

**Mario I. Aguilar, A Social History of the Catholic Church in Chile II. Edwin
Mellen Press, 2006.**

INTRODUCTION

Every biographer chooses that from a person's life which he thinks is important or interesting, hopefully both. Limitations of space, time, or ability put further restrictions on the final result. One's intended audience and purpose for writing the biography in the first place have an impact. The data available also affect the outcome, as well as the circumstance that the data themselves are squeezed through several filters before they ever reach the biographer. First of all, the subject of one's biography has selected certain characteristics of himself to commit to paper. Others, writing about the subject of a biography, can only present as much as they know, as they think important for their purposes. And all are conditioned by the climate and idioms of the times, both of which require translation and, therefore, interpretation as well. Nevertheless, the enterprise of biography remains attractive, and, I hasten to add, worthwhile. The end result of a biography is always more than, or at least different from, fiction. In spite of all the reconstruction and interpretation that go into any biography, the end result is a description of a real person, living in a real time, who had real influence on the world (Brandewie 1990: 5).

In my previous work, volume one of *A Social History of the Catholic Church in Chile*, I explored relations between the Catholic Church and the military regime of Augusto Pinochet in the years between the military coup and the approval of the new Chilean Constitution (1973-1980). During that period the Catholic Church in Chile played a central role in defending those persecuted by the regime and became an alternative state that challenged the policies of exclusion and militarism supported by the Pinochet regime. In other works I have also explored particular political incidents and ecclesial documents related to such historical period (Aguilar 1999, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2003).

It is clear that during the first period of the military regime there were two main actors in Chilean politics: Augusto Pinochet and Raúl Silva Henríquez. Pinochet as leader of the military junta and commander-in-chief led the coup and became the executive leader of the nation, while Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez was president of the Chilean Episcopal Conference and archbishop of the largest archdiocese in Chile, Santiago. Silva Henríquez and Pinochet did not see eye to eye most of the time, particularly on issues related to human rights, but both of them established channels of direct communication that proved that the Church had a central role to play in the Chilean public sphere. The Church led by the Cardinal played a central role in the defence of human rights during the years after the military coup and later the Church fostered the support of several initiatives that helped to restore national confidence in opposition politics and the eventual return to democracy in Chile in 1990.

However, Cardinal Silva Henríquez also played a central role in previous years, particularly during the governments of Jorge Alessandri (1958-1964), Eduardo Frei (1964-1970) and Salvador Allende (1970-1973). His appointment as Archbishop of Santiago in 1961 gave impetus to pastoral and social initiatives that contributed to a renewal of the Catholic Church in Chile that coincided with the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) and the Second General Meeting of Latin American Bishops in Medellin, Colombia (1968).

Thus, it is clear that in order to understand fully the history of the Catholic Church in Chile during the second half of the 20th Century one must study the life of Cardinal Silva Henríquez. This volume is an attempt to reconstruct his life in the social context of changes within Chilean society in order to appreciate his central contribution to the life of the Church in Chile by using an interdisciplinary approach to historiography that includes analytical tools from history, anthropology and theology. This work constitutes the first biography of Cardinal Silva Henríquez in the English language.¹ It is my suggestion that by understanding his life we can gain further knowledge about the history of Chile, knowledge that still remains hidden in ecclesiastical archives and personal papers rather than in political or economic analyses, already available in the public domain.

Biographies and Autobiographies in Latin America

Within the construction of a social memory associated with a particular nation, a group of people or a localised experience of Christianity, biographies become important in order to understand a particular moment in history. Biographies contribute to history as an interpretive project, in which the writer selects events, narratives and their understanding in context [and out of context] providing a subjective experience of history and of writing. Therefore, it is clear that biographies are not ‘objective’ in the sense of unique truths adhered by all, but they are textual constructions that form part of a social life that is perceived and interpreted in many different ways by actors, commentators, writers and scholars

¹ When the Cardinal retired some of his friends tried to arrange for an authorised biography to be written and a very distinguished Chilean historian was commissioned with that work. However, after that historian had written several chapters that were shown to Silva Henriquez he did not like them. Instead he felt comfortable with the journalist Ascanio Cavallo who edited materials the Cardinal had recorded in tapes, producing written chapters that, with the Cardinal’s approval, became the standard primary source of his life and thought with the title *Memorias* I-III. I have written a shorter biography for the Chilean market providing a single-source narrative (Aguilar 2004a). The book was presented to relatives and friends of the Cardinal at the auditorium of the Telefónica of Santiago in August 2004, and since then I have had access to some of his private papers, letters, homilies, and I have corresponded with people around the world who knew Silva Henríquez, including his close friend Reinaldo Sapag Chain.

who remain far from objective but have a textual and social position in relation to the facts narrated in their text (for a discussion on academic objectivity see Aguilar 2002:1-22). Writers of biographies are located in time and space, thus their comments about parts of an individual history reflect a need to understand and to describe important personal or social traits that made individuals important for the understanding of a nation's history or a continent's social, religious or political developments (e.g. Campos 1979 on Augusto César Sandino and Dujovne 2002 on Eva Perón).

