Blessing the Revolution:

Leftist Christians in Chile, 1957-1973

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ABSTRACT

This work analyzes the emergence and development of a leftist Christianity in Chile, concentrating in the experience of a clerical group called "Christians for Socialism" (Cristianos por el Socialismo, CpS). This analysis transcends Chilean frontiers, trying to understand the broader political radicalization the Catholic Church lived in the late 1960s. The Chilean experience, however, had its own originality: revolutionary priests emerged in the middle of Popular Unity project, a process of building socialism by democratic means in a Cold War context.

From an experiential point of view, this work analyzes the emergence of Christians for Socialism highlighting the religious evolution that some churchmen and churchwomen experienced. This work understands Christians for Socialism as a final stage of a long-term religious evolution, that could be summarized in three elements: a new conception of a Catholic social change; a new phase for social ministry; and new meanings of poverty and the poor.

This work also illuminates the comprehension of leftist Christianity as a global phenomenon. This is a history of a vast network of Catholic clerical agents that in a Cold War global context, laid the foundations for a deep social change in Latin America. This is a history of the convergence between Catholicism and the social sciences from the late Fifties on in Latin America, its underdevelopment and poverty. But also, this is a study of the personal dilemma that some pastoral agents experienced, mainly related to the way in which they understood their temporal and spiritual mission. This study understands the re-adaptation of the fields of religion and politics and, specifically, to a re-adaptation of the role

of priests in modern world. This study, finally, digs deep into the experience of some pastoral agents with the poor. These experiences, in some cases, triggered a new conception of their pastoral role, and finally of the temporal role of the Catholic Church as well. The subsequent temporal commitments, with some revolutionary projects or paths, responded to this internal process.

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INTRODUCTION

Film *Ya no basta con rezar,* 1972[1]

It Is No Longer Enough To Pray

Ya no basta con rezar (It Is No Longer Enough To Pray) was the title of a film made in 1971 by Chilean director Aldo Francia and presented at the Cannes Film Festival in May 1973. The poster for the film shows a priest – Father Jaime – dressed as a clergyman, displaying a cross on his lapel and holding a stone in his fist[2]. That was the movie's final scene. In the middle of a street protest, Father Jaime was seen facing the police and throwing a stone against the façade of Valparaiso's Courthouse. It was for the priest a sign of his Christian commitment with the workers' cause. The film showed Father Jaime's personal journey, with his inner conflicts and misgivings and highlighted, as the Jesuit magazine *Mensaje* suggested, the reality of the so-called "new priests" and the controversy they ignited in the Catholic world[3].

In April of that same year (1971), a group of eighty priests gathered in the southern zone of Santiago, an area characterized by its urban poverty and where many of them lived and carried out their social ministry. Those eighty priests organized a day of reflection about what should be the role of Christians in the building of socialism that the government of the newly elected president of the Republic, Salvador Allende, had vowed to carry out. The statement handed to the press after the meeting, commonly known as the "*Declaración de los 80"* ("The Declaration of the 80"), was telling.

> "As Christians, we don't see any incompatibility between Christianity and socialism. Quite the opposite […] socialism gives people hope by allowing individuals to be more whole and thus more religious […] We feel committed to this ongoing process and want to contribute to its success. The deep-seated reason for this engagement is our faith in Jesus Christ, which deepens, renews itself and takes shape according to historical circumstances. To be Christian is to be caring. To be caring now in Chile is to participate in the historical project drawn up by its people […] In this hour full of risks but also hope, it is appropriate for us, just like any other Christian, to humbly do our part"[4].

This declaration was issued in the midst of an extremely polarized social and political climate in Chile, in which different models of society were pitted against each other. The public shock around this declaration took enormous proportions, so much so that not even "the 80" themselves were able to foresee or by no means control it. "The 80's Declaration" was published in the main newspapers in Chile and abroad, and unleashed a series of responses for and against by bishops, priests, theologians and laymen. First, the declaration worried the Chilean episcopate, considered, within the Latin American context, as one of the most advanced in terms of social concerns. To this was added the fact that, up to that moment, the Archbishop of Santiago, Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez, had maintained good relations with the elected president Salvador Allende and that the Episcopal Conference of Chile (CECH) had expressed its intention of maintaining political neutrality towards the government's project of implementing socialism. In the same way, the "Declaration" of the 80 surprised the Catholic sectors deemed progressive in the social area and reformists in the political sphere, mainly associated with the Christian Democratic Party[5]. Finally, the text aggravated and provoked the right-wing and conservative Catholic organizations, like the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) –founded in 1963– which, from the beginning of the 1960s, had predicted the Catholic Church's destruction at the hands of the Christian-Marxists and

the so-called "revolutionary priests"[6]. The "Declaration of the 80" caused commotion and notoriety amid a complicated socio-political context in which the relationships between the Church and the government were of the utmost importance. This declaration thus came along and forced participants to clarify arguments and call for new politico-ideological definitions, in the process causing a profound crisis within the Chilean Catholic Church[7].

Shortly afterwards, the original "80" decided to found a movement called "Christians for Socialism" (CpS), a small priestly group. The registered members numbered three hundred, but what is certain is that the most visible, active and militant group counted no more than about twenty priests[8]. CpS was mainly made up of clerical representatives living in the marginal urban settlements of Santiago, Valparaíso, Concepción and Temuco. There were Chileans and foreigners as well. Many of the CpS had been advisors to the Catholic Action movements, mainly in the workplace and at university. The majority of the CpS had a rich intellectual and theological formation and some were in the vanguard of the social thinking of the time. They were known as the "expert priests". Some of the CpS, a minority, was *au fait* with the Marxist theory, imbued with its literature and closely following the European Marxist-Christian discussions[9]. The CpS were neither inspired by the Marxist-Leninist rhetoric, nor the Soviet totalitarian experience and, on the domestic front, were taking their distances from the traditional Chilean left-wing political parties, mainly the Communist and Socialist parties. A great many of them had only read some texts by the Chilean sociologist Marta Harnecker, disciple of Louis Althusser, who translated complex Marxist texts into an easy and didactic language[10].

The CpS were part of influential religious congregations like the Society of Jesus –to which they were commonly associated–, Sacred Hearts or Holy Cross. All of these, from their educational establishments, had formed a large part of the Chilean male elite. Many of the CpS were from a high socio-economic stratum and, in the Chileans case, some came from renowned and aristocratic families, for example Mariano Puga, Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., Pablo Fontaine, SS.CC. and Alfonso Baeza. The weight and influence of those priests and their congregations in Chilean society was telling, considering that almost 90% of the population considered themselves Catholics[11].

In their declarations, the CpS summarized the political thinking of a group of Catholics confronted by the Chilean politico-ideological situation and was a turning point in the politico-religious history of what became known as left-wing Christianity, typified mainly by a convergence between Christianity and Marxism. While the political radicalization of the clergy was not only a Chilean phenomenon, it nevertheless displayed some novelty and exceptional character compared to other cases. The existence of the CpS and their public pronouncements in defense of Marxism as a

school of thought, and socialism as a social project were made in the middle of a process of extreme polarization of Chilean society as a whole, evidently apparent from the late 1960s, and in the middle of a project to build socialism by democratic means, which, for being successful, was considered as a viable alternative in the context of the Cold War. The emergence of a group of priests in favor of socialism opened a new battlefield for Chilean society and was perceived as a menace by a Church which had historically been against Marxism and any experience inspired by it.

Approach to the problem

This is a study on the relationship between religion and politics. More specifically it is, a study of the emergence and development of a left-wing Christianity in Chile, analyzed through the experience of the Christians for Socialism. The question which needs to be answered in this study is: what and in what way did these revolutionary priests who gathered under the banner of the CpS respond to, and how did they live their experience as representatives of left-wing Christians in the Chile of the early 1970s? In response to this question, this study's working hypothesis suggests that the aforementioned clergy's politico-ideological radicalization was the result of a process of a religious nature, combined with the evolution of 20th century Catholicism in Chile and Latin America. Thus, this research project studies a less-known history, focusing on religious aspects in order to understand the political radicalization experienced by some members of the clergy. These, despite being few in absolute number, managed to give life to a potent left-wing Christian movement and way of thinking, which in turn posed a great challenge to the Chilean and Latin American Catholic Church.

The distinctive characteristics of these left-wing Christian's experiences in the late 1960s in Latin America have been the subject of studies in political science, sociology and theology, as well as ecclesiastic history. All these agree in considering these experiences from the point of view of the supremacy of politics, especially party politics and the politico-ideological feature of each and every particular situation, over its religious aspect. In this way, the political thinking and actions of the various religious actors and the political radicalization of some of them would respond almost exclusively to political stimuli. Throughout the 1960s, there had been a shift towards the left where the primacy of ideology prevailed, and which finally managed to permeate the religious spheres[12]. In this regard, very little of the available literature on the relation between the Catholic Church and politics in Latin America has tried to understand this political radicalization as a consequence of a

religious development, except in the context of the opening to the world, the interpretation of the "sign of the times" started by the Second Vatican Council, and the changes experienced in the teachings of the Church and the possibility of a coexistence between Christianity and Marxism laid out throughout the 1960s[13].

Considering that the interpretations previously presented have delivered important elements to take into account, this study suggests that these were insufficient to explain the political radicalization of certain sectors of the clergy towards the end of the 1960s. This was a larger and more diverse phenomenon: first, it took place in various Catholic groups – laymen, priests, nuns, missionaries, and even bishops, as in the case of the Mexican Sergio Méndez Arceo; second, it went beyond the national borders; and, third, it occurred in diverse and dissimilar socio-political contexts.

From this point of view, the experience of the CpS became a historical phenomenon which deserved a thorough and comprehensive analysis. So, it is legitimate to want to ask about the nature of the CpS, the reason behind its existence and the typical characteristics of this group. Early on in my research, a certain concern manifested itself as to how one could arrive at a history based on a lived experience that would give answers to these questions. The reading of statements and manifestos produced by the CpS, as well as sustained conversations with some of the members of the group, began to enlighten this study's analysis. Neither the influence of Marxism in some Christian groups, nor the strictly politico-ideological Chilean context fully explains the emergence and development of an experience like the CpS. Thus, a different interpretation had to be constructed, one which was more detached from the cycles of the traditional political history, structured around a politico-ideological axis and above all partisan. The idea was to grasp a more attentive history dealing with some nuances in the political decisions and choices made by the members of the CpS, and it became necessary to follow their religious, theological and pastoral trajectories. In order to understand the CpS, attending to these religious aspects turned out to be essential: they were the building blocks on which the members of CpS, with the help of the social sciences, had read the Latin American reality, had developed their idea of poverty and, finally, had established new links with the poor. Those were the elements which had led to a readaptation of the fields of religion and politics and, specifically, had led to a readaptation of their role as pastoral agents.

In order to understand the CpS, it turned out to be of the upmost importance to consider its opponents and the ample negative criticisms written against them. It became apparent that the mere existence of the CpS created the fear of a sharp move to the left within the Catholic Church and was more widespread than the simple support for socialism and the Popular Unity project[14]. This opposition to the CpS had various and diverse voices who, up until then, had neither acted jointly nor

shared a common vision regarding socio-political topics. There were, among others, groups like Tradition, Family, Property (TFP), the National Party – a right-wing party founded in 1966, unifying the Conservative, Liberal parties and the National Action – and the Christian Democratic Party; theologians, priests and some reformist bishops. Some, like the TFP, put forward the idea that the Catholic Church was wrong in its social involvement and defended the return to a Church focused on spiritual matters, whilst the criticism of those sectors linked to the Christian reformism was trapped within the confines of the priestly office.

The criticism of a Church as promotor of social change transcended the brief existence of the CpS and took root in the early 1960s. One could also say that together with the emergence of a social involvement thinking rooted in profound social change, a strong opposition emerged from the Catholic world. Therefore, an acute rejection of the CpS took root in the intrinsic hostility felt by the Chilean social elite towards a socially reformist and politically vocal Church. While it is true that the emergence of this socially aware modern Church gets mixed up with the estrangement of its historic partner since the 19th Century, the Conservative Party, this excessive rejection by some sectors of the elite cannot be solely explained from a partisan political point of view[15].

This rejection by the socio-economic elite can only be explained by the support given by the Chilean Catholic Church to a profound transformation of society and the moral questioning instigated by the ecclesiastic institution. Here, the agrarian world acquires special relevance. That's where the first political and ideological battles took place between landowner sectors and some Catholic Church officials who wanted an end to the *latifundio* (large estates) and *inquilinaje* (tenant farming). With these changes, a lot more than the economic power of the traditional oligarchic sectors and the foundations of the Chilean right electoral base would be destroyed. The end of the *latifundio* was endangering a social order in which the aforementioned elite based an important part of its identity, social prestige and cultural values[16].

This study suggests an understanding of the CpS phenomenon from a religious dimension and attempts to build a historical analysis that will show the reality's diversity and complexity. For this, five interconnected central arguments will put the account in order and will subsequently structure the narrative. First, this work suggests that the CpS need to be understood from the perspective of the development of social Catholicism which emerged in the last decades of the nineteenth century, with its anti-capitalist component and its understanding of the poor. However, there is no need to go that far back. The departure point of this study will be the moment when part of the Catholic world, and more specifically some small but influential groups, defined and promoted

a deep social transformation, in this way assuming the role of "complainants and proponents of social solutions"[17], laying the groundwork for a new and massive Christian project of social change.

Second, the CpS need to be understood through its experience of social ministry promoted by some groups within the Catholic Church. Therefore, it is essential to understand this social ministry, with its own characteristics and evolution. From this social ministry's experience – direct and "incarnate" – a new bond with the poor emerged and a new image and priestly identity was also built.

Third, the relevance of the groups formed by these left-wing Christians – as much for their contemporaries as in the subsequent literature published about them – responds in large part to the level of opposition that these groups generated. In this way, it can be maintained that the development of a left-wing Christianity went hand in hand with the development of the various forces against it. Thus, it can be argued that the reasons for this opposition are varied and respond in part to the anti-Marxism of certain Catholic sectors, to the disputed relationship between the Catholic Church and politics from the late 1950s on. They also responded to the new challenges around the topic of the priesthood and, subsequently, to the problematic that appeared around the possibility of political militancy on the part of the clerical actors.

Fourth, it is important to highlight that the disagreement and the internal ecclesiastic crisis, which in the end led to a differentiation between reformist and revolutionary sides in the late 1960s, have to be understood from their own participant experiences. So, even if there are common lines of thought between various Catholic groups on the left, linked together by a shared definition regarding poverty, a re-adaptation of Marxism and a similarity of political thought and various programs considered left-wing, the experiences cannot in the end all be comparable.

Fifth, the CpS need to be considered, in the years of the Popular Unity, as discerning religious-political actors, able to process a revolutionary Christian thinking. However, their own experiences are dissimilar and one has to question the homogeneity that historiography has given them.

The left-wing Christianity: A brief historical overview

One of the first challenges of this research project was to define the concept of "left-wing Christianity", taking into account two fundamental aspects: first, that the term left-wing Christianity

is used as a synonym – and that is how it was used by the participants themselves – to left-wing Catholicism. While it is true that a certain level of participation in the Latin American Christian revolutionary movements existed among Protestants, these movements were largely Catholic. The use of this concept would then look questionable. However, as it happened in the case of the Chilean movement Christians for Socialism, a conscious effort was made to include members from other Christian churches, and also to distance themselves from the Catholic Church's strict dogmatism[18]. Second, to pigeonhole under the designations of right and left the participants, movements or traditional religious symbols turned out to be a complex task. Conceptually "left" and "right" are wide-ranging and hard to define notions and their significance has changed over time. The terms "right" and "left" were first used during the French Revolution in order to organize the political factions and also to present projects of society with their distinctive values and ideals[19]. In the particular case of Latin America, it took place around the *latifundio* or more specifically the "*latifundio's* culture" or "large estate culture" considering that the agrarian environment was the scene of the main struggles between different political projects[20].

Specifically, the emergence of some left-wing Christian experiences imposed a challenge to the classical contradiction between tradition and modernity, by encompassing elements of both: on the one hand, it fitted in the traditional Catholic criticism and mistrust of the modern capitalist system, its spirit and culture; on the other hand, it was able to adopt various elements and values of modernity like social equality, fraternity, political democracy and freedom of conscience. But it was also able to accept and use social sciences as a means of understanding social reality. Likewise, the existence of a left-wing Christianity contradicted what the social scientists of the nineteenth century had predicted, especially Karl Marx and Max Weber, namely that as societies became more modern, they would progressively forget about religion[21].

Until the 1940s, a demarcation line existed between Christianity and left as a result of the bourgeois revolution in which the left incorporated the values of the Enlightenment and the posterior revolutionary tradition, with its values and symbols, while Catholicism, in its majority allied with sectors on the right, resisted both processes. The Holy See's opposition to left-wing doctrines, especially of Marxist inspiration, emerged in the early nineteenth century and reached its high point under the papacies of Pius XI (1922-1939) and, mainly, Pius XII (1939-1958). Both Popes emphatically condemned any link between both schools of thought: Pius XI promulgated the encyclical against atheist communism, *Divini Redemptoris*, on March 19, 1937, and his successor Pius XII hardened his anti-communism after the end of the Second World War. In 1948, Pius XII tenaciously opposed the advance of communism in the countries of Eastern Europe, and contemplated

the possibility of excommunicating any Italian supporting communist candidates in the parliamentary elections of that year. A year later, in 1949, the same Pope authorized the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith to excommunicate any Catholic active in or supporting the Communist Party[22].

Despite this history of condemnations, diatribes and punishments for Catholics supporting communism, in practice this opposition between Christianity and Marxism was more diffuse and less dogmatic. In Western Europe – mainly in countries like France, Italy, Belgium and Germany –, during and after the Second World War, the possibilities of encounters between Catholics and left-wing militants were made clear. These experiences, despite the fact that they were responding to the specific war situation, characterized by the resistance to fascism, revealed a religious ferment which allowed the emergence of the so-called "worker priests", mainly in France, and the rise of Christian Democratic parties, which in the French, Italian and German cases showed an openness to work or ally themselves with the Communist Party[23].

Especially under John XXIII, the social teachings of the Church opened the doors to a rapprochement between Christianity and Marxism in the early 1960s. In the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (1963), a distinction was made in support of socialist philosophies and movements which enabled an encounter of Catholics and socialists in search of justice. On a doctrinaire level, Marxism and Christianity found themselves in the late 1960s in a common space criticizing capitalism, individualism and the problems of the modern capitalist industrialized society. Catholic intellectuals were the ones to suggest the possibility of coexistence, going back to the first Marxist texts[24]. For their part, the Marxist intellectuals of the mid-1960s also made the convergence of Christianity and Marxism possible. The French philosopher Louis Althusser returned to Marx's original writings and made a distinction between dialectic materialism and historical materialism, thus allowing Marxism to be treated as a social science and paving the way to the distancing of Marxism-Leninism and the experiences of the socialism[25].

A large part of the Latin American left-wing Christianity was able to make distinctions in Marxist thinking and retain aspects like its class analysis of society, the clash between them and the possibility for the oppressed classes to bring about revolutionary change. Certain aspects of Marxism were rejected or omitted, for example atheism or the estrangement from God, despite the fact that these were considered as second order components and not as inherent principles of Marxism. The prevalence of the economics, present in Marxism, was not part of Latin American Marxist thinking either, privileging instead, as one can see in José Carlos Mariátegui's writings, Indo-American popular culture as an ideal of the society to build, coined "Indo-American socialism"[26].

The concept of left-wing Christianity in Latin America in the mid-twentieth century leads us to religious actors, be it laymen, priests, pastors, and including bishops who took constitutive elements of a left-wing culture, mainly linked to the support for various revolutionary projects[27]. In the Latin American case, left-wing Christianity demonstrated an original possibility of crossing traditional religious-political lines. These regional experiences arose from a particular political and ecclesiastic context, with the Cuban Revolution and the momentum it gave to different revolutionary paths in Latin America in the context of the Cold War; and, with the Second Vatican Council, which took place between 1962 and 1965, under the papacies of John XXIII and Paul VI and the dialogue that this event, specifically its Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et Spes* came to engage with the modern world. The Second Conference of Latin American Bishops, celebrated in Medellin in 1968, went even further and contemplated a Latin American Church focused on the region's poverty and injustice, ready to engage in significant social reforms in order to put an end to various forms of "institutionalized violence" like poverty, illiteracy and repression, which were threatening a vast majority of the poor[28].

From a theological point of view, the new definitions of poverty were crucial in order to understand the essence of this left-wing Christianity which took place in Latin America in the late 1960s. The concept of liberation, present in Judeo-Christian history and enlisted as the core idea of the emerging liberation theology, made this encounter possible. This way, any Marxist-Leninist aspect and the Soviet experience could be discarded and a re-arrangement of Marxist thinking could take place. The liberation theologians appropriated certain elements of the Marxist thinking, with its understanding of society in terms of class and struggle between oppressors and oppressed. With this, they took their distance from the Catholic developmentalism which had understood poverty in structural terms and which had favored a road to modernization characterized by, among other things, being an alternative to Marxism and capitalism. The poor, according to the definitions given in theological texts at the time and by the topics of study, mainly included those social segments oppressed, exploited and at the margin of society. This new definition of the poor, however, was not only built on the basis of the obvious material scarcity, permanent state of injustice and exclusion from the social order of the poor, but also on the poor's inherent nature of being an agent of personal and collective liberation[29].

All of it constituted a rich and effervescent backdrop against which a new stage of coexistence was opened, or at least, gave rise to a typically Latin American Christian-Marxist convergence[30]. The cases of revolutionary clergymen proliferated in various Latin American countries, the most famous being the Colombian Camilo Torres. By joining the National Liberation Army (ELN) in 1965, he

became the symbol of revolutionary Christianity. Not long after, Torres was killed in a clash with the military, but his decision and sacrifice would generate a religious as well as political impact within the Christian and revolutionary groups. From 1966 onwards, various priestly left-wing organizations were created, like the Movement of Priests for the Third World (MSTM) in Argentina, the National Office of Social Information (ONIS) in Peru, or the Golconda movement in Colombia[31].

In a properly Chilean context, the Christian-Marxist confluence and the support of clerical groups for socialism started in the late 1960s. Various Christian groups, mainly laity, started to declare themselves in favor of socialism[32]. In August 1968, a group of priests, nuns and laymen occupied the Santiago Cathedral and declared their support for socialism. And in January 1971, a number of priests from the Santiago University Parish publicly outlined their right to maintain a position favorable to socialism[33].

The CpS would therefore become one more voice within this new politico-religious context. The CpS were defined by being made up of a small group of clergymen who counted on some kind of secular support and participation. However, the CpS historical relevance wasn't acquired because of its specific weight within the Chilean Church but rather by the religious crisis it generated in the Chilean and Latin American Churches[34]. The opposition within the Church itself was hardened: the CECH showed it through its publications and careful examination of its actions, while the central offices of the Latin American Episcopal Conference in Bogotá, mainly under the direction of Bishop Alfonso López Trujillo, led a tenacious offensive against the CpS and above all against its liberation theology. In all this, the figure of the Belgian Jesuit Roger Vekemans, an important leader of Catholic developmentalism in Chile, was key. Following Salvador Allende's victory, Vekemans founded in Bogotá the *Centro de Estudios para el Desarollo e Integración de América Latina* or CEDIAL (Center for the Study of Development and Integration in Latin America) and through the publication *Tierra Nueva,* founded in mid-1972, he would develop a dogmatic and theological reflection against the CpS and the nascent liberation theology[35].

The Chilean CpS's brief and limited life span of a year and a half represents a case study for the understanding of the political radicalization of some sectors of the Catholic Church in the late 1960s. It also highlighted how some clerical agents leaned towards left-wing political projects, re-interpreted revolutionary ideology, and were able to construct a coherent Christian-Marxist ideal in theological and ideological terms, as well as efficient in pastoral terms.

Studies around the left-wing Christianity

Left-wing Christianity is one of those phenomena which benefits from a crossing of disciplinary lines for its historical understanding. Here is a meeting of political historiography and political science, religious and theological studies, sociology and ecclesiastical historiography, all seeking to understand the transformation, through the 1960s, of the Latin American Catholic Church, one of the institutions considered as most traditional.

The historiography of left-wing Christianity in Latin America has been part of the vast number of studies on religion and politics in the region, analyzing the transformation of the Latin American Catholic Church in the 1960s and the role it played in the context of the quest for regional development and modernization. The literature about religion and politics in Latin America has given a central role to the political processes and their capacity to influence the changes in the religious spheres. All this has been exacerbated from the national perspectives which have given a primary role to the specific socio-political contexts in each country.

First, the modernist school, of which Iván Vallier is one of its main representatives, should be considered. Vallier, in his work *Catholicism, Social Control and Modernization in Latin America*, published in 1970, tried to apply the theory of modernization to the development of Latin American Catholicism of the mid-twentieth century, with the necessary and desirable search for the differences between political and religious spheres. Vallier considered that the transformation of the Latin American Church, manifest in its support for social change on the part of bishops and national episcopal conferences, responded to an attempt at maximizing its influence over society and had to do with the creation of a socio-ethical structure legitimizing those changes and trying to build a consensus around basic and indisputable values[36].

For the modernist school, the relation between the Catholic Church and politics had to be characterized by a Church open and respectful of political pluralism, a constituent element for the modernization of the region. On the other hand, the irruption of a politicized clergy in the late 1960s was understood as a setback and a return to clericalism. In a way, the demarcation of the religious spheres from politics pursued by the modernist school came to be challenged and opposed by the irruption of a revolutionary clergy in the late 1960s. Vallier accused the revolutionary clergy of having a "regressive and traditionalist" influence in a region making efforts to modernize itself and questioned the novelty of those revolutionary Christians. Finally, Vallier qualified the press coverage they received as disproportionate, considering that they were radicalized minority groups without real

influence and of low impact on the popular masses. Vallier's interest was centered in criticizing clerical involvement in complex political topics that would revive the old Catholic ambition, summarized by the phrase "Catholics have all the answers". In that case, according to Vallier, the religious and political divisions would be exacerbated in social contexts already fragmented and the Catholic realm would see a resurrection of the old strategies which had been so difficult to overcome[37].

Following another path, contradicting the modernist school and echoing the possibility of building Church "models", studies were published, coming above all from Latin American theologians, mainly led by the Argentinian theologian and historian Enrique Dussel. He framed from an ideological perspective the existence of a "Church of the poor", also called "liberating". This Church, faced with the reality of Latin American poverty, had no other alternative but to go along with the revolutionary forces, Marxists or not. As such, the Catholic Church's political neutrality was impossible and this neutrality could only be seen as backing the "established order"[38].

Towards the mid-1980s, political scientists came up with a new line of interpretation, one which took its distance from this historiography of attacks and justifications towards the political links of the Latin American Church. Studies by Daniel Levine on the Church in Venezuela and Colombia, Brian Smith on the Chilean Church and Scott Mainwaring on the Brazilian Church are some examples. A common interpretative thread shared by these studies was the cross between the political and religious spheres and the importance of considering the religious mission of the Catholic Church. This line of thought underestimated the existence of a dividing line between religion and politics in Latin America, a region where these areas were interconnected[39].

These political scientists highlighted the Church's capacity to interact with social and political forces in different historical periods and from there constructed their analysis on the adaptation – or lack of it – of the Catholic world to the external political forces. For these authors, it was a fundamental element in the degree of political intervention on the part of the Church, the level of politicization of these societies, linked to the conception of its temporal mission by the community of believers. They concluded that the higher the politicization level was, when at the same time the Church was giving its temporal mission a greater importance, the higher the possibility for said institution of being affected and embroiled in political conflicts[40].

As for the specific Chilean case, the political and ecclesiastical historiography has understood the political radicalization of Catholic sectors towards the left as a natural response to the Chilean socio-political context of the mid-1960s. That way, the polarization of society towards the end of that

decade and the radicalization of some sectors of society during Eduardo Frei Montalva's Christian Democratic government (1964-1970) would have influenced the Catholic Church. Finally, the distinct positions outlined within the Chilean Church were the "reflection" of the various political currents: there was a conservative and right-wing tendency, defenders of the established order who were standing up for a traditional Church; another group, centrist, where the majority of the clergy and episcopate was, wanted to renew the Church and defended reformist lines of social action; finally, a third current, a minority, of left-wing Christian groups who considered the renewal and social action put forward by the Church insufficient and who were supporting socialism as a model of society[41].

In the 1990s, Michael Löwy, a social scientist of the Marxist school, delved deeper into the understanding of the Latin American left-wing Christianity, which he called "liberationist Christianity" and mainly defined by its commitment to the struggles of the poor, its affinity to Marxism and its reinterpretation of the Gospel based on this doctrine. Löwy explains the confluence between Marxism and Christianity from the Weberian conception of "elective affinity" and sees in the Cuban Revolution and the political and social conflict generated by this event, the political moment when this confluence happened[42].

The studies on religion and politics in the 1990s opened themselves up to the understanding of lay groups, specifically the nature of and the political role played by the ecclesiastical base communities (*comunidades eclesiales de base,* CEBs). This phenomenon was called the "Popular Church" mainly because participation in those came from poor sectors of the population. These entities played a fundamental role in Brazil and Central America by supporting political options linked to the left, opposing the military dictatorship in the former and allying themselves with the revolutionary forces in the latter. The development of this historiographical line, together with rescuing that grassroots experience, criticized the ignoring of popular religion in the ecclesiastic and political literature[43].

With respect to the specific case of the Christians for Socialism, the literature concerning them emerged in the early years after the military coup in Chile in September 1973. The Chilean socio-political context and the climate of confrontation which existed during those years colored the work, and these studies are more justifications or defenses in opposition to judgements and diatribes on the other group. The first study on the CpS was published in 1974 by the journalist Teresa Donoso, and member of "Feminine Power", a group of women opposed to the government of Salvador Allende. Donoso, under the title *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, wrote a piece extremely critical of the progressive Church, open to social and political causes of the early sixties. In political terms, Donoso represented a profoundly anti-Marxist right which supported the coup and defended the subsequent

regime. In religious terms, Donoso represented those Catholic sectors defending tradition, dogmas and the predominance of spiritual aspects over the political[44].

In 1976, the Jesuit priest Roger Vekemans, from the Center for the Study of Development and Integration in Latin America (CEDIAL), published *Teología de la Liberación y Cristianos por el Socialismo*. In the text, Vekemans saw liberation theology as a space which enabled Marxist infiltration of the Church and the CpS as its pastoral embodiment[45]. For the author, both phenomena were "like a contagion" which multiplied around the world like "carriers of a bacillus" and, if not quickly and efficiently stopped, "an iron curtain would descend in Latin America"[46].

The answers to this critical literature on the CpS were developed from the opposite side by priests and theologians belonging to this group or close to it. One of the first articles defending this line of thought was written by the diocesan priest, theologian and militant in the CpS, Pablo Richard, who, from his exile in Paris, gathered important documentation on the group. Richard concentrated himself on the years of the CpS existence, from 1971 to 1973, giving special relevance to the internal ecclesiastical conflict between the CpS and the Chilean Church hierarchy[47].

Towards the mid-1980s, the North-American political scientist and ex-Jesuit Brian Smith, with his study of the Chilean Catholicism throughout the twentieth century, tried to understand the CpS experience as a specific Christian-Marxist expression of the Salvador Allende's government (1970-1973). Smith centered his analysis of the CpS on the relation they had with the hierarchy, overlooking other characteristics and definitions normally associated with this group. In this way, the history of the CpS was seen as a brief expression of Christian-Marxist confluence responding above all to the influence of a typical Chilean context, marked by society's polarization; and an international religious context heavily influenced by the social encyclicals of the early 1960s, the new wind brought by the Second Vatican Council and the subsequent Medellin Conference. In the eyes of Smith, the CpS' experience was not only brief but above all ineffective in this history of a Catholicism which was looking for an understanding with the modern world[48].

The historiography of the Popular Unity has not spent much time on the experience of the CpS, concentrating more on the relations between the Church hierarchy and the Salvador Allende's government[49]. The CpS do not seem to be mentioned in the histories that have appeared in the last decade on the political groups which were associated with them, like the *Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario* or MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), a Guevarist group to the left of the Popular Unity; or the *Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria* or MAPU (Movement for Unitary Popular Action), a splinter group of leftist Christian Democrats that joined Allende's coalition[50].

Regarding the historiography of the working class, a reference is made to them in the study on the Young Catholic Workers movement (JOC), which was part of Tracey Jeffrey Lynn's doctoral dissertation[51]. In the history of the *pobladores* (slum dwellers) and the urban settlements, the role of the Catholic Church and its agents in these marginal settlements and their movements is, especially at their beginnings, briefly mentioned[52].

Despite the fact that no extensive monographies exist regarding the CpS, some short studies on those have appeared recently. Towards the end of the 1990s, the Spanish historian David Fernández tried to see the CpS as a fundamental part of a Church opposed to the Chilean military dictatorship. With this approach, together with maintaining a critical view of the large ecclesiastic structures, Fernández tried to address the experience of those CpS members who did not have leadership positions within the organization[53].

Later, the work compiled and directed by Julio Pinto, *Cuando hicimos historia*, contains a specific chapter on the CpS, written by the Spanish historian Mario Amorós. This author suggests that "one of the most original characteristics of the Chilean revolution was the active participation of vast numbers of priests, preachers, nuns, friars and laymen in the socialist transformation of society" and that "the most complete expression of this engagement was the creation and development of the movement Christians for Socialism". In this way, Christians' participation in building socialism had come to enrich the unique Chilean revolutionary process[54].

Another study on the CpS was recently published by the Chilean historian Marcos Fernández, who approached the subject from a politico-intellectual history and tackled the impassioned debate that its thinking and own life generated in the Chilean ecclesiastic spheres. Fernández enriches our understanding of the CpS by defining them as "intellectual priests" or "expert priests", who participated in the public debate around social, economic and political topics and managed to create a space and earn the respect of vast sectors of society who saw them as valid and legitimate interlocutors in these matters[55].

The historiography of left-wing Christianity of a clerical nature in Chile has dug into individual experiences. Among the left-wing priestly experiences, the work of the Spanish historian Mario Amóros needs to be highlighted. He reconstructs, through rare and previously unknown epistolary sources, the clerical life and political militancy of the Valencian priest Antonio Llidó[56]. Likewise, the work of the Canadian Yves Carrier fills the historiographical vacuum around the experience of worker priests in the Antofagasta region, known as the "Calama experience", headed

by the Belgian priest Joan Caminada[57]. Both studies allow us to capture a grassroots pastoral and political work until now unknown to the historiography on the subject.

The present study tries therefore to contribute to the understanding of the left-wing Christianity, especially in its clerical aspect, distancing itself from the traditional political history of its time and from the intellectual and theological history. For this, a special relevance will be granted to the diversity of pastoral experiences lived by the religious participants.

Working Methodology

This study on the origins and development of a left-wing Christianity as an expression of a long-term religious process is complex and multidimensional. It has a global as well as a local dimension; a political and an ideological dimension; a pastoral and a theological dimension; and also, a cultural and a social dimension. It is fundamental to construct an analysis that integrates all these dimensions and a chronology that incorporates them in such a way as to respond to the Chilean reality, but at the same time capture its universal character.

This research project tries in the first place to understand the subjectivity of the religious actors involved, and for this, a series of conversations held with them between 2009 and 2010 – and then in 2012 – has been of the utmost importance. Some of those had been part of the group Christians for Socialism, others were key witnesses of this experience, mainly priests, nuns, theologians, Bishops – Jorge Hourton and Bernardino Piñera – and a few laymen. Through these conversations, free and unstructured as they were, aspects which were not available in written documents were captured. Very often political opinions were expressed in a more improvised and less dogmatic way and, therefore, the historical tale had to take into account the participants' subjectivity.

The forty years that had passed between the history that was being compiled and the moment when these conversations took place is made clear in the stories told. The great majority of the CpS members analyzed their own options and actions. The years of the Popular Unity and its commitment to socialism are remembered with a touch of nostalgia and some level of guilt. Many of the CpS carried out self-criticism for what they considered an individual and collective ideological exacerbation. From a distance, they saw the fascination that Marxism and the political options they defended exerted on them. Practically all the CpS members criticized their acceptance of Marxism, position which some qualified as "naïve" and "uncritical", or at least "not very critical". The intense

and unnecessary clash with the ecclesiastical hierarchy was also a shared opinion. However, within those individual assessments some positive aspects were highlighted, especially their commitment to "the cause of the poor" and the liberation they defended with so much force and conviction, which responded more to a religious rather than a political ferment. Almost all CpS members agreed on the exaggerated importance given to them, which did not correspond to the real influence reached by them and did not have a rational explanation.

These conversations with key actors and witnesses broadened our understanding of the Chilean left-wing Christian movement, and of the CpS in particular, and helped to move away from the political, ideological and partisan rationales of those years. For this purpose, the memoirs and biographical studies published in the last decade by some Chilean priests and bishops have been valuable sources. Through these, it is possible to feel and reconstruct their experience of a social ministry in poor areas, the problems that came up within some religious congregations, as well as the construction of a new bond with the poor from a more sociological than religious point of view[58].

It is also important to review the vast intellectual and theological CpS' output. It was clear that many CpS priests were prolific intellectuals who took it upon themselves to spread important parts of the revolutionary Christian ideology, not only in Chile but in Latin America, Europe, the United States and Canada as well[59]. From the beginning, the CpS counted on a secretariat from which a large part of their documents was disseminated within and outside Chile. This was however closed immediately after the military coup and all their documents were destroyed by the CpS themselves. A large part of their documentation can be found in the Pablo Richard's book anyway, an invaluable source of information regarding the CpS' most important writings, manifests and communiqués[60]. In searching for the literature produced and distributed by the CpS, the Centre of International Affairs in Barcelona (CIDOB), where parts of the CpS mimeographed documents have been collected, mainly from the First Latin American Meeting, organized by them in April 1972, proved to be another helpful source[61].

The understanding of the beginnings of revolutionary Christian thought led to the Christian social change proposal of the late 1950s and the new ministry carried out in the working-class neighborhoods. This study looks into understanding the central ideas, motivations and experiences of the clerical actors. In order to reconstruct this history, it became paramount to review the Jesuit journal, *Mensaje*, which published an important part of the Christian advanced thinking in Chile, as well as the Archdiocese of Santiago's newspaper, *La Voz,* and the Chilean magazine *Pastoral Popular,* aimed at an essentially clerical audience.

Complementing all this, the archives of the Archdiocese of Santiago, and especially the preparation and development of the 1962-1963 Santiago General Mission, were a rich source. The review of parts of the Jesuit archives, gathered in the Center for Socio-Cultural Research (CISOC), and in the personal archive of the Jesuit Renato Poblete, was an enormous help in order to understand the Chilean establishment created by the Jesuits with the Center for Research and Social Action (CIAS), from where was propelled an important part of the thinking and social action towards the end of the 1950s.

The considerable religious exchanges between countries of the North and South, as much in resources and clerical personnel as in social ideas and programs were made obvious by looking into the CISOC archive. It became clear that a vast network of clerical agents linked to each other was and had been very active. In a Cold War global context, the transfer of religious personnel to Latin America and the injection of funds directed at the same region from the 1950s and especially during the first half of the 1960s, highlighted the region's central importance for the North-American Catholic Church. The review of the archives of Notre Dame University, of the Holy Cross Congregation, enormously enriched this transnational perspective. This archive was especially useful when it came to the epistolary exchanges between North-American Bishops and their Latin American counterparts, the missionary efforts, and the regular meetings in congresses and conferences.

Generally speaking, the writings and actions of the CpS generated an intense intellectual and conceptual debate involving the Chilean episcopate and certain bishops in particular, as well as priests and theologians who defended or criticized this group. In order to understand the main components of this ecclesiastical debate, the documents published by the Chilean Episcopal Conference of the time were reviewed. Regarding the criticism of the CELAM, a review of the documentation in the magazine *Tierra Nueva* and at the Center for Latin American Catholic Social Documentation (DOCLA), proved very useful. Some Christian Democrats also participated in this debate and an important part of this debate was published by the magazine linked to the Chilean PDC, *Política y Espíritu*, subsequently collected in the book *Cristianos por el Socialismo ¿Consecuencia cristiana o alineación ideológica?* [62].

Then, I investigated the reaction of right-wing political groups against the Christian Democrats and Popular Unity governments. An effort was made to define and understand their main arguments and identify their protagonists, keeping in mind that many times the historiography has taken them as part of the same group and subject to the same criticism, coming from the right and catalogued as fundamentalist in religious terms, and anti-Marxist in political terms. Considering all this, and enlarging the time frame to the early 1960s, an analysis of the vast work of the extreme right

journalist Teresa Donoso appeared crucial. Likewise, the case of the TFP was scrutinized through its publication *FIDUCIA* and the book *La Iglesia del Silencio en Chile*. Also, the written press was revised, including *El Diario Ilustrado*, linked to the Conservative Party, *El Mercurio* and, finally, *Tribuna*, linked to the National Party.

From the moment this study understood the CpS as a manifestation of a left-wing Christianity, it was decided that the political parties on the left should be looked into. For this, a review of their main written publications was undertaken in order to evaluate the level of interest on the part of the sectors on the left for the experiences of these revolutionary priests. With this objective in mind, the newspaper linked to the Communist Party, *El Siglo*, was reviewed, as well as *Punto Final*, whose editorial line was nearer the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, representing *guevarismo,* and politically situated on the extreme left. This way, the ideological confluence and links between members of the clergy and left-wing political forces, forgotten by the literature of those years, are also incorporated in this thesis.

The perspective and reaction of the popular sectors regarding the political activism of the clergy was difficult to establish because of the scarcity of sources and written records. This could be a response to the little importance the doctrinal and intellectual debate around Christianity and Marxism had for them, or that the experience of a revolutionary clergy remained solely and eminently an ecclesiastic phenomenon. The surveys and sociological studies regarding the priesthood carried out towards the end of the sixties and beginning of the seventies by the Jesuit centers CIAS and CISOC, helped to answer the question of how important or influential was the clergy's political involvement with the popular sectors.

Structure

This study starts with two introductory chapters. The first gives a general background concerning the world and the Chilean Catholic Church during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, focusing on the advent of social Catholicism, on their conception of the poor and on the confluence that took place between Christianity and Marxism. The second chapter describes the main political, economic and social changes in Chile during the twentieth century.

From then on, the thesis is structured around five chapters arranged in a chronological manner, looking to capture the character of each period. Through those, it is possible to trace how

left-wing Christianity has developed in Chile and the reaction to it on the part of various Catholic forces.

The chapter entitled “Catholicism and Social Change” describes the impulse given by religious sociology, its politico-religious lecture and its prescription for social change. The founding in 1957 of the Center for Research and Social Action (CIAS) in Santiago, out of an initiative by the Society of Jesus, marks the beginning of a new dialogue between religion and social sciences in order to understand Latin American social reality. This chapter begins with some of these study centers which gave rise to a Catholic developmentalist thinking, focused on pursuing profound structural transformations. In this chapter, a crossroad between European, North-American and Latin American thinking will be sought, capturing in this way the transfer of clergy, ideas and resources to propel this Catholic developmentalism. The first criticisms against this new Catholicism, as well as the understanding of the basis of these critiques will also be addressed in this chapter. Then, this chapter ends with the analysis of the “General Mission” as a Christianizing enterprise in the early-sixties, promoted by the Archbishop of Santiago, the first experiences of the clergy in the working-class areas and, finally, the new link between clergy and urban poor.

The chapter “Times of Controversies” is centered on the criticism emerging from Catholic sectors, and specifically from the clergy, towards the developmental path previously laid out by Chilean democratic reformism and the character of foreign religious assistance to that path. This controversy towards the end of the Sixties was far-reaching, profound and spilled over Chile’s borders. Here, one needs to identify the clerical participants who opened themselves up to new religious and theological searching based on their own experiences, and the political options that became available to them, including the possibility of a confluence with and adjustment of Marxist theory. The debate generated around the limits between the worldly and the religious and the action limits given to the clergy will be analyzed from a religious perspective. Attention will then be given to understanding the so-called “post-conciliar crisis”, the crisis of the clergy and the forms of questioning Church authorities. One event in particular merits a special enquiry, the seizure of the Santiago Cathedral in August 1968, carried out by a group of priests, nuns and laymen and which puts into perspective a great number of the topics in question.

Christians for Socialism will be the main axis of the following chapters, “Take Communion with Allende” and “Beyond Chile”. The CpS’ ideology, nature and proposal showed that for some progressive Catholics there was no dissonance in their support for Allende and they were prepared for it. Through this group, one can feel the distinctive features acquired by left-wing Christianity via its clergy in the Chile of the Popular Unity (UP), and the manifestation of the strong resistance

generated against them. In those two chapters, this study will also focus on the singularity of the CpS' different experiences, which in practice was heterogeneous and dynamic in its thinking and political action.

In the last chapter, "Radicalization of a political-religious conflict", this research project will explore, within the construction of a socialist process in Chile during the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity) government, the thinking and action of the CpS, its own reading of the revolutionary process and its political definitions. The radicalization of the political and religious discourses from late 1972 to the military coup confronted the CpS members with the Church hierarchy, and marked the end of its existence. This study ends chronologically with the coup d'état on September 11, 1973, more specifically in October of 1973, when the Chilean Bishops decided to put an end to any political compromise with the progressive clergy, thus officially ending the CpS' existence.

Finally, as an epilogue, I offer a brief overview of the profound changes experimented by the Chilean Catholic Church after the military takeover and their existence under the new situation of military dictatorship. The writings and individual stories of the CpS members have turned out to be fundamental to my understanding of their political and religious roles in the new context, including roles that reflect their work with the poor during the era of Christians for Socialism.

I. POLITICS, ECONOMY AND SOCIETY IN CHILE (1932-1973)

1. 1930 to 1960: Three decades of urban, industrial and political development in Chile

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Chile was defined as an eminently rural country, with a nitrate mining industry based in its Northern region. Half a century later, the panorama had completely changed. In 1970, the population had reached 7.4 million inhabitants, 70% of those concentrated in cities. Between 1920 and 1960, the capital, Santiago, went from a population of 500,000 to 2,000,000. Throughout this period, the economy had ceased being predominantly rural and agricultural and had become urban and industrialized. Accordingly, the twentieth century witnessed a migration of its rural population towards the city and these migrants came to make up the urban poor as they formed the ranks of the working class[63].

In political terms, 1925 saw the promulgation of a new constitution under the government of Arturo Alessandri Palma. This constitution laid the foundations for a presidential regime and incorporated some declarations regarding social and labor rights. The State was to safeguard workers' labor and welfare, as well as give every Chilean a minimum standard of well-being and conditions guaranteeing the satisfaction of their personal and family necessities. The executive power was exercised through a coalition of political forces that involved a majority consensus.

After a period of profound economic crisis and political destabilization in 1932, which included a 12-day socialist republic, again with Arturo Alessandri as president, an era commonly characterized by a rise and expansion of democracy began. At the same time, as in many other Latin American countries, a protected industrialization encouraged national economic development. Since 1938, the Chilean political structure was defined by its multi-party system that needed coalition governments in order to form majority consensus. The centrist party, represented by the Radical Party (PR), with its conciliatory political style, gave a certain political stability to the Popular Front period from 1938 to 1952. However, this same compromising stand, encouraging a rotation of parties holding power, will end up weakening the Radical Party[64].

The Popular Front was set up as a coalition composed of Socialists and Communists under the leadership of the Radical Party, in an international context favorable to this kind of coalition, after, in 1935, the Communist International agreed to deals and joint actions between communists, socialists

and bourgeois sectors of the population in order to present a united front against fascism. However, this left of center alliance broke up and radicalism opened itself to deals with various parties, including ones on the right. In this way, the Radical Party dominated the political scene between 1938 and 1952, electing three successive presidents: Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1938-1942), Juan Antonio Ríos (1942-1946) and Gabriel González Videla (1946-1952)[65].

In economic terms, the predominant model of development from 1938 based itself on the expansion of the public sector and the industrialization by import substitution – known as ISI and encouraged by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLA) after World War II. he Chilean State took upon itself to promote industrialization through the imposition of tariff on imported goods, thus allowing national industries to successfully compete in the Chilean market. The government was looking to develop the country's productive capacity and diminish its dependence on foreign goods and capital, but it was also trying to expand the national market as well as improve the living standards of the middle and working classes. Despite a limited industrial development in the 1940s, the country did not end its dependence on foreign investment and manufactured products, above all North-American[66].

The beginning of the Cold War also had local repercussions. Gabriel González Videla, who had been elected as part of a coalition of Radicals, Liberals and Communists, decided, after a year and under North-American pressure, to implement a strong anti-communist policy. In 1948, he implemented the Law for the Permanent Defense of Democracy– the so-called "cursed law" (in Spanish *"ley maldita"*) –, which rendered the Communist Party illegal and abolished civil rights for its members. The reasons for this volte-face were a response to the international conflict marked by the beginning of the Cold War and the Chilean Communist Party's own peculiarities of an iron discipline regarding the resolutions of the Communist International and its "critical independence" towards the González Videla government. The PC mobilized the masses and supported strikes against certain governmental initiatives in 1946 and 1947, as well as transforming itself into one of the most important political forces after significant electoral gains in the municipal elections of 1947. From 1948 onwards, an era of civil rights curtailment and repression of the trade union movement was initiated[67].

In 1952 the population made clear its discontent against government corruption, heavy state bureaucracy and political opportunism which had characterized the three Radical administrations, all perceived as being directly associated with the practices of the official party. The middle class, disillusioned with Radical governments, turned to a known military caudillo, Carlos Ibáñez del Campo, who had governed as a dictator between 1927 and 1931. In 1952, Ibañez ran for president as

a populist leader, independent, supported by sectors of the Socialist Party, and some small political parties who flourished under the wing of "*ibañismo*". In this way, Ibáñez's accession to the Presidency of the Republic meant a debacle of the traditional parties[68].

Towards the mid-1950s, various voices started to claim that the development model had failed. In practice, the long-awaited modernization had not happened and it was made clear that a series of structural faults had appeared, expressed in successive balance of payments crises and the growing necessity for external credit in order to acquire, for the most part, technologies coming from developed countries. Additionally, Latin American industries were producing at a higher cost than in the more advanced countries and had to satisfy the demands of a population with lower and more unevenly distributed income. All this occasioned economic stagnation and high levels of inflation which turned into one of the most serious and recurrent problems of Latin American economies of the mid-twentieth century [69].

These economic problems, juxtaposed against the state's inability to respond to the enormous urban growth, above all in the capital, caused a great deal of dissatisfaction among the population in general, which in turn resulted in strikes and social conflicts[70]. In this economic context, the stabilization and anti-inflationary economic policies characterized the Carlos Ibáñez's mandate could not succeed. Moreover, his government was riddled with contradictions and corruption and his volatile political behavior never provided the bases for the development of a viable economic program.

For the 1958 presidential election, the political forces gathered in three well-defined blocks, the so-called three thirds: right, center and left. On the right, there remained the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party who supported Jorge Alessandri as a candidate; the centrist politics were occupied by the recently formed Christian Democratic Party; and the left by the Popular Action Front, an alliance of socialists and communists[71]. The election was tight. Alessandri got 31.2% of the votes, followed by the socialist Salvador Allende with 28.5%, the Christian Democrat Eduardo Frei with 20.5%, the radical Luis Bossay with 15.4% and a former priest, Luis Zamorano, with 3.3%, who split the leftist vote with Allende[72].

Jorge Alessandri's triumph meant technocratic solutions marked with an entrepreneurial sign. During his mandate, he tried to develop a liberal solution to overcome Chilean underdevelopment, with an emphasis on foreign trade, hoping that a strengthening of the export sector would bring prosperity to all the other productive areas. On the contrary, the economy got into acute recessions and the social tensions became difficult to control. During his government, popular discontent grew

and a series of strikes and land occupation ensued. Finally, in 1961, Alessandri had to turn to the old Radical Party to face the political and economic problems[73].

2. Two paths: Reform or Revolution?

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution in early 1959 was the striking regional event that came to modify the Latin American political scenario. From then on, Cuba became an aspiration for parts of the Latin American left, mainly among the youth, and a symbol of defiance towards the United States and the traditional and moderate sectors of Latin American societies. The Cuban Revolution initiated a strong revolutionary impulse and opened a range of possibilities as to how to make revolutions a success, from the paths defending the democratic way to those justifying the legitimacy of the armed struggle. The image of the Cuban revolutionaries, especially Ernesto Che Guevara, seduced a large part of the Latin American left. Despite his defeat and death in the Bolivian jungle, he became a symbol for those seeking revolutionary changes by means of the armed struggle and guerilla war[74].

The decade of the sixties opened to a turbulent regional background. Large sectors of the population announced that it would be a decade of profound changes. The underdevelopment of the agrarian sector was considered a fundamental cause of the Latin American backwardness and it became common among the various projects for regional development to include the fulfillment of a land reform, now even encouraged by the U.S. As suggested by the Argentine historian Tulio Halperín, urban and industrial society stopped being the only theater where those who counted in Latin American political life clashed and agreed. The state of the land would become the new topic of the Latin American political agenda[75].

In Chile, the 1960s started with an insufficient economic growth in the presence of a growing population. The high inflation and low growth rates, the dependence on the world economy and the imbalances in income distribution, especially in rural areas, were a few of the problems[76]. The accepted diagnostic was that these deficiencies were structural. The concepts of "frustration" and "change" were frequently used to describe the prevailing social, political and economic situation. These were reflected in the writings of the time, for example in the books of the economists Aníbal Pinto, *Chile, un caso de desarrollo frustrado* (Chile, a Case of Frustrated Development) and Osvaldo Sunkel, *Cambio social and frustración en Chile* (Social Change and Frustration in Chile), both

published in the early sixties. In this way, the belief that a drastic and profound change was needed in order to end these structural problems took root in the population[77].

But Catholic reformism and the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) also endorsed various ideals and revolutionary projects. The PDC, formed in 1957, was set up as an alternative between capitalism and socialism. Its growth from this moment on was explosive and became a competitive political entity able to face the challenges of Chilean society[78]. In the words of the Venezuelan PDC leader, Rafael Caldera, at the crossroads where Latin America found itself, the Christian Democrats had raised an "anxious voice", but also a "voice of hope", by suggesting a "bloodless revolution", "a revolution without sacrificing the fundamental values of nationality and Christian civilization"[79].

Within the Chilean left, trust in the democratic path took precedence and one of the main figures representing this tendency was the Socialist leader, Salvador Allende. Challenging the anti-communism prevalent in his party, he believed in the unity of the left. Allende was one of the leaders of the Popular Action Front (FRAP), born in 1956, and it is this coalition that chose him as their candidate in the 1958 and 1964 presidential elections. In both, Allende got an important percentage of the votes and the left confirmed its electoral power and the viability of its democratic win[80].

In the mid-1960s, certain voices on the left were raised in defense of a violent path towards the construction of socialism. In 1965, the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) was founded, a Marxist-Leninist movement, made up of young university students from the southern region of Concepción and heavily influenced by the Cuban revolution and the figure of Che Guevara. Two years later, in 1967, the Socialist Party declared itself Marxist-Leninist and endorsed armed struggle as a way to gain power[81]. Thus, towards the end of the 1960s, two tendencies within the Chilean left predominated.

For the 1964 presidential election, the system of political parties was characterized by its inflexibility in the three thirds, with a PDC in the center, marked by its strong doctrinal orientation. Already at the PDC's First Congress, which took place after the 1958 presidential election and where Frei got a high percentage of the vote, the political thesis of the "own path" was ratified[82]. The electoral platform of the PDC amalgamated the structuralist thesis of ECLA, and a project of profound transformation as an alternative to socialism and liberalism, summed up in "communitarianism"[83]. They took the concept of "total crisis" from the ECLA economist, Jorge Ahumada, defined by the big imbalance between the different structures of society, on the economic, socio-political and cultural levels. The *latifundio* was considered a barrier to modernization, the basis of the country's backwardness and poverty, as well as being the foundation of other structural imbalances, among

others, the balance of payment crisis, the high inflation rates, the obstruction to industrialization, the income inequality and democracy's precariousness. The agrarian system, thus, needed to be profoundly modified[84].

For the 1964 presidential election, the alternatives were either Christian Democrat reformism or democratic socialist revolution. The Christian Democrat option understood and was attuned to the political environment of those years and to the U.S. Alliance for Progress, propelled by social economic reforms in order to impede the progress of the revolutionary left in Latin America. Thus, the Christian Democrat political project was summed up by a strong slogan, "Revolution in Liberty", which united the hopes of large sectors of the population, mainly women, students, workers and peasants. Frei's project sought a comprehensive development of Chilean society, which would be based on, among other things, a land reform, a reform of the banking system, as well as changes in education and housing policies. This path to economic development would in large part be sustained by the appropriation of half of Chile's copper revenues through the so-called "Chilenization of copper", and a strong industrial development, combining foreign national investment, technical assistance and increased efficiency. This would not be accompanied by social conflicts and would not be attained through popular mobilization. One of the pillars of this "Revolution in Liberty" would be "popular promotion", through which, up to now unorganized social sectors, like the peasants and urban squatters, would organize and participate in the political system[85].

The 1964 presidential campaign lasted eighteen months. It was the longest and most expensive presidential campaign Chile had ever seen. Frei's campaign promoted a media "campaign of terror" against Allende and important resources, like marketing strategies, images and concepts in an international Cold War context, were imported –mainly from the U.S., which secretly financed much of Frei's campaign. While it is true that the Christian Democrats always had an anti-Marxist ideological component, it was exacerbated throughout the campaign[86]. Allende also strongly criticized Frei, who was depicted as a tool of imperialism, pro-Yankee and representing the economic and political right[87]. The traditional right-wing parties, Conservative and Liberal, got to the 1964 election electorally debilitated. Seen from a long-term perspective, this election showed a rupture in the tacit social and political agreement of the "three thirds" that had existed since the 1930s and which had allowed the right to maintain a political and electoral veto power. This rupture was influenced by a series of factors, among them, the electoral reforms of the late Fifties, the exodus of the rural population from the countryside to the cities and the right's subsequent disregard for the new urban sectors. For the 1964 election, the traditional right-wing parties, Conservative and Liberal, did not choose a candidate from their ranks, but instead support Radical Julio Durán, incapable as they were

of confronting the Christian Democrats and the FRAP. The defeat of the right in March 1964 by a Socialist in a by- election in the previously conservative rural area of Curicó and the fear that Salvador Allende could end up being elected, resulted in the right's unconditional support for the Christian Democratic candidate, Eduardo Frei[88].

The result of the presidential election was a resounding victory for Eduardo Frei Montalva, who got 56.09% of the vote, compared to 38.93% for Allende and only 4.99% for Julio Durán. Frei managed to get a big majority, especially with the female electorate, with 63% compared to 32% for Allende[89]. After the 1964 defeat, the Liberal and Conservative parties dissolved themselves and formed the National Party, which would play a key role in the years to come. As president, however, Frei would face an enormous resistance to fulfilling his campaign promises, as much from the right as from the left[90].

During Frei Montalva's six-year term, a series of social reforms were implemented. The organization of the civil society was stimulated, the unionization of urban workers was doubled and peasant unions shot up, reaching 120,000 members. This was an impressive number considering that in 1967, date of the promulgation of the rural unionization project, membership was almost inexistent. By the end of Frei's term, 400,000 thousand jobs had been created, unemployment had gone down to 4.4%, and the GDP had grown 5% on average. The development of new industries and the expansion of the national infrastructure had also been encouraged. Education had been one of the most successful areas of Frei's government: the percentage of registered students reached 46%, two extra years were added to primary education, almost 3,000 schools were built and education was widened. Additionally, infant mortality went down and the life expectancy of Chileans went up[91].

However, expectations had been very high and the frustration of many sectors turned out to be irrepressible. Towards mid-term, Frei's inability to sustain the initial reformist pace was obvious. One of the most serious problems was the shortage of housing in urban areas. In Greater Santiago, out of a total of two million inhabitants in 1970, 1.4 million lived in shantytowns in ill-equipped, dilapidated and makeshift homes. Social conflict grew and the occupations of urban land by homeless squatters increased[92].

The government's agrarian policy was also insufficient and the nearly 30,000 families organized in cooperative settlements were way below the 100,000 that had been promised. The land reform process motivated the emergence of a new actor, the peasantry, or small farmers, which from then on started to express itself in strikes and land occupations. In the Central Valley, the number of

strikes went from 575 in 1966 to 1,256 in 1970. Land occupations were also on the rise, from 10 in 1965 to 285 in 1970[93].

The land reform thus turned into a source of enormous conflicts and confrontations for Chilean society and ended up being one of the most controversial fronts for the Frei government. As the Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo, active defender of the land reform, recalls: "nothing aroused as much controversy, as much rage, and at times, as many mistakes as the land reform"[94]. Among the detractors of the land reform were the landowning groups who considered that the breaking up of large estates and the transfer of lands from their actual owners into the hands of the peasants, without any training or knowledge, could only lead to "a social and economic cataclysm of unpredictable proportions". The National Agricultural Society, the organization of large farmers, was preoccupied with the inevitable food production drop, and feared that the settlements would turn the workers into "State slaves". The leadership of the Conservative and Liberal Parties accused Frei of being "in cahoots with Marxism", and the Conservative Party President, Francisco Bulnes, blamed the Alliance for Progress, pointing out that it was engendering "defeatism within the democratic forces and increasing the number of communist sympathizers"[95].

The left also strongly criticized Frei's land reform, said to be rubber stamping imperialism and marked by the participation of the Catholic Church, mainly the Jesuits. Communists did not trust the Christian reformism and the poet Pablo Neruda, considered that the land reform was made of "half a bishop and half a greedy banker"[96]. The weekly *Punto Final*, distributed in sectors of the extreme left, joined the criticism of Christian reformism which they considered to be "a revolution with cassocks", behind which the hand of the Jesuits was found[97]. The Belgian Jesuit, Roger Vekemans, was the target of the criticism coming from the left. He was dubbed "hands of gold" for channeling foreign aid, including that of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), to carry Frei to the presidency[98]. Finally, the land reform also incited criticism from its original supporters for the non-existent participation of the rural workforce, and the lack of revolutionary fervor in its implementation[99]. The Jesuit journal, *Mensaje,* became the mouthpiece for this criticism. Various Christian Democrat activists wrote in it[100], as well as some members of the clergy, among others Gonzalo Arroyo. He criticized the superficiality of the reform, based only on a redistribution of land and water, and highlighted the impossibility of obtaining the much-anticipated changes from such a reform[101].

Another front opened up difficulties for the government, namely the PDC's internal problems, made clear in 1967. The criticism was wide and centered on a questioning of the revolutionary essence of the Christian-Democratic project, the implementation of communitarianism,

and the possibility of getting over the capitalist order[102]. In practice, this criticism gave an account of a "spreading of the rejection for reformism", finally leading to an "unfolding of the revolutionary imagination" – a concept used by the Chilean historian Alfredo Riquelme[103]. In this scenario, it became possible that left-wing forces would join part of the political center.

The PDC conferences of 1967 and 1968 exposed the level of confrontation within the Christian Democratic Party, just as the pressure from certain sectors, gathered in the so-called "rebels" and "*terceristas*", was exercised on the government. In these conferences, an acceleration of the reforms and a heightened dynamism in the execution of the "Revolution in Liberty" was asked for, while the "non-capitalist path to development" was gaining support as a political proposal. In the 1967 National Junta, the "rebel" tendency within the party managed to impose itself and its ideas were expressed in the document called "Propositions for a political action of a non-capitalist path to development, 1967-1970"[104].

The 1969 tragedy which took place after the land occupation by a group of shanty dwellers in Pampa Irigoyen, Puerto Montt, and the way the government answered, ended any semblance of unity within the PDC. The Interior Minister ordered the police to evict the participants in the occupation, which ended in a strong confrontation where dozens were hurt and eight died. The attacks on the government from the left-wing political parties, the United Workers Center (CUT), and various student organizations intensified. To these, the young Christian-Democrats added their voices and declared a definitive rupture with the party[105].

In electoral terms, the strength of the PDC went down from 43% of the vote in 1965, to 30% in 1969. Internally, the PDC was tugged at and finally broken by its more left-wing factions, who were looking for a political alliance of "all the lefts." Finally, on May 18, 1969, a group of militants left to form the Popular Unity Action Movement (MAPU). The MAPU denounced "the failure of the reformist experience" of the Frei government, and suggested a new political path, uniting Christianity and Marxism. This rupture within the PDC, despite not being important in numerical terms, was a serious blow for Christian reformism and the Frei Montalva government, weakened for the next electoral battle[106].

3. The Chilean Road to Socialism[107]

The 1970 presidential election was again made up of three groups: Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez representing the right, Radomiro Tomic, leader of its left wing, for the PDC, and Salvador Allende as the candidate of the Popular Unity (UP) left-wing coalition. This latter was formed by six parties, predominantly Communists and Socialists, but also integrating some Radical factions. Tomic and Allende presented similar programs of structural change, including the nationalization of the copper mines, an intensification of the land reform, and the creation of a mixed economy, with an emphasis on workers' participation in its management. The right, renewed and strengthened in the National Party, decided to repeat the candidacy of a well-known leader and ex-president, Jorge Alessandri, who would again guide the country down the well-trodden path of order, austerity and trust in past achievements. Despite the right's optimism in Alessandri's victory, his aging candidacy lost energy and strength during the campaign[108].

Salvador Allende's candidacy finally gained strength, despite the doubts and repudiation within his own party. Many Socialists considered Allende insufficiently revolutionary, and in addition he had already lost three elections. However, Allende counted on a wide popular support which could give him a competitive advantage. In the end, Allende brought together the support of the forces on the left, united in the Popular Unity, and his candidacy went from strength to strength all across the country. In terms of party politics, Allende's political thinking showed the long road threaded by Chilean socialism, combining elements of Marxism-Leninism, Western European parliamentary democracy, nationalism and the anti-imperialism of Third World revolutions, and some elements of left-wing populism. In 1970, the Chilean left included not only organized workers,' but also sections of the middle class, urban shantytown dwellers (*pobladores*), peasants, indigenous groups and even some Christian elements like the PDC's breakaway groups. Thus, the government's program had to satisfy the different tendencies which went from the Radical Party, the most moderate within the UP's coalition, to the Socialist Party, which since 1967 had embraced Marxism-Leninism.[109].What united them was their program: a democratic road to socialism.

The UP argued that democratic socialism and a "Chilean road to socialism" was the only solution to overcome Chilean structural problems. The UP's political program was based on the nationalization of the commanding heights of the economy, making a symbol of the nationalization of the copper mines in the hands of North-American companies. Moreover, it proposed to implement a massive income redistribution program and wanted to end the dominance of the large estates through a deepening of the land reform. Finally, it wanted to create a unicameral legislature and

promote popular participation in economic management and political decision- making. The implementation of this program would only affect a minority of landowners and businesses. A mixed economy would be created, with property shared between public and private sectors. The former would be made up of the nationalized foreign wealth and national monopolies, but the better part of Chile's 35,000 small and medium size enterprises would remain in private hands. Thus, the hope was to be able to count on the massive support not only of the popular sectors but also on the sectors of the middle class who would not see its interests negatively affected. Democracy would be one of the fundamental pillars in this path to building socialism. The UP's political project was based on an increasing popular participation and "people's power" was one of the pillars on which a social support base would be built. A series of new institutions would engender a people's democracy, giving power to the masses through organizations in the workplace and residential neighborhoods. A unicameral Popular Assembly would eventually replace the bicameral National Congress[110].

The 1970 election took place in a polarized and highly disruptive background. As in 1958, the results were close: Allende got 36.3% of the vote, Alessandri 34.9% and Tomic 27.8%. The Allende's victory generated enormous hope within the groups who had given him their support. As the historian Tomás Moulián wrote, the UP's triumph was a great celebration[111], to which Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt added that the Popular Unity was "a thunderous celebration for the victory of the disaffected"[112]. However, the 1925 Constitution stipulated that for not having obtained an absolute majority, the president elect's victory had to be ratified by the Congress. Allende's victory, thus, depended on the support of the PDC in Congress. The latter agreed to give its support only after Allende agreed to sign a Democratic Statute of Guarantees, which enshrined the respect of political freedom, freedom of the press, freedom of education, union independence from State control and the non-political interference of the Armed Forces[113].

During the period between the September general election and the ratification of the Congress in October, a series of maneuvers aimed at preventing Allende's accession to the presidency took place, in which the U.S. Government and the CIA directly interfered. One of the plans was the failed attempt to kidnap the Army's Commander in Chief, René Schneider, at the hands of an extreme right-wing group that counted on U.S. support. Schneider resisted, was hurt and finally died[114]. On October 4, Allende was confirmed by the Congress, but his government was inaugurated in a highly polarized social and political climate.

The UP's project had an innovative and creative character in its vision of how socialism was to be built. It contemplated an unknown path charged with utopia, one which provoked support and created hope in a large part of the population. At the same time, the moment it suggested a non-violent

way, this path contained a high level of difficulty by contradicting, in the Cold War context, the known road to socialism in Cuba. So the basis for success was to build a "popular government" through an "accumulation of forces". Only then would the political conditions be met to give continuity to a process which had to be done gradually and within a democratic and political framework[115].

From the start, the main problem for the government was not linked as much as in what to do, but rather in how to make the transition to socialism and hung on a difficult precarious balance between the success of its economic policies, the stability of its political support and the opposition's behavior. This equilibrium could not be maintained for more than the first year and, from late 1971, the government started to feel the first signs of crisis. The difficulties for the government not only came from the conditions found in Chile, but also from outside. With Allende installed in the presidency, the U.S. government resolved to weaken and sabotage many of his measures. First, it suspended economic aid to Chile and made sure that neither industrial spare parts nor financial resources reached it. Additionally, the Nixon government gave funds secretly to the opposition, be it parties, organizations or communication media[116].

The government's first year was its most successful. The legislative tools were those of the short-lived Socialist Republic of 1932, and the ones inherited from Eduardo Frei Montalva's government. The copper mines were nationalized, as were 90% of the banks, and a great number of the country's large estates and industries were expropriated. The wealth was redistributed among workers and peasants through a wage rise, prices were frozen, social spending was increased and social programs were expanded. In mid-1971, the average salary had gone up by about 60%, the GDP had risen by 8.6%, and inflation went down by almost 20 points, from 40% to 22%[117]. The improvement of the poorer sectors of the population's living standards brought with it popular support for the government, reflected in the results of the 1971 municipal elections. There, the Popular Unity received 50% of the votes, which meant a considerable increase compared to the 36% polled by Allende in 1970.

Despite the increased popular support, the government did not have a parliamentary majority and was facing a progressively more hostile Congress. An alliance with the PDC became urgent in order to sustain the government's improvements. However, this did not happen and the PDC became one of the most virulent critics and opponents to the government. The first clash between the government and the PDC happened after the death, in the middle of 1971, of the Christian Democrat Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, ex-Interior Minister under Eduardo Frei Montalva, who was blamed for the Puerto Montt massacre of shantytown dwellers. Pérez Zujovic was assassinated at the hands of an

extreme left-wing group, *Vanguardia Organizada del Pueblo* (VOP). Although the action was condemned and punished by the government, who caught and killed the assassins, a rejection of the UP by the PDC, who blamed the government for the death of Zujovic, became generalized. In political terms, this event created a rapprochement between the right-wing within the PDC and the National Party, reflected in the July 1971 by- election in Valparaíso. Oscar Marín, supported by both the PN and the PDC, narrowly won the seat. This election and the decision of the Christian Democratic Party to run with the National Party triggered a new split of the Christian Democrats, with the formation of the Christian Left, which would later become part of the government coalition[118].

In late 1971, the first public demonstration against the government took place, organized by a group of women, in its majority PN and PDC militants or sympathizers. This event became known as the "March of the Empty Pots and Pans", where around 5,000 women took to the streets. This march, according to the North-American historian Margaret Power, achieved three things: first, it elevated women as the main element of the movement against the government; second, it demonstrated how effective the unity within the opposition was; and third, it encouraged the opposition to organize a movement against the government[119].

On top of those conflicts, the government had to manage problems within the governing coalition and the extreme left-wing forces, which led to a governance crisis and a weakening of Allende's leadership within the left. The divisions within the governing coalition became more acute as the mobilization of the opposition intensified. Finally, two tendencies within the left appeared: one was made of the PS, the MIR, the Christian Left, and a section of the MAPU, who believed that an armed confrontation with the bourgeoisie and the necessary preparation for this encounter was inevitable. This tendency did not trust parliamentary and political efforts and believed in people's power instead. For the same reason, they directed the popular movement towards the occupation of large farms, factories and lands. All this ended by slowing down and complicating the work of the government, showing Allende's political inability to managing his comrades, as well as generating a deep mistrust and rejection within opposition sectors and groups. A second tendency within the left was composed of the Communist and Radical parties, some PS militants, among them the president of the Republic, and parts of the MAPU. This tendency was more pragmatic and conciliatory with the opposition, rejected violent confrontation, and believed in political negotiation and parliamentary agreements[120].

The good economic results could not be maintained for long. Chile's industrial development was limited, the inflation went up, private investment went down and, together with the penury of basic goods, a black market appeared. In order to finance its social programs, the government began

to expend its hard currency reserves, and decided to increase the money in circulation by 100%. All this ended up with accelerating inflation and a balance of payments deficit that had quadrupled towards the end of 1972, compared to what it was a year earlier. One of the government's main economic problems was structural: Chile's industry's productive capacity was incapable of satisfying the greater demand occasioned by the rise of the acquisitive power of new sectors of the population who had benefitted from the government's economic measures. All this resulted in an inflationary spiral[121].

The economic errors and weak government leadership, together with the scant knowledge and expertise of many managers in the occupied businesses and factories, increased the economic crisis. To this was added another element: the owners of industries and large estates felt threatened by the nationalization and expropriation governmental policies. As a response, these groups stopped production, hoarded certain products and decapitalized their own investments. Already in 1972, it was plain to see that the economic achievements of the first year of government had vanished. With a weakened economy, the problems for the government escalated.

The opposition to the Popular Unity government became tougher and more widespread. The written press and radio stations controlled by anti-government elements also played a fundamental role in its opposition, influencing government destabilization and spreading fear among the population[122]. In various groups of professional, transport and business associations, the fear and rejection of government increased, and mistrust towards their own employees also intensified. The main confrontation between these groups and the government took place in October 1972, after the introduction of a bill to increase State control of supplies to truck owners in the South of Chile. It led to a strike by the transport owner associations, soon joined by other groups, as well as the National and Christian Democrat Parties. The strike of October 1972 was fundamental in the rise of new workers' organizations, mainly the so-called industrial belts (*cordones industriales*) and communal commands. Through these territorial organizations, the workers facilitated the supply and transportation of goods for the population during the strike, promoted political ties between various workers' organizations, and took control of factories whose owners had locked out their workers. The industrial belts became the symbol of people's power to which the groups more to the left aspired[123].

This October 1972 strike, which lasted a month and in which about 700,000 people were involved, badly hurt the government. It ended up turning to the Armed Forces to normalize the situation and forming a civil-military cabinet. This military presence strengthened, in certain sectors of the population, the idea that the Armed Forces not only had the right to intervene in politics, but

also the obligation to do so in a context of political, economic and social crisis like the one the country was facing[124].

