or Revolution?*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Smith, Brian. *The Church and Politics in Chile. Challenges to Modern Catholicism*. Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Smith, Cristian. *The Emergence of Liberation Theology. Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*. Chicago & London, The University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- Snow, Peter G. *Chilean Radicalism: the History and Doctrine of the Radical Party*. Iowa City, Iowa, 1971.

- Social Activist Priests: Chile and Social Activist Priests: Colombia, Argentina*. LADOC Keyhole Series, No 5 and 6 (Washington: U.S. Catholic Conference, n.d.).
- Stevenson, John Reese. *The Chilean Popular Front*. Philadelphia, Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942.
- Stewart-Gambino, Hannah W. *The Church and Politics in the Chilean Countryside*. Boulder, Westview Press, 1992.
- (ed.) *Conflict and competition. The Latin American Church in a Changing Environment*. Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992.
- Stuven, Ana María. "El 'Primer Catolicismo Social' ante la cuestión social: un momento en el proceso de consolidación nacional". *Teología y Vida*, Vol. XLIX, 2008.
- Thorp, Rosemary (ed.) *Latin America in the 1930s. The Role of the Periphery in World Crisis*. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1984.
- Tusell, Javier y García Queipo de Llano, Genoveva. *El catolicismo mundial y la guerra de España*. Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993.
- Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, Verónica. *Nacionales y gremialistas: el "parto" de la nueva derecha política chilena, 1964-1973*. Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2008.
- Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, Verónica, et. al *Su revolución contra nuestra revolución*, Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, c2006-2008.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. *El quiebre de la democracia en Chile*. Santiago, Chile, Ediciones, Universidad Diego Portales, c2003.
- Vallier, Ivan. "Radical Priests and Revolution" Chalmers, Douglas (ed.) *Changing Latin America: New Interpretations of its Politics and Society*. Montpelier, Capital City Press, 1972.
- Vekemans, Roger, et. al. *La marginalidad en América Latina: un ensayo de conceptualización*, Santiago, Chile, DESAL, 1969.
- *Teología de la Liberación y Cristianos por el Socialismo*. Bogotá, CEDIAL, 1976.
- *D.C., C.I.A., CELAM: Autopsia del mito Vekemans*. Caracas, Universidad Católica de Tachira, 1982.
- Vial, Gonzalo, et. al. *Jorge Alessandri, 1896-1986. Una biografía*. Santiago, Chile, Zig-Zag, 1996.
- Williams, Edward J. *Latin American Christian Democratic Parties*. Knoxville, The University of Tennessee Press, c1967.
- Zaldívar, Trinidad. "Fernando Vives Solar, S.J."  
[http://www.uc.cl/facteo/centromanuellarrain/hm/zaldivar\\_fernando.htm](http://www.uc.cl/facteo/centromanuellarrain/hm/zaldivar_fernando.htm).
- Zanatta, Loris. "La Iglesia a la conquista de la nación. El desafío católico al liberalismo en América Latina en el período de entreguerras". *Bicentenario. Revista de Historia de Chile y de América*. Vol. 6, No 1, 2007.

## Notes

---

<sup>1</sup> There is not much literature on “*Iglesia Joven*” and most of it is against this group. Teresa Donoso, *Los cristianos por el socialismo en Chile*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Santiago, Chile, Talleres de Comercial Gráfica Millantue, 1976. Sociedad Tradición, Propiedad y Familia or Fiducia, *La Iglesia del silencio en Chile: la TFP proclama la verdad entera*, Santiago, Chile, Sociedad Tradición, Propiedad y Familia, 1976. Documents issued by “*Iglesia Joven*” during the occupation of the Cathedral were published by the Chilean Jesuit journal, *Mensaje*, “Por una Iglesia servidora del pueblo” and “Manifiesto de la Iglesia Joven”, *Mensaje*, No 72, September 1968.

<sup>2</sup> For literature on the government of Eduardo Frei Montalva and the Chilean political party system of the second half of the twentieth century, see: Paul Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977. Arturo Valenzuela, *El quiebre de la democracia en Chile*, Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, c2003. Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985. Timothy Scully, *Rethinking the Center. Party Politics in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century in Chile*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992. For a critical view of the Christian Democrat administration, see: Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, *Frei, el Kerensky chileno*, 4 ed., translated by the Consejo de Redacción de Cruzada, Buenos Aires, Cruzada, 1968?. Arturo Olavarría, *Chile bajo la Democracia Cristiana*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial Nascimento, 1966-?. For a history of the MAPU in its initial years, see Cristina Moyano, *MAPU o la seducción del poder y la juventud. Los años fundacionales del partido-mito de nuestra transición (1969-1973)*, Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago, Chile, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> For the thought of the Chilean TFP see its monthly publication, *Fiducia*, from August 1963 to 1973. About *gremialismo* and its early years, see Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, *Nacionales y gremialistas: el “parto” de la nueva derecha política chilena, 1964-1973*, Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2008. About *gremialismo* under the dictatorship, see Verónica Valdivia Ortiz de Zárate, et. al., *Su revolución contra nuestra revolución*, Vol. 1: Izquierdas y derechas en el Chile de Pinochet (1973-1981), and Vol. 2: Pugna marxista-gremialista en los ochenta, Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, c2006-2008. A study on Jaime Guzmán’s thought, see Renato Cristi, *El pensamiento político de Jaime Guzmán. Una biografía intelectual*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edición, LOM Ediciones, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> See quote No 2.

<sup>5</sup> For studies about social Catholicism in Chile and its different expressions, see Fernando Berríos, et. al., *Catolicismo social chileno. Desarrollo, crisis y actualidad*, Santiago, Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2009. Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República? Política y Secularización en Chile 1845-1885*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Santiago, 2008. Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile. Challenges to Modern Catholicism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982. Ana María Stiven, “El ‘Primer Catolicismo Social’ ante la cuestión social: un momento en el proceso de consolidación nacional”, *Teología y Vida*, Vol. XLIX, 2008, pp. 483-497; Andrea Botto, “Algunas tendencias del catolicismo social en Chile: reflexiones desde la historia”, *Teología y Vida*, Vol. XLIX, 2008, pp. 499-514; Sofía Correa, “El corporativismo como expresión política del socialcristianismo”, *Teología y Vida*, Vol. XLIX, 2008, pp. 471-474.

<sup>6</sup> Significant amounts of literature on the relationship between Catholicism and the left was published from the Sixties onward. For a general history, see Adrian Cunningham, et. al., *Slant Manifesto: Catholics and the Left*, London, Sheed & Ward, 1966. Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts About the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America, and Beyond*, New York, Meyer Stone Books, 1987. Michael Löwy, *The War of Gods. Religion and Politics in Latin America*, London, Verso, 1996. An excellent study about leftist Catholicism in postwar Europe, see Gerd-Rainer Horn & Emmanuel Gerard (ed.) *Left Catholicism 1943-1955. Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation*, Leuven, Belgium, Leuven University Press, 2001.

<sup>7</sup> After the Second Vatican Council, American social scientists concentrated on the transformation of the Latin American Catholic Church. Some of these studies look at these changes in some national churches as a defense of their institutional interests against current threats, such as Marxism or Protestantism. David Mutchler, *The Church as a Political Factor in Latin America: With Particular Reference to Colombia and Chile*, New York, Praeger, 1971. Anthony James Gil, *Rendering unto Caesar: the Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998. Another interpretation emphasized the religious mission of the Church in order to understand the change this institution experienced. See the comparative study of Daniel H. Levine, *Religion and Politics in Latin America: the Catholic Church in Venezuela and Colombia*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, c1981, and the study of Scott Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1986. For the Central American Church and the role played by religion on Nicaraguan revolutionary process, see Michael Dodson & Laura Nuzzi O’Shaughnessy, *Nicaragua’s other revolution. Religious Faith and Political Struggle*, Chapel Hill

---

and London, University of North Carolina Press, 1990. For grassroots expressions, see the work of Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde (editors), *The Progressive Church in Latin America*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1989; Dermot Keogh, *Church and Politics in Latin America*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1990. From a sociological perspective, Michael Löwy, *op. cit.* and Cristian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology. Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, Chicago & London, University of Chicago Press, 1991.

<sup>8</sup> For a general overlook of the Chilean Catholic Church in the twentieth century, see Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile. Challenges to Modern Catholicism*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1982; María Antonieta Huerta & Luis Pacheco Pastene, *La Iglesia Chilena y los cambios sociopolíticos*, Santiago, Chile, Pehuén Editores, 1988. For study of the progressive Church in Chile written by its own representatives, see José Aldunate, *et al.*, *Crónicas de una Iglesia liberadora*, Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2000. For a critical study of the late action of the Chilean Catholic Church in the countryside, see Hannah W. Stewart-Gambino, *The Church and Politics in the Chilean Countryside*, Boulder, Westview Press, 1992. A book that covers the changes that the Church experienced between 1962 and 1973 is David Fernández Fernández, *Historia oral de la Iglesia Católica en Santiago de Chile desde el Concilio Vaticano II hasta el golpe militar de 1973*, Cádiz, Spain, Servicio de Publicaciones Universidad de Cádiz, 1996. The same author analyzed the role of the Church under the dictatorship, David Fernández Fernández, *La "Iglesia" que resistió a Pinochet: historia, desde la fuente oral del Chile que no puede olvidarse*, Santiago, Chile, IEPALA, 1996. For a critical study of the role of the Church during the years of dictatorship and democracy, María Angélica Cruz, *Iglesia, represión y memoria: el caso chileno*, Madrid, Spain, Siglo XXI, c2004. For a local study about the experience of a group of Catalan priests in Valparaíso, Andrés Brignardello, *La Iglesia olvidada: la Teología de la Liberación en Valparaíso*, Valparaíso, Chile, Editorial Punta Ángeles, Universidad de la Playa Ancha de Ciencias de la Educación, 2010.

<sup>9</sup> See quote No 5.

<sup>10</sup> For a general study about the social question, see Robert Castel, *Las metamorfosis de la cuestión social: una crónica del salariado*, translated by Jorge Platigorsky, Buenos Aires, Paidós, 1997. Chilean historiography agrees that the social question was at the center of public debate from the 1880s on. A study that identifies the social question in previous decades is the work of Sergio Grez, who compiled a series of documents published during the nineteenth century. Among them there are some documents published by leaders of the Catholic Church. Sergio Grez (comp.), *La 'cuestión social' en Chile. Ideas y debates precursores (1804-1902)* Ediciones de la Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos, Santiago, Chile, 1995. For a local study of the social question, Julio Pinto, "¿Cuestión social o cuestión política? La lenta politización de la sociedad popular tarapaqueña hacia fines del siglo, 1889-1900", *Historia*, Vol. 30, 1997, pp. 211-261.