Biographies are secondary sources in relation to autobiographies but neither of them can claim an absolute authority in the literary construction of history. Both genres become parts of a historiography, a further commentary on events and sources that remain and would always remain distant from the writing project of a text book or a final authoritative work on somebody else's life. Within such methodological perspective the 'production of history' can be perceived as the possibility that no history is objective and that any objectivity associated with authority within and without the study of a localised historical period and its practices does not exist. That is not my intellectual position, however, it is embraced by post-modern discourses that challenge the universality of meta-narratives and meta-texts.

The idea of a 'production of history' provides a creative opening into source diversity but not into source negation, and incorporates the contemporary creative tension between 'history' and 'historiography'.² It also

[...] refers to the processing of the past in societies and historical settings all over the world and the struggles for control of voices and texts in innumerable settings which animates this processing of the past. This field of practice [...] encompasses conventions and paradigms in the formation

² David W. Cohen, a scholar who in the past twenty years has led intellectual conversations between historians and anthropologists that were trying to integrate elements from a philosophy of history and contemporary literary criticism, coined the term (Cohen 1994).

of historical knowledge and historical texts, the organizing sociologies of historicizing projects and events including commemorations, the structuring of frames of record-keeping, the culturally specific glossing of texts, the deployment of powerfully nuanced vocabularies, the confronting of patterns and forces underlying interpretation, the working of audience in managing and responding to presentations of historical knowledge, and the contentions and struggles which evoke and produce texts and which also produce historical literatures' (Cohen 1994: 244-245).

Following such fruitful avenue of source analysis I adhere to a historical project as an inter-disciplinary investigation into sociability, where research and further understanding into social components, be they about groups or individuals, helps to complete a larger interpretive project on history that requires more research into the process of production of such history than into the so called historiography (Aguilar 2003c). Writers produce historical texts, narrating social actions and personal thoughts, however those texts express what they consider important and omit what they consider insignificant or they wish to ignore. The intentionality of speaking through writing is as important as the intentionality of silencing, where silence becomes central to a wider interpretative understanding of social history, so that 'to take up the question of silence is at the same time to take up in a very specific way the general problem of how people handle and deploy knowledge' (Cohen 1994: 247).

Autobiographies offer the same interpretative challenge. Individual social actors construct autobiographical texts, sometimes with the help of journalists, research assistants and contemporary scribes. They want to provide a narrative to a larger audience and they offer narratives written in the first person through which their lives are narrated, explored and interpreted offering a certain rationale to their individual existence, and a continuity to their social existence. After their death, relatives or friends provide narratives that bridge the genres of biography and autobiography, and that in some cases can be considered primary sources (e.g.

Duarte 1972 on her sister Eva Perón, and Gadea 1973 on her husband Ernesto Ché Guevara). Autobiographies from above, usually the preferred primary sources for traditional historians provide narratives by politicians, clerics, and social celebrities. Autobiographies from below create texts by those who have challenged the political or religious establishment and who in general do not have immediate access to official media channels and publishing houses.

Some autobiographies become a way of expressing life, utopia, and belonging that not only suggest an interpretation of the past but also give a social meaning and a mission to future actions and social interventions. Writing becomes, in those cases, social action because it moves others into a political critique and provides an interpretive project of society for today and for the future. To that effect some Latin American writers have perceived writing as social critique and political action and they have been challenged and persecuted by totalitarian states because of what they have written rather than because of what they have spoken.

Autobiographies in Chile

Contemporary scholars and writers have given the appropriate name of *testimonio* to this genre of the personal critique and the prophetic autobiographical. Within the period of the military regime in Chile, for example, many of those who suffered persecution or were arrested or went into forced political exile wrote about their experiences and their personal histories. Their aim was to provide a challenge to the Pinochet regime and a source of textual memory for generations to come. The number of such *testimonios* was so large that I have suggested somewhere else that it would be difficult to construct a social history of that period of Chilean history without including those writings as sources for historical scholarship (Aguilar 2003 in *Diálogos*).