After the October 1972 strike, the political and social climate suffered enormous levels of polarization and confrontation. The social demands of the mobilized sectors for people's power intensified, while opposition to the government grew and public concern over a more unstable reality, as well as a questioning of the Chilean road to socialism, spread. The street clashes, the rumors of a possible civil war, the strikes and demonstrations against the government, and the increasing inability of the government ineptitude to control this situation of national crisis were features of the October 1972 to September 1973 period.

One of the most significant political events of that time was the March 1973 parliamentary elections. For the government, this election was of special relevance in allowing it to demonstrate its strength and popular support, despite the crisis. For the opposition, who faced this election united in the Confederation of Democracy (CODE) – made up of the PN and PDC, and other small political groups –, the objective was to get two thirds of Congress in order to impeach President Allende. This was seen as a democratic way to depose the Allende government. In the end, the CODE, despite winning a clear majority, 54.6% of the votes, fell far short of the two thirds of the Chamber of Deputies it needed to impeach Allende. On the other side, the UP got 43.5%, a minority of the votes, but increased its congressional representation and demonstrated a high level of citizen's support for the government despite the deepening crisis.

The last great political and ideological battle between opposition and government was the reform of the educational system, known as National Unified School (ENU), including a curriculum that private and parochial schools would have to follow as well as public schools. The opposition strongly attacked the project and took care of disseminating, via the press, radio, pamphlets and slogans, the message that the reform intended to "brainwash" the children in order to impose totalitarianism and atheism. The rejection of the ENU was widespread and included the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who had stayed neutral until then, as well as the Armed Forces. In the end, the government decided to remove the project from discussion[125].

After the March 1973 elections, as much for the right and center as for the left, the general consensus was that the democratic system was broken. The National Party started plotting a coup and pressed the Armed Forces to intervene and overthrow the government. The PDC, or at least its most right-wing faction, was also converted to the cause, and thought that military intervention was

necessary, especially after the failure of the negotiations between the Party's new president, Patricio Alwin, and Allende, which the same Cardinal of Santiago mediated.

The final three months of the Popular Unity were defined by extreme conflict. The strikes and popular mobilizations were recurrent and the big strike at the *El Teniente* copper mine, which ended in a failed coup attempt on June 29, set the standard for the days that followed. The "*tanquetazo*", as the failed coup attempt became known, ended with the intervention of the commander in chief, general Carlos Prats, who convinced the leaders of the rebellion to surrender and give up arms. This failed coup attempt served as a rehearsal, as well as a learning tool for sectors of the Armed Forces who were plotting a coup. First, it showed the importance of having to count on all four branches of the Armed Forces and their commander-in-chief to achieve a successful coup; and, second, it confirmed that the workers in the industrial belts were not armed and were incapable of confronting the military in an armed struggle. The population's feeling of fear and insecurity increased after the "*tanquetazo*". The successive strikes and economic problems made the population's daily lives more arduous. The opposition made the government's work difficult and, despite the show of massive popular support for the third anniversary of Allende's election, it did not manage to discipline its sympathizers and even less show sustained continuity over time.

On the morning of September 11, 1973, the Armed Forces initiated a violent coup d'état. They not only overthrew president Allende but also installed themselves at the head of a dictatorial government through a military junta. The abrupt and brutal end to the Popular Unity government, and the fall of one of the oldest and more stable Latin American democracies, give an idea of the levels of crisis and confrontation present within Chilean society. From that moment, a harsh military dictatorship, counting on a wide initial support from the civilian population, was installed and stayed in power for the next 17 years[126].

II. CATHOLICISM AND MODERNITY (XIXth AND XXth CENTURY)

1. Social Catholicism: origins and development

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Catholic Church lived one of the most important crises in its history, a result of the French Revolution, the end of the Catholic monarchies, the creation of national States and the end of the Pontifical States. Various sectors of society tried to diminish the Church's preponderance and influence on society. Moreover, there was an intellectual context in which the Church saw its importance diminished and fell into disrepute against rationalism. Modern science doubted the veracity of some religious principles and the Church, especially in European countries, mainly in France, could not find any rationale to defend itself[127].

The Catholic response expressed itself in various ways. The Holy See reacted by defending its independence, centralizing its authority in the figure of the Pope and ultramontanism and strongly opposing everything it considered as errors of modernity. This way, the Church framed itself as a divine institution, above any human advancement or discovery and the doctrine, established by the Council of Trent three centuries before, assumed its position perfect, immutable and eternal. The 1864 encyclical *Syllabus* listed and classified these errors of modernity, among which were Renaissance anthropocentrism, Protestant Reformism, the autonomy of science, individualism, rationalism, materialism, socialism and capitalism. In the end, at the First Vatican Council (1869), the Church sanctioned the Pope's infallibility and formally closed the door to any sign of concession toward modernity.

In the case of Latin America, after the wars of Independence, the Latin American Churches were faced with intense debates about what role the ecclesiastical institutions and the Catholic religion would play within the new Republics. Different political and social forces were part of this debate and in some cases, like Mexico, the Catholic Church ended up being persecuted in the name of Liberalism[128].

The Catholic world responded to the secularizing liberal movement by shaping new spaces for action. As a way of adapting to the new reality, the Church founded, among other things, political parties, newspapers and universities. The crisis imposed by secularization encouraged various Catholic bodies to start working in the social field. Under the seal of a pronounced anti-liberalism

and anti-Marxism, Catholic groups and associations initiated a broad movement called "social Catholicism". This social Catholicism started by complaining about the social question, directly brought about as a consequence of the modern industrial society. The novelty of social Catholicism was that besides giving the poor spiritual guidance, it helped them with their earthly material poverty[129]. Guided by this new purpose, Catholic-oriented organizations and associations involved in the social field appeared, and they realigned and restructured the role played by Catholicism in society. As an essential part of this new spirit, a new Catholic practice associated with charity was initiated. Part and parcel of the modern sociability, charity expressed a Catholic social commitment in a new republican, liberal and secular context, and suggested, among other things, a new way of connecting with the poor. Many citizens, leaders and some members of the clergy were infused with this new charitable spirit[130].

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, under the papacy of Leo XIII, the Holy See incorporated this social Catholicism into the Church teachings with the promulgation of the encyclical *Rerum Novarum,* in 1891. In *Rerum Novarum*, Christian charity was associated with the idea of justice in which compassion for the poor shifted toward recognizing the rights of the proletarian sectors and recovering their dignity, while rejecting individualism and collectivism. In a way, *Rerum Novarum* put the so-called "workers question" at the center of its teaching. Thus, Leo XIII laid the foundations of the Church's social doctrine, and started to trace the contours of the vast Catholic social project known as the "New Christendom". This project imagined modern society as a diverse world in which multiple and sometimes conflicting positions were expressed, different in this way from the unity of the previous era of Christendom[131].

In Chile, the Archbishop of Santiago, Mariano Casanova, tidied up *Rerum Novarum* and published a pastoral letter on the subject. In it, Casanova recommended following the instructions given by the Pope, but highlighting the fight against socialism considered by him "a formidable danger", that threatened to "destroy the basic foundations of human society", by wanting to "establish equality of conditions and fortunes contrary to nature and the Providential order"[132].

The celebration of Chile's centenary was accompanied by demonstrations of social discontent. Riots and strikes took place and massacres too in response, the most important of which was Iquique's massacre of more than a thousand miners and their families in the school of Santa María, in 1907[133]. In those years, social legislation was put forward, promoted and carried out by conservative congressmen concerned about the explosive "social question". Moreover, some Catholic leaders created youth and workers "circles" in order to encourage virtuous habits and practices in line

with the Christian faith. All this paved the way for a strengthening of a socially sensitive Christian conscience, expressed in pastoral and social action movements[134].

Within this context, the Catholic Action movements acquired special relevance. The Catholic Action was born in response to secularization, and proposed to re-Christianize society through the promotion of a strong ministry carried out by laymen. Its theological foundation was the doctrine of "Christ's mystical body", through which laymen had the obligation and responsibility to contribute to the edification of Christ's reign in modern society, but excluding participation in the sphere of party politics. In 1924, in Belgium, the priest Joseph Cardijn set up the first specialized Catholic Action movement, created with the objective of working in a specific environment, specifically the world of work. Thus, the Young Christian Workers (JOC) was born, and subsequently spread to other countries. The JOC wanted Catholic workers to organize themselves in a specialized movement to preach to their co-workers. The JOC encountered a firm opposition from those who considered that Cardijn was introducing class struggle into the Catholic Church. However, Pius XI strongly supported this movement and considered it to be an efficient way of strengthening Catholicism in workers' circles[135].

Catholic Action, of European inspiration, was brought to Chile in 1931. From that moment up to the mid-1960s, it was characterized by its "mass mystique", expressed through conferences, large meetings, social weeks and gatherings where the militants were united in chanting "Hail the Cristo Rey" and waving banners and flags. The Catholic Action militants were the expression of this New Christendom in which laymen played a decisive role, and where educating social leaders was crucial. In Chile, Catholic Action attracted a large number of members, totaling more than 50,000 members a decade after its creation and counting on a vast national network with international links[136].

Catholic Action gave laity a space, but also opened up to religious agents. One of the most influential priests in the University Catholic Action was the Jesuit, Alberto Hurtado, named national advisor of the Catholic Students National Association (ANEC), in 1941. Trained in social sciences at the Catholic University of Louvain, Father Hurtado was influenced by the emerging religious sociology which incorporated the modernist tendency and its historical methods. This Jesuit represented those Catholics called modernists who, despite Leo XIII's prohibition, worked on a dialogue between theology and philosophy and the social sciences. From institutions like the Louvain Catholic University School of Social Sciences, in Belgium, and the Paris Catholic Institute, these modernists developed a sociology colored with religious and pastoral aims. These Catholics laid the foundations for understanding the de-Christianization of some modern societies, the distance between the Church and the working class and the urban world[137].

Father Hurtado imported European social Catholicism, mainly from France, with its Social Weeks and experience of working-class priests. This priest, with his charisma and popularity among the youth, influenced the social pastoral of those years with his speeches, talks and polemical book *¿Es Chile un país católico?* (Is Chile a Catholic Country?), published in 1941, which marked an important milestone in the Chilean Catholicism of the first half of the twentieth century. In this book, Father Hurtado gave numbers, tabulated and diagnosed the Chilean religious reality, questioned the rich for their indifference toward social problems and denounced the lack of priests. According to him, Chileans could proclaim themselves Catholics but were far from the Church's teachings and sacraments[138].

In Chile, the 1940s were characterized by this social spirit, which in turn would lead to a rise in religious and priestly vocations. Pastoral work was active, and priests and nuns started to admire the work of the specialized Catholic Action. The ideal was to be "assistant" to one of its branches, and from there express one's vocation and desire to participate and influence society's major changes. This new wave of social action toward the end of the 1940s was implicated in the creation of a series of organizations dedicated to the social promotion of the popular sectors. In the world of unions, Father Hurtado himself founded the Chilean Action Union (ASICH), in 1947[139]. Under the leadership of the Archbishop of Santiago, Monsignor José María Caro (1938-1958), this specialized Catholic Action flourished, with youth, university, labor and peasantry groups. The Institute of Agrarian Promotion and Institute of Rural Education were created in order to form leaders. This same spirit encouraged other Catholic organizations to work in the shantytowns that had appeared on the cities' margins from the late forties on, as did Foucault's Little Brothers and Sisters of Jesus[140].

2. The Catholics' Political Paths

In Chile, as in other Latin American countries, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the 1930s, the Catholic Church was politically represented by the Conservative Party. This party had appeared to defend the Church, mainly against the political liberalism that wanted to diminish and nullify the prevailing role it had previously played in the public space. Despite this, the Conservative Party built political alliances with the Liberal Party, and, just like them, adhered to liberal democracy and capitalism as the preferred economic and political systems.

The 1930s were complicated for Catholics. Social Catholicism had, at least, two recognizable and influential tendencies, both claiming to be the legitimate representatives of social Catholicism:

one, close to integralism, which rejected party politics and put the emphasis on some social aspects; and another, more political, that wanted to establish a different space for religion in modern society and started early on to suggest certain democratic elements. The latter's social Catholicism differed from the traditionalists' view because of the value it assigned to political democracy, understood as an expression of social justice. However, the end of the Second World War, the economic crisis which followed, and the Western European reconstruction programs heavily supported by the state, were key elements in the strengthening of liberal democracies. This context proved to be a key factor in order for the democratic social Catholicism to take hold and gain recognition in Europe, mainly in the Christian Democratic Parties. Integralism was reduced to Francoist Spain and some minority Catholic groups[141].

While it is true that social Catholicism incorporated the ideas and practices of Christian charity, not until the 1930s did they open up to the democratic ideal as part of their ideology, starting with the French philosopher Jacques Maritain. It was incorporated into the teachings of the Church years later, as one can see in Pius XII Christmas message delivered in 1944. This meant a fundamental change to Catholicism's rejection of democracy, which in the past had been identified with willfulness and ideological liberalism, hostile to the Church and God's authority[142].

The 1940s would witness a democratic adaptation of parts of various Catholic tendencies. The French philosopher Jacques Maritain suggested that democracy was a valuable historical conquest which found its roots in Christianity, and claimed it as an ideal for humanity. His philosophy of Christian politics had a militant essence which called the believer to social and political action. "The Christian became in this way – Maritain said – a militant individual", and from the moment faith is "really lived, it puts the soul in combat mode against the world and suffers the agony for justice"[143]. With the idea of an integral humanism, Maritain was looking for a substantial transformation of society and of mankind itself. In his book *Humanisme Intégral*, on which will be built the New Christendom, Maritain set out to "change the bourgeois individual", representing the "old man", to give way to the "new man". This new man would take shape slowly, respecting the transcendental values of human nature, and would lead to the "true socio-temporal fulfillment of the Gospel", which formed an essential part of the conscience's plurality. The democratic ideal came to be a basic pillar for the respect of that diversity, and a necessity for human coexistence. These ideas formed part of the basic principles of the "New Christendom", of which Maritain is one of its most important exponents[144].

In a typically Chilean context, different political tendencies were found under the umbrella of social Catholicism. A group called "traditionalist" was known for its intransigence about opening

up to modern elements, from liberal democracy to rationalism and modernism. Another tendency, called "social Christian", believed in the coexistence between Catholicism and some modern values, such as liberal democracy. The impact of the new social-Christian ideas on conservative political thought was strong, especially in its appeal for a true social conscience, aimed specifically at the working class. The party's leadership also tried to incorporate some elements of social Christianity, and in its 1901 Fifth Convention proclaimed its intention of establishing a "social Christian order" and declared its "dutiful compliance with the Church's teachings and authority" in religious matters. There were some non-aligned social Christian movements, mainly the above-mentioned ANEC. They criticized the Conservative Party, often in very strong terms, and they considered it to be a long way from the Christian spirit and its social action. The ANEC was the anteroom for groups of youngsters who, in the early years of the 1930s, joined the Conservative Party mainly motivated by their desire to influence society and permeate it with their ideas of social Catholicism[145].

All through the 1930s, the discrepancies around the Catholics' militancy in the Conservative Party increased, including within the episcopal body where differences regarding this issue appeared. On one side stood the Archbishop of Santiago, Crescente Errázuriz (1919-1931), who maintained a critical position regarding the clergy's affiliation with the Conservative Party. On the other, the Archbishop of Concepción, Gilberto Fuenzalida (1918 and 1938) staunchly defended the unity of Catholics in the Conservative Party[146]. To those was added the presence of the apostolic nuncio Héctor Felici, who supported the creation of a party that would promote progressive social-Christian ideas and defended a de-clericalization of politics. In the end, on one of his trips to Rome, Felici brought with him a charter from Cardinal Giovanni Pacelli – future Pope Pius XII – in which he considered Catholics' political freedom, as well as giving the Catholic Action its independence from the Conservative Party. In that charter, the Vatican Secretary of State defended the clergy's abstention from political or civil questions and warned them not to mix with political factions, considering that religion had to be "above all things, human, and unite all citizens' spirits with the bond of common charity and benevolence". If not, Pacelli warned that the clergy would fail in its function, and could raise suspicions toward its "healthy ministry". Pacelli's declaration responded to the Chilean reality from the perspective of a Europe threatened by Nazism, and came to summarize the Holy See's acceptance of democracy and political liberalism[147]. The Chilean episcopate ended up agreeing with Pacelli's suggestions – not without a certain rejection on the part of various bishops and members of the Conservative Party –, as its pastoral document "The Church, Catholic Action, Politics and Political Parties" showed.

In 1938, not long after this charter, the *Falange Nacional* was founded. This party, which attracted the interests of dozens of youngsters, most of them formed in Catholic Action, incorporated the suggestions of social Catholicism and corporatism, and followed Jacques Maritain's political philosophy and that of other European Catholic intellectuals, like Emmanuel Mounier and father Louis-Joseph Lebret. The emergence of the *Falange Nacional* challenged Catholics' political unity, and were the target of sectors on the right for its strong social criticism. It looked to some critics as if the *Falange* were playing into the hands of communism and opened up a complicated political and social space for social Christians[148].

Despite the fact that from its beginnings the *Falange Nacional* had declared its anti-communism, and made public declarations around this issue, its open views on the possible transformation of society and its understanding of social problems made it look weak against communism, even more in a Cold War context[149]. In 1947, the promulgation of a pastoral letter, entitled "Catholics' Social Duty", by the Chilean bishops created one of the most strained episodes concerning this issue and the internal tensions within Chilean Catholicism. This pastoral document – which borrowed elements from the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, published by Pius XI in 1931, and followed the guidelines of the Second Chilean Plenary Council, celebrated in 1946 – gave directives concerning the essence and mission of Catholic Action, the meaningfulness of laymen's participation and their necessary political neutrality. This position, and the harsh condemnation of Marxism by the Bishops, led Catholic Action young members, who in their majority had affinities and sympathies for the *Falange Nacional*, to denounce the "sterile anti-communism" espoused by a majority of Catholics and their indifference toward social problems. They criticized the Church leaders' silence on defending social justice. The answer to these youngsters came from Catholic Action national adviser himself, the auxiliary Bishop of Santiago, Augusto Salinas, who called them "enemies of Christ". He publicly reprimanded them for disobeying the hierarchy and misinterpreting Christianity's social action, which, according to him, ended up by bringing them closer to communism. The accusations against these young members ended up with the resignation of the Catholic Action's board of directors and the quasi-dissolution of the *Falange Nacional*, who felt they had been directly alluded to by Salinas. In the end, the Bishop of Talca, Manuel Larraín, intervened and supported what Pacelli had suggested in order to put an end to the dispute, and guarantee the viability of the *Falange Nacional* [150].

In Chile however, problems between Catholicism and communism did not end there. In 1948, under the Gabriel González Videla's government, the Law for the Permanent Defense of Democracy was decreed, banning the Communist Party and depriving its members of their civil rights. It put on

opposite sides the Conservative Party's Catholics, and the *falangistas* and conservative social-Christians who, until that moment, were members of the Conservative Party. The debate on this bill brought new political, as well as ideological divisions, into the Catholic ranks. It was then deemed necessary to once again turn to the Holy See to settle the issue. In 1950, Rome reiterated the positions given in 1934 by Pacelli regarding the Catholics' non-participation in a sole political party[151].

The 1950s saw the rise of social Catholicism as a political force. While it is true that in 1953 the *Falange Nacional* got a mere 3.92% of the vote, it managed in the following years to set up a Social Christian Federation together with other sectors identifying with its thinking. This Federation was the antechamber of the Christian Democratic Party (PDC), officially founded in 1957. In this way, toward the end of the 1950s, the PDC appropriated a great part of the social-Christian movement, imbued with a revolutionary spirit that implied participating in a struggle at all levels of society[152].

However, Christian Democracy was much broader, complex and complete than a mere political party. It offered a global vision of mankind and society, suggested a solution to the modern world's crisis and got ready to face a new stage of civilization. Moreover, it defined itself as a movement and political party which was neither of the right nor of the left or the center. This movement was charged with solid ideals and a project aimed at a profound transformation which would bring about a new society. The PDC came to represent the expression of a political movement identified with social Catholicism. It suggested a way to conduct oneself in the face of reality and to widen one's social obligations, considered as an essential part of the Catholic faith's practice. It also incorporated spiritual means as a road to attain truly humane ends. It could be said that it meant a new type of believer, championed by the social-Christians themselves, who was closer to the evangelical spirit.

3. The Second Vatican Council: The Church in the Contemporary World

John XXIII's papacy started with a so-called ecumenical council which surprised many and generated enormous enthusiasm in the universal Catholic Church, and specifically in the national Latin American Churches. With this call for a Council, John XXIII was looking into not only an *aggiornamento* or modernization of the Church in a new Cold War context and the possible threat of a Third World War, but also into dealing with pending issues like the Holocaust and the new challenges brought to the Catholic world by modernization. Contrary to the First Vatican Council (1869-1870), which was preoccupied with protecting Church authority and its holdings against the

onslaught of revolutionary forces, anti-clericalism and different forms of nationalism, the Second Vatican Council took place in a totally different religious, as well as political, world situation. This allowed the Church to re-evaluate its mission in a world not perceived as hostile as it had been a century before[153].

The Council's organization demonstrated the Church's pro-democratic openness which John XXIII was trying to pursue by proposing to all hierarchies and Catholic faculties of theology that they contribute with projects and suggestions. Moreover, this event gathered up the theological reflection of the new theology, above all French, that had moved forward in an open dialogue with the modern world. The theologians Yves Congar, Marie-Dominique Chenu and the paleontologist Teilhard de Chardin were present with their theological views based on historical rationality. The Second Vatican Council legitimized a theology which made sense of human history, and humankind, Christian or not, was called to find its vocation. This meant overcoming an old dichotomy of division between the natural and the supernatural, leaving behind those two differentiated histories: sacred or divine separated from the profane[154].

A key moment in the development of the Council was December 1962, when Cardinals Paul-Émile Léger of Montreal, Giovanni Battista Montini, of Milan, and Leon Joseph Suenens of Brussels, 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 its harsh condemnation of the values and movements of the modern world such as liberalism, socialism and Communism and defined the role of the Church in the modern world as a prophetic and catalytic force.

For Latin America, the Council acquired a special significance. In previous years, the Latin American Church had had a new institutional framework. In 1955, the First Conference of Latin American Bishops was held in Rio de Janeiro, and there the bishops prepared the creation of the Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM), an organization that brought together all the churches of the region. Vatican II meant an encounter as a regional Church, as well as an encounter with leaders of other Churches. In any case, and for the first time, the Latin American bishops attended a council meeting in which they were not under-represented. At the Second Vatican Council, Latin America was representing the largest Church in the world: 600 bishops and 319 experts took part in the event. The Latin American Church was at the same time hopeful and apprehensive to see what would happen in Rome[155]. The Second Vatican Council initiated a momentous reform, as much in the doctrine as in the practice of the Church, as well as making important institutional changes. This event promoted the involvement of the Church in social issues, supporting ideals of justice and peace and pushing for

the defense of human rights. Vatican II encouraged a more democratic Church in which collegiality was endorsed as a legitimate ecclesiastical expression. This is how the notion of the Church as "God's people" was born, an approach that reaffirmed the engagement of the laity in a structure then considered pyramidal and hierarchical.

The experience of the Council for the Latin American Church was rich and stimulating. The bishops and experts actively participated and relayed the experience to their local and diocesan churches. Besides the sessions which lasted around three or four months during the European fall, a series of training workshops and informal meetings took place. All this served to create networks and connections with other leaders, and to get to know and share experiences. In the Chilean case, the Second Vatican Council greeted the Santiago Church with a new Archbishop, the Salesian Raúl Silva Henríquez, who promoted a diocese open and suitable for these new times which came with John XXIII's papacy.

Latin America was converted into a missionary work region, with its large number of poor and the triumphant Cuban revolution. After this event, the politics of the United States toward Latin America and the ideas of some Catholic sectors converged, in the Chilean case with the Christian Democratic Party. All proposed some structural changes and the word revolution, which had been part of the Marxist vocabulary, started to be used by various Catholic groups. The 1960s started with a Catholic Church as a significant participant in Latin American affairs.

III. CATHOLICISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE

1. Apostles of Development

In the mid-twentieth century a new social Catholicism directed at transformations in society was brought forward, which also took elements from the social sciences in order to construct its analysis of the Latin American reality. From a pastoral point of view, this new social Catholicism was defined by its approach to social change, and became part of a large-scale network which was able to link different actors from various countries. They were responsible for formulating social criticism, and for putting together a proposal demanding profound structural changes. Members of this network were European and North American Catholic institutions, which were supported by the Holy See, and, in the Chilean case, the Society of Jesus was of paramount importance. From the late Fifties onward, they all carried out a thorough pastoral and political diagnosis of Latin America as a whole, which turned into an area of mission, study and social transformation[156].

This new orientation of the Catholic world, markedly anti-communist at its very core, has commonly been considered a response to the advance and threat of communism in the region after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution, although the former took place before the latter. The triumph of the Cuban Revolution and the possibility it could spread to other countries in the region gave Catholics a sense of urgency. In the same way, the Cuban experience, within the context of the Cold War, made the United States regard this forward-thinking Catholic Church as a potential ally in their plans to hold back communism. The United States had reformist policies designed to contain communism since the early 1960s, embodied above all in the Alliance for Progress, and the Catholic Church came up with a development proposal along similar lines. Nonetheless, this argument does not entirely account for the new direction of Latin American Catholicism. The new proposal for social change was determined by the readjustment of religion and an openness to modernity related to a new relationship between faith and the world, which was then ratified by the Second Vatican Council.

In Latin America, around the beginning of the 1960s, the concepts of "development" and "underdevelopment" began to be used by social scientists, intellectuals, political authorities and also, early on, by some groups of the Catholic Church in the region. Broadly speaking, this idea of underdevelopment started out by providing evidence of a structural crisis related to an inappropriate economic development, the main feature of which was an old-fashioned and inefficient agrarian

structure. In addition, a large part of the population living in conditions of poverty started to progressively become aware of the situation. Those problems were of both a "structural" and a multifaceted nature, and, as a consequence, were not merely associated with scarcity or backwardness, but also with an insufficient economic dynamism. As a result, the concept of "comprehensive development" surfaced, which refers to a kind of development that embraces both economic growth and social change[157].

The concept of development started to be used after the Second World War. During the fifties, the idea that Latin America found itself in a position of "structural underdevelopment" spread, which was analyzed in depth by economists and social scientists of the United Nations' Economic Commission for Latin America (ECLA). In simple terms, ECLA's developmentalism was built on the conception of an industrialized center and a non-industrialized periphery dependent on commodity exports. Over time the deterioration of the economic exchange relationships of the latter, highly dependent on the export of raw materials to development centers leaves the periphery underdeveloped. The Seventies started out as the "development decade", characterized by its large-scale planning and its formulation of deep, structural changes. Those traditional structures, considered a hindrance to development, had to be left behind in order to build modern structures instead. Within this context, a number of profound reforms were conceived. The primary of these was the land reform, which would radically transform Latin American societies[158].

In order to face this scenario of structural change, Catholicism needed to be more active and better prepared in order to meet the challenges of modernity. It also had to be capable of interacting with social sciences and with tools which blended the Church's social doctrine with the ideas of social development. The ideology of social changes and its program were built upon different spheres and moved beyond boundaries. Some of them came from the European sociology of religion mainly developed by Catholic think tanks, especially in France. Toward the mid-twentieth century, the momentum gained by the sociology of religion in Europe, the United States and Latin America came as a response, among other things, to the "modernist crisis" which the Holy See had criticized and hushed up[159]. This sociology of religion, which had distanced itself from Thomism and scholasticism, emerged with pastoral aims. Through it, people attempted to understand the process of de-Christianization of European societies, incorporating historical aspects into the analysis. These works not only made it possible for people to understand and realize how far away the working classes were from Catholicism, but they also set forth a new way to approach them[160].

In 1957, a group of sociologists led by the Jesuit priest and sociologist François Houtart set up, in the Swiss city of Fribourg, the *Fédération Internationale des Institutions Catholiques de*

Recherche Sociale et Socio-Religieuse, better-known as FERES. This avant-garde institution of sociology of religion turned out to be a springboard into Latin America, and it established contact with different Latin American centers of studies. It entered the region through contact with a number of institutions which combined religious ideas with social action programs. These institutions were funded with European and North American resources, and they soon began to carry out international and comparative studies of Latin American countries. Houtart held that these centers should become "an international federation", whose members should collaborate and exchange information with each other, so that all interested parties would have access to it[161]. The Jesuits' research and pastoral action centers would join this large federation proposed by Houtart.

In Chile, this developmentalist current of Catholic thought went hand in hand with the foundation of the Jesuit Research and Social Action Center (CIAS). It started to operate in 1957, the same year in which Houtart opened up FERES's headquarters in Fribourg. FERES and CIAS would jointly carry out studies and research, their members would exchange data and statistics, but, above all, they would share their experiences and approaches in order to understand not only religious issues concerning the Latin American population, but also the social changes the region had experienced. Their objective was to make a contribution toward putting together a proposal for large structural transformations. This work was disseminated at congresses, seminars and meetings, and as a consequence, Chile got involved with a large-scale Catholic network which proposed avant-garde social studies, and became part of it[162].

The idea of setting up a research and social action center had been brought up in the mid-forties. Juan Bautista Janssens, who was the Superior General of the Society of Jesus between 1946 and 1964, became directly involved in this initiative. He began exploring the possibility of starting a new institutionalization for Latin America which mixed appropriate theological reflections with a marked social activism. He discussed this matter with the Chilean Jesuit Alberto Hurtado during a long journey to Europe at the end of 1947 and the beginning of 1948. As stated by Hurtado's written accounts, Janssens suggested the idea of fostering social action in the congregation's members, "despite the fact that we might be called communists for doing so"[163], he added. They were both concerned about reforming the Church in Latin America, and were inspired by the French advanced centers *L'Action Populaire* and *Économie et Humanisme*, the cradles of the modernist way of thinking. After Hurtado's death, in 1952, Janssens began seeking for another member from the order with the capacity to fund and carry out this project in Chile. This is how a Belgian Jesuit, Roger Vekemans, landed in Chile in February 1957 to lead the process of a new institutionalization.

In 1957, CIAS opened its doors in Chile. A short time after that, the Jesuits founded other institutions with similar purposes, the objective of which was to complement CIAS's mission. The most important one regarding the programs of Catholic developmentalism in Chile was the Center for Economic and Social Development in Latin America (DESAL). It was also run by Father Vekemans, who managed to collect important financial aid from foreign Catholic agencies[164]. In 1959, CIAS took over the magazine *Mensaje* -founded by Father Hurtado in the early 1950s– and much of the Catholic developmentalist ideology was disseminated through it. A short time after that, the emblematic Centro Bellarmino was set up. CIAS, DESAL and the magazine *Mensaje* would be then under its supervision. Father Roger Vekemans was appointed director of CIAS and DESAL, whereas Father Hernán Larraín became the Director of *Mensaje*[165].

At the beginning of the sixties, the Jesuit priests related to Centro Bellarmino went on to become part of an advanced current of thought and social ministry, and became an intellectual reference point. For the Chilean reality that was a novelty, considering that up to then there were barely any institutions or social research centers in the country, not to speak of Catholic social research institutions or centers. Centro Bellarmino, which was referred to by Edward L. Cleary as "the grandfather of social research and action centers in Latin America" [166], gathered the most prestigious Chilean Jesuit priests and foreign Jesuits experts in social issues. As the Jesuit Fernando Montes recalls, "it swarmed with ideas", and it was "the Jesuits' most public expression"[167].

In this way, the Jesuits from the Centro Bellarmino became very influential in the Chilean Catholic Church and its social ideas, which it developed since Raúl Silva Henríquez became the Archbishop of Santiago in 1961. Many of the Jesuits from Centro Bellarmino helped to write the pastoral letters of 1962, apart from also participating in the new pastoral design promoted by this Archbishopric[168].

Symposia, seminars and conferences were held at Centro Bellarmino. Priests, members of religious orders, both male and female, and missionaries would come to this place, in addition to students, young professionals and some political leaders. On a weekly basis, Vekemans came into contact with groups of economists and social scientists, taught, gave lectures and offered consultancy to Catholic businessmen and union leaders. Mainly through *Mensaje*, much of the Jesuits' developmentalist way of thinking was disseminated monthly by Centro Bellarmino, which encouraged the publication of books and other written material. Through the magazine's section called "Sign of the Times", which came into existence during the Second Vatican Council, and its incisive editorials, the Society of Jesus established the guidelines of an advanced Catholicism in Chile focused on strengthening and validating the path to social change.

With time, DESAL put together a great team, with dozens of technical specialists in the fields of economics, sociology and demography. Vekemans worked on social issues, which he baptized as "social marginalization", particularly in the case of much of the urban population. This theory, permeated by ECLA's developmentalism, tried to embrace large sectors of Latin America's population, mostly shantytown dwellers who lived isolated from society and did not participate in decision-making. The people were meant to have a dynamic participation and become active agents of change and development, the lack of which was one of the most alarming aspects of Latin America's underdevelopment. In order to resolve this situation, these sectors had to be organized and their civic involvement stimulated[169].

According to the French Jesuit priest Pierre Bigó, the Chilean CIAS, as was also the case of similar institutions founded in Latin America, had a number of objectives. The most important ones were: analyzing the Church's "social reality" by making use of scientific disciplines; elaborating, teaching and propagating a global conception of development; stimulating and giving laymen guidance on how to "mold their mental and social structures in the sense of justice and popular promotion", and giving advice to the Society of Jesus, the clergy and the clerical movements on issues related to social action. The Jesuits considered that the doctrine derived from pontifical documents was not enough. Quite the contrary, elements from Christian anthropology, social ethics and analyses of the historical situation had to be taken into consideration as well[170].

The Jesuit Hernán Larraín says that when CIAS was starting to operate, the Provincial Superior handed over one of the congregation's houses, transferred "the social library" and provided as much financial aid as was necessary for this purpose. They then encountered the difficulty of focusing on the output of scientific research due to the fact that staff was scarce, costs were high, and priests did not always have as much available time as was required. It was decided to take advantage of the production of specialized institutes such as the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLA), and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It was also proposed that institutions dealing with research be created, and this had to be done within universities. This is the origin of the schools of sociology and psychology of the Catholic University, which had Roger Vekemans and Hernán Larraín respectively as directors. These schools would help the Jesuit institutions to develop their social ideas[171].

In order to have suitable staff for this new institutionalization process, it became necessary to train priests to become social science specialists so that they would be able to empirically analyze social phenomena. As part of Janssens's strategy, during the fifties a group of young Jesuits were sent to European and North American universities to be trained in social sciences, mainly in

disciplines such as economics and sociology. They would then introduce the latest social science trends into Latin America, which would enable them to exchange ideas with other specialists in the subject, and be respected by their peers[172]. One priest-specialist was Gonzalo Arroyo, who, following the policies encouraged by Father Janssens, was sent to the United States and Canada to pursue studies in agronomy and economics. On returning to Chile, he went on to become one of Jesuit experts on agrarian matters, advising the Church on how to produce their 1962 pastoral letters and how to carry out land reforms on Church lands[173].

As stated by Vekemans, Santiago's CIAS strived to promote scientific research, focusing on the study of Chile and Latin America's social problems, and on contributing to the design of policies against underdevelopment. Vekemans's way of thinking, which was at the root of CIAS and DESAL, was based on criticism of Latin American Catholicism and its non-existent relationship with the world of sciences. In this way, Vekemans incorporated a religious variable into the multifaceted definition of underdevelopment, which, in fact, did include a relationship between Latin American underdevelopment and Latin spirituality. According to him, whereas contemporaneous development relied on rationality, Latin spirituality was characterized by its "devotional,", "emotional" and "mystical traits", and focused "a bit too exclusively" on the afterlife. As a consequence, Latin Catholicism was "inadequate" and "incomplete" in view of the new times, and, therefore, faith did not translate into ethical behavior, not to speak of practical actions[174].Vekemans's proposal, captured in the new Jesuit institutionalization, was a combination of a doctrine in strong accordance with the Church's social doctrine and a concrete plan of action which came in response to the challenges imposed on Latin America's society by modernity[175].

CIAS attempted to provide theological support to the proposal for social change, which is why prizing one's current life and the people's capability to deal with, control and transform their environment became crucial. This was accurately summarized by Jesuit economist, Mario Zañartu, who promoted the development of a "new theology encouraging social change", capable of providing "concrete answers to concrete problems", and which, consequently, expressed fundamental concerns about "the material" and "the corporeal"[176]. However, at this point he came across a matter which left an imprint on the existence of CIAS, which related to the demarcation between political and religious issues, as in practice that demarcation had never been easy, nor had it been properly clarified. In a meeting, Vekemans was responsible for drawing the line, and urged his peers to avoid any kind of links with politics, political parties or particular governments. There were, according to Vekemans, two antimonial poles which should not come into contact: "such pure ethic, with such

clean hands, that it does not have hands anymore […]; and power, so closely linked to greed and passion, at odds with the serenity of Christianity."[177]

This Jesuits' developmentalist approach coincided with the work carried out by Houtart at FERES. In 1958, he had set out to dedicate himself on a full-time basis to his new task of conducting a religious, political, social and cultural study of the Latin American reality, and thus became one of the most important ideologues of a theory of Catholic developmentalism. FERES established its regional office in Bogotá, and affiliated centers in México City, Buenos Aires and Santiago de Chile. Financial resources and North American, European and Latin American staff were available in order to conduct this study[178]. The Latin American Episcopal Conference was elated, whereas in Rome its purpose was being called into question by some people, especially because, in the past, studies of the sociology of religion had disclosed the weaknesses of the Latin American Church, without actually giving any hints at how to address the problem. After two years' work, between June and November 1960, Houtart met up with a dozen researchers in Bogotá to collect data and systematize them into a publication. This material was issued in a dozen volumes, and relied on the financial support of German bishops, who donated their share of the money from the *Adveniat* collection. Some Spanish bishops and the Ford Foundation from the United States also gave their support. Thus, the first volume came out in 1962 under the Spanish title *La Iglesia latinoamericana en la hora del Concilio* (*The Latin American Church in times of the Council*)[179].

This study started out by describing the Latin American situation, dubbed as a "difficult and painful delivery of a new civilization". Among the most consequential social changes, the following are worth mentioning: demographic growth, increase in urban population, influence of the mass media and the population's higher levels of education. This document also examined the possible religious answers in view of this social reality, which Houtart called "the second evangelization of Latin America". It is interesting to note that this investigation revealed the necessity for solid theological foundations which encompassed the contribution of social sciences, mainly sociology and psychology, among others. Speculative theories needed to be left behind and be superseded by a "temporal theology" founded on concrete situations. Together with this, the importance of a "necessary revolution" which transformed the structures of society was also put forward. In addition, there was a religious component, which made it unique: Catholicism and the Catholic Church itself were compelled to make the changes which Latin America needed. In particular, the Church had to work on this temporal theology, take a stance, be an agent of change to resolve structural problems, and even play a subsidiary role in order to deal with the flaws of the economic, social or political institutions. Houtart considered that it was the "hour of the Church"; it would have to take up a

leadership position, which would be a "sign of its presence in the developing world". It was more appropriate with the times, "the humble action of a parish priest who takes the initiative to make a footpath or dig a well, or maybe a Cardinal acting as a mediator in a social conflict", Houtart added[180].

The results of FERES's study became part of the material used by Latin American bishops to prepare themselves for the Second Vatican Council, and each Latin American participant was given a short summary. Vatican II, inaugurated in 1962, would reflect upon the relationship between the Church and the world, which was captured in the well-known document *Gaudium et Spes*. This topic, disregarded by the Council's organizers, formed part of a proposal made by several bishops, including the Brazilian Helder Camara, the North American Marcos Mc Grath and the Chilean Manuel Larraín. Bishop Mc Grath says that Camara asked the Council's attendees: "How come we do not worry about the Church's internal affairs and do not observe the world either?". One of the most important aspects discussed was the perception of change as something positive, which made a new approach possible. It was stated that no progress would ever be made unless changes took place, and that mankind was in the midst of a process of unavoidable socio-cultural transformation. With this plan, the Church became willing to consider that the objective was not actually to construct a Christian world, but to convert the world already under construction to Christianity. This would become one of the fundamental changes which this event would validate, and, at the same time, the most significant subject of the Council's treaties. In Latin America, this expressed itself in a Catholicism strongly permeated by social change[181].

The outlook for this large-scale Catholic network would remain incomplete if it did not take the North American experience into consideration. This was chiefly due to the steady exchange between the Latin American Church, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) and the European sociology of religion, which took place in the 1960s[182]. Toward the end of the Fifties, pastoral agents from the United States were already talking about their responsibility in assisting Latin America and dealing not only with religious problems, but also socio-political issues, the main goal of which was to counteract the advance of communism in the region. Cardinal Richard Cushing from Boston was a pioneer with his Missionary Society of St. James the Apostle. This project had been elaborated toward the end of the fifties and had been endorsed by Pope John XXIII. One of Cushing's essential objectives was to provide religious assistance in Latin America so that it would not become "an easy prey for Communists and other false prophets"[183].

In the early 1960s, the North American Catholic Church was becoming aware of its role in Latin America, which involved boosting the missionary drive able to combine an ideal of evangelization with large social, economic and political transformations[184]. After a long trip to Latin

America in 1961, Father Joseph Gremillion, Director of the socio-economic program of the North American episcopate, stated that the religious challenge was intimately related to the Latin American peoples' needs. They needed "a sense of having some control over their future". In his words, the solution was "to prepare social leaders and push social action for the long-pull of institutional reform"[185].

The participation of the United States in this broad-scale Catholic network was expressed not only by the transfer of missionaries to Latin America, but also by the creation of a new Inter-American institutionalization. Its origins can be traced back to a meeting which bishops from North and South America held at Georgetown University in November, 1959. On that occasion, a group of Canadian, North American and Latin American bishops came together to propose a strong Inter-American Catholic network. The Latin American representatives included Manuel Larraín and Helder Camara. The latter talked about the "scandal of the 20th century" in his speech, which had to do with the fact that "two-thirds of humanity remains in a state of want and hunger". Camara told his northern fellow clergymen that even without the threat of communism, "we would still have the evangelical duty of fighting to narrow the gap between human beings…" After this cogent statement, a strong impulse was given to the development of a great Catholic Church, basically Inter-American, which would consolidate and channel North America's assistance to South America[186].

After the meeting at Georgetown University, the North American episcopate created the Latin America Bureau (LAB), in November 1959. This organization carried out work exclusively related to Latin America, and the Maryknoll priest, John J. Considine, who was familiar with Latin America, besides having a vast experience in missionary work, assumed its leadership. LAB was in charge of organizing the recruitment and training of the staff being sent to Latin America, and also took on the responsibility for coordinating the social action programs which the missionaries would carry out. A short time after that, the Center for Intercultural Formation (CIF) was set up in Cuernavaca, Mexico, and the Jesuit Ivan Illich was appointed its director[187].

The next step was taken in 1964 with the institutionalization of instances of meeting and exchange, and in this respect the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program (CICOP) gained particular relevance. It was the meeting point for Catholic developmentalist intellectuals, pastoral agents, bishops and theologians, as well as some Latin American and North American political leaders. These massive congresses with over one thousand attendees, were instances in which people from North and South America got to know each other, reflected together, devised and drew up a number of evangelization programs which had a marked component of development for the region[188].

The first of these gatherings, in 1964, was attended by François Houtart. He put forward the necessity of developing a "master plan" for Latin America which, apart from including a human resources list, made a more effective use of the missionary staff and made a proposal for structural changes. On the same occasion, the Belgian Jesuit, Roger Vekemans, outlined the Catholic Church's chances of becoming a strong agent of development. The conclusions of that first meeting were that the fight had to be directed not only against communism, but also against social injustice in general, such as hunger, poverty, illiteracy, lack of opportunities, unemployment and many other ills which "have torn apart the spirit of the oppressed". The struggle, which they called "the new war", was against "the evil on which communism is based and of which it takes advantage". The Church would have to join forces with unions, cooperatives and organizations in poor neighborhoods in order to carry out its work "on the spot", in "poor hamlets, in creaking cities"[189].

The outcome of this important religious exchange which linked the United States, Western Europe and Latin America with pastoral agents and ideas coming to and from Latin America was the emergence of an essentially Catholic sociology of development. In light of the diagnoses available at the time, Latin America turned into an area for missions and studies, and, above all, the ideal place for social transformations. Religion opened up to the possibility of dealing with pastoral and theological innovations with a strong socio-political component. Toward the end of the Fifties, the social ideal of profound transformations was integrated into social Catholicism, becoming one its most important elements. This ideal of profound transformations assimilated and gave a new meaning to the concept of revolution, which from then onward went on to have a Christian essence. For the Christian world, the Sixties started with hope.

2. A Church "embodied" by the poor

In Chile, a consequence of the boom enjoyed by the sociology of religion introduced by Jesuit priest-specialists was a change in the approach to the Church's pastoral activities of evangelization. This sociology of religion not only quantified religious practices in the country, but it also made it possible to determine the reality of the Church and the Catholics' needs. It also helped to lay the foundations of a new social ministry called "direct social ministry", which modified the pastoral agents' role and their relationship with the poor[190].

Previously, social ministry had strongly been encouraged in Chile by Jesuit Father Alberto Hurtado, who had drawn a lot of attention from young priests and novices[191]. Much of his thinking on social action had been captured in his 1941 book *¿Es Chile un país católico?* (*Is Chile a Catholic country?*), in which he called into question the Catholic Church's concerns about the poor, which seemed to be more ritual and devotional than genuinely religious. As he considered Chile to be "a country for mission", he deemed it essential to boost the ministry of the poor, especially that of the working classes[192]. This Jesuit priest was very familiar with European sociology of religion and the progress of French social Catholicism. His writings reveal that at the 34th Social Weeks of Paris, in 1947, the Archbishop of Paris, Émile Suhard, made an appeal which had a big impact on him: "There is no such thing as a concept of 'social Catholicism'; it is social, or else it is not Catholicism at all"[193]. During that trip, he dedicated much of his time to meeting and gaining first-hand experience from worker priests, a novel category of direct ministry, who committed themselves through manual work. Hurtado had been amazed at the symbiosis between typical clerical missions and the social missions which came to complicate them. The fact that work-related aspects of their everyday life had to be shared with their workmates represented a challenge to the clergy's pastoral and theological work, and it also called their political ideas into question, as the working-class environment had a rather left-wing political affiliation[194].

At the beginning of the 1960s, the Chilean Catholic Church, from the highest ranks down, took on a far-ranging social commitment, which was developed through a national pastoral plan and laid the foundations of the so-called "General Mission". The genesis of this plan can be found in the National Pastoral Week of 1960. Under the guidance of Santiago's Archbishop and supported by French priests, canon Fernand Boulard and Franciscan Jean François Motte, a "more realistic and evangelical" pastoral was suggested. This event attracted much of the Chilean Church hierarchy, and hundreds of diocesan and religious priests[195].

In the middle of this atmosphere, Salesian Raúl Silva Henríquez took on the position of Archbishop of Santiago on June 24th, 1961. In his first homily as a cardinal, his sense of urgency became apparent: "Time after time, we can say that we perceive the suffering of an era on the verge of finishing". Regarding this, he stated that "either we evolve, or we will face a social catastrophe"[196]. From the first moment on, the new Archbishop would give a strong impetus to the pastoral restructuring of the Chilean Church. Silva Henríquez gave his ecclesiastical rule unprecedented urgency and called for prompt action. He motivated the creation of deaneries and zones, which were in charge of creating links between the different parish churches, and of coordinating the work of the clerical movements[197].

In July 1961, the Plenary of the Episcopate met and decided to set up an Advisory Committee for Pastoral Matters, in charge of drawing up the guidelines of a great pastoral plan. It analyzed the religious reality by making use of sociology, and managed to verify the disparity existing between the work which the Church was meant to do and its material and human resources. The existing pastoral plan only concerned itself with preserving faith and good customs, ensuring the reception of the sacraments, maintaining ecclesiastical discipline and, finally, preserving the Church's influence and prestige, while at the same time guaranteeing its freedom and rights. The Advisory Committee for Pastoral Matters came to the conclusion that this was insufficient, and not equal to the prevailing needs. Consequently, the objectives pursued by the Church had to be updated, and for that reason it was crucial to know and understand the population. The first objective was, then, to draw a map of the religious, social and ideological reality[198].

The work done by this committee was re-examined by the Chilean Church hierarchy and, subsequently, sent to the Holy See, which gave its unrestricted support for the execution of the tasks. In March 1962, the Archdiocese of Santiago, supported by Centro Bellarmino's Jesuit sociologists, set a far-ranging pastoral plan in motion. It started out by describing Santiago's religious reality, which yielded alarming figures. The Diocese of Santiago had a growing population, which, according to the 1962 census, amounted to 2,368,595 inhabitants, out of whom 2,139,637 declared themselves Catholics. The attendance at Sunday mass, however, was around 10% of the population. Also, the number of priests was not enough, with 976 diocesan and religious priests in total, and 2,517 nuns. Some parish churches spanned an area of up to 30,000 square kilometers, which made it impossible to cover the area. Most of the 154 existing parish churches were under the guidance of only one priest, which represented a priest-people ratio of 1: 3,015. The statistics showed that population growth was even more alarming in working-class neighborhoods, which complicated religious services considering the small existing number of parish churches. Therefore, it became urgent to

have new parish churches or places of worship built in popular parts of the city so as to make up for the lack of apostolic staff, which also had the advantage of facilitating the integration of laymen and nuns into the ministry[199].

Apart from these purely religious data, social and cultural changes in the country over the previous thirty years were taken into consideration. This study showed, in the first place, the shift from being a predominantly rural society to being an urban society, and, in second place, from being monocultural to being pluralistic, all of which had had enormous consequences for the country's religious life. For the most part, the people declared themselves Catholic, but only had a feeble link with the Catholic Church, as evidenced "by the cool reception that its moral and social directives have found among Catholics"[200]. A relevant point in this diagnosis was the distance between the Church and the people, which could be accounted for not only by the changes it had undergone over the previous years, but also by the institution's internal weaknesses and problems. What was being condemned was, therefore, the divorce and ignorance with respect to the temporal reality. This report said: "Our generation is set on the construction of a new temporal world and the Church is not sufficiently present to do that work". The Church then had to design and carry out new temporal work and develop a new ministry, which would come to be known as "the construction of a temporal world with Christian inspiration"[201].

Through this comprehensive Pastoral Plan, the Archbishopric of Santiago transmitted its awareness of the situation and its intention to carry on with what it called a "regime of mission". Catholicism was in the minority, as evidenced not by the number of believers, which still stood at a high level, but by the meager influence of Catholicism on social structures. The next step, therefore, was to carry out a "General Mission" in accordance with this new reality. Cardinal Silva Henríquez summarized its purpose in the assertion "a Church of today for the people of today". Bishop Enrique Alvear was in charge of this mission, and a plan of "joint pastoral" work was drawn up. The call was massive and, in the end, mobilized almost all of Santiago's clergymen, as well as 1,000 nuns and 12,000 laymen[202].

In the preparation of the "General Mission", two aspects were taken into consideration: ways of reaching out to everyone were necessary and work had to be done treating each social class differently. In order to achieve the former, it was requested that the homes of all of the faithful be visited, and each missionary was assigned a specific number of blocks; while the latter aspect was tackled by working with specialized missionaries who dedicated themselves to preaching among the working class, the peasants and the middle class. At the beginning of 1963, the "General Mission" was carried out in rural areas of the Archbishopric of Santiago[203]. *La Voz*, the official newspaper of

the Archbishopric of Santiago, spread the atmosphere of optimism and considered it to be "the most important religious event of the century in Santiago"[204].

The "General Mission" turned out to be an unprecedented evangelizing work carried out in the Archbishopric of Santiago, and this was due not only to its broad scope, but especially to the new style and pastoral work. New technologies such as the radio were used to disseminate sermons among a more extensive audience. Also, movies on religious topics were screened, the teaching of catechism started to rely on transparencies to show images of Jesus's life, and popular chants in Spanish were incorporated into liturgical acts. For the first time, missionaries were not accommodated by landowners during their rural missions, but by peasants and their families. In order for this to happen, Cardinal Silva Henríquez himself had to address letters to landowners, clarifying the mission's features and its objectives. He told them that the work would focus on training the local members and that for this reason the missionaries "will sacrifice the comfort of the landowner's house and, instead, they will live in places specially fitted out for this purpose or at tenement houses"[205].

In urban environments, the missionary work was carried out in the homes of the faithful, in small groups of people who listened to a missionary topic which was usually broadcast on the radio, and then they moved on to a conversation conducted by a layman. Local radio stations broadcast radio dramas with human cases, which presented real-life problems and subsequently its Christian solutions. They dealt with family life problems and also social issues such as "The dignity of human work", "What changes do our society need?" and "The Church's social role in today's world". These urban missions worked together with the existing social organizations and social leaders. Laymen turned out to be essential in these missions and, as *La Voz* informed, it was organized in such a fashion that they could carry on with the religious work once the missionaries had departed[206].

According to the missionaries' records, during this mission it became evident that "religious ignorance" was widely spread both in rural and urban settings. More specifically, this ignorance was due to "lack of knowledge" rather than to the existence of people's "attitudes against the faith". Another aspect present in the missionaries' records had to do with the popular belief that the Church and the clergy were close to the rich. In the same way, they believed that the Church was not sincere in its approach to the poor, and that it behaved that way out of fear of communism, or as a method of preserving its influence on society. Priest Alfonso Baeza, who was Workers' Catholic Action Movement (MOAC) advisor, recalls that a great deal of missionaries asserted that "non-Christians", "communists" and "atheists" used to do a lot more for the poor than the Church itself[207]. This is why the faithful demanded a more "modern" Church, which showed more proximity to them, more understanding of their own reality, and which was more focused on giving advice than on rebuking.

They also demanded a more significant participation in their religious activities, such as liturgy. Finally, some people, especially those from urban areas, asked the priests to share their time and live with them, and asked them "to be their friends, to understand them, to give them advice"[208].

The Church was aware of its distance and ignorance with respect to the working class, and this also became evident during the General Mission. The experience of a priest, who was also a missionary in working-class neighborhoods, attests to this. He realized that they "live, suffer and die on the fringes of the Church", and according to the statistics available at the time, the parish church only served as little as 5% of the working class, mainly through Sunday mass. They were shown an "infantile Christianism" and were exposed to vague teachings, which was due to priests' ignorance about their reality. Therefore, the parish church was an unsuitable structure, as it had been designed according to territorial and geographical criteria, and not to social reality. Catholic Action movements specialized in the working class were a solution to this problem, though only partially. A great deal of the parish churches in working-class neighborhoods lacked specialized Catholic Action members, which was often due to the difficulties caused by the parish churches themselves, consequently preventing their development[209].

In rural areas, the testimonies collected and surveys were also enlightening in relation to the population's religious reality and the peasants' opinion of the Church. First, it became evident that in those areas, the territories were even larger than in urban areas, and at the same time the number of rural clergymen was by far smaller and more disorganized. Parish priests had a huge workload, and they did not actually know their parishioners' reality, due to a lack of contact rather than a lack of interest. Religious practice was minimal, being merely confined to the sacramental practice at patronal feasts and occasional popular religious celebrations. Nonetheless, as could be verified by rural missionaries, the meager attendance was not due to a lack of interest, but to the enormous distances which people needed to cover to get to the worship centers or, in the case of women, to the difficulty which they encountered when it came to delegating the household chores[210]. Rural missionaries also observed the peasants' conditions of poverty and deprivation, which was compounded by the landowners' lack of interest in making social improvements. The missionaries payed attention to problems such as housing, lack of unions, political immaturity and the almost inexistent social awakening of the peasantry. The peasants' concerns and worries had to do with work issues related to low salaries and job security. Women brought forward their marital problems and asked questions about pregnancy and birth, and it was they who felt most abandoned by the Church[211]. According to a group of seminarians, the peasant population was apathetic, excessively shy, hopeless and uninterested in participating in acts or organizations to deal with their problems.

Those seminarians also noticed the communists' strategy for setting foot in those territories, noting that they had a high level of capability of action either at their base or in organizations or institutions which were close to the people. This strategy, in their words, had to be imitated by the Catholic Church[212].

In rural missions, peasants were lectured on their rights and on the importance of organizing themselves, which revealed the mismatch between the Catholic Church's proposals and the peasants' expectations. It was commonly believed that it provoked fear and rejection not only among landowners, but also among peasants. In many cases, the mere mention of a land reform instilled fear in the population and incited their distrust[213].

The Archdiocese of Santiago made a positive evaluation of the General Mission. Firstly, this mission enabled them to depict the population not only in terms of its religious practices and issues, but also in terms of its social, cultural and political problems. Also, this mission allowed the pastoral agents to get to know and understand the opinion of the faithful about the Church and about themselves. Lastly, it represented a push toward a new social ministry capable of arousing enthusiasm among clergymen and nuns[214].

The General Mission had an impact on pastoral agents, as it brought them closer to the popular world, unknown to them up to that moment. They managed to grasp how the poor organized themselves, how they lived and what their expectations from the Church and pastoral agents were. Thanks to the General Mission, a number of young seminarians became aware that they had a strong calling toward life in popular areas, which prompted them to start evangelizing working-class neighborhoods. This enthusiastic atmosphere is evoked by the French priest Pierre Dubois, who arrived in Chile while the General Mission was already underway. He remembers coming across a Church "with plenty of expectations, enthusiasm and willingness to try out new things"[215]. The Catholic Church inhaled an air of hope which opened up enormous possibilities for pastoral action.

Within this context, the Chilean Church began to gradually implement some of the changes dictated by the Second Vatican Council. One of the most relevant changes, which at the same time marked the essence of the new social ministry, was related to the clergy's garments. Despite the fact that it was merely an external expression, it went on to become the hallmark of those advanced priests, and soon exposed tensions between them and other Catholic sectors who felt more at ease with a more traditional Church in its approach to temporal issues.

In April 1963, the Plenary Assembly of the Chilean Episcopate officially decided to postpone all issues concerning clerical garments. In his memoirs, Bishop Jorge Hourton recalls that the

Cardinal was very careful with respect to the cassock, as, in his opinion, it represented "Christ's livery". The Cardinal was hoping that this issue would be settled at the Council, so that it would be dealt with afterward in conjunction with the other Latin American episcopates[216]. It was a subject which provoked disagreement, and opposition to it mainly came from rural areas, as evidenced by the complaint of a parish priest from the agrarian central region. From *Pastoral Popular,* he postulated that cassocks honored priests and, therefore, all those who had the intention to leave that garment aside were nothing but a "group of choleric young people". The bottom line was that cassocks were "hurdles" which prevented priests from coming into contact with environments which do not promote ecclesiastical work and, quite the contrary, invite "relaxation and excesses typical of laymen"[217].

In practice, a great deal of priests had stopped wearing cassocks many years prior to the Holy See's instruction and the ensuing authorization by the Chilean Church. This is reflected in the testimony of the Spanish priest Ignacio Pujadas, who stopped wearing the cassock soon after arriving at the Valparaíso hills, as it made mobility difficult, especially in winter, when dirt roads turned into quagmires. Along these lines, Pujadas considered that cassocks drew "people's attention in a singular way", and curtailed the spontaneity of the contact with people[218].

Despite internal opposition, at the beginning of 1964, under the guidance of Cardinal Silva Henríquez, it was established that Chilean priests were allowed to stop wearing cassocks and start wearing gray suits instead. At the same time, it was established that mass would never again be celebrated in Latin, but in Spanish. Thus, cassocks and Latin mass turned into symbols of the pre-Council Church, which kept its priests shut off from the rest of the world[219].

The idea of embracing the world and showing a greater social commitment was rapidly spreading among the young clergymen, novices and seminarians, who started to encourage the commitment to a direct ministry in urban working-class areas. It is true that a lot of these emerging neighborhoods founded in the south of Santiago at the end of the Fifties, such as La Victoria or José María Caro, had had religious agents from the very beginning. Nevertheless, it was during the Sixties that a massive impetus was given to this, which gave rise to what would come to be known as "direct", "embedded" or "embodied" social ministry[220].

A large part of Santiago's urban working-class areas had emerged from the urban crisis which took place in the mid-20th century. At that time, the capital city saw the influx of an enormous number of people migrating from rural areas from the center and south of the country, and from the mining settlements in the north. Apart from the overpopulation of the central neighborhoods, a new

kind of housing sprang up, known as *"poblaciones callampas"* ("mushrooming shanty towns"), which owe their name to their rapid development[221], like wild mushrooms after a rain. Santiago's poorest areas were to be found here, which was worsened by the ever-growing population coming to the city, the low house-building rate and the absence of an efficient state policy, among other problems[222]

One of the first experiences of priests in working-class areas was conducted by the Congregation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which entailed a huge and radical change when compared to the previous evangelization project[223]. It was, as priest Enrique Moreno recalls, "a new pastoral front for the congregation", considering that it had mostly undertaken work in the educational field, and a large part of the Chilean elite had attended its schools[224]. The idea emerged from Los Perales, a place for scholastic studies which trained the novices and was characterized by being imparted at a "modest and moderate", "monastic" and "communitarian" Church training center[225]. Los Perales was located in the Marga-Marga valley, near the city of Quilpué, in the coastal region of Valparaíso. It was an uninhabited, quiet place, geographically isolated from the noise of the city. In spite of this, the novices received high-level theological teaching, which was very close to European standards. As Moreno evokes, "we were immersed in a theological atmosphere in the spirit of what would later become the Council"[226]. The social ministry of the Sacred Hearts was scarce, except for the work carried out in the area of the Quilpué hills and the summer missions. Esteban Gumucio says, "we were supporters of the social encyclicals […], but that only remained in the realm of ideas"[227].

The social restlessness of the young novices, at the beginning of the 1960s, disrupted Los Perales's calm. The group was small, but demanded more social commitment. This anxiety became evident when priests from the diocesan clergy paid a visit to the center. They related their pastoral work experiences in working-class neighborhoods, which "dazzled" the young people, as priest Pablo Fontaine recalled. As a consequence, they started to voice their rejection of life at Los Perales, as it kept them detached from reality. According to Fontaine, this, together with the hope the development of the Second Vatican Council brought, "shook us up inside because we could sense the urgency of a Church which showed more commitment to the poor and was closer to them"[228].

The idea of creating small working communities in poor areas provoked distrust and skepticism in some members of the community. Gumucio recalls that, within the congregation, it was said that they would not be capable, that priests were not meant for that task. Another difficulty which they had to deal with was criticism coming from the congregation's schools, which struggled to enroll the young people who came from Los Perales. To the surprise of many people, the congregation's provincial father, Manuel Edwards, approved of the idea of setting up small

communities in urban shanty towns. Edwards talked with Cardinal Silva Henríquez personally in order to explain to him his intention that a group of young priests not only carried out pastoral work in outlying neighborhoods, but also lived among the people. The Cardinal endorsed this decision and requested that they choose a suitable place. The group of clergymen who undertook this pilot project was small: Esteban Gumucio, the most experienced clergyman of the group, and three recently ordained young priests. They arrived in Santiago's southern zone, the huge territory of the parish of *Los Parrales*, which had been under the guidance of Franciscan fathers up to then. They settled in the working-class neighborhood of João Goulart, inhabited by around 3,000 families. It was December 1963 and the General Mission had just been started in that area, so these priests took an active part in it[229].

As soon as they had settled down, they built the parish church Saint Peter and Saint Paul. Their integration into the neighborhood, according to Gumucio, was gradual. In the first place, they got their bearings and met with their neighbors. They rented a small, simple house, not at all different from the rest of the houses. In Gumucio's words, "basically I went straight from the monastery down to the street". The young people who came with him had new religious ideas and relied on all the positive aspects which this direct social ministry experience would bring to them. Gumucio was aware of the great responsibility he had assumed. He was concerned about the young people who were accompanying him, because it seemed to him that "getting them involved in this was a bit of a crazy thing to do". He believed that he would live a monastic life within a working-class environment, dedicating his time to saying his prayers, being at home and giving advice to the young priests. This changed swiftly, as people started to fall back on him for advice on their problems. Shortly after that, Cardinal Silva appointed him parish priest of the parish church Saint Peter and Saint Paul[230].

The young priests gave life to the direct social ministry, leaving aside some traditional religious elements such as the importance of sacramental rites and practices linked to Catholic charity. They did not feel attracted to the culture of offerings, popular religiosity, devotion or vows to the Virgin. Neither did they place value on severity, punishment or sin, all of which were so present in Catholic culture. "We cared about Christ, the poor man, the human figure of Christ", one of these priests recalls. In their ministry, reflecting with the people about their poverty and Christ's presence in it became essential. Their high expectations mirrored their self-assurance about their excellent theological training, and their confidence in the conviction that they had to preach a "living gospel, real, authentic, without formal piety or ritualism"[231]. It was a creative period, marked by the improvisation of clerical work, unknown up to then. "Day after day, we were responsible for deciding

what to do, and how to do it", Gumucio remembers. The priests of the Sacred Heart started out by giving the laity more participation within the Church. The reception was better in the case of women, so they prepared catechism teachers for women and married couples. The male workers were harder to deal with, despite all the efforts the priests put into working their way into their world. Difficulties related to schedule incompatibilities, lack of interest, and the workers' distrust of priests were some of the elements which prevented them from getting closer to the workers. Gumucio, then, got involved in finding ways to make the organization easier, so he put the parish church at the disposal of the local residents so that they could organize themselves, and he even participated in committees which were set up to find solutions to the working-class districts' problems, such as electricity, water supply or public transport[232].

The reception given to the priests by the neighborhood's inhabitants is unknown, even though some fragmentary and scattered testimonies shed some light on the topic. The experience of the Sacred Hearts –and other similar undertakings – had a great impact on shantytown dwellers, especially because of the decision to share their situation of poverty with them. The perplexity of a dweller from La Victoria provides a good example. Out of curiosity, she asked priests Pierre Rolland and Osvaldo Martínez about the underlying reasons for this decision. They answered by asking in turn if that was not the way they lived. The woman's answer was "Yes, but we're workers…"[233].

Among the oral testimonies found in David Fernández's work, there is one worker from the Joao Goulart working-class neighborhood who talks about the impact caused by the way priests carried out their ecclesiastical work. "They started talking about a different type of relationship […] A relationship in which we're a brotherhood, in which we have to get to know each other", he says. By then they were impressed that "the priest isn't on the pedestal anymore"; instead, he was now their friend, their neighbor, someone who "treats us as equals"[234]. Another shantytown dweller, from La Legua on the south side of Santiago, shared a similar opinion. She remembers noticing a change in the way they approached priests, and especially the new possibility of disagreeing with them. "Many times, we contradicted the priest in public", she says, which was a concrete proof of a more egalitarian treatment[235].

Soon afterward, the Joao Goulart shantytown was visited by a small group of four nuns from the Congregation of Merciful Love, one of the first women's congregations to undertake work in working-class neighborhoods. They were trained by Cardinal Silva Henríquez himself, based on the motto "to live among the poor, as a poor person". With this objective, they were advised by North American priest Robert Pelton, from the Holy Cross[236]. To nun Francisca Morales, who took part in this, "we had to get rid of the rules and of much of what we had learnt during the novitiate"[237]. At

the beginning, the group of nuns settled in a house rented by the Archbishopric of Santiago. The nuns did not wear their habits, which had repercussions far more significant than a mere change of clothing. Morales says, "it was not only about taking off the habit, but also about renouncing all the privileges associated with wearing it". The first thing they did was to meet with people from the neighborhood, "to get ourselves socially located" –Morales said–, and, thereafter, they gradually worked their way into the social fabric of the neighborhood[238].

This direct social ministry also met opposition within the Catholic Church, which became evident at the Major Seminary of Santiago. Jorge Hourton, who at the time was the rector of the seminary, describes this period as "times of change", marked by the clergymen's desire to be part of the social reality and have an influence on it[239]. An important and influential group within the seminary started out by disregarding aspects which made their subsequent incorporation into society more difficult, such as the instructions received, the distance between seminarians and the reality of the country which was imposed on them. Many of the seminarians admired the experiences of worker- priests, "the true embodiment" which they would have gotten in their environments and the possibility of becoming "just another" worker. Mariano Puga, who was the seminarians' spiritual advisor and one of the leaders behind this search for a direct ministry, remembers the excitement which the experiences with the working class generated during his training years: "We, the entire generation, spent our lives fascinated by what was happening with the clergy in Europe… A brand-new perspective opened up, and we began fantasizing about a new way of being a priest"[240]. They were also influenced by the experience of Little Brothers of Jesus, a congregation founded by father Rene Voillaume, and which made its appearance in Chile in 1951, after Father Hurtado's efforts to bring it to the country. All that was a symbol of a Church "embodied in the poor"[241].

One of the toughest topics within the seminary was the possibility of the seminarians being trained in working-class neighborhoods, at least partially. Mariano Puga raised the concern with the authorities, and met the opposition of the seminary's rector, Jorge Hourton. The latter held that future priests had to be trained surrounded by European advanced theological and philosophical thinking, although he thought that it was of the utmost importance that priests lived a life of withdrawal, study and spiritual formation. Therefore, it was inadequate that the formation of seminarians took place in popular places[242]. On the contrary, Mariano Puga's group valued the place in which the seminarians were trained. He recalls that, as it seemed to him at the time, "encouraging thorough advanced theological and philosophical reflections, but remaining in a posh uptown seminary" was pointless[243].

Despite the internal reflection which took place within the seminary, the teaching team did not manage to reach an agreement. As Hourton evokes, an atmosphere of confusion was hanging

over them, which was worsened by the fact that several seminarians decided to leave the institution. Some members of the teaching team came up with an integration project, which they showed to Cardinal Silva Henríquez. He, in turn, presented it to the Holy See, which in the end accepted it. After that decision had been made, Hourton decided to leave the seminary, and Mario González, a former national advisor of ANEC, took over. The project would be implemented by means of small communities made up of seminarians and an experienced priest, which would regularly be supervised by the teaching team. The first of these was implemented in 1967 in a neighborhood of Estación Central, led by Mariano Puga[244].

Pastoral agents who settled in Santiago's poor settlements soon became vivid models of Catholicism open to new ministry experiences. While they lived in shanty towns, they managed to know and understand the poor, their way of living and their problems. Poverty now had theological value, which directly linked them with God. Direct contact with poverty resulted in the emergence of a new theology, related to the rescue of the poor and their values, and, as stated by nun Francisca Morales, they went on to become the "blessed". The old conception of "poor little poor"[245], so typical of the relations created by alms, and so omnipresent in the spirit of Catholic charity, was abandoned. Priests, nuns and missionaries were changed by these experiences, possibly far more than the faithful were. Their direct ministry would even be a challenge to their own pastoral role and their specific mission in society.

3. 1962: A Christian revolution

The 1960s have been considered the quintessential decade of revolution. These were years of dreams, utopias, and changes in behavior and customs. These were years of revolution in the broadest sense of the word. During this decade, the idea and the perception that society urgently had to change intensified, and the possibilities of carrying out such a change widened. Revolution not only became necessary, but also possible and attainable[246].

The imminence of a social revolution in Chile became evident in a study about social change, carried out in 1962 by Jesuit Joseph Fitcher. In it, the attitudes of a population of 1,000 Catholics were surveyed -whom he called "nuclear Catholics"- concerning a possible revolution. Of those 1,000 interviewees, 68.1%, chiefly made up of the youth population, expressed that a revolution was imminent. Of these, 40.7% felt that revolution would be peaceful, whereas 28.1% stated that it would occur violently. The clergymen's attitude, also assessed by Fitcher, showed similar results: of the 328 priests surveyed, 60% stated that a revolution was imminent, of whom 23.5% considered that it would happen violently[247].

As a result of the announcement of land reforms on Church lands and the publication of two pastoral letters called "The Church and the Problem of the Chilean Peasantry" and "The Current Social and Political Duty", 1962 turned into a year of great transcendence for the Chilean Catholic world. It translated into the leadership of the Church hierarchy concerning a proposal for Catholic reformism. In this way, the Chilean Catholic Church validated the proposal for social change and started to consider it as an intrinsic part of Catholicism's mission[248].

Toward the beginning of the Sixties, influential factions of the Latin American Catholic world took a favorable stance regarding a social revolution, which was understood as a comprehensive development, the full integration of the marginal masses and at the same time the integration of underdeveloped countries into the international community. Intellectuals, social scientists, and politicians but also priests laid the foundations of Catholic developmentalism and began to outline and give substance to a Christian revolution[249]. In Chile, one pivotal factor was that in 1962 the Church hierarchy got involved in this proposal for social change. Even more relevant is the fact that it led the way to social changes by initiating land reforms on Church lands. The Church joined forces with ECLA, the *Alliance for Progress*, reformist political groups, and also left-wing factions. They all agreed that the prevailing agrarian structure was one of the main "bottlenecks" of Latin American economy, as well as a source of social discontent and political revolution. All

diagnoses concurred that a change in the agrarian structure and the incorporation of the peasantry into society were key to achieving modernization in Latin America as a symbol of victory over communism, whose challenge intensified after the triumph of the Cuban Revolution[250].

Rural society was at the base of the problem of underdevelopment in Latin America. This was understood as being due to its feudal structure, which expressed itself in large concentrations of land ownership, a low productivity, and a population that lived in precarious conditions. In socio-economic terms, the slow growth of Latin American agriculture, the inability to satisfy the demand for food of an ever growing and urbanized population, along with a high demand for imported goods –which was especially true of Chile, considered to be "the South American California"– were some of the problems attributed to the traditional Latin American agrarian structure. Large estates of low-productivity were concentrated in the hands of few people, and this issue became one of the main topics of debate. Toward the middle of the 1950s, 4.4% of the landowners possessed 43.8% of the irrigated land[251].

The incapacity of rural society to generate social mobility was caused by the agrarian sector's slow absorption of the rural workforce, low salaries and, above all, the impossibility to extend land ownership to the peasant population. These were obvious expressions of the problems in the agrarian sector, and as a consequence, the peasants were forced to leave the countryside and migrate to cities, mainly Santiago, which absorbed almost the entire migrant population coming from agrarian zones. All this generated social and economic problems, as well as vicious circles of poverty against which the state could barely counteract. The scenario was even worse when one considered the peasants' growing discontent and the possibility of a social upheaval.[252].

As regards agrarian issues, the Church hierarchy accepted the proposals for social change which placed the countryside at the heart of transformations. Some elements were taken from what had once been proposed by Catholic developmentalism in the early 1960s and it relied on direct input from centers of Jesuit social action. Basically, the importance of a radical change in the countryside was acknowledged, in which rural society would go from a traditional society with feudal tendencies to a modern society characterized by an increase in the number of landowners, social mobility, and political participation of the peasants[253].