<sup>11</sup> There are several studies on the history of the labor movement in Chile. From differing Marxist Chilean perspectives, see Hernán Ramírez Necochea, *Historia del movimiento obrero en Chile. Antecedentes, Siglo XIX*, Santiago, Talleres Gráficos Lautaro, 1956; and Julio César Jobet, *Ensayo crítico del desarrollo económico-social de Chile*, Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 1951. Fernando Ortiz Letelier, *El movimiento obrero en Chile (1891-1919)*, Madrid, Michay, c1985. For a complete study on early unions, see Peter DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927*, Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1984. Julio Pinto, *Desgarros y utopías en la pampa salitrera. La consolidación de la identidad obrera en tiempos de la cuestión social (1890-1923)*, Santiago, Chile, LOM, 2007. About the Chilean anarchist movement, see Sergio Grez, *Los anarquistas y el movimiento obrero. La alborada de 'la Idea' en Chile, 1893-1915*, Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2007.

<sup>12</sup> Brian Loveman, *Chile: the Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2001. Eduardo Deves, *Los que van a morir te saludan. Historia de una masacre Escuela Santa María de Iquique, 1907*, Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 1997. Sergio Grez, *Los anarquistas y el movimiento obrero, op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?*, *op. cit.* Fernando Berríos, *et. al.*, *op. cit.* To understand the position of the Catholic Church hierarchy about the labor movement in its beginnings, see the dissertation of José Manuel de Ferari, *La Iglesia y el movimiento obrero en Chile durante los años de 1901-1908: el testimonio de "La Revista Católica" y de la prensa diaria católica de Santiago*, Doctoral dissertation, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 1976.

<sup>14</sup> Alcide de Gasperi wrote a book related to *Rerum Novarum* and the context in which this Encyclical was written. Alcide de Gasperi, *El tiempo y los hombres que prepararon la Rerum Novarum*, translated by Manuel E. Ferreyra, Buenos Aires, Difusión, 1948. For the reception of *Rerum Novarum* in some Catholic countries, in the case of Spain, see Feliciano Montero, *El primer catolicismo social y la 'Rerum Novarum' en España (1889-1902)*, Madrid, CSIC, 1983. In the case of Chile, see Fernando Berríos, *et. al.*, *Catolicismo social chileno. Desarrollo, crisis y actualidad, op. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Mariano Casanova, "Pastoral que el Illmo. y Rvmo. Señor Doctor Don Mariano Casanova, Arzobispo de Santiago de Chile, dirige al clero y fieles al publicar la Encíclica de Nuestro Santísimo Padre León XIII sobre la condición de los obreros" (1891). Sergio Grez, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-387.

---

<sup>16</sup> Sergio Grez, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-380.

<sup>17</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>18</sup> Miguel León Prado, "Discurso Sagrado pronunciado por el Pbo. Don Miguel León Prado, Director de la Sociedad 'Obreros de San José', en la Gran Asamblea del Patrocinio de San José". Sergio Grez, *op. cit.*, pp. 559-563.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 559.

<sup>20</sup> Archbishop Casanova analyzed the problem of socialism in another pastoral document. He once again declared socialism a doctrinal error and considered it anti-religious and anti-social thought. Mariano Casanova, "Pastoral que el Illmo. y Rvmo. Sr. D. Mariano Casanova, arzobispo de Santiago de Chile dirige al clero y pueblo sobre la propaganda de doctrinas irreligiosas y anti-sociales", in Sergio Grez, *op. cit.*, pp. 401-410.

<sup>21</sup> In Andrea Botto, "Algunas tendencias...", *op. cit.*, p. 500.

<sup>22</sup> This is the position of Sergio Grez, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Years later, a few conservative congressmen promoted some legal initiatives on labor issues. Chilean historian Sofía Correa describes examples of some conservatives, such as Alejandro Huneeus, who promoted in 1907 the first labor bill regarding Sunday rest, or Alfredo Barros Errázuriz, who sponsored the law regarding industrial accidents in 1916. Sofía Correa, "El corporativismo...", *op. cit.*, pp. 467-481.

<sup>23</sup> Juan Enrique Concha, *Cuestiones obreras*, Bachelor dissertation in Law and Political Sciences, Universidad de Chile, Santiago, Chile, Imprenta Barcelona, 1899. In 1918, Concha gave a series of lectures, "*Conferencias de Economía Social*" ("Social Economy Conferences"), on labor issues at the Catholic University of Santiago. Juan Enrique Concha, *Conferencias sobre economía social*, Santiago, Imprenta Chile. These are digitized in *Memoria Chilena*, Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos de Chile (DIBAM) [http://memoriachilena.cl//temas/documento\\_detalle.asp?id=MC0013891](http://memoriachilena.cl//temas/documento_detalle.asp?id=MC0013891)

<sup>24</sup> J.E. Concha, *Cuestiones Obreras*, *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>26</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>27</sup> Among the works on the Chilean Youth Catholic Action, see Fernando Aliaga, *Itinerario Histórico. De los Círculos de Estudios a las Comunidades Juveniles de Bases*, Santiago, Chile, Corporación, 1977. Two testimonies written by advisers of the A.N.E.C. are Oscar Larson, *La ANEC y la Democracia Cristiana*, Santiago, Chile, Ráfaga, 1967; and Jorge Gómez Ugarte, *Ese cuarto de siglo...: veinticinco años de vida universitaria en la A.N.E.C., 1915-1941*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial Andrés Bello, 1985.

<sup>28</sup> Quoted by María Teresa Covarrubias, *1938: la rebelión de los jóvenes*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial Aconcagua, 1987, p. 40.

<sup>29</sup> For literature on the Chilean Conservative Party during the nineteenth century, see Sol Serrano, *Qué hacer con Dios en la República*, *op. cit.* For the Conservative Party in the twentieth century, see Teresa Pereira, *El Partido Conservador. Ideas, figuras y actitudes, 1930-1965*, Santiago, Chile, Fundación Mario Góngora, 1994; Sofía Correa, *Con las riendas del poder: la Derecha Chilena en el Siglo XX*, Santiago, Chile, 2004.

<sup>30</sup> For a general history of the world in the 1920s and 1930s, see Eric Hobsbawm, *Historia del Siglo XX*, Editorial Crítica, Barcelona, 1995. For a general history of Latin American in those years, see Tulio Halperin Donghi, *Historia contemporánea de América Latina*, Madrid, Alianza, 1998. Leslie Bethell, *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vols. 4 y 5: 1870-1930, New York, Cambridge University Press, 1984-2008. Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s. The Role of the Periphery in World Crisis*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1984.

<sup>31</sup> For a description of the Chilean Catholic Action, *Estado de la Iglesia en Chile*, Oficina Nacional de Estadística de la Acción Católica Chilena, Santiago, 1946; María Antonieta Huerta, *Catolicismo social en Chile: pensamiento y praxis de los movimientos apostólicos*, Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Paulinas, 1991. For literature on the University Catholic Action, see Fernando Aliaga, *Itinerario Histórico*, *op. cit.* Also see the doctoral dissertation of Tracey Lynn on Chilean Catholic Youth Workers, *In the Footsteps of Cristo Obrero: Chile's Young Catholic Workers Movement in the Neighborhood, Factory and Family, 1946-1973*, Doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 2009.

<sup>32</sup> For a general work on Latin American Catholicism on those years, see Loris Zanatta, "La Iglesia a la conquista de la nación. El desafío católico al liberalismo en América Latina en el período de entreguerras", *Bicentenario. Revista de Historia de Chile y de América*, Vol. 6, No 1, 2007, pp. 5-37. For literature about the Chilean experience, see Andrea Botto, "Algunas tendencias...", *op. cit.*, pp. 502-504. Sofía Correa, "El corporativismo...", *op. cit.*

<sup>33</sup> Fidel Araneda, *El Arzobispo Errázuriz y la evolución política y social de Chile*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial Jurídica, 1956.

<sup>34</sup> Cardinal Paccelli's letter responded to the new European context and the emergence of Nazism in Germany. Pius XI attempted to have a pacific coexistence with different European governments. In 1933 he signed a Concordat with Hitler, and the Church moved away from previous political allies –especially the *Zentrum* or Centre Party–, strengthened lay religious organizations, and forbade priests to participate in political activities. After some cases of harassment towards Catholics, this situation changed. On March 14<sup>th</sup>, 1937, Pius XI published an Encyclical against Nazi abuses, called *Mit Brennender Sorge*. Literature on the papacy of Pius XI, see Carlo Falconi, *The Popes in the*

---

*Twentieth Century, from Pius X to John XXIII*, Boston, Little & Brown, 1968. Battista Mondin, *The Popes of the Modern Ages: from Pius IX to John Paul II*, Città del Vaticano, Urbaniana University Press, c2004.

<sup>35</sup> Most of Paccelli's letter is transcribed in Carlos González, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>36</sup> Fidel Araneda, *El clero en el acontecer político chileno: 1935-1960*. Santiago, Chile, Editorial Emisión, 1988.

<sup>37</sup> Francisco Javier Cid, *El humanismo de Fernando Vives*, Santiago, Chile, Instituto Chileno de Estudios Humanísticos, 1976. Trinidad Zaldivar, "Fernando Vives Solar, S.J.", [http://www.uc.cl/facteo/centromanuellarrain/htm/zaldivar\\_fernando.htm](http://www.uc.cl/facteo/centromanuellarrain/htm/zaldivar_fernando.htm).

<sup>38</sup> Rafael Agustín Gumucio detailed this episode in his memories, *Apuntes de medio siglo*, Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Chile-América, Cesoc, 1994.

<sup>39</sup> There is no consensus on the first time these young men used the name of *Falange Nacional*. María Teresa Covarrubias concluded that it was used for the first time in 1936, in the journal *Lircay* that belonged to the Conservative Youth. María Teresa Covarrubias, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102. For literature on the relationship between *Falange Nacional* and the Conservative Party, see George Grayson, *El Partido Demócrata Cristiano Chileno*, Buenos Aires & Santiago, Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1968; Sol Serrano, "El Partido Conservador y la Falange Nacional", in Sofía Correa, *et. al.*, *Horacio Walker y su tiempo*, Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Aconcagua, 1976; María Teresa Covarrubias, *op. cit.*

<sup>40</sup> This is Sofía Correa's thesis in order to understand the division between conservatives and social Christians. See Sofía Correa, "El corporativismo...", *op. cit.*, p. 474.

<sup>41</sup> Jaime Castillo Velasco, *Las fuentes de la Democracia Cristiana*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, 1968.