These changes would provoke a deep wound in the Chilean Catholic world. The countryside, which had remained an impenetrable place for decades, and had also been a bastion for traditional factions of society. This set the stage for harsh disputes, with the Catholic Church as their main protagonist. The fact that the Chilean Church hierarchy joined theses voices for change in the

countryside was not entirely new. In the middle of the 1940s, Manuel Larraín, Bishop of Talca, an eminently agrarian zone, had stressed the importance of paying attention to the peasants' social situation[254]. In the same way, the Catholic Church had developed some ideas for social organization, especially the Rural Catholic Movement (*Acción Católica Rural,* ACR) and the Institute for Rural Education (*Instituto de Educación Rural,* IER), founded in 1955. They had also carried out some initiatives related to peasants' associations, such as the Christian Unionist Land Federation, the National Association of Peasant Organizations (ANOC), and the Christian Peasants' Association of Chile (UCC)[255]. Lastly, one of the most emblematic events had been the strike in Molina, located in the province of Curicó, an agrarian zone in central Chile– in which both ASICH and Cardinal José María Caro played a significant role by defending peasants' rights[256].

During Lent of 1962, the Episcopal Conference of Chile disclosed a pastoral letter related to agrarian issues called "The Church and the Issue of the Chilean Peasantry". In this document, which had relied on contributions from economists and experts in agrarian issues, bishops expressed approval of the implementation of radical reforms in the countryside, and of the integration of peasants into political life by means of unionization. This document was inspired by the Pope John XXIII's Encyclical of 1961, *Mater et Magistra*, and particularly by the social conception of property rights it established. This encyclical stated that the right to private property was not an absolute right per se, but, on the contrary, it was conditioned and had to respond to the social function of goods and the development of human beings. The role of the state was essential to the actual accomplishment of both of these aspects, as it was its responsibility to ensure that the legal forms assumed by ownership carried out this function, both individually and socially. Another focal point related to unionization contained in the Episcopal Conference of Chile (CECH)'s document was that peasants had to be "the main protagonists of economic development, social progress and cultural boost in rural agrarian environments"[257].

The document started out with a diagnosis of the Chilean countryside, going beyond Chile's borders to situate the countryside problem as a global concern. Bishops highlighted the abandonment of the land on the part of the peasants, the low productivity of agriculture, the peasants' growing unease, the notorious inferiority of revenues when compared with industry, and the peasants' cultural and social backwardness. This situation was summed up in a few words: "A peasant man, a depressed man". According to this document, peasants had been excluded from the modern world, which would have pushed them to exert "a strong social pressure"[258].

However, this pastoral letter was far more than mere abstract words. Bishops observed and made practical suggestions as to how to solve countryside-related problems. As regards land

ownership, they stressed the importance of restructuring it, giving preponderance to small-scale land ownership. They also stressed the necessity of organizing trade unions of agrarian workers, which had to be accompanied by laws in accordance with their reality. Finally, they dealt with the topic of land expropriation by the state. This would have absolute legitimacy if it were aimed at common welfare and higher productivity. Bishops appealed to all those who "could 'set the stage and clear the path' in order to carry out this enormous task, thanks to their technical training, experience, influence within the Congress, and expert opinion in information-disseminating media". Finally, bishops mentioned a concrete plan regarding their own land, which had already been agreed on at the Plenary Assembly of the CECH[259].

A short time after that, two important leaders from the Chilean Catholic Church promoted land reforms on Church lands. Despite the fact that they were not significant in terms of the amount of land to be shared out, they were valuable due to their significance as a symbol. In 1961, during the preparations for the "General Mission", the vast amount of agrarian lands owned by different Catholic institutions, such as religious congregations, schools and dioceses, had become evident[260]. Soon after his investiture, Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez had expressed his intention of carrying out an extensive land reform on some of his lands. When he travelled to Rome in order to be ordained a Cardinal, Silva Henríquez shared his plans on a land reform with Pope John XXIII, saying, "if we are to achieve the meaningful fruit of peace, justice must be conscientiously worshipped". The Pope gave him his support[261].

In October 1961, the Archbishop of Santiago set up a commission made up of priests, members of the IER, engineers and a couple of peasants. Their mission was to design, devise, implement and monitor the land reform to be applied on several plots of land owned by the Archbishopric of Santiago, the objective of which was to produce "plenty of owners". This would be achieved through the constitution of rural cooperatives, in which all their members had to work bearing in mind that the common welfare was the objective and that revenues had to be shared out among the peasants. In order to accomplish such a huge task, one of the members of this commission stated that the goal was to change the peasants' mindset and make them aware of their responsibility, which was more important than the technical and economic aspects"[262].

The land reform was first implemented by the Bishop of Talca, Manuel Larraín, on the *hacienda* Los Silos, located in Pirque, in the foothills of Los Andes mountain range, where the "Peasants' Cooperative of Los Silos" was set up. The objective pursued by Larraín was to put an end to the social division between owners and *inquilinos* (tenant farmers). According to him, if tenants became responsible people in charge of their own future, and if the expected outcome was to have

"a lot of owners", the foundations for future social peace would be laid. However, putting this into practice was not as simple, neither was it immediately accepted by the peasants. The project was presented to the heads of families for their approval, and, as its planners said, "it wasn't easy for the peasants to immediately grasp its meaning". For some of them, it was incomprehensible, and a couple of families even rejected the proposal. The most controversial topics among the peasants were related to the salaries and the number of hectares which each family would receive[263].

On June 26th, Manuel Larraín made a personal appearance at "Los Silos" to set the land reform in motion. In the presence of the beneficiary peasant families, seventeen in total, he declared that "today the *inquilinaje* (resident tenant farmer system) has come to an end […] and today a new system of work begins, one more in accordance with today's needs". The bishop also spoke about the injustices which took place in the Chilean and Latin American countryside, and also discussed the life of the landless people. According to him, the inequitable distribution of lands was "an open wound at the heart of the continent". Manuel Larraín motivated the peasants by saying, "My dear friends, it is up to you to show that you are capable… On this small plot of land, and in the presence of a small group of people, today is the beginning of big things for Chile…"[264].

Shortly afterward, the Archbishopric of Santiago began the land reform on the estate Las Pataguas, located in the province of O'Higgins. Many of the future owners had previously worked on the estate, some of them even "born and raised" there. The procedure and methodology of implementation of this reform was similar to the previous implementation by Bishop Larraín. First, the work was carried out through cooperatives, and then family units were formed, prior to which the peasant families received agricultural training[265]. Before setting off for the opening of the Second Vatican Council in Rome, Cardinal Silva Henríquez visited Las Pataguas, being cheerfully welcomed by the peasants. The Cardinal told them, "I'm here to ensure that the Pope's will is fulfilled", to which one of them replied "And to think that we were the first"[266].

The consequences of this land reform carried out by bishops Larraín and Silva Henríquez were huge. Praise even came from beyond Chile's borders, and in François Houtart and Emile Pin's book they held it out as a model for the rest of the Latin American countries to follow, as it combined "social concern with social action"[267]. On the domestic front, some Jesuit figures gave their support to what was being proposed and carried out by the Chilean Church hierarchy. Father Gonzalo Arroyo, who came from an important landowner family in central Chile, was one of the most renowned experts in the field of agrarian matters. He had pursued studies in economics in Canada and the United States, and gave them his support and encouragement by providing them with solid studies and reflections on the topic. Manuel Larraín's initiative, according to Arroyo, was praiseworthy if it

was considered as an act of justice toward the peasants. But, above all, he observed how symbolic it was for the entire Chilean society. The success of the land reform at Los Silos silenced the skepticism which called into doubt the peasants' chances of becoming owners, either due to their poor cultural level or their limited entrepreneurial capabilities**.** Arroyo stated that "if the land reform at Los Silos is successful, a big step will have been taken toward proving that our peasants can in fact take on responsibility for setting up an enterprise of their own, provided that they are properly organized in cooperatives, and that they get both technical and economic advice"[268].

Arroyo also reflected on the Christian sense of ownership, which was so frequently invoked at the time and seemed to be unknown to many Catholics. He started out by defining the concept of property right, seeing it as a "fundamental right to use the goods" accessible to everybody. In this way, ownership primarily had a social function. Within the framework of this definition, the right to private property had been accomplished by means of "statute laws and institutions" instead of natural laws. It was then pushed into the background, which Therefore, there was not a "natural institution of private property". Arroyo's argument clearly showed the core ideas of this advanced Christian thinking regarding the land reform, which was related to the establishment of fraternal relationships between owners and workers. In his opinion, the Chilean *hacienda* was far from reaching this ideal because peasants played "a merely passive role" and "obediently executed the steward's instructions". There was no room, then, for them to develop their own initiatives, neither could they fully assume their duties at work. Besides, they were "subject to unfair salary conditions", and, in practice, they were denied some basic rights such as the right of association"[269].

The incursion of a land reform promoted by the Church hierarchy –and ultimately supported by the Jesuits from Centro Bellarmino– caused strong tensions among Catholics, despite the relative consensus on the matter. In August 1962, during the right-wing government of Jorge Alessandri, a limited land reform project was support ed. However, the core issue was the open involvement of the Church in countryside matters, the social debate over the land reform and its stance regarding the definitions of private property. This provoked a deep wound in Chilean Catholicism.

The Chilean episcopate caused a huge stir and debate again in 1962, after the publication of a second pastoral letter, "The Current Social and Political Duty", which was even more controversial than its predecessor had been in March that same year. Jesuit priest-experts from Centro Bellarmino participated in the elaboration of this document, which legitimized the urgency and necessity of a structural change of deep, wide-ranging transformations in Chile. Bishops used a very human and straightforward language to enumerate Chilean society's economic, social, political, moral and ethical ills. They tackled issues related to the peasants and the poor from urban areas who had

enormous housing and employment problems, as well as a huge wage gap. They also denounced nutrition problems, the population's scarce literacy and the school dropout rate.

Afterward, bishops criticized liberalism and, particularly, communism, and went on to state the profound mistakes they both carried. They dedicated six long sections of the document to the latter, which advised against the possible ills a left-wing electoral victory could bring to the country. They stuck to the traditional anti-communist stance of Catholicism, hinting at the fact that communists sowed the seeds of hatred, accentuated the differences between social classes and aimed at glorifying a violent class struggle which destroyed the social order in every possible way. In the same way, communism declared itself against Christianity, and stuck to its well-known anti-Church criticism[270]. However, a newly considered aspect is that bishops incorporated some nuances into their criticism, and acknowledged a "part of truth contained" in communism, especially the aspects regarding its efforts to improve the quality of life of the working classes, to put an end to abuse, and to have a more equitable income distribution[271].

This pastoral letter called for large scale action from Catholics, so that they would get involved in "changing" and "reforming the structures". It was more than a social or political duty; rather, it was their moral and social obligation. Bishops made allusion to a "difficult dilemma", and statements like "the present time is the time for action" or "a new homeland is underway" were adopted. Deep transformations and efficient political solutions to the problem of poverty had to be encouraged without falling into "a negative anti-communism feeling with tendencies toward the defeat and elimination of the adversary". By means of this document, which combined a sociological analysis of reality, a proposal for structural reforms and an alternative project to communism, the Church invited the Christians to participate, and even lead what would come to be known as a new historical era[272].

This pastoral turned into a best-seller[273]. It was translated by *Catholic Relief Services* and the Episcopal Conference of the United States sent it out to all missionary directors. It even appeared in the *New York Times*, in which the Chilean bishops' initiative was praised[274]. The pastoral documents of 1962 were given out to Council fathers "and we quickly gave out all the copies we had", the Cardinal said. In his memoirs he related that these documents and the land reform started by the Church drew interest from the other Churches[275].

That same year, 1962, ended with the Jesuits from Centro Bellarmino at the heart of the debate after *Mensaje*'s publication of a special edition, dedicated to the revolution in Latin America[276]. It decidedly and clearly chose the path of profound structural transformations, which it

openly called a "revolution" of a Catholic nature. The sheer fact of using this concept was a novelty. In the leading article, the Jesuits provided some definitions regarding this "revolution". First, it had to be planned beforehand and had to have a clear sense of "knowing where it is heading"; second, it had to be understood as a "radical and comprehensive reform"; third, it was provided with a sense of urgency, and finally, it embraced "all spheres" of society. On the one hand, the revolution they proposed came in response to the unsuitability and inefficiency of the prevailing structures, while, on the other hand, they were a sort of reaction to the injustice inherent in these structures. Society had to "put an end to the prevailing 'order'", "break with the past", "start 'from scratch'" and "build a new order", which could fulfil "all the wishes of man"[277].

Up to then, there were not major differences between the proposals of the different Catholic factions; nonetheless, the Jesuits from *Mensaje* went a step farther and established the Christians' role within the revolutionary movement. They left no room for multiple interpretations, since they emphasized from the very beginning that "an authentically Christian attitude and an openly anti-communist stance, opposed to radical and urgent changes of the prevailing structures," were absolutely incompatible with each other. Therefore, Christianity had to face this new scenario of "revolution in progress" and make efforts to "channel it through Christian mechanisms", which was summarized by the concept of "'Christianizing' the coming revolution"[278].

After the publication of their December 1962 special edition, the Jesuits plunged into the heart of the discussion and it became a milestone in the redefinition of the concept of revolution. First, it became clear that revolution should not only be associated with the Marxist ideology, but rather with a social context. In this way, the Jesuits from *Mensaje* brought forward the idea of a "revolution in progress" seeing that it was impossible, even anti-Christian, to remain neutral. The call for "Christianization" of the coming revolution meant nothing but giving it a human foundation, removing from it the violence, revenge and resentment typical of Marxist revolutions[279].

The pastoral letters of 1962 and *Mensaje*'s special edition aroused a strong polemic in the Chilean political world and particularly among Catholics, to which the media gave wide coverage[280]. After the publication of the pastoral letters, discussion forums were organized, to which various representatives of the political and religious world were invited[281], and there, Cardinal Silva Henríquez had to publicly explain what the scope of these pastoral letters was, in an attempt to distance himself from the controversy and the frequent political-partisan interpretations[282].

The Christian Democratic Party was the only party which praised CECH's pastoral letters and *Mensaje*'s special edition. This party felt triumphant and it overtly suggested that the bishops'

document of 1962 left no trace of doubt as to its critical assessment of the state of injustice and poverty of a large part of the population. A party activist went a step further and said "for sure, rejecting the idea of a social revolution doesn't seem to be easy for a Catholic today, especially if they are young"[283].

The Liberal Party was one of the first parties to react to this. Its leaders asked for appointments with the Cardinal to demand explanations about these pastoral letters, and expressed their surprise at the document's criticism of economic liberalism. To the liberals, it was an irrefutable proof that the Church was intent upon intervening in temporal politics[284]. Left-wing parties showed their irritation. Socialists accused the bishops who had signed the pastoral of "colluding with imperialism and right-wing parties"[285]. According to socialist deputy Clodomiro Almeyda, the Catholic Church intended to create a division between Catholics and anti-Catholics, and use religion as a political weapon of war in view of the presidential election of 1964[286].

For their part, the Communists firmly replied to the accusations formulated by the Bishops, and many of their best-known party members spoke out against this Christian reformism closely linked to the North American liberalism. Communist deputy Orlando Millas criticized the Jesuits and made a direct allusion to Roger Vekemans. Millas then described the revolution proposed by the Jesuits as a "counter-revolutionary revolution", a "bourgeois reformism" which did not deal with the big problems, but instead adopted the "broad label" of revolution only to retract it afterward[287]. A similar argument was set forth at the plenary session of the Central Committee, and the Communist newspaper, *El Siglo,* described the document as a "curious mix of McCarthyism and quotations from Pope Pius XI", the only purpose of which was "to add fuel to the anti-communist flames"[288]. The communist historian, Hernán Ramírez Necochea, raised the question "Why do Bishops drift away from Christ?", and reproached them for their involvement in temporal issues, given that their role was to merely look after spiritual matters. The poet Pablo Neruda rebuked the Church for having neglected issues that Chilean communism had already been dealing with for many years. He echoed the atmosphere of the Cold War, and considered Chilean Bishops plunged into a "world of fight", pushing the Catholics into a "religious war", similar to those which had already taken place in other places. Lastly, Neruda put the emphasis on fighting against poverty and encouraged the Catholics to join in[289].

The Conservative Party was taken aback. The Conservatives stressed the bishops' right to draw up the guidelines on social and political action for the Catholics, and focused their statements on the prohibition which the September pastoral had imposed on communism and on any kind of agreement or political support in connection with it[290]. In this way, they dodged a direct confrontation

with the hierarchy, save for an incident in which the party's board and the director of the newspaper of the Archbishopric of Santiago, Gastón Cruzat, got into a quarrel. Conservative leaders accused the newspaper *La Voz* of being an "anti-conservative publication", and favorably disposed to Christian Democracy. They requested the Church's political neutrality, especially due to the fact that it was an official organ of the Archbishopric[291]. In a letter addressed to this newspaper, the conservative leaders ironically asked "Until when will *La Voz* carry on with those stupid hypocritical-Christian campaigns?"[292]. They also criticized the confusion generated by this newspaper among Catholics, which ultimately would end up opening the door to communism. They considered all of this as "suspiciously in keeping with" Marxist proposals, for a press which called itself Catholic[293].

In the pages of *El Diario Ilustrado*, the Jesuits from Centro Bellarmino were also criticized, especially due to their use of the concept of revolution and the impossibility of distancing themselves from revolutionary violence and the totalitarian ways of communism. The Conservatives clearly expressed their fear of the exacerbation of revolutionary consciousness and their concerns about disregarding the terrible consequences which this might have, such as the destruction of society, the persecution of Catholics and the decay of the Church. The examples of the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and even Cuba, were enough to make it clear that there was no other alternative. To the conservatives, the mere fact of using the concept of "revolution" meant a transgression of Christian principles. They asked themselves what the reasons were for using the adversaries' slogans, which did a lot of harm and encouraged behavior "diametrically opposed to the eternal and current teachings of the Church". Soon after that, on December 20th, 1962, the Conservative Party officially announced that they defended their legitimacy and representation of Catholics, hinting at the fact that they also represented the Christian philosophy and the social teachings of the Church, in view of an advanced Catholicism which arrogated to itself the representation of Catholics. *El Diario Ilustrado* stated that Christians could not participate in the mysticism of revolution, which was nothing other than "an instrument used by modern humanism to disrupt the order which God himself has imprinted on Creation", and also to create a "utopia on earth"[294].

The Jesuits from Centro Bellarmino defended themselves from criticism in the subsequent editions of *Mensaje*. Many articles showed that they were disconcerted by the defensive stance from a large part of Christian sectors, and asked directly "What is the reason for that instinctive fear of the phrase "structural change'?"[295]. They also referred to the frustration generated by the fact that the debate had been dumbed down, being solely restricted to the use of the word revolution. By means of a special edition issued in October 1963, they made an attempt at clarifying what they meant by *revolution*, especially its "restoring" content, and its aim at creating a "true order"[296].

The Conservative Party's criticism intensified after the agrarian offensive led by the Chilean episcopate and the Centro Bellarmino. In the pages of *El Diario Ilustrado*, they not only showed the deep confusion caused by the Church's transformational policy, but also the feeling of betrayal on the part of the institution. Many articles written by some eminent party members indicated that they felt the Church had turned its back on them, considering that they had been allies in the past –a feeling even more pronounced among landowners. The conservatives' criticism was chiefly based on the traditional anti-communist view of Catholicism. The mere fact of sharing spaces, slogans and symbols with communism turned it into a threat, which would ultimately weaken the clergy, cause confusion among the parishioners and help its development[297].

Salvador Valdés came to represent the face of criticism for a large part of that world. Valdés even labelled the 1960's as "the infamous decade", which would later be the title of his book. He spoke clearly, dubbing progressive clergymen as "communist priests", or "new priests", who were furthermore described as "dissolute", "bad-mannered", "barely spiritual" and "not subject to mortification". In *El Diario Ilustrado*, Valdés asked himself, in October 1966, "Is the Church a place for praying?". In his view, it was a place for "worshipping God", "receiving the sacraments" and "sharing with the faithful the teachings of the Gospels". Therefore, they were "places of peace, meditation, religious and moral teachings". But that had changed. The context of "revolution" and "structural changes" had led priests "to enthusiastically devote themselves to the insubstantial fashion novelties". This had brought "severe consequences", as the believers were increasingly drifting away from the Churches and saw with "outrage and scandal" how the priests talked about "issues alien" to their ministry[298]. The extremism in Valdés's statements was clear. He mixed Catholic progressivism with the dissolute behavior which was, in his opinion, becoming obvious among some members of the clergy[299]. In fact, there were some particular cases of dispensation of the vow of celibacy, although their number was small. According to the statistics shown by the magazine *Ercilla*, in 1965 and 1966 there were only around thirty priests who asked for a dispensation of the vow from Pope Paul VI in order to get married, which attested to their estrangement from priestly duties[300].

The voices of criticism were joined by a new actor, with a more radical position, which expressed a dissatisfaction and a desire to build up Christendom. It was the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property (TFP) –which, in Chile, went by the name Fiducia, because of the name given to its publication. This group, despite its small size, was inspired by the Brazilian Plinio Correa de Olivera's ideology and came to represent the most traditional and integralist stance of Catholicism. They would stand on the corners of Santiago's main avenues,

voicing their slogans and giving out pamphlets which promoted the group's ideology. They declared themselves an expression of "combative ultramontanism", and put up a fight to protect the values of Christian civilization, mainly by promoting property rights[301].

TFP condemned the pastoral letters of 1962 and the land reform promoted by the Church hierarchy. They were particularly critical of what they called the "permissive tolerance" of the bishops, who were not capable of holding back the development of a "Catholic, left-wing effervescence". They focused their attacks on protecting the right to private and individual property, which they considered a "natural right" and "the core of Christian Civilization". In their opinion, the times prior to the land reform, "when the land did have owners", were characterized not only by prosperity, but also by their "bright harmony and peace between the social classes". It is worth mentioning that TFP was one of the first actors to describe "left-wing Catholics" as Catholics who supported the land reform[302].

> "The revolutionary turmoil -said TFP- coming not from the peasantry, but from bourgeois circles, and particularly from 'left-wing Catholics', created a hostile atmosphere towards the former rural landowners. To some people, the basic assumption that the sheer equitable subdivision of the land would make it more productive, and would resolve the social issues in the countryside, started to acquire for some a sort of legitimacy disguised in Christian clothing"[303].

According to this group, the openness of the leaders of the Chilean Church to land reform issues marked the beginning of an ambiguous collaboration with the communists[304]. They also criticized the Church's social activism, which they described as "haughty", as it vilified the concepts of love and charity, social justice and commitment to the world. In their opinion, the Church had stripped "its authentic supernatural sense" to turn them into mere expressions "of the urgency of the moment", "of the time for action". This was only an expression of a "feverish humanism", which had ultimately forsaken man. *Fiducia* called for Catholicism's prioritization of spiritual concerns over material ones[305].

TFP was characterized as being deeply anti-revolutionary. Its criticism of revolution began with the French Revolution, which it considered to be "the mother of all contemporary ills". They established the essential difference between "revolution" and "counter-revolution": for the latter, life would always be "a valley of tears and a step toward heaven", whereas the former considered that the earth was meant to become "a paradise" in which man achieves happiness "without longing for

eternity"[306]. The problem was even more serious, as revolution was essentially euphoria, sensuality, a desire to knock down barriers, to reject any kind of hindrance, to rebel against authority. Paraphrasing *Mensaje*'s words, TFP declared that Catholics could be nothing but "determined counter-revolutionaries"[307].

Both pastoral letters, the land reform and the proposals regarding a Christian revolution which enjoyed the approval of the high ranks of the Chilean Church boosted the attraction of social change. They also laid the foundations of a political and ideological context which coincided with the advance of Eduardo Frei Montalva, the Christian Democrat candidate[308]. This party took advantage of longing for revolution which characterized the Sixties and the proposals already being discussed by Catholic development agencies, at Centro Bellarmino and in the pages of *Mensaje.* The ideas were transferred from the Church's intellectuals to the offices which were devising and would be in charge of developing public policies in accordance with these suggestions[309]. As to a direct support given by the Catholic Church to Frei's victory, it can be concluded that this is partly true if one takes into consideration the fact that the Church aided in raising awareness of the necessity for a change in society, and reinforced the political speech against Salvador Allende during the presidential campaign. There was little doubt that Eduardo Frei was the candidate of the Catholic Church, despite the fact that neither explicitly recognized that fact. The tone, guidelines and language used by the Christian Democrats were similar to what the Church hierarchy had used in its documents, or the Jesuits in *Mensaje*'s pages. It all seemed to be part of the same Catholic movement which would crystallize into the so-called "Revolution in Liberty" promised by Frei[310].

This project came to represent the political and programmatic consolidation of the long course followed by Catholic developmentalism: it contained a social-Christian conception of society, suggested a humanistic and democratic reformist approach, and appealed to solidarity rather than class conflicts in society. Its originality lay in its desire to start a revolution which respected democracy and individual freedoms. Its revolutionary nature was justified by its intention to replace "one social order with another", and the fact that revolution would be carried out "through democratic channels" ensured its free nature[311]. Pastoral agents evoked the enthusiasm generated by the project of a "Revolution in Liberty". As a Jesuit priest remembers, it brought "an enormous wave of hope" and, within the Catholic Church, this project was blended with the line of social action, and also with the ecclesiastical change which the development of the Second Vatican Council in Rome entailed[312]. As Alfonso Baeza recalls, "We were all in favor of Frei"[313].

IV. TIME OF CONTROVERSIES

1. Marxism on the horizon

In the early 1970s, the Chilean Jesuit Arturo Gaete wrote in *Mensaje* about the possibilities of a dialogue between Catholicism and Marxism. Looking at the Chilean reality, he suggested that the difficulties for it started "the day the social Christians now in government had to turn their project into reality"[314]. Gaete was directly alluding to the Chilean reality under Eduardo Frei Montalva's government and his views were representative of an influential group, albeit a minority, of the Chilean clergy and what they thought of the reformist Christian Democratic project toward the end of the PDC's mandate. This clerical faction started to criticize the limitations, deviations and political mistakes of Frei's revolutionary project. Some of the party's faithful also criticized them and the end result was the establishment of the Popular Unitary Action Movement (MAPU), laying out a new political path uniting Christianity and Marxism. Despite expressing different views and analyzing the problems in a distinctive way, the disillusion toward the Catholic "Revolution in Liberty" reformist project came to be a shared and uniting element for the political and clerical sectors called "revolutionary"[315].

However, viewed from a religious perspective, the phenomenon was wider and deeper. The criticism coming from the Church went beyond the limits of the Chilean Christian Democrat project and included Catholic developmentalism, in all its forms: Christian reformism, excessive attachment to the social doctrine of the Church, imperialism present in the missionary missions[316], as well as the theological thinking viewed as a European import[317]. Latin American theologians and pastoralists – a numerically small but influential group– started to view with a critical eye the excessive foreign influence that had characterized the Latin American Catholic Church. The idea of developing a "Latin American theology" and a "vernacular pastoral", as suggested by the Argentinian theologian Segundo Galilea, converted Latin America into a "pastoral laboratory" and a "theological laboratory"[318].

From the Latin American social sciences point of view of the second half of the sixties, the so-called "development decade" was entering a process of general questioning, giving birth to "dependency theory". It came to be one more expression of the growing mistrust and rejection of capitalism and imperialism by Latin American leftists. Moreover, they were opposed to ECLA's developmentalist project and the U.S. promoted Alliance for Progress[319]. "Dependency theory" adopted Prebisch's premise of center and periphery, highlighting the progressive enrichment of the

center to the detriment of the periphery. It suggested the existence of an "internal colonialism" as well as an international imperialism, disputing any type of development based on the perpetuation of the capitalist model, including the reformist paths so far implemented. Even if they had accomplished certain objectives, dependency theorists argued, those were insufficient, and could not get Latin America out of its underdevelopment[320].

From a religious perspective, one of the significant events of the late 1960s was the Latin American Episcopal Conference in Medellin, Colombia. There, Latin American bishops, theologians and expert priests met between August 26 and September 6, 1968, in order to read and adapt the Second Vatican Council's conclusions to regional circumstances. Under the leadership of bishops Manuel Larraín and Helder Camara, commissions within the CELAM were set up and various preparatory meetings were organized. The starting point for Medellín was the completion of an exhaustive social analysis of the region, in order to look for a theological interpretation and pastoral answers to deal with this reality. Thus, Latin America had to conduct a theological reflection based on historical facts, starting from its own undeniable situation of poverty[321].

Medellin, with its objective of reflecting on the "Presence of the Church in the current transformation of Latin America, in the light of the Second Vatican Council", was an event that marked the history of the Latin American Church of the late Sixties and, above all, legitimized the steps taken by parts of the more progressive clergy in the region. One of Medellin's most innovative and controversial conclusions was the "Document on Peace" in which Bishops coined the concept of "institutionalized violence" to describe the situation of "structural injustice" taking place in Latin America. Because of this unjust reality, where "fundamental rights" were violated for the benefit of a few, it should not come as a surprise if the "temptation of violence" emerged. The Bishops clarified that peace was not synonymous with passivity or "non-violence", and that violence did not only consist of armed violence, guerilla warfare, state terrorism or coups d´état. Violence was also a state of injustice or "institutionalized violence", which in many cases "is disguised as order and legality"[322].

Additionally, this conference meant an ordering of the interpretations regarding the poverty issue and the poor in Latin America, and here, the influence of the Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez was essential, as in those years he was reflecting on what was yet to be called "liberation theology". Medellin interpreted poverty by borrowing references to dependency theory and internal colonialism, which leftist social scientists had outlined as root causes of Latin American underdevelopment. The novelty was that from a religious point of view, this dependency situation could only be eradicated following the path of "liberation"[323]. Despite the fact that the Medellin conclusions were not binding, and that CELAM was only an organ of coordination for the Latin

American Churches, its guidelines represented an acknowledgment of the new theological and pastoral examination linked to "liberation"[324].

In those early years**,** and despite the fact that many theologians helped to define the liberation theology[325], the figure of Gutiérrez occupies a special place. This mixed-race Peruvian priest combined two worlds: on the one hand, from his years as a young priest, he got to know first-hand the poverty of Lima's shantytowns and was consultant for some Catholic Action groups; on the other, he studied in the schools of theology of Louvain and Lyon Universities, where he was in touch with the elite of the so-called new European theology, historicist in its essence. In a talk he gave in Chimbote, Peru, in 1968, Gutiérrez coined the concept of liberation built on a comprehensive theological reflection, which he later, in 1971, called "liberation theology". "Liberation theology" was first defined as a typically Latin American concept. Here was the clear difference with European theology, academic in its essence and incapable of satisfying the Latin American theological necessities. However, this liberation theology fit into modern thinking, taking large parts of its scientific reflections in order to build a comprehensive diagnostic of reality, which he called "historical praxis" and used as a socio-analytical tool[326].

Liberation theology would give a new definition of what poverty means, and Gutiérrez took charge of providing some meanings on the topic, using sociological elements. First, Gutiérrez talked about the "poor of the continent", and in so doing gave poverty a Latin American and Third World dimension. Second, Gutiérrez argued that the poor were "the exploited classes", "the humiliated races, "the marginalized cultures". Thus, the poor were a consequence of the capitalist order's injustices. Third, the poverty of these vast sectors of Latin American society was demonstrated in material terms, according to their levels of misery and scarcity and, at the same time, in political terms. The poor, examined under the criteria of Marxist analysis, matched the so-called proletariat. According to Gutiérrez, "the poor" did not exist as "an immovable fact", nor were they something "politically neutral or ethically innocent". The poor were "the sub-product of the system in which we live and for which we are responsible", "our social and cultural world's marginalized", member of "a subtly or openly exploited social class by another social class". The poor were then "the oppressed" and "the exploited". In this way, liberation theology opened up the acceptation and re-adaptation of the concept of class struggle in order to understand Latin American society's conflictive situation. This Marxist analysis of society was combined with the Judeo-Christian tradition, in the sense that the poor themselves belonged to that same faith by being in the mystery of Christ: Jesus not only had directed his message to the poor, but had also been one of them. This way, liberation theologians did a re-reading of the Bible -more specifically of certain chapters of the Old Testament, like Exodus-,

questioned the theological space occupied by the poor and demonstrated the centrality of Jesus as a historical figure[327].

Liberation theology not only preoccupied itself with definitions around the issue of poverty, but also had an action component, expressed in the words of Gutiérrez as a "protest against poverty", conceptualized in the so-called "praxis". This praxis, which was the starting point of his theological thinking, was also its point of arrival, its transformative action on society. The poor held a decisive political role in the history of humanity's liberation. So, it was in their struggles that liberation theology saw God's presence in history. Thus, according to Gutiérrez, liberation had three levels of meaning: the first had to do with the political liberation of the oppressed classes; the second, where humankind assumed its own destiny; and the third, understood in a global sense with its earthly component. Gutiérrez ordered and synthesized a Christian thinking that was latent in various sectors of the region and the concept of "liberation" was the epilogue that many of them had suggested and hoped for from Christian thoughts and actions attuned to the regional reality. Marxism came to give the keys to analyze the Latin American reality and move toward the kind of social change which would continue to be within various groups' fundamental objectives[328].

Liberation theology roused the spirits of the Latin American Catholic world, pinning against each other not only the more traditional sectors with the most advanced, but also the ones which at the beginning of the 1960s were called progressives. With the liberation theology, and above all with the opening toward Marxism that some theologians and members of the clergy showed, a profound and long-lasting fracture within the Catholic Church was created[329].

The influence of liberation theology on left-wing Christian thought and ideology, as well as with those priests who would later called themselves revolutionaries, was of enormous significance. Gutiérrez's theological reflection, marked by its anti-capitalist reinterpretation of the poor in the light of Marxism, became a profound criticism of modernization theory and a theological perspective on Latin American dependency. Between 1968 and 1973, the Chilean magazines *Mensaje* and *Pastoral Popular* published various articles regarding the theological thinking and Christian practice of liberation theology. Many of them resorted to concepts of class, the exploitation of Latin Americans and the necessity of a true liberation, together with the transcendence of the historical and political[330]. However, this new liberating theology and pastoral not only demanded the development of an ethical opinion but also a greater political engagement on the part of the clergy. One of the most respected voices on this issue was Segundo Galilea, a liberation theologian who criticized the Latin American clergy's "vagueness" and "political illiteracy" and suggested the emergence of a "new priest", imbued

with social sciences, with a serious political formation, and finally committed to the liberation struggle of the people[331].

The Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo actively participated in this debate, analyzing the "revolutionary Christian" groups and "left-wing Christians" in Latin America in an article published in *Mensaje* in August 1970. The tone of his article betrayed his optimism regarding these groups, alluding to their capacity to move Christianity forward "for the first time in its four centuries' history". Thus, Arroyo mainly highlighted the originality of those revolutionary Christian groups in working with theological and pastoral sketches specifically for Latin America, as well as the intrinsic novelty surrounding the political engagement that those groups claimed as part of their mission. In the words of Arroyo, "it is the Catholic Church's turn to get its hands dirty"[332].

Arroyo criticized the Church's social doctrine, considering it to be "static, a-historical and inefficient in action". Arroyo said that "instead of directing the action of the Christian facing concrete actions in a revolutionary process, they alienate him in a world of generous but abstract principles". For the first time, Arroyo saw in the Marxist doctrine the capacity for filling those holes and providing "concrete, efficient and scientific guidelines". The path one needed to follow in order to find answers, according to Arroyo, was "a Christian reflection on the social change rooted in concrete situations lived in each country", and here the social and scientific disciplines would take the Christian world out of "its self-absorption" and "dogmatism". Arroyo highlighted the reflection initiated in the Catholic world, while starting to look into concerns as well as outlining possible paths. That was his own search[333].

This controversy around the possibilities for Christians of using Marxism, to which Arroyo alluded, moved to the Latin American Institute of Doctrine and Social Studies (ILADES), founded by the Jesuits in 1966, under the direction of the French Jesuit, Pierre Bigó. ILADES had represented the avant-garde of this Christian thinking which was looking for a greater social engagement. The Institute counted on the sponsorship of CELAM, the Bellarmino Jesuits and Cardinal Silva Henríquez, as well as receiving funding from German Catholic organizations. Two years after its foundation, ILADES became the scene of a crisis and internal division which almost led to its closure[334].

Two groups faced each other: led by Gonzalo Arroyo on one side, this faction wanted to use Marxism and considered itself revolutionary Christian; led by its director Pierre Bigó, the other faction was emphatically opposed to using elements of Marxism. The Bigó group argued that the Institute had shifted from pastoral work to political work, and in so doing was distorting its original

mission and its Christian orientation. The first group was questioning ILADES' political neutrality that it had professed from the start, as well as its pastoral purity. In a way, the social Christianity which had ruled the Institute in the first years of the 1960s was nothing but a support for the political and ideological line of the Chilean Christian Democrats and Kennedy's Alliance for Progress. In the end, the Arroyo group left ILADES, and many of them went to the recently founded Center for Studies of the National Reality (CEREN) of the Catholic University and from there developed a left-wing Christian school of thought[335].

The ILADES' internal debate is only a sample of a larger phenomenon. The Christian revolutionaries explained the Latin American situation from a perspective of domination. The Christian interpretation, thus, constructed was based on dependence, taking elements from Marxism. This took place in clerical circles, between some theologians, and the consultants and activists of Catholic Action. All of them started to make a fast transition, although with doubts and fears, toward the left, supported by Marxist theory. This transition encountered a series of obstacles, starting with charting a different path from the one proposed by the traditional left and guided by the Soviet experience. Here, the conversations with the protagonists of this study enriched the understanding of this embryonic revolutionary Christianism. Mario Garcés, a militant with the Catholic Action movement group Catholic Students Youth (JEC), remembers that "We got to know about Marxism not when we went to a political party but rather in Church", and, in his case, together with the consulting priest[336]. The French priest and Workers Catholic Action Movement (MOAC) adviser, Pierre Dubois, remembers laymen and priests together discovering Marxism. According to Dubois, it wasn't "a pure form of Marxism", but rather like "discovering an affinity with Marxism", and in that sense, the rapprochement did not come from theory but from experience and practical knowledge[337].

Toward the late 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, the clergy's days of reflection, the classes given in the theology faculties, the personal readings and the theological-pastoral debate in Catholic journals give an account of the wide debate generated by the liberation theology and the validation it gave to Marxism. A setting where this clergy's new theological-political concern manifested itself was in the formation centers for priests. The Catholic University School of Theology, where in the late 1960s an important number of the Chilean and Latin American clergy were educated, started to give classes addressing Christianity and social change, Marxism and Christian faith, Church and Politics in Chile. The Jesuit priest Juan Ochagavía, dean of the School of Theology between 1968 and 1971, remembers the impact caused by Marxist theory on teachers and students: "We were all

making an effort, not to become Marxists but rather to try to understand what there was in Marxism. There were many classes, much interest in learning and opening ourselves"[338].

2. New searches in the clergy

In September 1968, in the religious section of the rightist newspaper, *El Mercurio,* a description of the new Latin American priest appeared. This emerging priest was a combination of "the explosive militancy of Camilo Torres" and "the tenacity of a modern social worker"[339]. There were probably very few priests wanting to follow such a radical path as taken by Camilo Torres in 1967, but in the late 1960s, tangible examples showing that a new priest had emerged existed. This new priest, as described by *El Mercurio*, not only appeared in the Chilean context but can be considered as part of that post-Council environment typified by tensions and questionings in ecclesiastical circles. The discussion around the priesthood and the problematic opened by a clergy wanted to radicalize its actions, concentrated a large part of the debate in the Catholic world. It also came to be a cause of worry for the ecclesiastical hierarchy, who understood that this was one of its most serious problems[340].

This search for a greater involvement – and how to carry it out – has been seen as a direct answer to the contact with poverty. This would have been even stronger in the foreign clergy, as they were affected by a poverty to which they were not accustomed. To this reality was added another component, the fact that the priests' experience in working-class neighborhoods put them face to face with poverty as well as encouraging them to develop friendships with urban settlers and workers, many of them left-wing sympathizers. With these contacts, the priests ended up sharing these people's problems, causes and political commitments. That would have led them to take more radical avenues, expressed in left-wing political and ideological options. However, this trajectory was neither so direct nor so simple. It was complex, mainly because of the profound questioning this trajectory meant for the priests who re-adjusted the religious boundaries between the temporal and the political and re-thought the ways of exercising their social ministry.

In order to understand the predicaments of this new breed of priests, one has to get into the intense debate, opened by the Second Vatican Council concerning the priesthood, and related to the limitations of this dialogue with the world suggested in the council document *Gaudium et Spes*. The implementation of the Council's resolutions had not been easy, and certainly not accepted by the whole of the Catholic Church. The pressures from the more traditional sectors, like the group TFP, were the most obvious, with their desire to go back to an older Christendom, and move away from the temporalism which had intensified with modern Catholicism. However, there was another subtler kind of resistance, one which has been scarcely considered by the ecclesiastic literature. This resistance was internal, exercised by parish priests who, without going against the Council's spirit,

were disconcerted by how the old ways invaded the liturgical changes, deciding to get rid of the sacred images in their church, or to stop wearing cassocks. Many priests also criticized the fact that the changes came "from above", were "too European" or did not take into consideration what was really taking place in the parishes. There were some examples of resistance by priests and parts of the population, as narrated by the director of the Liturgical Department of the Santiago Archbishopric, related to a rejection of an "over-imposition from the authorities"[341]. The Cardinal, trying to calm the impatience of some and the bewilderment of others, published instructions to explain the scope of the liturgical reform and tried to give these changes some sort of order and calm[342].

The Presbyterian councils and the ecclesiastical movements organized days of reflection. The Catholic magazines analyzed the limits and possibilities of ministry work. Special attention was given to the lives of the priests, who were doing social work within the working-class areas and who were for many other priests an example to follow. The numerous articles published in the Chilean Catholic magazine *Pastoral Popular* – mainly written and read by a clerical public – show the depth of this debate at the time. Already in 1966, articles were published concerning the new challenges that the priesthood was facing. They were saying that "the Council's dynamism has taken over the clergy", by that they meant that two years after the Council's conclusion, the innovations and new practices it had legitimized created confusion and in some cases unease for members of the clergy. They felt they did not have the tools to dialogue with this much acclaimed modern world. So there were priests in rural and old-fashioned parishes who felt, in part, overcome by the changes and also under-appreciated by the "interesting" priests, who were better adapted to the signs of the time. These priests felt that they had to improvise, looking for methods, techniques and new recipes, above all the ones who worked in working-class or student sectors[343].

The implementation of the Council, beyond the obvious expectation and optimism it generated in some sectors of the clergy, also brought feelings of frustration, confusion and overloading for other members of the clergy. From a religious perspective, the more obvious problem was the existing disconnection between this desire to open up to the world, which the Council had suggested and legitimized, and what most Latin American people asked of the Catholic Church and its clergy. In a way, the problem was not only present in those pre-Council and post-Council groups, or the traditional sectors versus the progressives, but also, as demonstrated by the testimonies of the time, in the difference between what the modernizing priests were trying to achieve in pastoral terms and what the parishioners, particularly in popular sectors, were asking of them. There, the priests continued to be asked to give sacraments, bless the sick and even "chase away evil". As can be seen in the reflections of the Jesuit theologian, Manuel Ossa, there was indeed an unsustainable gap

between the priests of the pastoral and theological progressivism and the parishioners of the popular sectors. These priests, absorbed in their progressive social ministry were badly prepared to deal with social leaders, inspire workers' organizations, and encourage a higher political consciousness in the population they served. These priests underestimated the more ritualized and sacramental faith expressed by a large number of Chileans, including the poor. The testimonies of the priests who lived in the working-class areas exposed this apparent clash and the incomprehension which existed between a "Gospel for the masses" and a "Gospel for the elites"[344].

The discussions concerning the priestly life and work were recurrent in the Chilean Catholic press. The background to all these discussions was the existing tension between two poles: one properly religious, in charge of the transcendental; and one temporal, in charge of earthly issues, which above all had to do with problems of a social and political nature. One episode made this tension clear, a day of reflection for consulting priests of the Workers' Catholic Action, held at the beginning of 1966[345]. On this day, as was customary, the priests shared their experiences and delved into those "facts of the priestly life". What was new about this day was the confusion of the movement's priest advisors concerning their role in the workers' circles and the distance they continued to perceive between themselves and the workers. A large number of the advisor priests considered that this distance answered to an economic and social difference. But they also suggested that there was a distance in "mentality" and "language" which still existed between the two worlds. In their majority, the priests kept giving special importance to Christian ideas and values, existence; in the meantime, the workers, according to one of the priests, "lived dedicated to concrete things". The priests also mentioned the workers' permanent criticism concerning the Catholic Church's "inappropriate and often incomprehensible language". Finally, the workers suggested the existence of "two Churches": one was identified with the Catholic Action movement, made up of priests who could be their friends; the other was the "Institutional Church" which was identified with "big business" and organized and did things with which they could not identify. In the end, the workers' religious life was reduced to living their "own religiosity", "on the Church's margins"[346]. For their part, many priests said they felt pulled between their "intellectual" formation, privileging a distance from the world, and a "working-class" side, taking them closer and likening them to the workers. This was taking them away from the strictly clerical and led some to acts of rebellion and hatred for the bourgeois world to which they themselves belonged. These priests' latent hesitations were expressed in a tug of war between "two poles" – as Pablo Fontaine labelled it. On one side, the priests were called to maintain the elements of a religious life, with its transcendental appreciation; and on the other, they had this desire to be part of the wider world[347].

Ecclesiastical questionings on the limitations of the priests' earthly action was a topic that transcended the Chilean context. It also took place within the Latin American missions and the Jesuit CIAS. This debate also went beyond the political spheres and the possible links that some missionary priests might have with left-wing political forces or movements. The debate highlighted the enormous network of tensions and resistances which emerged around the limitations of the Catholic Church's so-called "temporal mission". The debate marked a re-organization of this clergy's specific temporal mission, which appeared vague on an experiential level and difficult to demarcate for the ecclesiastical authorities.

Various bishops from the United States tried to understand the Latin American situation, and gave a cold shoulder to the meddling in temporal matters on the part of the missionaries. The Inter-American Churches' meetings facilitated reflection on these issues, as in the case of the 1969 CICOP in Caracas, and later in San Antonio de los Altos. The main point of the discussion was the priests' participation in temporal matters. Cardinal John Krol explicitly said that despite the acknowledgement of the existence of a series of socio-economic and political problems in Latin America, and the understanding of their urgency, the Church should not take part. "We are incompetent in the fields of sociology, economy, commerce, industry, housing and politics", Krol said. The Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the Modern World had established "that Christ gave his Church no proper mission in the socio-economic or political order", and that those who had read it differently had misunderstood it. Clergy only had "a spiritual, religious mission"[348]. For their part, Latin American bishops also started to criticize the inadequate political engagement of many missionaries, who were, according to Eduardo Pironio, when addressing the executive board of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America, imbued with a "revolutionary romanticism"[349].

A similar debate was taking place within CIAS, and the internal coordination meetings show the difficulty felt by some members in trying to reconcile its initial spirit of reflection on social action, as well as the difficulties they had to sort out in order to understand their work within the congregation. The example of Camilo Torres had challenged them, and highlighted the existence of an "extraordinary vacuum" concerning a Christian thinking on social action which would be able to solve the crisis many Latin American countries were experiencing[350]. The CIAS' meetings main topic of discussion from 1966 onwards had to do with the relation between the social and the religious. The CIAS members understood that the social should not crush the religious, but should not be its "super-afterthought" either[351]. This dilemma between the religious and temporal within CIAS expressed itself, according to its own members, in the difficulty to reach an adequate relation between a "position toward the outside" and a "position toward the inside". One of the CIAS Jesuits suggested

that an existing problematic was that the spiritual side had been left aside in favor of a more technical approach. “Almost without knowing it, we are becoming a group of researchers, but not really a group which religiously expresses itself in its research”[352]. In one of CIAS’ internal coordination meetings, one of the priests used the concept of “abandon toward the outside”. The central question then was “what does it mean to be an economist or a sociologist and at the same time a priest?”. The issue was not settled, and so it was reiterated that the CIAS’ priests first requirement was to have “a real priestly spirit”[353].

Roger Vekemans also warned of the difficulty for those expert priests, knowledgeable in social sciences, that were facing concrete problems. These expert priests could become “committed priests”, with the threat of “falling into the possibility of the political and ideological options”, and therefore, crossing an inadequate and dangerous border. The challenge was difficult: it was still considered essential to seriously study the issues, with the help of scientific research and critical thinking. Priests should go beyond the Church’s social doctrine but remain apart from specific political options[354].

The priests’ level of commitment in temporal matters was the cause of tensions and debate in the Catholic world. The early 1960s had seen a rupture with the Catholics called progressives, who defined themselves, among other things, as promoters of structural social change. Toward the end of that same decade, another split happened and divided the clergy which only a few years before had given birth to this progressive Catholicism, and which had generated so much enthusiasm within the ecclesiastic circles. On one side were the “reformists”, devoted to the social doctrine of the Church, social activists, but who relinquished political definitions, especially if they were associated to the Marxist left. On the other remained the ones calling themselves “revolutionaries” or “left-wing”, who considered that their social commitment to the poor went through an engagement with left-wing causes and political projects. Their existence was short-lived and the change they brought to the Church was rapid. However, this movement became important for its religious significance and the deep wound it opened in the Chilean Catholicism.

3. August 11, 1968: *"For a Church with the people and their struggles"*

On the morning of Sunday August 11, 1968, the gates of Santiago's Cathedral remained chained and locked. From its bell tower, looking out on Santiago's *Plaza de Armas* (main square of Santiago), hung a canvas that said "Christ equals truth. For a Church united with the people and their struggle. Justice and Love". A group of laymen, priests and nuns, called "Young Church", carried out a *toma* (occupation or seizure) of the Cathedral. Inside, they celebrated Mass, prayed for the victims of the Vietnam War, the workers of Latin America, and the Brazilian political prisoners. With this spectacular action, the "Young Church" wanted to attract the attention of the Catholic Church[355].

The *toma* of the Cathedral generated great ripples in the Chilean Catholic world and gave exposure to various emerging rebel groups within the Church. To occupy a religious facility was a novelty. First, because the *tomas* were essentially a political practice of the left, and the occupied spaces until then had been factories, rural estates and urban lands[356]. The exception was one event, exactly one year before on August 11, 1967, when a group of students occupied the Catholic University's central building[357]. Second, the novelty was that priests participated in an action of this nature.

The *toma* of the Cathedral, despite not having lasted more than a few hours, highlighted the increasing religious, ideological and political divisions in Chilean Catholicism. The priest Pablo Fontaine remembers that this *toma* of the Cathedral "was the first time I closely felt the drama that Catholics were irredeemably divided and ready for strong actions like the *toma*"[358]. There were the priests who lived in the working-class neighborhoods, demanding a greater commitment from the Church in the lives of the poor. But also, the bishops, disconcerted and torn by seeing how the social and reformist seal of the Chilean Church was questioned. Also, the faithful who participated in or supported the *toma*, and those who were scandalized by this act, considered violent – or even subversive by some – which highlighted the post-Council "deviation" path taken by parts of the Catholic Church. Finally, there were the right-wing forces who suggested that this was all the work of communism on its way to take power in Chile. It looked like every thread being discussed within the Catholic world regarding its temporal and political action converged in this *toma* of the Cathedral.

The preparations which led to the *toma* were set up by the Young Church group. They were part of those dissenting sectors emerging from within the Church. Among its suggestions was the desire to return to an early Christianity. They criticized the limited pastoral renewal and insufficient rapprochement with the poor on the part of the Church. They also felt that their criticism did not become known, that they were not taken into account by the ecclesiastical structure. They had

participated in some actions before, like sending a letter to Pope Paul VI regarding his visit to Colombia, and a protest of around fifty people against the construction of a Votive Temple in Maipú, in July 1968. It was on a reflection day in the shantytown of Barrancas that the idea of conducting a blunt and garish act emerged, something which would leave no one indifferent. That is how the idea of occupying the Cathedral saw the light of day[359].

The Cathedral was in the hands of the Young Church for thirteen hours. Among the group of laymen was the famous union leader, Clotario Blest, some shantytown dwellers from the parishes belonging to the southern parts of Santiago, university students, like the ex-president of the Student Federation of the Catholic University (FEUC), and protagonist of the *toma* of the central building of the Catholic University a year before, Miguel Ángel Solar, and other members of the Christian movement "Camilo Torres", a split off the Christian Democratic Party. Among the participants in the *toma* was also a group of seven priests: the Jesuit priest Ignacio Vergara; the priest from the Sacred Hearts, Carlos Lange; an adviser of the Association of Catholic University Students, Diego Palma; the Spanish priest Paulino García and Francisco Guzmán, both from the San Luis Beltrán parish; and, finally, Andrés Opazo and Gonzalo Aguirre.

The first priest to realize what was going on was the Cathedral's vicar Augusto Molina, who was to celebrate the 7 AM service on that Sunday. He quickly informed the Head Vicar, Monsignor Jorge Gómez Ugarte, who promptly arrived. From the other side of the gate, the occupiers explained their motives, calming them by saying that it was a non-violent demonstration, and informing them that they would leave the Cathedral that very same afternoon. The Sunday masses were held at the Sagrario Church, which also served as a base for the journalists that had started to arrive, and for the police who made their presence known. After his meeting with the occupiers, Monsignor Gómez was interviewed by the journalists. Gómez pointed out that "this was all unfortunate. As good as the intentions of these Christians were, this is not the way to express them". To the surprise of many, Gómez decided not to object to the ideas behind the *toma*, only criticizing the method chosen to express them. One of the journalists asked about the possibility of a police action in order to remove the occupants, to which Gómez expressed his total refusal by referring to the fact that the Church was opposed "to any violent situation"[360].

As the press continued to crowd the Cathedral's vicinities, the occupiers considered around midday letting the journalists in for them to see what was actually going on inside. In the central aisle of the Cathedral, they convened a press conference. The first to talk was the Spanish priest, Paulino García, trying to explain that it was not a "*toma* as such", but rather "a demonstration" on the part of a group of Christians against the Bogota Ecumenical Congress. Thus, the objective was to "call the

Pope's attention to the Latin American reality"[361]. The press also fixed its attention on the union leader Clotario Blest. When interviewed, he stressed the unity of workers, and the possibility for Christians and Marxists of following a common path. "We will be hand in hand with our Marxist brothers on the people's barricade against capitalism", said Blest, and he invited all to follow the examples of Camilo Torres and Che Guevara[362].

During the *toma*, proclamations and declarations on mimeographed paper were distributed, highlighting the preparation which had been put into this action. The tone was of protest and its reach wide: protests against the *Humanae Vitae* Encyclical and the Vatican's authoritarianism in the matter; denunciations of a series of injustices committed by the ruling system, which they called "organized disorder", and characterized by the "violence of the rich and powerful", "man's exploitation by a system based on profit", "moneyed international imperialism", "deceit of a false democracy", "racial, cultural and economic segregation", and "exploitation of education in favor of the ruling classes". One of those sheets, "Manifesto of the Young Church", was the one that got the best publicity and dissemination in the press. It expressed the motives behind the *toma* of the Cathedral. First, they made it clear that this demonstration was neither against the Cardinal nor the Pope but rather against "the outmoded structures" of the institution. They referred to the Pope's visit to Bogotá for the inauguration of the Ecumenical Congress. There, Paul VI should come in contact with Latin American poverty and misery. However, "diplomacy and ostentation prevented him from getting to know the reality". So, they were asking for a "Church without plaster saints, but with human beings instead. A Church with less pastorals, encyclicals and good intentions but one which would abide by the Gospel". They were suggesting a change within the Church, above all concerning the current values of obedience, discipline, uniformity, and prudence for more evangelical ones, like poverty, freedom, service, open understanding and audacity. The Church had an authoritarian essence which did not respect each person's choices and gave too much importance to the sacraments. The action of the Church had to be more focused on helping people to engage with life, and their poverty had to be visible and tangible. They wanted an autonomous Church, free from the rigidity and structures imposed by Rome. They declared themselves a "Church of the people", which was with them in sharing not only their poverty but also their struggles, and ended by calling for a commitment to "the genuine people's liberation"[363].

The *toma* of the Cathedral involved a series of religious symbols which took place in the central nave, events which turned out to be interesting for this study's analysis. The occupants celebrated mass, not on the main altar but rather on an improvised altar, a simple table surrounded by benches. The Eucharist was celebrated with bread and wine, divided and shared by those present, and

out of the Bible, the passage in which Jesus expels the merchants out of the temple was analyzed. Youngsters with guitars intoned hymns and songs not usually sung for mass. At the end of mass, during the litanies, each participant improvised a prayer, in which they prayed "for the distressed people of Biafra who are starving", "for the fallen in the absurd Vietnam War", "for the Uruguayan people fighting for a better life", "for all our brothers who have died in the struggles for freedom in Latin America". In the afternoon, the folk singers Ángel and Isabel Parra sang their "Oratorio for the People", a series of ten folklore songs. Seeing this, a journalist commented that it resembled more a "*la Peña de los Parra"* ("the Parra's folk music club") than a liturgical celebration[364].

After five o'clock in the afternoon, the occupants left the Cathedral in an orderly and peaceful way, while a rowdy crowd was waiting for them outside. The *Plaza de Armas* was converted into a citizen's forum. Groups for and against passionately discussed and confronted each other. Some members of the Tradition, Family and Property Group showed up, shouting some of their slogans, specifically directed at the priests who had participated: "We don't want Marxist priests!"[365].

The consequences of the *toma* of the Cathedral were huge and, as the organizers expected, the Catholic world was not indifferent. The ecclesiastical hierarchy, represented by the figure of Cardinal Silva Henríquez, was surprised and somehow overwhelmed by the Cathedral *toma*. They did not understand the reasons and motives of those Christian groups that had participated and, above all, they did not understand the arrogance and violence this action contained. The Bishops from Valdivia, José Manuel Santos, and San Felipe, Enrique Alvear, issued a public declaration defending the Cardinal and condemning the "unjust suffering endured" by him. The main arguments put forward by these bishops were that the Santiago Church had given clear proofs of a great service to the poor, being in line with the Council. For this reason, the *toma* could be explained, neither in a "Christian way" nor "reasonably" by its participants[366].

A few days later, the Cardinal referred to the event through an official declaration, together with various authorities of the Santiago's Archdiocese[367]. In this declaration, the Bishops showed their confusion and defended the social ministry of the Santiago Church with its "generous delivery of services to the humble people". The confusion was even greater considering the efforts of dialogue and "balanced opening" to all tendencies within Catholicism, including the Young Church. The Bishops used strong words like "extremism", "riot", "scandal" and "profanation" against "the beautiful traditions of our homeland in religious matters". They were saying that with the *toma*, violence had prevailed, and love had been forgotten, and for this, the hardest criticism was directed at the participating priests, considered as "the main culprits of this act of violence":

"The action of a few out of control priests, forgetful of their Peace and Love mission, has encouraged a group of youngsters and laymen to commit one of the saddest act in the ecclesiastical history of Chile"[368].

For all these reasons, the Church authorities decided to punish the participating priests with an "*ad divinis*" suspension, preventing them for doing their priestly work. This measure was to be maintained until the priests retrained, and personally proved their obedience to the Church hierarchy. Lastly, the Bishops made a wide invitation to all the faithful in offering an atonement mass after "the irritating events we have witnessed"[369].

Some of the laypersons who had participated in the *toma* tried to cool down the debate. They defended the priests, and stated that they had not influenced, and even less directed them, but that on the contrary, this action had been essentially secular and had come from a workers' initiative. They argued that if the Church hierarchy decided to punish, this punishment should be for "all participants or none at all"[370]. The workers' leader, Víctor Arroyo, said that the priests' involvement was a proof of their understanding of the problems of the working classes, and the pressing necessity for the Church to adapt to this reality[371]. Moreover, the laymen responded to the accusation of profanation, highlighting the religious essence of this "communitarian coexistence", similar to the meetings of "early day Christians". Thus, one had to put aside the act of the *toma,* and look at the meeting which took place inside the building, characterizing by its "meditation, seclusion and prayers"[372].

The priests who participated in the *toma,* and were punished by the Cardinal, immediately sent him a personal letter to explain the motivation behind their actions. In the same vein as that of the laymen, the priests argued that their deed was a proof of "solidarity" with the people, adding an apology regarding the possible damage caused to him. They referred to the *ad divinis* suspension, asking the Cardinal to lift it in order for them to "continue their sincere and enthusiastic service to God's People". Finally, they denounced the bad motives and misunderstandings which appeared after the *toma*, including some "false and sensationalist" reports published on the matter[373]. After this letter, the Cardinal decided to lift his sanction and, with this, the controversy, instead of quieting down, was inflamed even more[374].

Finally, on August 15, the Cardinal tried to put an end to the controversy by celebrating mass in the Cathedral itself. In his homily, the Cardinal took care to explain that the mass did not represent a condemnation or a sentence against anyone, and also, he was prepared to examine a series of issues concerning the ecclesiastical structure.

> "We believed in a Church without stains or wrinkles […] We believed that by wishing progress we had already accomplished it. Our offerings to the others have not been sufficient. And maybe we felt that the weight of authority was too much…"[375]

The Cardinal also took advantage of this opportunity to show words of understanding toward the priests who had taken part in the *toma*. These priests were the ones who on a daily basis felt "the pain, injustice, hunger and misery" of the poor. This reality, said the Cardinal, "offends their hearts and maybe their judgement". It was them who carried "this pain and this cross" and, consequently, we had to have "a great understanding" for them[376].

Despite the agreement between the Cardinal and the priests who had participated in the *toma*, the debate within the Church was far from over, and exceeded the event of the *toma* of the Cathedral itself. A common element of criticism coming from ecclesiastical circles was centered on the excesses and deviations committed by some priests, and the damage it caused to the institution. The Cardinal had to come out to calm the mood, as exemplified by a letter exchange between himself and a group of priests from Santiago. They feared the "crisis of authority" in the Santiago Church, and were at the same time preoccupied by the "astonishment and scandal" that this type of actions caused in the faithful, and the "new rebellions" which could emerge within the clergy[377]. A few days later the Cardinal answered that behind this action there were "good intentions", filled with "fervor and juvenile spirit". The Cardinal also considered that these actions responded to a climate of "uncertainty" and "confusion" generated by the Catholic Church's update. The central issue for Cardinal Silva was the oversight of the "supernatural and spiritual aspect" of the Catholic Church and an overvaluation, wrong according to him, of the Church as a "purely human structure"[378].

Among the articles published in Catholic magazines, one of the harshest critiques of the priests came from a Spanish priest working in one of Santiago's working-class neighborhoods. For him, the action of the priests during the *toma* was an expression of a "deviant and misunderstood *aggiornamiento*". The main problem was the lack of understanding on the part of the priests who took part in the *toma* regarding the poor's real needs. These priests, just like the Latin American revolutionary clergy, had gone from "antiquated saints" to "new saints", inspired by Che Guevara and Camilo Torres. In a way, the revolution that many of those priests advocated was nothing more than an expression of an "intra-clerical raucousness"[379].

The *toma* of the Cathedral created quite a stir in the press, mainly in the press linked to the right, that lasted many weeks. A proof of this commotion in the right-wing press, specifically in the

Santiago and Valparaíso's *El Mercurio*, was the conspicuous coverage of this event compared to the scarce mentions of the Latin American Episcopal Conference held at the same time in Medellin. The press became ideologically entrenched on the subject of the action of the Catholic Church in society and, as accurately depicted by the satirical magazine *Topaze*, opposed sectors to the left and the right of the political spectrum. For the right, it was an act of violence and rebellion, characterized by priests and nuns with angry faces, carrying machine guns and posing as guerrilla armies. On the other hand, the left saw it as an inoffensive act, with a religious imprint, represented by a group of priests and nuns on their knees praying and looking up to heaven. As in the debate which was taking place in the real world, the *toma* looked like a problem of a clerical rather than secular nature.

Topaze XXXVII, no.1.866, August 16, 1968.

In this same edition, Topaze dedicated another caricature to the topic of the Cathedral's *toma*, that illuminates our comprehension of this event. A series of images were describing what happened in the Cathedral and the subsequent comments. Through this series of pictures, the character of the *toma* were being identified with the liturgical changes and the post-Council sacerdotal ministry.

Topaze XXXVII, no.1.866, August 16, 1968.

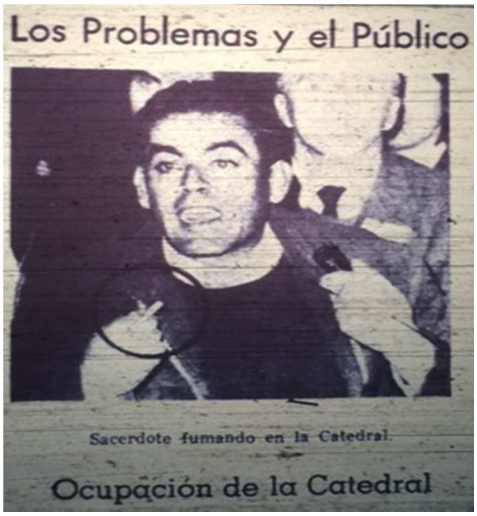
With his caricatures and satirical humor, *Topaze* recreated some scenes of the Cathedral' *toma* and what occurred inside. A closer look at these caricatures highlights the religious elements and symbols present in this debate. First, the protagonists of the *toma* and the subsequent debate were mainly members of the clergy. Second, one could see various exterior traits highlighting the differences between the traditional clergy and the clergy who participated in the *toma*. There was the new priest, dressed as a layperson with only a small cross on the lapel of his jacket. He was depicted as relaxed, looking at the demonstrators with a smiling face and relaxed attitude, while drinking wine from the chalice. At first sight, it looked more like a street demonstration than a religious ritual, apart from a couple of identifiable religious symbols on the altar. The old-school priests and Bishops were also there, with their black cassocks, ecclesiastical capes, ornamental headgears and a big crucifix around their necks. They had tense and irritated faces, saying: "It all started when they put trousers on …I don't know how this will all end"[380].

In the right-wing press, the *toma* of the Cathedral was depicted as a politico-ideological act , and strongly criticized. The Conservative newspaper, *El Diario Ilustrado,* centered its criticism on the priests, calling them "rebel priests", and saw in their violent action "a communist infiltration". The latter was done under the cover of playing guitars during mass and smoking inside a church building[381]. Communism was making use of one of its main practices, the *toma,* over-loaded with violence. The problem was that a new form of violence had been seen: "religious violence", which even reached "sacred places". This press also grabbed the opportunity to criticize the church

hierarchy and the Jesuits, making reference to their degree of culpability in this episode, having for many years now encouraged "all the unhinged and disorderly movements among Catholics". Seen like this, the Cathedral's *toma* only highlighted its "mistaken" position and the harm it had caused by deepening and aggravating the differences among Catholics[382].

El Mercurio in Santiago was one of the media which most criticized the *toma,* and directly connected it with the event that had taken place a year before in the central building of the Catholic University, when the newspaper had also criticized the demonstrators[383]. *El Mercurio* saw the hand of communism in the Cathedral's *toma*, which was part of a greater and more dangerous phenomenon for Chilean society. *El Mercurio*'s preoccupation was made clear by its extensive coverage of the event, the importance given to delving into certain gestures and situations, in addition to the interest in compiling negative reactions to the event. The day after the *toma*, the newspaper started to describe in detail what had happened and considered that "an unknown liturgical ceremony" had taken place[384]. It subsequently included the reactions of the Chilean hierarchy, as well as those of the other Latin American churches, who expressed their repudiation and described the *toma* as an "exhibitionist gesture" and a "French-style scandal". Finally, the reactions of the Holy See were also made available, the newspaper publishing in its entirety the *L'Obsservatore Romano*'s editorial in which what occurred in the Cathedral was described as a "profanation"[385].

El Mercurio, not only commented on the *toma* of the Cathedral, but also on the many digressions and disturbances which in their eyes had occurred inside the building. This way, the symbol of a priest smoking inside the Cathedral came to be one of the most telling elements for *El Mercurio*. The photograph of the Spanish priest, Paulino García, was published in *El Mercurio* several days running. In one of these, to make sure it was clearly identified, the cigarette was enclosed in a circle. Garcia's cigarette came to be the most obvious symbol of the clergy's rebellion and transgression. The cigarette in the hand of this priest was, thus, qualified as "an act of profanation" against everything sacred in the Cathedral[386].



"Priest smoking in the Cathedral", said the caption. "Los problemas y el público", *El Mercurio*, August 13, 1968, 23.

El Mercurio also mentioned the apparent disorder and filth in which the Cathedral was left, "with hundreds of cigarette butts inside the building". So it would have necessitated many days work and a group of helpers would have had to do a "meticulous cleaning" in the presbytery to clear all the chaos left behind by the occupants. However, the worst of it all seemed to be a graffito which had appeared on the tomb of Monsignor José María Caro, saying: "the people are suffering" and looked signed by the Communist Youth. Added to all the physical damage already caused, this graffito represented what *El Mercurio* qualified as a "moral damage" of the greatest seriousness[387].

El Mercurio, August 13, 1968.

For *El Mercurio*, this graffito became the proof which unmasked the partisan political background behind the *toma* of the Cathedral, and highlighted the Communist influence, despite its occupants' denial. In an editorial published on August 13, the Young Church movement was described as a "small group", filled with "a bellicose and violent orientation". The Young Church was following "the waters of a large movement of spiritual and social rebellion" which "its maestros, strategists and agitators" had sowed. It was clear they did not belong to the Church, as they were using scandal as a "subversive tool", and had the drive to "tear down respectabilities, drive the institutions crazy and challenge the norms". For *El Mercurio* it was obvious that the *toma* of the Cathedral had an "ideological character", expressed in "a rebellion against the structures of the ecclesiastical power" and "a desire to put the Catholic Church in the crosshairs of the protest employed by the new Marxist left". So they concluded that this action highlighted the existence of a new "Christian extreme left" and a "new Catholic left", mainly characterized by "its obsession for power in order to motivate the permanent revolution"[388].

The criticism of *El Mercurio* was again entwined with the events of the *toma* of the Catholic University the year before. Here, the church hierarchy had acted indulgently in the face of clear signs of rebellion. Here also was the "Catholic left", that had not been detected nor stopped by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. On this occasion, they said that they had been the object of "the most insulting advertising offensive" for having denounced the Marxist influence in this *toma*. The *toma* of the Cathedral, in the eyes of *El Mercurio*, confirmed their opinion: "The responsible claims of this newspaper concerning the spirit and character of the Catholic University's *toma* were unfortunately confirmed by these events, as already known by those who, in good faith, believed the opposite in August last year"[389].

The magazine *Mensaje*, in the middle of this polemic, tried to keep its distance and analyze the *toma* and its repercussions[390]. First, it considered that the *toma* was an "unusual", "hasty" and "unjustified" action which made any attempt at dialogue among Catholics difficult. *Mensaje* defended the Church hierarchy, pointing out that the description of the hierarchy given by the Young Church as being "retrograde" and "cut off from the people's wishes" painted a "false and unjust" picture. One of the main objectives of Mensaje's commentary was to shift the attention from the participating priests toward the laymen, and in this way alleviate their responsibility in this event. So these laymen, working-class in their majority, were those who "work and suffer firsthand the injustices of our structures", and those who were asking the Church to be "more efficient and allied with the people". This magazine tried to highlight the religious essence and evangelical commitment of this action: the mass celebrated by the "rebels", their litanies "of ecumenical significance", their dialogues and

reflections "which removed differences between workers, university students and teachers, professionals and intellectuals". All this could be considered as "the seed of a profound and authentic renewal of Christianity in our Homeland" [391].

The Communist daily *El Siglo* also dedicated an extensive coverage to the *toma* of the Cathedral, mainly because the Chilean Communist Party was directly accused of being behind the event. For *El Siglo*, the *toma* of the Cathedral was an indication of a rebellion on the part of Catholics: a show of "repudiation" toward the "vices of the Church", as well as a dream of "identifying it with the people"[392]. *El Siglo* firmly responded to the accusations received from the *El Mercurio*. They accused them of inventing "lies" and "falsehoods" in all their interpretation of the Cathedral's *toma*. "The accurate accusation of the Catholic University students, "CHILEANS: 'EL MERCURIO' IS LYING, has once again been confirmed by the facts".

> "This is how the country's most powerful economic sectors define and redefine themselves! Oh, may he be damned who changes his position in the least! They will throw all their propaganda and economic machine to crush it!" […] But the mistakes keep piling up, piling up and will end by crumbling once and for all"[393]

The closeness to Marxism, despite the fact that there were no signs of it in the *toma* itself or the documents published by the Young Church, were quickly highlighted in the declarations made by some occupants of the Cathedral. The Chilean priest Diego Palma, interviewed by an *El Mercurio* journalist in November 1968, in a relaxed tone and youthful language, started to consider the possibilities of a shared path between Marxism and Christianism. The latter would bring its tools for economic and social analysis, leaving aside its ideological component[394].

But it was above all the left-wing press, close to the Communist Party as well as the MIR, that highlighted the possibilities opening up for Latin-America in a Christian-Marxist dialogue. The Communist newspaper *El Siglo* emphasized the *toma* of the Cathedral, seeing it as one more milestone in this history of political and social convergence between Christians and Communists, following the lines of John XXIII and Paul VI who defended "a rapprochement between Catholics and the working masses", and were open to talks with Marxists. It is interesting to see that, in the eyes of this Communist newspaper, this dialogue or convergence was not related to an intellectual bond, or as they called it a "theoretical osmosis" between both ideologies, but rather answered a desire to "join forces to fight against imperialism and the oligarchies in order to banish poverty"[395].

For its part, *Punto Final* showed enthusiasm for the emergence of a group like the Young Church, which they considered a movement recovering the "true sense of the Gospel" and which had as its main objective the unity of the working class, following the examples of Camilo Torres and Che Guevara. In the pages of *Punto Final*, long opinion pieces by Clotario Blest were published, which, besides coming up with his own interpretation of the Cathedral's *toma*, sowed the seeds of the Christian-Marxist dialogue. With originality and audacity, Blest analyzed what happened in the Cathedral, essentially describing it as a "religious action". There, they had prayed with "singular fervor and emotion" and had sung with guitars as the people knew how to. The criticism of the excesses by some more traditional Catholic sectors, like the one *L'Observatore Romano* had published, were no more than another proof that the Church hierarchy did not like the people's expressions. In this way, Blest rejected any accusation of "profanation", suggesting that "the real violators of God's temple" were "all those who go in with their pockets full of escudos and dollars, stealing from their workers and peasants"[396].

The use of Marxism on the part of Blest is emphasized in his analysis of the Latin American reality from a class struggle perspective. So the Young Church was found "on the barricades of the exploited" without ruling out the use of violence as "an ultimate popular means" to obtain its demands[397]. For Blest, there were fundamental similarities uniting Christianity and Marxism, like the total emancipation of the people, the disappearance of social classes, equality and joint ownership according to the necessities of each individual or family, and, mainly, the search for "man's happiness on Earth and not only in Heaven where he would again meet his exploiters and murderers". Blest was asking himself what would Christ bring with him if he came down to Earth "what do you think he would carry on his shoulders? A cross? No, he would bring a machine-gun"[398].

Almost two months after the *toma*, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, in trying to give some directives in order to tidy up the Chilean post-Council environment, alluded again to the events at the Cathedral. The Bishops mainly highlighted the irreconcilable definitions of the Catholics on their own Church. They said that some were talking of a "Church of the poor", a "Church of the young", a "traditional Church", an "official Church", a "clandestine Church" and a "new Church". So the call was for leaving aside the mundane and political manipulations of the Church and for all those to ask: Haven't we totally opened up to its Gospel, to all its demands, or have we arbitrarily chosen this or that verse to use in support of a respectable view, but only human?". The theological scope of this questioning was obvious and the Bishops highlighted their preoccupation that social action was complemented with "the study of its word" and "the contemplation of its mystery", which they summarized in the sentence "to be a sociologist or promote human development" the Christian had

to "first be a believer and a witness"[399]. The Church hierarchy tried to stop the excesses and confusions emerging from some members of the clergy, arguing for an ecclesiastical commitment more and more politically engaged. In early 1970, Cardinal Silva Henríquez suggested that the priest was asked to be socially active, but did not have permission to participate in politics, apart from on a personal and discreet level. Politics, according to the Cardinal, was part of a secular sphere, reserved for the laymen[400].

The hierarchy changed the tone of its previous pastorals and emphasized the Church's pastoral functions. However, a symbiosis between the pastoral and the social, the pastoral and the political, already existed and it appeared difficult to break it, as the event of the Cathedral's *toma* demonstrated. In political terms, this event showed that two extremes were facing each other: those who were for a Church more politically committed to the people's liberation, against those who saw this as an act of Catholic subversion and a left-wing Catholicism. But the *toma* of the Cathedral also had a religious undertone and came to shed light on existing tensions within the Chilean Church. The difficult equilibrium between spiritual and practical work of the ecclesiastical institution was, thus, highlighted. The questions resonating behind the spectacular *toma* had to do with what was the true mission of the Church, and what was the priest's mission, issues which from that moment on will remain at the center of the national and global Catholic debate.

V. TAKING COMMUNION WITH ALLENDE

1. April 16, 1971

On April 16, 1971, a group of priests from the southern sectors of Santiago ended a few days of reflection around the topic of "The Christians' participation in the building of socialism". A document came out of these reflections, not very long, but of great importance for Chilean Christians, as well as the political world. It explicitly gave its support to Salvador Allende's socialist government. This group was known as "the 80" and was the seed of the so-called "Christian Movement for Socialism" – known as Christians for Socialism (CpS) – in Chile. It quickly became a central actor in the Chilean politico-religious history of a country initiating its own path to socialism[401].

Priests working in the university world, as well as some of their colleagues who were familiar with the latest intellectual Catholic-Marxist schools of thought, came together in this CpS group. The vast majority of them lived in Santiago and Valparaíso's working class shantytowns. They had all been disillusioned by the Revolution in Liberty's reformist program and had decided to support a more radical social change. So they were looking at the triumph of the Popular Unity (UP) with hope and had a desire to collaborate with them to make the "Chilean Road to Socialism" possible.

Since the late Sixties, revolution as a profound and qualitative transformation of an unjust social situation, but without its Christian connotation, became the political and ideological outlook for an important number of Chilean Catholics. It had already been tested by Christian Democrat activists who formed the MAPU, and lived by various members of the Catholic Action. Many of those had dismissed the religious component and had put aside – or "in parenthesis" as they liked to say – their faith[402]. What was new, and made more apparent with the emergence of the CpS, was the possibility for the members of the clergy to defend their political option in favor of socialism as an answer to their Christian faith, even as a form of "purification" of that Christian faith. Through the CpS, the Chilean Catholic Church came to play a concrete role in the burgeoning revolutionary process in Chile, and those priests would be profoundly changed by what they would live through.

The Socialist candidate, Salvador Allende, was running as a presidential candidate for the fourth time, and this time he counted on the support of a large left-wing coalition, the Popular Unity. Its government program included the Chilean Road to Socialism, a democratic "revolution flavored with *empanadas* and red wine" as Allende used to say, and was based, among other measures, on the nationalization of copper and the commanding heights of the economy, the creation of "*poder*

popular" ("People Power", and the consolidation of the land reform. All this was to be achieved democratically and without violence. The legality of the rule of law, and the respect for civil liberties would be maintained. It was an unprecedented experiment among the existing revolutions and one which presented itself as an alternative to the armed struggle exemplified by the Cuban Revolution[403].

The presidential election pitted against each other Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez for the right, Radomiro Tomic, representing the PDC, and Salvador Allende[404]. The last two presented similar programs and Tomic, with his project for "communitarian socialism", moved his party to the left of where the Eduardo Frei Montalva's government had been. The right, entrenched behind the National Party, wanted to get the country out of a serious political and social crisis, channeling it through a path of order and austerity, while ostensibly "eliminating the influence of demagogy and cheap politics"[405].

The election was hard-fought, highly polarized and Catholics lived it intensively. The ecclesiastical hierarchy tried to take its distance from the electoral contest. In the final weeks of the campaign, Cardinal Silva Henríquez was asked about the possibility for a Catholic to vote for a Marxist candidate. The Cardinal's answer surprised many by giving every citizen freedom of choice, according to their own conscience. The Cardinal, much to the regret of many Catholics, did not deliver any voting instructions. Most of the Catholic anti-communism which had characterized the previous presidential election was left behind. The Catholic Church, through the voice of the Archbishop of Santiago, left the door open for Catholics to give their support to the Socialist candidate Salvador Allende[406].

Following the Cardinal's response, the Communist newspaper, *El Siglo,* did not waste any time in praising the "opening" of the Chilean Church. For that newspaper, the Catholics against Allende were practically cornered, and then argued that "only the very prudish groups or those very committed to what is most backwards in our country and the world can make a fuss about such a simple and rational fact". For *El Siglo*, this Catholic Church opening came to highlight the richness of the dialogue between Christians and Marxists, which left behind what they considered the "stone-age thinking of those who would like Marxism to be swept away from the face of the Earth"[407].

In this atmosphere, the Provincial Father of the Society of Jesus in Chile, Manuel Segura, sent a letter to all the country's Jesuits in which he determined that the Popular Unity's government program fixed some goals that could be considered "genuinely Christian", concentrating as it was on the people and the poor. Segura's bidding was to achieve a "loyal collaboration" and, above all, not

appear to be "allies" of those opposed to the changes, "very often in defense of their personal interests"[408].

The priests and nuns who in the end gave their support to Salvador Allende agreed on the fact that what appealed to them most was his will to democratically implement socialism[409]. This distanced him from those historic socialisms, and above all from the Soviet totalitarian experience. The possibility of building socialism through the ballot box brought with it a pathway to great hopes. However, others did not have such a positive view, like the priest Antonio Llidó, who suggested that Allende, whom he considered "a bit bourgeois", was "the best chance" out of the three candidates for allowing people to become aware of their rights and leading them to "take power". Despite all this, Llidó gave him his support and worked to make Allende's triumph possible. "We were walking around trying to convince old devout women to vote for Allende – Llidó was saying – telling them that otherwise they'd be condemned without hope"[410]. This opinion was shared by other priests, who thought that Allende had a "high-class personal style", that he was *"muy pijecito"* ("very much the dandy"), but still ended up giving him their support. A priest from the Sacred Heart framed it in this way: "I voted for Allende, not as much for Allende's personality, but rather because at the time he embodied a social project which was to benefit this group I was living with and to whom I felt committed"[411].

Indeed, many pastoral workers considered that voting for Allende was supporting a popular project which would benefit the masses with whom they were living, and with whom they had been sharing their lives for years. According to the nun Francisca Morales, the support they gave Allende was interpreted as a way of "carrying out the people's aspirations for justice", and so his victory was seen as a sign that "it was the people who were looking for their own liberation as historical protagonists"[412].

In the western area of the Santiago Archdiocese, as remembered by the nun Francisca Morales, the assistant Bishop Fernando Ariztía was the one who facilitated the organization of days of reflection for his pastoral agents in regard to the 1970 presidential election. On these days, each candidate's programs were checked, analyzed with Bible in hand, and compared with the documents of the Church's teachings. As Morales remembers, they were trying through these reflections to identify which part of these programs agreed with Christianity. This way, everyone could vote with their conscience. In his personal case, after these days of reflection, he concluded that the Popular Unity's forty measures were the ones that agreed more with what he considered the path to the Kingdom of God[413].

On September 4, Salvador Allende achieved a narrow victory at the polls, unleashing a wave of euphoria among those who had supported him. In the working-class neighborhood of João Goulart on the day of Allende's victory, the priest Enrique Moreno remembers the party atmosphere on this September 4. People were celebrating on the streets, hugging each other and saying, "Father, do you realize, at last us, the poor, in power!". For Moreno as well as for other members of the Chilean clergy, the question that arose was "as members of the Church, how are we going to support this project chosen by the people"[414]. As the diocesan priest, Mariano Puga, also suggested, the question troubling them was "what was the meaning of spreading Jesus Christ's message in a country which had chosen socialism?"[415].

In the two months following the presidential election and the meeting of the Congress to ratify the next president, a period of social chaos was unleashed where various political and social forces fought each other. While many defended Allende's electoral victory, the forces of opposition, supported secretly by the United States, were exploring all sorts of strategies to block his accession to power, mainly by creating a climate of economic and political instability, which ended in the assassination of the Army's Commander in Chief René Schneider in an ultra-rightist kidnapping attempt. The Christian Democrats finally signed a pact with the Popular Unity involving an exchange of their votes in Congress to confirm Allende's victory for a statute of constitutional guarantees to make sure Allende stayed within the bounds of legality.

In this context, the CECH Permanent Committee issued a declaration on September 24, from Punta de Tralca, where they reiterated the idea of being "full of longing for total emancipation, for the release from all servitude, of personal growth and collective integration". After this, they declared themselves "ministers for one another", of those who saw the triumph of the government with "joy and hope" and of those who saw it with "anguish" and "fear". In the end, the Chilean Episcopal Conference decided not to make any official gesture until the president of the Republic's ratification by the General Congress"[416].

Contradicting the position of the episcopate, some Catholic Church officials quickly came out in favor of Allende. An example of this was a group of 18 priests from Valparaíso who handed in a public statement stating that it was a Christian's duty to "collaborate" with the new government in its task of building a fairer society[417]. Various Catholic Action movements also decided to deliver a joint declaration, considering Allende's victory as a victory for the workers[418]. The Young Church movement, which had pressured the Archbishop of Santiago to give Allende his support, offered one of its last declarations as a group. In it, they invited all Christians to "actively prepare themselves" to

defend the "triumph of the people", which was threatened by the right's armed insurrection and counted on the financial and technological support of North-American imperialism[419].

Mensaje added its voice to these favorable shows of solidarity for Allende's victory at the polls, which they considered "unobjectionable", and criticized the climate of panic generated by the forces opposed to Allende and the damage they were bringing to the country. According to *Mensaje*, it became clear that Chileans were not acting "with maturity or serenity", but were rather taken by the "simplistic and systematic terror campaign" which had maintained that a victory for Allende meant "firing squads, the establishment of the Cuban regime, Soviet imperialism, the end of all freedom, economic ruin, etc." *Mensaje* made a relevant distinction between the groups afraid of Allende's accession to power. On one side were the ones they called "anti-patriotic", who only opposed Allende to defend their particular interests; while on the other were the "patriots" who, despite being scared, yearned for "the good of Chile". To calm the spirits of the latter and have them reconsider, they reminded them of the 1962 and 1963 editions, where some Jesuits defined revolution. In those years, it had been said that a "revolution" had to happen, which would be done "without physical violence, without blood", without injustices and respectful of "men's basic rights". This revolution was the Popular Unity's revolution and should therefore be given a chance.

> "We think of the enormous well-being it could mean for so many Chileans, if the reforms are done efficiently, seriously, without partisan selfishness, without greed, without falling into enlarged, rigid and inefficient bureaucracies, but only thinking of the people's welfare"[420].

In this climate, some priests who later formed part of the CpS decided to go against the hierarchy and went to pay their respects to Allende after his triumph at the polls. With this gesture, they aimed to calm parts of the Catholic world, and show the elected president, and the political forces supporting him, that there was within the Catholic Church a good disposition toward the socialist project the government was meaning to implement. Those priests gave Allende a document which said:

> "We came to show by our presence our faith in the mission of the Catholic Church, a mission that has nothing to fear from the Popular Unity, or any other government […] The Church's mission is to shed light on all human endeavors and contribute to the comprehensive liberation of all men, especially the dispossessed ones"[421].

Finally, on October 4, 1970, the General Congress convened and ratified Salvador Allende as president elect. Quickly, the Catholic hierarchy, as dictated by Republican custom, payed a visit to the new president, who reciprocated the next day by visiting the Archbishop's Palace in Santiago. After that visit, Allende vowed to fulfill a promise made to his Catholic mother of "not touching even with a rose petal" at the Church[422]. The Bishops were clear in pointing out their "political neutrality" and "apolitical" nature, elements that would mark the Popular Unity government years. The attitude of the ecclesiastic hierarchy, in the words of the priest and later member of the CpS, Sergio Torres, was not in the initial period of the government one of support, but neither was it one of rejection[423]. Cardinal Silva Henríquez became a key figure in this path to good understanding with the government.

The days of reflection of "the 80" took place a few months after Allende took office. The priests from the popular sectors understood that they would need a great shared reflection in order to rethink the teaching of the Gospel in working-class areas. However, no one knew how this new Gospel was to be expressed, apart from the fact that they at least needed a better understanding of Marxism, its philosophy, school of thought and main models. An effort had to be made in order to understand not only the new political context, but above all how they, as priests, could contribute to this socialist project. Some priests and nuns started reading Marx and the Chilean sociologist Marta Harnecker, who had put in a didactic and easy language the latest in Marxist theory. Distinctions between historical materialism and dialectical materialism were assessed, as done by Louis Althusser, of whom Harnecker had been a disciple. The more intellectually inclined read texts by Europeans which laid out the moral bases for a Christian-Marxist dialogue and, among those, Giulio Girardi, who suggested the compatibility between Christianity and Marxism, delving into the theory of revolution and the concept of violence from a Christian point of view[424]. This is how Dolores Cruzat, an AUC advisor nun from Concepción, remembers it: "we, the advisors, started to read Marx […] to educate ourselves a bit because we did not know anything"[425]. The Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo, who in those years lived with his small community in the southern zone of Santiago, and who had closely followed the avant-garde of Christian revolutionary thinking since ILADES, was put in charge of bringing together and coordinating various meetings of pastoral workers in order to generate reflections on Marxism and the links between faith and politics[426].

On a reflection day in December 1970, the participants decided to go out and publicly support the Allende government[427]. It was then decided that they would organize a much broader conference in future and left its coordination in the hands of a small commission. This commission sent invitations to dozens of priests and nuns, mainly pastoral workers in Santiago, but also to other

dioceses in the country, mainly to Valparaíso, Talca and Concepción. As remembered by some participants at the meeting, Cardinal Silva Henríquez and the zone's episcopal vicar, Pablo Laurín, were also informed. Additionally, invitations were sent to various Bishops, who could not be present because of being in the Plenary Assembly of the Episcopal Conference held at the same time[428]. This conference caused expectation among some members of the clergy, not only for its topic, but also for the presence of the liberation theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez, in those days an already important religious figure[429].

In the end, this conference opened on April 14, 1971 under the name of "The participation of Christians in the building of socialism". There was Gonzalo Arroyo, who came to be known as "the conference's mastermind". Also present were the priests from the La Victoria shantytown, Santiago Thijssen and Renato Giavio, Esteban Gumucio from the João Goulart district, Alfonso Baeza, representing the MOAC, and the foreigners Hernán Leenrijsse and Ignacio Pujadas. According to Pablo Richard, union leaders, politicians, economists and theologians acted as consultants in the proceedings of these conferences. In its working methodology, a conference would start with a political analysis, followed by suggesting the Christians' participation. It was an inductive methodology, using Marxism in its analysis of society as well as in its understanding of the structural causes of poverty[430]. The conferences were organized around a series of talks, each with a pre-established list of topics[431]. Here, issues like the compatibility between Christianity and Marxist socialism, and the mutual requirements for a common action of Christians and Marxists were addressed. The participants also reflected on the working-class movement and the necessary unity of all people for the building of socialism. Finally, they pondered some of the workers' lack of class consciousness, that could end up undermining the process. They concluded that the workers were used as a tool by the dominating classes with the objective of dividing the people, and used the media and party politics to inspire "mistrust, fear, and finally resistance and passivity"[432].

After the conference, a small group of priests gave a press conference where they read a public announcement, which became known as the "The Declaration of the 80" for apparently having been signed by a group of eighty participating priests[433]. This declaration, directed at Christians and Marxists, laid out the priests' commitment to the "ongoing process" of a transition to socialism and their will to "contribute to its success". It is interesting to notice that they directed soothing words to Marxists and Christians: to the former they said that true religion was not the opium of the people, but rather a liberating stimulus for the world's renewal, while they reminded the former that God had committed himself to the history of the people. So they suggested that in the new Chilean context, all the difficulties and misgivings should be relegated to the past. In their eyes, an avenue of hope had

been opened with the arrival of the Popular Unity to government and it was understood that socialism would not only bring a new economy, defined by the social appropriation of the means of production, but also the possibility of generating new values with the emergence of a more caring and fraternal society[434].

Regarding their decision to support socialism, they maintained that it did not come from a political commitment, but from a commitment to faith, deepened, renewed and invigorated by historical circumstances".

> "To be a Christian is to be caring. To be caring at this moment, in Chile, is to participate in the historical project which the people have drawn up. As Christians, we don't see any incompatibility between Christianity and socialism"[435].

Gonzalo Arroyo came to explain the purely evangelical component of his decision to live a "committed" faith, saying that "Christ was with the poor […] And even if we are being accused of meddling in cheap politics, here we are"[436]. This declaration represented the common voice of a group of priests who, despite their irrelevance in terms of numbers, presented a pertinent systematic and ordered approach regarding socialism and, specifically, the Popular Unity government.

This clerical meeting was one of many days of reflection organized on a regular basis by various priestly groups in order to summarize and readjust their work and pastoral efforts. However, on this occasion, the topic, as well as its participants, ended up attracting the attention of journalists. Because of that, the repercussions of this conference went far beyond what its organizers had anticipated. The press, of all political colors, took an interest in covering the conference's conclusions and wanted to learn more about what was going on behind the scenes. The document caused an enormous commotion inside as well as outside the ecclesiastical world, and was even published in some foreign media[437]. Eyes were fixed on the assembled priests and what "specific role" they envisioned the Church would play in the historic moment Chile was living. They were also interested in knowing what kind of socialism it was that the priests had in mind. Immediately, the criticism of the priests' political choice and its public expression made itself heard.

Pablo Laurín, Episcopal Vicar for Santiago's southern district, and one of the participants in "the meeting of the 80", came out to clarify things. Laurín suggested that the word socialism was incorrect, and that it should not only be identified with a political party. According to Laurín, "in our conference we talked of socialism as an instrument to arrive at a more fraternal society, a more evangelical justice and the respect of human beings, especially the most exploited". In this way, the

intention of "the 80" was not to "get married" to a partisan option, but rather "to look for the role of the Christian in a society moving toward socialism". The priests had presented a "political option", but "political in capital letters" and "non-partisan"[438].

One year later, the diocesan priest, Sergio Torres, analyzed this conference, and made his self-criticism, mainly for this vision of unconditional support for the Popular Unity government and the need for Christians to endorse socialism. All this had polarized opinions. According to Torres, "maybe we were asking too much", and who knows if it would not have been better to say "Christians can also support the Popular Unity"[439]. The same was said by Gonzalo Arroyo on the obligatory nature which the Declaration had. There did not seem to be another political option for Christians. Maybe, said Arroyo, it would have been better to say "A Christian contribution to the building of socialism", rather than "the participation of Christians in the building of socialism"[440]. However, Arroyo defended the right of Christians and priests to participate in politics, especially in the Chilean political context. Arroyo finished by saying, "it was our duty to make a contribution"[441].

After the conference, the organizers decided not to found a specific movement. They only elected a small coordinating committee made up of delegates from some Santiago districts and the provinces. After these conferences, Gonzalo Arroyo remained as one the group's leaders. It was also agreed that the coordinating committee would hold monthly meetings in which lines of action would be outlined, conferences would be coordinated, public interventions of the group would be discussed and issues of political and religious contingencies, above all the relation with the Bishops, would be addressed[442].

The organization of the CpS is remembered as being "centralized", and practically all decisions taken by this small committee. Shortly after, the committee contemplated a better organizational structure and created a secretariat, in charge of the group's internal communications and of offering and distributing reference material for participating priests' grassroots work. The secretariat would also be in charge of maintaining contact with other Latin American groups and organizations similar to themselves. They first operated in San Bernardo, on the outskirts of Santiago, and later moved to a small office adjoining the San Francisco Church on the Alameda in the heart of the city. As Richard recalled, they discussed at length the name the Secretariat would be given and, in September 1971, they decided to call it "Clerical Christians for Socialism Secretariat". The inclusion of the words Christian and socialism showed the group's essential features. The Christian came as an attempt to go beyond the limits of the Catholic Church and even Catholicism. The word socialism opened the door to a large social project, linked to what Popular Unity suggested, but without being defined by the options of historic socialism.

Its founding was made official on September 7 and it issued the first of its bulletins on September 10, which never stopped coming out until the coup d'état two years later. Its first declaration said,

> "We Christians try to follow in Jesus Christ's footsteps. He lived and died for people's freedom. As priests, pastoral workers, nuns and laymen, we believe that God wants justice and equality. We call ourselves "Christians for Socialism". This is not a political party. We are Christians who try to share the suffering and struggle of the poor. We know that Chile's future is in the hands of the workers. Our Christian faith strengthens itself and is identified with the struggles and hopes of the working class"[443].

The clerical identity and the explicit use of this concept in the name of the movement itself was cause for internal debate among the members of the movement. For some, seen from a strategic perspective, it was important to highlight the priestly content, bearing in mind the priests' sociological prestige in Chilean society. For others, it was more important to promote the movement's de-clericalization to encourage the participation of nuns and laity. In December 1971, the word "clerical" was dropped and they came to be known as the "Christian for Socialism Movement"[444].

A year after the conference of April 1971, this group counted on more than a hundred priests, among them various foreigners and close to sixty nuns[445]. The laymen's participation was limited to a few militants from Catholic Action. The CpS had a presence in Santiago and the in provinces, mainly Valparaíso, Concepción and Talca. The main work of the CpS was done through meetings at different levels, in various localities. In Concepción, the university parish was the unifying body and the meeting place, where militants of the Catholic Action for the most part congregated. This Catholic Action contingent came to help the dynamism and development of the Concepción's CpS, who counted on the organization, meeting places and young people's commitment[446]. In the case of Talca, the work was done through the Bishop Manuel Larraín Foundation, headed by the diocesan priest Sergio Torres. From there, many documents were published and distributed to the various dioceses in the country and to all members of the movement[447].

The CpS' central secretariat was additionally in charge of convening and attracting new members to the group. They were looking for the support of well-known figures, recognized within and outside the Church and who had a certain influence in society. However, its members' partisan political militancy was not a requirement. They gave the participants in the CpS freedom and autonomy to act and think. Some of them continued to stick with their pastoral duties and many of

their interventions were made on an individual basis. Many of the group's members were satisfied with sympathizing with some of their main ideas, some showed up to meetings from time to time, while others, the minority, gave it all their time.

The nun Dolores Cruzat, who worked in the University Parish, remembers in her testimony her doubts regarding the possibility of joining the movement. One of the priests of the University Parish had shared the declaration of the "the 80" with her, and had encouraged her to join the group. A majority of consultants decided to join and, in her case, in order not to be left out, she also joined. She remembers that very little was known about what this entailed in practice, but at least it meant a collective effort of reflection dedicated to insightful work[448].

In the case of members of the clergy from other provinces, the CpS experience was a way of being informed of what was happening in Santiago, as remembered by the Merciful Love's Elena Chahín, who worked in the Arica diocese in the extreme north of Chile. She had voted for Allende and wanted his government to succeed, so for her, the documentation she received from the secretariat was crucial. "I was becoming aware of what we were living through from a distance, my participation limited to passing my material to two North-American priests", remembers Chahín. In her statement, she said that she received the documentation sent from Santiago in the Bishop's postal box, and that instead of forbidding its reading, he let his support be known by saying "always be more Christian than socialist"[449].

There were also cases where the members of the clergy consciously decided not to join the CpS, despite sharing a great deal of its theological and political approach. The reasons they put forward had to do with the political support given by the CpS to a concrete political option and the government, which they perceived as problematic[450]. In the case of Ronaldo Muñoz, a priest from the Sacred Hearts, he remembers having a "critical conscience" toward the group. "I was closely following the CpS –said Muñoz-, but I never felt like a member"[451]. This closeness with the group, Muñoz remembered as a somehow tormented way. "I had the conviction that one had to be close, that one had to learn from them", he wrote in his memoirs. He remembers being above all uncomfortable with the extreme polarization, "white or black", expressed in generalizations like "*cristianismo momio*" ("reactionary Christianism") as opposed to "a Marxist Christianism"[452]. In the nuns' case, their reticence to join the group was more an issue of gender than politics, considering that the CpS was perceived as a male movement, in which many nuns did not feel a calling to participate[453].

The Christians for Socialism movement has had many meanings and that is what the personal testimonies show. However, there was an element which glued their perception and which was related

to a legitimacy of the clerical workers who had chosen political options. According to what many of the CpS suggested, belonging to this group "helped them to be a priest and have a political option", gave them a "more active role in politics", without being in conflict with it[454].

The CpS quickly became a representative range of opinions of a left-wing Christian school of thought in Chile and the region. The CpS took care of collecting the existing literature in Chile as well as abroad regarding left-wing Christianity, which then circulated in Christian communities, but was also sent abroad. There, they had theological reflections and re-readings of the Bible, as well as answering the teachings of the official Catholic Church. According to Baeza, they wrote so much that the bishops finished by saying they had come up with "a set of teachings to match that of the Bishops"[455].

From a political perspective, the CpS wanted to contribute to the success of the Popular Unity government and, by this token, came to be one more front in the ideological and political battle experienced by Chilean society. This same highly polarized context made reflection and discernment more difficult. Many of the CpS members considered that a "daily battle" was taking place, where what mattered most was "moving forward". For many, they were living through a "period of anguish", "a maelstrom", "a difficult and uncertain path"[456], in which not only were they meeting a hard external opposition, but also an internal process of profound questioning.

2. "What is happening to you? How come you have changed so much?"

"'The Declaration of the 80" brought with it an intense theological debate, which meant an exchange of ideas among priests committed to socialism, theology professors and the Catholic hierarchy. Through those one can see the level of polemic generated by this group and, above all, the doctrinal and theological differences separating them. From the start, some members of the hierarchy were willing to study the main suggestions made by those priests in favor of socialism, and the reasons and motivations behind their decision to form a publicly visible group. According to Hourton, the fact that the CpS leaders were members of the clergy was what made it difficult for the bishops. In the case of the Archbishopric of Santiago, many of the priests who formed Christians for Socialism were respected and valued. They had been part of General Mission teams and many of them were priests imbedded in the urban working-class areas. As remembered by Cardinal Silva Henríquez in his memoirs, the April 1971 Plenary Assembly "was surprised by this sudden eruption of the 80". And he personally "felt hurt by the ungodly novelty"[457].

After Allende's victory, the Chilean Episcopal Conference had agreed to publish a document to instruct the Chilean people on socialism. So they started to work on the document "Gospel, Politics and Socialisms", which was the April 1971 Plenary Assembly topic of discussion, and took place at the same time as the conference of the 80". The Bishops had intended to make it publicly known in mid-1971, after previous discussion among the Bishops, who were internally divided regarding the Popular Unity government and the position the Church should take on the subject. For some, the government was "Marxist", for others it was a "peoples" government. In view of those differences, the Church opted to prepare a "working document" which would give "a doctrinal orientation" to Christians. The writing of the document "Gospel, Politics and Socialisms" provoked tensions among the Bishops and many had objections to the final version. Discordant voices were heard among the Bishops, as was the case with Monsignor Hourton, who considered the text "too long and complicated", as well as containing ambiguities which were based neither on a reading of the reality nor on the current social movements. In the end, he considered that it did not represent an episcopate's "common agreement"[458].

Before this document came out, the ecclesiastic hierarchy was surprised by the eighty priests and their declaration, and in the face of it had to quickly answer and lay out its position, but above all silence the enormous commotion generated in the public opinion and in some Catholic circles specifically. This bishopric declaration was made known on April 22, 1971, under the title of "The

Gospel demands one's commitment in profound and urgent renewals". The first thing the Bishops wanted to make clear was that the Church was not linked to any political system, adding that as an institution it could not take a stance with regard to possible policies of a political or economic nature. As for the Popular Unity government in particular, they outlined "legitimate concerns", especially around the socialist project put forward by Allende. Despite all this, the Church respected the government´s authority and offered its collaboration[459].

Later, the Bishops directly referred to the declaration of the 80 priests. Here, they started to suggest limits to the priests' political choice and warning them to absolutely abstain from publicly taking a political position. The Bishops were afraid of a threat to clericalism, which had been "overcome and that no one wanted to go back to again". One of the main problems was that the 80 priests, by suggesting a political option, were condemning other alternatives. This, in the end, infringed upon the Christians' freedom and challenged the unity around their pastors. Despite these declarations, the Bishops emphasized in a final point their appreciation and assessment of the above-mentioned priests[460].

Despite the fact that the response of the ecclesiastical hierarchy was quick in its intention to stop the difficulties and tensions that a declaration like the one made by the "the 80" could generate in the Catholic world, the more conservative sectors started to demand a firmer stance from the bishops. The presence of the Archbishop of Santiago at the May 1, 1971 act of commemoration, together with the leaders of the Popular Unity government and Salvador Allende himself, inflamed the mood of the right, who saw the Archbishop as a "facilitator" in this rapprochement between Christians and Marxists which had been brewing within the clergy[461].

A few days after being acquainted with "the Declaration of the 80" declaration and the Bishops' initial reaction, Paul VI published his document commemorating the 80th anniversary of *Rerum Novarum*. This time it was not an encyclical, as it had been customary after the *Rerum Novarum* publication, but rather an apostolic charter sent to Cardinal Maurice Le Roy, entitled *Octagessima Advenians*. With it, Paul VI recognized that the range of political options available to Catholics was vast, and asked for a "careful judgement" from the priests. Paul VI took quite an open position concerning socialism and confirmed the attraction it created among Christians. Paul VI took his distances from those doctrinal condemnations of the past and was even open to consider socialism with "its profound aspirations for justice"[462].

"Gospel, Politics and Socialisms" was published and signed by every Bishop on May 27, 1971 and was based on some elements of Paul VI's *Octagessima Advenians*. In this working

document, the Bishops criticized Marxism, and pointed out its differences with Christianity. They said that "history has given us painful lessons on that subject: each time mankind has tried to build a paradise on earth forgetting God or disfiguring his real image, it has ended in disaster, transforming itself into slaves of new and false Gods, like technology, the economy or the State". In their 1971 document, the Bishops' criticism maintained the traditional opinion of social Catholicism toward Marxism and capitalism. Both dehumanized men, reducing them by only considering them as "workers". It was this materialistic feature, or excessive economism that the bishops criticized, just as the Popes had done since the late nineteenth century. For them Marxism did not capture the human being's totality, and the bishops even highlighted its incapacity to interpret history by overvaluing the economic component above all others[463].

The Bishops, as their position had been before the 1970 presidential election, gave Christians the freedom to choose their political options, always and only when these options were open to dialogue, defended Christian values and looked for true fraternity. At the time of analyzing the Popular Unity's position, they were ready to consider that it could be "different to the known paths", and could encourage Christians to give it a chance. Despite all this, the Bishops used words like "risks", "dangers", "seduction", "preoccupation", "concern", "caution" and "fear" when referring to the Popular Unity's project[464].

The Bishops, maintaining their political approach from the late Sixties, defended their neutrality in political matters, and reiterated that the Church should not bow to any political option, but rather leave to the conscience of each and every Christian their final decision. Specifically, the Bishops gave three general conditions to orientate the Christians' decision: first, that the option should be the one "in which we see the best real possibilities of fighting to open the way in the History of Chile to the liberating force of Christ's resurrection"; second, that "every Christian should be committed to strengthening his experience of the Gospel in order to permanently criticize his option in the light of Him"; finally, "that everyone should be aware of the risks of the choice they make and accept responsibility". So the bishops suggested that the success of the government would be given by "the good direction" and "the people's maturity", and the effort on the part of Christians and Marxists to work with openness and critical spirit toward the building of socialism. They hoped that the Marxist characteristics which had to do with atheism, materialist method and State totalitarianism would be in this way counterbalanced[465].

After this, the Bishops concentrated their efforts on reinforcing this idea of unity and directly referred to it when addressing the priests and their corresponding roles. The priests were asked to stay open to all men, to respect the laymen's political options and to leave political activity to them. In

this way, the Bishops were rendering the priests' political independence absolute. This document did not refer to the 80 priests and their declaration, apart from when they suggested that political options were not allowed for pastoral agents, or for laymen occupying managerial pastoral posts[466].

To the surprise of many, shortly after the Bishops published this working document, "the 80" wrote an extensive response titled "Reflections on the working document Gospel, Politics and Socialisms". Here, "the 80" suggested that by calling it a working document, the Bishops opened themselves to rebuttal. The tone of "the 80" was respectful, while at the same time listing one by one their qualms on what they considered mistakes or confusions in the Bishops' document[467].

The 80 priests took this opportunity to make their April conference and its subsequent declaration more precise. They said that this conference had been motivated by a "legitimate friendship" between priests among whom existed "an affinity of tasks and pastoral opinions". Then they moved on to debating the differentiation between faith and politics, rejecting all efforts to reduce faith to an area of "neutrality", "non-politics" or "spiritual abstraction", which showed "a dry and empty Christianity, castrated in its prophetic dimension" and situated "outside history". For "the 80", no separation existed between secular and sacred history. For them, all was part of the same history: mankind's history and its liberation, in which faith had a "prophetic dimension", "critical", and also "conflictive"[468]. That was then the starting point for the refutation of the Bishops' document and also for making their existence in time linger on.

The "80" reiterated their Marxist reading of reality, using concepts of class struggle and a history of conflicts to support their decision in favor of the oppressed. Thus, they criticized the Bishops' inadequate analysis, and their lack of necessary tools for a dialogue with modern society. As such, they criticized their document for being "a-historical", and for ignoring the social sciences. The Bishops' apolitical claim in the historic Chilean context, seen in the light of Marxist reasoning of the 80, explained their opposition to the Popular Unity. The Bishops' political options were there, according to "the 80", for all to see: "Theologically, there's an option for a type of Christian humanism, which is a modernized form of capitalism's liberal ideology. Practically, there is an option for reformism, one which would humanize the existing structure"[469].

In this document, "the 80" were prepared to consider the mistakes of historic socialisms and the risks that Chilean socialism implied. However, they laid down their objections to the direct relation the Bishops suggested between "socialism and totalitarianism", "socialism and State interventionism", "socialism and loss of freedom", "socialism and oppression". Despite the fact that the bishops pretended to be open in considering socialism's positive aspects, they saw so many risks

and dangers coming from it that in practice they did not give any real option for Christians, and to choose the socialist option almost looked like "suicide"[470].

"The 80" personally received some show of support from certain bishops, and it was Bernardino Piñera who, in a private letter sent to Esteban Gumucio, made some personal reflections which were not necessarily in line with the hierarchy's official position. Piñera said he was impressed by the profoundness of "the reflections of the 80", which he considered "a deep and distinguished collaboration". According to Piñera, the Marxist reading of the situation of the day was a great contribution and the priests looked capable of reading the facts from a historical perspective, and even give those facts its own vocabulary. Piñera admitted to Gumucio that reading and study of "the text of the 80 had seemed to him "passionate" and their contribution "enriching". He even suggested that the bishops should take some of these interpretations, above all the more "existential and inductive" readings of the Gospel. The objections Piñera let known were much less than those suggested by the Bishops in their working document, and were not linked to the anti-Marxist criticism or the clergy's ban on political participation, but rather with a more subtle and extensive aspect which had to do with the "one-sidedness" an "total exclusion of other viewpoints". In his final words, Piñera underlined his interest in maintaining contact with "the 80" and in the end admitted that there was more openness among the bishops than what had been shown in the document[471]. He himself was proof of it.

The intra-ecclesiastic debate was not only limited to the documents and missives exchanged between "the 80" and the episcopate, but also involved other clerical actors. One of the first to outline his criticisms of the declarations made by "the 80" was the theologian of the Sacred Hearts congregation, Beltran Villegas. His tone appeared conciliatory, calling them "friends" and saying how much he admired and respected them for their commitment to the poor. However, he outlined his bewilderment after their April document. First, Villegas referred to the position adopted by "the 80" in the face of the national circumstances, and considered that suggesting a political option with an added theological "surplus value" was, complicated to say the least. Ultimately, Villegas saw with dread how "the 80" extrapolated their position of support for socialism based on their evangelical interpretation. So there was no other option for Christians than the one proposed by them. Villegas did not have problems with the fact that "the 80" had political opinions, but he criticized the right they had given themselves to have "the whole world" share their own position[472].

Further on, Villegas referred to the reading and attitude in class logic which "the 80" presented in their document. Villegas suggested that "Jesus came to save all men and he certainly does not understand salvation as an immanent historical process led by one social class". So Villegas pressed "the 80" to lay out their position as a result of "a political choice", but not as "a necessary

projection of the Gospel", further complicated by the fact that it came from a group of priests. So this was a "sin of clericalism". "Want it or not – Villegas was saying – your declarations carry the load of the pastoral ministry for which you are responsible"[473].

Percival Cowley, also priest of the Sacred Heart Congregation and theology Professor at the Catholic University, also sent a missive to "the 80", entitled "Priests' declaration: Ingenuity or ignorance?". He used much harder terms than Villegas and qualified the declarations issued by "the 80" as "extremely serious". First, Cowley criticized the fact that they allocated to themselves the people's voice and that the people were for socialism. So, Cowley asked "who could point out where the people are? Who has the right to negate others of their own condition?". He criticized the oversimplification and superficiality of the priests who signed the declaration, and considered that "the only valid political option for a Christian is looking to build socialism by participating in the project the Popular Unity is putting forward". With this they denied others the possibility of interpreting the socio-political phenomenon in a different way. Cowley considered that the declaration had not been sufficiently thought through, even less so its repercussions, and with it they were playing with "the Christians' faith"[474].

One of the few manifestations of support for "the 80" came from a group of Catholic University's theology professors[475]. These professors mainly defended the historical interpretation applied to reality as "the 80" had done in their declaration, saying that "the real Christian faith takes shape in a commitment with history". In this way, the political engagement with socialism had a theological dimension, from the moment this system presented itself as "the most consistent with the Gospel's requirements". These professors also made a social reading in terms of class struggle, which they considered "a crude reality". But the most interesting point they raised was to defend the priests' right to publicly outline their political options, which according to them was far from being a "left-wing clericalism". On the contrary, they considered that priests "cannot remain silent" because "remaining silent would also be another way of doing politics"[476].

The tension between the bishops and some members of their clergy did not abate after these many declarations and were only exacerbated by a new clerical conference in July 1971. This time, the conference was entitled "the Meeting of the 200" and, as opposed to the previous one which dealt with more political than religious issues, "the 200" tried to make progress in a wide evangelizing renewal. Despite being two different conferences, with two groups having different objectives, many priests participated in both. However, "the 200", as remembered by Alfonso Baeza, was "a very dangerous group because they meddled in Church's affairs", and that for the Bishops "was even more dangerous than 'the 80'"[477].

This meeting took place at the Marist Brothers' school, Alonso de Ercilla, in Santiago. A series of talks were organized, and among those one of the most publicized was by the SS.CC theologian Ronaldo Muñoz, dealing with "Class struggle and Jesus Christ's Gospel". Pablo Fontaine was in charge of talking about the clerical ministry, and many participants were asking themselves questions like: "What do we believe in?", "why do we believe?", "what does my faith bring?", "what is the meaning of making it known?"[478]. One of the topics tackled at the conference had to do with the priest's politico-social commitment and, despite the fact there was a more "favorable" tendency toward the left, the positions taken at this meeting were not as political as the ones "the 80" had expressed[479]. They were asking instead for a Church more open to the priests who committed themselves politically, answering to their own realities and concrete situations within their communities. There were also talks about the freedom the clerical ministry had to have to fulfill its duties in an "intimate dependency with the people's way of life" they served. The priest had to be a "normal person", living lives similar to the other men, as well as having the same rights and responsibilities as common citizens. The right of the priest to work, earn a living, live together with others and share their problems was once again reiterated[480].

After this meeting, a text was approved by an absolute majority. A little later, the Bishops' Third World Synod took place in Rome to address the issue of the priesthood, and some Chilean Bishops were asked to include in their presentation the points raised by "the 200". Among the motions presented in this document were the ministry's diversification and the facilitation of working-class ministry, the de-clericalization of the Church, the preparation for a more democratic sharing of power on the part of the hierarchy and also included a motion on the issue of celibacy[481].

The development of this new conference encouraged criticism from parts of the clergy and this time Jorge Hourton sent a letter to Roberto Bolton, a priest he had known in his years as rector of the Pontifical Seminary, and was now part of the organizing committee of "the conference of the 200". Hourton highlighted the similarity between the priests gathered for the "200 Conference" and the builders of socialism. But mainly, Hourton showed his surprise at the work these priests insisted on doing in order to convince the clergy to engage in an ideological struggle in favor of a Marxist socialism. Using an ironic tone, Hourton criticized the priests' analytical oversimplification in considering that all men of the Church who did not see society through "Marx's key" were necessarily on the side of the exploiters. This he said "looks to me like a mystification, a hoax, the quintessence of the Marxist deceit" and was a way of "making someone swallow a laxative dissolved in theological language". Hourton criticized the priests' inherent confusion concerning their possible political participation. This, "under no circumstances" should be part of a priest's duty, because it would mean

to "take him out of his profession", "deform his pastoral ministry" and "overestimate his faith" even with a tendency to consecrate it. Finally, Hourton said

> "I will probably end up being labelled a reactionary, supporter of the domineering class and monopolistic bourgeoisie […] I also have a conscience, I try to understand the times and what is happening in Chile, I study Marxism and have good relations with the UP's authorities, I talk to Marxists and I am quite frowned upon by many people on the right…"[482].

Hourton had this letter distributed among some members of the episcopate. Some supported him for his tenacity and clarity. Others, like Fernando Ariztía, criticized the "use of irony" and the "distrustful and suspicious tone", which ended by distancing and cutting off the Bishops from their clergy. Ariztía pressed for maintaining a quiet reflection with him regarding the important issues. Hourton defended himself by saying that his letter was a call for reflection, and that he considered that the priests were those who were not doing it, above all regarding such fundamental issues as the use of Marxism, which they treated "with such self-confidence and clear ambiguity"[483].

Cardinal Silva Henriquez was the Bishop who came out to face "the 200". After their meeting, he summoned Roberto Bolton and asked for explanations, as well as expressly demanding his departure from that group. Bolton remembers that the Cardinal looked preoccupied with what they were doing and compared them with "the 80". For the Cardinal, "the 200" appeared even more problematic for not being "identifiable", compared to "the 80" whose objectives were clear, who had a board and even an office. Silva Henríquez criticized the fact that a group like "the 200" would create a climate of internal uncertainty within the Chilean Church. Bolton tried to calm him down and explained the objectives of "the 200", and the reasons behind their demands for ecclesiastical renewal. Bolton defended himself by saying that "we want changes but not crazy changes". After listening to Bolton's explanations, the Cardinal allowed him to stay in the group. Bolton seemed to be a moderate voice who could positively influence the group. As he remembers, the Cardinal "did not continue to oppose my participation in the group, and I kept on participating until the end"[484].

Following the same pattern, the Cardinal summoned some of "the 80" to talk and listen to their positions. Fontaine remembers the Cardinal's initial confusion when he asked "What is going on with you? how come you have changed so much?"[485]. The priests tried to explain their position and the reasons behind their existence as a group. With these conversations, it was clear that the Cardinal was making an effort to keep relations with some members of the CpS open, above all with those he trusted most. Moreover, it showed the priests' interest in maintaining those communication

channels open. They were telling him about experiences in their working environments, mainly university and working-class circles, as well as the existing preoccupations among the clergy. The Cardinal listened and according to them, "frank discussions ensued despite the fact that they were of a different opinion". "The 80" knew that the Cardinal "did not like the fact that a group like theirs existed"[486]. Many times, conversations became tense and some members of "the 80" remember the Cardinal's "rages" when they were interviewed, and that he would bang the table and raise his voice[487]. Like other bishops and members of their congregations, the Cardinal looked at them with "distrust, preoccupation, concern and also suspicion". The bishops were mainly asking themselves "where are they going?", "what are they doing" and, finally and chiefly "how far are they prepared to go?"[488].

Cardinal Silva Henríquez is remembered by the CpS members as an open and accessible leader. The Cardinal valued the efforts of this group of priests in trying to achieve a consistency between "Christian thinking and social action" and he saw in some of them "an authentic evangelical goodness". Those priests lived surrounded by poverty, had identified with it and that gave them legitimacy in the eyes of the Cardinal. However, he disapproved of the use they made of Marxism, and the oversimplification of their analysis regarding society's problems. The approach of the 80 led directly to Marxism and, on this point, would inevitably end up clashing with the Church's teachings. In his memoirs, the Cardinal states that "the Marxist doctrine cannot be reconciled with the Catholic doctrine"[489].

However, not all dioceses managed to maintain the channels of communication open between hierarchy and members of the clergy who supported "the 80". In the Talca diocese, the priest Sergio Torres, who had been a member of the bishop Carlos González group of vicars, remembers that after "the Declaration of the 80" they kept their distance. As he remembers it, "we were basically incommunicado all through these years"[490]. In June 1971, the bishop of Talca published an official letter sent to the priests in his diocese, informing them of the fifth anniversary of Manuel Larraín's death. In it, he started to talk about the "Church's crisis", the "painful reality" and "conflictive and difficult situation" the Church was going through. Further on, he referred to the opportunity the priests had to make political choices "just like any other citizen inspired by the Gospel". However, "above their political choice" stood their mission of "being witnesses to the unity of the Christian community"[491].

For the Christians for Socialism members, the history of the group was marked by its permanent state of tension with the hierarchy. This tension set the tone of the Popular Unity years, with varying levels of intensity all through the period. Among the Bishops, some "understood" when

the CpS members explained the reasons for their political choice. But from the beginning, others found ways to condemn their positions. They were accused of having "lost faith", of "having betrayed the Church", of "having turned into one more Marxist"[492]. Despite the fact that the existence of the CpS was not prohibited or censured by the Bishops before the military coup, the tensions with the hierarchy was one of the "hardest" and "most painful" aspects of those years[493].

3. A religious-political debate in civil society

The day after the closing of the conference of the 80, the national press echoed their declaration and a debate of the most varied analytical scope started. The declaration issued by the priests left nobody indifferent, for the meaning of its words but even more so because it came from a large number of priests. All this highlights the fact that the interpretations regarding the priests' political participation would become another area of confrontation, while the Chilean path to socialism was trying to find its way.

The fiercest criticism of the left-wing priests came from the conservative Catholic world and above all from the TFP (Tradition, Family, Property), which since 1963 had started its crusade against any political activism– which for them came to be any social transformation actions taken by the Church –by the clergy. During the Popular Unity years, with the menace embodied by a socialist in power, this group hardened its criticism. The TFP established a direct line between the "progressive clergy" or "left-wing Catholicism" of the early Sixties and the clergy now composed of those 80 priests. For almost a decade now, this clergy had taken upon themselves to do "intense ideological work". So, the CpS were no more than a "new contribution to the building of socialism" and a fundamental part of this "leftism", massive and profound, which was causing "Chile's decadence"[494].

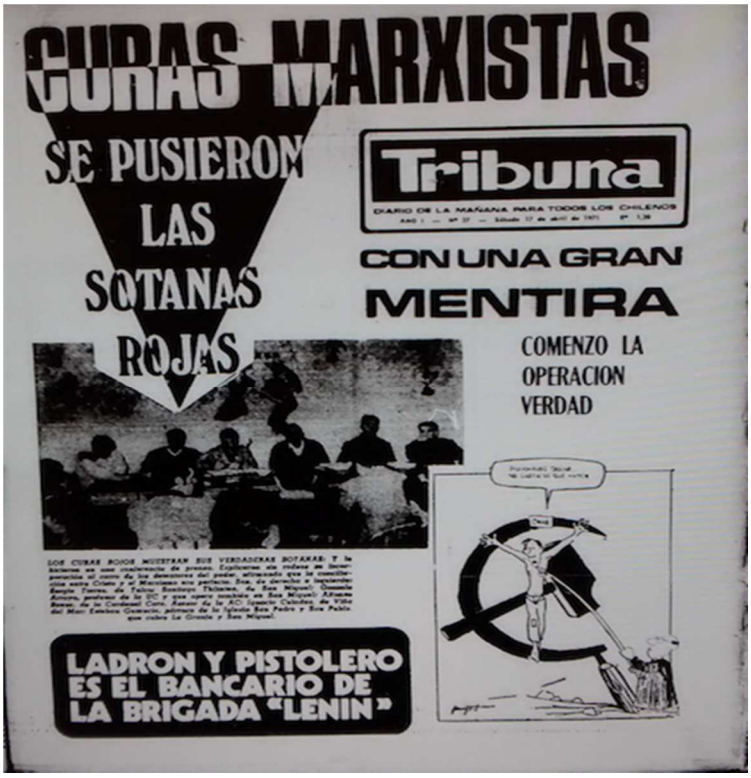
The gravity of this criticism toward the CpS and the fatalism derived from its existence was not the sole preserve of the TFP. The lawyer Salvador Valdés, in his book *La década infame*[495], and the *El Mercurio*'s journalist Teresa Donoso used the same tone and emphasized the same points. Both concentrated their criticism on the excessive "temporalism" of the Catholic Church and the faithful's confusion at seeing their priests in this "mix of religion and politics". The question Valdés and Donoso were asking themselves was why keeping being priests rather than dedicating themselves to the building of socialism?[496]. The Jesuits' presence in the CpS movement only sharpened the critics, and Gonzalo Arroyo became the target of attacks. In his book, Valdés made a special reference to the priest, branding him as the "great propagandist for the theft of other people's lands" because of his participation in the land reform, also describing him as a "frail revolutionary" who can "put a bouquet of flowers on a bust of Che Guevara but not the Virgin Mary's"[497].

The journalist Teresa Donoso – who was also part of the women's opposition to Allende gathered in the group called Feminine Power (*Poder Feminino*) – shared a large part of the TFP's and Valdés' approaches. For her, the group of left-wing priests was a long-established phenomenon, defined as a process of "Marxist infiltration" in the Catholic Church and Chilean society. This had expressed itself in the *toma* of the Catholic University, in the *toma* of the Cathedral of Santiago, in

the "Young Church" movement – considered a precursor of the CpS –, and in the political party born from a split in the PDC, the MAPU. The Jesuits were accused of preparing "the paths" for Marxism to become "Chile's owner and master"[498]. All these Catholic groups had in the end collaborated in Allende's triumph: "Church officials, important officials, leading officials, everyone thought responsible, were walking around dedicating themselves to paving the way for the Popular Unity's victory"[499]The Conference of the 80 marked another milestone, "one of the most spectacular events in the Catholic-Marxist history of Chile"[500].

In the right-wing press, the hardest criticism toward any manifestations of priestly political involvement with the left came from *Tribuna*, which belonged to the National Party, totally opposed to the Popular Unity's government[501]. *Tribuna* got well known for its bold positions, its sarcastic humor and its editorial line committed to disparaging the Popular Unity's government[105]. Various articles, notes, interviews and vignettes in its pages were dedicated to giving information on the phenomenon of the priests committed to socialism. Its tone was insulting and totally negative. Its analysis could be found on many interpretative levels, from sensationalist denunciation to ridicule, via theological debates. *Tribuna* centered its criticism on the left-wing priests, whom they called "red priests", "Marxist priests" and "red Jesuits". In that group were Camilo Torres, "the 80" and the Young Church. There were no distinctions whatsoever between all these, apart from a wide criticism regarding a progressive Catholicism. *Tribuna* criticized the way they dressed, "in the Young Church style", which meant, in a pejorative tone, like any common citizen. They also criticized their language for being the same as the one used by the left: they called their parishioners "*compañeros*" (comrades), and saw Jesus as a man of the people, a simple worker who despised the rich and became the "world's first communist"[502].

That was the tone used for the front page on April 17, 1971 and referred to the conference of "the 80": "Marxist priests put on red cassocks". Under it, a photograph of the priests assembled for the press conference was added[503]. Next to it, a drawing of Christ crucified in a hammer and a sickle. Longinus – the Roman soldier who pierced Jesus in his side with a lance – was represented by a priest. Above the cross, instead of the word "INRI" one could read "Chile", while Christ was imploring heaven, "Help them God because they know not what they do". To make its criticism even more noticeable, above this drawing one could read: "Operation Truth began with a great lie". The Tribuna's interpretation was that through these 80 priests, the real communist interests of parts of the Chilean clergy were revealed and that the real Marxist identity of those priests was highlighted[504].



Tribuna, April 17, 1971, front page.

Tribuna took charge of emphasizing the partisan political reading hidden behind "the 80", and considered that the basic principles of this "Marxi-Catholicism" were inspired by the MAPU[505]. A few days later, they referred again to this topic, and suggested that between the priests and the MAPU there was not only an ideological affinity, but also an active militancy in the ranks of the party. Among the priests' political preferences, the traditional left, represented by the Socialist and Communist parties, did not figure because for these priests they were considered "obsolete" [506]. However, in their articles and drawings, no distinction whatsoever was made between the MAPU and Communism, apart from the issue of the MAPU's novelty. It had already been highlighted in the sketch of the Christ crucified in communist symbols and will crop up again in another drawing where the head of the Communist Party, Luis Corvalán, appeared. There was a priest preaching from the pulpit saying: "and at that time said Corvalán, let the red priests come to me". The main idea was to represent the way priests participated in, and encouraged communism and Marxism, using their ministries to preach politics for the left-wing parties.

Tribuna, April 20, 1971, 4.

The main problem according to *Tribuna* did not only occur because of the ideas suggested by the revolutionary priests, but also because of the political work they carried out in the working-class districts, where they took charge of "gathering supporters for the communist cause". This consciousness raising work was even more damaging if carried out by foreigners, who in practice represented almost half of "the 80". These outsiders were put in charge of doing "infiltration work" for foreign ideas linked to international Marxism. Therefore, for *Tribuna*, "the 80" were part of some "dissident groups with cassocks", who paid "respect to a certain political regime or foreignizing ideology". Those priests, "possibly a spear head" were used by "elements outside the Church" who hoped for "the division of the Catholic flock" and the end of that institution[507].

Tribuna also added the faithful's voice in the debate, considered as being victimized by the actions of these "red priests". Out of all the parishioners interviewed, the harshest criticism came from women, who kept repeating in bewilderment the phrase "the suit does not make the monk" ("*el hábito no hace al monje*"). One of the women even suggested the possibility that there were civilian infiltrators, and again the harshest criticism was reserved for foreign priests, branded as "famous unknowns" and "thrown-outs" from their countries of origin. *Tribuna* praised the certainty of its opinions, considering

> "[…] with a lot of vision and intuition, the female faithful even questioned the honor of those aforementioned priests who want to swap the cross for the hammer and sickle and, what is worse, imposed it as a scapular to the traditionally free and democratic Chilean people"[508].

From the pages of *Tribuna* also came criticism regarding the impossibility of finding common ground between Christians and Marxists. Following the line of the Church's teachings, they suggested that the materialist understanding of the world, of life and history prevented any kind of dialogue, granted that this philosophy was "the negation of God, of the human soul and of freedom"[509]. They also took on the line of thought suggested by the Chilean hierarchy and denied to priests the opportunity of engaging with politics. Any clerical political intervention was considered an abuse of their spiritual power, and the traditional respect toward the Church and priests, given to them by the Chilean people. Apart from that, it created a difficult situation for those Christians who did not share the same partisan position and could give the impression that the whole of the Chilean Church was committed to a political party. *Tribuna* went further than the Bishops and imagined the "fuss" that would ensue if 80 priests were to declare themselves "right-wing, enemies of Salvador Allende and announce their decision to preach these ideas in Church, at Sunday's mass, in the catechisms and parish meetings"[510].

For *Tribuna*, the alarmist tone was clear, the same as the mistrust generated by the alleged democratic essence of the Salvador Allende's government. Sooner or later, what they called a "socialist war" would begin, as had happened in the cases of other socialisms.

> "Suffice it to remember the forced-labor camps, the brutal purges, the prisons full of political prisoners, the firing squads, the 'confessions', the concentration camps, the cruel 'brain-washing', the mass assassinations, the people's tribunals"[511].

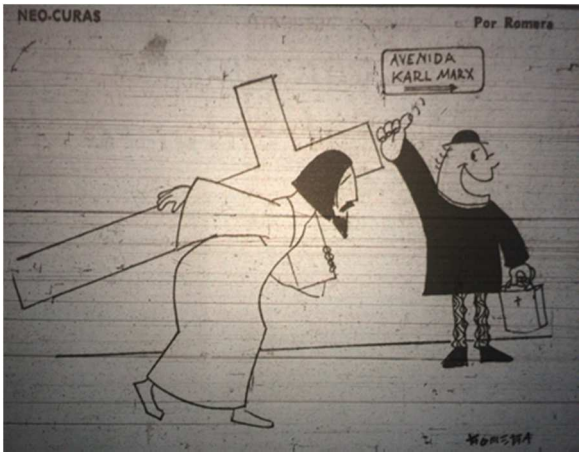
In this way, these "socialist wars" would follow the anticlerical path of the known socialist experiences, and the priests themselves would contribute to it. *Tribuna* highlighted a few anticlerical and religious persecution signs, mainly violent acts, like the *tomas*, that the left-wing forces initiated on ecclesiastical properties. This was made clear in a Capuchin monks' juvenile teaching home in the south of the country, which had been stoned and occupied by a left-wing group despite the Capuchins' objection. For *Tribuna*, this was part of a "sinister plan" which would include more of the Church's lands in future[512].

The leader of the National Party, Sergio Onofre Jarpa, also added his voice to the critics and assumed a posture similar to the one suggested by the ecclesiastic hierarchy, alluding to the possibility and the right of priests to have political opinions, but that these should stay a "personal position" in order not to generate confusion among Catholics. Jarpa put the emphasis on the presence of these

foreign priests who participated in the meeting of "the 80" and accused them of exercising a mistaken interventionism in Chilean political affairs[513].

The Conference of "the 200", and the motions delivered by those priests to the Bishops, above all the questioning of celibacy, gave *Tribuna* an additional element to criticize. For this newspaper, the existing differences between "the 80" and "the 200" mattered very little. They were all part of the same phenomenon of revolutionary priests. From this moment on, moral issues also became part of the proposals coming from the priests who proclaimed themselves to be on the left[514]. *Tribuna* referred to this issue in their coverage of the Third Synod of Bishops, which took place in Rome in 1971, and using their sarcastic humor entitled the piece: "Priests insist on getting married and have found with whom: but they won't let them"[515].

In this public debate regarding the presence of a left-wing clergy, *El Mercurio* adopted a much more cautious and measured position than *Tribuna*. While it is true that *El Mercurio* had been criticizing the manifestations of communist interference in the Catholic Church for a while, like the *tomas* of the Catholic University and Santiago's Cathedral were, the emergence of the CpS did not generate so much criticism. The explanations behind this position can be of varied nature, but one could suggest that *El Mercurio* was more sensitive to acts that in their eyes contained elements of violence, like the *tomas* had, than declarations and manifestos that a group of priests could make on socialism. In practice, *El Mercurio* did not make interpretations or readings of "the 80's" conference, neither did they comment of the subsequent founding of the Christians for Socialism group. In their pages, they covered the organization of the conference from its first day and published in its entirety "the 80's" official declaration. Together with the merely descriptive character of its news coverage, *El Mercurio* took charge of publishing more subjective articles on the intra-ecclesiastic repercussions caused by this declaration[516]. Its April 29 edition included a drawing entitled "Neo-priests". One could see a smiling priest, dressed in the style of the time and wearing hippy-style pants, showing Christ the way to Karl Marx Avenue. Christ was carrying his cross on his way to the calvary, indicating that he would encounter his death by going in that direction[517].



"Neo-priests", *El Mercurio*, April 29, 1971, 21

The groups opposing the left-wing Christians, as represented by the CpS, did not exclusively come from the right or the traditional conservative Catholics. After the conference of "the 80", the Christian Democratic Party showed bewilderment and added its voice to the criticism toward those priests, analyses which were published in the form of long and solid reflections in its magazine *Política y Espíritu*[518]. In some cases, they took advantage of their old friendships among the clergy to get to know more about the priests' motivations and their decision to found the CpS movement. Pablo Fontaine remembers a conversation with Eduardo Frei Montalva, which he describes as: "They were scared of seeing CpS priests, of seeing that they had taken the colors of socialism […] They were saying that they – the Christian Democrats – were the social Christians, those who had revolutionized democracy". Fontaine tried to explain his reasoning to Frei Montalva. He talked about Medellín and the discovery they had made through Marxism regarding the historic diagnostic of class struggle. Frei was skeptical and commented, "see, you have just recently opened your eyes to the problem, but for me class struggle is an old thing. I've been in it all my life!". Frei felt annoyed, and considered them naïve in their choice of going further, and involving themselves in something "so unfamiliar and so dangerous" which, sooner or later, would have them faced with using violence, and would drive Chile toward a tyrannical regime, Cuban style[519].

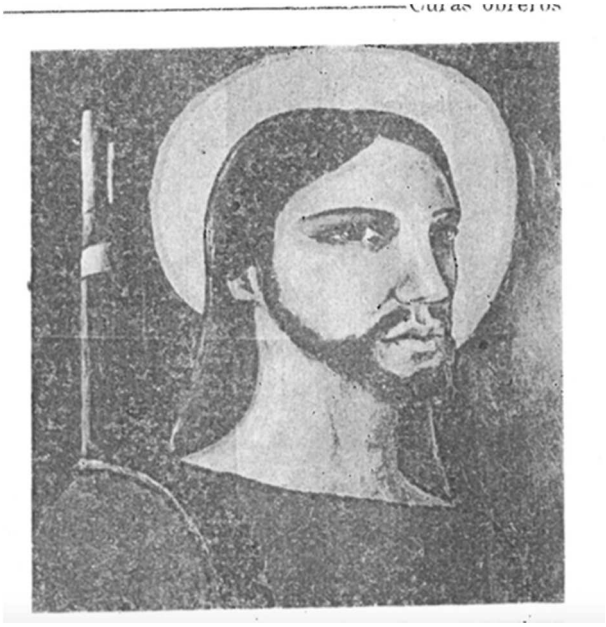
Claudio Orrego, for the Christian Democrat press, led the charge against the 80 priests. He commented on the conference of "the 80" and started the "long and difficult" polemic that would open after the priests' declaration in favor of socialism. Orrego's basic criticism – similar to the criticism coming from the reformist clergy and, mainly, from the Chilean ecclesiastic hierarchy[520] – had to do with the priests' "clericalism", now dressed "in left-wing garments". According to him, this

clericalism was part of the mistakes the Catholic Church has made in the past and the "conservative vices", which had cost the social-Christian sectors so much to get rid of. Therefore, Orrego asked from the priests a "minimum of critical judgement" and for them to pursue the path of genuine respect toward Catholics who would like to choose different political parties[521]. Finally, this left-wing clericalism brought "risks" as it had to engage with a government coalition which had not yet clearly laid out how it was going to bring about socialism[522].

However, the Christian Democrat Youth movement held a completely different position to the one suggested by the official party line, represented by Claudio Orrego. For them, as their president Luis Badilla said, the Christians' dialogue with the Marxists was necessary, as was the Christians' commitment to socialism. It established the basic conditions to enable such a dialogue: first, that Christians recognized socialism's legitimacy regarding the social property of the means of production; and, second, that Marxists recognized the right to freedom of thought, as well as ideological and religious pluralism[523].

The left-wing press, *El Siglo* and *Punto Final*, also participated in the debate around "the 80". The Communist newspaper gave an account of its more institutional position, with its references to the ecclesiastical hierarchy and linked these left-wing Christian manifestations to the overture that the Holy See had made during the reign of John XXIII. *El Siglo* was aware that the Chilean people were in their "majority Catholic" and, therefore, this declaration came as a "reunion with their own religion" and with "their Church", which in the past had been "one of the bastions of their bourgeois society", committed to the "established order". "The 80" were a trustworthy proof that there was no "incompatibility between Christianity and socialism" and that the dialogue between them was "open". Together, they had to carry out a "fraternal exchange of opinions", "carry out tasks which meant accelerating the economic development of the country", "put an end to the unjust ways of social coexistence", "improve and enrich the democratic heritage of our people" and, finally, "consolidate our feeling of national independence"[524].

The reading of *Punto Final* differed completely from the one presented by *El Siglo* and its support for the use of violence to attain socialism was made clear by a recurring image in its pages of Christ with a serious look and carrying a rifle on his shoulders.



"Working-class priests. 'We are committed to socialism'", *Punto Final*, no.129, April 27,1971, 29.

With this picture, which in reality had very little to do with what was suggested by "the 80", *Punto Final* commented on some aspects of the April 1971 conference. First, for this newspaper the 80 priests were part of those "worker priests", from the working-class neighborhoods of the southern districts of Santiago, not only the most populous but also, as suggested by *Punto Final*, the "capital's most combative". With this, *Punto Final* distanced itself from the doctrinaire aspects of the "Declaration of the 80" and highlighted the tangible expressions of the choice these priests made in favor of the poor. It mentioned the case of Ignacio Pujadas, who did his Stations of the Cross with workers "as genuine as Jesus Christ" and who also dared to defend before his parishioners Christ's revolutionary gestures. It also mentioned the experiences of the La Victoria's priests, Santiago Thijssen and Renato Giavio, who in July 1970 had supported and participated in the occupation of the district's polyclinic. Finally, they mentioned the experience of Pierre Dubois in Coronel, who took charge of raising awareness among the workers of the Lota-Schwager Company regarding the necessity of their struggle against destitution and injustice. All these priests, for *Punto Final*, came to shake the consciences of many Christians and made them understand the historical transcendence of the path now open for the country in its drive toward socialism"[525].

In public opinion, Catholic or not, the 80 priests became the symbol of this left-wing clergy. The conferences of "the 80" went beyond what their organizers had anticipated and the commotion caused in public opinion was in itself a proof of that. "The 80" and their declaration were transformed

into a political symbol from the moment it looked like they were supporting socialism, in a context where a real effort was made to implement it. They also became a religious symbol by questioning and re-evaluating the priest's mission as such. For some sectors of the public opinion, the relation between religion and politics which "the 80" suggested was complete madness and had nothing to do with their mission; for others, a minority within the Church, but supported by the forces on the left, this commitment to socialism was precisely its core axis, not only of its own mission, but also of the path the Catholic Church was overall hoping to follow. Christians for Socialism were therefore pushed to explain the definitions regarding their own choice.

VI. BEYOND CHILE

1. Comrade Fidel

Fidel Castro arrived in Antofagasta on November 11, 1971. He had not embarked on an international tour for seven years, but on this occasion, he decided to stay in Chile for twenty-five days. It was the Cuban leader's first official visit to a Latin American country since the Organization of American States (OAS) had forbidden, in the middle of 1964, Western hemisphere governments from keeping political ties with the island[526], and he made the most of the opportunity. He went to different cities and visited factories, mines and universities. Castro met with leaders from Popular Unity and, obviously, with President Allende on many occasions. The former's military uniform stood in stark contrast with the latter's civilian clothes, which turned out to be a symbol of their different approaches to constructing socialism, although for the opposition, Castro's visit only confirmed that Chile's destiny would be the same as Cuba's. Despite the differences between the Cuban revolutionary model and the path suggested by the Popular Unity, Cuba was an emblem of revolution for Latin America and for Chile[527].

He arrived in Chile bringing with him a long history of confrontation with the Catholic Church in his country. At the beginning, the Cuban revolution did not have an anti-clerical character, as demonstrated by the large number of Catholics who shared the anti-Batista feeling of the revolutionary forces. However, this took a dramatic turn when the revolution started to define its socialist character. During the early months of 1960, there were clear signs that the Catholic Church in Cuba, at the time dominated by conservative Spanish clergy, decided to confront the Castro regime head-on. The Cuban Church hierarchy issued a number of pastoral letters calling into question, first, the legitimacy of Castro's regime and his revolution; and, second, stated that in case of confrontations between the United States and the Soviet Union concerning the Cuban state of affairs, they would ally with the former. By the end of the 1960s, a great deal of Catholics from well-off families had left the island. The drop in the number of priests and clergymen was revealing, while at the same time, several parish churches and Catholic organizations had shrunk in size. In spite of this, the Catholic Church turned into a gathering point for opponents of the Castro regime[528].

While in Chile, however, Fidel Castro, who had studied at a Jesuit school in Havana, made space in his schedule to meet with Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez and the 80 priests. Cardinal Silva warmly received him, on November 24th, at the Archbishop's Palace in Santiago. The meeting was

not long, but, according the press reports, it was held in a cordial atmosphere. The primate of Santiago presented Castro with a bible, and that was the image which brought this official meeting to a close. Afterward, Castro told the press about the views shared by Christianity and Marxism regarding the fight for the liberation of man. In the meantime, the Archbishopric of Santiago issued a communiqué which indicated that the Chilean Church reaffirmed its willingness to hold a "respectful and sincere" dialogue, and gave "its warmest welcome" to "any kind of project aiming at promoting fairer relationships and fraternal peace"[529].

The reactions from the different political perspectives were extreme. According to *Punto Final*, the left considered this meeting to be a sign of Cardinal Silva Henríquez's commitment to the liberation of the people[530]. To the contrary, the right considered that what the Cardinal had done sealed the shift of the Chilean Catholic Church to the left. Members of the National Party dubbed the Cardinal "the Chilean Judas", and they even declared that he had to relinquish his priestly ministry and his position as Cardinal[531].

An analysis of arguments helps to understand the rearrangement of forces within Chilean Catholicism. After this meeting, right-wing sectors deemed it evident that in the scenario of a country with two opposing political camps, the Cardinal would side with the government and the left-wing forces. *Tribuna* strongly disapproved of this meeting, and it vilified the figure of the Cardinal with harsh and ironic assertions and caricatures. It was said that the Cardinal looked eager, and seemed to be anxious about the meeting with Castro. *Tribuna* mocked the bible which the Cardinal had given him as a gift, and even the photograph of them together, taken as a gesture of friendliness, appeared to be reprehensible. For *Tribuna*, the Cardinal's gesture seemed to be "a serious and incomprehensible mistake", as the prelate of the Chilean Catholic Church put his position at the service of Marxist propaganda[532]. In this way, *Tribuna* made a political interpretation of the meeting, as the magazine considered that the meeting was proof of the Cardinal's attraction to the left. Apart from that, the meeting was regarded as the Cardinal's acceptance of the Cuban regime and as a discredit for the Cuban Catholics who were being persecuted by the Castro regime. On May 26th, a vignette said: "I believe that the Cardinal is trying to serve two masters… However, one can easily see that that he absolutely prefers to serve the evil one"[533].

Tribuna, November 26, 1971, 4.

As a result of *Tribuna*'s assertions and articles, political criticism of the Cardinal grew. At first, the Cardinal may have taken a lukewarm position, or, as was suggested by a journalist from this newspaper, he may have tried to be nice to everyone, although at this point his intentions had been brought to light. He had taken refuge behind "a barricade which is not his" and no precept in the Gospel favored him.

> "He did not want to understand the projections and meaning of the struggle taking place in Chile at the moment. It is the struggle of those who love freedom, respect, dignity, while at the same time it is a fight against all those who would like to impose an opprobrious dictatorship, and whose doctrine denies the existence of God"[534].

In this confrontation, Cardinal Silva Henríquez seemed to be on the side of the latter, paying "homage to a tyrant" who obliterated all those who professed the Christian faith. It is interesting to point out that, apart from foreseeable political criticism of the leftward shift by the Catholic Church, and particularly of the figure of Cardinal Silva Henríquez, religious arguments which influenced the parishioners were put forward. The Cardinal, like Pontius Pilate and Judas Iscariot, had betrayed Christ[535]. *Tribuna* also warned about the estrangement of the "true Catholics", those Catholics who were anti-Marxist at heart[536]. In this respect, it shared the same opinion as the most traditionalist

Catholic factions, which believed in the existence of a post-Council decadence, evidenced by the liturgical changes and priestly diversions. From this rather traditional perspective, priests were meant for "sacred" places, whereas parishioners were meant for "profane or political" spaces. A particularly relevant symbol, characteristic of priests due to its religious content, was the cassock. When priests decided to stop wearing it, they also made the decision to get rid of their sacred symbols, and, without them, they placed themselves in the world and all its movements. According to *Tribuna*, those to blame for the situation were the people who intended to build this "modern Church", and especially those priests who had turned themselves into "a caricature of the true priesthood". The same was true of priests who had deprived the temples of "their traditional religious ambience without images", and those who had allowed pagan, even "tavern" music, to be played during their liturgies[537].

In the letters published by *Tribuna*, the Cardinal was reproached for his permanent confusion between what was essentially religious and what was political. However, by giving the bible to Castro, he crossed a line, as this present came to symbolize how twisted and complex this action had been. With a feeling of nostalgia, these letters looked back on the "previous" Church, the Church which taught "Catholicism the way it has to be taught", in which priests never touched upon political topics during their sermons. The harshest criticism was directed toward the "extremely advanced" Church, represented by priests who "only partake in forums, union meetings, political gatherings, etc. in which they feel at home talking about material and social matters". It was also said that these priests were "poor, naïve dreamers" for thinking that they would have a role to play while involved with Marxism. As to the figure of Cardinal Silva Henríquez, he was compared to Cardinal Caro, stating that the former "… is anything but a cardinal!". His identification with leftist priests was manifest. They were talking thousands of believers "out of the Church for good", which made the Church lose all its status as a religious symbol for the Catholic world in Chile[538].

The women opposing Allende's government had already carried out their first demonstrations for the presidential election of 1970, and, in the early days of December, went on a massive march known as "March of the Empty Pots and Pans"[539]. They also joined the voices of criticism of the Cardinal. All of these observant Catholics disapproved of his naivety and lack of authority, and they did not understand why the Cardinal liked to be so often seen in the company of communists. That had already occurred some months before, in the ceremony of commemoration of the International Worker's Day organized by the Worker's United Center (CUT) of Chile, and now he met with Castro. One of these women said that he seemed to ignore "the ruthless persecutions against Catholics led by the Marxist world"[540].