<sup>42</sup> The Argentine priest, Julio Meinvielle, published a book rejecting Maritain's ideas, *De Lammeneis a Maritain*. According to Meinvielle, Maritain's ideas threatened Catholicism when he defended the lack of faith in modern society. Julio Meinvielle, *De Lamennais a Maritain*, Buenos Aires, Nuestro Tiempo, 1945.

<sup>43</sup> The book of Chilean conservative Jorge Iván Hübner, *Los católicos en la política*, demonstrated the contempt for Maritain among conservative Catholic groups. Jorge Iván Hübner, *Los católicos en la política*, Santiago, Chile, Zig-Zag, 1959, pp. 44-46.

<sup>44</sup> This decision responded to the logic of the III Communist International that promoted alliances between Communist and bourgeois parties. Eric Hobsbawm, *op. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> For English literature on the Chilean Popular Front, see John Reese Stevenson, *The Chilean Popular Front*, Philadelphia, PA, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942. Julio Faúndez, *Marxism and democracy in Chile: from 1932 to the fall of Allende*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988. On the Chilean Socialist Party, see Julio César Jobet, *El Partido Socialista de Chile*, Santiago, Chile, Prensa Latinoamericana, 1971; Paul W. Drake, *Socialism and populism in Chile, 1932-1952*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, c1978. On the Chilean Communist Party, see Leopoldo Benavides (et al.), *El Partido Comunista en Chile: una historia presente*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Santiago, Chile, FLACSO-USACH, Catalonia, 2010. For the Radical Party, see Peter G. Snow, *Chilean Radicalism: the History and Doctrine of the Radical Party*, Iowa, Iowa, 1971.

<sup>46</sup> Rafael Agustín Gumucio, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>47</sup> On the *Falange Nacional*, see George W. Grayson, *op. cit.* Fernando Castillo, *La flecha roja: Relato histórico sobre la Falange Nacional*, Santiago, Chile, Francisco de Aguirre, 1997. José Díaz Nieva, *op. cit.* Sofía Correa, *Con las riendas del poder...*, *op. cit.*

<sup>48</sup> Rafael Agustín Gumucio, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>49</sup> Quoted from Sergio Fernández Larraín, *Falange Nacional, Democracia Cristiana y Comunismo. Texto de la Conferencia que el Señor Fernández Larraín dio en el Club Fernández Concha, el 3 de Julio de 1958*. Imprenta Z.A.I., 1958, p. 6. For a book on the figure of the president of the Conservative Party, Horacio Walker, see Sofía Correa, *et. al.*, *Horacio Walker y su tiempo*, *op. cit.*

<sup>50</sup> Carlos González Cruchaga, *Historia de una polémica: Monseñor Manuel Larraín y los orígenes de la Democracia Cristiana en Chile*, Santiago, Chile, Fundación Eduardo Frei, 1997?, p. 38.

<sup>51</sup> Alberto Hurtado, S.J., *¿Es Chile un país católico?*, Santiago, Chile, Splendor, 1941. This book has several re-editions. One of the latest is Alberto Hurtado, *¿Es Chile un país católico?*, Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, Santiago, Chile 2009

<sup>52</sup> Alberto Hurtado, S.J., *op. cit.*, 1941, pp. 74-75.

<sup>53</sup> An influential conservative newspaper, *El Diario Ilustrado*, published some articles refuting Father Hurtado's thesis. Monsignor Manuel Larraín and the Jesuit Gustave Weigel, at the time Dean of the Faculty of Theology of the Catholic University, defended Father Hurtado. Pedro Espinosa Santander, S.J., gathered this discussion in his article "¿Es Chile un país católico? Polémica en torno a un libro del padre Hurtado", *Teología y Vida*, Vol. XLVI, No 4, 2005, pp. 625-674.

<sup>54</sup> P. Espinoza, *op. cit.*, p. 638.

---

<sup>55</sup> Fernando García de Cortázar and José María Lorenzo Espinosa, *Los pliegues de la tiara. Los Papas y la Iglesia del siglo XX*, Madrid, Alianza, c1991. Michael Phayer, *Pius XII, the Holocaust, and the Cold War*, Bloomington & Indianapolis, Indiana University Press, 2008. For the influence of the Spanish Civil War on Catholicism, see Javier Tusell and Genoveva García Queipo de Llano, *El catolicismo mundial y la guerra de España*, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993. For a general history of postwar Western Europe, Jean-Pierre Rioux, *The Fourth Republic, 1944-1958*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987. Bernd-Rainer Horn & Emmanuel Gerard (ed.), *op. cit.*

<sup>56</sup> There are different interpretations of this change of González Videla's policy towards the Communists. Brian Loveman interprets it as a result of Washington's pressure in a new context of Cold War. Brian Loveman, *Chile: the Hispanic Legacy...*, *op. cit.* The British historian, Andrew Barnard, stressed the importance of internal socioeconomic problems. A. Barnard, "Chile", in Leslie Bethell and Ian Roxborough (eds.) *Latin America between the Second World War and the Cold War 1944-1948*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992. Carlos Huneeus focuses his analysis on the political and economic internal situation, and on González Videla's political opportunism. Carlos Huneeus, *La guerra fría chilena: Gabriel González Videla y la Ley Maldita*, Santiago, Chile, Random House Mondadori, c 2008.

<sup>57</sup> Hübner uses these concepts, *Los católicos y la política*. Hübner, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>58</sup> In 1940, a group of Liberal and Conservative congressmen submitted an anticommunist bill. Carlos Huneeus analyzes this bill and its debate, and its subsequent influence in 1948. Carlos Huneeus, *op. cit.*

<sup>59</sup> Sofía Correa, *Con las riendas del poder*, *op. cit.* Sofía Correa et. al., *Horacio Walker y su tiempo*, *op. cit.*

<sup>60</sup> In the 1940s, *Política y Espíritu*, a *falangista* journal, dedicated several articles to the issue of anticommunism. See Javier Lagarrigue, "Comunismo y Democracia chilena", No 16, October 1946, pp. 117-120; Patricio Aylwin, "Defendiendo posiciones", *Política y Espíritu*, No 19, January 1947, pp. 16-21; Eduardo Frei, "Anti-comunismo", *Política y Espíritu*, No 20, February-March 1947, p. 109-110; Eduardo Frei, "Nuestra Posición", No 26, September-October 1947, pp. 45, 46 and 90.

<sup>61</sup> *Política y Espíritu* published the whole document. "Documentos: 'Deber social de los católicos'", *Política y Espíritu*, No 19, January 1947, pp. 42-46. This journal also published a comment on the pastoral, "Comentarios: 'Los obispos de Chile se pronuncian sobre nuestros problemas sociales'", No 19, January 1947, pp. 34-39.

<sup>62</sup> Published in *Política y Espíritu*, "Manifiesto de la Juventud Católica de Chile", Nos 27-28, November-December 1947.

<sup>63</sup> Monsignor Augusto Salinas, "Carta a la Acción de Jóvenes de la Acción Católica", in Carlos González Cruchaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-137.

<sup>64</sup> "Memorándum de la Falange Nacional", in *Política y Espíritu*, Nos 27-28, November-December 1947.

<sup>65</sup> Monsignor Salinas' response was published in *El Diario Ilustrado* on November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1947. "Enemigos de Cristo", de Carlos González Cruchaga, *op. cit.*

<sup>66</sup> *Política y Espíritu*, Nos 27-28, November-December 1947.

<sup>67</sup> See Eduardo Frei Montalva, "Que se salve la amistad ya que se ha perdido tanto" or "La indignación de Frei" (Letter from Eduardo Frei Montalva to Monseñor Manuel Larraín, Santiago, November 21<sup>st</sup>, 1947), in Carlos Cruchaga González, pp. 173-181.

<sup>68</sup> "Comunicación Comisión Episcopal Permanente de la Acción Católica a Mons. Salinas" (November 17<sup>th</sup>, 1947), in Carlos Cruchaga González, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

<sup>69</sup> Manuel Larraín, "Síntesis escrita por Don Manuel Larraín y enviada al Nuncio Apostólico" (Letter from Manuel Larraín to Mario Zanin, Papal Nuncio of Chile, Talca, January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1948), in Carlos Cruchaga González, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-243.

<sup>70</sup> Manuel Larraín, "Lo que he querido como un hijo" (Letter to Eduardo Frei M., November 19<sup>th</sup>, 1947), in Carlos Cruchaga González, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-170. Manuel Larraín, "Una carta que cambia el panorama político" (Letter to Eugenio Cruz, president of the *Falange* in Talca, November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1947), in Carlos Cruchaga González, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-195.

<sup>71</sup> "Acuerdo de la Junta Nacional de la Falange", in Carlos Cruchaga González, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

<sup>72</sup> Extract of the speeches in Carlos Huneeus, *op. cit.*

<sup>73</sup> "Mensaje del Ejecutivo", *Sesiones de la Cámara de Diputados, Sesión 1ª Extraordinaria*, April 21<sup>st</sup>, 1948.

<sup>74</sup> Horacio Walker Larraín, "Posiciones sobre el anticomunismo" (Letter from Horacio Walker to Don Manuel Larraín, July 12<sup>th</sup>, 1948), in Carlos González Cruchaga, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>75</sup> *Sesiones Senado*, Sesión 8ª, June 16, 1948.

<sup>76</sup> Sergio Fernández asked for a vote of censure against Cruz Coke. "En la Junta Ejecutiva conservadora se presentó voto de censura en contra del Dr. Eduardo Cruz-Coke", *El Diario Ilustrado*, June 25, 1948, p. 4.

<sup>77</sup> For literature on the Conservatives' rupture, see Teresa Pereira, *op. cit.* Sofía Correa Sutil, et al. *Horacio Walker y su Tiempo*, *op. cit.* Sofía Correa Sutil, *Con las Riendas de Poder*, *op. cit.* Several social Christians returned to the *Partido Conservador Unificado* (Unified Conservative Party), new name of the *Partido Conservador Unido* (United

---

Conservative Party). The United Conservative Party fused with the Liberal Party in 1965 to form the National Party, which united the Chilean right.

<sup>78</sup> Literature on the Social Christian Conservative Party after 1949, see Teresa Pereira, *El Partido Conservador*, *op. cit.* Jorge Ivulic Gómez (et. al.), *Importancia del Partido Conservador en la evolución política chilena*, Santiago, Chile, Universidad Bernardo O'Higgins, Area de Ciencia Política, 1998?. Sofía Correa, *Con las riendas del poder*, *op. cit.*

<sup>79</sup> For the relationship of the Catholic Church and politics in Chile in the Fifties and early Sixties, see Brian Smith, *op. cit.* María Antonieta Huerta and Luis Pacheco, *op. cit.*; David Fernández, *Historia oral de la Iglesia Católica ...*, *op. cit.*; Sofía Correa, "La opción política de los católicos en Chile", *Mapocho*, No 46, Second Semester 1999, pp. 191-201.