Some days later, on November 29, 1971, Castro met with the 80 priests[541]. Attendees recall that this two-hour meeting was held in a relaxed atmosphere, in the gardens of the Cuban Embassy. Some priests addressed Castro using the polite form "*usted*", while others used the more direct forms, "Fidel" or "Commander". They all paid careful attention to Castro's observations, and whose sense of humor even made them laugh at times. In this meeting, they wanted to gain first-hand input on the Cuban experience, and also reflect on the possibilities of Christians and Marxists working together[542].

The opening greeting was given by Gonzalo Arroyo, who called Castro "the leader of the revolutionary process in Latin America". Castro could not believe that he was in the presence of a significant number of revolutionary priests. He admitted to his confusion, and afterward told them a story which took place while he was visiting the State Technical University (UTE), he saw four men dressed in long black suits. His first impression was that they were priests, but, to his surprise, they were members of the folk music group Quilapayún. One of the priests threw in a quick answer: "Clothes do not make the priest", to which Castro replied: "That's true, but then there's the habit of the habit". After that, he asked them how he should refer to them, "maybe… Father?", and a priest answered: "No, comrade's enough". He told them: "You have to indoctrinate me because I lived in a different era […] I really don't know if I have grown old, or you have evolved too fast"[543].

The conversation with Castro focused on the analysis of the Cuban Church and its anti-revolutionary character. That was a particularly thorny and difficult topic for the Catholic world, which the priests wanted to clear up: the anti-religious nature of their revolution, and specifically the persecution against the Church unleashed by the Castro regime. He explained to them that, back in the times of the Cuban Revolution, the process of openness experienced by the Latin American Church later on had not yet taken place, and he upheld the idea that their revolution "had never been characterized for being anti-Catholic, anti-Christian or anti-religious in any way"[544].

For his part, Castro was interested in analyzing the moral aspects present in all revolutionary processes. In his opinion, Christians could make an important contribution in this respect, which could turn them into "strategic allies of the revolution". He said that "if 90% of our ideas match up, then let's just focus on those aspects, and show respect for the disagreements we might have". The figure of Camilo Torres became especially transcendental in this revolutionary Christian atmosphere. According to Castro, Torres was a "symbol of Christian consistency" and the "soul of today's movement". For their part, the priests were particularly unsettled by two traits in Torres's personality: the complex issue of violence and the necessity to make use of it in a revolution. In view of these considerations, Castro answered, "not all of you have to become Camilo Torres…", thus redeeming the priests who did not legitimize the use of violence[545].

The CpS eagerly showed Castro their work and their attempts at purging Christianity of the capitalist content which prevented a great deal of Christians from committing themselves to the revolution. Enthusiastically, they told him about the group of "the 80", its rapid growth, and the attention given by the clergy, to the point of doubling the initial number of members. They also revealed that their next step was to organize a Latin American convention to which all revolutionary Church groups of the region would be invited, due in April of the following year. Castro was impressed and asked them: "From all over Latin America?" […] You must be a real pain in the neck for imperialism!". The perfect end to this meeting was Castro's invitation for the priests to go to Cuba, so that they would see for themselves the progress of the revolutionary process[546].

After this meeting, the CpS' secretariat issued a report which was not documented in the press, so it was allegedly disseminated for the CpS members through internal channels[547]. In it, they called Fidel Castro "the leader of the Cuban revolution and the revolutionary process in Latin America". They then moved on to clarifying that there was only "one" revolutionary process, it was not "a revolution", but "the" revolution, which the Christians had to join. A second point stressed by this communiqué was related to the lack of experience of the Church in terms of revolutionary processes, and the counter-revolutionary role which some of its factions had played in the past. Consequently, they called on Christianity to continue ridding itself of the capitalist ideology, a "deterrent to revolutionary action"[548].

The gathering between Castro and the CpS –and the ensuing communiqué issued by their secretariat– was barely covered by the press. It can be assumed, then, that it was overshadowed by Castro's meeting with the Archbishop of Santiago[549]. Only brief sections could be found in the pages of *Mensaje* and *Pastoral Popular*, focusing on the figure of Castro and the character of the revolutionary process carried out in Cuba. In *Mensaje*, Jesuit priest Hubert Daubechies emphasized Castro's honesty, simplicity, spontaneity, straightforward language and authenticity, and referred to him as "the best pedagogue in Latin America". Also, he pointed out that he represented many of the "Christian concepts and behavior", "maybe the most crucial ones". Nonetheless, Daubechies asked the Christians not to misinterpret Castro's words that Christians and Marxists were called on to work together, as they had to keep their identities intact. "A Christian is always a Christian, and a Marxist is always a Marxist", he stated. Daubechies then suggested that Christians had to open themselves up to the values recognized and promoted by Marxism. He made reference to the subject of the lack of freedom in Cuba, which troubled the Catholic world. From his perspective, Western nations held a "false illusion" with respect to their citizens' freedom, and asked himself "Which society is closer to Christianity?"[550].

In *Pastoral Popular*, Brazilian liberation theologian Hugo Assman commented on this meeting. He was characterized by his radical positions and by the application of Marxist thinking to his theological reflections. He started out his analysis by praising the figure of Che Guevara, who made it possible for Christians and revolutionaries to subsequently undertake joint work in Latin America. He called on Christians to not impose their own dogmas, not to speak of proselytizing in favor of their churches, and he also brought forward the issue of not Christianizing the revolution. However, Assman's reflection dealt with one of the most challenging matters, which, at the same time, was one of the greatest weaknesses of the revolutionary Christians: the Christian faith of the masses, and their rejection of the revolution. The roots of this problem, which still held true due to the existence of dependent capitalism, were profound and could be traced back to the period of colonization of Latin America. Finally, from the very first moment, the Christian ideology put itself at the service of "domination", a situation which had perpetuated itself over the years. Nonetheless, the problem did not end there, as revolutionary Christians had to compete with the thesis of "apoliticism", which was nothing but the "mythification of freedom and democracy". In Chile, a country transitioning to socialism, this last aspect was one of the most important factors which constrained Christian factions from giving their support to the Popular Unity. In this way, the core objective of the revolutionary priests should be the creation of both a revolutionary and a moral consciousness. According to Assman, the Chilean process offered the Christians only two alternatives:

> "Either you are for the revolutionary process, decidedly in favor of the progress of the Revolution, ambiguous as it may be, or you are ineluctably against it, however human or holy your intentions may be"[551].

In this way, Assman gave more depth and took to the extreme the arguments offered by the CpS up to that moment.

In March of 1972, the second meeting between some members of the CpS and Fidel Castro was held. The setting was Cuba, in accordance with the invitation extended to the priests at the end of the first meeting in Santiago. A delegation of twelve people made up of priests and seminarians arrived in Cuba. Once there, they familiarized themselves with the sugarcane harvest, they went to schools, agrarian centers, and visited historic landmarks of the Cuban revolution's history. They also visited parish churches, and met with some bishops and Christians who supported the revolution. Finally, Fidel Castro himself received them and held a meeting in which they analyzed the Latin

American reality, particularly the Chilean process. After praising the strength and maturity of the Chilean working class, Castro expressed his doubts concerning the possibility to carry out a revolution through democratic channels[552].

The visit of the delegation did not cause any reaction at all, as evidenced by the press records. However, a letter dated March 3, 1972, addressed by the CpS to "all Christians in Latin America", inflamed the feelings of the Chilean Church hierarchy and some members of the clergy, prompting a firm response from them[553]. On closer inspection, many concepts previously utilized in the declaration of "the 80" were used in this letter. They took into consideration the core ideas of dependency theory: Latin American society was seen from the perspective of Marxist thinking, stressing the deep antagonism between the oppressed and the oppressor; solutions of a reformist or developmentalist nature were disregarded due to the fact that they were considered pro-capitalist, worsening the situation of underdevelopment in Latin America; U.S. imperialism was rejected, along with "its tough, selfish and criminal interests" which terrorized "the poor of the continent" and led to confrontations between them. The true fight was between the exploiter and the exploited, not between Marxists and Christians. By comparison with the previous letter, in this message the Latin American Church was scathingly attacked for being considered an institution which "always, or at least most of the time, aligns itself with the dominant minorities who exploit the people". This was called "the great historical sin of our Church", for which the institution was obliged to offer apologies. They then made an appeal for "progress", for sympathy for "the exploited" and their fight. For the first time ever, a call was made to respond to "reactionary violence" by means of "revolutionary violence", although the latter had not yet been defined:

> "From Cuba, we reaffirm our conviction that, historically, socialism is the only road for the subcontinent to break free from… the chains of capitalist and imperialist oppression (...) If reactionary violence prevents us from building a fair and egalitarian society, we must respond using revolutionary violence"[554]

In light of this message, the Chilean delegation sparked a huge wave of criticism. In the magazine of the Christian Democratic Party, *Política y Espíritu*, Jaime Castillo Velasco elaborated extensively on his arguments against it. Castillo's main condemnation was that this letter mirrored a "priestly reflection", and ended up being "a concrete political appeal". According to him, this only showed the ignorance of the "Catholic priest's actual field of responsibilities", which could by no means be the same as a politician's. He urged those who wanted to go into politics, such as Camilo

Torres, not to speak or act on behalf of the Church, because the faithful wanted actual priests, "not political activists talking about revolutionary politics" dressed as "sympathetic priests". He then called them "Camilo Torres from MIR newspapers". Secondly, his criticism was essentially political, hinting at the definitions of the revolutionary process supported by the CpS. The fact that they had sent the letter from Cuba was an unmistakable sign that the model of revolution had a Marxist character, banning any kind of Christian conception of life and disregarding the Church as an institution or any other public actions based on these principles[555].

The Church hierarchy reacted strongly, using a tone similar to Castillo Velasco's. During the Plenary Assembly, in the early days of April of 1972, the bishops decided to publicly decry the CpS[556]. First, the bishops defined the ministry duties, the work of the Church, and its concerns about temporal issues, prizing the pastoral agents' commitment to the people in need and the guidance on "evangelical reflection" they gave to the laymen. On the contrary, the "Manifesto from Cuba" –name given to the letter– was a misunderstanding of priestly duties. In particular, the bishops criticized its call for revolutionary violence as a means of promoting a radical change in the continent's social and political system. However, criticism went beyond this appeal and encompassed its underlying partisan political stance. From the bishops' perspective, it was evident that the letter stood in open contradiction to the Church's guidelines on a priest's duties in the temporal and political field. The manifesto showed that the CpS signatories prioritized their political calling over other aspects, and for this reason, they were advised to talk with their bishops and superiors, and request temporary leave from their duties. As to foreign priests, the bishops asked for their prudent judgement, since "of all priests –they said– we want foreign priests to stay away from political matters". Lastly, they recommended that candidates for priesthood reconsider their calling[557].

With this strong reply, the Church hierarchy placed the issue of priesthood and political activism at the heart of the debate, rather than the traditional and broad opposition between Christianity and Marxism, which had characterized the teachings of the Catholic Church. The bishops' concern was related to the possible confusion generated by such declarations among the young clergy. In temporal terms, the bishops' answer came to the fore when the CpS were carrying out their Latin American Meeting, which sparked even more controversy and jeopardized their tense relationship with the Church hierarchy[558].

2. The Christians for Socialism's Latin American Meeting

If there ever was an event in the history of Christians for Socialism which was a benchmark for revolutionary Christian movements, it was the April 1972 Christians for Socialism's Latin American Meeting, as it gave the movement a wider platform than just the Chilean one. As Pablo Richard stated, it gave the movement a larger "Latin American dimension". On the one hand, this event consolidated the different expressions of revolutionary Christianity developing in different Latin American contexts, which had emerged as isolated expressions. On the other hand, it positioned the Chilean movement as a model in Latin America[559].

Since the early months of 1972, the CpS focused their efforts on the organization of this large Latin American congress, prepared in detail by the CpS' executive committee. Some of the preparations were the creation of a commission in charge of issuing a document-invitation, promoted both at a national and a Latin American level[560]. The invitation was directly extended to the leaders of other leftist clerical movements, such as the Argentinian Movement of Priests for the Third World (MSTM), Movements of Laity for the Third World (MLTM), the Peruvian clerical group National Office of Social Information (ONIS), Golconda, from Colombia, and a Protestant group known as Social Institute for Latin America (ISAL)[561].

In the document, issued by the organizing committee, the congress's program was presented, as well as the reality of revolutionary Christianity from a Latin American perspective and the future challenges it faced. It is interesting to point out that the document started out by making reference to the meeting held by Fidel Castro and the CpS, and then alluded to his proposal regarding a strategic alliance between Christians and Marxists in view of the Latin American revolution, which turned out to be the main topic of the discussion[562]. During the congress, they used a wide range of up-to-date bibliographical material regarding the latest trends in contemporary social sciences, such as the dependency theory and its meaning and contribution to the theological thinking. Much of the material had a Latin American perspective, despite the allusions to the Chilean experience, especially the CpS' involvement with the revolutionary process, at least in doctrinal terms. An inductive analysis was carried out, which started off with the Latin American reality, described in terms of the revolutionary struggle taking place there. Dependency theory provided the key to understanding Latin America, a region which was standing up to the international capitalism led by the United States. In view of this situation of overall dependency, some experiences of liberation had developed, such as the Cuban revolution, expressions of "guerrilla subversion" and the alternative proposed by Chile. This was the

starting point of the reflection, and each national commission had to analyze in detail the course which its country had chosen, and afterward reflect upon it from a theological perspective[563].

From April 23 to April 30, 1972, the most prominent representatives of revolutionary Christianity from Latin America and the world gathered in Santiago. The strategically chosen date would not allow it to go unnoticed in the press because, at the same time, the III United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) was taking place in Santiago, attracting a lot of foreign journalists and correspondents. On April 23 at 19:00, the CpS' meeting was inaugurated, with a massive attendance, at the facilities of the union of the textile factory Hirmas. Some of the attendees were priests, theologians, nuns, Chileans and foreigners, including representatives of the Orthodox Church from the Soviet Union and Poland[564]. Working-class laymen coming from working-class neighborhoods and unions, university teachers, political leaders and governmental authorities, such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Clodomiro Almeyda, were also present[565]. Among the international attendees, the bishop of Cuernavaca, Sergio Méndez Arceo, was the one who drew the most attention, being the only member of the Latin American Church hierarchy who agreed to come to the Meeting[566].

The CpS' leader, Jesuit priest Gonzalo Arroyo, was in charge of giving the opening speech. He started out by inviting "all left-wing Christians" to take a socialist stance and to put their efforts into the mobilization of people. He stated that the Meeting was neither "revolutionary verbosity" nor a "gathering of hotheads"; rather, it represented the possibility of conducting a serious analysis and an occasion for its participants to reflect. He then moved on to suggesting that its main objective was religious, not political. First, they aimed at "unmasking the ideologization of Christian life" and "the ideologization of the sacraments and Christian institutions". Efforts also had to be made to unmask the capitalist bourgeois ideology and avoid the religious manipulation of the concepts "democracy", "freedom" and "order". In his eyes, the alliance between Christians and Marxists in Latin America was a "necessity", and for this purpose it was crucial to create suitable conditions. This alliance would be accomplished with the aid of a suitable theoretical framework and concrete experiences, with the long-awaited "unity of the working class" and of "the Latin American Left"[567].

Chile's Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of III Conference of UNCTAD, Clodomiro Almeyda, introduced himself as "a member of the popular movement", and highlighted the fact that Santiago had been chosen to host this Meeting. He specially emphasized the Chilean experience of transition into socialism, and praised the entire Chilean Catholic Church, which, as an institution, "had drifted away from the selfishness and interests associated with capitalist societies". In this way, the Church had cleared the path for leftist Christians to "freely and consciously join the revolutionary

fight"[568]. Aside from this, Almeyda read out a support letter sent by President Allende himself. In particular, he stressed the unity shown by the different political factions during a process of construction of socialism with "democratic and pluralistic features". This project offered "all the Churches" enough room for "respect" and "the consideration of 'all beliefs'"[569].

Méndez Arceo did not have a formal participation in the event, only making a short speech to the audience. First, he spoke up for the work carried out by revolutionary priests in Latin American societies, which he described as "an extension of the Pentecost"[570]. He then announced that socialism was the only road to overcome underdevelopment, and he criticized all factions of Christian socialism because they aimed at "absolutizing socialism and relativizing Christianity". One of the most relevant moments of his speech was the legitimization of the contribution of sociology to theology, as it largely summarized the path taken by revolutionary Christians. In his opinion, "there cannot be theology without the cooperation of sociologists, as, even unconsciously, the methods for interpreting the written Revelation have been at the service of man's domination of man"[571]. He emphasized the historical reflection and critical thinking underlying theology; however, he incorporated an ideological Marxist variable into it, thus opening a gap between this approach and the approach which the sociology of religion had been employing for decades.

Bishop Méndez Arceo met with Cardinal Silva Henríquez. In the press conference, he again validated socialism as a societal model. He distanced himself from the suggestions which the CpS had been making in this respect, proclaiming that it did not really matter if one arrives at socialism through peaceful or violent means. The bottom line was determined, he said, by a "truly analyzed" reality, "seriously" and "from the perspective of social sciences". This was the foundation for theological thinking, and it had to be the basis on which the Church had to carry out its mission on earth. Finally, he defined himself as a priest and a revolutionary, stressing the compatibility between both: "Because I want to be a priest and I want to be a revolutionary, too. And since I don't see any incompatibilities, then I want to be both"[572].

Méndez Arceo's presence at the CpS' Meeting and his comments at the press conference were rejected by the Chilean bishops. The CECH's general secretary, Monsignor Carlos Oviedo, sent him a letter expressing the hierarchy's unease. It evidenced the differences of opinion within the Chilean episcopate in relation to his participation in the Meeting. Some bishops demanded that Méndez Arceo be publicly rejected, while others even suggested that it was necessary to file a complaint with the Episcopal Conference of Mexico and with the Holy See[573].

The work done by the commissions at the Latin American Meeting began on April 24 at the facilities of University Parish Church, the meeting place of University Catholic Action. First, the national reports, previously drawn up by each national delegation, were read out, and after that, group reflection activities were undertaken under the guidance of a central commission made up of renowned theologians, such as Giulio Girardi, Gustavo Gutiérrez and Hugo Assman[574].

The Chilean report, entitled "From social Christianity to revolutionary Christianity" was the most extensive and solid of the reports. It had been made by a working commission from the CpS' secretariat, and was based on the conclusions drawn at a national meeting carried out in Padre Hurtado on March, 1972. It analyzed the political, ideological and religious state of affairs in Chile, laying particular emphasis on the political behavior of Christians and, with this information, identified three categories: Christian conservatism, Christian reformism and Christian revolutionary socialism. The last two categories were defined as "two successive models of Christian integration into Chilean society", and both clearly showed the Christians' political commitment to the process of social change, which would come to be known as "liberation". The harshest criticism was directed at "Christian reformism" for politically obstructing the Chilean road to socialism, and for aligning itself with the bourgeoisie in ideological terms. Although it is true that this reformism had reached its zenith during the government of Christian Democrat, Eduardo Frei Montalva, other actors had already taken an interest in the matter, such as the Church hierarchy and, among others, the international Catholic agencies Adveniat, Misereor and Latin American Bureau, dependent on the Bishops' Conference of the United States. All these initiatives could be called into question for being "an elite with initiatives only aimed at partial and misleading changes to the structures of exploitation and dependence". From the Chilean perspective, Christian reformism had made use of anti-communist weapons. In this way, it had worked its way into society, gaining acceptance especially among women, reconciling the popular classes with the bourgeoisie, causing divisions within the working class, and building up "a new version of bourgeois ideology". The Church hierarchy legitimized this reformism, holding up an image of a "loving and peaceful" God, while at the same time condemning the "difficult reality". The end of the journey was, then, a "sacredness of legality" and "the unifying and pacifist efforts of the ruling class[575].

One of the most relevant parts of the Chilean report was the section dedicated to the political agenda and, in particular, to the strategy of establishing socialism in Chile. It was the first time the CpS ever made their position known. For them, this was essential in order to mobilize the organized workers, "to protect what has been accomplished and to move forward to take over power". In this sense, they stressed the role played by social organizations, such as the executive committees of social

and state-owned enterprises, peasants councils from agrarian zones, local health commissions, neighborhood councils, mothers' community centers and the Price and Supply Boards (JAPs). Nonetheless, this intertwined social structure was still weak, for which the government was responsible. In a conscious way, the government decided not to promote the determined mobilization of working-class neighborhoods. In the eyes of the CpS, this mobilization was a "patient, delicate task" which had to be handled falling back on all the resources offered by science. The people had to make "step-by-step" progress, closely linked with progressive politics, and a clear strategy for gaining power. It was in this slow progress that "revolutionary Christians" or "left-wing Catholics" would play a fundamental role by converting faith into "a revolutionary practice […] with a utopian consciousness"[576].

Even though the meeting's final report was intended to have a regional imprint, it adopted many elements contained in the Chilean report. The main objective was to blend all the liberation processes taking place in the region, and to make Christianity a key element in this unification process. The document's core points were: recognizing and assuming the existence of class conflicts across all global structures in Latin America, and showing the dialectical interaction between "the radicalism of faith" and "the radicalism of political commitment". Faith went on to become a "revolutionary, critical and dynamic ferment", which gave class conflicts more depth and meaning, and demanded a "radical" liberation of all the people. Revolutionary commitment played "a critical role with respect to faith" and made it possible for Christians to keep their feet on the ground.

> "Faith gives one neither satisfaction nor shelter from everyday problems. Now, it is not enough to pray and just carry on with one's life. It is not enough to make friends or form communities, thinking that politics will take care of everything else. The historical commitment of Christians opens all the doors for them. It makes them willing to construct a new society"[577].

This Latin American Meeting was certainly a landmark in the CpS' history. First, it facilitated the interaction of all priests and theologians from the region with their peers, who had been making similar proposals in different latitudes and contexts. They all backed the Meeting's final report, which in practice made it possible for them to reach a consensus on the subject of liberation. The debate remained at a conceptual level and was highly erudite, placing a political variable at the core of the theological reflection. The CpS' secretariat set out to promote a number of publications which would facilitate the dissemination of this leftist Christian thinking. A book containing all the speeches,

documents and reports handed out at the Congress was published in cooperation with the state-owned publishing house Quimantú, in addition to other written materials produced in Latin America. It was titled *Los cristianos y la revolución. Un debate abierto en América Latina*[578].

The Meeting's outcomes clearly demonstrated how elitist the priests and theologians' message was, and how far away they were from the popular world. They were trying to raise awareness, but they were hardly familiar with the language of the people. The materials were dense, difficult theological treatises, frequently written in academic or scientific language which most people could barely understand.

Cristianos por el Socialismo, 37.

To make up for this, the CpS' Secretariat printed leaflets and a "popular edition" for more specific situations, be it the working class union or the religious-pastoral contexts. This popular edition contained the conclusions of the Meeting, using a clear, understandable language suitable for a broad public. Bearing this objective in mind, this edition included easy to understand graphic material with explanatory caricatures. In this edition, the main character was a kind-faced working-class man with a moustache, who wore ordinary clothes and represented all the popular sections within society which had not yet been mobilized. The intended objective was to instill awareness of all the social injustices he had to experience on a daily basis, so that he would then be able to understand the bigger picture. Simple representations of the situation of injustice in Latin America were used, such as a soccer match that was invariably rigged so that a team or imperialism,

represented by a tall, sturdy man who hoarded the poor countries' natural resources, would always win[579].

In this way, the text revealed the situation of dependency and internal colonialism to which Latin America was subjected, the national oligarchies, those "powerful internal ones" typified by landowners and bosses alike. The latter were represented by a man in suit who showed complete indifference to the existence of the working-class main character. By exerting control over the monetary and educational systems, the press and even the people's customs and preferences, the oligarchy prevented the people from rising up against it. In view of this situation, they had to start their liberation process, which could only be achieved through socialism.

> "The ruling class can go down the road it chose: the preservation of capitalism, yet the working class has a road of its own: the struggle for socialism. With reforms, capitalism will prolong its existence over time; with revolution, socialism starts"[580].

In this popular edition, the CpS directly addressed those who declared themselves supporters of the independence movement, and also all those who had decided "not to get involved in politics", whatever the reasons might be. They were told that there was no room for an apolitical position, and that all those who felt liberated from politics would end up being "dragged by the crowd". The last character in this story was the revolutionary priest, represented by a kind, young-looking priest. He represented the priests who boosted people's awareness, who taught the people despite the scandal that they provoked among some of society's more traditionalist sectors. The assertion "Christian love comes with actions" was summarized in the following statement: "We love the oppressed, fighting with them. We love the oppressors, taking away their power"[581].

Christians for Socialism: Demands of and Option, 50.

The Meeting's readings are multiple and leave room for interpretations on different levels. From a political perspective, this event represented the recognition of the UP's government from the moment the attendees confirmed their adherence to socialism and showed a preference for democratic over violent methods. Despite this, individual voices from the CpS started to communicate their objections and dissatisfaction regarding the path chosen by Chilean socialism, especially because of its estrangement from humanistic aspects and from the "profound cultural revolution" indifferent to material concerns. Sergio Torres told the press: "How far away we Chileans are from true socialism! […] All of us –even President Salvador Allende, his Ministers and high-ranking government employees– still live by the values of capitalism"[582].

Second, this Meeting was an attempt to deepen intellectually the political and religious choices made by many of the priests, especially with regard to the symbiosis of these two spheres. All the output and reflections, the delegations' reports, the work done by the commissions and the final report became a solid intellectual exercise, immersed in Latin America's progressive social sciences and in the theological thinking of the emerging liberation theology. After the Meeting, the CpS were never again involved in activities of such magnitude, which is why it came to represent the greatest event in the group's history. No regional initiative grew out of the Chilean experience, and despite the attempts at finding a way to expand it by binding the different national initiatives together, none of these organizations ever got to exert influence at a continental level. The only agreement reached by the attendees was the possibility of holding similar meetings in the future.

3. The Cardinal's annoyance

The Latin American Meeting of April 1972 was one of the most strained periods in the relationship between the Church hierarchy and the CpS. Two weeks before this Congress, Cardinal Silva Henríquez, who had been appointed President of the Episcopal Conference of Chile and the ecclesiastical authority of the place where the meeting would be carried out, led the offensive against the CpS[583]. From this moment on, the Church hierarchy made a distinction between a supportive commitment to the poor and a political-partisan commitment, considering the CpS to belong to the latter group. In accordance with Pablo Richard's testimony, the Bishops tried to classify, even within the CpS, the clergy into two categories: "the good and the bad ones". The latter encompassed the "most politicized and most conscious", and also those who stood in defiance of the ecclesiastical authorities[584].

The most serious disagreements with the hierarchy had to do with the organization of the Meeting and its negative consequences for the Chilean Church. After an extensive discussion, the Meeting's organizers decided that no special authorization from the hierarchy would be requested, and that only an invitation would be sent to them. On December 1971, Cardinal Silva Henríquez was informed of this Meeting, to take place in April of 1972. From then on, the CpS and the hierarchy embarked on an intense exchange throughout the Chilean summer. The debate was reproduced by the press, especially the magazines *Política y Espíritu* and *Punto Final*, which published full-length versions of a great deal of documents and missives. In this way, and for a wider public, the media became the organs of dissemination of this intra-ecclesial controversy.

The main problem for Cardinal Silva Henríquez was related to the impression which the event would make on other Latin American Churches and the possibility that they could consider that the event had been supported in any way, or even endorsed, by the Archbishopric of Santiago. Toward the middle of January 1972, Bishop Carlos Oviedo, who was the General Secretary of the Episcopal Conference of Chile, sent out a confidential document to all the episcopal conferences in Latin America. In it, he reconstructed the CpS' history, and then moved on to explicitly reveal how independently from the hierarchy the group made their decisions. He described the issue as follows:

> "It is an active group which makes decisions, makes public declarations, edits documents, organizes events, tries to get involved with other similar groups from other countries, and day after day consolidates its political collaboration with the UP government, to the point of publicly expressing its opinion in view of the political elections"[585].

Oviedo evidenced the hierarchy's disapproval of this group, especially due to their misleading interpretation of the social ministry, its political involvement and the consequent bewilderment which it caused among the faithful. Apart from clarifying the CpS' identity and insisting on the hierarchy's disapproval, he clearly asserted that the Meeting's organization was autonomously being organized by the group, and that the hierarchy condemned such an event[586]. In spite of this, the hierarchy did not prevent the group from carrying on with the organization.

In accordance with the CpS' plan, in the early days of February the group sent out a formal invitation to the bishops to invite them to participate in the Meeting. Since they were even open to the possibility that the Bishops could be part of any of the sponsoring committees, they sent them the preparatory material for the event, after which the Chilean episcopate showed its willingness to send three Bishops as observers. It must be pointed out that observers had also been sent to the meeting of "the 200", except that this time, after examination of the documents sent by the CpS, the episcopate would revoke its decision. Then, at the beginning of March 1972, Cardinal Silva Henríquez and the CpS' leaders got into a confrontation for the first time, as the former made it clear that the hierarchy was worried about the CpS' political extremism and ideological radicalization, especially when compared with the group's initial stance[587].

On March 3, Cardinal Silva Henríquez sent a personal letter to Gonzalo Arroyo, expecting the message to be spread among the CpS through him. In the letter, the Cardinal showed his disapproval of the group, and directly reprimanded Gonzalo Arroyo. His main criticism of the Meeting was related to its political motivations and its intentions to push the Catholic Church, and the Christians, into a dispute which would only benefit the Marxist revolution in Latin America. The Cardinal said to Arroyo:

> "As you can understand, my dear friend, to me it does not seem appropriate at all to sponsor a gathering of priests who, in my opinion, have adopted a line which is not the Church's and who make assertions and do things in conflict with the National Episcopate's explicit guidelines"[588].

The Cardinal revealed his take on Marxism and, in accordance with the Church's teachings, stressed the possible points of agreement and the possibilities of joint work that Christians and Marxists shared. Nonetheless, the list of points of disagreement was longer,

revolving around six core points, which helped him to systematically develop his criticism of Marxism and the CpS' main ideas. First, he set forth the threat to the unity of the Church and its Bishops embodied by the CpS. Second, he disagreed with the "uniqueness of the revolutionary formula" they proposed, as it was only related to the rise to power of the proletariat in their struggle for liberation. In his opinion, the underlying cause was a "Marxist-based mentality" which put the emphasis on "an elitist attitude and an economic-based assessment of man's liberation". Third, he made reference to the reduction of Christianity when considered from both the perspective of class struggle and the purely historical perspective. Fourth, the Cardinal tackled the issue of regarding theology as a sort of ideology, taking from the former its wide scope, richness and depth. Fifth, he referred to the problem of exclusively focusing on the "dimension of socio-economic transformation", which left aside Christianity's essential commitment to evangelization. Finally, he rejected a purely sociological approach which left no room for the essential values of Christianity, such as: reincarnation, redemption, sense of sin, prayers, contemplation, the presence of the Spirit. He concluded his letter by saying:

> "My dear friend, as you can see, the doctrinal differences which separate us are great in number, and they are very serious, too. I think that you caricature Christianity, scale it down, that is to say, you reduce it to a mere socio-economic and political system, thereby obliterating its great religious values. I am not willing to do that, nor can I sponsor a meeting of priests, who, with the best of intentions, intend to do this"[589].

Despite the Cardinal's trust in the "good faith" of many of the CpS' members, he asked Arroyo to remove his name from the list of possible sponsors of the Meeting. In the last paragraph, he was particularly hard on him, saying that he was "outraged" in view of his "destructive actions toward the Church". He then reminded him that he was a member of the Society of Jesus, an "institution meant to defend the Catholic Church and spread its beneficial influence around the globe". Finally, he said "I apologize to you for my honesty, but you know my personality and the way I act"[590].

It did not take long for Gonzalo Arroyo to personally reply to the Cardinal[591]. Dated March 17, he sent a letter not only on his own behalf, but also on behalf of the Society of Jesus, which had also been alluded to by the Cardinal. In his letter, Arroyo hinted at personal

conversations which they had had before; nevertheless, he considered the Cardinal's reaction to be an attempt at "changing his mind" vis-à-vis the Chilean Church. In his answer, he did not refer to doctrinal matters, but focused upon refuting the political imprint which Silva Henríquez had attributed to the event and disproving the CpS' alleged objective "to push the Catholic Church and the Christians into a dispute which would only benefit the Marxist revolution in Latin America". He suggested that this was a mistaken interpretation, far from the objectives defined by the Meeting's organizers. For the CpS, the political character had a broader sense and did not have to do with "taking over power by means of political parties or political movements". Arroyo then reaffirmed that they had only taken "a few scientific elements" from the Marxist theory in order to understand Latin America's social reality. Finally, his answer reserved a special place in dealing with the Cardinal's admonishments.

> "You accuse me of destroying the Church. This is a very serious accusation, and I expect that you accurately considered the full extent of your words beforehand. I am surprised, I am bound to say, that despite the fact that you are so convinced about my destructive actions, and that your administration of the Church of Santiago has been good, up to this moment you have not taken any effective measures to put a stop to this work of destruction"[592].

Arroyo said that he had a "clear conscience" and that he considered the Church to be an encompassing institution capable of including leftist Christians, who renounced neither their Christian faith nor their obedience to the hierarchy. Leftist Christians only wanted to join the forces which "actually" longed for concrete changes and promoted socialism as "the comprehensive liberation of man". Finally, he made a distinction between the work of the Secretariat of the Eighty and that of his congregation, arguing that the Provincial Superior had allowed him a great deal of leeway, based upon his "priestly and Christian conscience". For this reason, the Jesuit Provincial did not know the worksheet prepared for the Meeting, had not participated in its organization either and, therefore, could not be held responsible for it. He concluded by saying "I hope that we manage to overcome these differences, and that we also keep the respect we have for each other and the desire to work together"[593].

The Meeting's organizing committee gave their support to Gonzalo Arroyo and toward the end of March 1972, it sent the Cardinal a letter as a gesture of solidarity with Arroyo[594]. In this way, the discussion got more and more strained, and the gap which

separated the Cardinal and the Church hierarchy on the one hand, and Arroyo and the CpS on the other, grew wider and wider.

> "You say that you are rather shocked by Gonzalo's attitude. We are likewise shocked at the behavior of a Pastor who so harshly judges a priest…We are outraged at the handling of the situation, making personal statements in a letter which you sent out to all the Bishops of the Conference and which has also become known to other priests and lay people… In our opinion, it is absolutely unacceptable to say that his deeds are destructive and, on top of it, express it in a letter which was widely circulated by the Church. It appears to us that this handling of the situation is contrary to the purity and trust which should exist between a pastor and his priests"[595].

This letter represented an opportunity for the CpS to refute the Cardinal's six core points. First, they called into question the definition of unity within the Church and stressed the importance of periods of "social dissent", in which new territories should be explored and unprecedented solutions found. Second, they suggested the possible convergence of Marxist thought and the Gospel once a socio-economic dimension had been incorporated into the religious assessment of poverty and oppression in accordance with the biblical tradition[596]. In the letter, the Meeting's organizers highlighted Arroyo's religious and pastoral work. Many of them were parish priests and were even directly dependent on the Archbishopric of Santiago. All of them lived in poverty, in accordance with their evangelical search, and as they explained, "every Sunday we celebrate mass with the Christian community, and we spread the word of God among its members"[597].

In the Cardinal's letter to Gonzalo Arroyo, the direct allusion to the Society of Jesus caused the Provincial Superior in Chile, Manuel Segura, to join the debate via the Annual Report to Chilean Jesuits. He was aware of both the internal criticism leveled at him and the criticism of Arroyo spreading in different clerical circles of the province. He said that despite his disagreements with Gonzalo Arroyo on his public statements and his involvement in politics, the Chilean Province would not take any measures against him, nor would it prohibit his actions unless the Father General or the episcopate officially instructed him to do so. Finally, he considered that Arroyo's contribution could in fact be positive for the Church as an expression of commitment to the people and actual plurality within the institution[598].

Segura complained to the Cardinal that he had not informed him of the letter which he had sent to Arroyo. Actually, this situation was made even worse by the fact that it had already been made known to members of the Church. In the days prior to the Latin American Meeting, the Cardinal met with father Segura. *Noticias Jesuitas-Chile*, the congregation's bulletin, recorded that the Cardinal had been expecting the congregation to express some kind of criticism of the CpS, at least through an article or editorial in *Mensaje.* The article continues by stating that in this meeting the Cardinal assumed his original stance again and indicated that they had to keep a watchful eye on the CpS, so that they would keep within "the limits of prudence"[599].

Apart from this personal meeting, an epistolary exchange took place, which permitted them to analyze these subjects in more detail. In his letter to the Cardinal, Manuel Segura showed his concerns about the criticism of Arroyo expressed by some Bishops. He made a distinction between his understanding of the CpS and Arroyo's actions, stressing the latter's religious and priestly imprint. In this way, he enunciated that he did not see any inconsistencies with the fact that Catholics, either laymen or priests, sought concrete collaboration with Marxism and tried to incorporate Christian elements into it. Finally, he considered that Arroyo's participation in the CpS was strategic, since he was a "braking device" for other priests with more radical views than him[600].

In the Cardinal's response to Segura, he manifested that there were reasons for the tension between the Society of Jesus and the episcopate, which came in response to the existence of a group of "very active" Jesuits which, despite its small size, was causing "a stir" and "a scandal" within the Church. The problem was even more serious if one considered that criticism encompassed the entire congregation, as this small group's actions seemed to be indicative of the pastoral action of the Society of Jesus as a whole. This was difficult for the Chilean Church, it aroused the clergy's rebelliousness and caused irreconcilable divisions between Catholics who dedicated themselves to the public service. In the Cardinal's eyes, the problem was the Chilean Jesuit authorities' "absolute silence", which seemed to indicate that the whole Company acted upon the advice from "its most progressive members"[601].

The Cardinal's criticism had to do with the lack of leadership which he saw in the treatment of these priests. As a matter of fact, the Society of Jesus had not given any signals intended to control the CpS' actions, neither did they publicly criticize what, in the eyes of a large part of the Church hierarchy and the Chilean clergy, seemed to be the wrong direction. Silva Henríquez indicated the need for "complete consensus" among the Bishops and the clergy regarding disciplinary and pastoral

matters, so that divisions among Catholics would be avoided. After that, he drew attention to all the harm which Segura's silence was causing, saying:

> "In today's Chile, this attitude seems to be extremely dangerous for the Chilean Church, especially because those who do not accept the episcopal guidelines defend their own points of view. In so doing, however, they rashly and deceptively reproach the Bishops for their ignorance, their lack of knowledge of reality and, even worse, their lack of love for the poor, making us look as if we were colluding with the powerful classes and capitalism"[602].

After the letter exchange between Gonzalo Arroyo and Cardinal Silva Henríquez, the debate continued, since new members from the episcopate joined it. The Permanent Committee of the Episcopate formally informed the organizing board of the Bishops' refusal to attend the Meeting, hinting at the same arguments provided by the Cardinal, and at the revolutionary and political content of the preparatory worksheets for the event. In the same way, the missive also indicated that the attendance of controversial groups from other Latin American countries raised concerns among the episcopal conferences[603].

Toward the end of March, the Cardinal traveled to Rome, and after he returned, he received a letter from the CpS' organizing committee. He replied to them, using a milder tone by comparison with his first missive to Arroyo. Once again, he described the political engagement of the clergy's members as nothing but a "Church-destroying action", and although he managed to understand the CpS' definition of politics as "high standard politics" rather than "partisan politics", this topic had to be dealt with carefully. Finally, the Cardinal categorized the CpS members, saying that some of them acted "in good faith", which relieved him[604].

In the early days of April of that same year, the Plenary Assembly of the Episcopate gathered in Punta de Tralca. As shown by the Cardinal's memoirs, three members of the CpS went there to speak with him: Alfonso Baeza, Mariano Puga and Pablo Fontaine, whom the Cardinal held in high esteem. The discussion got strained at times, but in the end, he recommended that they continue being part of the movement so that it would not lose its religious essence. During that conversation, he revealed his concerns about the radicalization of some of the CpS' members. According to Baeza, the Cardinal told them: "Thank goodness you are part of that movement, because there are a couple of crazy ones in it!"[605].

The Plenary Assembly was held in a tense ambiance, and the debate was mainly focused on the mission of priests. In particular, the case of the CpS hogged the agenda, especially because Bishops were having problems with their clergy in many dioceses[606]. Nevertheless, they did not seem to have a common take on how to tackle this internal crisis and in the end –Jorge Hourton's memoirs and his analysis of the Assembly's internal minutes provide evidence of this– the prevailing position was to have patience with these priests and, above all, to act together as an episcopal body[607].

A few days before the Meeting, the Archbishopric of Santiago issued a brief communiqué which reaffirmed that the organizers had not requested formal authorization from the Episcopate, and that only the leading priests would be held responsible for the outcome of the event[608]. In the intra-ecclesial world, the attendants' jubilation was in stark contrast to the hierarchy's rejection. While the Meeting was underway, a group of delegates, Gonzalo Arroyo among them, made a request to meet with the Cardinal again. Accompanied by Carlos Oviedo, Silva Henríquez received them in the auditorium of Cáritas, "ironically – according to the Cardinal's Memoirs– one of the institutions more harshly criticized" by many factions, and also by the CpS[609]. The delegates asked him about the letter which he sent out to the Latin American episcopal conferences and the Cardinal, without denying it, set forth the Bishops' doubts about the results of the Meeting. The Cardinal made reference to the letter which he had sent to Arroyo, saying that his language had been "very Chilean-like", but had not harmed their friendship or trust. Shortly before the end of the meeting, a nun asked him about his participation in the Meeting. He categorically refused to go, and asked them to respect his decision, based on the freedom granted by the Church[610].

In an unprecedented manner, the right-wing press praised the Cardinal's firm response to the CpS, as well as his refusal to go to the Latin American Meeting. In *Tribuna*, the headline introducing the report of the meeting between the Cardinal and the Meeting's delegates was "It was about time". The article highlighted his attitude in contrast to the permissiveness which, in its opinion, he had permanently shown after Allende's triumph back in 1970. The newspaper labeled the CpS as "false priests" and "priests and/or Marxists", questioning their religious identity[611]. The newspaper *El Mercurio*, which kept a discreet silence with regard to the CpS' Meeting, highlighted this last meeting and put particular

emphasis on how clearly the Cardinal managed to detach himself from any kind of support, participation or commitment to the event's objectives[612].

The Cardinal recalls that the organizers considered this meeting to be "a disaster". The attendants felt threatened and disappointed by his declarations, after which they considered him a "reformist"[613]. Richard described this last meeting as "strained and cold", and Alfonso Baeza, who took part in it, recollected the tough treatment they received and the gap which opened up between the hierarchy and the more confrontational sectors within the CpS[614]. It became clear to all the CpS that their relationship with the Church hierarchy would grow more and more tense and complicated.

4. The onslaught against Christians for Socialism

The CpS' Latin American Meeting meant that not only the group's left-wing priests and the Church hierarchy, which intensified its criticism toward them, took a position, but also different sectors of Chilean society. In this new scenario, criticism also encompassed factions within the Latin American Church. In this way, it became apparent that the CpS' emergence into the public scene was an event that went beyond Chile's borders.

As usual, the Chilean press was divided between praise and criticism of the CpS and the Meeting's extent and conclusions which were drawn from it. One of the most laudatory comments appeared in the Jesuit magazine *Mensaje*, which overlooked the congregation's internal problems and the Cardinal's annoyance at Arroyo and the Provincial Superior, Manuel Segura. In an editorial, they carried out a detailed analysis of the gathering, going over a number of definitions in connection to class struggle and the meaning ascribed to it, according to the Meeting's final report[615]. An article on this event was written by a young Jesuit priest, Fernando Montes, who was close to Gonzalo Arroyo. He emphasized the presence of laymen, to whom little attention had been given by comparison with clergymen. It also highlighted the event's ecumenical character, and the symbolic rituals carried out, such as a "new-style para-liturgy", which combined chants and prayers with applause given to the Bishop of Cuernavaca and political speeches[616].

In this article, Montes tried to mitigate the tensions between the CpS' leadership and the Church hierarchy and considered that this was nothing but an exaggeration of the right-wing press aimed at "sowing the seeds of division" and bringing discredit on the group. Montes's speech on the episcopate's refusal to attend the Meeting was not about a breakdown in the dialogue; rather, it provided further proof of the leeway which the hierarchy gave to its clergy[617]. Anyway, he ventured to enumerate some obvious deficiencies, such as the few concrete actions prompted by this theological-political reflection and the inability to move this debate beyond "intra-ecclesial" borders"[618].

The left-wing press also commented on the Meeting. The Communist newspaper praised it, while at the same time it made a political interpretation of it. It considered that such meetings demonstrated that the Chilean Road to Socialism did not represent any threats to the faithful, neither with respect to their faith nor to their religious practices[619]. *Punto Final* also interpreted the meaning of the CpS' Latin American Meeting as yet another expression of a "long-term process", Camilo Torres being one of its better-known examples[620]. It stressed the agglutinative efforts of revolutionary

Christianity all over Latin America, especially after efforts had only been made at a local level. The previous "isolationism" caused "a scattering of forces" and facilitated repression against these groups. Finally, these joint efforts contributed to the transformation of the revolution into a "single, global process", in which all Christians were called upon to get involved through organizations and parties that were "authentic instruments of the working class' struggle"[621].

After the CpS' Latin American Meeting, criticism came from reformist Christian sectors. The magazine *Política y Espíritu* reproduced the reflections of some clerical members from the camp opposing the CpS[622]. Intra-ecclesial criticism was far-ranging and mainly focused on condemning the extent and problems which the CpS' clerical nature might cause to Chilean society and the Catholic Church in general. In this sense, a letter sent by a group of priests from Santiago to the CpS' "priest friends" evidenced the main concerns which emerged after the Latin American Meeting. In this respect, it is interesting to point out that the signatory priests highlighted their pastoral work, their sympathy for the working class and their struggle for a "comprehensive liberation". At first sight, it may seem similar to the CpS' previous experiences; however, there was a fundamental difference between them, chiefly related to what was understood by pastoral ministry. The signatories defined themselves as "priests, and nothing more than that", "having no other adjectives or last names". "We are priests of Christ […] We are priests of the Church", their reflection said. On the other hand, they thought that the CpS left their pastoral ministry aside, thus becoming "activists of an ideology or societal faction, and also activists in political nomination processes". This stood in direct contradiction to their own priestly identity and it was an "abuse of power" and "disrespectful" to laymen. This mistake was described as clericalism and paternalism on the part of the Catholic Church. In this way, they called on the priests to keep their political position within "the private sphere" so as not to cause divisions in society[623].

> "We were not ordained priests for this, we do not have the right to cast a shadow on the Church's true countenance, nor can we frustrate the legitimate expectations of our people. The people are waiting, and they have the right to demand that we be what we are supposed to be: fathers, pastors, teachers of faith"[624].

Cristian Llona, a priest from the Sacred Heart, also attended the Meeting and criticized the CpS even more harshly. He reproached them for their unconditional support of the Popular Unity government, the naivety shown by some, and the intellectual bias of others. Llona's core criticism was related to the CpS' excess of intellectuality, which ascribed to the

government “those democratic and libertarian purposes” that they found in Marxist books, thus acting based on an “imaginary Marxism”. Second, Llona called into question the actual contribution of Marxist Christians toward the UP’s revolutionary process. In Llona’s eyes, the CpS only showed “submission” to the government by forgiving it for all its doings, without taking into account that they were only “the most fanatical and unconditional tail of the rat of the government and of the power structure”. Lastly, it is interesting to point out Llona’s categorization of the members of the CpS. According to him, in the group there were some “very valuable and holy priests”, along with “foreigners dazzled by the political and secular action which, in their countries, they could never even dream of carrying out”. Also, there were “seasoned politicians”, “the inevitable anarchists”, “those in favor of the permanent revolution” and the “prophets of hope for the poor”, whose only contribution was “never-ending verbalism”[625].

Another argument used to criticize the CpS after the Latin American Meeting was the so-called “new fundamentalism”, or “progressive fundamentalism”. It was described as a defense mechanism against a system of simple and well-known truths. In this way, it was merely a simplification and a caricature of doctrines, principles and people who overvalued their own things and took a defensive stance to express their opinions. A group of priests from Santiago stated that this fundamentalism underlay the way of thinking of the CpS’ “ideologues”, who were described as “cultivated men, with contacts within circles of knowledge at an international level, accustomed to the power of the ‘intelligentsia’ and enthusiasts of university academic debate. They were also “refined minds” and “elitist groups, mainly coming from the upper class”. The group stated that these ideologues’ way of thinking was “unable to understand with love and respect the ordinary man”, who had a “limited conscience” and “no dialectics”. The central criticism here is that CpS’ commitment to the poor was only “intellectual”, and that they would never get involved in the revolutionary fight; instead, they would be “behind the scenes, managing the process and assessing it when the revolution actually came about”[626].

The Jesuit priest, Pierre Bigó, also raised his voice to criticize the way the CpS interpreted Marxism. Bigó hinted at their superficiality and ignorance of that doctrine, which made them “politicize the Gospel” and “absolutize politics”. In Bigó’s opinion, the essential disagreement between Marxism and Christianity was determined neither by private property

nor by atheism, as was suggested by a great deal of Christians. In his eyes, the key discrepancy was that, as far as Marxism was concerned, man's problems were merely political, limiting his existence to a temporal life. For its part, Christianity considered politics to be an essential dimension of existence, but not "the entire existence". Finally, unlike the CpS, Bigó called for an authentic dialogue between Christians and Marxists, which further accentuated their differences[627].

The leader of the *gremialista* movement, Jaime Guzmán, also joined the public debate about the CpS and their political involvement. He started out by accepting the Church's double essence: on the one hand, it had a divine origin, the objective of which was to become "an efficient and necessary instrument for achieving the perfection of man and the salvation of souls"; on the other hand, it was "a judicially organized institution", with a visible form. Both aspects, which transformed it into a "historic being", did not bring it closer to any particular political ideology. As to the participation of bishops and priests, Guzmán held that they could not get involved in their country's political life; however, that decision had to be "extremely discreet and prudent", so as not to cause any kind of confusion among ordinary Catholics. In Guzmán's opinion, the CpS' involvement in politics was in direct contradiction to the pontifical doctrine and the Chilean episcopate.

> "Apart from the probable good intentions of many of 'the 80', who were undoubtedly shocked by the reality of material poverty in the areas with which they interacted, their doctrinal confusion, due to a poor theological preparation and poor knowledge of socio-economic matters, causes a kind of harm which can intensify over time"[628].

Guzmán considered the ill-conceived distinction between Christianity's supernatural dimension and its temporal, humanistic or anthropological dimension as one of the biggest mistakes of progressive Christianity. Left-wing Christians minimized the importance of everlasting life, being only interested in the issue of social structures. They also minimized man's internal and supernatural perfection, by which man's innate tendency toward eternity was easily diverted toward "the search for paradise on earth". This was a "falsification of Christian truth" and, therefore, left-wing Christianity went on to become "an outrage" which emerged and grew within the Church[629].

Despite Guzmán's definitions, he focused his criticism on the Church hierarchy's silence vis-à-vis the government of Salvador Allende, who was a Marxist at the core. This silence was neither

reasonable nor acceptable. Also, it was inappropriate, considering that the hierarchy could have drawn up doctrinal and moral guidelines. Guzmán even suggested the improbability of Allende's triumph if the Church had given doctrinal guidance to the Catholics[630]. He did not understand why the Cardinal did not show a more determined attitude toward the government, considering that the Cardinal had clearly expressed his anti-Marxist position in several documents and declarations. Therefore, this attitude was proof of Silva Henríquez's "amazing and suicidal naivete". According to Guzmán, the only plausible explanation for the Cardinal's strategy was to "collect merits" in the eyes of the government, the Popular Unity's parties and public opinion in general, so that when the moment came, his voice would reverberate with greater authority and independence. It was a risky strategy which confused the Chileans, while the propaganda of the UP, "skillfully and at times unscrupulously", took political advantage of the Cardinal's attitudes and presented him as a "supporter of the ruling coalition[631].

The Jesuit order set up a commission to reflect on the Meeting's conclusions and prepare an internal report, the conclusions of which aroused doctrinal criticism. First, they considered that the analysis conducted had been partial, and not sufficiently infused with the Latin American reality and the solution suggested by revolutionary socialism. The few definitions of the latter were obvious and the report questioned the naivete, lack of political realism and lack of critical spirit of the Meeting's final report. This time, the Jesuits reproached the CpS for not accepting alternative systems or political solutions which differed from theirs. Finally, it condemned the excess of historical interpretations present in the Meeting's conclusions, which prioritized a sociological and political interpretation of reality over religious and theological matters. In this way, although they tried to embody faith in history, they ended up impoverishing it and restricting its creationist and dynamic function. They then pointed out the surprise of many Jesuits at the CpS' "absolute silence" regarding religious matters, considering that the attendants were mainly priests, clergymen and theologians[632].

The CpS' Latin American Meeting showed the diversity of experiences of Latin America's revolutionary priests. After the event, a transnational movement against revolutionary Christian groups, and particularly against the CpS, emerged. CELAM's headquarters in Bogotá started to make funds available in order to block attempts at assimilating and synthesizing Marxist thought within the Catholic Church. At different levels, there were attempts at bringing revolutionary thinking into disrepute and carrying out a doctrinal attack against it.

The movement opposing the CpS had two major figures: Roger Vekemans, with his Center of Studies for the Development and Integration in Latin America, and its journal *Tierra Nueva;* and Bishop Alfonso López Trujillo, who, in his capacity as CELAM's General Secretary, conveyed his

criticism to the Latin American Church hierarchy and the Holy See. Vekemans and Trujillo had strengthened their bond in Bogotá, where the former settled after leaving Chile following Salvador Allende's rise to power in 1970. Vekemans began to prepare his attack, and *Tierra Nueva* became a key factor, its first edition coming out in July 1972. He conducted a thorough analysis in order to understand the CpS, a worldwide phenomenon of "protest" and "rebellion" which transcended the Catholic Church. The uniqueness of this moment was that this time the "nonconformist voices" from within the Church were actually "the voices of their own children", who, instead of abandoning the institution as had been the case in the past, proposed its transformation. The social statute of the priest became one of the core ideas of the protest. Priests had to undergo criticism and doubts about their ministry: on the one hand, the statute made them live in isolation from the rest of the world, oblivious to the people's everyday concerns, as a "pastoral machine that administered sacraments", while on the other hand, the statute "called on them to 'make' history, working side by side with the people". For Vekemans, politics was meant for laymen, whereas priests had to offer general guidance[633].

Alfonso López Trujillo also used *Tierra Nueva* as a platform. His analysis even embraced the Medellin Conference, and the idea of liberation it proposed. According to him, the problem emerged afterward, as a result of the misinterpretation on the part of some sections within the Latin American Church. The main problem was that that event, in Trujillo's words, had not been a "political-revolutionary manifesto", but a "religious event" with a "clear pastoral perspective", as stated by some clergymen and theologians[634]. The political involvement of clergymen, priests and missionaries was the result of this widespread misinterpretation in Medellin and the clergy's temporal commitments. Finally, Trujillo criticized how simplistic and superficially left-wing Christians tried to bring Christian faith and Marxism together, the latter taking into consideration an ideology essentially derived from its authors' philosophical options rather than an objective science of reality. From his perspective, Marxism was, therefore, permeated with a reductionist and biased interpretation of history and society[635].

As a result of the visibility achieved by the CpS after the Latin American Meeting of Santiago, the religious debate over the group turned to the topic of the specificity of the priestly ministry. Therefore, the focus drifted away from the traditional teachings of the Catholic Church and its broad view regarding Marxism –taking into account all of its variants- and Christianity. It is important to point out that this reality did not respond to the specificity of the Chilean context, as the Synod of Rome of 1971 had already dealt with the topic of priestly ministry, in response to the widespread decrease in both vocations for the priesthood and the political commitment of pastoral agents.

In the case of Chile, the centers for the sociology of religion, especially the Jesuit ones, tried

to quantify the changes in the clerical ministry and the society's perceptions with regard to them. Centro Bellarmino conducted studies in the early seventies. One of them, in 1972, tried to analyze the decrease in vocations for the priesthood by surveying a sample of young people from high schools. The respondents were asked about the sort of activities which a priest should carry out, and also whether those were religious or secular activities. The distinction they made between the priests' social activism and the political activism turned out to be one the most relevant findings. In this way, whereas 82.8% of the respondents declared themselves in favor of the participation of priests in social organizations such as cooperatives, neighborhood councils and unions, 69% of those polled declared themselves against priests' political activism[636].

Under the guidance of Jesuit Renato Poblete, the Jesuit center for the sociology of religion, CISOC, also occupied itself in understanding the changes in the priestly ministry. According to Poblete, the core problems had to do with the definition of the clerical role and the widespread belief that priests were "sacramentalizers par excellence". In view of this, the response of the pastoral agents had also been magnified, demanding a more intense experience and more explicit manifestation of the Gospel regarding participation and man's liberation. "Frequently –Poblete said– a priest will have to take on various roles, even get involved in politics, although he does not directly go into this field. However, he will have to provide a theoretical comprehension of political problems". The priest could boost people's civic induction, or draw up ethical guidelines on political action and even social struggle. Many priests had to immerse themselves in particular groups, but had to be aware that "these groups do not have all the truth", and that they did not have to "mix up politics with its objective". Poblete also stressed the difficult involvement with the poor, which had aroused a lot of enthusiasm, but at the same time had also caused many problems for the clergymen[637].

CISOC's study came out at the beginning of 1972, and *El Mercurio* published some extracts in its section "*Revista del Domingo*" (Sunday Magazine). It is important to indicate that this study looked into public opinion's perception of priests and their public image. The topics surveyed reflect the most relevant aspects regarding the priesthood, such as their clothing. Forty-one percent of the public was in favor of priests wearing laymen's clothes. Nonetheless, more than half of the respondents, 54%, considered that they should wear some kind of external sign, such as a cross on the lapel, to differentiate them from the rest of the population. As to the cassock, this study demonstrated that the oldest people in the sample had a preference for it, as 44.6% of the respondents over 61 were in favor of priests wearing cassocks[638].

This study also surveyed the so-called "judgement of the priests". It was related to negative opinions which were based on a priest's political affinity and circulated in different spaces: traditional

and reformist sections, right-wing circles, and also the Christian Democratic Party. In this sense, the numbers were revealing, as 73% of the population declared itself against the priests' activism in political parties. With regard to this, women were far more categorical than men, as 82% of the women surveyed were against it, by comparison with 69% of the men surveyed. This answer also had variations according to the respondent's political position, being higher among people who declared themselves right-wing, and in particular among supporters of the Christian Democratic Party, with 86% and 81% respectively. When it came to considering social organization as part of a priest's duty, more than 80% of those polled were in favor of priests doing social work, that is to say, working with social organizations, cooperatives, unions or neighbor councils. Another noteworthy aspect for the comprehension of the CpS phenomenon was the awareness of the public opinion with respect to the priests' ideological stance. In this sense, the surveyed people declared that, regarding "most of the priests whom they have met", one third of them had a moderate political stance, whereas 16% of these priests had a right-wing political stance and only 10% adopted a left-wing position. Also, forty-two percent of the respondents declared that they did not know the priests' political preferences. These results proved that the alleged politicization of the clergy was not a widespread phenomenon. Those who conducted the study offered two possible explanations for this: either "many people do not find a political-ideological definition in the priests", or "they refrain from giving an answer which to them might appear to be compromising or disrespectful"[639].

At the centers for the sociology of religion, the Church hierarchy promoted the interest in quantifying the impact of sacerdotal issues. This highlighted the crucial concern which this topic aroused in clerical circles. Although it is true that such concern was not in keeping with the importance that public opinion ascribed to the subject, the Church hierarchy and the reformist sections within the Catholic Church endeavored to hold back the clergy's deviations, considering political activism as one of its core elements. The centrality provided by these groups came in response to intra-ecclesial problems, which would turn into an incurable wound if they were not held back. In the same way, a key element in these surveys showed the critics the elitist character of the CpS. This criticism intensified after the Latin American Meeting and was based on the fact that the CpS were considered to be high-ranking Church members, isolated and ignorant of the reality in popular areas. Finally, this turned out to be a tough examination of the social impact of left-wing Christianity and even became a matter of concern to the CpS themselves.

VII. RADICALIZATION OF A POLITICO-RELIGIOUS CONFLICT

1. The two souls of the CpS

The work of the CpS during the first half of 1972 mainly revolved around the organization of the Latin American Conference. This event gave the group great exposure and the results, despite the public confrontation with the Chilean ecclesiastic hierarchy and some members of the clergy, were positive. The objective behind this event was mainly to intensify the dissemination of the central tenets of its revolutionary Christianity among grassroots Christian and workers' groups. With this goal in mind, in August 1972 the CpS distributed a document presented as being a "revolutionary reading of the Bible", in which they suggested the possibility of making some liturgical changes, as well as a new way of celebrating the Eucharist. They also revealed the main characteristics of "the new type of priest" they wished to build, less clerical, "like the others", committed to the community and working just like everybody else. However, the event known as the "October Strike", a mass protest against the Popular Unity government, changed the course of the Chilean process, as well as the CpS' priorities. In this October 1972 strike, the history of the CpS found itself intertwined with the political ups and downs of the Chilean situation and meant a marked rupture within the group.

The big opposition movement to the Allende government which led to the "October Strike", started to brew at the beginning of that month, and managed to channel the rejection and dissatisfaction toward the government felt by various segments of the population. Among the various political forces and social groups who adhered to the strike were truck owners– the National Confederation of Truck Owners (CODUCA) were the first to declare the strike –, trade-union and business organizations, the Catholic University Student Federation, opposition political parties, represented by the National Party and the Christian Democratic Party.

In the middle of this somehow chaotic situation, the government tried to reestablish order and decided to declare the strike "illegal, political and seditious". This was the first time that the workers' organizations decided to put up resistance, and support the government by creating self-defense committees and setting up territorial organizations in the principal industrial zones called industrial belts (*cordones industriales*). The government decreed a state of emergency and resorted to the Armed Forces to maintain order, while negotiating an end to the strike with the opposition that would include military offices in the cabinet as guarantors. On October 31, there was a complete change in

President Allende's cabinet: it included three high military officers in the government, installing the Army's commanding officer, General Carlos Prats, as Interior Minister and Vice-President. Finally, after a series of negotiating sessions, the strike was declared over on November 5[640].

The October Strike not only demonstrated the mobilization power and strength of the groups opposed to Allende, but also heightened the existing differences of opinion among those supporting the Chilean Road to Socialism, which from then on would constitute one of the insurmountable obstacles to the Popular Unity government's sustainability. Already in June 1972, leaders of the Popular Unity had met in Lo Curro (at the foot of the Andes in Santiago's western district) to assess the Chilean Road to Socialism's strategy. There, the most radicalized sectors, represented by a majority of the Socialist Party, the MAPU, the Christian Left and the Radical Party Youth, agreed on the slogan "moving forward without concessions, with the people and the popular government". For their part, the more moderate sectors, represented by president Allende and the Communist Party, wanted to consolidate what had been achieved, and were open to reach agreements with forces of the opposition and the PDC, endorsing the slogan "consolidate now, move forward later". The October Strike and the way in which it was resolved only accentuated the rupture between the two groups[641].

These internal divisions within the Popular Unity forces were felt within the CpS, which translated itself into a clear position within the movement regarding the path the Chilean way should follow, and in a profound disillusion on the part of some pastoral agents concerning this project. This disillusion responded mainly to the level of confrontation within Chilean society which could be seen especially in working-class areas, universities and street protests. All this preoccupied the left-wing clerical agents who could see the possibilities of building socialism by peaceful means collapse. The nun Elena Chahín remembers the street protests which ended with the Communists and "*Miristas*" fighting each other, while she and other nuns tried to separate them, highlighting the necessity of being united in these moments[642]. Joan Cassañas, from the Catholic University of Valparaíso, emphasizes the clashes within the Chilean left-wing university groups and the puzzlement caused by the level of confrontation in the Chilean left, at a time when the most urgent, in her opinion, was to "be with the poor, with the workers, in the working-class neighborhoods, absorb oneself in the political struggle they were involved in and not devote oneself to these internal quarrels and arguments"[643]. Along the same lines, the nun Dolores Cruzat from the Concepción University Parish, remembers her initial enthusiasm for the Popular Unity vanishing, her "discomfort" and then "rejection" produced by seeing the young university students' radicalization, and their daily participation in the mass protests and mobilizations. Cruzat recalls that during the last year, the students almost did not go to class, saying that the "revolution happens on the street"[644]. Some clerical

workers were finding it hard to channel their mounting criticism toward the Popular Unity, a movement they had at first so enthusiastically supported, and started to take their critical distance, full of "doubts and anguish" regarding the possibilities of successfully implementing the Chilean Road to Socialism[645].

Despite these examples of personal uncertainties, the work of the CpS as a movement after the October strike was concentrated on supporting the government efforts through an ideological campaign, mainly with the objective of counteracting the stronger and more visible opposition forces. So, the place to be for the revolutionary priests was the various available public platforms given to them in order to refute the ideological proposals of the opposition, as well as trying to unite the political forces in favor of the revolution, a task made progressively more difficult. The CpS did not foresee that the main opposition would come from within the group and in a confrontation with the ecclesiastic hierarchy[646].

The first CpS announcement after the strike was a public declaration widely circulated in some left-wing media and newspapers, among the CpS communities, factories, neighborhood meetings and in all the areas where they were doing apostolic work. In it, the CpS defined what they were about. They presented themselves as a group of Christians trying to "share the suffering and struggle of the poor". There is a clear difference here with the previous documents which underlined the clerical aspect of the movement. They clarified that they were not a political party, but rather a group of "loyal followers of God for the liberation of the people". They considered that the future of the poor was in "the hands of the workers", and that Christian faith was strengthened by the struggles and hopes of the working class[647].

With this declaration, the CpS entered headlong into the political arena. They analyzed the October strike in the light of the "institutionalized violence" concept, supported by a defense of "legality", "order" and "non-violence" behind which were hiding the power of the large traders, businessmen and professionals working hand in hand with imperialism. So they condemned "the powerful groups who were not striking for Chile's good" […] but rather to benefit their own pockets and privileges". Finally, the CpS highlighted the people's labor, and their concerted work to counteract the effects of the strike. They defended socialism as the "only system that would bring freedom and democracy for all". They also called for all Christians to fight for the "full emancipation of the people" as Christ lived in the people's struggle. "The present is difficult; the future is liberation"[648].

This position brought with it a search for a better political definition within the CpS, which set the tone for the movement's trajectory until the end of the Popular Unity government. According to Richard's interpretation, "from October, the CpS became qualitatively different"[649]. The internal tensions revolved around the greater involvement in the revolutionary process that Chile was going through and the group's clerical identity. This last element, which at the beginning was considered a matter of strength in the public and social influence priests had in Chilean society, was now discredited. After the October crisis, the priests were seen to respond to a dual loyalty more and more difficult to harmonize: on the one hand was loyalty to the people and their struggles, with its growing secular character; on the other was loyalty to the Church, who was seen as united with the elements opposed to the government. This double loyalty was difficult to uphold and led many to a serious personal and collective effort of reflection. Many were moved to question their own clerical identity, others engaged in a moderation of their political positions[650].

After the strike, with the objective of reflecting on what it meant to be a revolutionary Christian in the Chilean political context, the CpS organized a conference. This conference took place between November 24 and 26 of 1972, at the Jesuit retirement home in the Padre Hurtado district on the outskirts of Santiago. According to the CpS' records, 350 delegates from some eighteen provinces around the country showed up, as well as 140 priests, 60 nuns, 20 Evangelical Christian pastors, 130 laymen and some international observers. It was said that on this occasion three members of the invited episcopate turned up, however there is no mention of this in the press[651].

This conference, unlike the previous ones, started with a political forum, to which representatives of the various forces on the left had been invited. Among the panelists figured Miguel Enríquez, the MIR leader; Hernan del Canto, from the Socialist Party; Mireya Baltra, from the Communist Party; José Antonio Viera Gallo, Undersecretary in the Ministry of Justice and MAPU activist; and Bosco Parra, of the Christian Left[652]. The disagreements and tensions among the speakers were obvious, and the conference turned into a platform where the existing differences between the various forces on the left regarding the Chilean Road to Socialism were laid bare. So much so that the *Punto Final*'s editorial considered that in this forum, the left made "the most brutal and exact assessment of itself since taking the reins of the Popular Unity government"[653].

The harshest confrontation took place between the MIR leader and Baltra, a leading Communist. Miguel Enríquez's positions hardened as the audience spurred him on. Enríquez criticized the government for participating in the "bosses' strike", arguing that behind the arrival of the military to the government was the "hand of Frei" and an obvious Allende attempt at a rapprochement between the Christian Democratic Party and the Popular Unity. Baltra considered

Enríquez's accusation unacceptable, and raised harsh criticism of the paths proposed by the extreme left, which the MIR personified. Baltra, who had the audience against her, decide to leave. With its support for Enríquez and rejection of Baltra, the political option chosen by the CpS was made clear. As explained by the priest Francois Francou, the audience's political preferences at this conference were plain to see: "Mireya Baltra was booed and Miguel Enríquez acclaimed"[654].

The conference work continued after this bitter debate. First, the participants spent much time trying to understand the magnitude of the October strike and it was highlighted that the Christian groups on the left, especially the CpS, were incapable of counteracting the forces of the bourgeoisie. Their critical stance toward the government was highlighted on this day of reflection, above all at the Allende's government "vertical policy" filled with bureaucracy, which inevitably resulted in its dissociation from the workers and their grassroots organizations[655].

Subsequently, the CpS took some political positions which were to influence the work of the group, as well as their own identity. Its criticism of Christian reformism intensified, not as much because of the obvious differences between both groups, but rather for the wide support Christian reformism received from a majority of Christians in all social classes. The CpS criticized the reformists' engagement with the interests of the bourgeois sectors, in order to denounce its political righteousness and its belief in a history that should progress without interruptions. The harshest criticism was against the Christian Democracy, which had taken possession of Christianism and presented itself as the true and only Christian political representatives. Finally, the CpS blamed reformism for being guilty of the working-class' divisions, which they qualified as "the greatest scandal in Chilean Christianism". "Many peasants, workers and employees have been separated from their class brethren" because they have been indoctrinated by the social Christian ideology[656].

It was also at this conference that some CpS asked for a better political efficiency on the part of the group. This would be achieved through ideological work with the Christian masses and their political training. More specifically, the CpS agreed to work on a "freeing-up of consciousness" of many Christians who were conditioned by anti-Marxism, and denounced this "mask of non-political nature and neutrality" that the Chilean Catholic Church pretended to have. It was decided that among the specific actions the CpS should carry out was the work in the mothers' centers, neighbors' organizations, students' associations, the Supply and Price Boards (JAP) and the worker and peasants' communal councils. This basic work would be carried out in the working-class neighborhoods where the CpS priests and nuns already lived.[657]

On the last day of the conference, a message sent by President Allende, in which he highlighted the support of Christians in building socialism, was read and, at the end of the day, Gonzalo Arroyo, the movement's general secretary, gave his account. His words shed a light on the view he had of the CpS: "We are Christians committed to the liberation struggle of the oppressed, and this struggle is for us the destruction of capitalism in order to build the new socialist society". Arroyo emphasized the Church's pertinence, saying: "We are not a Church movement, but we do belong to the Church". From Arroyo's perspective, the CpS had to concentrate on their work within the Church. He said that "our struggle wants to generate a popular Church, inhabited by revolutionaries."[658]

One of the most conflictive issues addressed at these CpS' conferences, one which started to become recurrent in their meetings from this moment on, had to do with the CpS members' political militancy. Two main diverging positions appeared, and progressively clashed with each other: on one side were those who saw political militancy as "a concrete path" to liberation and a "collective", "disciplined" and "methodical" effort, especially considering that in the end political parties are the ones driving the road to change; on the other were those who sneered at political militancy, and demanded in turn explanations regarding a wide and all-encompassing revolution of various forces, with socialism as their political project. The latter scorned the identification with a specific party, which could only hinder the possibilities of reaching vast sectors of society. After a long debate, it was decided that this issue would be settled by a working commission. It offered a broad definition of the CpS' political action, pointing out that:

> "The CpS is a meeting place for Christians who serve or not in various left-wing parties, but who have the same commitment with the working classes and their struggle for socialism. They accept the Marxist analysis and have as an immediate goal the working class' accession to power. The CpS is a platform to denounce social-Christianity, and groups who use Christianity to oppress the people. The CpS shows by its actions that being a Christian is not incompatible with being a revolutionary. Moreover, the CpS support the unity of revolutionaries, without falling into giving its blessing to parties or governments. Finally, the CpS brings together Christians who want to live their faith in a revolutionary manner"[659].

In this way, it was established that CpS members could act independently on various fronts and would, as a group, work on "de-ideologizing" Christians who were "fooled" by the capitalist

society's predominant ideology. In conclusion, anyone who wanted to participate in any political action through parties would have to do it as a personal commitment.

> "Beyond the individual testimony, one has to come out as a CpS to raise awareness. One has to prove that Christianity is the promise of equality, and that socialism is the historical and tangible opportunity to achieve it"[660].

Finally, this conference touched on the issue of popular religiosity and the difficulty of getting across the message of revolutionary commitment to the popular sectors. This problem had already been highlighted on various occasions, and would become even more of an obstacle if the Church continued with its existing pastoral and evangelizing ways. This was called "being screwed the wrong way around". This way, the CpS were urged to find "new expressions of faith" from revolutionary commitment and a new spirituality inspired by the figure of a liberating Christ[661].

After the November 1971 conferences, the CpS decided to renew its national board, and make changes in its internal structure and organization. The coordinating committee met in mid-December to elect a new executive committee, one which would be composed of five members, each assigned to a specific role. The internal pressure within the Society of Jesus to drive Arroyo away from the CpS' general secretariat was mounting. Ultimately, the Jesuit order as well as Cardinal Silva Henríquez did not want Arroyo to keep on being the CpS' most conspicuous figure[662]. In practice, Gonzalo Arroyo left the general secretariat, with all the public exposure it entailed, to take charge of external relations and the links with foreign clerical movements. Little is known of the election process for the new general secretary. It seems like two candidates presented themselves: Martín Gárate, a priest from the Holy Cross Congregation and close to the MIR; and Sergio Torres, diocesan priest from the Talca diocese and close to the MAPU. After a polemical election, Martín Gárate was elected to be the new general secretary, which meant a victory for the CpS' most radicalized wing. As such, Gárate's triumph meant that the CpS' political and strategic thinking was now very close to the MIR's[663].

In his memoirs, Cardinal Silva Henríquez refers to this CpS political radicalization. From the Cardinal's perspective, the CpS group ended up intertwined with Marxists movements, mainly the MIR. In this way, the CpS took a back seat and played a subordinate role within a process directed and dominated by politicians, and were thus inevitably relegated to a UP's "rear of the train" position[664]. This political radicalization, according to the Cardinal, meant "that many of its founding members moved away". In practice, it was not as drastic as what the Cardinal implied, but brought

the marginalization of those sectors who had given a more religious than political seal to the initial CpS. The CpS managed to ride out the group's internal differences and avoid splits and breakups. Pablo Fontaine notes that despite the "existence of disagreements, the ideal of staying united prevailed […] Fundamentally, we agreed"[665].

What is certain is that within the CpS, the tensions and disagreements were more and more difficult to reconcile. Many monthly meetings of the national coordinating committee ended up in intense discussions regarding its members' political action and commitment. Despite the fact that the November conference had given certain directives, and had left the decision in the hands of the individual, the CpS did not manage to find a common thread with which everyone felt represented. According to what Gárate remembers, the issue of political militancy was one of the major disputes existing within the CpS. It created a state of permanent tension within the group, a tension that could never be resolved[666].

There were indeed personal links between some members of the CpS and political parties, mainly noticeable at a neighborhood level. The links with the MIR have not been well documented, except in the case of the Valencian priest Antonio Llidó, who got to be in charge of Valparaíso's Internal Local Committee[667]. According to what Pablo Richard recalls, in the Santiago's southern working-class neighborhood he lived in, there were many people close to the MIR, especially youngsters. In their theological reflections, they slowly started working on the preparation of a "political theology", which would allow them to move within the political spheres. Indeed, the CpS shared common elements with the MIR, above all the popular support the movement created, despite its hierarchical structure and Marxist- Leninist blueprint. The so-called revolution "from below", mainly defended and promoted by the MIR and other sectors of the PS, advocated, among other things, a greater influence and participation of the popular sectors in the revolution, which would be carried out by the use of the *toma* strategy, be it of urban sites, factories or rural properties[668].

The CpS members who actively militated in political parties were few. The great majority only acted as sympathizers, or on the "periphery"[669]. This political convergence with the MIR also took place with the MAPU, apart from the complications generated by the division of the MAPU in mid-July 1971, which meant that various CpS members ended up rejecting their faith in favor of a commitment to Marxism[670]. The so-called Christian Left, which split from the Christian Democracy branch in October 1971, gained support among some secular Christians, but never managed to infiltrate the CpS. They mainly criticized the fact that this party decided to explicitly include the Christian component, which reestablished the Christian Democrat's bad habits[671]. The traditional parties on the left became less attractive, and never attracted any support from the CpS. It looked like

the ideological link was with parties representing the new left, which was born in the late 1960s in Latin America.

The reasons behind the decision of these priests to choose partisan political options while in the CpS had to do with the necessity of expressing their commitment in a more concrete way. In some cases, there were no great complications, as Martín Gárate remembers, saying that "at this time it was not considered complicated as the general belief was that everyone had political options"[672]. As it is, toward the end of 1971, the existence of two tendencies within the CpS became clear, what Mariano Puga called the "pastoralist" and "ideologized" tendencies. For the former, its contribution to socialism originated from the clerical ministry and, as such, they were "people's pastors in a socialist system". On the other hand, the more "ideologized" wing defended the fact that the Church was "an instrument for the people's revolution". As consultant for the Catholic Action Workers Movement, Alfonso Baeza's reading of the situation differed partly from Puga's. According to him, the differences were seen through their rapprochement with Marxism: on one side were the "pastoralists", who had arrived to socialism via their social ministry, their insertion in the working-class districts, and their experience of living together with the poor. On the other side were the "more studious", "the Marxist intellectuals", who developed a theological thinking regarding revolutionary commitment. They knew about Marxist science, and were the ones talking about certain intellectual facts. For those, the way to get close to a revolutionary commitment annoyed and irritated the pastoralists who criticized their lack of understanding and remoteness from reality[673]. "Their intelligence was recognized but their practical experience and relation to the people ignored", remembers Baeza[674].

If at the beginning of 1972 the CpS' internal cohabitation managed to maintain the equilibrium between these two forces, it was not so easy toward the end of the year. Some CpS members were profoundly torn between these two ways in the group, and considered that the movement had lost the initial spirit which had managed to bring together people of various tendencies. As Fontaine recalls, this "open mentality" which had characterized the CpS in its beginning, was diluted and moved on to the field of partisan battle. This helped to create a public image of the CpS which did not match reality, and increased the criticism of the group. The CpS, thus, became identified with the groups in favor of the violent path. According to what Fontaine suggested, "some groups believed that we were walking around with a knife around our waist, and that our only goal was to kill the bourgeoisie, period"[675].

Esteban Gumucio says in his Memoirs that he maintained a "critical adhesion" to the group and felt somehow "manipulated by the more intellectual ones". Gumucio was representing Santiago's

southern district at the Presbytery Council and, thus, maintained contact with the Archbishopric. Despite the benefits of a group like the CpS at its beginning, seen as an expression of a Church open to a left-wing government, this same commitment generated conflicts, not only with the hierarchy and other priests of his congregation, but also of an internal character. Gumucio recalls: "I have never suffered more than in those days, never in my life. I got myself into a mess, I suffered tremendous anguish", and it got worse when the CpS hardened its positions[676].

From late 1972, the CpS sketched lines of action every time more detailed regarding their participation in the Chilean revolutionary process, above all through a large popular mobilization, and an idealized version of the people united in consolidating the path to socialism. Chilean society's polarization only got worse all through 1973. That year, the difficulties between the CpS and the hierarchy got progressively worse as well.

2. The time has come to fight

With the explosion and confrontations of the social and political forces for and against the Popular Unity government, the October 1972 strike motivated, among other things, the even greater distancing from an ecclesiastical hierarchy committed to defending social peace. The figure of Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez is central in order to understand the months following the October Strike, with his calls to respect the legitimate authority, and his willingness to hold talks, despite the existing discrepancies, differences or conflicts[677].

The Christians for Socialism looked like they were on the other side of the fence. While the bishops came out in defense of social peace and tried to safeguard their apolitical stance and neutrality in the face of the political and ideological conflict of the moment, the CpS appeared more and more united with the most radical left-wing political forces. As suggested by Fontaine, this CpS intransigent position only intensified the Bishops' discontent. The CpS and the hierarchy moved apart and progressively had more antagonistic positions and, according to Fontaine, the Bishops "were not satisfied with the arguments put forward by the CpS"[678].

The CpS' most radicalized and intellectual wing, who came to control the group's leadership, took charge of the more public face of the movement, disseminating its line of thought in the pages of the left-wing press. Toward the end of 1972, *Punto Final* turned into the public platform where the statements made by the CpS' general secretary and the articles of some of its members, mainly from the Chilean priest and theologian Pablo Richard[679], were published.

This same priest became the spokesperson for the most critical voice against the episcopate, mainly because of the latter's ambiguity. For Richard, all this was an intention to get rid of the Gospel's "prophetic force". The bishops pretended to play an "arbitrator's" role, one which seemed impossible in the middle of a situation of extreme social conflict. They used concepts like "order" and "peace" which coincided with the ones used by the bourgeoisie to placate the popular movement. Richard underlined that the October Strike highlighted, among other things, the ideological confrontation taking place in Chilean society, in which one had to take positions. On one side was the "workers' democracy", opposed on the other by the "bourgeois democracy". The same had to be done with the concepts of "proletarian legality and justice" in order to fight the "bourgeois legality and justice"[680].

> "Which 'order' or 'peace' are we talking about? the 'order' and 'peace' the proletariat wants to build by getting into power and changing the established system? […] What does it mean

> to 'respect' millions of Chileans who suffer from hunger, and a lack of health, shelter, culture and recreation? Respect for the 'homeland'. The 'homeland' before September 4, 1970 or the free and democratic homeland we want to build with the socialist revolution? As for the 'truth', the *El Mercurio's*, *La Prensas'* or *Tribuna's* truths, or the truth of the crude reality suffered by thousands of Chileans? […] Christ talked differently. The poor understood and followed him. The rich also understood and killed him"[681].

After the October Strike, the political struggle was focused on the March 1973 parliamentary elections, which would be a measurement of the power wielded by the opposing camps. This election was considered by all the political forces as a true national plebiscite. There were two lists: on one side, the Popular Unity representing the government;

on the other, the Democratic Confederation (CODE) representing the opposition forces, mainly the National Party and the Christian Democratic Party. The March 1973 elections would be of momentous importance for the political process that Chile was going through. The opposition forces joined in the CODE, put their hopes on obtaining a convincing electoral victory, and saw this election as a possibility of inflicting a substantial defeat on the government. Sergio Onofre Jarpa, president of the National Party, saw with optimism the possibility of gaining two thirds of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies, which would enable the opposition to impeach Allende [682].

The CpS poured an important part of its efforts into mobilizing its forces for the Popular Unity. In a letter to his family, the Spanish priest, Francesc Puig, describes the mood before the parliamentary elections. He told them

> "The fight now is to the death… we live in an atmosphere of tension and constant polemic. Everything, jokes, conversations, popular songs, gestures, is politically interpreted and nobody can be neutral: it is for or against the government. I had never seen life so hundred per cent politicized"[683].

In these conditions, still with his doubts and fears, Puig, just like many pastoral workers in the diocese of Valparaíso who had supported Allende, decided to give his support to the government. According to him, it was "the most ethical choice at the time"[684].

The CpS threw themselves into the campaign in favor of the Popular Unity, mainly in the working-class areas. The preoccupation was to not let these sectors be attracted by the misleading discourse of the opposition forces. The CpS returned to a recurring theme, calling for Christianity to

not hinder the revolution and, for this purpose, came up with a document entitled "Christians for Socialism and the March elections", which became public toward the end of January 1973. The CpS underlined the demands of this historical moment, and the necessity of taking clear positions. For them it became necessary to improve the traditional and primitive methods of struggle in order to "to tackle head-on the tasks the working class has drawn up for us". So the CpS' basic work had to be done among those Christian sectors influenced by popular religiosity, in order to drag them toward "the revolutionary road". In this statement, two alternatives existed: either the working class took power or was brutally repressed. The path was then a choice between "fascism and revolution"[685].

The CpS as a group did not give its support to any candidate in particular nor to a political block. They did not send any type of instructions to their members either, but rather let everyone act individually, and vote for their favored candidate. In the internal communiqué sent before the parliamentary elections, some criticism of the "electoralism" present in some sectors of the left was outlined. At the same time the document highlighted the revolutionary significance of the "people's power" being constructed in the industrial belts and communal councils. The CpS used biblical symbolism by comparing the battle the workers were waging now to the struggles of the first Christians. "Christianity was born out of fighting against the Roman Empire, today the fight is against the bourgeois State apparatus", read the document[686].

The class character of the electoral confrontation came to be the interpretation which the CpS wished to present to the working class and lower class voters. They had to convince them that the March election was a clash between proletarians and bourgeoisie, between exploited and exploiters, between rich and poor.

> "To vote for CODE is to vote against the people, against the poor, against the oppressed, against change, against socialism, against the revolution. To vote for CODE is to vote for repression of the people, for the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. To vote for CODE is to vote for the black market, for speculation, for people's hunger. To vote for CODE is a vote to give the factories and the great estates back to the bosses. To vote for CODE is to vote for giving copper back to the Yankees. To vote for CODE is a vote for the continued killing of the Vietnamese people. To vote for CODE is to vote against the exploited and the poor of Latin America and the entire world"[687].

In this document, the CpS finished by giving some concrete advice to the members of the group. First, they should participate in the people's concrete problems, in their daily struggle, like

problems with food, health, housing, education and transport. All these daily issues should be analyzed in the light of the "class struggle perspective". They also had to continue to work on their public presence, through pamphlets, prospectus and posters on walls, in order to make this ideological debate known in a simple and understandable language for a large public[688].

The results of the election did not leave anybody indifferent. The Popular Unity got 43.39% of the votes, while the opposition got 57.7% of the votes. This way, the latter retained a parliamentary majority but fell far short of the number of deputies needed to impeach President Allende. With this came the final and definitive exhaustion of the legal recourses. For its part, the UP did not get the parliamentary majority needed to approve the laws required to consolidate the process but increased its congressional representation. The government celebrated the high level of support it received, despite the economic dislocations, social conflict and political polarization, and Allende tried to give it legitimacy. The opposition threw itself into a harsh offensive which started by questioning the election's transparency and the veracity of the results, which shortly after turned into a hard battle to erode the government's democratic legitimacy[689].

In this atmosphere of doubt regarding the electoral process, the CpS sent out a public declaration highlighting the fact that the merits of this election were due to the people's strength, consciousness and organization. Besides asking the political forces, and especially the government to respond to the people's push toward socialism, the CpS gave an account of the social and political confrontation the country was going through. The alternatives were narrowed down to two options, "socialism or fascism"[690].

It is interesting to emphasize that in this context the CpS made a theological reading of the poor, now regarded as the *pueblo* (people), and Christ's inclination toward them. They pointed out that "We the Christians are with the people, like priests, pastors, laymen and nuns, and believe that God's strength drives the poor. We believe that Christ's strength awakens the power of the earth's oppressed people"[691]. Pablo Richard, in *Punto Final*, went deeper into these theological readings and biblical interpretations. He compared the struggle of the Chilean people with the struggles of the first Christians, thus appealing to their rebel spirit and faith. Richard quoted the words of Friedrich Engels, who considered primitive Christianism as a "dangerous subversive party".

> "When organized workers stand up and occupy a factory, a large estate or some land, they are in their own praxis, attacking the god of private property. The god falls and nothing happens, they lose their reverential fear and apprehension. When a group of neighbors organize new forms of popular justice, the capitalist idea of justice is desacralized and comes

crashing down. When new forms of distribution and vigilance are organized, the false gods of 'order' and bourgeois 'law' fall. When people's power puts pressure on the bureaucracy, on schools and universities, on large estates and factories, the people destroy by their own praxis the false mystifications and false gods"[692].

It is interesting to note that for Pablo Richard, this commitment to the people's struggles was not gestures of spontaneous engagement or expressions of voluntarism, but rather the result of a profound reflection on the reality of the class struggle and the possibilities of the Christian faith's historic fulfillment. The answer should then be characterized by its "organized and conscious" essence, with "tactics and strategy"[693].

From the pages of *Mensaje*, Pablo Fontaine suggested a different discourse from Richard's, highlighting once again the differences within the CpS. In his article, Fontaine distanced himself from the understanding of society in Marxist terms in order to look for Christianity's own revolutionary essence. In a way, Fontaine called for a discovery in the Christian faith of the radicalization of actions, emanating from a profound humanism, centered on fraternity and its position in favor of the poor. As such, Fontaine highlighted the possibilities of acting not as enemies, but rather as friends. In the end, he said, "it is one thing to say that we need to fight hand in hand with the oppressed classes and another to hate other people or to believe that 'everything is allowed', or even to believe that we are the intolerant owners of the total truth"[694]. However, the CpS was not following the line suggested by Fontaine, and radicalized its positions.

After the March 1973 parliamentary elections, the political debate turned toward education, an issue which again came to enflame the spirits, and which in the ecclesiastic circle led to a confrontation between the hierarchy and the CpS. In mid-March, the government decided to resume promoting its agenda and presented a program of educational reform, the Unified National School – known as ENU –, mainly based on the agreements of the First National Congress for Education, which took place in December 1971. The ENU project wanted to make a wide-ranging reform of the Chilean education system, considered as "traditional", "snobbish", "elitist" and "anti-popular", and replace it with another that would contribute to the construction of socialism. The ENU was described as "an ideological detonator"[695], and it definitely was. In the context of the Chilean path to socialism, education was a relevant issue, and a major factor for the success of the socialist project[696].

On March 30, the minister of education Jorge Tapia declared to the press that "The ENU will come into effect by decree". The opposition to the project was immediate, and a large mass

mobilization was organized to oppose it. For the opposition, just thinking that the Popular Unity government could possibly make changes to the public education system generated a harsh debate involving various actors, and brought these forces together. At the beginning, the ecclesiastical hierarchy acted with moderation and Cardinal Silva Henríquez was careful with his declarations. This was not the case for the Catholic University, above all the Student Federation, and the right-wing gremial movement, which came together, and threw themselves into a harsh offensive against the government. The confrontations between various political and social forces were nothing new by now, but what was new was the widespread participation of the Catholic Church, from its hierarchy on down[697].

The Catholic world had seen a confrontational moment some time before regarding the project suggested by the provincials of the Society of Jesus, Manuel Segura, and of the Sacred Hearts, Mario Illanes, putting forward the possibility of getting into some sort of leasing agreement with the State in two of its emblematic private schools. This idea was considered a "Marxist totalitarian" attempt by various political and social forces opposed to the project. On this occasion, the CpS supported the provincials' suggestion. Reflection days were organized and it was decided that a structure in charge of the educational issue, the Christians for Socialism Education Secretariat, should be established[698].

On September 7, the secretariat gave a press conference and issued a declaration entitled "On the handing over of some private Catholic schools"[699]. In it, they suggested that the education given perpetuated a capitalist model of development, inculcating values and ways of behaving like individualism, competition and consumerism. So the school, together with other educational agents, like the social communication media, only prevented the transformation the popular forces were trying to implement in the country. This declaration stated that: "the educational system consolidates the class structure by giving a better education to the ruling class and proposing a bourgeois way of life to the middle proletarian segments". They were proposing a new type of school which would be "democratic", "critical", "integrated into the working world", and would encourage "national solidarity". With regard to Catholic education, they considered that it created "conformist youngsters", tended to "mix up faith with capitalist culture", and prevented available teachers from serving other more pressing necessities. The CpS suggested the complete abolition of the paying Catholic schools that charged tuition. It criticized them for their classism, and argued that they were in a "sinful situation" which betrayed Jesus' message. If the authorities did not change this situation they would be "complicit in this sin"[700].

On this occasion, Esteban Gumucio, a respected figure within the Sacred Heart congregation, and who had been rector of the school, wrote in *El Siglo* that the commotion caused by the private education issue was eloquent proof of a class defending its privileges. He said that there was, behind the debate on Catholic schools, a "political intrigue maneuver", "an unspeakable nonsense", and it showed "a crucial point of their outdated classism". The forces of opposition saw this as "one more maneuver in the 'terror campaign'" which spread the idea of "a diabolical Marxist plan" that would "put an end to Christians' faith"[701].

The rejection of the provincials' proposition was wide and eloquent, but it also meant a cohesive opposition against any type of State control over educational issues. This matter became part of the public debate when in March 1973 the government decided to launch its education reform. The arguments of the different tendencies in 1973 were similar to those used in August and September 1971.

Those who supported the ENU project, the CpS among them, were saying that the polemic regarding the ENU was only an "ideological invocation" of certain principles and values dear to the opposition forces, which aimed at covering up their political intentions and protecting their class interests. Some even suggested that the right intentionally opposed the project in order to unite the anti-Allende forces following the rejection of the educational project[702]. The opposition considered the ENU project unconstitutional, against educational freedom, and menacing the family. The PDC, under cover of the Statute of Constitutional Guarantees signed by Allende in October 1970, said that the ENU was "unconstitutional" and "sectarian". This statute outlined the respect for pluralism and freedom of choice on this issue, as well as establishing that education did not have any partisan orientation. Sectors on the right saw this project as a "manipulation of conscience", an "abolition of educational freedom", and would not allow it. The women of Feminine Power raised a firm opposition to the ENU, arguing that it would kill "freedom of thought", and was "an attempt at massive brainwashing to destroy children's minds in Chile". For these women, the ENU initiated the creation of the "new man" inspired by the Soviet model, defined as someone who "should not think for himself", someone who "could only obey", "a miserable automaton at the service of the State-God"[703].

The opposition organized a series of meetings and conferences to debate the ENU, and a wave of street protests took place, made up of various educational private bodies, together with teachers, parents' associations and secondary school students. Within this opposition, the Catholic University Student Federation (FEUC), under the presidency of the *gremialista,* Javier Leturia, was a special protagonist. The FEUC prepared a long report against the ENU, which broadly refuted the project's

concepts and doctrinaire basis. This report denounced, among other things, the ENU's ambition of "turning the Chilean education into an instrument of political awareness at the service of Marxism", mixing up the concept of education with that of indoctrination[704].

On April 11, 1973, the newspaper *Tribuna* published a supplement concerning the ENU. The *Tribuna*'s tone was alarming, and considered that ENU's objective was only the consolidation of communist power and the transformation of "every child into a Marxist". The school would become overcrowded and depersonalized, which meant the death of educational freedom and private schools. This project would lead to the "extinction of the family", in favor of a "mass education, by the masses and for the masses"[705].

The Catholic Church intervened in the debate, and the priest Raúl Hasbún was the one directing the assault on the government from Channel 13, the TV channel of the Catholic University of which he was director[706]. Hasbún criticized what he saw as the "totalitarianism" behind the ENU, saying that it was "lies" and "darkness" while the Church was "light". Hasbún's sustained opposition did not go unnoticed, and *Ercilla* compared him to a "prophet of Jerusalem's destruction"[707]. The bishop of Valparaíso, Emilio Tagle, also criticized the project, considering that it was threatening the "freedom of spirit" from the moment education was controlled through "a partisan ideology". Tagle saw that the government was trying through that project to "openly infringe upon the respect the children deserved", and "violate the most sacred parents' rights to freely choose their children's education", something the Church did not accept. Finally, Tagle noted that the Catholic Church was officially against this project[708].

At the end of March, the Episcopate Permanent Committee – with Cardinal Silva Henríquez as president, and Carlos Oviedo as secretary – made its position known. Its position was much more moderate than some opposed to the project. This committee asked to postpone the discussion and the ENU's implementation, considering the sizable disagreement which existed in the country regarding this project. They were asking for a "wide national debate, serious and constructive, really democratic and pluralist", which would consider parents, directors and teachers from government and private schools, as well as students and other national organizations[709].

In this atmosphere, the CpS decided to organize a seminar to tackle the subject[710]. On March 29, the CpS made a press communiqué on the ENU public, in which they suggested that the project had been victim of a boycott and an "irrational terror campaign" by the forces who wrongly declared themselves democratic[711].

The government tried to calm the mood. Minister Tapia presented the ENU's favorable aspects, an announced that the religious lessons would not be abolished. The topic of education had certainly become a cornerstone for the Catholic world and, in this confrontational climate, the opposition set their eyes on the ecclesiastical hierarchy, hoping it would resolve the issue. The moderate and respectful tone shown by the hierarchy irritated the right-wing forces who were asking for a greater clarity in its approach, as they had done in the 1962 pastoral document[712]. The tone used by the Episcopate's Permanent Committee was indeed moderate, and mentioned the wish of leaving the Catholic Church in a politically neutral position. Ismael Errázuriz, auxiliary Bishop of Santiago, said that it was important for the Church to maintain relations with the government, even if it was Marxist, and that the Church could not be asked to use the same criticism as in 1962 against communism. In the 1973 context, the Church decided not to give its followers a rigid set of rules to obey, but rather orientations for the Christians' conscience in order for them to act responsibly[713].

On the first days of April 1973, the Plenary Assembly met in Punta de Tralca, and on this occasion, they were expected to fix their position regarding the ENU. The bishops finally made their opposition to the project clear, as it did not respect "fundamental human and Christian values", adding

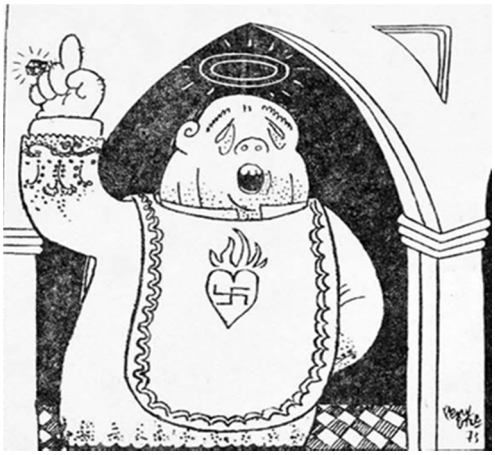
> "As pluralist as the report proclaims to be, we do not see anywhere in this document any emphasis put on humanist and Christian values, which form part of the Chilean spiritual heritage, to which an extremely high percentage of Chilean students and parents adhere"[714].

In its public declaration, the CECH asked for the implementation of the project to be postponed. Finally, Allende decided to withdraw the project, and looked like he was capitulating to the Catholic Church, but also to the opposition forces, who saw this episode as a victory. The CpS criticized the Bishops, above all because the CECH declaration demonstrated the Church opposition to the building of socialism. The radicalism of the CpS message was highlighted in a reflection by Pablo Richard, who said that "the Gospel has no room for ambiguities"[715]. For some, like Antonio Llidó, the ENU episode made it clear that nobody was "on the margins of the fight", and that even the Bishops started to "rally" against the advance of the socialist society. According to Llidó, the CECH was showing "their true reactionary face"[716]. Thus, as noted by Torres, education came to be the "breaking point" between the ecclesiastic hierarchy and the CpS[717].

On the first of June 1973, the Bishops of the ecclesiastic province of Santiago published a pastoral letter which once again provoked CpS into rejecting its content. The tone of the document was alarmist, making reference to the difficulties the country was going through, and asking that a

solution be found urgently. They set out their concerns regarding "the progress of the country, the development of events". They were worried about the long queues, the humiliation of living in these conditions, the black market, the immorality of those negotiating, the exodus of professionals, the media's lack of honesty, the growing violence in the country. "It looks like a country devastated by war", the bishops were saying. Dealing with an atmosphere charged with divisions, the bishops called for everyone's collaboration. The references to peace were obvious, and so was the search for common ground between the various social forces[718].

This bishops' declaration triggered a CpS response. In this case, they did not respond in any official manner and in the group's name, as it had been the case in the past, but instead let Pablo Richard be the CpS' spokesperson through the pages of *Punto Final*. In his article, Richard pointed out the worsening of the relations between the CpS and the hierarchy, and the caricature to accompany it, emphasized his point. One can see the figure of a bishop, represented with a sacred heart on his chest and inside it, the symbol of Nazism, a swastika. The comment read, "And hate one another! Praise be to God!"[719], which made it clear, in the eyes of the CpS and of the left-wing forces represented by *Punto Final*, that the Bishops were part of the group called "fascists".



Punto Final, no. 187, July 3, 1973, 27.

Richard again used a Marxist interpretation of the Chilean reality. He talked of a class struggle framework in which everyone was asked to take sides between oppressors and oppressed. In a situation of class struggle which raged on many fronts, there were only two groups. Thus, the Chilean process did not allow for "spectators" or "referees", and did not allow for "ambiguous situations" either. "Christ clearly separates his listeners. A group follows him, another assassinates him. The

poor, the sick, the oppressed did not crucify Christ. The powerful, the Pharisees did", Richard declared[720].

Following the June 1973 document, according to Richard's interpretation, the Church hierarchy's official position leaned on the side of the rich.

> "The rich stare at the destruction of their own home. Their estates and factories are crumbling. Their laws are breaking. Their temples of justice are desecrated. Their police force is baffled. Their schools, colleges and universities are threatened. Their newspapers and radios are exposed. For them it is chaos. It is destruction"[721].

According to Richard, the poor on the other hand

> "see the collapse of the capitalist system as the collapse of their jails and prisons. The occupation of factories and large estates, the breakdown of the bourgeois "order", the possibility of having their own schools and universities, etc., are signs of liberation. They are signs of hope"[722].

In this reality, the bishops were then taking the "counterrevolutionary path" and, in a context of class confrontation, came to acquire the language the exploiters used, including those of the "most fascist mentalities", which reduced class struggle to a confrontation "between civilization and barbarism", "order and chaos", "light and darkness", "truth and lies", directly alluding to the priest Raúl Hasbún.

Richard remembers that this article got him into serious trouble with Cardinal Silva Henríquez, whom he met a few days later. The Cardinal let his annoyance show, while Richard was trying to give explanations, not on what he had written, but rather on the caricature which for both of them seemed insulting. Richard defended himself by saying that the publication of the caricature was not his responsibility, but rather that of the newspaper. He said that after this episode, he harshly criticized *Punto Final*'s editorial team and vowed not to write for the magazine anymore if something like this was to happen again[723].

Toward the middle of 1973, the government kept faltering, and the situation became even more polarized. While the CUT went ahead with a 24-hour strike which paralyzed the country, in one of the most important demonstration in support of the government, the National Party published a

declaration in *El Mercurio* alleging the Government's unconstitutionality and declared that, along with a long list of abuses committed by the Government, "Salvador Allende has ceased to be Chile's Constitutional President". With this, the population was encouraged to not respect his mandate.

On June 16, amid this climate of social agitation and complete radicalization of positions, the Episcopate's Permanent Committee issued a desperate call via the document "Peace in Chile has a price". They started by reflecting on the national mood, referred to as "a dramatic hour for Chile". The bishops repeated the preoccupation spreading out among Chileans because of the insistent news about the civil population arming themselves, and the imminent danger of a civil war. By way of understanding and dialogue, the bishops were calling for the building of "a great national consensus" to move forward toward the transformations the country needed. With an invocation to the Virgin Mary, inspired by the fight for Independence, the bishops declared a "Day of prayer for peace in Chile". This was to be the last official document issued by the Chilean hierarchy before the coup[724].

Toward the end of June, an ultra-rightist army colonel in command of an armored regiment organized a coup attempt that became known as the "Tancazo" or "Tanquetazo". It was in the end thwarted by the Army's Commander in Chief, Carlos Prats, but felt to many like a precedent announcing the imminence of a future coup d'état. On that same night of June 29, the CpS' general secretary issued a public communiqué condemning the action of these military rebels, calling them "a small group of unpatriotic militaries". In this atmosphere of extreme polarization, the CpS called on the people to reinforce their labor-union and community organizations in order to resist a civil war. "We believe that in today's situation, our Christian awareness asks for a decisive and harsh reaction. We have to punish with severity the criminals who want to use violence to defeat the socialist project"[725]. In the meeting, the CpS agreed on various strategies to get their message across to their Christian parishioners. It was decided that after the mass celebrations, written material would be distributed to them. The call to CpS members was to get ready for a hard and intense political battle, and that their job would be one of "communicator, agitator, propagandist and evangelist". On the political scene, the main objective was to dislocate and neutralize the PDC's activities with its base, and throw some light on their fascist position, in league with the other opposition forces[726].

Following this line of thought, on July 5, 1973, the CpS's national secretariat published a short leaflet which was distributed in the grassroots organizations, working-class neighborhoods and factories, and sent to all the regional coordinators. In this leaflet, written in a simple and pragmatic language, the CpS specifically appealed to the armed forces and police. This was the first time the CpS had called for a massive and planned movement, described by them as "a political action, proletarian, socialist and scientific".

"To you soldiers and policemen. You who have left your families, and chose the difficult call to arms, we ask you to see every ordinary man as your brother, your mother and your partner. Your option is either to die defending the capitalists' interests, or live defending the workers' future. To you soldier friend, we say again, the people is with you"[727].

Facing a possible armed confrontation, the CpS moved on by listing some instructions and chores in which Christians could participate, like: protect the supply of food and essential products; support the instructions given by the CUT and keep calm; support the communal commands and the people's organizations; listen to the people's radio stations -Corporación, Recabarren, Portales and Nacional-- and fraternize with "class brothers", police and soldiers living in the working-class districts[728].

The call to unity on the part of the bishops was reiterated by *Mensaje*, the Jesuit magazine. As one could see from its August 1973 editorial, *Mensaje* referred to the Popular Unity at its beginning, to this project who came to represent the "unity of the left", and confronted as its "sole enemy" imperialism, monopolies and the large landowners. *Mensaje* laid out the necessity to move forward "toward some minimum points of agreement", and warned that faced with the terrible consequences of a civil war "all the efforts made now, as hard and unpleasant as they may seem, are small compared with those Chileans will have to make to become reconciled after a civil war"[729].

It was in this context that Cardinal Silva Henríquez, at the request of Allende, committed himself to finding an agreement between the governing political coalition and the Christian Democracy. It was an attempt at dialogue between President Salvador Allende and the PDC's president, Patricio Aylwin, who represented the rightist wing within the party[730]. The Christian Democrats and the government tried to reach an agreement during July 1973 but those negotiations were unsuccessful[731]. On that occasion, Aylwin alluded to the inability of discussing "with an interlocutor who has a machine-gun on the table". On August 17, they resumed the dialogue, now mediated by the Cardinal himself, who invited the political leaders to his residence[732].

For the rightist opposition, this "dialogue" encouraged by the Cardinal was nothing more than "an absurdity", "an excessive ingenuity", and the truce a blind and irresponsible act. The National Party's deputy, Hermógenes Pérez de Arce, mentioned the illegitimacy of the presidential mandate and used a phrase which caused a stir: "Chileans, you cannot keep on obeying him!"[733]. As practicing Catholics, the women of the group known as Feminine Power decided to send a letter to the Cardinal. All agreed on the enormous weight of his authority, and his capacity to unite the Catholic Church.

This way, the Cardinal's efforts at dialogue could end up giving "more time" for the Popular Unity to prepare itself and "train its resistance"[734].

In his *Memoirs,* Cardinal Silva Henríquez mentions that in August 1973, Salvador Allende called him to argue the urgency of reestablishing the dialogue with the PDC. Allende wanted to meet Aylwin in private, and the presence of Cardinal Silva seemed essential to convince him to attend. In that meeting, despite Allende's effort at camaraderie, Aylwin urged him to make political decisions, as it was impossible to "be at the same time with God and with the devil", and he was faced with the unsustainability of his government[735]. After that meeting, Allende told Aylwin he was prepared to pass the opposition's reform of country's economic areas –public, private and mixed-, the biggest conflict between the UP and the PDC, with a three-month deadline to resolve the issue of what to do with the factories occupied by their workers. The PDC refused to accept this offer, and the negotiations between the government and the PDC collapsed. It also meant that the possibility of maintaining the government through democratic channels was fading.

The opposition to Allende insisted on his ouster and, was counting on a coup. A few days before the military coup, Raúl Hasbún appeared on Channel 13 demanding Allende's resignation. Two days before the coup d'état, the CpS' general secretary, Martín Gárate, addressed the country via national television to reply to Raúl Hasbún. This would be the CpS' last public appearance[736].

3. The end of CpS

On September 11, 1973, the four branches of the Armed Forces perpetrated a coup d'état, and deposed Salvador Allende as President of the Republic. In the morning, the presidential palace was surrounded by tanks, while Allende, after having refused the military's proposal for his surrender, and a group of followers and members of the presidential guard tried to put up a resistance. By the late afternoon, Allende was dead, and General Javier Palacios could proclaim: "Mission accomplished. La Moneda taken. President dead". Citizens were kept informed of the events via the radio and, through this medium, the military started to announce the measures they were taking. A state of siege was imposed and at 3 in the afternoon a curfew was imposed. They made the names of the country's new authorities known, confirming the establishment of a Military Junta, made up of the four representatives of the Armed Forces. The Constitution was suspended, the Congress was dissolved, the left-wing political parties were banned, and the others suspended indefinitely. A total censorship of the press was established, together with other limitations on civil liberties.

The public's reaction to the military coup was mixed. As the Popular Unity government's opposition groups celebrated the fall of the Popular Unity[737], the government supporters were devastated by the defeat of the UP political project, and of their own personal undertakings. Among the latter, isolated groups organized some sort of resistance, but in all of them a feeling of regret pervaded and, above all, fear of the repressive measures already set in motion spread among them[738].

Anyone who had supported the Popular Unity government was now suspect. Many appeared on the lists of military decrees, and were required to present themselves at the nearest barracks or police station. Among the groups who were persecuted were the Christians for Socialism. What many of them did first was to destroy and burn all the existing documentation, which from then on became a source of danger[99]. Alfonso Baeza remembers that "terror descended, and not a book remained"[739]. In the same vein, Diego Irarrázabal said, "there was fear that if any papers were found, we would be detained". Everything was burned because they feared the military would break into their homes and find material which would incriminate them. Some members of the CpS were quick to remove all the documentation kept at the central office, which had been operational until the day of the coup in downtown Santiago, behind the San Francisco Church[740].

The vast majority of the clerical agents who had participated in the CpS decided to stay in their working-class neighborhoods, to at least try to communicate with their congregations, or other members of the Church, in order to understand what was going on. In the La Victoria shantytown,

Father Santiago Thijssen was the one who heard about the coup d'état on the radio, and passed the message on to the community. He told them that "something dreadful has just happened, a coup d'état". Some in the neighborhood thought it would be something temporary, while Thijssen told them to collect food and other basic products, knowing that this time the military coup was serious. On that same September 11, the military arrived in the neighborhood with a list of names, among which the name of the Dutch priest appeared. Local residents hid him in their house for a couple of days, and later "forced him" to leave Chile, which he did[741].

Having been part of Christians for Socialism was enough of a motive for suspicion and condemnation by the new military authorities. In the case of the Spanish priest Francesc Puig, during the interrogation he went through at the hands of the Navy's central intelligence on the ship Lebu in Valparaíso, his "fate was sealed"[742]. There, they asked him sarcastically "so you are the so-called priest Pancho of Quilpué? you're the one preaching communism?". The interrogators were aware of the fact that Puig had participated in industrial strikes, as well as being a member of the Christians for Socialism. They mainly wanted to have the names of more people who had participated in the CpS, be they priests or laymen[743].

The religious congregations' authorities took charge of protecting their members. In the case of Gonzalo Arroyo, the Jesuit community, and those closely related to them, advised him to leave the country. They warned him that his name would be on the list of those to be interrogated for having been the CpS' most public and famous figure, and indeed it was. One of the first things Arroyo did was to leave his "rebel community" – a name used by Arroyo – of San Miguel and rejoined the Centro Bellarmino. Soon after, he was asked to submit to interrogation, along with the priest Arturo Gaete, at the Ministry of Defense. The military were interested in knowing what Arroyo had written during the time of the Popular Unity government, and asked him to present himself with all his work, magazine articles, books, and radio and television scripts. They asked him for names of local leaders from the working-class neighborhoods who were linked to the CpS movement. After this interrogation, the Society of Jesus's superior speeded up the paperwork to get him out of the country, and even Cardinal Silva Henríquez, according to Arroyo, intervened in his favor. In the end, he got permission to leave from the military authorities, despite a last setback. He was already sitting on the plane ready to take off for Paris, when the police removed him to interrogate him again. The day after this ordeal, on October 14, 1973, Arroyo was on the plane heading for Paris[744].

Without a doubt, the most damaging blow to the CpS movement was the working document "Christian faith and political action", published by the CECH a few days before the coup d'état. Since the end of 1972, ecclesiastical circles reported that the hierarchy was out to condemn CpS, which

they discussed during the course of the April 1973 Plenary Assembly. The CpS had turned into what Martín Gárate called "a thorn" in the bishops' side[745], and the hierarchy proposed to work on a document which would analyze Christian political action, referring especially to the clerical agents who participated in the CpS.

In the April 1973 Plenary Assembly, various working commissions were formed, and many Bishops spoke in order to make their position on the matter known. The theologian and dean of the School of Theology, Pedro Gutiérrez, specifically touched on the issue of the clergy's and nuns' doctrinal and disciplinary issues, and analyzed the Catholic Action crisis. They practically "signed the death warrant" of the latter due to its extreme polarization, said Hourton. After this, they proceeded to vote on the legality of priests and nuns belonging to the CpS organization, which was becoming extremely "bellicose", and opened a deep division within the Church[746]. The final declaration was extensively debated among the bishops: some of them declared the CpS unacceptable, others were open to a dialogue and understanding with them. As Jorge Hourton suggested in his Memoirs, he personally had doubts about the ban on CpS' militancy, and considered that anyone had the right to declare themselves in favor of socialism. However, a great majority of bishops decided to issue a declaration condemning the CpS. As recorded in the minutes of the meeting leading to the vote, this option got the support of a large majority. No votes were cast against the motion and only four abstained: Jorge Hourton, Fernando Ariztía, Bernardino Piñera and Juan Luis Ysern[747].

So in its April 11, 1973 session, the Episcopate Plenary Assembly decided that "a priest and/or a nun cannot belong to the Movement [CpS]". After that, it was decided that a doctrinal document would be prepared explaining and substantiating this pastoral guideline. At the same Plenary Assembly, what should be the said document's core content, lines and orientations was discussed. An outline was written and given the provisional title of "Preoccupation for a confusing situation regarding the Church's mission in the world". It allowed every bishop to contribute suggestions, and make observations on the first draft, and the Episcopate Permanent Committee was put in charge of writing the document[748]. In order to prepare the final document, its members would also review all the literature already produced by the CpS' Secretariat, be it the results of its meetings, conferences, and even the writings of some of its members[749].

It took six months for the final document to be made public. According to Oviedo, they were aware of the impact the document would provoke, not only in Chile but in Latin America as a whole, and for this reason it had to be thoroughly studied and reflected upon. In mid-August 1973, the final text was ready. According to Bishop Bernardino Piñera, the document was a "much more damning" criticism of Marxism than the May 1971 document had been, after a three-year experimentation with

Marxism in Chile[750]. The Episcopal Permanent Committee decided to give the document a final reading in a meeting scheduled for September 12, 1973. This never took place because of the September 11 coup d'état.

After the military coup, the ecclesiastic hierarchy decided to postpone the document's publication. As Hourton recalls, there were "many Bishops asking for a condemnation of the CpS", and aware of the issue's "transnational scope"[751]. In this climate of uncertainty, the Episcopal Conference decided to publish the document, even if a coup d'état had just taken place in Chile[752]. It was published on October 26, 1973 without modifications, as a majority of bishops considered that despite the new Chilean context, the document "did not need to be amended in its doctrinal and disciplinary part"[753].

The document's main intention was to clarify and take disciplinary measures against priests and nuns politically committed, especially if engaged with the Christians for Socialism. According to what was said in the document, this movement took such definite political positions that it was difficult to distinguish it from political parties or movements holding similar views and methods of action. The CpS, with its recognizable organization, its conspicuous leaders, and its intellectual output for a period of over two years, became the symbol of this confusion between politics and faith which now needed to be rectified[754].

First, the bishops started by making distinctions between the "laymen's secular and civic duties" and "the action of the Church and its hierarchy". The bishops and priests were defined as "the pastors of a Church that does not identify itself with any civilization, culture, regime, ideology or party in this world". The laymen's options could only be judged in the light of evangelical values, and making sure that they kept themselves "within the requirements of faith and Christian morals". Thus, the Church could not become just "one more of the world's components"[755].

The bishops then moved on to the analysis of the CpS' publications. They criticized the priests for having omitted important aspects of the Christian faith, and said that their positions, concepts and language were "vague and imprecise". Moreover, they considered that there were emotional feelings and reactions laced with "ideas of scientific pretention". They also scrutinized the CpS' Marxist inspiration, the incompatibility and contradiction of this school of thought with the Catholic faith. In those circumstances, the bishops suggested the existence of an "existential crisis" out of which one had to quickly withdraw. They quoted Christ's words: "Whoever is not with me is against me, and whoever does not gather with me scatters" to state that the confused and erroneous reading and interpretation of the Gospel was menacing[756]. This was a Gospel's narrowed-down social and political

reading at the expense of the ethical and spiritual. This way, the Gospel's "supernatural realities" appeared to them as signs and features of temporal realities, regimes or classes.

> "If Christ had claimed in his message this kind of reversed symbolism – people which meant classes, virtues which meant systems or regimes, bliss which meant structures, conversions which meant revolutions, sacraments which meant parties or social groups – he would have let us know; he would not have let us be fooled until the arrival of political economy and nineteenth century sociology"[757].

The bishops also criticized the mistaken conception the CpS had about the poor and their definition in terms of class, likening them to the proletariat and loaded with ideological interpretations. Thus, the Church could not identify with this group, otherwise it would show support "to only one area of the poor's world", and would commit to whichever party defined itself as the avant-garde of social revolution. "The Church cannot abandon the poor and suffering multitude who do not identify with this social class and who symbolize the grieving Christ"[758].

The bishops also alluded to the criticism aimed at the CpS, mainly in relation to its alleged apolitical character, the primacy of the spiritual, and the spreading of Christian values. According to the bishops, the explanation for this state of affair was to be found in the fact that many of the CpS were foreigners, and as such, were not aware of the Chilean idiosyncrasy, the work of the Church in social matters, and its long trajectory on this issue. The CpS had forgotten or ignored these facts, making "unacceptable and insulting statements". After this long analysis, the bishops concluded that the CpS' activities looked more like "teachings parallel to that of the bishops". Thus, they expressly asked the group to define itself and clear up the ambiguity:

> "If this group pretends to be a force ready to infiltrate the Church in order to change it into a political force from the inside, and annex it to a particular social revolution program, it is imperative that they honestly and clearly say so, and that they stop considering themselves a clerical group. It would be more fitting in this case to take the name of a political group, join the party or school of thought they consider appropriate, and renounce the practical or indoctrinating advantages their leaders enjoy for being Catholic priests"[759].

A close examination of the Bishops' recrimination highlights the fact that the criticism toward the CpS did not originate only in anti-Marxism or rejection of the union between Christianism and

Marxism, but rather because they were priests and nuns choosing political options. That is what was questionable. Unlike Camilo Torres, symbol of Latin American revolutionary Christianism, the CpS decided to stay within the Church, and pursue their clerical vocation, even if a few members decided to leave the priesthood. For the ecclesiastic hierarchy, this was precisely the ambiguity that had to be abandoned because of the confusion it generated among the faithful, and the abuse of the clerical ministry it represented. For these reasons, the bishops prohibited priests and nuns, if they still wanted to be considered as such, from belonging to this group[760].

With their harsh and clear language, the bishops deviated from the flexibility and tolerance they had shown during the years of the Popular Unity. For this reason, the document was well received among the Catholics who had been critical of the clergy's move to the left. As one can appreciate in Teresa Donoso's book, they considered that the bishops' document showed "the direction" of the Catholic Church, and re-aligned its followers[761].

For the CpS, all this criticism fell within what had been expected. Many of those critics had been heard in some of the bishops' official declarations, as well as in private conversations they had had with some of them. What was less understandable was the moment the CECH chose to publish this document. The context of the post-coup d'état radically changed the situation and importance of the CpS in the political and clerical panorama. After the military coup, the CpS came to be considered as enemies of the regime, some of them were being persecuted and this document gave the military authorities legitimacy to act against the group. In the end, under these conditions, the bishops did not give the CpS the opportunity to answer, as it had been the case in previous years.

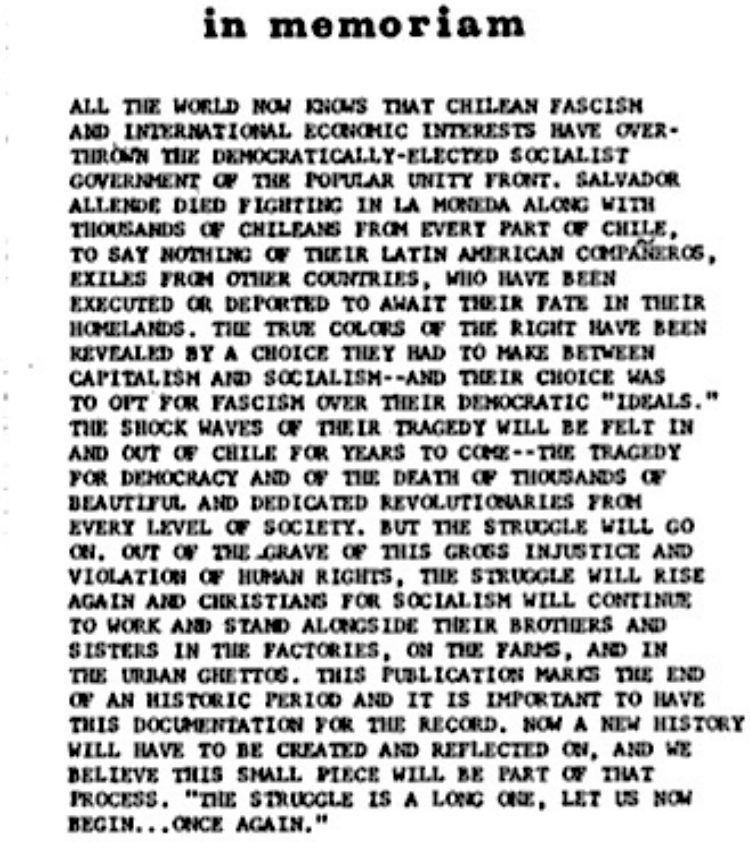
In his book, Richard compares this condemnation to Judas's kiss on the night of the Gethsemane, as the "bishops' declaration on the non-Christian and political character of the CpS movement objectively meant, at this moment in Chile, giving the Junta legitimacy to suppress the movement […] as well as the other popular Marxist parties"[762]. This interpretation is not shared by Jorge Hourton, who considers that in the country's new context, the document was losing its objective. The CpS "did not have to obey and leave the movement", which was the avowed objective, because the group "finished itself off"[763].

Indeed, the CpS were not given the opportunity to reply and, with this document, the bishops sealed the faith of the group. How much did the bishops' document influenced the repression and persecution of the movement's members is hard to say. What can be observed is that many of the CpS were indeed victims of persecution and repression following the coup d'état, with five of its priests

assassinated. Here were the names of Juan Alsina, Miguel Woodward and Gerardo Poblete, Omar Venturelli and Antonio Llidó – the last two became part of the regime's "disappeared"[764].

During September and October 1973, some CpS clandestine meetings took place. In those, recent successes were shared, and possible future actions were discussed. Finally, in October 1973, the CpS decided to dissolve themselves as a group and join the Church's grassroots organizations. They also agreed on putting pressure on the Church hierarchy to denounce what was happening in the working-class neighborhoods. Additionally, as part of their work with the grassroots, they would work at "maintaining in the *pueblo* the historical memory of the past liberating experiences", as well as "keeping the hope of a future liberation alive"[765].

Part of what was laid down in this meeting was published in a last mimeographed document, the writers and editors unknown. It came to light in November 1973, and circulated clandestinely. Its title was "Christ's kingdom suffers violence, and in Chile…". The document described the coup d'état as a "deep blow", "a tragedy" in which "the Chilean people's body and heart is bleeding". In the *pueblo,* they saw a "Christ tortured and assassinated". After the coup d'état, the CpS considered that the Church was called to assume a new type of liberating evangelization: "There is no room for identification or treason… God's spirit is not in the collaboration or complicity with the 'restoring' project of the bourgeoisie". Finally, they considered that a "historic moment" was closing, but a "new history" was opening, of which they would be part. "The struggle is a long one, let us now begin…once again" [766].



in memoriam

ALL THE WORLD NOW KNOWS THAT CHILEAN FASCISM AND INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INTERESTS HAVE OVER-THROWN THE DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT OF THE POPULAR UNITY FRONT. SALVADOR ALLENDE DIED FIGHTING IN LA MONEDA ALONG WITH THOUSANDS OF CHILEANS FROM EVERY PART OF CHILE, TO SAY NOTHING OF THEIR LATIN AMERICAN COMPAÑEROS, EXILES FROM OTHER COUNTRIES, WHO HAVE BEEN EXECUTED OR DEPORTED TO AWAIT THEIR FATE IN THEIR HOMELANDS. THE TRUE COLORS OF THE RIGHT HAVE BEEN REVEALED BY A CHOICE THEY HAD TO MAKE BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM--AND THEIR CHOICE WAS TO OPT FOR FASCISM OVER THEIR DEMOCRATIC "IDEALS." THE SHOCK WAVES OF THEIR TRAGEDY WILL BE FELT IN AND OUT OF CHILE FOR YEARS TO COME--THE TRAGEDY FOR DEMOCRACY AND OF THE DEATH OF THOUSANDS OF BEAUTIFUL AND DEDICATED REVOLUTIONARIES FROM EVERY LEVEL OF SOCIETY. BUT THE STRUGGLE WILL GO ON. OUT OF THE GRAVE OF THIS GROSS INJUSTICE AND VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE STRUGGLE WILL RISE AGAIN AND CHRISTIANS FOR SOCIALISM WILL CONTINUE TO WORK AND STAND ALONGSIDE THEIR BROTHERS AND SISTERS IN THE FACTORIES, ON THE FARMS, AND IN THE URBAN GHETTOS. THIS PUBLICATION MARKS THE END OF AN HISTORIC PERIOD AND IT IS IMPORTANT TO HAVE THIS DOCUMENTATION FOR THE RECORD. NOW A NEW HISTORY WILL HAVE TO BE CREATED AND REFLECTED ON, AND WE BELIEVE THIS SMALL PIECE WILL BE PART OF THAT PROCESS. "THE STRUGGLE IS A LONG ONE, LET US NOW BEGIN...ONCE AGAIN."

"In Memoriam", *Christians for socialism. Highlights from Chile's Religious Revolution"* (Washington, D.C.: EPICA, 1973), 32.

The CpS' experience ended in the days following the coup d'état. Gonzalo Arroyo said that after the coup, his revolutionary commitment felt like "a failed hope", and that "a beautiful dream" had faded[767]. Analyzing this topic years later, Pablo Fontaine considered that for left-wing Christians, the coup became "their lives' most profound shock". Socialism's implementation had become the goal, and the ultimate direction for many Christians, and the revolution had become their "real 'faith'"[768].

Epilogue: New paths for Leftist Christians

Following the military takeover, the month of October 1973 was a particularly important period for defining politico-religious positions, and especially relevant for the history of the revolutionary Christianism that had emerged in the previous years. On October 4, the doors of the Ecumenical Committee of Cooperation for Peace in Chile (COPACHI) were opened, the result of a joint decision by the Catholic Church and other churches, led by the Catholic Bishop Fernando Ariztía and the Lutheran Bishop Helmut Frenz. As it was, this organization would become the first institution entrusted with defending human rights in Chile. A few days later, the CECH made the aforementioned working document "Catholic Faith and Political Action" public and, with it, sealed the fate of the Christians for Socialism experience as such[769].

These two events have to be looked at in parallel. On the one hand, the period of division and polarization experienced within the Chilean Catholic Church was closed, an era which had reached its most critical point during the Popular Unity government. Here, the Bishops mainly criticized the misguided interpretation of the clerical ministry, and the danger this mistake could bring to the Catholic Church. The Bishops wanted to lay down the Church's distinctive features, mainly distancing it from all politico-partisan and politico-ideological links with Marxism. However, this document lost its relevance after the military coup, mainly because there was no revolutionary process left to defend anymore. The Chilean Bishops tried with this document to impose some order among the clergy, but also to take care of a danger which to their eyes became progressively more serious, like the possibility of an internal break-up within the Church.

COPACHI became a meeting place for a Church which had, in the previous years, been divided and fragmented. This institution started its work under Cardinal Silva Henríquez's leadership, who together with dozens of priests and nuns would jointly work toward the common objective of defending human rights. This acquired special relevance in a country profoundly conflicted and divided. The fact that they were able to unite the Bishops and the members of the clergy and laymen behind this common objective was of profound significance[770].

The urgency of the situation and the need for assistance did not help the development of reflections on the past experiences regarding the CpS' relevance. The coup d'état and the subsequent condemnation on the part of the CECH meant utter defeat for the clerical agents who had envisaged a "liberation" through the success of the political project leading to the Chilean Road to Socialism, thus laying the foundations for salvation on earth. Some CpS' members considered that they

themselves had contributed to this defeat, while others felt that their deep religious political commitment had been misunderstood. Some CpS considered their commitment to socialism as "Marxist intoxication" or "revolutionary blindness". They criticized the radicalism of their approach and their "actions which were too ideological and wordy" during the Popular Unity government[771]. Others considered that the capacity for dialogue with other sectors of the Church was tarnished by "the temptation of being in an avant-garde"[772]. In the end, they criticized their rapture, but also their naivete toward Marxism, which led them to support intransigent positions[773]. With these observations, they acknowledged part of the blame for the atmosphere of polarization that led to the fall of Allende.

Among the few written comments made regarding the revolutionary Christians' political commitment, Pablo Fontaine's sticks out. He reflected on the topic in the pages of *Mensaje* – before it was shut down and its publication temporarily banned – in mid-1975.

> "Was it correct to consider revolution as the only brave path? Did that goal and humanism really have the substance it has been given? […] wasn't there much more one could ask about the meaning, goal and roads of the sought after revolution?"[774].

The politico-religious task focused on a commitment to the revolution had indeed captured the imagination of many left-wing Christian groups. For the CpS, Marxism was an essential component of their revolutionary Christian thinking's framework. As mentioned on various occasions, Marxism helped them to empirically understand Chilean reality, and gave legitimacy to their political choices. After the coup however, this influence melted away and with it, the resistance from the Bishopric and reformist clergy diminished.

What is certain is that this CpS' political activism of revolutionary voluntarism, especially toward the end of the Popular Unity government, left them completely bewildered and disoriented after the coup. Behind the CpS' demise and the quick distancing many of the pastoral agents took toward Marxism, and its "scientific" reading of Latin American society, was an element of great importance related to the deep Christian identity of their political commitment. The field of social action and the reading of social transformations through the prism of liberation had led them to a marked political activism, which in turn translated itself into support for the Chilean path to socialism. The phrase "salvation happens through history" became common place and a defining element for left-wing Christian groups, charged with particular importance for those priests and nuns who had made leftist political choices since the late Sixties.

However, their distancing from Marxism was swift and very soon many of the CpS joined shoulders with the hierarchy to work in defense of people persecuted by the military dictatorship. The explanation behind this has to do with the religious imprint of these priests and nuns, a fact which led to the quick disappearance of the previous years' disagreements between a reformist hierarchy and a revolutionary clergy. Many pastoral agents quickly got rid of their socialist remains and Marxist views on society, which had also in the end led them to this abrasive clash with the Church hierarchy.

The group's top leadership, which coincided with the more "ideologizing" sectors, left the country shortly after the coup, many of them encouraged to do so by their own congregations. Among those who left, some tried to keep the revolutionary Christian experience alive, where international meetings under the name of Christians for Socialism were particularly important. In the years following the coup, these meetings took place in Bologna, Ávila and Québec. From 1976, in the hands of the priest Sergio Torres, the movement was transformed and absorbed by one of greater importance and universality, called Ecumenical Association of Theologians of the Third World, ASETT[775].

Among the CpS members who stayed in Chile were the "more pastoralist" groups, as Mariano Puga called them, more moderate in their politico-ideological positions, less devoted to Marxist theory and, in the end, the ones who had maintained better relations with the ecclesiastic hierarchy. Some of CpS' less known figures or the ones who had only sporadically participated in the movement also stayed in Chile. The commitment and closeness with the popular sectors of the more pastoralists among them was valued, an engagement which showed proof of their vocation. That is how Cardinal Silva Henríquez put it, laying bare his understanding of their politicization, as one can see in his Memoirs. Here the Cardinal alluded to the affection and respect brought about for those who committed themselves to the poor and lived the misery of the people. In a sense, in the Cardinal's eyes, they had atoned for their socialist temptation and revolutionary commitment. These were the clergy who quickly after the coup lived through a process of "rediscovery" and "revaluation" of the Church. They valued their institutional weight, the fact that their voices and the power of their word would be listened to in the country. In the aforementioned issue of *Mensaje*, Fontaine said that "it is good to see that an institutional reality with enough strength to become a voice and shelter for the weak exists as a space of true freedom"[776].

The years of military dictatorship opened a new possibility for these priests and nuns. A Church unity unknown in the previous years was attained, where "it was easier to find the evangelical calling of our mission"[777]. What is certain is that there existed a great will to work as one and, as recalled by Ronaldo Muñoz, this was achieved despite the deterioration experienced during the years

of the Popular Unity. "Certain wounds were healed in the new context of the years of dictatorship […] We were meeting and coming together again with a strong sense of 'solidarity'", Muñoz said[778].

The Santiago Church rallied behind its Archbishop Raúl Silva Henríquez and managed to build a solid organizational structure, based on a broad appeal to "solidarity", aimed at defending human rights. Through its deaneries and vicariates, delegations were set up, conferences and events were organized and kept united to the wide network of Bishops, priests, nuns and laymen. In this work for the defense of human rights, the insertion efforts the pastoral agents had made in the working class sectors became crucial, considering that one of the main victims of the dictatorship's repression and persecution were laborers and working-class people who had been committed to the Popular Unity. It was those agents already embedded in the social fabric of the working-class neighborhoods who participated in many existing social organizations, and who with time gained the trust of their neighbors, working colleagues and local communities. These clerical agents were key actors in this new human rights ecclesiology. As the nun Francisca Morales attested, the people "believed in our commitment because we were like sharing brothers […] So the Church had roots in the midst of the people which gave it credibility in difficult moments"[779]. The appreciation of their own work is obvious and, as Sister Francisca Morales stressed, clerical agents like herself were the ones who warned the ecclesiastic hierarchy about the need to be aware of the gravity of the situation following the military coup. "We started to gather information – says Morales – which we rapidly disseminated in priests' meetings, as well as to some laymen, and from there were convinced that something had to be done"[780]. For his part, the Cardinal's openness was essential as he listened and weighed these testimonies. Finally, this information was passed on to COPACHI. Mariano Puga added that "the priests not only accompanied the people in their neighborhood lives and working environment. Priests were taken prisoners just the same as many citizens; they were, like many of them, considered suspicious; and were persecuted just the same"[781]. Puga himself was a prisoner, in 1974, in the notorious Villa Grimaldi clandestine center of interrogation. Community-based priests and nuns became the "militant wing" of COPACHI and, subsequently, the Vicariate of Solidarity [782].

The work of these pastoral agents took place on different fronts. Some of them, as in the case of Esteban Gumucio, joined the ecclesiastic structures of the southern vicariate. Others dedicated themselves to reorganizing some of the social movements, while others like Ronaldo Muñoz, worked with the grassroots Christian communities, established in areas where the social fabric was being restructured, and many of those subsequently became entities opposed to the dictatorship. These grassroots communities would be established in order to create a popular [People's] Church, and from those would manage to create a new way of living one's faith. As Muñoz recalls, here "we started to

discover another Bible, another Jesus", an experience he called "Christian brotherhood", a "solidarity among the people"[783].

While this labor of assistance in the working-class neighborhood was being reconstructed and reassembled and the organization of COPACHI's institutionalization was being worked on, the relations between the bishops and the military Junta became tense, and the Church's work in defense of human rights came to be one of the areas of conflict between the two bodies. While it is true that the declarations of the CECH and the Cardinal himself after the coup had been moderate and cautious - maybe too prudent for some[784]-; the same cannot be said of their actions[785]. The bishops did not condemn the military coup, recognized the work of the Armed Forces and called for everyone to contribute to the national reconstruction[786].

For the Plenary Assembly of April 1974, despite the fact that there were discrepancies and internal tensions, the CECH published a joint document entitled "Reconciliation in Chile", in which the main point touched on the dictatorship's policies against its enemies. In this declaration, a series of cases referring to the injustices committed by the regime were enumerated, listed under the rubric "What worries us". They were preoccupied by "a climate of fear and insecurity", "the social dimensions of the current economic situation", "the restructuring of the education system", "the lack of judicial protection" leading to "arbitrary detentions", "interrogations with physical and moral pressure", "limits to the possibilities of judicial defense", "unfair sentences", and "restrictions to the normal use of the right of appeal"[787].

The declaration annoyed the Military Junta. The situation between the Church and the regime got even worse with the Episcopate Permanent Committee's decision to not celebrate the September 11 first anniversary with official religious ceremonies, and the new CECH's document, "Gospel and Peace". Although the Bishops laid out some of their preoccupations regarding the regime's behavior, they also added positive words. They highlighted the explicitly Christian inspiration of the Government's Declaration of Principles, at the same time expressing the opinion that these principles had in practice failed. The Bishops expressed the view that they did not doubt the authorities' "intentions and good will", but at the same time criticized "the lack of participation and information" and, above all, "the climate of insecurity and fear". The episcopal body recognized the prisoners' mistreatment, expressing preoccupations "for investigations which included physical or moral restraints". The Bishops' agreement on this document was not easy. There was dissidence within the CECH, but in the end the document that came out was signed by everyone[788]. Through 1975, the Bishops' declarations calling for reconciliation were considered by the military authorities as attacks against them[789].

Cardinal Silva Henríquez managed the relations with the regime's authorities with shrewdness and kept the Santiago Church united, as well as the whole of the Chilean episcopate. During the first years following the coup d'état, the Cardinal decided to push concrete actions forward, as well as using a closed-door diplomacy with the military. The Jesuit priest, José Aldunate, describes Pinochet's relationship with the Cardinal as "a conversation between both 'above the table', but 'under the table' they were giving each other as many kicks as possible"[790]. COPACHI was the reason behind the first direct confrontation between the Cardinal and the military authorities, mainly for the support the Church gave to "enemies" of the regime, "destroyers of the national coexistence" and those who had caused the destruction of democracy. But in addition, they were working with what the military considered a leftist Church that in the past had supported the Popular Unity and which, in the eyes of the Junta, had caused so much damage and could still cause more damage if tough measures were not taken against it. For the members of the Junta, the work done by COPACHI was slowing down their "reconstruction efforts", as well as tarnishing the military regime's image abroad. This, as suggested by Brian Loveman and Elizabeth Lira, was seen as "treason" to the cause of Christian civilization against the enemy called communism[791].

Toward the end of 1975, General Augusto Pinochet decided to dissolve COPACHI, arguing the infiltration of subversive elements within the group. He told the Cardinal that there was an "organized structure to attack the government and defend terrorists" in that committee and that, consequently, its closure became urgent. The Cardinal accepted Pinochet's request while at the same time warning him that he would not abandon "his duty to prevent human rights abuses"[792]. The Committee was officially disbanded on December 31, 1975. However, on January 1, 1976, the Vicariate of Solidarity opened its doors. From there, the work done previously by COPACHI continued. Its objectives as well as many of its officials were maintained. Through the Vicariate of Solidarity, depending directly on Santiago's Archbishopric, the ecclesiology and pastoral relating to solidarity were channeled and reinforced[793].

These actions by the ecclesiastic hierarchy and its clergy, specifically the work done by the Vicariate of Solidarity, led to new divisions between the more traditional tendencies within Catholicism and those now grouped under the concept of "solidarity". Within the former, mainly composed of military, a few rightist labor groups and the TFP, one can recognize an old ideology closer to 1930s' integralism, soaked in the discourse and language of the 1960s, and its broad criticism of the revolution. This ultraconservative sector, which also had a marked social awareness and was viscerally anti-Marxist, would mistrust a Church that rallied to the defense of human rights in the new context opened by the coup. Anti-communism, thus, was used as a strong argument in defense of

counter-revolution and, after the coup d'état, Catholic anticommunism earned an important place in what they defined as a war between "good" and "evil", and a defense of Christian civilization threatened by Marxism.

Two books against left-wing Christians were published in 1976, both giving special importance to the work of the Catholic Church after the military coup. One of those was the aforementioned Teresa Donoso's book and the other came from the TFP, entitled *La Iglesia del Silencio* ("The Silent Church"). Both texts were used in a public campaign against the Catholic Church as a whole, and more specifically against the left-wing clergy who kept serving after the coup and obstructed the work of the military Junta in its effort at rebuilding the country on the military's model. In this context, it became especially relevant to investigate and delve into the matter of the CpS. They were the ones who would protect, cover and give asylum to leaders and members of the MIR. In the new context, these revolutionary priests appeared "involved in the reorganization of the extremist Marxist forces incubating in secrecy", as Donoso wrote. Under the blanket of legitimacy afforded to them by the clerical ministry, the MIR could keep on operating[794].

Donoso, who had praised the October 1973 Bishops' document for putting an end "to the ambiguities" that had characterized the ecclesiastic hierarchy during the years of the Popular Unity, harshly criticized the fact that the Church, from its hierarchy to the support of the left-wing pastoral agents, started to oppose the regime's authorities. For Donoso, it appeared inadmissible that these priests keep belonging to the Church and, even more so, that they could practice their ministry. The goal of her book then was to "unmask" those "violent priests", priests who were involved "in extreme left guerilla activities" which after the military coup were ripe for being "operated on and eradicated".

The Catholic Church's incursions into the temporal-political field were branded by what had occurred since the late Sixties in the clerical world and the CpS' experience was behind the criticism directed at Cardinal Silva Henríquez and the Vicariate of Solidarity. The criticism from these right-wing sectors, more traditional in religious terms, after the coup d'état, are impossible to understand without the broad movement created against the CpS which, as mentioned before, exceeded the specific limits of the group to encompass different rival expressions of what was known as leftist Christianity.

The military coup and the new era of dictatorship signed the death warrant of Christians for Socialism. The movement ceased to exist, and its main postulates stopped being used to explain the Chilean politico-religious reality. Marxism did not fill the Christians' interpretative vacuum anymore and pastoral agents quickly got rid of it. The need for structural transformations, which had been part

of social Catholicism since the late Fifties, was closed. It put an end to those short and fast years which encapsulated a transformative proposition for Latin American society, years in which many worked for the "blessing of the revolution".

Indeed, after the proclamation of the October 1973 CECH document, many CpS active members and militants gathered behind the Archbishop of Santiago in his defense of the persecuted following the coup. The new historical environment would facilitate the reencounter of a Church previously divided and tense under the umbrella of defending human rights. Thus, it was under the concept of solidarity that priests and nuns served from working-class neighborhoods and suburban areas, and where they developed a strong grassroots activism. The networks which had been created between priests, nuns, missionaries and these poor sectors of the population were maintained. All this allowed the development of a series of social organizations from which a strong resistance grew after the coup, and subsequently supported the organization of the social protests years later, between 1983 and 1986. These clerical agents' positive outlook regarding their work in defending human rights is clear. Many felt that it was during the dictatorship years that they managed to build this grassroots People's Church, liberating in its essence, even without the blessing of a revolution[795].

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Notes

[1] In this image, the protagonist is dressed as a priest, wearing a cassock. In the movie, however, he is wearing secular clothes. The use of this image suggests they wanted to make sure people understood he was a priest.
[2] Aldo Francia declared himself a "Christian-Marxist" in his book *Nuevo cine latinoamericano en Viña del Mar* (Santiago: CESOC, 1990). The movie was inspired by the experience of the priests Dario Marcotti –one of the movie script writers— and Ignacio Pujadas, the Spaniard who led *Cristianos por el Socialismo* in Valparaíso. Many of the movie scenes were shot in the little chapel *Jesús de Nazaret* and in the house where Pujadas lived in Valparaíso.
[3] "Ya no Basta con rezar," *Mensaje*, nº 215 (December, 1972)
[4] "Participación de los Cristianos en la Construcción del Socialismo en Chile," *Mensaje,* nº 198 (May, 1971): 176.
[5] The magazine *Política y Espíritu,* which was close to the Christian Democrats, published most of the theological-political debate generated by "the Declaration of the 80". *Política y Espíritu,* no. 320 (April 1971). The publishing house, *Editorial del Pacífico*, also linked to the PDC, published in 1972 a compilation with the public documents of CpS and the reactions they generated. *Cristianos por el Socialismo. ¿Consecuencia cristiana o alienación ideológica?* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1972).
[6] The Chilean TFP was also known as Fiducia (from the Latin, trust) and appealed to "courage, faith, honesty and altruism". It was composed by people between 20 and 25 years old, whose goal was to stop the "moral crisis" the Western World was going through, claim some of the Church dogmas and preserve a social order based on family, tradition and private property. Most of the declarations of the TFP appeared in the magazine *Fiducia*, which was first published in 1963. In late 1973, a 1970-1973 compilation was published. Another publication of this group is *La Iglesia del silencio en Chile*: *la TFP proclama la verdad entera* (Santiago: La Sociedad, 1976).
[7] The Chilean Episcopal Conference responded with its document "*El Evangelio exige comprometerse en profundas y urgentes renovaciones sociales,*" Temuco, April 22, 1971. All the documents of the CECH are compiled in *Conferencia Episcopal de Chile*, *Documentos de la Conferencia Episcopal Chilena,* Vol. 3: *1971-1977*, (Santiago: Equipo de Servicios de la Juventud, 1978).
[8] The total number of CpS is unknown. Its General Secretary destroyed its documents after the 1970 military coup. According to Brian Smith, at its peak the CpS were approximately 300; that would be more or less 12% of the 2,500 Chilean priests active at the time. Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 276.
[9] In the mid-sixties in Eastern Europe, especially in Salzburgo (1965), Marxist intellectuals and theologians met to explore the possibilities of a dialogue between Christianity and Marxism. Some of these dialogues were described by Roger Garaudy and Giulio Girardi. Roger Garaudy, *From Anathema to Dialogue: a Marxist Challenge to the Christian Churches,* trans. Luke O' Neill (New York: Herder and Herder, 1966). The first French edition is from 1965. Giulio Girardi, *Marxism and Christianity,* trans. Kevin Traynor (Dublin: Gill, 1968). The first Italian edition is from 1965.
[10] Marta Harnecker studied in France with Louis Althusser. She had been a member of the University Catholic Action, and after her return from France, became a member of the Socialist Party. One of her most popular writings is *Los conceptos elementales del materialismo histórico,* 1st ed. (Mexico, D.F.; Siglo XXI Editores,1969). Editorial *Quimantú* published a series of her works in its section "*Cuaderno de educación popular*". *Explotados y explotadores* (Santiago, Editorial Quimantú, 1971); *Explotación capitalista* (Santiago, Editorial Quimantú, 1971); *Clases sociales y lucha de clases* (Santiago, Editorial Quimantú, 1971).
[11] According to the 1960 population census, 89,13% of the 7.3 million Chileans declared themselves to be Catholics. Protestants had grown exponentially during the Fifties, but were still only 5,58% of the population.
[12] Hannah W. Stewart-Gambino, *The Church and Politics in the Chilean Countryside* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992); Thomas C. Bruneau, *The Political Transformation of the Brazilian Catholic Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).
[13] Daniel Levine, *Religion and Politics in Latin America: the Catholic Church in Venezuela and Colombia,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981); Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile;* Edward L. Cleary, *Crisis and Change: The Church in Latin America Today* (New York: Orbis Books, 1985); Scott Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil, 1916-1985* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); Anthony Gill, *Rendering unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America* (Chicago: 1998); Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and Social Movement Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).
[14] Popular Unity was the leftist political Alliance that supported the candidacy of Salvador Allende in the 1970 presidential election.