<sup>80</sup> In the late 1950s, the Holy See supported the sending of missionaries to Latin America, and, in 1958, created the Latin American Commission (Comisión para América Latina, CAL). CAL was in charge of strengthening national Churches through economic assistance and priests' instruction. Also in the early 1960s, some European and North American Churches assisted Latin American Churches. In this context, the Belgian Church founded the Collegium pro America Latina or COPAL in Leuven, and in 1961 the German Episcopate created the special fund, *Adveniat* that became an important economic assistance for the Latin American Church. Then, John XXIII asked the Western European and North American Episcopates and religious leaders to send 10% of its personnel to the region. Eduardo Cárdenas gives some numbers of priests that arrived in the Sixties to Latin America. In 1965, 15,433 out of 42,573 priests were foreigners, and more than half of them were Spaniards. E. Cárdenas, *op. cit.* For a general history of U.S. missionaries in Latin America, see Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History*, Maryknoll, New York, Orbis Books, 1998 and Mary M. McGlone, C.S.J., *Sharing Faith. Across the Hemisphere*, United States Catholic Conference, Washington D.C., 1997.

<sup>81</sup> The contemporary literature on the Second Vatican Council includes John W. O'Malley, *What happened at Vatican II*, Cambridge, MA, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008. Ladislav Orsy, *Receiving the Council: Theological and Canonical Insights and Debates*, Collegeville, MI, Liturgical Press, 2009. Among the testimonies of participants in Vatican II, see an article written by Monsignor Jose María Pires, Emeritus Archbishop of Paraíba, "Testimonio de un padre conciliar: Concilio Vaticano II y la Iglesia en compás de espera", *Mensaje*, November 2010, No 594, pp. 14-19, and the testimony of the Chilean Jesuit theologian Juan Ochagavía, "A cuarenta años del Concilio: Nosotros esperábamos...", *Mensaje*, November 2002, No 514, pp. 23-32.

<sup>82</sup> Some priests, and especially young priests, rapidly incorporated some of the changes that were under discussion in Rome, as for example, changes in their religious garments. They also introduced some liturgical changes. The Chilean Episcopal Conference submitted in 1963 a document to discipline the priests and seminarians. "Circular al clero de la Asamblea Plenaria del Episcopado" (April 1963). Fernando Aliaga gathered some of the most important documents of the CECH from 1952 to 1977 in *Documentos de la Conferencia Episcopal Chile. Introducción y textos, 1952-1977*. Vol. 1: 1952-1961 and Vol. 2: 1962-1970. Santiago, Chile, Equipo de Servicios de la Juventud, 1978. The quote is in Vol. 2, pp. 47-52.

<sup>83</sup> Enrique Dussel, *De Medellín a Puebla: una década de sangre y esperanza, 1968-1979*, Mexico, D.F., Edicol, 1979. Eduardo Cárdenas, *op. cit.* Germán Doig, *De Río a Santo Domingo*, Lima, Peru, Editorial Latina, 1993. Edward L. Cleary, *op. cit.*

<sup>84</sup> According to Smith, between 1955 and 1964, half of the bishops -14 out of 28- died or retired. Among the new ones, most of them were advisers of Catholic Action and close to some Christian Democrats. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 112. In the late Sixties, Thomas G. Sanders interviewed some Chilean bishops. Letter sent to Richard H. Nolte, Institute of Current World Affairs (New York, U.S.), "The Chilean Episcopate", July 6, 1968. in <http://icwa.org>

<sup>85</sup> Fernando Aliaga, *Itinerario Histórico*, *op. cit.* María Antonieta Huerta, *Catolicismo social en Chile...*, *op. cit.* Tracey Lynn, *In the Footsteps of Cristo Obrero*. *op. cit.*

<sup>86</sup> For a biography of Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, Ascanio Cavallo (ed.), *Memorias. Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez*, Santiago, Chile, Copygraph, 1991. About Manuel Larraín, Gustavo Saball (comp.), *Manuel Larraín: evocaciones, cartas y discursos*, Talca, Chile, Editorial Universidad de Talca, 2004.

<sup>87</sup> French Catholicism strongly influenced Chilean Catholicism. Henri Godin and Yvan Daniel, *La France pays de mission?*, published in 1943, was an influential book. Godin and Daniel talked about re-Christianization of the working classes through a renovation of the Christian message, and adaptation of the pastoral methods. Raúl Silva Henríquez talked about this in his memoirs and also about the participation and support received by some French missionaries in the General Mission of Santiago. *Memorias*, Ascanio Cavallo, *op. cit.*

<sup>88</sup> Thomas G. Sanders, "The Chilean Episcopate", *op. cit.*

<sup>89</sup> Manuel Larraín was president of CELAM when he published this document. Some sections were quoted by Paul VI in his Encyclical *Populorum Progressio*. Mons. Manuel Larraín E., *Desarrollo: Éxito o Fracaso en América Latina*, Ediciones Universidad Católica, Santiago, 1965.

---

<sup>90</sup> *El deber social y político en la hora presente. Los Obispos de Chile hablan*, Santiago, Chile, Secretariado General del Episcopado de Chile, 1962. For an analysis of the main episcopal documents and messages between 1962 and 1973, see Luis Pacheco Pastene, *El pensamiento sociopolítico de los Obispos de Chile, 1962-1973*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial Salesiana, 1985.

<sup>91</sup> There is a list of sources at the end of the document. Some of them were from governmental and university institutions.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos 12-17.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, No 19.

<sup>94</sup> The bishops dedicated six sections of the document to analyze the threat of Marxism. The Jesuit, Renato Poblete, who collaborated in drafting this document, interviewed by Brian Smith, said that these condemnations had to be included in order to obtain the unanimous support of the bishops, especially the conservative minority that mistrusted Christian Democracy and that was deeply anti-Marxist. Brian Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>95</sup> *El deber social y político en la hora presente, op. cit.*, No 27.

<sup>96</sup> For a general study on the Society of Jesus in Spain, see Teófanos Egido (coord.), Javier Burrieza y Manuel Revuelta, *Los jesuitas en España y en el mundo hispánico*, Fundación Carolina, Centro de Estudios Hispánicos e Iberoamericanos, Madrid, Marcial Pons, Ediciones de Historia, 2004. For a critical history of the Jesuits, see Ricardo de la Cierva, *Jesuitas, iglesia y marxismo, 1965-1985. La teología de la liberación desenmascarada*, Barcelona, Plaza & Janes 1986. An interesting study on Catholic worldwide networks in the Sixties, and especially the Jesuits networks and their influence on Latin American social sciences, is Fernanda Beigel, *Misión Santiago. El mundo académico jesuita y los inicios de la cooperación internacional católica*, LOM Ediciones, 2011.

<sup>97</sup> Jesuits in Latin America founded other institutions similar to CIAS. In Mexico City they created the *Centro de Estudios Educativos* or CEE (Center of Educational Studies) and in Buenos Aires they created the *Centro de Investigación Educativa* or CIE (Center of Educational Research). Edward L. Cleary, *op. cit.*

<sup>98</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>99</sup> Raúl Silva Henríquez in his "Memorias" talked about Roger Vekemans and DESAL and the hope that they represented to Chilean Catholicism. Ascanio Cavallo, *op. cit.*, Tomo I. Fernanda Beigel also described their influence. Fernanda Beigel, *op. cit.*

<sup>100</sup> For a brief study on Centro Bellarmino, see Thomas G. Sanders, "The Centro Bellarmino", a letter sent to Richard H. Nolte, Institute of Current World Affairs (New York, U.S.), November 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1967, <http://icwa.org>.

<sup>101</sup> Developmentalism referred to a center and a periphery in order to understand the continuous deterioration of Latin American terms of trade. Industrialization was the only solution to that situation, and "import substitution industrialization" emerged from this diagnosis. Literature on Prebisch's economic thought, see Joseph Hodara, *Prebisch y la Cepal: sustancia, trayectoria y contexto institucional*, Mexico, D.F., El Colegio de México, 1987. Raúl Prebisch, *Raúl Prebisch: un aporte al estudio de su pensamiento*, Santiago, Chile, Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, Naciones Unidas, 1987.

<sup>102</sup> The thesis of marginality is developed in Roger Vekemans, Ismael Silva, Jorge Giusti, *La marginalidad en América Latina: un ensayo de conceptualización*, Santiago, Chile, DESAL, 1969.

<sup>103</sup> Vekemans was a controversial figure in Chile. He was attacked for his direct political intervention in Frei's victory in 1964. Leftist journalist Eduardo Labarca, in 1968 wrote a bestseller called *Chile Invadido*. In this book, Vekemans was accused of facilitating foreign financial aid from Europe and the CIA to Frei's campaign. Vekemans was called in the book "the man of golden hands". Eduardo Labarca, *Chile invadido: Reportaje a la intromisión extranjera*, Santiago, Chile, Editora Austral, 1968. After Allende's victory in 1970, Vekemans abandoned Chile and founded in Colombia the *Centro para el Desarrollo e Integración de América Latina* or CEDIAL (Center for Development and Integration of Latin America). He attacked liberation theology and revolutionary Christian movements, such as "*Cristianos por el Socialismo*" ("Christians for Socialism"). Roger Vekemans, *Teología de la Liberación y Cristianos por el Socialismo*, Bogotá, CEDIAL, 1976. Roger Vekemans, *D.C., C.I.A., CELAM: Autopsia del mito Vekemans*, Caracas, Universidad Católica de Tachira, 1982. For literature on Vekemans, see Fernanda Beigel, *op. cit.*

<sup>104</sup> Javier Lagarrigue was a *falangista* and member of the editorial board of *Política y Espíritu*. During Frei's administration he worked at Chile's *Corporación del Cobre* (Copper Corporation).

<sup>105</sup> Jacques Chonchol worked on a few technical projects on agriculture at the United Nations. In 1964, he was appointed vice-president of the *Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario* or INDAP (Agricultural Development Institute), an important institution of the agrarian reform, in charge of labor issues.

<sup>106</sup> Editorial, "Revolución en América Latina", *Mensaje*, "Revolución en América Latina", No 115, December 1962, pp. 589-592.