[15] Hannah W. Stewart-Gambino, *The Church and Politics in the Chilean Countryside*; Sofia Correa, *Con las riendas del poder. La derecha chilena en el siglo XX* (Santiago, Editorial Sudamericana, 2005).
[16] Studies on the Chilean elite, see: María Rosaria Stabili, *El sentimiento aristocrático: elites chilenas frente al espejo (1860-1960),* trans. Paula Zaldívar (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello-Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2003); María Angélica Thumala, *Riqueza y poder*: *el catolicismo de la elite económica chilena* (Santiago: Debate, 2007).
[17] The concept of "complainants and proponents of social solutions" is used by Alexandrine de La Taille and Macarena Ponce de León, "Mujer católica y caridad activa," in *Catolicismo social chileno: Desarrollo, crisis y actualidad,* ed. Fernando Berríos, Jorge Costadoat and Diego García (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2009), 134.
[18] Some members of the Protestant Church and from the Uruguayan group Church and Society in Latin America (ISAL) participated in the Latin-American Meeting of CpS that took place in Santiago, Chile in April, 1972. Very influential protestant pastors and intellectuals including Rubem Alves, Julio de Santa Ana and Richard Shaull participated in ISAL, which was founded in the early 1960s.
[19] In the Estates General (1789) the concepts of "right" and "left" were coined around the positions regarding the king, nobility and the Third Estate. A definition of "left" and "right" can be found in Norberto Bobbio, *Left and Right: The Significance of a Political Distinction,* trans. Allan Cameron (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997). For the Chilean case, see Verónica Valdivia, *Nacionales y gremialistas: El parto de la nueva derecha chilena, 1964-1973* (Santiago, LOM Ediciones, 2008), 26-31.
[20] For a complete history of the Chilean agrarian structure see: José Bengoa, *Historia rural de Chile central* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2017).
[21] A summary of this sociological discussion can be found in Daniéle Hervieu-Léger, *Religion as a Chain of Memory* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000).
[22] For a general study about the policy of the Vatican in the context of the Cold War, see: Michael Phayer, *The Vatican in the age of the Cold War, 1945-1980* (Norwich: Michael Russell, 1992). During the last decade, several studies have been published about the religious Cold War, covering the Vatican opposition to the Soviet advance in Eastern Europe and the linkage between the United States and the Vatican on their efforts to contain communism. Michael Phayer, *Pius XII, the Holocaust, and the Cold War (*Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008); Dianne Kirby, ed., *Religion and the Cold War* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008); William Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960. The Soul of Containment* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Frank J. Coppa, *Politics and the Papacy in the Modern World* (Westport: Praeger, 2008). A critical view on the role of the Vatican under John Paul II after 1979 can be found in Penny Lernoux, *People of God: The Struggle for World Catholicism*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1990).
[23] Gerd-Rainer Horn and Emmanuel Gerard, eds., *Left Catholicism. Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation, 1943-1955,* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001).
[24] Gary MacEoin, *Unlikely Allies: The Christian-Socialist Convergence* (New York: The Crossroad Publishing Company, 1990)
[25] During the twentieth century revisionist expressions emerged in the Marxist tradition. An example was Louis Althusser. Louis Althusser, *Reading Capital: The Complete Edition,* trans. Ben Brewster and David Fernbach (London, New York: Verso, 2015). This book was originally published in French (1965). See: Michael Löwy, *The War of Gods: Religion and Politics in Latin America* (London, Verso, 1996); Jorge Larraín, *El concepto de ideología,* Vol. 2: *El marxismo posterior a Marx: Gramsci y Althusser* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2008).
[26] José Carlos Mariátegui, *7 ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Lima: Biblioteca "Amauta", 1928). The seminal writing on liberation theology by Gustavo Gutiérrez has several references to the ideas of the Peruvian Marxist José Carlos Mariátegui. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics, and Salvation,* trans. Sister Caridad Inda and John Eaglson (New York, Orbis Books, 1973).
[27] Regarding the role of religion in revolution, Mathew Butler, in his study of the social history of the Mexican Revolution, highlights the religious essence of the conflict, and contradicts the belief that the revolution opposed tradition and religion. Butler uses the concept "Catholicism revolutionized" and says the Mexican Revolution was not "God's funeral", but "a period of religious change and effervescence". Matthew Butler, ed., *Faith and Impiety in Revolutionary Mexico* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). From the perspective of intellectual and conceptual history, Marcos Fernández discusses what he calls a "Catholic re-conceptualization of revolution" in a Chilean context (1960-1964). He says Christians accommodated the concept of revolution to confront their Marxist opponents in the Chilean public debate. Marcos Fernández, "*La reconceptualización católica de la revolución: el pensamiento cristiano frente al cambio histórico, Chile, 1960-1964*", *Hispania Sacra* LXIX, no. 140 (July-December 2017): 735-753, https://doi.org/10.3989/hs.2017.046 .
[28] Edward L. Cleary, *Crisis and Change.*
[29] In his initial document, Gustavo Gutiérrez offers definitions of the poor and of poverty. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Teología de la liberación Perspectivas*, Lima, CEP, 1971. The first English edition was published in 1973 by the editorial house of Maryknoll, Orbis Books. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation*.
[30] For a discussion of the role of Catholicism in the revolutionary processes in Central America, see Michael Dodson & Laura Nuzzi O' Shaughnessy, *Nicaragua's Other Revolution. Religious Faith and Political Struggle* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Anna L. Peterson, *Martyrdom and the Politics of Religion: Progressive Catholicism in El Salvador's Civil War,* 2nd ed., (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001). For the Chilean case, see: Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 165-280.

[31] A compilation of Camilo Torres writings is *Camilo Torres, sacerdote y guerrillero. Revolución popular: imperativo de cristianos y marxistas* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones Unidad, 1986). The Latin American Documentation, from the U.S. Catholic Conference (LADOC), regularly published in English documents of the leftist Latin American clergy. See the collection *Social Activist Priests: Chile,* no. 5 LADOC Keyhole Series (Washington D.C.: Catholic Conference, n.d.); and *Social Activist Priests: Colombia, Argentina,* LADOC Keyhole Series (Washington D.C.: Catholic Conference, n.d.). See also Michael Dodson, "The Christian Left in Latin American Politics", in *Churches and Politics in Latin America,* ed. Daniel H. Levine (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1980), 111-134. On the Peruvian clergy movement see O.N.I.S., Young-Hyun Jo, *Sacerdotes y transformación social en Perú (1968-1975)* (México, UNAM, Centro Coordinador y Difusor de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2005); Jeffrey Klaiber, *Religion and Revolution in Peru* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977). On the Argentinian movement MSTM, see: Michael A. Burdick, *For God and the Fatherland* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995).

[32] One of the most influential documents was written by young Christian Democrats Julio Silva Solar and Jacques Chonchol, *El desarrollo de la nueva sociedad en América Latina* (Santiago, Editorial Universitaria, 1965).

[33] Parroquia Universitaria, "*El presente de Chile y el Evangelio*" *Mensaje*, nº 196 (January-February 1971).

[34] Regarding the opposition of the Vatican to liberation theology, Brian Smith mentions a document sent to the bishops and apostolic nuncios of Latin America in 1972 warning about its danger. In early 1973, an apostolic visitor was sent from Rome to investigate the bishop of Riobamba, Ecuador, Leonidas Proaño, and its work with ecclesiastic communities of his diocese. Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 249-53. This animadversion can also be found years later in U.S. foreign policy in Central America. The C.I.A. documents of the meeting in Santa Fe, California (1980 and 1989) give special attention to liberation theology and consider the Catholic Church a central actor in the region. See Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the People.*

[35] Roger Vekemans, *Teología de la Liberación y Cristianos por el Socialismo* (Bogotá: CEDIAL, 1976).

[36] Iván Vallier, *Catholicism, Social Control, and Modernization in Latin American* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1970). In this modernist line Thomas C. Bruneau highlights the effort to defend its interests, to preserve and expand its influence in changing societies and to sustain its institutional authority. Thomas C. Bruneau, *The Political Transformation of the Brazilian Catholic Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

[37] Iván Vallier, "Radical Priests and the Revolution," *Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science* 30, no. 4: "Changing Latin America. New Interpretations of Its Politics and Society," (August 1972): 15-26. See also Alexis V. Floridi and Annette E. Stiefbold, *The Uncertain Alliance: The Catholic Church and Labor in Latin America* (Washington D.C.: Center for Advanced International Studies, University of Miami, 1973).

[38] Enrique Dussel has been one of the most important advocates of this interpretation. His writings are wide and cover all Latin America, with a special focus on liberation theology. Enrique Dussel, *De Medellín a Puebla: una década de sangre y esperanza, 1968-1979,* (México D.F.: Edicol, 1979); Enrique Dussel, coord., *Historia general de la Iglesia en América Latina* (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1981); Enrique Dussel, *Los últimos cincuenta años en la historia de la Iglesia en América Latina, 1930-1985* (Bogotá: Indo-American Press, 1986).

[39] Daniel Levine, *Religion and Politics in Latin America;* Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile;* Scott Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil*.

[40] Scott Mainwaring proposes that four Church models existed, each defined by its mission and by its relation with politics and society (the State, and the dominant, middle and popular classes): a Church of neo-Christianity, a modernizing Church, a reformist Church and a Popular Church. Scott Mainwaring, *The Catholic Church and Politics in Brazil.*

[41] Fernando Castillo Lagarrigue, *Iglesia liberadora y política* (Santiago: Educación y Comunicaciones, 1986); María Antonieta Huerta and Luis Pacheco, *La Iglesia Chilena y los cambios sociopolíticos* (Santiago: Pehuén Ediciones, 1988); David Fernández, *Historia oral de la Iglesia Católica en Santiago de Chile desde el Concilio Vaticano II hasta el golpe militar de 1973* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 1999).

[42] Michael Löwy, *The War of Gods.*

[43] Writings on base ecclesiastical communities have concentrated on the Brazilian and Central American cases. See Daniel Levine, ed., *Religion and Political Conflict in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Daniel Levine, *Popular Voices in Latin American Catholicism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); John Burdick, *Looking for God in Brasil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1996); Scott Mainwaring and Alexander Wilde, eds., *The Progressive Church in Latin America* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press,1989). For a view from the Latin American indigenous experience, see Edward L. Cleary & Timothy J. Steigenga, eds., *Resurgent Voices in Latin America: Indigenous Peoples, Political Mobilization, and Religious Change,* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 2004). For the Central American case, see: Michael Dodson and Laura Nuzzi O'Shaughnessy, *Nicaragua's Other Revolution;* Anna L. Peterson, *Martyrdom and the Politics of Religion.*

[44] This book went through three editions. The first one was published in 1974.

[45] Roger Vekemans, *Teología de la Liberación y Cristianos por el Socialismo*.

[46] Vekemans quote taken from Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the people,* 306.

[47] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo: Historia y documentación* (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 1976).

[48] Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile;* Michael Fleet and Brian H. Smith, *The Catholic Church and Democracy in Chile and Peru* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997).

[49] Marlen Velásquez Almonacid, *Episcopado chileno y Unidad Popular* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Cardenal Silva Henríquez, 2003).
[50] Eugenia Palieraky, *¡La revolución ya viene!: el MIR chileno en los años sesenta* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2014); Cristina Moyano, *MAPU o la seducción del poder y la juventud. Los años fundacionales del partido-mito de nuestra transición, 1969-1973* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2009); Esteban Valenzuela, *Dios, Marx… y el Mapu* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2014).
[51] Tracey Lynn Jaffe, "In the Footsteps of Cristo Obrero: Chile's Young Catholic Workers Movement in the Neighborhood, Factory, and Family, 1946-1973" (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2009).
[52] Mario Garcés, *Tomando su sitio: el movimiento de pobladores de Santiago, 1957-1970* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2002).
[53] David Fernández, "Oral History of the Chilean Movement 'Christians for Socialism', 1971-1973," *Journal of Contemporary History* 34, no. 2 (April 1999): 283-294.
[54] Mario Amorós, "La Iglesia que nace del pueblo: relevancia histórica del Movimiento Cristianos por el Socialismo," in *Cuando hicimos historia: la experiencia de la Unidad Popular,* ed. Julio Pinto (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2005), 107-126.
[55] Marcos Fernández, "Sacerdocio y política: Fragmentos del debate político-intelectual en torno a Cristianos por el Socialismo," *Revista Historia* 23, no. 2 (July-December 2016): 211-239.
[56] Mario Amorós, *Una huella imborrable: Antonio Llidó, el sacerdote detenido-desaparecido* (Santiago: Pehuén Editores, 2016).
[57] Yves Carrier, *Teología práctica de la liberación en el Chile de Salvador Allende* (Santiago: Ediciones Ceibo, 2014).
[58] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Esteban Gumucio,* 2nd ed. (Santiago: Fundación Coudrin, Congregación de los Sagrados Corazones, 2004); Enrique Moreno, sscc, inter. and ed., *Pablo Fontaine, sscc: un soplo de Evangelio* (Santiago: Fundación Coudrin, Congregación de los Sagrados Corazones, 2005); Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Ronaldo Muñoz* (Santiago: Fundación Coudrin, Congregación de los Sagrados Corazones, 2010); Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente. Episcopado y dictadura* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2009); Rodrigo de Arteagabeitía and Sandra Rojas, *El cura Baeza: modesta valentía* (Santiago: Bravo y Allende Editores, Vicaría de Pastoral Social, 2006).
[59] The widespread publication of documents and writings of revolutionary Christians in Latin America by the Chilean editorial house Quimantú was very helpful to understand the CpS´s experience in the regional context. *Los cristianos y la revolución: un debate abierto en América Latina* (Santiago: Editora Nacional Quimantú, Santiago, 1972).
[60] Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo.*
[61] CIDOB carried on the work of *Agermanament*, created by the archbishop of Barcelona in the late 60s to support Spanish missionaries. I must thank Mario Amorós for his suggestion to explore this archive.
[62] Instituto de Estudios Políticos, *Cristianos por el socialismo: ¿consecuencia cristiana o alineación política?* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, c1972). Editorial del Pacífico was the press of the Chilean Chritian Democratic Party (PDC)
[63] Among the general histories of Chile, see: Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808-1994* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Mariana Aylwin, *et. al*., *Chile en el siglo XX* (Santiago: Editorial Planeta, 1990); Brian Loveman, *Chile: The Legacy of Hispanic Capitalism*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Alan Angell, *De Alessandri a Pinochet: en busca de la utopía* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1993); Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, *El Chile perplejo: del avanzar sin transar, al transar sin parar* (Santiago: Editorial Planeta, 1998). For studies on Chilean political development see: Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes. Chile* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978); Timothy Scully, *Rethinking the Center: Party Politics in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Chile* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Tomás Moulian, *La forja de ilusiones: el sistema de partidos 1932-1973* (Santiago: Universidad ARCIS/FLACSO, 1993).
[64] Tomás Moulian calls the Radical Party a "center joint" able to coordinate the party system during the thirties and forties. Tomás Moulián, *Antecedentes y causas de la crisis de la democracia en Chile* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1990). For Timothy Scully the Radical Party was a party in the "positional" center, in a halfway position, or in a position of compromise between the extreme poles. Scully, *Rethinking the Center,* 24.
[65] Pedro Milos, *Frente Popular en Chile: su configuración, 1935-1938* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2008).
[66] Collier & Sater, *A History of Chile*, 264-272; Paul Drake, *Socialism and Populism in Chile, 1932-1952* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, c1978). Some studies on the Chilean economic policy in the twentieth century: Ricardo Ffrench-Davis, *Políticas económicas en Chile, 1952-1970* (Santiago: Ediciones Nueva Universidad, Universidad Católica de Chile, 1973); Patricio Meller, *Un siglo de economía política chilena, 1890-1990* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1996).
[67] Carlos Huneeus, *La Guerra Fría chilena, Gabriel González Videla y la Ley Maldita* (Santiago: Debate, 2009).
[68] Joaquín Fernández, *El ibañismo (1937-1952): un caso de populismo en la política chilena* (Santiago: Instituto de Historia de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2008).
[69] For general Latin American studies, see: Thomas Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America,* 8th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Tulio Halperin Donghi, *The Contemporary History of Latin America* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Peter Winn, *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean,* 3rd ed. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2006).
[70] On the housing problem and the squatter's movement in Santiago see the work of Mario Garcés, *Tomando su sitio.* On social protests, see: Pedro Milos, *2 de abril de 1957: Historia y memoria* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2007).
[71] The Law for the Permanent Defense of Democracy was abolished in 1958, allowing the Communist Party's return to legality. This measure, and other electoral reforms, were intended, among other things, to prevent Alessandri's victory.

[72] Zamorano's candidacy prevented Allende's election in 1958. Alan Angell, *Chile de Alessandri a Pinochet: en busca de la utopía,* 38.
[73] In October 1962, the Radical, Liberal and Conservative parties created the Democratic Front, which was the political base for Julio Durán's 1964 presidential candidacy.
[74] For a Latin American perspective of the Cold War, see: Hal Brands, *Latin America´s Cold War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Tanya Harmer, *Allende's Chile and the Inter-American Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University North Carolina, 2014).
[75] Tulio Halperin Donghi, *The Contemporary History of Latin America,* 458.
[76] The average inflation rate was 8,6% in 1913-1950, and 47,7% in 1950-1973. Dominique Hachette de la Fresnaye, "La economía chilena durante el siglo XX," in *Chile, 1891-2001. Historia y presente: una visión interdisciplinaria,* ed. Alfredo Riquelme and Nuria Alsina, (Santiago: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Vicerrectoría Académica, Relaciones Internacionales, 2001), 90.
[77] Aníbal Pinto, *Chile, un caso de desarrollo frustrado* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 1962); Osvaldo Sunkel, *Cambio social y frustración en Chile* (Santiago: ILPES, 1965).
[78] George W. Grayson, *El partido Demócrata Cristiano Chileno* (Santiago: Editorial Francisco de Aguirre, 1968); Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985). Wilhelm Hofmeister, *La opción por la democracia: Democracia Cristiana y desarrollo político en Chile, 1964-1994* (Santiago: Konrad Adenauer, 1995).
[79] Rafael Caldera, "La Democracia Cristiana en Latinoamérica," *Política y Espíritu,* no. 270 (April 1962): 18.
[80] The Popular Action Front (FRAP)was an alliance of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party, still a clandestine party. The Communist Party operated under the guidelines of the XXth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, that asserted the thesis of a peaceful transition. This thesis linked the fight for democratization with the fight for Socialism, and stablished the idea of a "common front" between socialists and communists. See: Tomás Moulián, *La forja de ilusiones;* Julio Faúndez, *Izquierdas y democracia en Chile, 1932-1973* (Santiago de Chile: Bat Ediciones, 1993); Jorge Arrate and Eduardo Rojas, *Memoria de la izquierda chilena,* Vol. I: *1850-1970* (Santiago: Editorial Vergara, 2003).
[81] Eugenia Palieraky, *¡La revolución ya viene!*
[82] The Christian Democrat leader and ideologue, Jaime Castillo Velasco, laid down most of the Christian Democrat's thinking in several books published by the publishing house *Editorial del Pacífico*. Dozens of articles published in the monthly magazine of the party, *Política y Espíritu*, where Castillo Velasco was the editor, also stand out. Jaime Castillo Velasco, *Las fuentes de la Democracia Cristiana* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1968); *Los caminos de la revolución* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1972).
[83] Jaime Castillo Velasco, *Individualismo, colectivismo, comunitarismo* (Santiago: Talleres Gráficos Corporación, 1971).
[84] Jorge Ahumada, *En vez de la miseria* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1958).
[85] George W. Grayson, *El partido Demócrata Cristiano Chileno;* Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy.*
[86] On the US interference in the 1964 election see: Eduardo Labarca, *Chile invadido: Reportaje a la intromisión extranjera,* 2nd ed. (Santiago: Editora Austral, 1968); Marcelo Casals, *La creación de la amenaza roja: del surgimiento del anticomunismo en Chile a la «campaña del terror» de 1964* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2016).
[87] On Allende's criticism of Frei, see the lead article in *Política y Espíritu*, no 286 (September-October 1964): 3.
[88] "*Naranjazo*" is a colloquial expression for an orange strike. For the election of March 1964 it was used for interpreting the results on the victory of Oscar Naranjo. In March 1964, six months before the presidential election a deputy representing Curicó, the socialist Oscar Naranjo, died, and a by-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 on the presidential election. The candidate of the right-wing coalition was sure of his victory considering that Curicó was an emblematic rightist area. 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. This loss led the right to abandon its own candidate and throw its support to Frei, assuring his election. Gastón Cruzat, "Curicó: una pequeña causa con grandes efectos," *Mensaje,* no. 128 (May 1964). See the studies of Cristián Gazmuri and Alvaro Góngora, "La elección presidencial de 1964. El triunfo de la Revolución en Libertad" in C*amino a La Moneda. Las elecciones presidenciales en la Historia de Chile 1920-2000,* Alejandro San Francisco and Ángel Soto (Santiago de Chile: Instituto de Historia-PUCCh/Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2005), 301-331; and Marcelo Casals, *La creación de la amenaza roja*, 409-492.
[89] Hamuy opinion polls showed that 74% of Catholics believed Communism was a real danger during the 1964 presidential election. Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 117-118.
[90] For studies on the Chilean right during the twentieth century, see Sofía Correa, *Con las riendas del poder;* Verónica Valdivia, *Nacionales y gremialistas*.
[91] Alfredo Jocelyn Holt, *El Chile perplejo*, 140-142.
[92] Mario Garcés, *Tomando su sitio.*
[93] Data taken from Jocelyn Holt, *El Chile perplejo*, 143. Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919-1973* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976); José Bengoa, *Reforma agraria y revuelta campesina: seguido de un homenaje a los campesinos desaparecidos* (Santiago, LOM Ediciones, 2016).
[94] Gonzalo Arroyo, Santiago, Chile, August, 21, 2009.
[95] "Reforma Agraria," *Ercilla*, no. 1718 (May 22, 1967): 35-36.

[96] The quote of Pablo Neruda was taken from the article "Iglesia y Marxismo. Peligro de choque," *Ercilla*, no. 1968 (April 4, 1973): 20.
[97] "Reforma agraria con sotanas," *Punto Final,* no. 10 (August 1966): 15; "Los Jesuitas, ¿otra vez al exilio?," *Punto Final*, no 16 (November 1966): 12; Luis Muñoz, "Concorde: monstruo de diez cabezas," *Punto Final,* no. 19 (January 1967): 10-11.
[98] Eduardo Labarca, *Chile invadido*. Along these same lines was the book published by the ex Jesuit priest David Mutchler, who said that Chilean Jesuit institutions had channeled a lot of resources from churches and agencies of the First World. David Mutchler, *The Church as a Political Factor in Latin America: with Particular Reference to Colombia and Chile* (New York: Praeger, 1971).
[99] This was the criticism of Christian Farmers Union. "Reforma Agraria," *Ercilla,* no. 1718 (May 22, 1968): 35-36.
[100] Andrés Coste, "El derecho vigente: un obstáculo para la revolución," *Mensaje,* no. 171 (August 1968): 327-329.
[101] Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., "Reforma agraria en Chile," *Mensaje,* no. 146 (January 1966).
[102] In 1965, two young Christian Democrats, Julio Silva Solar and Jacques Chonchol, proposed a "communitarian socialism" and a "non-capitalist development" (or "non-capitalist way to development") for Latin America. Their new project for society took aspects of the social doctrine of the Church and of the Judeo-Christian tradition, together with some elements of Socialism and Marxism. Julio Silva Solar and Jacques Chonchol, *El desarrollo de la nueva sociedad en América Latina.*
[103] Alfredo Riquelme, "Política de reformas e imaginación revoucionaria", in *Revoluciones imaginadas: Itinerarios de la idea revolucionaria en América Latina contemporánea,* comp. Marianne González Alemán and Eugenia Palieraki (Santiago: RIL editores, 2013), 153-184.
[104] "Proposiciones para una Acción Política en el período 1967-1970 de una Vía No Capitalista de Desarrollo," *Política y Espíritu,* no. 303 (October 1967): 27-47. In *Política y Espíritu*, where Jaime Castillo Velasco was editor, this crisis of the Christian Democratic Party was discussed in depth. Many of the articles were written by Castillo Velasco himself. "En torno a nuestro partido," *Política y Espíritu*, no. 302 (August-September 1967): 9-19; "La unidad amenazada," *Política y Espíritu,* no. 303 (October 1967): 24-26; Editorial "El problema interno del Partido Demócrata Cristiano," *Política y Espíritu*, no. 304 (November 1967): 7-8.
[105] *Política y Espíritu* published the documents spread by Christian Democrats after the Puerto Montt events in its edition no 309 (February-March 1969).
[106] A history of the MAPU during its initial years can be found in Cristina Moyano, *MAPU*; Esteban Teo Valenzuela, *Dios, Marx… y el Mapu.*
[107] For different aspects of the Chilean Socialism see: Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution*: *The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Peter Winn, *La revolución chilena* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2013); Julio Pinto, ed., *Cuando hicimos historia*; Julio Pinto, ed., *Fiesta y drama. Nuevas historias de la Unidad Popular* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2014).
[108] Alejandro San Francisco, "La elección presidencial de 1970" in C*amino a La Moneda,* 333-370.
[109] Tomás Moulián, *La forja de ilusiones;* Julio Faúndez, *Izquierdas y democracia*; Jorge Arrate y Eduardo Rojas, *Memoria de la izquierda chilena,* Vol. 2: 1970-2000 (Santiago: Editorial Vergara, 2003).
[110] Unidad Popular, Chile, *Programa básico de gobierno de la Unidad Popular: candidatura presidencial de Salvador Allende,* 1970 http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0000544.pdf, accessed October 4, 2016.
[111] Tomás Moulian, *Conversación interrumpida con Allende* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1998), 17-20.
[112] Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, *El Chile perplejo,* 146.
[113] Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy;* Patricio Dooner, *El Partido Demócrata Cristiano durante el gobierno de Allende.*
[114] A compilation of the CIA declassified documents can be found in Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Desclassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (New York: The New Press, 2004), 1-78
[115] Tomás Moulián, *Conversación interrumpida con Allende*, 69.
[116] Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File*, 79-160.
[117] Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes,* 51-52.
[118] Studies on the Christian Democratic Party during the Popular Unity are very rare, considering its political relevance during the period. Ver: Patricio Dooner, *El Partido Demócrata Cristiano durante el gobierno de Allende*; Michael Fleet, *The Rise and Fall of Chilean Christian Democracy;* Wilhelm Hofmeister, *La opción por la democracia;* Cristián Gazmuri, Patricia Arancibia and Alvaro Góngora, *Eduardo Frei Montalva y su época* (Santiago: Editorial Aguilar, 2000).
[119] Margaret Power, *Right Wing Women in Chile: Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende, 1964-1973* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).
[120] José del Pozo, *Rebeldes, reformistas y revolucionarios: Una historia oral de la izquierda chilena en la época de la Unidad Popular,* 1st ed. (Santiago: Ediciones Documentas, 1992).
[121] Stefan de Vylder, *Allende's Chile: The Political Economy of the Rise and Fall of the Unidad Popular* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).
[122] Patricio Dooner, *La prensa de derecha en Chile 1970-1973: una estrategia desestabilizadora del régimen político* (Santiago: ICHEH, 1985).
[123] Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution*; Margaret Power, *Right Wing Women in Chile;* Franck Gaudichaud, *Poder popular y cordones industriales: Testimonios sobre el movimiento popular urbano, 1970-1973* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2004).

[124] For a long term view on civil-military relations, see: Frederick M. Nunn, *The Military in Chilean History: Essays on Civil-Military Relations, 1810-1973*, 1st ed. (Albuquerque : University of New Mexico Press, 1976). For a history of the relation between the Armed Forces and President Allende, see: Cristián Garay Vera, *Entre la espada y la pared: Allende y los militares, 1970-1973* (Santiago: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2014). For a history of the role of the army in politics in the Latin American context, see: Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies, Jr., eds., *The Politics of Antipolitics: The Military in Latin America* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1997).

[125] Iván Núñez Prieto, *La ENU entre dos siglos: ensayo histórico sobre la Escuela Nacional Unificada* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2003).

[126] There was not a common view among the armed forces regarding the regime that was going to be settled after September 11th 1973. The disagreement emerged even among the members of the Military Junta. See Verónica Valdivia, *El golpe después del golpe: Leigh vs. Pinochet, Chile 1960-1980*, 1st ed. (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2003). General bibliography on the coup, see: Ascanio Cavallo and Margarita Serrano, *Golpe 11 de septiembre de 1973* (Santiago: Editorial Aguilar, 2003); Alejandro San Francisco, Ángel Soto and Joaquín Fermandois, eds., *Chile y el 11 de septiembre de 1973* (Santiago: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2003); Luis Corvalán, *Los partidos políticos y el golpe del 11 de septiembre: Contribución al estudio del contexto histórico* (Santiago: Eds. ChileAmérica, c2000); Peter Kornbluh, *Los EEUU y el derrocamiento de Allende: una historia desclasificada* (Santiago: Ediciones B, 2003); Mario Garcés and Sebastián Leiva, *El golpe en La Legua: los caminos de la historia y la memoria* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2005). For a view of the coup outside Chile, see: Alfredo Joignant and Patricio Navia, *Ecos mundiales del golpe de Estado: escritos sobre el 11 de septiembre de 1973* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Diego Portales, 2013). The literature on the dictatorship years abounds. Some general views can be found in: Ascanio Cavallo, Manuel Salazar and Oscar Sepúlveda, *La historia oculta del régimen militar* (Santiago: Editorial Grijalbo, 1997); Paul E. Sigmund, *Chile 1973-1988: The Coup and its Consequences* (New Jersey: Princeton University, 1997); Carlos Huneeus, *El régimen de Pinochet* (Santiago: Editorial Sudamericana, 2000). On the role of civil society between 1973 and 1990, see: Manuel Bastías, *Sociedad civil en dictadura: relaciones transnacionales, organizaciones y socialización política en Chile, 1973-1993* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2013). On the neoliberal economic policy, see: Peter Winn, ed., *Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1972-2002* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004)

[127] Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church* (New York: Doubleday, 2004); Michael Burleigh, *Earthly Powers: The Clash of Religion and Politics in Europe from the French Revolution to the Great War* (London: Haper Collins, 2005); Michael Burleigh, *Sacred Causes: The Clash of Religion and Politics from the Great War to the War on Terror* (New York: HarperCollins, 2007); Ralph McInerny, *Modernity and Religion* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, c1994).

[128] For general studies on the Church in Latin America during the XIXth century, see: Ricardo Krebs, *La Iglesia de América Latina en el siglo XIX* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2002); Virginia Garrd-Brunett, Paul Freston and Stephen C. Dove (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Religion in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

[129] Studies on social Catholicism in Chile, see: Fernando Berríos, Jorge Costadoat and Diego García, *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* (Santiago: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2008); Macarena Ponce de León, *Gobernar la pobreza: prácticas de caridad y beneficencia en la ciudad de Santiago, 1830-1890* (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2011); María Antonieta Huerta, *Catolicismo social en Chile* (Santiago: Ediciones Paulinas, 1991).

[130] The historian Macarena Ponce de León discusses these definitions of poverty used by the social Catholicism movement. Ponce de León identifies causes of poverty of a moral order, since it was associated with vagrancy, alcoholism, thievery and prostitution. The poor experienced abandonment, she argues, and were helped by Catholic charity, especially by women from the elite. Macarena Ponce de León, *Gobernar la pobreza.*

[131] Stephen J.C. Andes and Julia G. Young (eds.), *Local Church, Global Church: Catholic Activism in Latin America from Rerum Novarum to Vatican II* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2016); Eduardo Cárdenas, *La Iglesia hispanoamericana en el siglo XX, 1890-1990* (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, c1992); Enrique Dussel, *Los últimos cincuenta años.*

[132] Quoted by Ana María Stuven, "'Cuestión social' y catolicismo social," in *Catolicismo social chileno*, Berríos and Costadoat, ed., 65-66.

[133] Eduardo Deves, *Los que van a morir te saludan. Historia de una masacre Escuela Santa María de Iquique, 1907,* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 1997)

[134] Sol Serrano, *¿Qué hacer con Dios en la República?;* Fernando Berríos, *et. Al., Catolicismo social chileno*. 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.

[135] On Catholic Action in Latin America, see: Todd Hartch, *The Rebirth of Latin American Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), chapter 8; Gerd□Rainer Horn, *Western European Liberation Theology* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), chapter 2. On Chilean Catholic Action, see: Fernando Aliaga, "La Acción Católica en Chile," in *Historia de la Iglesia en Chile,* Vol. IV: *Una sociedad en Cambio,* dir. Marcial Sánchez (Santiago: Editorial

Universitaria, 2014); Fernando Aliaga, *Historia de los movimientos apostólicos juveniles de Chile* (Santiago: ESEJ, 1973); Tracey Lynn Jaffe, *In The Footsteps of Cristo Obrero*.

[136] Aliaga. "La Acción Católica en Chile," 258-263.

[137] David G. Schultenover, *A View from Rome: on the Eve of the Modernist Crisis* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1993)

[138] Alberto Hurtado, *¿Es Chile un país católico?* (Santiago: Editorial Splendor, 1941).

[139] Alberto Hurtado, *Sindicalismo: Historia, teoría y práctica* (Santiago: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2016).

[140] Marcial Sánchez, *Historia de la Iglesia en Chile,* Vol. IV: *Una sociedad en Cambio*.

[141] Tom Buchanan and Martin Conway, eds., *Political Catholicism in Europe, 1918-1965* (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press and Oxford University Press, 1996); Guy Hermet, *Los católicos en la España franquista,* trans. Carmen A. Hernández-Rubio Díaz (Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 1985).

[142] This subject was discussed by the leader of the Italian Christian Democracy Luigi Sturzo in his book *La Iglesia Católica y la Democracia Cristiana* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Atlántico, 1956).

[143] Words of Maritain quoted in Jaime Castillo Velasco's book, *Las fuentes de la Democracia Cristiana,* 25.

[144] Jacques Maritain, *Integral Humanism: Temporal and Spiritual Problems of a New Christendom*, trans. Joseph W. Evans (New York: Scribner, 1968); Jacques Maritain, *Christianity and Democracy,* trans. Doris C. Anson (Freeport: Books for Libraries, 1972)

[145] 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: Corporación, 1977). Two testimonies written by advisers of the A.N.E.C. are Oscar Larson, *La ANEC y la Democracia Cristiana* (Santiago: Ráfaga, 1967); and Jorge Gómez Ugarte, *Ese cuarto de siglo…: veinticinco años de vida universitaria en la A.N.E.C., 1915-1941* (Santiago: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1985). See also, Andrea Botto, "Algunas tendencias del catolicismo social en Chile: reflexiones desde la historia", *Teología y Vida* 49, no. 3, (2008): 499-514.

[146] Marciano Barrios, *Chile y su Iglesia: una sola historia* (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1992)

[147] For histories on the controversial policy of the Vatican during the Second World War and the beginning of the Cold War, see: Frank J. Coppa, *The Policies and Politics of Pope Pius XII: Between Diplomacy and Morality* (New York: P. Lang, c2012); Michael Phayer, *Pius XII, the Holocaust, and the Cold War;* Joaquín Fermandois, "Catolicismo y liberalismo en el Chile del siglo XX," *Estudios Públicos* 93 (Summer 2004).

[148] It is hard to tell the exact moment when the Conservative Youth became the *Falange Nacional*, but its origins can be traced back to the Conservative Youth National Movement, founded in October 1935. Likewise, the ANEC ended up as part of the student branch of the Catholic Action (AC), and the leader of the *Falange*, Eduardo Frei, became its president in 1932. The newspaper of the Falange, *Lircay*, was defined as an "Organ of the National *Falange* and the Conservative Youth". The *Falange Nacional* became a party separated from the Conservative Party after the presidential election of 1938. For histories of the *Falange Nacional*, see: José Díaz Nieva, *Chile: de la Falange Nacional a la Democracia Cristiana* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2000); María Teresa Covarrubias, *1938: la rebelión de los jóvenes* (Santiago: Editorial Aconcagua, 1987); George W. Grayson, *El partido Demócrata Cristiano Chileno.*

[149] In the newspaper *Lircay*, the *falangistas* said: "Anti-Communist Chilean. Communism must be fought with great ideas. The individualism of the right does not work. Fighting side by side with them you defend the banks, big farms and the exploitation of workers and farmers, but not God and your Country. If you want to be a soldier of Justice and Truth join the *Falange Nacional.* Against Communism-Christianism". Quoted by Díaz Nieva, *Chile: de la Falange Nacional a la Democracia Cristiana,* 166. See also Jaime Castillo Velasco, *El problema comunista* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1955).

[150] On this topic see the book by Carlos González Cruchaga, who collected a big part of the letters and documents. Carlos González, *Historia de una polémica: Monseñor Manuel Larraín y los orígenes de la Democracia Cristiana en Chile* (Santiago: Fundación Eduardo Frei, 1997).

[151] Aliaga, "La Acción Católica en Chile," 269.

[152] Marcelo Martínez Candía, *Ni marxismo ni liberalismo: socialcristianismo* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1952); George W. Grayson, *El partido Demócrata Cristiano Chileno;* Jaime Castillo Velasco, *Las fuentes de la Democracia Cristiana*.

[153] Contemporary literature on the Second Vatican Council, see: John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II?* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008); Ladislas Orsy, *Receiving the Council: Theological and Canonical Insights and Debates* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009); Kathleen Sprows Cummings, Timothy Matovina and Robert A. Orsi, eds. *Catholics in the Vatican II Era: Local Histories of a Global Event* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Among the testimonies of some participants in Vatican II, see: Marcos G. McGrath, *Cómo vi y vivi el Concilio y el post-Concilio: el testimonio de los padres conciliares de América Latina,* 1st ed. (Santa Fe de Bogotá: Ediciones Paulinas/CELAM, 2000). 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,* no. 594 (November 2010): 14-19; and the testimony of the Chilean Jesuit theologian Juan Ochagavía, "A cuarenta años del Concilio: Nosotros esperábamos...," *Mensaje*, no. 514 (November 2002): 23-32.

[154] Gerd-Rainer Horn, *Western European Liberation Theology: The First Wave*, *1924-1959* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of Vatican II: Western European Progressive Catholicism in the Long Sixties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[155] According to figures supplied by Dussel, in 1960 35% of the world Catholic population lived in Latin America, and 33% in Europe. Enrique Dussel, "A Note on Liberation Theology," in *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America,* ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Carmbridge University Press, 1996)

[156] The religious sphere has not been studied much as a space of exchange of contemporary history. Among the aspects that have been studied is the work of missionaries in the region, specially from the U.S. Bibliography on missionaries in Latin America, see: Gerald M. Costello, *Mission to Latin America. The Successes and Failures of a Twentieth Century Crusade* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1979); Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., *The Missionary Movement in American Catholic History* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998); Mary M. McGlone, CSJ, *Sharing Faith. Across the Hemisphere* (Washington D.C.: United Status Catholic Conference, 1997); Rev. James F. Garneau, *"Commandos for Christ": The Foundation of the Missionary Society of St. James the Apostle and the "Americanism" of the 1950s and 1960s* (PhD diss., Catholic University of America, 2000); Charles T. Strauss, *Catholicism, Central America, and United States Politics during the Cold War, 1943-1988* (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 2011); Susan Fitzpatrick-Beherens, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943-1989: Transnational Faith and Transformation* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011). Penny Lernoux, Arthur Jones and Robert Ellsberg, *Hearts on Fire. The Story of the Maryknoll Sisters* (Maryknoll: Orbis Book, 2012)

[157] Leslie Bethell, ed., *Latin America: Economy and Society since 1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

[158] This developmentalist thinking was developed mainly by the Argentinian economist Raúl Prebisch. See: Joseph Hodara, *Prebisch y la Cepal: sustancia, trayectoria y contexto institucional* (México, D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1987); Raúl Prebisch, *Raúl Prebisch: un aporte al estudio de su pensamiento* (Santiago: Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe, Naciones Unidas, 1987).

[159] From this same crisis a new historic theology emerged, known in Europe as "nouvelle théologie", reflecting the spirit of the gospel in a specific historic moment. Its advocates were Teilhard de Chardin, Henri de Lubac, Jean Daniélou, Marie-Dominique Chenu and Yves Congar, among others.

[160] The book *France, ¿pays de misión?* by Henri Godin and Yvan Daniel, published in Paris in 1943, noted the deep de-Christianization of France, especially in its working class. The book set the foundations of a missionary Church in France. English edition was published in 1949 in Maisie Ward, *France Pagan? The Mission of Abbé Godin,* trans. Maisie Ward (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1949)

[161] Correspondence from Msgr. James P. Shannon to Rev. Frederick McGuire, C.M., Executive Secretary National Catholic Welfare Conference. 11 February 1964, Houtart-Feres 1964-1966, CGRM Joseph Gremillion Manuscripts, University of Notre Dame Archives (UNDA).

[162] On this topic, see: Fernanda Beigel, *Misión Santiago :El mundo académico jesuita y los inicios de la cooperación internacional católica* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2011); Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 111-114; David Cleary, *Crisis and Change,* 27-33.

[163] Quoted by Mariana Clavero, "Un punto de inflexión en la vida del padre Alberto Hurtado," *Teología y Vida* XLVI, (2005): 313.

[164] DESAL received substantial financial support from abroad, obtained by Roger Vekemans. The Catholic agency Misereror, donated one million dollars in 1962. The Ford Foundation was also a supporter. Correspondence from James J. Norris to Bishop Swanstrom, 5 September 1962, Houtart-ISS-FERES, CGRM Joseph Gremillion Manuscripts, UNDA.

[165] The Jesuits created other institutions like CIAS in Latin America. In México City, they created the Center for Educational Studies (CEE, for its name in Spanish) and in Buenos Aires the Center for Educational Research (CIE). In Bolivia, Jesuits created a center for the study and promotion of the Aymara culture, CIPCA. Edward L. CLeary, *op. cit.*

[166] Edward Cleary, *Crisis and Change*, 29.

[167] Fernando Montes, S.J, Santiago, Chile, June 23, 2009.

[168] Raúl Silva Henríquez in his Memoirs mentions Roger Vekemans and DESAL, and the hope they offered at the time. He also mentions the advice offered by Vekemans and Poblete for the development of the September 1962 pastoral. Ascanio Cavallo, *Memorias,* Vol. I.

[169] Roger Vekemans, *América Latina y desarrollo social* (Santiago: DESAL 1965); Roger Vekemans and Ismael Silva, Jorge Giusti, *La marginalidad en América Latina: un ensayo de conceptualización* (Santiago: DESAL, 1969);

[170] Pierre Bigó, S.J., "Objetivos del CIAS," n/d, Centro Bellarmino CIAS-Historia, Instituciones Nacionales e Internacionales, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.

[171] Hernán Larraín, S-J. "Experiencias del CIAS Chileno", n/d, Doc. 34: Centro Bellarmino CIAS-Historia, Instituciones Nacionales e Internacionales, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.

[172] At the beginning, there were around ten Jesuits at CIAS, including Father Bigó, an expert in the Social Doctrine of the Church and law, Roger Vekemans, Renato Poblete, an expert in religious sociology, the economists Mario Zañartu and Gonzalo Arroyo, Hernán Larraín, Arturo Gaete, and the theologists Juan Ochagavía and Manuel Ossa.

[173] Equipo Vocaciones Jesuitas Chile, *Gonzalo Arroyo SJ: Agradecer a Dios por los llamados de la vida,* accesssed October 14, 2017, https://vocaciones.jesuitas.cl/historiactiva-gonzalo-arroyo-sj.

[174] Roger Vekemans, "Visión de la realidad chilena," in *Hacia una Pastoral de Conjunto*. *Temas de la Semana Nacional de Pastoral, organizada por el Episcopado Chileno en junio de 1960*, ed. Jean François Motte and Fernand Boulard (Santiago, Ediciones Paulinas, 1961), 72.

[175] Hernán Larraín, S-J. "Experiencias del Cias Chileno"; Roger Vekemans, "Visión de la realidad chilena," 76-78.

[176] "Presencia de la Iglesia," *Ercilla*, no. 1620, (June 22, 1966): 13-14.

[177] "Reunión sacerdotes CIAS", Doc. 34: Centro Bellarmino CIAS-Historia, Insittuciones Nacionales e Internacionales. Nacionales, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.
[178] Joseph Gremillion Gremillon, "Inventory of Institutions of Religious Bodies, and particularly of Christian Churches, and Their Impact on Social and National Development in the Developing Countries", Houtart, CGRM Joseph Gremillion Manuscripts, UNDA. Eugene K. Culhane, "The Feres Study of Latin American," *America* 3, no. 13, September 26, 1964, 345.
[179] François Houtart, *La Iglesia latinoamericana en la hora del Concilio* (Friburgo and Bogotá: Oficina Internacional de Investigaciones Sociales de Feres, 1962).
[180] *Idem.*
[181] Archbishop Mark Mc Grath, C.S.C., "La Iglesia y el Mundo", Documentation Hollandaise du Concile, Vatican II Papers, Marcos Mc Grath Papers (MCG), UNDA.
[182] The United States Conference of Catholic Bishops was founded in 1966, unifying the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) and the United States Catholic Conference.
[183] Pamphlet "The Missionary Society of St. James for Latin America", 1964?, Pamphlets and Bulletins on Latin America, Reynold Hillenbrand: Printed Materials (PMRH), UNDA. Bibliography on St. James Society, see: James F. Garneau, "'Santiago Matacomunistas?' Cardinal Cushing's Crusade against Communism in Latin America and the St. James Society," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 22, no. 4 (Fall 2004): 97-115.
[184] Angelyn Dries, O.S.F., *The Missionary Movement.*
[185] Father Gremillion wrote a series of confidential reports he sent to the Catholic Relief Services National Catholic Welfare Conference in New York. Correspondence from Father Gremillion to Bishop Swanstrom, "Report #18, Latin America. June-August 1961", Punta del Este, Uruguay, August 8, 1961, Reports on Latin America, Latin American Tour, Joseph Gremillion Manuscripts (CGRM), UNDA.
[186] Tom Quigley, "The Great North-South Embrace," *America*, December 2009, http://www.americamagazine.org/issue/718/article/great-north-south-embrace, accessed May 2, 2017.
[187] LAB had a monthly publication called *Latin America Calls!*. One of its sections, "Hungry Kids Make Hardy Rebels", summarized the central idea behind the Inter-American cooperation: three poorly dressed kids, represented the millions of poor people of the region, the people in need of religious, economic and social assistance from the United States.
[188] John J. Considine, M.M., ed., *The Church in the New Latin America* (Notre Dame: Fides Publishers, 1964); John Considine, M.M., ed., *Social Revolution in the New Latin America: A Catholic Appraisal* (Notre Dame, Fides Publishers, 1965); John Considine, M.M., ed., *The Religious Dimension in the New Latin America* (Notre Dame, Fides Publishers, 1966).
[189] Enrique Ruiloba, "La Iglesia es esencial en el desarrollo de Latinoamérica", *The Voice en Español,* Miami, Florida, 5 Feb. 1965.
[190] Pablo Fontaine used the concept of "direct social ministry" in "La Iglesia Católica chilena en los últimos 20 años," *Mensaje*, no. 202-203 (September-October 1971): 427. The literature on the social apostolate in Latin America during the XXth century is scarce. A good source are priests memoirs. See: Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Esteban Gumucio*; Enrique Moreno, sscc, inter. and ed., *Pablo Fontaine, sscc:un soplo de Evangelio*; Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Ronaldo Muñoz*.
[191] The influence of Padre Hurtado on the clergy can be seen in testimonial texts of priests that advised ANEC. See: Oscar Larson, *La ANEC y la Democracia Cristiana*; Jorge Gómez Ugarte, *Ese cuarto de siglo*.
[192] P. Alberto Hurtado*, ¿Es Chile un país católico?*; Mariana Clavero, "Un punto de inflexión".
[193] Mariana Clavero, "Un punto de inflexión," 294.
[194] The experience of French worker-priests influenced the work of "Mission de France", developed in the mid-1950s. They had contributed with new forms of apostolate and new methods of approaching the working class. Oscar Arnal, *Priests in Working-Class Blue: The History of the Worker-Priests, 1943-1954* (New York: Paulist Press, 1986).
[195] J. F. Motte and F. Boulard, *Hacia una Pastoral de Conjunto*.
[196] "El Arzobispo se confiesa", *Ercilla*, no. 1363, July 5, 1961.
[197] "Plan Pastoral Chile," 1965, Planes y Orientaciones Pastorales, Iglesia chilena, su jerarquía, instituciones, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.
[198] "Pastoral Plan of the Chilean Episcopate, 1961-1962", Planes y Orientaciones Pastorales, Iglesia chilena, su jerarquía, instituciones, Archivo CISOC-R. Poblete.
[199] Figures found in "Pastoral Plan of the Chilean Episcopate, 1961-1962"; "Presentación sobre la Arquidiócesis de Santiago de Chile," 1962, File 175, no 12, Misión General, Fondo Gobierno, Archivo del Arzobispado de Santiago (AAS).
[200] "Pastoral Plan of the Chilean Episcopate, 1961-1962".
[201] *Idem.* See also: Renato Poblete, S.J., "Base socio-religiosa para una pastoral renovada," n/d, Comisión Pastoral. Proceso de Formación, Iglesia Chilena, su jerarquía. Instituciones, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.
[202] "Chile: País de misión," *Ercilla*, no. 1481, October 9, 1963, 5.
[203] The first three months of 1963 were devoted to the rural mission, covering 22 parishes; April and May, to the mission in the coast, with 7 parishes; and between September and January 1964, the urban mission took place, covering 129 parishes. Additional special missions took place, devoted to secondary and university students, to hospitals and workers of the National Health Service, the Armed Forces, prisons, professionals and employees. The work method included a pre-mission,

followed by 15 days of mission, and a post-mission phase. "La Misión General de 1963", File 175, no 11, Misión General, Fondo de Gobierno, AAS.
[204] "Una Iglesia cerca de los hombres," *La Voz*, September 15, 1963, 9.
[205] Cardenal Silva Henríquez, "A los patrones de fundo," January 1963, File 175, no 9, Misión General, Fondo de Gobierno, AAS.
[206] "Misión de la Costa: una Iglesia que llega," *La Voz*, May 5, 1963, 8.
[207] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 17, 2009.
[208] "Análisis de las respuestas a preguntas sobre los problemas planteados por la gente los cuales inciden en la vida religiosa de las personas y les impiden en último término una conversión resuelta", File 172, no 10, Misión General, Fondo de Gobierno, AAS.
[209] "Las comunidades cristianas de barrio," Central Distribuidora de Material Pastoral, File 172, no. 10, Misión General, Fondo de Gobierno, AAS.
[210] "Algunas observaciones obtenidas del estudio hecho por los seminaristas en las parroquias de Lampa, Isla de Maipo, El Monte (rural), Melipilla (rural)", August 29, 1962, File 172, no. 6, Misión General, Fondo Gobierno, AAS.
[211] "Algunas ideas inspiradas en los resultados de las encuestas sumarias (y reuniones) de la zona rural", n/d, File 175, no. 10, Misión General, Fondo de Gobierno, AAS.
[212] "Misión general rural de 1963. Santiago," n/d, File 172, no 10, Misión General, Fondo de Gobierno, AA; "Algunas observaciones obtenidas del estudio hecho por los seminaristas en las parroquias de Lampa, Isla de Maipo, El Monte (rural), Melipilla (rural)," August 29, 1962, File 176, no. 6, Misión General, Fondo Gobierno, AAS.
[213] *Idem.*
[214] "Misión de la Costa: una Iglesia que llega," *La Voz*, May 5, 1963, 9.
[215] Pierre Dubois, Santiago, Chile, May 27, 2009.
[216] Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente*, 112.
[217] Orlando Brown, "El hábito eclesiástico," *Pastoral Popular*, no. 77 (1963): 62.
[218] Ignacio Pujadas, "¿Qué hago en América?," *Pastoral Popular*, no 95 (September-October 1966): 11.
[219] "Pasaron de moda las sotanas y el latín", *Ercilla*, January 22, 1964, no. 1496, 6.
[220] Concepts used by the priests who lived in dwellers.
[221] The "mushroomed shanty towns"-called that because like wild mushrooms they seemed to spring up overnight- are defined by Mario Garcés as a "spontaneous settlement, of small and improvised houses built with waste materials and usually with no utility services". They were built along the rivers and water channels, on hill slopes, landfills, public land, and empty pieces of land with low commercial value. Between 1952 and 1959, the number of families living in "mushroomed shanty towns" in Santiago doubled, from 16.502 to 32.307. Mario Garcés, *Tomando su sitio,* 31-33.
[222] *La Voz* called these settlements "ghettos" making up a "poverty belt". "Un mundo inédito alrededor de Santiago," *La Voz*, April 15, 1962. A study on the housing problem was developed by DESAL, *Poblaciones marginales y desarrollo urbano: el caso chileno* (Santiago: DESAL, 1965)
[223] This experience was told in the book of interviews with Esteban Gumucio, Pablo Fontaine and Ronaldo Muñoz. Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Esteban Gumucio*; Enrique Moreno, sscc, inter. and ed., *Pablo Fontaine, sscc:un soplo de Evangelio*; Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Ronaldo Muñoz*.
[224] Enrique Moreno, ss.cc., Santiago, June 24, 2009.
[225] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Esteban*, 87-89.
[226] Enrique Moreno, Santiago, June 24, 2009.
[227] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Esteban*, 134.
[228] Pablo Fontaine, La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[229] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Esteban*, 192.
[230] *Ibid.*, 199.
[231] Patricio Frías, Santiago, September 13, 2012.
[232] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Esteban*, 200.
[233] Pierre Rolland and Osvaldo Martinez, "Dos sacerdotes en una población obrera," *Pastoral Popular,* no. 77 (1963): 22-26.
[234] David Fernández, *Historia oral de la Iglesia Católica,* 180.
[235] Alicia Cáceres, Santiago, September 7, 2012.
[236] Robert Pelton, C.S.C., *The Future of Our Past: The Rev. Robert S. Pelton's Life, Light, and Social Vision of Notre Dame in the New Millennium* (South Bend: Diamond Communications, 2001).
[237] Francisca Morales, Santiago, November 11, 2009.
[238] *Idem.*
[239] Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente*, 105-127.
[240] Mariano Puga, Ancud, January 27, 2010.
[241] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 17, 2009.
[242] Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente*, 114-115.
[243] Mariano Puga, Ancud, January 27, 2010.
[244] *Idem.*

[245] Francisca Morales, Santiago, October 22, 2009.
[246] The historiography about revolution is extensive. Revolution has been considered a founding element of Western political modernity. For historiography on the 1960s as a time of revolution, see: Arthur Marwick, *The Sixties. Cultural Revolution in Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, c. 1958-c.1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). For works on Latin America, see: Greg Grandin and Gilbert M. Joseph (eds.), *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America's Long War* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010); Marianne González and Eugenia Palieraki, *Revoluciones imaginadas.* Among the studies devoted to the religious dimension of the decade see: Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Mark Massa, S.J., *The American Catholic Revolution. How the '60s Change the Church Forever* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).
[247] Joseph Fichter, *Cambio social en Chile. Un estudio de actitudes* (Santiago: Editorial Universidad Católica, 1962).
[248] Joaquín Fermandois considers 1962 as the "pivot-year" for the Chilean Catholic church. Joaquín Fermandois, "Catolicismo y liberalismo en el Chile del siglo XX," *Estudios Públicos,* no. 93 (Summer 2004): 131-163.
[249] François Houtart and Emile Pin, *The Church and the Latin American Revolution*, trans. Gilbert Barth, (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1965)
[250] 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: DESAL, 1963). See also the studies of the Institute for Training and Research on Agrarian Reform (ICIRA) David Alaluf, *et. al., Reforma agraria chilena: seis ensayos de interpretación,* 2nd ed. (Santiago: ICIRA, 1972).
[251] Cifras tomadas de Sofía Correa, *et. al., Historia del siglo XX chileno,* 220-221.
[252] The study by the economist Jorge Ahumada, *En vez de la miseria,* offers a general vision of the problems of Chilean agriculture. Jorge Ahumada, *En vez de la miseria.* See also the work of Cristóbal Kay, *El sistema señorial europeo y la hacienda latinoamericana,* trans. 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 rural to urban areas see the study by Luis Felipe Lira, *Estructura agraria, crecimiento de la población y migraciones: el caso de la zona central de Chile, 1952-1970* (Santiago: Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales, Comisión de Población y Desarrollo, 1976, On the formation of shantytowns, see Mario Garcés, *Tomando su sitio. El movimiento de pobladores de Santiago, 1957-1970;* Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside;* Susana Bruna, "Chile: Luchas campesinas en el Siglo XX," in *Historia política de los campesinos latinoamericanos,* Pablo González Casanova, Vol. 4 (México, D.F.: Siglo XXI Editores, 1985).
[253] The exclusion of peasants and rural workers as social and political actors was a tacit agreement among the right, the Radicals and sectors of the left, and it set the foundations of the political and social stability of the 1930s and 1940s. Brian Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside.*
[254] In 1946 Manual Larraín wrote a letter to Monseñor Francisco Vives highlighting the importance of conducting an agrarian reform. He said: "I believe I understand the problem of my country's peasantry. I see it and suffer it as a terrible pastoral thorn […] the country is morally and spiritually prostrated. There are several causes, but for me one of the most serious is the social system that prevails here. An agrarian reform, deep, just, without demagogy, without running over, but the reform must be done". Carlos González Cruchaga, "Carta a Mons. Francisco Vives," August, 15 1946, in *Historia de una polémica: Monseñor Manuel Larraín y los orígenes de la Democracia Cristiana en Chile,* Carlos González Cruchaga (Santiago: Fundación Eduardo Frei Montalva, 1997), 104.
[255] In 1961, UCC raised the slogans "Land and liberty for peasants" and "Farming of land in the peasant family property". The UCC demanded a professional and labor union organization of farm workers, and a true agrarian reform with the involvement of the peasants. Unión de Campesinos Cristianos de Chile, *Bienestar, respeto y Victoria para la familia campesina chilena* (Santiago: Sopech Impresores, 1961).
[256] Little information exists on peasant unions of Christian inspiration. Susana Bruna offers a general vision of peasant unions in the XXth Century. Susana Bruna, "Chile: Luchas campesinas". For a study on the strike in Molina, see: Henry A. Landsberger, *Iglesia, intelectuales y campesinos. La huelga campesina de Molina* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1967).
[257] Conferencia Episcopal Chilena, "La Iglesia y el problema del campesinado chileno", http://documentos.iglesia.cl/documento.php?id=968, accessed March 12, 2015.
[258] *Ibid.,* No 23-28.
[259] *Ibid*. No 42-58.
[260] "Pastoral Plan of the Chilean Episcopate, 1961-1962," Folder 27, Planes y Orientaciones Pastorales, Iglesia chilena, su jerarquía, Instituciones, Archivo CISOC-R. Poblete.
[261] "La reforma agraria del Cardenal," *La Voz*, August 5, 1962.
[262] "El Obispo de la Reforma," *Ercilla,* no. 1415, July 4, 1962, 17.
[263] "La Iglesia abrió primer surco de la Reforma Agraria," *Ercilla*, no. 1415, July 4, 1962, 16-17.
[264] *Idem*.
[265] "La reforma agraria del Cardenal," *La Voz*, August 5, 1962.
[266] "Vengo a cumplir la voluntad del Papa," *La Voz*, September 20, 1962.
[267] François Houtart and Emile Pin, *The Church,* 214-215.
[268] Gonzalo Arroyo, "La Iglesia Chilena inicia la reforma agraria," *Mensaje*, no. 111, (July 1962): 362-364.
[269] Gonzalo Arroyo, "Derecho de propiedad y reforma agraria," *Mensaje,* no. 111 (August 1962): 348-353.

[270] Secretariado General del Episcopado, *El deber social y político en la hora presente. Los Obispos de Chile hablan* (Santiago: Secretariado General del Episcopado de Chile, 1962). For an analysis of the main documents and messages of the bishops between 1962 and 1973, see Luis Pacheco Pastene, *El pensamiento sociopolítico de los Obispos de Chile, 1962-1973* (Santiago: Editorial Salesiana, 1985). *Política y Espíritu* published the entire document. "Texto de la Pastoral. Hablan los Obispos de Chile. Deber social y político en la hora presente," *Política y Espíritu,* no 274 (September 1962).
[271] This critique of Marxism, the Jesuit Renato Poblete said in an interview with Brian Smith in 1975, at the beginning was not part of the pastoral text, but it had to be included to obtain the unanimous support to the document by Bishops. Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 111.
[272] Secretariado General del Episcopado, *El deber social y político.*
[273] "Ecos de una pastoral," *Mensaje*, no. 114 (November 1962): 525-528.
[274] "Church demands reforms in Chile", *The New York Times,* Nov. 5, 1962, Translation of Pastoral Letter by Bishops of Chile, Latin American Tour, Joseph Gremillion Manuscripts (CGRM), UNDA.
[275] "5 mil sotanas remozan al Vaticano", *Ercilla*, no. 1439, December 19, 1962, 14-15.
[276] Several Jesuit priests wrote for this edition, including José Aldunate, Gerardo Claps, Pierre Bigó and Jean-Yves Calvez, Roger Vekemans and Juan Luis Segundo.
[277] "Revolución en América Latina," *Mensaje,* "Revolución en América Latina," no. 115 (December 1962): 589-592.
[278] Months later, Jesuits covered again the topic of revolution in another edition, "Reformas revolucionarias en América Latina" ("Revolutionary Reforms in Latin America"), published in October 1963.
[279] Gerardo Claps, "El cristiano frente a la revolución violenta," *Mensaje*, no. 112 (December 1962): 138-145.
[280] "La pastoral y los políticos según el cristal…," *La Voz*, September 30, 1962, 6; "Fuegos cruzados sobre pastoral," *La Voz*, October 7, 1962, 7; "Polémica pastoral de la Iglesia," *Ercilla*, September 26, 1962, 8-9; "Tres partidos frente a la pastoral," *Ercilla,* October 3, 1962, 14- 17.
[281] The radio station *Cooperativa* held a forum, on September 23, to analyze the document. Clodomiro Almeyda, Socialist representative, Jaime Castillo Velasco, national delegate of the PDC, Javier Lagarrigue, militant of Catholic Action and official representative of the Church and Fernando Maturana, Liberal deputy, participated. "La Pastoral de los Obispos de Chile," *Política y Espíritu,* no. 275 (October 1962): 12-22.
[282] *Idem*.
[283] Julio Silva Solar, "Reflexiones sobre la revolución," *Política y Espíritu,* no. 284 (January-May 1964): 18.
[284] "Fuegos cruzados sobre pastoral," *La Voz*, October 7, 1962, 7.
[285] Hernán Ramírez Necochea, "Por qué los Obispos se apartan de Cristo," *El Siglo*, September 30, 1962, 2.
[286] "Fuegos cruzados sobre pastoral," *La Voz,* October 7, 1962, 7.
[287] Orlando Millas, *Los comunistas, los católicos y la libertad* (Santiago: Editorial Austral, 1964).
[288] "La pastoral y los políticos según el cristal…," *La Voz*, September 30, 1962, 6.
[289] "Las diferencias religiosas no pueden atajar el progreso," *El Siglo*, October 13, 1962, 5; "Debemos luchar católicos y no católicos contra la degradación que impone la miseria," *El Siglo*, October 14, 1962, 16-17.
[290] The conservative Jorge Iván Hübner, in 1959, published the book "Catholics in politics". Hübner wrote in *El Diario Ilustrado* several critiques of "Catholic progressivism". According to his view, it represented a "set of mistakes and doctrinaire deviations" that accepted certain aspects of Marxism and ended up perverting the nature of the Church and its mission in the world. Jorge Iván Hübner, "Los cristianos progresistas," *El Diario Ilustrado,* November 19, 1961, 7.
[291] "La áspera polémica de 'La Voz'," *La Voz*, January 6, 1963, 14-15.
[292] "Más anticomunismo," *La Voz*, November 18, 1962, 2.
[293] "'La Voz' en la pelea por una auténtica libertad de prensa," *La Voz*, December 30, 1962, 12.
[294] "Punta de lanza: alternativas de una polémica," *El Diario Ilustrado*, April 21, 1963.
[295] "¡Restauración… pero de verdad!," *Mensaje*, no. 117 (March-April 1963): 79-81.
[296] "Reformas revolucionarias en América Latina", *Mensaje,* no. 123 (October, 1963).
[297] Pedro Lira Urquieta, "Los sacerdotes obreros," *El Diario Ilustrado,* November 19, 1965, 5.
[298] Salvador Valdés, "¿Es la iglesia lugar de oración?," *El Diario Ilustrado,* October 8, 1966, 3.
[299] Salvador Valdés published two books against the social and political progressivism of the Church. *La Compañía de Jesús: ¡Ay Jesús, qué Compañía!. Proceso a la Orden de San Ignacio en Chile y algunos desórdenes de la Iglesia Católica chilena* (Santiago: s.n., 1969); *La década infame* (Santiago: Talleres Gráficos Periodística Chile, 1972). See Salvador Valdés articles published in *El Diario Ilustrado:* "¿Es la iglesia lugar de oración?," *El Diario Ilustrado*, October 8, 1966, 3.
[300] The criticism of celibacy was part of a global phenomenon that characterized the period that followed the Second Vatican Council. According to figures of Ercilla, in November 1966 the requests for dispensation from celibacy reached 80 thousand worldwide. Daniel Galleguillos, "El estado civil sacerdotal," *Ercilla*, June 1, 1966, 20-21. According to *Punto Final* the Catholic Church paid excesive attention to the decline in vocations and to the sacerdotal crisis. "Crisis en la Iglesia Chilena," *Punto Final*, no. 42, November 21, 1967, 16-17; "Defecciones en la Iglesia", *Punto Final*, no. 42, November 21, 1967, 17.
[301] The TFP was uncapable of agglutinating a relevant group of Catholics behind it. The best documentation of the Chilean TFP was the magazine *Fiducia,* published monthly between 1963 and 1973. They also published an extensive book criticizing Cardinal Silva Henríquez and the progressive clergy. *La Iglesia del silencio en Chile.*
[302] This interpretation was published by *El Mercurio* on May 13th 1965. See TFP, *La Iglesia del silencio en Chile*, 403-407. *Fiducia* continued its atacks against Frei and his agrarian reform. It published two public statements, "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?". Both were published by *El Diario Ilustrado* and *El Mercurio*. The statements defended private property as a natural and inmutable right and criticized the arbitrary power of the State over the rights of the people. The statements included a challenge to peasants right to strike, and a justification of the regime of tenancy (inquilinaje). Both documents were published in *Fiducia,* no. 23 (February 1966), *El Mercurio* and *El Diario Ilustrado.*

[303] "Documento que todo chileno debe tener para nunca olvidar, nunca transigir, nunca reincidir," *Fiducia*, special number, no. 36 (1970-1973): 3.

[304] TFP, *La Iglesia del silencio en Chile*, 35-43.

[305] "¿Somos egoístas?," *Fiducia*, no. 1 (August 1963): 2

[306] "El socialismo, la Reforma agraria y un libro," *Fiducia*, no. 3 (October 1963): 4.

[307] Patricio Amunategui Monckeberg, "Imperativo Urgente," *Fiducia*, no. 3 (October 1963): 9.

[308] On the direct involvement of the Catholic Church in the political project of the Christian Democracy, see: David E. Mutchler, *The Church as a Political Factor in Latin America*. A more nuanced view about the links between the Church and the Christian Democracy is offered by Brian Smith, who calls the period 1958-1964 "The Rise of Christian Reformism", and suggests it was during this period when a clearer identification between the Church and the PDC took place. Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 86-125. Sol Serrano uses the concept of "confluence" of the Catholic Church proposal and the Project of Revolution in Liberty. Sol Serrano, "La Iglesia Católica y las elecciones de 1964: las confluencias del catolicismo moderno", in *Eduardo Frei Montalva: un gobierno reformista*, ed. Carlos Huneeus and Javier Couso (Santiago: Editorial Universitaria, 2016), 405-417.

[309] According to Father Hernán Larraín, there was an "indirect influence" of CIAS in the agrarian reform, popular promotion, and the educational reform of Frei Montalva's government. Hernán Larraín, S.J. "Experiencias del Cias Chileno," n/d, Folder 34, Centro Bellarmino CIAS-Historia, Instituciones nacionales e internacionales, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.

[310] Brian Smith provides some interesting data about the political preferences of Catholics based in the opinion polls of Eduardo Hamuy in Santiago. In the 1964 election, 85.7% of Catholics said Eduardo Frei Montalva was the candidate of Catholics, and 74% believed communism was a real danger. Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 117-118. Frei's campaign ran a CIA-advised propaganda against Allende, supported and financed by the U.S. and European countries, featuring attacks on Allende and his "Democratic Road to Socialism" so vicious that it was called "the campaign of terror". Eduardo Labarca, *Chile Invadido: reportaje a la intromisión extranjera* (Santiago: Editorial Austral, 1968), 51-106. On this campaign see Marcelo Casals, *La creación de la amenaza roja,* 409-492.

[311] José Musalem, "Revolución en Libertad, procedimientos y metas," *Política y Espíritu* (October-December 1963): 60.

[312] Fernando Montes, Santiago, June 23, 2009.

[313] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 17, 2009.

[314] Arturo Gaete, S.J., "Catolicismo social y marxismo en la primera mitad del siglo XX. Aún no es posible el diálogo," *Mensaje*, no. 215 (December1972): 716.

[315] Cristina Moyano, *MAPU o la seducción del poder y la juventud*; Esteban Teo Valenzuelo, *Dios, Marx… y el MAPU*.

[316] Iván Illich was one of the first ecclesiastic leaders who questioned U.S. Catholic assistance to Latin America. Illich was director of the Center of Inter-Cultural Documentation (CIDOC), based in Cuernavaca, Mexico. In 1967 he wrote in the influential American Catholic journal, *AMERICA: The National Catholic Review*, an article titled "The Seamy Side of Charity" that shook up the ecclesiastic hierarchy of the United States. Ivan Illich, "The Seamy Side of Charity," *America* (January 21, 2016), http://americamagazine.org/issue/100/seamy-side-charity), accessed on January 25, 2017. For a complete biography of Illich, see: Todd Hartch, *The Prophet of Cuernavaca: Ivan Illich and the Crisis of the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

[317] The Interamerican conferences tried to understand this phenomenon of rejection of any "sense of foreignness". Office of External Research, "The Church and Change in Latin American", December 22, 1969, Inter-American Bishops 1969, John F. Dearden Papers (CDRD), UNDA.

[318] One of the theologians who reflected the most on this topic was Segundo Galilea. Segundo Galilea, "Hacia una pastoral vernácula," *Pastoral Popular*, no. 94 (July-August 1966): 13; "Nuevas estructuras para la pastoral en América Latina," *Pastoral Popular*, no. 108 (November-December 1968): 10-21; "Iglesia Local Latinoamericana en la Conferencia de Medellín," *Pastoral Popular*, no. 108, (November- December 1968): 22-32.

[319] Eduardo Frei Montalva wrote in *Foreign Affairs* a reflection on the Alliance for Progress and its discredit in the second half of the 1960s. Eduardo Frei Montalva, "The Alliance that Lost Its Way," *Foreign Affairs* 45, no. 3 (April 1967): 437-448. For critical texts on the Alliance for Progress, see: Harvey S. Perloff, *Alliance for Progress: a Social Invention in the Making* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1969); Jerome Levinson and Juan de Onís, *The Alliance that Lost its Way: A Critical Report for Progress* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1970).

[320] Several social scientists studied the underdevelopment of Latin America through the lens of dependence. Pablo González Casanova, *La democracia en México* (Mexico, D.F.: Era, c1965) and *Sociología de la explotación*, 1st ed. (Mexico, D.F.: Siglo XXI Editores, 1969); Celso Furtado, *Development and Underdevelopment,* trans. Ricardo W. de Aguiar and Eric Charles Drysdale (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964); Aníbal Pinto, *Chile*; Fernando Enrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America,* trans. Marjory Mattingly Urquidi (Berkeley: University of California Press, c1979); Andre Gunder Frank, *Capitalism and Undervelopment in Latin America: historical studies of Chile and Brazil* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).