<sup>107</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>108</sup> *Idem.*

- <sup>109</sup> “Reformas revolucionarias en América Latina”, *Mensaje*, No 123, October 1963.
- <sup>110</sup> Julio Silva Solar, “Reflexiones sobre la revolución”, *Política y Espiritu*, No 284, January-May 1964, p. 18.
- <sup>111</sup> Sociedad Chilena de Defensa de la Tradición, Familia y Propiedad, *La Iglesia del silencio en Chile*, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.
- <sup>112</sup> For the Brazilian TFP, see *As CEBs... a TFP as describe como sao*, Sao Paulo, Editora Vera Cruz, 4<sup>o</sup> ed., 1983. *Sou católico: posso ser contra a Reforma Agrária?*, Sao Paulo, Editora Vera Cruz. 3<sup>o</sup> ed., 1981.
- <sup>113</sup> Sociedad Chilena de Defensa de la Tradición, Familia y Propiedad, *La Iglesia del silencio en Chile*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- <sup>114</sup> Michael Patrick Fogarty, *Christian Democracy in Western Europe, 1820-1953*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1957. D. L Hanley, *Christian Democracy in Europe. A Comparative Perspective*, London, New York, Pinter Publishers, 1994. Thomas A. Kselman & Joseph A. Buttigieg, *European Christian Democracy: Historical Legacies and Comparative Perspectives*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, c2003. For a broad study about the relationship of religion and democracy, see Ian Buruma, *Taming the Gods: Religion and Democracy on Three Continents*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, c2010.
- <sup>115</sup> Sources of this Christian Democrat meeting of 1947, *Congreso Internacional de la Democracia Cristiana*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, 1957.
- <sup>116</sup> Literature on Latin American Christian Democracy, Edward J. Williams, *Latin American Christian Democratic Parties*, Knoxville, TN, University of Tennessee Press, c1967. Scott Mainwaring & Timothy Scully (ed.), *Christian Democracy in Latin America. Electoral Competition and Regime Conflicts*, Stanford, CA, Stanford University Press, 2003.
- <sup>117</sup> Alan Angell, *De Alessandri a Pinochet: en busca de la utopía*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial Andrés Bello, 1993. Simon Collier & William F. Sater, *A history of Chile, 1808-2002*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., New York, Cambridge University Press, 2004. Studies on the Chilean PDC, George W. Grayson, *op. cit.* Michael Fleet, *op. cit.* José Díaz Nieva, *op. cit.*
- <sup>118</sup> For studies about the Chilean political party system, Tomás Moulián, *La forja de ilusiones. El sistema de partidos 1932-1973*, Santiago, Chile, Universidad ARCIS/FLACSO, 1993; Timothy Scully, *op. cit.*; Julio Faúndez, *Marxism and democracy in Chile: from 1932 to the fall of Allende*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988; Arturo Valenzuela, *op. cit.*
- <sup>119</sup> John F. Kennedy, “Discurso pronunciado por el Presidente John P. Kennedy el 13 de Marzo de 1961 en la Casa Blanca”, in *Alianza para el Progreso. Documentos Básicos*, Punta del Este, Uruguay, [s.n.], 1961 pp. 2-8.
- <sup>120</sup> *Alianza para el Progreso. Documentos Básicos*, *op. cit.*
- <sup>121</sup> *Alianza para el Progreso. Documentos Básicos*, *op. cit.*
- <sup>122</sup> For literature on the support that the Church gave to the PDC, see David E. Mutchler, *op. cit.* Brian Smith had a more nuanced vision, divided into two periods, from 1935 to 1958, and 1958-1964. He called the first period “The Incubation of Social Catholicism”. The second one, “The Rise of Christian Reformism”, was the period of clear identification between the Church and the PDC. Brian Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-125.
- <sup>123</sup> Smith gives some interesting data on the political preferences of the Catholic electorate based on Eduardo Hamuy’s opinion polls. For the 1964 election, 85.7% of Catholics said Eduardo Frei was their candidate. Brian Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 117.
- <sup>124</sup> Leaders of the *Falange Nacional* tried to distanced themselves from the Church. In 1945, Tomic said, “We would like to serve on the earthly order, appropriate of the State, under our secular responsibility and without devious confusions with the Church... We denounced those coarse temptations of linking God to the interests of a party”. Radomiro Tomic, “Dios no es derechista ni izquierdista”, in Carlos González Cruchaga, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
- <sup>125</sup> “Declaración de Principios del Partido Demócrata Cristiano”, George Grayson, *op. cit.*, pp. 482-487.
- <sup>126</sup> José Musalem, “Revolución en Libertad, procedimientos y metas”, *Política y Espiritu*, October-December 1963, pp. 60.
- <sup>127</sup> Centro para el Desarrollo Económico y Social de América Latina, *Informes sobre poblaciones marginales*, Santiago, Chile, [s.n.], 1963; *Proyecto pobladores*, Santiago, Chile, DESAL/IDE, 1963; *Programa de equipamiento comunitario para las poblaciones marginales de Santiago, Valparaíso, Antofagasta y Concepción*, [s.n.], 1964.
- <sup>128</sup> Quoted by Gastón Cruzat, “Curicó: una pequeña causa con grandes efectos”, *Mensaje*, Santiago, No 128, May 1964.
- <sup>129</sup> “Naranjazo” is a colloquial expression for an orange strike. For the March 1964 election, it was used for interpreting the results of the victory of Oscar Naranjo.
- <sup>130</sup> After the 1963 municipal elections when Christian Democracy became the most popular force with 22.7% of the votes, its leaders decided on some strategic lines for the future of the party. The thesis of its “own path” was imposed in a party meeting in 1963. “La Tercera Declaración de Millahue”, *Política y Espiritu*, Santiago, Chile, No 284, January-May 1964.
- <sup>131</sup> Quoted by C. Gazmuri, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

---

<sup>132</sup> Hamuy analyzed Catholics' fear of communism for the 1964 presidential election. According to his poll, 74% of Catholics believed that communism was a real threat. Brian Smith, *op. cit.*, p 117-118.

<sup>133</sup> "La Primera Convención del Partido Demócrata Cristiano", *Política y Espiritu*, No 225, June 15, 1959.

<sup>134</sup> Eduardo Labarca mentions U.S. and Western European economic support of Frei's candidature in his book *Chile Invadido*. Eduardo Labarca, *Chile Invadido, op. cit.*, pp. 51-106. In 1975, some U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee or "Church Committee" report disclosed how the CIA intervened in the elections of 1964 and 1970. Jorge Arrate and Eduardo Rojas, *Memoria de la izquierda chilena*, Vol. 1: 1850-1970, Barcelona & Santiago, Chile, Editorial Javier Vergara, 2003, pp. 370-371.

<sup>135</sup> Eduardo Labarca gave some examples of this campaign of terror. Eduardo Labarca, *Chile Invadido, op. cit.*

<sup>136</sup> Brian Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-115.

<sup>137</sup> Quoted in Fernando Aliaga, *Itinerario histórico...*, *op. cit.*, p. 133. Catholic Action also experienced some level of crisis in European countries, such as France and Italy, and other Latin American countries, such as Brazil. Most of its members became politically active in political parties. For the Brazilian case, specifically the Catholic Youth Worker Movement, see Scott Mainwaring. *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-141. Brian Smith briefly analyzes the Chilean Catholic Action's crisis. B. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-115. Also see Tracey Lynn, *op. cit.*

<sup>138</sup> Editorial, "El cristianismo frente al marxismo", *Mensaje*, No 129, June 1964, pp. 205-211.

<sup>139</sup> C. Gazmuri, *op. cit.*, p. 570.

<sup>140</sup> The Christian Democratic Party was the most popular party in the 1965 parliamentary elections. It obtained 41.06% of the votes, 82 representatives and 13 senators. The results of this election are described in G. Grayson, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

<sup>141</sup> Hannah W. Stewart-Gambino criticized the belated action of the Chilean Church in the countryside. Hannah W. Stewart-Gambino, *op. cit.*

<sup>142</sup> The social and political exclusion of the peasants was a tacit agreement between the right, Radicals, and a few leftist parties. This exclusion assured some level of social and political stability in the Thirties and Forties. Among the studies on the Chilean peasantry, see Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1976. Susana Bruna, "Chile: Luchas campesinas en el Siglo XX", in Pablo González Casanova, *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos*, Vol. 4, Mexico, D.F., Siglo XXI Editores, 1985.

<sup>143</sup> The Chilean economist, Jorge Ahumada, provides a general overview of the countryside's problems. Jorge Ahumada, *En vez de la miseria*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Santiago, Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, 1965. Also see the works of Cristóbal Kay, *El sistema señorial europeo y la hacienda latinoamericana*, translated by Roberto Gómez Ciriza, Mexico, D.F., Ediciones. Era, 1980. Cristóbal Kay and Patricio Silva, *Development and social change in the Chilean countryside: from the pre-land reform period to the democratic transition*, Amsterdam, CEDLA, 1992. On the migration from the countryside to the city, see Luis Felipe Lira, *Estructura agraria, crecimiento de la población y migraciones: el caso de la zona central de Chile, 1952-1970*, Santiago, Chile, Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, Comisión de Población y Desarrollo, 1976. On the formation of shantytowns in Santiago, see Mario Garcés, *Tomando su sitio. El movimiento de pobladores de Santiago, 1957-1970*, Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2002.

<sup>144</sup> DESAL presents a favorable opinion on the Alliance for Progress in the mid-1960s in its book *La Alianza para el Progreso y el desarrollo social de América Latina: sinopsis del informe preliminar*, Santiago, Chile, DESAL, 1963. Also see John Powalson, *Latin America. Today's Economic and Social Revolution*, New York, McGraw, 1964. Most of the criticism sees the Alliance for Progress as an example of U.S. imperialism. See the work of the Catalan Marxist historian, Victor Alba, *Parásitos, mitos y sordomudos. Ensayo sobre la Alianza para el Progreso y el colonialismo latinoamericano*, Mexico D.F., Centro de Estudios y Documentación Social, 1964.

<sup>145</sup> Jorge Alessandri's administration is described in Gonzalo Vial, Patricia Arancibia y Álvaro Góngora, *Jorge Alessandri, 1896-1986. Una biografía*. Santiago, Chile, Zig-Zag, 1996. On agrarian reform, see Juan Carlos Gómez, *La frontera de la democracia. El derecho de propiedad en Chile, 1925-1973*, Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 2004. Solon Barraclough, *Agricultural policy and land reform*, presented at the "Conference on Key Problems of Economic Policy in Latin America" (Chicago, 1966), s.n., 1966.

<sup>146</sup> CECH, "La Iglesia y el problema del campesinado chileno", March 1962, F. Aliaga, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 130-161.

<sup>147</sup> Center parties, such as the Christian Democracy and the Radical Party, feared the victory of a right-wing candidate in 1958. They joined some leftist parties in a temporary alliance, the so-called *Bloque de Saneamiento Democrático*, in order to promote some important electoral reforms, and repeal the *Ley de Defensa de la Democracia*.

<sup>148</sup> CECH, "La Iglesia y el problema del campesinado chileno", No 34.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, No 36.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, No 17.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, No 23-28.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, No 42- No 58.

---

<sup>153</sup> For a study on the Molina strike, see Henry A. Landsberger, *Iglesia, intelectuales y campesinos. La huelga campesina de Molina*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial del Pacífico, 1967.

<sup>154</sup> There is not much on the peasants unions of Catholic inspiration. See, Susana Bruna, *op. cit.*

<sup>155</sup> "La Iglesia abre el surco de la reforma agraria", *Ercilla*, July 4, 1962.

<sup>156</sup> *Inquilinaje* is a concept used to describe the rural labor force. The origin of the *inquilino* in Chile, according to historian Mario Góngora, goes back to the mid-XVII century, after the indigenous population in central Chile was reduced and landowners promoted the incorporation of free *mestizos* into the productive system. The *inquilinos* lived at the border of the properties. Mario Góngora, *Origen de los inquilinos de Chile Central*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial Universitaria, 1960. Also see Cristóbal Kay, *op. cit.*

<sup>157</sup> *Don Manuel Larraín. Un Profeta para el Mundo de Hoy*. Talca, Chile. Fundación Obispo Manuel Larraín, June 1970.

<sup>158</sup> A short biography of Father Arroyo can be found on the official Jesuit web site.

[http://historiactiva.jesuitas.cl/entrevista\\_18/imprimible.htm](http://historiactiva.jesuitas.cl/entrevista_18/imprimible.htm)

<sup>159</sup> Some of Arroyo's articles are: "Derecho de propiedad y reforma agraria", *Mensaje*, No 111, August 1962, pp. 348-352; "Reforma agraria del Arzobispado de Santiago", *Mensaje*, No 112, September 1962, pp. 428-430; "Cambio de tenencia de la tierra mediante cooperativas campesinas", No 118, May 1963, pp. 169-175; "Derecho de propiedad y reforma constitucional", *Mensaje*, No 137, March-April 1965, pp. 99-107; "Reforma agraria en Chile", *Mensaje*, January-February 1966, pp. 22-35; "Dos posiciones divergentes en torno a la reforma agraria chilena", *Mensaje*, No 151, August 1966, pp. 394-398.

<sup>160</sup> Gonzalo Arroyo, "Derecho de propiedad y reforma agraria", *Mensaje*, No 111, August 1962, pp. 348-353.

<sup>161</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>162</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>163</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>164</sup> Jacques Chonchol, "La reforma agraria", *Mensaje*, No 123, October 1963, pp. 563-571.

<sup>165</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>166</sup> The Alessandri agrarian reform law created two state-owned entities that played a key role in the following years: the *Corporación de Reforma Agraria* or CORA (Agrarian Reform Corporation) and the *Instituto de Desarrollo Agropecuario* or INDAP (Agricultural Development Institute).

<sup>167</sup> Quoted in Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., "Derecho de propiedad y reforma constitucional", *Mensaje*, March-April 1965, No 137, p. 99.

<sup>168</sup> Published by *El Mercurio*, on May 13, 1965. TFP, in its book *La Iglesia del Silencio*, published the full text, pp. 403-407.

<sup>169</sup> *Fiducia* gives a good example of the tone of the debate. "In a country where more than 80% of the population says they are Catholics, a clear statement from the Cardinal -and better still from the whole Episcopate- would have been enough, remembering the authentic doctrine of the Church for social issues. After that it would have been impossible for the Christian Democrat government to continue its collectivist project. This statement would have preserved the integrity of the social Christian convictions of a majority of Chileans, and it would have protected the peasants and landowners from the terrible and unfair destruction that later devastated their rights". *La Iglesia del Silencio, op. cit.*, pp. 62 y 64.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 60-62. *Fiducia* continued its attacks against Frei and his agrarian reform. Two letters were published by *El Diario Ilustrado* and *El Mercurio*, "Manifiesto a la Nación Chilena sobre el Proyecto de Reforma Agraria del Presidente Frei" and "¿Es lícito a los católicos discordar del Proyecto de Reforma Agraria del Presidente Frei?" These letters defended the right to private property as a natural and immutable right and also they criticized the arbitrary power of the State over the rights of the people. In these letters, *Fiducia* also questioned the peasants' right to strike, and justified the regime of *inquilinaje*. The first document was published in *Fiducia*, No 23, February 1966, *El Mercurio*, February 26, 1966 and *El Diario Ilustrado*, February 27, 1966. It can also be found in *La Iglesia del Silencio*, Appendix II, pp. 409-435. The second one was published in *Fiducia*, No 23, February 1966, *El Mercurio*, February 28, 1966 and *El Diario Ilustrado*, March 1, 1966.

<sup>171</sup> Erica Vexler, "El Cardenal habla para Ercilla: Evolución o Catástrofe", *Ercilla*, January 5, 1966, N° 1596, p.3 and 5.

<sup>172</sup> Collier y Sater, *op. cit.*, pp. 314-315; C. Gazmuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 717-723.

<sup>173</sup> Julio Silva Solar y Jacques Chonchol, *El desarrollo de la nueva sociedad en América Latina*, LOM Ediciones, Santiago, 2009.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

<sup>176</sup> Silva Solar and Chonchol included a summary of this controversy in a new edition of the book in 1969. *El Mercurio* published an article "Propiedad privada o propiedad comunitaria, controversia entre cristianos", and also *El Diario Ilustrado*, "La Reforma Comunitaria". *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

---

<sup>177</sup> The discussion between the authors and Father Pierre Bigó was also included in the edition of 1969, J. Silva Solar, J. Chonchol, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-175. *Mensaje* published the discussion, Pierre Bigó, S. J., "Visión cristiana de la propiedad", *Mensaje*, No 140, July 1965, pp. 357-362. Julio Silva Solar y Jacques Chonchol, "Carta de los señores Jacques Chonchol y Julio Silva S.", *Mensaje*, No 143, October 1965, pp. 567-570. Pierre Bigó, S. J., "Respuesta del Padre Pierre Bigó", *Mensaje*, No 143, October 1965, pp. 570-573.

<sup>178</sup> Pierre Bigó, S. J., "Visión cristiana de la propiedad", *Mensaje*, No 140, July 1965.

<sup>179</sup> Pierre Bigó, S. J., "Respuesta del Padre Pierre Bigó", *Mensaje*, No 143, October 1965.

<sup>180</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>181</sup> There exists an enormous literature in the changes of the Latin American Church in the late Sixties. From a theological perspective, see Ronaldo Muñoz, *Nueva conciencia de la Iglesia en América Latina*, Salamanca, Ediciones Sígueme, 1974. Enrique Dussel develops a new interpretation of the Latin American Church from Marxist categories of oppression. Enrique Dussel, *Los últimos cincuenta años en la historia de la Iglesia en América Latina, 1930-1985*, Bogota, Colombia, Indo-American Press, 1986. Enrique Dussel (coord.), *Historia general de la Iglesia en América Latina*, Salamanca, Ediciones Sígueme, 1981.

<sup>182</sup> The journal *LADOC* (Lima, Peru) translated into English some important documents written by the Latin American leftist clergy. *Social Activist Priests: Chile* and *Social Activist Priests: Colombia, Argentina*, LADOC Keyhole Series, Nos. 5 and 6, respectively (Washington: U.S. Catholic Conference, n.d.). Also see Michael Dodson, "The Christian Left in Latin American Politics," in Daniel H. Levine (ed.), *Churches and Politics in Latin America*, Beverly Hills, Sage, 1980, pp. 111-34; Ivan Vallier, "Radical Priests and Revolution," in Douglas Chalmers (ed.), *Changing Latin America: New Interpretations of its Politics and Society*, Montpelier, Capital City Press, 1972. On the Peruvian movement, O.N.I.S., see Young-Hyun Jo, *Sacerdotes y transformación social en Perú (1968-1975)*, Mexico, D.F., UNAM, Centro Coordinador y Difusor de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2005. Jeffrey Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1977; M. G. Macauley, "Ideological Change and Internal Cleavages in the Peruvian Church: Change, Status Quo, and the Priest: The Case of ONIS", Notre Dame University, Ph.D. dissertation, 1972. On the Argentine movement, *Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo*, see Domingo A. Bresci, *Movimiento de Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo. Documentos para la memoria histórica*, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Centro Salesiano de Estudios San Juan Bosco; Centro Nazaret; Comisión de Estudios de Historia de la Iglesia en Latinoamérica (CEHILA), 1994. Marcelo Gabriel Magne, *Dios está con los pobres. El Movimiento de Sacerdotes para el Tercer Mundo: prédica revolucionaria y protagonismo social (1967-1976)*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Imago Mundi, 2004.

<sup>183</sup> Some influential Spanish leftist priests are the Jesuits José María González Ruiz, José María Díez Alegría y José María Llanos. They denounced labor and political oppression exercised by the Franco regime and also denounced the hierarchy's hypocrisy towards the poor. An extensive study of Spanish Catholicism under Franco is Guy Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista*. Translated by Carmen A. Hernández-Rubio Díaz. Siglo XXI de España Editores, Madrid, 1985.

<sup>184</sup> Camilo Torres, *Camilo Torres, sacerdote y guerrillero. Revolución popular: imperativo de cristianos y marxistas*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Ediciones Unidad, 1986. *Mensaje* published some articles dedicated to Camilo Torres: Hubert Daubechies, S.J., *Camilo Torres, ¿la revolución desesperada?*, *Mensaje*, No 147, March-April 1966, pp. 120-124. Hernán Larraín, "Camilo Torres y los universitarios", *Mensaje*, No 167, March-April 1968, pp. 113-115. Harvey Cox. "El cristiano como rebelde". *Pastoral popular*, No 110-111, March-April, May-June 1969. pp. 49-74.

<sup>185</sup> Peter Hebblethwaite, *The Runaway Church*, London, Collins, 1975.

<sup>186</sup> An eloquent paragraph of the encyclical about Marxism is: "Again, it is perfectly legitimate to make a clear distinction between a false philosophy of the nature, origin and purpose of men and the world, and economic, social, cultural, and political undertakings, even when such undertakings draw their origin and inspiration from that philosophy. True, the philosophic formula does not change once it has been set down in precise terms, but the undertakings clearly cannot avoid being influenced to a certain extent by the changing conditions in which they have to operate. Besides, who can deny the possible existence of good and commendable elements in these undertakings, elements which do indeed conform to the dictates of right reason, and are an expression of man's lawful aspirations?"

"It may sometimes happen, therefore, that meetings arranged for some practical end -though hitherto they were thought to be altogether useless—may in fact be fruitful at the present time, or at least offer prospects of success. But whether or not the moment for such cooperation has arrived, and the manner and degree of such co-operation in the attainment of economic, social, cultural and political advantages- these are matters for prudence to decide; prudence, the queen of all virtues which rule the lives of men both as individuals and in society". Pablo VI, *Pacem in Terris*, April 11, 1963, Nos 159-160.