[321] Some of the preparatory encounters took place in Baños, Ecuador in June 1966 to talk about education, ministry and social action; in Mar del Plata, Argentina, in October 1966 on the development and integration of Latin America; in Buga, Colombia, in February 1967, on the mission of a Catholic University in Latin America; in Melgar, Colombia, in April 1968, on missions. For a sense of the atmosphere that preceded the Medellin Conference, see Edward Cleary, *Crisis and Change*.
[322] Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, *La Iglesia en la actual transformación de América Latina a la luz del Concilio,* Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano (Santiago: Ediciones Paulinas, 1969). An English version of the conclusions, Louis Michael Colonnese, ed., *The Church in the present-day transformation of Latin America in the light of the Council: Second General Conference of Latin American Bishops, Bogotá, 24 August, Medellin, 26 August-6 September, Colombia, 1968* (Washington, D.C.: Division for Latin America, USCC, 1970-1973). For a critical study on this conference and its influence on the Church in Latin America, see Alfonso López Trujillo, *De Medellín a Puebla* (Madrid: Católica, 1980).
[323] Conferencia General del Episcopado Latinoamericano, "Documento sobre la Paz".
[324] There are differences over the influence of liberation theology in the conference of Medellin. Alfonso López Trujillo says that during Medellin 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.* For some liberation theologians, like Gustavo Gutiérrez, their whole theological and political thought was born in Medellin. Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation.*
[325] 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. Leonardo Boff, *Iglesia, carisma y poder: ensayos de eclesiología militante* (Bogota: 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: Tierra Nueva, 1971), and *Teología desde la praxis de la liberación: ensayo teológico desde la América dependiente* (Salamanca: 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: Latinoamérica Libros, 1972). Penny Lernoux, *People of God*. 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.* Michael Löwy introduced the concept of "Liberationist Christianism" in his book *The War of Gods.*
[326] 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: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú/Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones (CEP)/Instituto Bartolomé de Las Casas, 2010).
[327] These concepts and definitions are taken from Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation.* Hugo Assman deepened in this conceptualization and quantification of the poor. Hugo Assman, *Teología desde la praxis de la liberación.*
[328] Gustavo Gutiérrez, *A Theology of Liberation;* Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Praxis de liberación y fe cristiana* (Bilbao: Zero, 1974).
[329] Roger Vekemans, *Teología de la liberación y cristianos por el socialismo;* Alfonso López Trujillo, *Análisis marxista y liberación cristiana* (Santiago: Instituto de Estudios Humanísticos, 1976).
[330] Richard Schaull, "La liberación humana desde una perspectiva teológica," *Mensaje*, no. 168, (May 1968): 175-179; Gustavo Gutiérrez, "Iglesia y Mundo: crisis de un sistema teológico," *Mensaje,* no. 199 (June 1971): 203-209; Juan Luis Segundo, "Liberación: fe e ideología," *Mensaje,* no. 208 (May 1972): 248-254; Segundo Galilea, "Jesús y la liberación de su pueblo," *Mensaje*, no. 221 (August 1973): 351-356; Alejandro Vera, "El proceso de liberación del hombre de hoy," *Pastoral popular*, no 116-117 (March-April and May-June 1970): 60-69; Sergio Arce Martínez. "Hacia una teología de la liberación," *Pastoral popular*, no. 133 (January-February 1973): 57-64; José Comblin, "El tema de la liberación en Latinoamérica," *Pastoral popular,* no. 134 (March-April 1973): 46-63.
[331] Segundo Galilea, "La vertiente política de la pastoral," *Pastoral Popular,* no. 119 (September-October 1970): 60-61.
[332] Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., "Católicos de izquierda en América Latina," *Mensaje*, no. 191 (August 1970): 372.
[333] Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., "Doctrina, utopía y subversión," *Mensaje*, no. 161 (August 1967): 340-347; Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., "Violencia institucionalizada en América Latina," *Mensaje*, no. 174 (November 1968): 534-544.
[334] On ILADES see: Ives Vaillancourt, "The Cristis of Ilades," LADOC, *Social Activist Priests. Chile,* Nº 5.
[335] "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, no. 51, March 2008.
[336] Mario Garcés, Santiago, May 15, 2009.
[337] Pierre Dubois, Santiago, May 27, 2009.
[338] Juan Ochagavía, S.J., April 6, 2010.
[339] Hervé Bernes, "Un nuevo sacerdote," *El Mercurio*, September 7, 1968, 51.
[340] Hubert Daubechies, S.J., "Camilo Torres, ¿la revolución desesperada?," *Mensaje,* no. 147 (March-April 1966): 120-124; Hernán Larraín, "Camilo Torres y los universitarios," *Mensaje*, no. 167 (March-April 1968): 113-115; Harvey Cox. "El cristiano como rebelde," *Pastoral Popular,* no. 110-111 (March-April 1969): 49-74. On Camilo Torres' thinking, see: Camilo Torres, *Camilo Torres, sacerdote y guerrillero.*

[341] Departamento de Liturgia, "Informe dado por el Pbro. Jaime Santa María", November 27, 1968, Reunión del Consejo Ejecutivo de Pastoral, Folder 12, Comisión Pastoral Proceso de Formación, Iglesia chilena, su jerarquía: Instituciones, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.
[342] The magazine *Revista Católica* and the *Boletín Informativo Arquidiocesano* published some of the guidelines on the application of the Second Vatican Council. The Synod of Santiago, that took place in 1967 and 1968, adapted the guidelines the Council had given. See: *Guía del sinodal* (Santiago: Comisión Arquidiocesana Postconciliar, 1967); *Documentos fundamentales: Iglesia y Mundo de Santiago. Ministerio jerárquico, vida religiosa, laicado* (Santiago: Arquidiócesis de Santiago, 1967); *Iglesia de Santiago: ¿Qué dices de ti misma?* (Santiago: Comisión Arquidiocesana Postconciliar, 1968).
[343] "Sacerdotes para los tiempos nuevos," *Pastoral Popular,* no. 102 (November-December 1967): 46-73.
[344] Manuel Ossa, "Pastoral de masas o pastoral de élites," *Pastoral Popular,* no. 114, (November-December 1969): 61-64.
[345] "Presentación Jornada A.C.O.," *Pastoral Popular,* no. 97 (January-February 1966): 4-39.
[346] *Ibid.*, 11.
[347] Pablo Fontaine and Mariano Puga spoke during this meeting of the Workers' Catholic Action. *Ibid.,* 4-39.
[348] "Remarks by His Eminence John Cardinal Krol," Fourth Inter-American Meeting of Bishops, Caracas, June 5, 1969, Bishops' Committee for Latin America, John F. Dearden Papers (CDRD), UNDA.
[349] Eduardo Pironio, "Should priests be sent to Latin America?", Inter-American Bishops 1971, John F Dearden Papers (CDRD), UNDA. See also, LADOC, "Priests and Sisters for Latin America", in *Priests and Sisters for Latin America,* The LADOC 'Keyhole' Series (Washington D.C.: United States Caholic Conference, n.d.).
[350] Pierre Bigó, S.J., "Objetivos del CIAS," n.d., Doc. 34, Centro Bellarmino CIAS-Historia, Instituciones Nacionales e Internacionales, Archivo CISOC-Padre Renato Poblete.
[351] "Modo de lograr para el CIAS un ambiente favorable," Lima, Peru, July 27, 1966, Doc. 34, Centro Bellarmino CIAS-Historia, Instituciones Nacionales e Internacionales, Archivo CISOC-Padre Renato Poblete.
[352] Jaime Martínez, S.J., "La vida espiritual del CIAS," Lima, Peru, July 27, 1966, Doc. 34, Centro Bellarmino CIAS-Historia, Instituciones Nacionales e Internacionales, Archivo CISOC-Padre Renato Poblete.
[353] "Reunión sacerdotes CIAS", Doc. 34, Centro Bellarmino CIAS-Historia, Instituciones Nacionales e Internacionales, Archivo CISOC-Padre Renato Poblete.
[354] *Idem.* Jesuit priests conducted studies and surveys to comprehend and quantify the changes experienced by Latin American priests, and to measure their levels of acceptance among the parishioners. One of these studies, conducted in the urban zones of Santiago and Concepción in 1969 showed that 61% of responders thought the Church cared about its social work, and 61% also believed it was capable of solving social problems like misery and social injustice. However, 71% said priests must dedicate themselves to preaching, administration of sacraments, orientation, catechesis and the propagation of faith and morality. Centro de Investigación y Acción Social, *Estudio de opinión pública sobre la Iglesia: Santiago y Concepción* (Santiago: CIAS, 1969).
[355] Teresa Donoso, *Los cristianos por el socialismo en Chile*; Sociedad Tradición, Propiedad y Familia o Fiducia, *La Iglesia del silencio en Chile*. The documents published by the "Young Church" during the *toma* of the Cathedral were recollected by *Mensaje*. "Por una Iglesia servidora del pueblo" and "Manifiesto de la Iglesia Joven", *Mensaje,* no. 172 (September 1968): 430-434.
[356] For studies on *tomas* as a political practice, see: Mario Garcés, *Tomando su sitio.* For an analysis the practice of *tomas* during the Popular Unity, see Peter Winn, "The Furies of the Andes. Violence and Terror in the Chilean Revolution and Counterrevolution," in *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence During Latin America's Long Cold War,* ed. Greg Grandin and Gilbert M.Joseph (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2010).
[357] For bibliography on the *toma* of the Catholic University and the university reform, see: José Joaquín Brunner, *Universidad Católica y cultura nacional en los años 69: los intelectuales tradicionales y el movimiento estudiantil* (Santiago: FLACSO, 1981); Alejandro San Francisco, *Juventud, rebeldía y revolución: la reforma universitaria en la Universidad Católica* (Santiago: Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2017).
[358] Pablo Fontaine, La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[359] "Ocupación de la Catedral por laicos y sacerdotes", *El Mercurio*, August 12, 1968, 23; "Conmoción y polémica: la Catedral invadida," *Ercilla*, August 14, 1968, 14-15.
[360] *Idem.*
[361] *Idem.*
[362] *Idem.*
[363] Iglesia Joven, "Por una Iglesia servidora del Pueblo," *Mensaje,* no. 172 (September 1968): 431. A few days after the seizure of the Cathedral in Santiago, a similar group, called "Church of the People", including 23 priests, protested and made a declaration outside the bishopric in Valparaiso in support.. "Obispo se reunirá con sacerdotes reformistas," *El Mercurio*, August 23, 1968, 24; "Renuncia de sacerdotes en la diócesis de Valparaíso," *El Mercurio*, August 28, 1968, 29
[364] "Conmoción y polémica: La catedral invadida," Ercilla, August 14, 1968, 14-15; "Oratorio para el pueblo. Los Parra cantaron en la Catedral," *El Siglo*, August 14, 1968, 3.
[365] "Cardenal califica de profanación la toma de la Iglesia Catedral," *El Mercurio,* August 13, 1968, 18.
[366] "Declaraciones del Arzobispado", *Boletín Informativo Arquidiocesano*, no. 31 (August 1968).
[367] This declaration was signed by Cardenal Silva Henríquez, auxiliar bishop, Fernando Ariztía, and all the vicars from the archdiocese of Santiago: Jorge Gómez Ugarte, general vicar of Santiago; Ignacio Ortúzar, episcopal vicar of the southern

zone; Ismael Errázuriz, episcopal vicar of the western zone; Rafael Maroto, episcopal vicar of the central zone; Javier Bascuñán Valdés, episcopal vicar of the western zone.

[368] Cardenal Silva Henríquez's vision can be seen in *Memorias Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez,* Tomo II, 137-152. And in the press: "Conmoción y polémica: La catedral invadida," *Ercilla,* August 14, 1968, 14-15; "Cardenal califica de profanación la toma de la Iglesia Catedral," *El Mercurio*, August 13, 1968, 18.

[369] "Cardenal califica de profanación la toma de la Iglesia Catedral", *El Mercurio*, 13 de agosto 1968, nº 24.579, año LXIX, Santiago, Chile, p. 18.

[370] "Dicen ocupantes de la Catedral. No somos profanadores," *El Siglo*, August 14, 1968, 3.

[371] "Padre Postigo pide ampliar diálogo entre eclesiásticos," *El Mercurio*, August 15, 1968, 17.

[372] "Dicen ocupantes de la Catedral. No somos profanadores," *El Siglo*, August 14, 1968, 3. Ismael Espinosa, "Toma de la Catedral," *El Mercurio*, August 18, 1968, 15. The Workers Catholic Youth (JOC) was cautious in its support of the *toma* of the Cathedral. One of its leaders said: "We want [the Church] to serve the people and its working class […] We pursue the renovation of the Church. We want it to express again Christ´s thinking, be close to the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven". "JOC: la Iglesia debe renovarse," *El Siglo,* August 13, 1968, 3.

[373] "La carta de la reconciliación," *El Siglo*, August 15, 1968, 3; "Vaticano condena ocupación de la Catedral de Santiago," *El Mercurio*, August 14, 1968, 1 and 20.

[374] "Obispo levantó sanciones contra los sacerdotes," *El Siglo*, August 14, 1968, 6. "Padre Postigo pide ampliar diálogo entre eclesiásticos," *El Mercurio*, August 15, 1968, 15.

[375] Alejo Videla, "A pesar de las mentiras y calumnias," *El Siglo*, August 16, 1968, 7.

[376] "En Misa por la unidad de la Iglesia: 'Hay hambre, miseria e injusticia', dijo el Cardenal," *El Siglo*, August 15, 1968, 6.

[377] "Carta de sacerdotes al Sr. Cardenal", *Boletín Informativo Arquidiocesano*, no. 32 (September-October 1968).

[378] Cardenal Silva Henríquez, "Respuesta del Sr. Cardenal," *Boletín Informativo Arquidiocesano*, no. 32 (September-October 1968).

[379] Jesus Rodríguez, "Los curas jóvenes, ¿ovejas o pastores?," *Pastoral Popular,* no. 108 (December 1968): 43.

[380] *Topaze*, August 16, 1968.

[381] "Están suspendidos sacerdotes rebeldes," *El Diario Ilustrado*, August 13, 1968, 1.

[382] Editorial, "Violencia religiosa," *El Diario Ilustrado*, August 13, 1968, 2.

[383] *El Mercurio* strongly condemned the *toma* of the Catholic University, saying the Communist Party was behind it. This generated a big debate and ended up with a big poster outside the university, saying "Chilean: *El Mercurio* lies", which became emblematic. For bibliography on this *toma*, Alejandro San Francisco, *Juventud, rebeldía y revolución.*

[384] "Ocupación de la Catedral por laicos y sacerdotes," *El Mercurio*, August 12, 1968, 23.

[385] "Vaticano condena ocupación de la Catedral de Santiago," *El Mercurio*, August 14, 1968, 1; "Condenan en Brasil Toma de la Catedral", *El Mercurio*, August 16, 1968, 31; "Diario peruano condena Toma de la Catedral," *El Mercurio*, August 17, 1968, 37.

[386] "Ocupación de la Catedral por laicos y sacerdotes," *El Mercurio*, August 12, 1968, 23; "Los problemas y el público", *El Mercurio*, August 13, 1968, 23

[387] "Cardenal califica de profanación la toma de la Iglesia Catedral," *El Mercurio*, August 13, 1968, 18.

[388] "Ultraizquierda cristiana," *El Mercurio*, August 13, 1968, 3.

[389] *Idem.*

[390] Editorial, "Toma de la Catedral, ¿Una profanación?", no. 172 (September 1968): 402-405.

[391] *Idem.*

[392] "Entre jueves y jueves: La rebelión de los católicos," *El Siglo*, August 15, 1968, 2.

[393] Alejo Videla, "A pesar de las mentiras y calumnias," *El Siglo,* August 16, 1968, 7.

[394] Entrevista a Diego Palma por la periodista Silvia Pinto, "Aceptación de la violencia no es nueva en la Iglesia," *El Mercurio*, November 3, 1968, 43.

[395] "Hacia posiciones de avanzada," *El Siglo*, August 13, 1968, 2.

[396] Clotario Blest, "La Iglesia joven," *Punto Final*, no. 62, Augusto 27, 1968, 20-21.

[397] *Idem.*

[398] Clotario Blest, "Un Cristo armado para 'Iglesia Joven'," *Punto Final*, no. 79, May 20, 1969, 28-29.

[399] "Menos combatientes y más trabajadores para Chile, dicen Obispos," *El Mercurio*, October 5, 1968, 29 and 33.

[400] "El estilo del Concilio," *La Tercera de la Hora*, January 15, 1970.

[401] The experience of CpS has been included in wider studies by Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 230-280. There are also monographic studies. See: David Fernández, "Oral History of the Chilean Movement"; Mario Amorós, "La Iglesia que nace del pueblo". CEDIAL published 44 documents on CpS in chronological order. Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo e Integración de América Latina, *Cristianos latinoamericanos y socialismo,* Bogotá, 1972.

[402] Fernando Montes, S.J, Santiago, Chile, June 23, 2009.

[403] Bibliography on the Popular Unity is vast. See, for example, Genaro Arriagada, *De la vía chilena a la vía insurreccional* (Santiago: Editorial del Pacífico, 1974); Luis Corvalán, *El Gobierno de Salvador Allende* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2003); Jorge Arrate and Eduardo Rojas. *Memoria de la izquierda chilena*; Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt, *El Chile perplejo;* Tomás Moulián, *Conversación ininterrumpida*; Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes.*; Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution;* Peter Winn, *La revolución chilena*; Julio Pinto, ed. *Cuando hicimos historia*; Julio Pinto, ed., *Fiesta y drama*; Margaret Power, *Right Wing Women*.

[404] Salvador Allende policy platform can be seen in: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0000544.pdf, accessed July 29, 2016.
[405] Jorge Alessandri policy platform can be seen in: http://www.memoriachilena.cl/archivos2/pdfs/MC0042460.pdf, accessed July 29, 2016.
[406] On the relations between the Chilean episcopate and the Popular Unity government see Marlen Velasquéz Almonacid, *Episcopado chileno y Unidad Popular*.
[407] Raúl Iturra, "Una nueva arremetida reaccionaria," *El Siglo*, January 27, 1970.
[408] Quoted in TFP, *La Iglesia del Silencio*, 137.
[409] Starting in October 1970, *Mensaje* editorial pages presented the compatibility between democratic socialism and Christian principles. "El triunfo de la Unidad Popular," no. 193 (October 1970): 454-455; "Jugando con fuego," no. (November 1970): 509; "Los cristianos en la construcción de la nueva sociedad," no. 195 (December 1970): 71-73; "Comienza un nuevo año", no. 196 (January-February 1971): 9-11.
[410] Mario Amorós, p. 96.
[411] Enrique Moreno, ss.cc., Santiago, June 24, 2009.
[412] Francisca Morales, Santiago, November 11, 2009.
[413] *Idem.*
[414] Enrique Moreno, ss.cc., Santiago, June 24, 2009.
[415] Mariano Puga, Ancud, January 27, 2010.
[416] Asamblea Plenaria, "Declaración de los Obispos chilenos sobre la situación actual del país," September 24, 1970, http://documentos.iglesia.cl/documento.php?id=846, accessed November 21, 2017.
[417] "Es deber de cristianos colaborar con el nuevo gobierno," *El Siglo*, September 11, 1970, 6.
[418] Quoted in TFP, *La Iglesia del silencio*, 137.
[419] "Iglesia Joven saluda el triunfo popular," *El Siglo,* September 14, 1970, 6.
[420] Editorial, "El triunfo de la Unidad Popular," *Mensaje,* no. 193 (October 1970): 454-455; "Editorial," *Pastoral Popular,* no. 120 (November-December 1970): 3-4.
[421] Quoted in "Curas obreros. 'Estamos comprometidos con el socialismo'," *Punto Final*, no. 129, April 27, 1971, 28; "Sacerdotes defenderán el triunfo," *El Siglo*, September 13, 1970, 5.
[422] Quoted by Mónica Blanco, *El amor de Cristo nos urge : 90 años del Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez,* Fundación Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez (Santiago: Editorial Despertar, 1997),
[423] Sergio Torres, Santiago, June 9, 2009.
[424] Giulio Girardi, "Los cristianos de hoy ante el marxismo," in *Cristianos por el Socialismo,* Giulio Girardi, Reyes Mate and Alfredo Fierro (Bogotá: s.n., 1977).
[425] Dolores Cruzat, Santiago, October 2, 2009.
[426] Oscar González, OMD, Santiago, August 4, 2009.
[427] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[428] "Marxistas y cristianos en la edificación del socialismo," *El Mercurio*, April 17, 1971, 25.
[429] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[430] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 24.
[431] The documents discussed included "Evolution of the popular movement in Chile", by Oscar Torres; "Analysis of the Unidad Popular's Program", by the Undersecretary of Economy, Oscar Guillermo Garretón; "Church, Priests and Politics", by the Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo; "Marxism and Christianity in Latin America", by the Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez; "Christianity and Socialism in Latin America", by Franz Hinkelammert. "Sacerdotes, en análisis de actual etapa chilena", *El Mercurio*, April 14 1971, 21.
[432] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 25.
[433] There is no record of who those 80 priests were and, therefore, there is no way to know if they were exactly 80. The press had no access to the sessions. According to *Mensaje* the meeting was not as "idyllic" nor as "unanimous" as the press presented it. "It was during the debate that the idea of making a public statement emerged". "Cristianos, sacerdotes y política," *Mensaje*, no. 198 (May 1971): 174.
[434] "Comunicado a la prensa de los sacerdotes participantes en las jornadas 'Participación de los cristianos en la construcción del Socialismo en Chile'," *Mensaje,* no. 198 (May 1971): 176.
[435] *Idem.*
[436] "Marxistas y cristianos en la edificación del socialismo," *El Mercurio*, April 17, 1971, 25.
[437] The Canadian Christian-Socialist networks and their connection to the Chilean group CpS were investigated by Gregory Baum, "Politisés Chrétiens: A Christian-Marxist Network in Quebec, 1974-1982," *Studies in Political Economy* 32 (Summer 1990): 7-28.
[438] "El affaire de 'los 80'", *Mundo 71*, 15
[439] Carlos Pape, "'Utopía' de los CpS", *Mundo*, may 1972.
[440] "El affaire de 'los 80'", *Mundo 71*, 15.
[441] "Difícil 'compromiso' para católicos," *Ercilla*, April 21, 1971, 26.
[442] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 54-57.
[443] Secretariado General de Cristianos por el Socialismo, "En la lucha de los pobres," October 20, 1972, *Pastoral Popular,* no. 132 (November-December 1972): 60.

[444] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 73-74.
[445] François Francou, *Chile: el socialimo y la Iglesia* (Mexico, D.F.: Obra Nacional de la Buena Prensa, 1979), 147; Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 73-74.
[446] Dolores Cruzat, Santiago, October 2, 2009.
[447] The Bishop Manuel Larraín Foundation published many of the official documents of CpS, and related articles of theologists and priests. Charles Contamines, Rómulo Santelices and Sergio Torres, "Los cristianos frente al socialismo: antecedentes históricos," May 1971; "El compromiso político de los cristianos. Primer aporte al documento de los Obispo de Chile: Iglesia, Política y Socialismo," July 1971; "¿Fin de los colegios clasistas? Un debate abierto", August-September 1971; Juan Luis Segundo, "La Iglesia chilena ante el socialismo. Una opinión desde Uruguay. Segundo aporte al documento de trabajo de los Obispos de Chile: Evangelio, Política y Socialismo", October 1971; "Del socialcristianismo al cristianismo revolucionario", May 1972; Paulo Freire, "La misión educativa de las Iglesias en América Latina", September-October 1972; Rómulo Santelices, Martín Miranda, Ernesto Toro, Ronaldo Muñoz and Gonzalo Gutiérrez, "La ENU: ¿Control de las Conciencias o Educación Liberadora?", May-June 1973.
[448] Dolores Cruzat, Santiago, October 2, 2009.
[449] Elena Chahín, Santiago, February 5, 2010.
[450] Jesús Rodríguez, Santiago, June 18, 2009.
[451] Ronaldo Muñoz, ss.cc., Santiago, August 6, 2009.
[452] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Ronaldo Muñoz*, 136.
[453] María Inés Navarro, September 16, 2009.
[454] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, November 7, 2012.
[455] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 20, 2009.
[456] Sergio Torres, Santiago, June 9, 2009.
[457] The relations between the CECH and CpS, see: Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 230-280; Marlen Velásquez Almonacid, *Episcopado chileno y Unidad Popular.* A vision of what was going on inside the plenary assembly is offered by Mgr Jorge Hourton, in his memoirs. Hourton includes official documents of the ecclesiastic hierarchy. Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente.*
[458] This document was known as the "Alessandri Document" as it was written by the priest Hernán Alessandri. Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente,* 141-142.
[459] "Nada con el clericalismo," *Ercilla*, April 28, 1971, 11.
[460] *Idem.*
[461] According to *Tribuna* ,a polemical source, in his speech Allende called Silva Henríquez by the name "Silva Castro"; *Tribuna* joked about this mistake. "El Cardenal facilita la aproximación cristiana al marxismo," *Tribuna*, May 4, 1971, 6. The picture of Silva Henríquez and Salvador Allende was the front page of the TFP book, *La Iglesia del Silencio*.
[462] Paul VI, *Octogesima Adveniens,* no. 37, http://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost_letters/documents/hf_p-vi_apl_19710514_octogesima-adveniens.html, accessed December 17, 2016.
[463] Conferencia Episcopal de Chile, *Evangelio, política y socialismos* (Santiago: Ediciones Paulinas, 1971).
[464] *Idem.*
[465] *Idem.*
[466] *Idem.*
[467] *Reflexiones sobre el documento de trabajo: Evangelio, política y socialismos,* Julio 1971 (Talca: Fundación Manuel Larraín, 1971).
[468] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 28
[469] *Reflexiones sobre el documento de trabajo.*
[470] *Idem.*
[471] Correspondence from Bernardino Piñera to Esteban Gumucio, Valdivia, September 20, 1971, CPS, Chile, Archives Centre of International Affairs in Barcelona (CIDOB).
[472] "En torno a la participación de los cristianos en la construcción del socialismo," *El Mercurio*, April 19, 1971, 26 and 28.
[473] *Idem.*
[474] This letter was reproduced by *El Mercurio*, *Política y Espíritu* and *Ercilla*. "Sobre la participación de los cristianos en la construcción del socialismo," *El Mercurio*, April 20, 1971, 18; "Declaración," *Política y Espíritu,* no. 320 (April 1971): 47-48; "Difícil 'compromiso' para católicos," *Ercilla*, April 21, 1971, 26.
[475] Among the signing professors were some priests who had taken part in the conference and had signed the declaration, including Pablo Richard and Diego Irarrázaval. The letter was also signed by Eugenio Rodríguez, Francisco López, Fernando Castillo, Cristián Johansson, Antonio Bentué, Juan Noemí, Carlos Welsh, Gloria Wormald, Juan Bulnes and Theo Hansen (faculty vice-dean)
[476] "Carta de Profesores a Ochenta Sacerdotes," *El Mercurio*, April 27, 1971, 19 and 22.
[477] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 17, 2009.
[478] Pablo Fontaine, "Situación de la Iglesia chilena," *Mensaje*, no. 201 (August 1971): 368.
[479] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 17, 2009.
[480] Esteban Gumucio, "Sacerdotes preparan el Sínodo," *Mensaje*, no. 201 (August 1971): 375-376.
[481] The subject of the sacerdotal ministry overtook the agenda of synodal work. Some of the questions were whether or not they could oppose the Vietnam war or any other conflict, actively act in politics, talk about civil rights, pollution of the

environment or any other issue. The topic of celibacy was also actively discussed. "Quemantes preguntas penan en el Sínodo de los Obispos," *Tribuna*, October 6, 1971, 9.
[482] Correspondence from Jorge Hourton to Roberto Bolton, "Llave de Marx y llave de Cristo," DOCLA 1, no. 1 (October 1972): 6-8.
[483] Hourton revealed his letters with Ariztía in his memoirs. Jorge Hourton, *Memorias,* 148.
[484] Roberto Bolton, Santiago, July 13, 2009.
[485] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[486] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Esteban Gumucio,* 231.
[487] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[488] Enrique Moreno, ss.cc., Santiago, June 24, 2009.
[489] Ascanio Cavallo, *Memorias del Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez*, 203-204.
[490] Sergio Torres, Santiago, June 9, 2009.
[491] Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo e Integración de América Latina*, Cristianos latinoamericanos y socialismo* (Bogotá: Centro de Estudios para el Desarrollo e Integración de América Latina, 1972),161-166.
[492] Mariano Puga, Ancud, January 27, 2010.
[493] These adjectives were used by Pablo Fontaine and Mariano Puga in his conversations with the author.
[494] TFP, *La Iglesia del silencio*, 18-21
[495] Salvador Valdés had published a book against the Catholic Church, and especially against the Society of Jesus, called "Compañía de Jesús: ¡Ay!, Jesús, qué compañía!". This book triggered his excommunication by Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez, in 1969. Salvador Valdés, *La Compañía de Jesús.*
[496] Salvador Valdés, *La década infame;* Teresa Donoso, *Cristianos por el Socialismo.*
[497] Salvador Valdés, *La década infame*, 31
[498] Teresa Donoso called Roger Vekemans one of the "main artisans of the progressive infiltration of the Church under the pretext of support for development and social promotion". Regarding Vekemans leaving the country after Allende's election, Donoso said, "the precursors of the process that sank Chile could now migrate to plant their seed in other countries". Teresa Donoso, *Cristianos por el Socialismo,* 31-32.
[499] *Ibid.*, p. 98.
[500] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[501] Patricio Dooner, *Periodismo y política: la prensa política en Chile, 1970-1973* (Santiago: Andante,1989).
[502] "A quién sirven los curas rojos," *Tribuna*, May 31, 1971, 2.
[503] Some of the names were miswritten: Ignacio Pujadas was called Cujadas, and Santiago Thijssen, Thijwen.
[504] Beltrán Villegas criticized the vignette in *Tribuna.* In a letter to Esteban Gumucio after the meeting of "the 80", Villegas called it "despicable cartoon" and "hateful picture". *Tribuna* answered saying that even though Villegas agreed with the arguments of *Tribuna*, he was not going to recognize it, because "his progressive friends could complain". According to *Tribuna*, Villegas' letter was cynical. He deserved to be a Jesuit, and had "the infinite art" of wrapping himself in the "progressive and revolutionary language" that was popular at the time. "¿Sacerdotes políticos o marxistas católicos?," *Tribuna*, April 21, 1971, 4.
[505] "'Estupor y sorpresa' en el vicario general," *Tribuna*, April 17, 1971, 20.
[506] "Perdónalos señor, porque no saben lo que hacen," *Tribuna*, April 19, 1971, 16.
[507] "La embestida de las sotanas rojas cae sobre poblaciones," *Tribuna*, April 17, 1971, 20. "Perdónalos señor, porque no saben lo que hacen," *Tribuna*, April 19, 1971, 16.
[508] *Idem.*
[509] "¿Sacerdotes políticos o marxistas católicos?," *Tribuna*, April 21, 1971, 4.
[510] *Idem.*
[511] "A quién sirven los curas rojos," *Tribuna*, May 31, 1971, 2.
[512] *Tribuna* was the only written media that covered the seizure of ecclesiastic land. "La UP llama a liquidar frailes," *Tribuna*, May 8, 1971, 2; "Guerra socialista contra la Iglesia Católica Chilena," *Tribuna*, June 7, 1971, 6.
[513] "Presidente del PN enjuicia la declaración de 'los 80': los sacerdotes pueden emitir sus propias opiniones políticas", *Tribuna*, April 22, 1971, 5.
[514] *Tribuna* said Victor Jara's song "La Beata" was another example of the moral disorder of leftist priests. The song had been prohibited under Eduardo Frei for its vexatious content against the Church; Allende ended the censorship. "Víctor Jara es el afortunado: 'Sotanas rojas' dan visto bueno a canción hereje," *Tribuna*, May 10, 1971, 5.
[515] "Curas insisten en casarse y hallaron con quien: pero no los dejan," *Tribuna*, October 6, 1971, 9.
[516] Beltrán Villegas' letter and Gonzalo Arroyo and Esteban Gumucio's response were published. The letter by Percival Cowley and the philosophy professor from the Catholic University P. Kinnen was also published. "Sacerdotes, en análisis de actual etapa chilena," *El Mercurio*, April 14, 1971, 21; "Sacerdotes en análisis del camino socialista," *El Mercurio*, April 16, 1971, 15; "Marxistas y cristianos en la edificación del socialismo," *El Mercurio*, April 17, 1971, 25.
[517] "Neo-curas," *El Mercurio*, April 29, 1971, 21.
[518] In *Política y Espíritu* a section was created called "Philosophical-Political debate in the Catholic Church". It reproduced a big part of the texts written by "the 80", and the reactions by bishops and theologians. This section was included in the editions of April, May and June 1971, Nº 320, 321 y 322 respectively.
[519] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.

[520] Claudio Orrego celebrated the bishops' pastoral "Gospel, Politics and Socialism" that settled the deviations of "the 80". "Los Obispos de Chile hablan," *Política y Espíritu*, no. 322 (June 1971): 51-53
[521] *Idem.*.
[522] Claudio Orrego, "¿Clericalismo de izqueirda?," 28 abril 1971, in *Cristianos por el socialismo : ¿consecuencia cristiana o alineación política?*.
[523] Raul Gutierrez, "Los cristianos de Chile hoy. Colaboración con marxistas ¿posible,utópica, urgente?," *Mundo 71*, 17.
[524] "La declaración de los sacerdotes," *El Siglo*, April 19, 1971, 2.
[525] "Curas obreros. 'Estamos comprometidos con el socialismo'," *Punto Final*, no. 129, April 27, 1971, 28.
[526] In the 8th Meeting of OAS (January 1962, Punta del Este, Uruguay), Chile abstained from approving the expulsion of Cuba from the organization. In the 9th meeting (June 1964, Washington D.C.), Chile abstained from voting on the prohibition for the countries of the Western Hemisphere to have diplomatic relations with Cuba. Finally, Chile had to abide this prohibition and break relations with Cuba. Both meetings took place during the presidency of Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez. In 1970, with Salvador Allende as President, Chile reestablished its relations with Cuba. Joaquín Fermandois, *Chile y la "cuestión cubana", 1959-1964* (Santiago, Chile: Instituto de Historia, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 1982). A more general vision on Chile's international relations during the XXth century, see: Joaquín Fermandois, *Mundo y fin de mundo: Chile en la política mundial, 1900-2004,* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Universidad Católica de Chile, 2005); Tanya Harmer and Alfredo Riquelme, ed., *Chile y la Guerra Fría global* (Santiago: Instituto de Historia, Facultad de Historia, Geografia y Ciencia Política, 2014)
[527] The bibliography on the Cold War in Latin America is vast. Some of the studies cover the topic from a Latin American perspective, see: Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniela Spenser, ed., *In form the Cold: Latin America´s New Encounter with the Cold War* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Greg Grandin and Gilbert M. Joseph (ed.), *A Century of Revolution*; Hal Brands, *Latin America's Cold War*. For bibliography on the Cold War in Chile, see: Tanya Harmer, *Allende's Chile*; Tanya Harmer and Alfredo Riquelme, *Chile y la Guerra Fría*.
[528] For bibliography on the Catholic Church in Cuba, see: Margaret E. Crahan, *The Church and Revolution: Cuba and Nicaragua* (Bundoora: La Trobe University Institute of Latin American Studies, 1986); Margaret E. Crahan, "Fidel Castro, the Caholic Church and Revolution in Cuba," in *Church and Politics in Latin America,* Dermot Keogh, ed., (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990).
[529] *Punto Final* offered a complete coverage of Castro's visit to Chile, reproduced most of his speeches, and published the picture of Cardinal Silva Henríquez with Castro, with a Bible in his hand, after their meeting. *Punto Final*, no. 145, 30 November 1971, 60.
[530] *Idem.*
[531] "Ataques al Cardenal," *El Siglo*, November 30, 1971, 3.
[532] "La Iglesia dos veces traicionada," *Tribuna*, November 25, 1971, 5 and 16.
[533] *Tribuna,* November 26, 1971, 4.
[534] Maryluz Cisneros, "Por treinta puros cubanos…," *Tribuna*, November 27, 1971, 2.
[535] *Idem.*
[536] "La Iglesia dos veces traicionada," *Tribuna*, November 25, 1971, 5 and 16.
[537] "Sacerdote de Jesucristo," *Tribuna*, February 24, 1972, 2.
[538] "La Iglesia ahuyenta a católicos de verdad," *Tribuna*, November 29, 1971, 4; "Un cardenal sin representatividad," *Tribuna*, December 2, 1971, 2; "Aún el Cardenal," *Tribuna*, February 19, 1972, 2.
[539] Margaret Power, *Right Wing Women in Chile.*
[540] María Correa Morandé, *La guerra de las mujeres* (Santiago: Editorial de la Universidad Técnica del Estado, 1974), 29.
[541] The drafting commission of the Latin American Meeting of CpS, said 120 priests had attended. Comisión Redactora, "Primer Encuentro latinoamericano de Cristianos por el Socialismo," in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 191-201.
[542] The meeting of "the 80" with Fidel Castro was transcribed in "Entrevista de Fidel con los '80' sacerdotes," *Pastoral Popular*, No. 127 (January-February 1972): 22-38. A full transcription of the conversation also appeared in the book *Cuba-Chile* (La Habana: Ediciones Políticas, Comisión de Orientación Revolucionaria del Comité Central del Partido Comunista de Cuba, 1972), 413-429.
[543] "Entrevista de Fidel con los '80' sacerdotes," *Pastoral Popular*, No. 127 (January-February 1972): 24.
[544] *Ibid*, 25.
[545] *Ibid.,* 27-28.
[546] *Ibid.,* 31-32.
[547] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 235-236.
[548] These meetings with Cardinal Silva Henríquez and the revolutionary priests were cited and praised by Fidel Castro in his final speech in the National Stadium, when he again proposed the possibility of a "strategic alliance".
[549] Teresa Donoso mentions the encounter of Castro and the 80. She says "eighty gaping priests, succumbed to the spell of a charlatan". Teresa Donoso, *Los cristianos por el socialismo en Chile*, 155.
[550] Hubert Daubechies, "Fidel Castro habla a 'Los 80'," *Mensaje,* no. 206 (January-February 1972): 57-63.
[551] Hugo Assman, "No seamos ni cínicos ni eufóricos," *Pastoral Popular,* 127 (January-February 1972): 3-11.
[552] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 79-85.

[553] This message from Cuba was signed by Martín Gárate, C.S.C., Pablo Richard, Carlos Condamines, José Arellano, Ignacio Pujadas, Oscar Letelier, Guillermo Redington, C.S.C., Juan Martín, Juan Latulippe, Sergio Concha, the seminarians Mauricio Laborde, C.S.C., y Germán Cortés. Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 242-244.
[554] "Manifiesto de la Habana", March 3, 1972, in *Los Cristianos y la Revolución,* 272-273. This letter was also reproduced in "Doce curas en Cuba," *Pastoral Popular*, no. 128 (March-April 1972): 36-38 and in "Desde Cuba: mensaje de doce sacerdotes católicos chilenos 'a los cristianos de nuestro continente," *Política y Espíritu*, no. 331 (April 1972).
[555] Jaime Castillo, "La segunda alienación," *Política y Espíritu*, no 331 (Abril 1972): 15-19.
[556] According to *Punto Final*, the declaration from Cuba generated "annoyance" and "stinging" in the hierarchy. "Cristianos luchan por el socialismo," *Punto Final*, no.156, April 25, 1972, 29.
[557] "Los Obispos de Chile a los doce de Cuba," in DOCLA I, no. 4 (March-April 1973): 10-11; "Carta Pública a un grupo de sacerdotes y aspirantes al sacerdocio sobre 'Sacerdocio y compromiso político'," Punta de Tralca, April 11, 1972, in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 178-179. This letter was published in *Iglesia de Santiago,* no. 66 (May-June 1972): 6.
[558] The secretariat of CpS answered to the hierarchy on April 27, 1972. They criticized the date in which the letter was put out and the silence of the hierarchy regarding the political role of right-wing priests. CpS said they were in line with what the Synod in Rome had established on the political participation of priests: militancy did not oppose by principle the priestly mission. Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 82-84.
[559] Several editions of the Christian for Socialism Meeting exist and were diffused throughout Latin America, including *Cristianos por el Socialismo, Primer Encuentro Latinoamericano* (Santiago: Editorial Mundo Nuevo, 1972); and *Los cristianos y el socialismo. Primer encuentro latinoamericano* (Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI Editores, 1973).
[560] This commission was composed of Chilean, Peruvian, Colombian, Brazilian and Argentinian priests, including Gonzalo Arroyo, Martín Gárate, Ignacio Pujadas, Guillermo Redington, Joel Gajardo y Pablo Richard.
[561] Comisión Redactora, "Documento base al Encuentro de santiago 1972," December 1971, CHILE-CPS de Chile: Secretariado CPS, Archivo CIDOB.
[562] *Idem.*
[563] Among the recommended documents were: "Latin American Thought on Development & Dependency", by Gonzalo Arroyo; "Thoughts on the Underdevelopment of Latin America", by Gonzalo Arroyo; "The New Society and Popular Mobilization", by JOC Lima; "Worker-Farm Laborer Power and the Transition to Socialism in Chile", by Fernando Castillo and Jorge Larraín; "Christian Faith and Marxism in the Revolution", by Paul Blanquart; "Ideological Pluralism", by Sergio Vuskovic; "The Catholic Church and its Three Religious Types", by Jose Comblin; "Christian Brotherhood & Class Struggle", by Gustavo Gutiérrez; "Socialist Rationality & the Historic Verification of Christianity", by Pablo Richard; "Christian Institutions & Society", by Franz Hinkelammert; "New Theological Perspectives", by J. Míguez Bonino; "Christian Liberation & Social Liberation", by Julio Girardi; "Revolutionary Theory. Reflection at the Strategic-Tactical Level on Faith as Praxis of Liberation", by Julio de Santa Ana. Most part of these documents are at the CIDOB Archives, CHILE-CPS de Chile, Secretariado CPS.
[564] The reference to attendees from the Soviet Union and Poland was taken from the article "Hoy inician reunión en Santiago. Cristianos de América Latina analizan su aporte a la revolución," *El Siglo,* April 22, 1972, 3.
[565] Several authorities from the Chilean Government attended the CpS Latin American Meeting: the secretary of state, Clodomiro Almeyda, the secretary of Agriculture, Jacques Chonchol, of Public Health, Luis Carlos Concha, the undersecretary of Justice, Jose Antonio Viera Gallo and the president of the Council for the Defense of the State, Eduardo Novoa. Senator Rafael Agustín Gumucio and the general secretary of MAPU, Rodrigo Ambrosio, also attended.
[566] The participation of Sergio Méndez Arceo in the meeting and his stance open to socialism generated strong criticism in Mexico and his diocese of Cuernavaca. Upon his return, he was received with insults and even punches by some of his parishioners. Juan Antonio Cavero, "Fermento revolucionario del catolicismo latinoamericano," *Nueva Sociedad,* no. 13 (July-August 1973): 24. The article is available in http://nuso.org/media/articles/downloads/116_1.pdf, accessed in November 23, 2017.
[567] "Discurso inaugural Gonzalo Arroyo," in *Los cristianos y el socialismo*, 20.
[568] "Discurso Clodomiro Almeyda," in *Los cristianos y el socialismo,* 26.
[569] "Mensaje de Allende a reunión de Cristianos por el Socialismo," *El Mercurio,* April 30, 1972, 27.
[570] "Se inició reunión de cristianos por el socialismo," *El Mercurio*, April 24, 1972, 27.
[571] "Discurso Sergio Méndez Arceo," in *Los cristianos y el socialismo,* 29-30.
[572] This document was made available by the historian Catherine Le Grand. She went through the archives of the Union Theological Seminary, The Burke Library Archives, New York. I am very grateful for her generosity. "Conferencia de prensa Mendez Arceo", Theological Seminarym, 5.
[573] "Carta de Monseñor Carlos Oviedo, Secretario General de la CECH, a Monseñor Sergio Méndez Arceo, Obispos de Cuernavaca, con motivo de su participación en el Encuentro Latinoamericano de Cristianos por el Socialismo," Santiago, May 16, 1972, http://documentos.iglesia.cl/documento.php?id=127, accessed in November 21, 2017.
[574] Ten areas were defined: underdevelopment, dependence and transition to socialism; popular mobilization for socialism and Christian commitment; conditions for a strategic alliance between Christians and Marxists; ideology and religion; class struggle: ethical and affective blockade of Christians; Christian institutions and ideologies; political action and faith with an emphasis on liberation theology; parties, unionism and Christian practice; peasants movements and church action; middle class and women in revolution. Each of these subjects was discussed by a commission for two days.

[575] Secretariado Cristianos por el Socialismo, "Informe Delegación Chilena, Primer Encuentro Latinoamericano de Cristianos por el Socialismo," *Pastoral Popular*, no. 129 (May-June 1972).
[576] *Idem.*
[577] "Documento Final", in *Los cristianos y el socialismo,* 255-274.
[578] *Los cristianos y la revolución: un debate abierto en América Latina* (Santiago: Editora Nacional Quimantú, Santiago, 1972.
[579] Hugo Assman*,* ed., *Cristianos por el Socialismo: Exigencias de una Opción* (Montevideo: Tierra Nueva,1973).
[580] *Ibid.,* 39-41.
[581] *Ibid.,* 43-44.
[582] Carlos Pape, "'Utopía' de los CpS," *Mundo*, May 1972, 30.
[583] The election of the Archbishop of Santiago as President of the CECH was considered by *Punto Final* as "a turn right" by the ecclesiastic hierarchy. The previous president, José Manuel Santos, Bishop of Valdivia, was considered a "centrist". "Cristianos luchan por el socialismo," *Punto Final*, April, 25 1972, 29.
[584] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 85.
[585] "Carta del secretario de la Conferencia Episcopal Chilena, Mons. Carlos Oviedo Cavada, a las otras conferencias episcopales de América Latina", in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 201-203. The National Secretariat of CpS published an edition of the Latin American Meeting including the mail between the leaders of CpS and the Catholic Church hierarchy. Secretariado de Cristianos por el Socialismo, *Cristianos por el Socialismo. Primer Encuentro Latinoamericano,* 177-221.
[586] *Idem.*
[587] "Carta de S. Em. El Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez al P. Gonzalo Arroyo, en respuesta a la invitación al 'Primer Encuentro Latinoamericano de Cristianos por el Socialismo'", in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 204-209.
[588] *Idem*
[589] *Idem*.
[590] *Idem*.
[591] "Carta del P. Gonzalo Arroyo, s.j., a S. Em. El Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez", 17 marzo 1972, in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 214-217. Esta carta también fue publicada en *Noticias Jesuitas-Chile,* April 1972, 1-5.
[592] "Carta del P. Gonzalo Arroyo, s.j., a S. Em. El Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez", 17 marzo 1972, *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* in CEDIAL, 215.
[593] *Ibid.,* 217.
[594] It was signed by: Gonzalo Arroyo, Alfonso Baeza, Joan Cassañas, Martín Gárate, Esteban Gumucio, José Gutierrez, Diego Irarrázaval, Juan Martin, Antonio Mondelares, Mariano Puga, Guillermo Redington, Pablo Richard, Sergio Torres and Santiago Thijssen. "Carta del Comité Coordinador del 'Primer Encuentro Latinoamericano de Cristianos por el Socialismo" a S. Em. El Cardenal," 20 marzo 1972, in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 218-227.
[595] *Ibid.,* 218.
[596] *Ibid.,* 226-227.
[597] *Idem.*
[598] P. Manuel Segura S.J., "La Política Chilena y la Provincia," in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 209-211. Also published in *Noticias Jesuitas. Chile,* March-April 1972, 10-11.
[599] The Cardinal traveled to Rome and met with the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, and had apparently informed him of what was going on in Chile. The only evidence of this meeting is an internal bulletin of the Society of Jesus, called *Noticias Jesuitas-Chile* of April, 1972. The piece of news was reproduced in "Breve noticia de la provincia chilena: visita del P. Provincial a S. Em. el Cardenal de Santiago," in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 213.
[600] Correspondence from the Provincial Superior to the Cardinal of Santiago, April 28, 1972, Folder 19, Cristianos para el Socialismo. Primer Encuentro. Documentación, Temas políticos y sociales, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.
[601] Correspondence from the Cardinal of Santiago to Father Manuel Segura, S.J., June 10, 1972, Folder 19, Cristianos para el Socialismo. Primer Encuentro. Documentación, Temas políticos y sociales, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.
[602] *Idem.*
[603] "Carta a nombre del Comité Permanente del Episcopado al P. Gonzalo Arroyo, S.J., en respuesta a la invitación al 'Primer Encuentro Latinoamericano de Cristianos por el Socialismo'," in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 211-213.
[604] "Carta respuesta de S. Em. el Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez al P. Gonzalo Arroyo, s.j. y al Comité Coordinador del Secretariado 'Cristianos por el Socialismo'," April 13, 1972, in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 228-229. *Punto Final* se encargó de resaltar el cambio entre la posición "extremadamente dura" del Cardenal en su primera carta a Arroyo y esta segunda. Sobre esta segunda carta del Cardenal no hay registros en la prensa de la época. "Cristianos luchan por el socialismo," *Punto Final*, no. 156, April 25, 1972, 29.
[605] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 17, 2009. On this encounter, see: Ascanio Cavallo, *Memorias*, 224-225.
[606] The bishop of Valparaíso, Emilio Tagle, had serious problems with part of his clergy. Mario Amorós, *Una huella imborrable,* 115-138.
[607] Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente,* 146.
[608] "Arzobispo no autoriza reunión de 'Cristianos por el Socialismo'," Santiago, April 18, 1972, in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* 180; "Adhesión de México", in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 180.
[609] Ascanio Cavallo, *Memorias,* 224-225.

[610] "Extractos de la reunión sostenida por el Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez con los participantes en el Primer Encuentro de Cristianos por el Socialismo," April 25, 1972, Archivo Chile. Centro de Estudios Miguel Enríquez, http://www.archivochile.com/Mov_sociales/iglesia_popular/MSiglepopu0008.pdf, accessed in May 13, 2016.
[611] "Ya era hora: El cardenal mostró tener bien puestas las sotanas," *Tribuna,* April 26, 1972, 6.
[612] "Delegados al encuentro visitaron al Cardenal," *El Mercurio,* April 26, 1972, 12.
[613] Ascanio Cavallo, *Memorias*, 224-225.
[614] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 107. Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 17, 2009.
[615] "Editorial", *Mensaje*, no. 209 (June 1972).
[616] Fernando Montes, "Primer Encuentro Latinoamerciano de Cristianos por el Socialismo," *Mensaje*, no. 209 (June 1972): 347-352.
[617] *Ibid.,* 351.
[618] *Ibid.,* 352
[619] "Hoy inician reunión en Santiago. Cristianos de América Latina analizan su aporte a la revolución," *El Siglo*, April 22, 1972, 3.
[620] This article of *Punto Final* was published with a picture of Camilo Torres. The image of Christ carrying a loaded rifle on his back was also published; that image had been used for the Meeting of the 80. María Eugenia Saul, "Cristianos reafirman su compromiso," *Punto Final*, no. 157, May 9, 1972, 2-3.
[621] *Punto Final* wrote about this meeting in two consecutive editions: "Cristianos luchan por el socialismo," *Punto Final*, no. 156, April 25, 1972, 29; and María Eugenia Saul, "Cristianos reafirman su compromiso," *Punto Final*, no. 157, May 9, 1972, 2-3.
[622] Cristian Llona, "Cristianos y socialismo," *Política y Espíritu*, no. 332 (May 1972): 33- 41; Pierre Bigó, "Meditación sacerdotal sobre el marxismo," *Política y Espíritu*, no. 332 (May 1972): 46-53; Ataliva Amengual, Raul Atria, Percival Cowley, Cristián Llona y Eduardo Palma, "Los marxistas cristianos o la nostalgia del integrismo," *Política y Espíritu,* no. 333 (June 1972): 22-37.
[623] Letter signed by José Manuel Barros, Luis Antonio Díaz, Patricio Guerrero, Enrique Le Fort and Renato Poblete. "'Sacerdotes no están al servicio de Partidos'", *El Mercurio,* April 27, 1972, 16; "Sacerdotes chilenos a su pueblo", in *Cristianos latinoamericanos,* CEDIAL, 182-186.
[624] *Idem.*
[625] Cristian Llona, "Cristianos y socialismo," *Política y Espíritu,* no. 332 (May 1972): 33- 41.
[626] Ataliva Amengual, Raul Atria, Percival Cowley, Cristián Llona and Eduardo Palma, "Los marxistas cristianos o la nostalgia del integrismo," *Política y Espíritu,* no. 333 (June 1972): 22-37.
[627] Pierre Bigó, "Meditación sacerdotal sobre el marxismo," *Política y Espíritu*, no. 332 (May 1972): 46-53.
[628] Jaime Guzmán, "La iglesia chilena y el debate político," in *Visión Crítica de Chile,* Tomás Mac Hale (Santiago: Ediciones Portada, 1972), 295-329. This document was collected by Arturo Fontaine Talavera, "El miedo y otros escritos: el pensamiento de Jaime Guzmán E.," *Estudios Públicos,* no. 42 (1991), 284.
[629] *Ibid.,* 307.
[630] *Ibid.,* 266.
[631] *Ibid.,* 289.
[632] Secretariado de la Compañía de Jesus, "Documento de Trabajo: Primer Encuentro Latinoamericano de CpS," Folder 19, CpS. Primer Encuentro: Documentación, Temas políticos y sociales, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.
[633] Roger Vekemans, "¿Agonía o resurgimiento?. Reflexiones teológicas acerca de la 'contestación' en la iglesia," *Tierra Nueva* I, no. 1, April 1972; Roger Vekemans, "El 'Primer Encuentro latinoamerciano de CpS', la Jerarquía Chilena y la Octagesima Adveniens," *Tierra Nueva* I, no. 4 (January 1973): 44-62.
[634] Alfonso López Trujillo, "Estudio sobre Teología de la Liberación," CELAM, Third Meeting of Coordination, Bogota, November 19-24 1973, Folder 34, Reunión de Coordinación-CELAM: Teología de la Liberación, Bogota, 1973, Reuniones Nacional e Internacionales 1969 a 1988, Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.
[635] *Idem.*
[636] Ana F. Kaempffer, *La vocación sacerdotal en los jóvenes* (Santiago: Centro Bellarmino. Depto. de Investigaciones Sociológicas, 1972), 25-27.
[637] Renato Poblete, S.J. "Base socio-religiosa para una pastoral renovada," n/d, Secretariado General del Episcopado de Chile, File 12, Comisión Pastoral. Proceso de Formación, Iglesia Chilena, su jerarquía. Instituciones. Archivo CISOC-Renato Poblete.
[638] "Imagen del Sacerdote chileno," *Revista el Domingo, El Mercurio*, February 20, 1972, 8-9.
[639] *Idem.*
[640] For an analysis of the strike of October 1972, see: Peter Winn, *Weavers of Revolution*, 227-245. For a monographic work on the *cordones industriales*, see: Franck Gaudichaud, *Poder popular y cordones industriales.* For a perspective from the right, see: Verónica Valdivia, *Nacionales y gremialistas.* For a work on the role of women opposition, through Feminine Power, see: Margaret Power, *La mujer de derecha en Chile.*
[641] The divisions of the left during the government of the Popular Unity, see: Peter Winn, *La revolución chilena;* José del Pozo, *Rebeldes, reformistas y revolucionarios: una historia oral de la izquierda chilena en la época de la Unidad Popular. Una historia oral de la izquierda chilena en la época de la Unidad Popular* (Santiago: Eds. Documentas, 1992); Jorge Arrate and Eduardo Rojas, *Memoria de la izquierda chilena,* Vol. 2. A compilation of documents of the Chilean left, see:

Victor Farías, *La izquierda chilena (1969-1973): Documentos para el estudio de su línea estratégica* (Santiago: Centro de Estudios Públicos, c2000).
[642] Elena Chahín, Santiago, February 5, 2010.
[643] Joan Cassañas, July 21, 2010.
[644] Dolores Cruzat, Santiago, October 2, 2009.
[645] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[646] For details of the confrontation between CpS and the ecclesiastic hierarchy see the work of Marlen Velásquez, *Episcopado chileno y Unidad Popular.* See also Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 230-280.
[647] Secretariado General de CpS, "Los dolores del parto social," *Punto Final*, no. 170, November 7, 1972, 2. Secretariado Nacional CpS, "En la lucha de los pobres," *Pastoral Popular*, no. 132 (November-December 1072): 60-62.
[648] Secretariado General de CpS, "Los dolores del parto social," *Punto Final*, no. 170, November 7, 1972, 2.
[649] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 110.
[650] Pablo Richard touches on this issue in his text, *Historia CpS*, 206. These difficulties emerge in most of the conversations of the author with members of CpS.
[651] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 136-147; Francois Francou, *El Socialismo y la Iglesia,* 147. *Punto Final* reproduced the interventions of political leaders, *Punto Final*, no.172, December 5, 1972, 21-48.
[652] CpS also organized political forums, and invited the leaders of the political parties. They met in the University Parish and in the provincial headquarters of the CUT. Mario Garcés, Santiago, May 15, 2009.
[653] This was one of the national meetings of CpS that was most widely covered by the media and *Punto Final* reproduced it entirely. *Punto Final*, no. 172, December 5, 1972.
[654] Francois Francou, *El Socialismo y la Iglesia,* 155.
[655] Secretariado Nacional CpS, "Jornada Nacional 1972," Personal archive Joan Cassañas.
[656] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 258-264.
[657] Secretariado Nacional CpS, "Jornada Nacional 1972," Personal archive Joan Cassañas.
[658] The speech of the general secretary of CpS was edited and circulated with the title "Meaning and sense of Christians for Socialism". Reproduced in Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 138-142.
[659] Secretariado Nacional CpS, "Jornada Nacional 1972," Personal archive Joan Cassañas.
[660] Secretariado Nacional CpS, "Jornada Nacional 1972," Personal archive Joan Cassañas.
[661] Some of the documents discussed were disclosed in a press conference at the end of the meeting. Among them "The people work. ¿And Christians?", that summarized the conclusions of the Latin American Meeting. They also announced the publication of *Los cristianos y la revolución, un debate abierto en América Latina*, as an important compilation of Christian revolutionary thinking. "Mal uso de la religión denunciaron cristianos por el socialismo," *El Mercurio*, November 28, 1972, 21.
[662] Juan Ochagavía, Santiago, April 6, 2010.
[663] Some of this was reconstructed through the conversations of the author with Sergio Torres and Martín Gárate. Torres offered data on the election of the directive board of CpS. Sergio Torres, Santiago, June 9, 2009; Martín Gárate, Santiago, June 5, 2009.
[664] Ascanio Cavallo, *Memorias,* Tomo II, 226.
[665] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[666] Martín Gárate, Santiago, June 5, 2009.
[667] The participation of the priest Antonio Llidó in the MIR is widely covered in Mario Amorós, *Una huella imborrable.*
[668] Peter Winn analyzes the issue of *tomas* as an expression of revolution from the bottom up. Peter Winn, "The Furies of the Andes".
[669] Mario Garcés, Santiago, May 15, 2009.
[670] Pablo Richard, Skype conversation with the author, November 12, 2009.
[671] Bosco Parra, e-mail to author, September 22, 2009.
[672] Martín Gárate, Santiago, June 5, 2009.
[673] Mariano Puga, Ancud, January 27, 2010.
[674] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 20, 2009.
[675] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[676] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Esteban Gumucio,* 225.
[677] Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez, "Chile necesita una 'Operación Respeto'," October 29, 1972, *DOCLA* I, no. 2 (November-December 1972): 13-15. The Permanent Committee of the Episcopate issued a Christmas Message saying "peace is possible". This attitude from the hierarchy was criticized by the TFP, which published a manifesto called "The Selfdemolition of the Church, a factor in the demolition of Chile". It said "the Cardinal used his high position to help sustain in power a regime that submerged the people of Chile in misery […] Not only did he collaborate with his silence, but he also attempted to appease the legitimate public indignation". "El manifiesto de Fiducia," *Ercilla*, March 7, 1973, 46.
[678] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[679] Pablo Richard wrote in *Punto Final* under the alias Esteban Torres. Pablo Richard, Skype conversation with the author, November 12, 2009.
[680] Esteban Torres, "Los católicos en la crisis de octubre," *Punto Final,* no. 171, November 21, 1972, 12-13.
[681] *Ibid.,* 13.

[682] The Christian Democrats considered this election as very important. For them, a victory of the Democratic Confederation would demonstrate its strength to the government, and would force it to rectify its course. "La Democracia Cristiana, un camino para Chile. Declaración del Consejo Plenario del PDC realizado en Cartagena", December 1-3, 1972, *Política y Espíritu*, no. 338 (November 1972): 83.
[683] Francesc Puig, *¿Qué me ha pasado?,* 128-129.
[684] *Idem.*
[685] This document was reproduced by *Punto Final*. Commission of Communications and Theological Instruction of CpS, "Cristianos por el Socialismo y las elecciones de marzo," *Punto Final,* no. 175, January 30, 1973, 8-9. It can also be found in Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 265-266.
[686] Comisión de Comunicaciones y Formación Teológica de CpS, "Cristianos por el Socialismo y las elecciones de marzo," *Punto Final,* no. 175, January 30, 1973, 8-9.
[687] *Idem.*
[688] *Idem.*
[689] Every day, the women of Feminine Power read a manifesto in their program "Mujer 73" in Radio Agricultura. It said: "Be alert Chilean woman: Chile is no longer a free country. International communism, using our own democratic system, has distorted the results of the elections. Feminine Power alerts its supporters throughout the territory: Be ready for any emergency in the coming hours!". María Correa Morandé, *La guerra de las mujeres,* 111.
[690] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 267-268.
[691] *Idem.*
[692] Pablo Richard, "Ateísmo antiimperialista: camino para cristianos", *Punto Final*, Nº 185, pp. 24-25.
[693] *Idem.*
[694] Pablo Fontaine, "El que hacer de los cristianos," *Mensaje*, no. 219 (June, 1973): 235-243.
[695] Hugo Assman, "Proceso ideológico y proceso político. El caso revelador de la ENU," *Tierra Nueva* IV, no. 13 (April 1975) 31.
[696] Fofr bibliography on the ENU ver: Iván Núñez Prieto, *La ENU entre dos siglos. Ensayo histórico sobre la Escuela Nacional Unificada,* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones y Centro de Investigaciones Diego Barros Arana, 2003).
[697] The reaction of the ecclesiastic hierarchy, see Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 197-199.
[698] Information on this meeting and the report in Richard, Historia CpS, pp. 232-234. Presentation Santiago Thijssen, "Instituciones de la Iglesia. Para qué?," Padre Hurtado, October 31, 1971, CPS-CHILE, CIDOB Archive. The working document of the sessions of October 1971 was published on November 1st, 1971. "La Escuela Católica en la Transición al Socialismo," CPS-CHILE, CIDOB Archive.
[699] Gonzalo Arroyo, Martín Gárate, Esteban Gumucio and Pablo Richard were at the press conference.
[700] "Sacerdotes de izquierda apoyan entrega de colegios al Estado," *El Mercurio*, September 11, 1971, p. 27.
[701] "Entrevista de 'El Siglo' al sacerdote Esteban Gumucio", *El Siglo*, 29 agosto 1971.
[702] Hugo Assman, "Proceso ideológico y proceso político. El caso revelador de la ENU en Chile", in "Iglesia Chilena y 'Cristianos por el Socialismo'", *Tierra Nueva* IV, no. 13 (April 1975): 31.
[703] María Correa Morandé, *La guerra de las mujeres,* 118.
[704] Federación de Estudiantes de la Universidad Católica (FEUC), *ENU: el control de las conciencias*, (Santiago: FEUC, 1973).
[705] "La ENU es inconstitucional," *Tribuna*, April 11, 1973.
[706] Starting in late 1972, *Punto Final* wrote several articles against priest Hasbún, calling him "the priest of the rich" and "the dictator of Channel 13". *Punto Final*, no. 170, November 7, 1972, 26-27; "Un cura que ruega por los monopolios," *Punto Final*, no. 172, December 5, 1972, 12-13. This article was published with a vignette with Hasbún represented by a puppet in the hand of Eduardo Frei Montalva.
[707] Elena Vial, "Iglesia y Marxismo. Peligro de choque," *Ercilla*, April 4, 1973, 19.
[708] "Iglesia no acepta que se imponga este tipo de política en educación," *El Mercurio*, March 21, 1973, 15; "Rechazo episcopal a Escuela Nacional Unificada," *El Mercurio,* March 22, 1973, 3.
[709] "La Iglesia Católica pide aplazar aplicación de ENU," *El Mercurio*, March 29, 1973, 1 and 12.
[710] *La ENU ¿Control de las conciencias o educación liberadora?* (Talca: Fundación Obispo Manuel Larraín, 1973).
[711] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 269-271.
[712] Elena, Vial, "Iglesia y Marxismo. Peligro de choque," *Ercilla*, April 4, 1973, 20.
[713] *Idem.*
[714] "Declaración Asamblea Plenaria del Episcopado sobre la ENU", Punta de Tralca, April 11, 1973, http://documentos.iglesia.cl/documento.php?id=137, accessed in October 14, 2017.
[715] Pablo Richard, "La ENU y los obispos," *Punto Final*, no. 183, May 3, 1973, 32.
[716] Mario Amorós, *Una huella imborrable,* 180.
[717] Sergio Torres, Santiago, June 9, 2009.
[718] Signed by Raúl Silva Henríquez, Archbishop of Santiago; Emilio Tagle, Archbishop of Valparaíso; Augusto Salinas, Bishop of Linares; Alejandro Durán, Bishop of Rancagua; Enrique Alvear, Bishop of San Felipe; Carlos González, Bishop of Talca; Fernando Ariztía and Ismael Errazuriz, as auxiliary bishops of Santiago. "Obispos de la Provincia Eclesiástica de Santiago", June 1, 1973, *DOCLA* I, no. 7 (July-August 1973): 11-12.
[719] Pablo Richard, "Los Obispos y la prédica de la pequeña burguesía," *Punto Final*, no. 187, July 3, 1973, 26-27.

[720] *Ibid.,* 27-28.
[721] *Idem.*
[722] *Ibid.,* 26-27.
[723] Pablo Richard, Skype conversation with the author, November 12, 2009.
[724] Comité Permanente del Episcopado de Chile, "La paz de Chile tiene un precio," Juy 16, 1973, http://documentos.iglesia.cl/conf/doc_pdf.php?mod=documentos_sini&id=145, accessed in June 17, 2016.
[725] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 182.
[726] *Ibid.*, 272-276.
[727] *Ibid.*, 187-189.
[728] *Ibid.,* 189
[729] Editorial, "Nuestros Obispos: llamado apremiante," *Mensaje*, no. 221 (August 1973): 348-350. The University Parish of Santiago also followed these calls for peace, and organized a dialogue with leaders of the Christian Democracy, the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the CUT. "Católicos marcharán para pedir por la paz en Chile," *El Mercurio*, August 30, 1973, 20
[730] According to Jorge Hourton, during the Plenary Assembly of the Chilean Episcopate in April 1972, Mgr. Bernardino Piñera, in a 40-page document, proposed an understanding between the DC and the UP as a way out of the crisis. That cooperation, according to Piñera, could allow the construction of a socialism that most Chileans wanted. He invited the bishops to take that path, but, says Hourton, he did not receive much attention. Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente,* 145-146. At the end of December 1971, Pablo Fontaine defended an agreement with the DC. Fontaine said, "there is no revolution in Chile without the consent of the DC, or at least of a big part of it". He saw a role for CpS in that dialogue, that could prevent a "fatal destiny" nobody wants. Pablo Fontaine, ss.cc. "Carta al Secretariado de 'Cristianos por el Socialismo'," December 23, 1971, in *Cristianos latinoamericanos y socialismo*, 169-172.
[731] The PDC alluded to the Hamilton-Fuentalba constitutional reform project, which set a high bar for the government, demanding the restoration of industries seized during the "tanquetazo"; laws to limit the area of social property; the enforcement of the arms control law; a military cabinet. These demands were impossible for Allende to accept, given the position of the left wing of the Popular Unity, the MIR, and the social movements of workers and peasants.
[732] In an interview after the coup, the Cardinal said Allende asked him to organize this encounter. Allende had committed to make changes, said the Cardinal, but did not make them. CEDIAL, "Iglesia Chilena y 'cristianos por el socialismo'," *Tierra Nueva* IV, no. 13 (April 1975): pp. 37-38.
[733] Quoted in María Correa Morandé, *La guerra de las mujeres,* 173.
[734] *Ibid.,* 155-156.
[735] Ascanio Cavallo, *Memorias*, Tomo II, 270-271.
[736] Franz J. Hinkelammert, *Ideología del sometimiento: La Iglesia Católica Chilena frente al golpe, 1973-1974* (San José: Editorial Universitaria Centroamericana, 1977). Hinkelammert considers Hasbún an agent of the "theology of slaughter" for his theological justification of the military coup and the subsequent repression.
[737] The women of Feminine Power sealed the book of their own history with: "¡September is the month of the homeland! ¡Thank God!". María Correa Morandé, *La guerra de las mujeres,* 102. Teresa Donoso said that for the Chilean Catholics the military coup put an end to the "craziness of language" and to "ambiguity". "Thank God for the military coup. The vast majority of Catholics, the suffering people of God […] were expecting a clarification of ideas. And it came, because God is 'clement, rich in mercy". Teresa Donoso, *Los cristianos por el socialismo en Chile*, 199-205. *Fiducia*, in the front page of its compilatory edition of the Popular Unity, thanked the Virgin del Carmen as an expression "of absolute trust in her triumph". *Fiducia,* 1970-1973.
[738] On the resistance to the military coup, see: Mario Garcés y Sebastián Leiva, *El golpe en la Legua.*
[739] Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, April 20, 2009.
[740] Diego Irarrázaval, Santiago, April 29, 2009.
[741] Alicia Cárdenas, Santiago, September 7, 2012.
[742] This is where he was prisoner until he left to Spain in October 1973.
[743] Francesc Puig, *¿Qué me ha pasado?,* 141-146. Some priests were disappeared and taken to clandestine centers of interrogation and torture with other political prisoners. Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación, *Informe de la Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación*, Vol. III, Santiago, 1991.
[744] Gonzalo Arroyo on this period after the coup and his exile in Paris, "Memorias del exilio: la comunidad de cristianos en Saint Merri," *Persona y Sociedad* XVII, no. 3, 2003, 65-76.
[745] Martín Gárate, Santiago, June 5, 2009.
[746] Mons. Jorge Hourton, Santiago, August, 27, 2009.
[747] Jorge Hourton, *Memorias,* 151-153.
[748] Conferencia Episcopal Chilena, "Fe cristiana y actuación política," *DOCLA*, no. 12 (March-April 1974): 16-17.
[749] *Ibid.* 16-17
[750] Bernardino Piñera, Santiago, September 16, 2009
[751] Mons. Jorge Hourton, Santiago, August, 27, 2009.
[752] CEDIAL, "Iglesia Chilena y 'cristianos por el socialismo'," *Tierra Nueva* IV, no. 13 (April 1975): 38.
[753] Comité Permanente Episcopado, *Fe cristiana y actuación política*, Introduction, August 1, 1973, in http://documentos.iglesia.cl/documento.php?id=4226, accessed November 15, 2017.

[754] The document had 34 pages and 100 issues, 65 of them dedicated to CpS.
[755] Comité Permanente Episcopado, *Fe cristiana y actuación política*, no. 16.
[756] *Ibid*., no. 25.
[757] *Ibid*., no. 49.
[758] *Ibid*., no. 45.
[759] *Ibid*., no. 80.
[760] *Idem.*
[761] Teresa Donoso, *Los cristianos por el socialismo en Chile,* 203. CEDIAL, "Iglesia Chilena y 'cristianos por el socialismo'," *Tierra Nueva* IV, no. 13 (April 1975): 44.
[762] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 199.
[763] Mons. Jorge Hourton, Santiago, August, 27, 2009.
[764] The days after the military coup and the underground experience is told in the book by Amorós. His sources are the letters Llidó sent to his family and the testimony of other MIR members. According to numbers by Pablo Richard, 120 Catholic priests, 30 protestant pastors, 35 religious, and 200 laypersons who were members of Christians for Socialism were expelled from Chile.
[765] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 193-194.
[766] *Ibid.,* 193. It was published by U.S. priests as "In Memoriam", *Christians for Socialism. Highlights from Chile's Religious Revolution"* (Washington, D.C.: EPICA, 1973), 32. CpS did not function as such in Chile after the coup, but their name continued to be used abroad. Conferences were organized in Ávila –by a Spanish group of CpS–, and in Bologna and Quebec, in 1975. All those conferences were inspired by that first Latin American encounter that had taken place in Santiago. Even a delegation of Chileans attended the conference in Quebec. Gregory Baum, "Politisés Chrétiens".
[767] Gonzalo Arroyo, "Notas sobre la Iglesia y los cristianos de izquierda a la hora del putsch en Chile," *Latin American Perspectives* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1975): 89.
[768] Pablo Fontaine, "Algunos aspectos de la Iglesia chilena de hoy," *Mensaje*, no. 239 (June 1975): 250.
[769] COPACHI was created with a decree from the Archbishopric, signed by Cardinal Silva Henríquez. Bishop Fernando Ariztía worked in the committee as representative of the Catholic Church, and the Lutheran bishop Helmut Frenz, as representative of the Protestant churches. The first executive secretary of the committee was the Jesuit Fernando Salas. On the Catholic Church during the dictatorship, see: David Fernández, *La Iglesia que resistió a Pinochet: historia, desde la fuente oral, del Chile que no puede olvidarse* (Madrid: IEPALA Editorial, 1996); Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 281-355; Enrique Correa and José Antonio Viera Gallo, *Iglesia y dictadura* (Santiago: CESOC, 1986); Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente,* 165-471; José Aldunate, *et. al., Crónicas de una Iglesia Liberadora* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2000); María Angélica Cruz, *Iglesia, represión y memoria: el caso chileno* (Madrid: Siglo XXI Editores, 2004).
[770] At the beginning, the bishops did not have a unanimous position regarding the coup and human right violations. Mgr. Hourton describes this situation as a "notable divergence" among bishops. While some bishops defended human rights, others publicly supported the Armed Forces. Jorge Hourton, *Memorias de un obispo sobreviviente,* 174-177.
[771] Pablo Richard, *Cristianos por el Socialismo*, 202.
[772] Martín Gárate, Santiago, June 5, 2009.
[773] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009.
[774] Pablo Fontaine, "Algunso aspectos de la Iglesia chilena de hoy," *Mensaje*, no. 239 (June 1975): 250-251.
[775] A brief revision of the internationalization of CpS can be found in Sergio Torres, "Dimensiones internacionales de la Teología de la Liberación," in *Crónicas de una Iglesia Liberadora,* José Aldunate, *et. al.,* 59-67.
[776] Pablo Fontaine, "Algunso aspectos de la Iglesia chilena de hoy", *Mensaje*, no. 239 (June 1975): 250-251.
[777] Pablo Fontaine ss.cc., La Unión, Valdivia, May 22, 2009; Alfonso Baeza, Santiago, November 7, 2012.
[778] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Ronaldo Muñoz,* 152.
[779] Francisca Morales, Santiago, October 22, 2009.
[780] *Idem.*
[781] Mariano Puga, Ancud, January 27, 2010.
[782] Roberto Bolton, "El asilo contra la opresión," in *Crónicas de una Iglesia liberadora,* José Aldunate, et. al., 153.
[783] Cristian Venegas and Enrique Moreno, interv. and ed., *Conversaciones con Ronaldo Muñoz*, 186.
[784] According to the interviews conducted by Brian Smith in 1975, a decisive majority of nuns and the laity wanted the bishops to denounce human right violations more firmly and publicly. Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile,* 302. For a very critical interpretation of the role of Chilean bishops, and specifically of Cardinal Silva Henríquez see: Franz J. Hinkelammert, *Ideología del sometimiento.*
[785] These first actions taken by the Catholic Church are defined by María Angélica Cruz as a "double game". "On the one hand the Church protected the 'persecuted' by the same regime it recognized, in which it said it trusted, and to which it offered support". María Angélica Cruz, *Iglesia, represión y memoria,* 9.
[786] Some bishops personally supported the new authorities. Francisco Valdés, bishop of Osorno, on September 11 issued "The prayer of New Chile", strongly criticizing the years of the Popular Unity. He called socialism "that astute seduction of paradise without God". After the coup –said Valdés— a new era opened up, in which "a new Chile" was going to be built, "the social reconstruction and the urgent overcoming of moral disaster would begin", and God would again take "the first place". Francisco Valdés, "La oración de Chile nuevo," September 11, 1973, *DOCLA* I, no. 8 (September 1973): 19-21. The bishop of Valparaiso, Emilio Tagle, in November 1973, issued a statement thanking the armed forces, because they

had saved Chile from falling "forever under the domain of Marxism". He compared the situation of the country with that of a "terminal patient" who had gone through a "successful surgery", in which he had lost "some blood", had suffered "some pain", but that had saved "the life of Chile as a free and sovereign nation", opened to a "new and radiant dawn". Emilio Tagle, "Por Chile con María", November 1973, *La Revista Católica* LXXIII, no. 1027 (September-December 1973): 268-271.

[787] Conferencia Episcopal de Chile, *La Reconciliación en Chile*, April 24, 1974, http://documentos.iglesia.cl/documento.php?id=152, accessed in October 15, 2017.

[788] Brian Smith says that in conversations with Mgr. Camus, general secretary of the episcopate, Camus had told him that, at the end of 1974, Pope Paul VI asked Chilean bishops to remain publicly united. Quoted in Smith, 2013. Brian Smith, "Nuevas revelaciones (1973-1975): Los obispos y el golpe de Estado," *Mensaje,* no. 622 (September, 2013): 21-26.

[789] On the subject of reconciliation and its different interpretations, Brian Loveman and Elizabeth Lira, *Las ardientes cenizas del olvido: Vía chilena de Reconciliación Política, 1932-1994* (Santiago: LOM Ediciones, 2000).

[790] José Aldunate, S.J., May 28, 2009.

[791] Brian Loveman and Elizabeth Lira, *Las ardientes cenizas del olvido,* 430.

[792] Ascanio Cavallo, *Memorias,* 80.

[793] The Vicariate of Solidarity created the *Boletín Solidaridad*. Its first edition went out in May 1976. It was distributed for free to ecclesiastic institutions and grassroots organizations. It spread information on human rights, the work of the Vicariate and different Christian experiences during the dictatorship.

[794] Teresa Donoso, *Los cristianos por el socialismo en Chile,* 244.

[795] María Angélica Cruz, *Iglesia, represión y memoria;* Alison J. Bruey, *Bread, Justice, and Liberty: Grassroots Activism and Human Rights in Pinochet's Chile* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2018).