<sup>187</sup> Some of these dialogues occurred in Eastern Europe. Roger Garaudy and Giulio Girardi described these dialogues. See, Roger Garaudy. *From anathema to dialogue. A Marxist challenge to the Christian Churches*, translated by Luke

---

O'Neill, New York, Herder and Herder, 1966. Its first edition in French was published in 1965. Giulio Girardi, *Marxism and Christianity*, translated by Kevin Traynor. Dublin, Ireland, Gill, 1968. Its first edition in Italian was published in 1965.

<sup>188</sup> *Mensaje* published several articles about this encyclical. "Carta encíclica 'Humanae Vitae' de S.S. Paulo VI sobre la regulación de la natalidad", *Mensaje*, No 172, September 1968, pp. 449-454. "Una encíclica discutida", *Mensaje*, No 172, September 1968, pp. 401-403. "Profesores de Teología de la UC de Santiago se refieren a *Humanae Vitae*", *Mensaje*, No 172, September 1968, pp. 426-428; Manuel Ossa, S.J., "Uno solo es vuestro maestro", *Mensaje*, No 176, January-February 1969, pp. 31-37. "A propósito de unos 'Apuntes sobre el magisterio de la Iglesia'", *Mensaje*, No 179, June 1969, pp. 223-228.

<sup>189</sup> In 1968, Paulo Freire published his influential book *Pedagogia do Oprimido* in Portuguese. In 1970, it was published in English. Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Translated by Myra Bergman Ramos, New York, Herder and Herder, 1970.

<sup>190</sup> Ricardo de la Cierva published a book criticizing the Jesuits and their influence in the emergence of a leftist Christian thinking in Latin America and Spain. Ricardo de la Cierva, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-35.

<sup>191</sup> Several social scientists have studied the issue of Latin American underdevelopment from the perspective of dependence. Among them, Mexican sociologist Pablo González Casanova developed the theory of an "internal colonialism". Pablo González Casanova, *La democracia en México*, Mexico, D.F., Era, c1965 and *Sociología de la explotación*, Mexico, D.F., Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1969; Celso Furtado, *Dialéctica del Desarrollo: diagnóstico de la crisis del Brasil*, translated by Benjamín Hopenhayn, Mexico, D.F., Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1965; Aníbal Pinto, *Chile: un caso de desarrollo frustrado*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Santiago, Chile, Editorial Universitaria, 1958; Fernando Enrique Cardoso y Enzo Faletto, *Dependencia y Desarrollo en América Latina*, 14<sup>th</sup> ed., Mexico D.F., Siglo Veintiuno, 1978; Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America: Historical Studies of Chile and Brazil*, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1967.

<sup>192</sup> Harvey S. Perloff, *Alliance for Progress: a Social Invention in the Making*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1969. Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onís, *The Alliance that lost its way. A critical report on the Alliance for Progress*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1970.

<sup>193</sup> Some of these encounters were held in Baños, Ecuador, in June 1966, to discuss education, ministry, and social action; in Mar del Plata, Argentina, in October 1966 on the development and integration in Latin America; in Buga, Colombia, in February 1967, on the mission of the Catholic University in Latin America; in Melgar, Colombia, in April 1968, on missions. For an analysis of Latin American Catholicism before the Medellín Conference, see Edward Cleary, *op. cit.* Germán Doig, *op. cit.*

<sup>194</sup> "Documento sobre la Paz", in Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, *La Iglesia en la actual transformación de América Latina a la luz del Concilio*, Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Paulinas, 1969.

<sup>195</sup> There are differences over the influence of liberation theology in the conference of Medellín. Alfonso López Trujillo says that during Medellín there was a "positive effort" around liberation theology, especially at the pastoral and theological levels, but not yet at an ideological level. According to López Trujillo, the Marxist inspiration of liberation theology appeared later. Alfonso López Trujillo, *De Medellín a Puebla*, *op. cit.* For some liberation theologians, like Gustavo Gutiérrez, their whole theological and political thought was born in Medellín. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Teología de la Liberación. Perspectivas*, Lima, Peru, CEP, 1971.

<sup>196</sup> There are broad differences among liberation theologians and also among their methodologies. Leonardo Boff devoted his efforts to the study of the Christian ecclesiology and to the possibilities of a more democratic Church. See L. Boff, *Iglesia, carisma y poder: ensayos de eclesiología militante*, Bogota, Colombia, Indo-American Press Service, 1982. Hugo Assman deeply analyzed the issue of Marxism as a new method of doing theology. See H. Assman, *Opresión-Liberación: Desafío a los cristianos*, Montevideo, Uruguay, Tierra Nueva, 1971 and *Teología desde la praxis de la liberación: ensayo teológico desde la América dependiente*, Salamanca, Spain, Ediciones Sígueme, 1973. There are several studies on the impact of liberation theology. Among the ones that defend it, are: Enrique Dussel, *Caminos de liberación latinoamericana*, Buenos Aires, Argentina, Latinoamérica Libros, 1972. Penny Lernoux, *People of God: the Struggle for World Catholicism*, New York, Penguin Books, 1990. Among the more critical ones are Paul E. Sigmund, *Liberation Theology at the Crossroads, Democracy or Revolution?*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1990. Michael Novak, *Will it Liberate?: Questions about Liberation Theology*, New York, Paulist Press, 1986. For a complete history of liberation theology, see Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts About the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America, and Beyond*, New York, Meyer Stone Books, 1987. For a sociological analysis, see Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991. Michael Löwy introduced the concept of "Liberationist Christianity" in his book *The War of Gods*, *op. cit.*

---

<sup>197</sup> Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation*. Translated and edited by Sister Caridad Inda and John Eagleson. Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1973. There are several studies on the contribution of Gutiérrez to liberation theology. Among them, Robert McAfee Brown. *Gustavo Gutiérrez. An Introduction to Liberation Theology*, Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1990. Catalina Romero y Luis Peirano. *Entre la tormenta y la brisa. Homenaje a Gustavo Gutiérrez*. Lima, Peru. Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú; Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones (CEP); Instituto Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2010.

<sup>198</sup> The use of Marxism by liberation theologians generated a strong opposition from some Catholic sectors. Roger Vekemans, after the election of Salvador Allende in 1970, left Chile. From the *Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo e Integración en América Latina* or CEDIAI in Colombia, Vekemans led an offensive against liberation theology and those Christian revolutionary movements that were developing in Latin America. Alfonso López Trujillo was a strong opponent of liberation theology too. He was general secretary and then president of the CELAM in the period 1972–1984. From the mid-1970s, and especially under the papacy of John Paul II, Rome opposed liberation theology. The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith published two documents against it, *Libertatis Nuntius*, in 1984, and *Libertatis Conscientia*, in 1986. Roger Vekemans, *Teología de la liberación y cristianos por el socialismo*, Bogota, Colombia, CEDIAI, 1976. Alfonso López Trujillo, *Análisis marxista y liberación cristiana*, Santiago, Chile, Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, 1976. For a summary of the dispute between liberation theologians and the Vatican, see Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, *Teología de la liberación: Instrucción Vaticana, pronunciamiento de los obispos colombianos. Artículos y entrevistas desde diversos ángulos de la polémica. Cardenal Alfonso López Trujillo, Leonardo Boff, Jon Sobrino, Jean-Ives Calvez, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Jesús Vergara Aceves*, Bogota, Colombia, Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular, 1985.

<sup>199</sup> Ricardo de la Cierva defends the “process of interfoundation” in liberation theology with its influences from both Latin America and Europe. Ricardo de la Cierva, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>200</sup> Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Praxis de liberación y fe cristiana*, Bilbao, Spain, Zero, 1974, p. 31.

<sup>201</sup> Some of them are: Richard Schaul, “La liberación humana desde una perspectiva teológica”, *Mensaje*, N° 168, May 1968, pp. 175-179. Gustavo Gutiérrez, “Iglesia y Mundo: crisis de un sistema teológico”, *Mensaje*, N° 199, June 1971, pp. 203-209. Juan Luis Segundo, “Liberación: fe e ideología”, *Mensaje*, N° 208, May 1972, pp. 248-254. Segundo Galilea, “Jesús y la liberación de su pueblo”, *Mensaje*, N° 221, August 1973, pp. 351-356. Alejandro Vera, “El proceso de liberación del hombre de hoy”, *Pastoral popular*, N° 116-117, March-April and May-June 1970, pp. 60-69. Sergio Arce Martínez. “Hacia una teología de la liberación”, *Pastoral popular*, N° 133, January-February 1973, pp. 57-64. José Comblin, “El tema de la liberación en Latinoamérica”, *Pastoral popular*, N° 134, March-April 1973, pp. 46-63.

<sup>202</sup> Paul Sigmund, *The Overthrow of Allende and the Politics of Chile, 1964-1976*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977. Arturo Valenzuela, *op. cit.* Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985. Timothy Scully, *Rethinking the Center. Party Politics in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century in Chile*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1992. Also see Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, *Frei, el Kerensky chileno*, 4 ed., translated by Consejo de Redacción de Cruzada, Buenos Aires, Cruzada, 1968?. Arturo Olavarria, *Chile bajo la Democracia Cristiana*, Santiago, Chile, Editorial Nascimento, 1966-?.

<sup>203</sup> CECH, *Chile, voluntad de ser: la comunidad nacional y la Iglesia Católica en Chile*, Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Paulinas, 1968. See also, Luis Pacheco P., *El pensamiento sociopolítico de los Obispos chilenos...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-85.

<sup>204</sup> For a description of the occupation of the Cathedral and the reactions to it, see Teresa Donoso, *op. cit. Mensaje* in its issue No 172, of September, 1968, published the documents written by the occupants, “Por una Iglesia servidora del pueblo” and “Manifiesto de la Iglesia Joven”.

<sup>205</sup> During these years, several voices within the Church demanded for a more internal democracy and strengthening of the base through CEBs. An example of these voices is the well-known Brazilian liberation theologian, Leonardo Boff. Among his books on this topic are: *Eclesiogênese: as comunidades eclesiais de base reinventam a Igreja*, Petropolis, Brazil, Editora Vozes, 1977; *E a Igreja se fez povo: eclesiogênese a Igreja que nasce de fé do povo*, Petropolis, Brazil, Editora Vozes, 1986; *Igreja: carisma e poder. Ensaio de eclesiologia militante*, Sao Paulo, Brazil, Editora Atica, 1994.

<sup>206</sup> Julio Ramírez de Arellano y José María Arrieta, “Toma de la Catedral. Angustioso llamado a los cristianos”, *op. cit.*

<sup>207</sup> Teresa Donoso, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-94.

<sup>208</sup> Editorial, “Toma de la Catedral: ¿una profanación?”, *Mensaje*, No 172, September 1968, pp. 403-405.

<sup>209</sup> There were two declarations of the Episcopate on the occupation of the Cathedral defending the Cardinal. CECH, “Declaración de los Obispos de Chile”, October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1968, Comité Permanente del Episcopado de Chile, “Declaración del Episcopado ante recientes sucesos”, August 13<sup>th</sup>, 1969, F. Aliaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-113. The opinion of Cardinal Silva Henríquez can be found in *Memorias Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez*, Tomo II, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-152.

<sup>210</sup> CECH, “Declaración de los Obispos de Chile”, F. Aliaga, *op. cit.*

---

<sup>211</sup> To mention just a few, Manuel Ossa, S.J., “Cristianos y Marxistas marchan juntos”, *Mensaje*, August 1967, pp. 368-370. Arturo Gaete, S.J., “El largo camino del diálogo cristiano-marxista”, *Mensaje*, pp. 209-219.

<sup>212</sup> The president of the Episcopal Conference, the Bishop of Valdivia José Manuel Santos, sent a letter to *Mensaje* as a reaction to this editorial and to other articles published by *Mensaje* that were considered conflictive and contrary to Christian essence. F. Aliaga, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>213</sup> Editorial, “El ‘Che’: reflexiones sobre un diario”, *Mensaje*, No 171, August 1968, pp. 333-338.

<sup>214</sup> Editorial, “Un cumpleaños más”, No 173, October 1968, pp. 465-467.

<sup>215</sup> In ILADES, Gonzalo Arroyo had led a group of leftist Christians, composed of exiles from the Brazilian dictatorship, including Franz Hinkelammert. In the late Sixties, they ended up confronting Pierre Bigó, and the institution was closed. A year later the center was reopened maintaining Bigó’s line. The group led by Arroyo moved to the then recently founded *Centro de Estudios de la Realidad Nacional* of the Catholic University of Chile (Center of Studies of the National Reality, CEREN) and from there they produced a leftist Christian analysis. “ILADES remained as a center of the DC, even though that was not openly admitted. The more radical Christian left founded CEREN in the Catholic University”. Testimony by Francisco López, then an Ilades student. Quoted in Macarena de Cea, “El legado de Ilades en la UAH”, *UAH Noticias*, Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago, No 51, March 2008.

<sup>216</sup> Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., “Rebeldía cristiana y compromiso cristiano. A propósito de un viaje a Bolivia”, *Mensaje*, No 167, March-April 1968, pp. 78-pp. 83 y “Las ‘comunidades rebeldes’. Respuesta a unas interrogantes”, *Mensaje*, No 170 July 1968, pp. 275-280.

<sup>217</sup> *Mensaje* devoted a special edition to the issue of violence in November 1968, No 174. It included articles by Jesuit Pierre Bigó, “Enseñanza de la Iglesia sobre la violencia”, pp. 574-578; Arturo Gaete, “Un cristiano se interroga acerca de la violencia”, pp. 584-591; and Gonzalo Arroyo, “Violencia institucionalizada en América Latina”, pp. 534-543.

<sup>218</sup> Gonzalo Arroyo, “Doctrina, utopía y subversión”, *Mensaje*, No 181, August 1967, pp. 340-347.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 347.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 544.

<sup>221</sup> Gonzalo Arroyo, “Rebeldía cristiana y compromiso cristiano. A propósito de un viaje a Bolivia”, *Mensaje*, No 167, March-April 1968, p. 83.

<sup>222</sup> For a history of the Christian Democrat government see: Arturo Olavarría, *op. cit.* Michael Fleet, *op. cit.* Ana María Portales, *Los conflictos internos en el Partido Demócrata Cristiano durante la primera etapa del gobierno de Eduardo Frei (1964-1968): la dimensión ideológica de un debate político*, Santiago Chile, FLACSO, 1987. Jorge Arrate y Eduardo Rojas, *op. cit.* Also see Fre’s biography, Cristián Gazmuri, *op. cit.*

<sup>223</sup> This information can be found in the leftist magazine, *Punto Final*, on Septiembre 24<sup>th</sup>, 1968.

<sup>224</sup> José Joaquín Brunner and Andrés Coste, “El derecho vigente: un obstáculo para la revolución”, *Mensaje*, No 171, August 1968, pp. 327-329.

<sup>225</sup> These strategic and doctrinary differences within the Chilean PDC were covered by *Política y Espíritu* starting in 1967. Jaime Castillo Velasco, a member of the most moderate and pro-Frei faction, directed the magazine.

<sup>226</sup> An event in which the JDC emerged on the public scene took place on August 11<sup>th</sup>, 1967, with the occupation of the main building of the Catholic University of Chile. Several JDC members participated in this occupation. It ended with the resignation of Bishop Alfredo Silva Santiago, who was replaced by the Christian Democrat, Eduardo Castillo Velasco, and with the compromise of executing a “university reform”. Among the studies on “university reform” in Chile, see Fernando Castillo Velasco’s testimony, *Los tiempos que hacen el presente: historia de un rectorado. 1967-1973*, Santiago, Chile, LOM Ediciones, 1997. José Joaquín Brunner, *Universidad Católica y cultura nacional en los años 60: los intelectuales tradicionales y el movimiento estudiantil*, Santiago, Chile, FLACSO, 1981. Raúl Allard, *La reforma universitaria en Chile. 1967-1973*, Santiago, Chile, Universidad de Santiago, 1997. Cristóbal García-Huidobro, “De pijes a revolucionarios: La toma de la UC y el movimiento de reforma universitaria”, in Andrés Baeza, *et. al.*, *XX. Historias del siglo veinte chileno*, Santiago, Chile, Ediciones B Chile, 2008, pp. 231-302. On the role of Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez in this process, see Ascanio Cavallo, *Memorias Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez*, Tomo II, Santiago, Chile, Ediciones Copygraph, 1991, pp. 89-109.

<sup>227</sup> Quoted in Jorge Arrate y Eduardo Rojas, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

<sup>228</sup> As described by Arrate y Rojas, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

<sup>229</sup> “Proposiciones para una Acción Política en el período 1967-1970 de una Vía No Capitalista de Desarrollo”, Document prepared for the PDC National Meeting (July 1967), *Política y Espíritu*, No 303, October 1967, pp. 27-47.

<sup>230</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>231</sup> The events of the Extraordinary Meeting of the PDC were covered in *Ercilla*, January 10, 1968. The words of Rodrigo Ambrosio were taken from C. Gazmuri, p. 687.

<sup>232</sup> Quoted in Arrate y Rojas, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 432.

---

<sup>234</sup> The Minister of the Interior, Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, became the protagonist of the events in Pampa Irigoin, as the popular singer Victor Jara recalled in his song "*Preguntas por Puerto Montt*". On June 8<sup>th</sup>, 1971, with Salvador Allende as President, Pérez Zujovic was killed by the extremist group *Vanguardia Organizada del Pueblo* or VOP (Organized Vanguard of the People).

<sup>235</sup> *Política y Espíritu* published the documents that were written by Christian Democrats after the Puerto Montt events. Among them, the "Declaración de diversas entidades estudiantiles y políticas", composed by the *Unión de Federaciones Universitarias de Chile*, UFCH (Union of University Federations of Chile) directed by Christian Democrats José Joaquín Brunner and Jaime Estévez; the "Declaración de la Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad de Chile", whose president was Jaime Ravinet; the "Declaración de la Directiva Nacional de la Juventud Demócrata Cristiana", among others.

<sup>236</sup> "Declaración de la Directiva Nacional de la Juventud Demócrata Cristiana", *Política y Espíritu*, No 309, February-March 1969, p. 79.

<sup>237</sup> "Declaración de los camaradas Gumucio, Jerez, Silva, Sota y Chonchol", *Política y Espíritu*, No 309, February-March 1969, p. 80.

<sup>238</sup> "Ante una tragedia", *Política y Espíritu*, No 309, February-March 1969, pp. 77-82.

<sup>239</sup> "Declaración Oficial de la Secretaría Nacional del PDC" (March 10<sup>th</sup>, 1969), *Política y Espíritu*, No 309, February-March 1969, p. 80.

<sup>240</sup> "Declaración de senadores", *Política y Espíritu*, No 309, February-March 1969, pp. 81-82.

<sup>241</sup> *Política y Espíritu* published a special issue to present the political orientations of the party. "El PDC y su controversia interna", *Política y Espíritu*, May 1, 1969.

<sup>242</sup> For a history of MAPU in its founding years see, Cristina Moyano, *MAPU o la seducción del poder y la juventud. Los años fundacionales del partido-mito de nuestra transición (1969-1973)*, Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, Santiago, Chile, 2009.

<sup>243</sup> Some of the representatives of the JDC who became part of MAPU were Rodrigo Ambrosio, Enrique Correa, Juan Enrique Miquel, Juan Enrique Vega, José Miguel Insulza and Jaime Gazmuri, among others. There was also an important group that came from the university movement, mainly from the Catholic universities of Santiago and Valparaíso, including Miguel Ángel Solar, Manuel Antonio Garretón, José Joaquín Brunner, José Antonio Viera-Gallo, Tomás Moulían, Carlos Montes and Jaime Estévez, among others.

<sup>244</sup> *Política y Espíritu* published these letters between Rafael Agustín Gumucio and the president of the PDC, Jaime Castillo Velasco. "Renuncia del Senador Rafael Agustín Gumucio y respuesta de Jaime Castillo", *Política y Espíritu*, No 310, April-June 1969, pp. 76-78.

<sup>245</sup> C. Moyano, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>246</sup> There were cases in Spain of political parties on the left composed of Catholics. Towards the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. Christians and Marxists converged over their common actions against the Franco dictatorship. This convergence was expressed in the formal membership of Christians in Communist political parties in Spain. Guy Hermet, *op. cit.* Daniel Francisco Álvarez Espinosa, *Cristianismo y marxismo: ¿Un diálogo de otro tiempo?*, *Historia Actual Online*, Nº 18, 2009, 161-177.

<sup>247</sup> For bibliography on *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, see Teresa Donoso, *op. cit.* Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el socialismo: historia y documentación*, Salamanca, Spain, Ediciones Sígueme, 1976. David Fernández Fernández, "Oral History of the Chilean Movement 'Christians for Socialism', 1971-73", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 34, No 2, April 1999, pp. 283-294. Also see, Edward Crouzet, *Sangre sobre "La Esmeralda": sacerdote Miguel Woodward, vida y martirio*, Santiago, Chile, Eds. Chile-América-CESOC, 2001. José Aldunate, *et. al., op. cit.*