Nevertheless, if a social history is constructed by using the historical sources of all those who as participants or commentators engage themselves in the ‘production of history’ it is not possible to define some as not worthy of

interpretation. Thus, Gonzalo Arroyo's interpretation of the military coup bears as much significance as Augusto Pinochet's interpretation of the same historical event (Arroyo 1974, Pinochet 1979). They are not contradictory in terms of personal objectivity; instead they present personal memories of the same time-space social reality by adding their own motivations, feelings, and subjectivities.

Moreover, a social history of a social group such as the Catholic Church, or of an individual, for example Cardinal Silva Henríquez, confronts the writer and the reader with a social group that while homogenous within an episcopal official document is not so in practice. The complexities of the Catholic Church are enormous, not only because international bodies of policy such as the Vatican influence the action of local churches, but also because the actors, e.g. bishops, claim to be influenced by supra-natural powers such as the Holy Spirit. Materialistic histories omit the possibility that some of the explanations given by ecclesiastical actors could refer to spiritual realms that remain non-objective and non-empirical, thus some of the political histories lack the depth of credibility that ecclesiastical personalities deserve. However, this possibility of a supra-natural and private devotional motivation provides a defeater for any writer in that one must recognise that there always be areas of the life of an ecclesiastical figure that no writer would be able to understand. Thus, some of his friends who are bishops have argued that the only way to understand Silva Henríquez' life is to understand his devotional life.

In summary, the use of historical archives must be complemented by anthropological methods of participant observation and interviewing, while those two methodologies profit from having some knowledge of ecclesiastical developments and theological narratives that become important in order to understand ecclesiastical figures as complex actors that function and perform within social realities of matter, while claiming authority from without empirical realities and within the supra matter of historical existence

Historical Sources

The Cardinal's *Memorias* remain the central primary historical source in order to understand the moments in history that the Cardinal felt were important, as well as his own reading of his childhood and early years as a religious member of the Salesian Order. His homilies during the yearly Te Deum (1973-1982) have been compiled in a single volume (Cavallo 1988), and the documents prepared by the Chilean Episcopal Conference (1974-1980) for subsequent reflection by Christian communities and Chileans in general constitute a source of his own thought and Christian commitment (Secretariado General de la Conferencia Episcopal de Chile 1982). When it comes to secondary sources it is necessary to mention his friend Reinaldo Sapag Chain, who became one of his closest friends and with whose family he spent many happy times. Sapag has a publishing house that has produced important collections of testimonies written by himself and other people that knew the Cardinal and who wanted to record their own anecdotes and encounters with Silva Henríquez (Sapag 1996, 1997). Those testimonies were also given by other people in the context of workshops, study days or evening events and published by interested parties in Chile (e.g. Israel 1999). His own writings and letters are available through the Fundación Raúl Silva Henríquez, the Fundación Archivos de la Vicaría de la Solidaridad, and the archives of the Archbishop of Santiago, while many other papers remain private and confidential within historical archives or in possession of his own relatives.

Biographical Presuppositions

In this book I sketch Silva Henríquez' life in a chronological manner, thus single chapters have been written outlining the historiography of a particular single period of history that was important for Silva Henriquez (earlier chapters) or the periods of Chilean history that were marked by political moments and in which Silva Henriquez had to respond to particular demands made on him by political and social events (later chapters). My approach while inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary at times is simple and returns to the central historical question that

defines any period of history *qua* history and further refines the contestation of sources, primary and secondary, through the literary construction of a chaotic historiography: that question is ‘what happened?’ However, my own response in this text has lacunae of areas I do not know and the choice of materials, primary and secondary sources, reflects my own historical presuppositions, i.e. I was an insider from 1970 onwards, while an outsider in the previous historical period, and I remain a contemporary outsider due to the fact that I live and write historiography in Scotland and I return to Chile once a year to search for my own past through archives and social moments of conversations with actors of the past that are not any longer part of my present. The writing of history has become my history while the complexities of historiography have become the bridge between the north and the south, between the present and the past. My production of history is important to the construction of social memories as it is to the search for a historical truth that seems ever to surprise us. Thus, by the time that I complete a footnote new legal processes in Chile bring new interpretations and new materials to be incorporated into this social history, a project that, I think, will not end very soon.

Structure of This Work

Chapter one explores the childhood and education of Silva Henríquez, including his calling to the priesthood and the religious life as part of the Salesian religious congregation. In doing so, I outline his family upbringing, the strong influence of his father, and the lonely experience of the secondary school student boarding in Santiago, who at the same time discovered a new social world at university, and never returned to his native Talca.

Chapter two describes the first period of priestly ministry that Silva Henríquez undertook at the Salesian Theological College, the Instituto Teológico Salesiano, and his tireless effort for the youth at the Salesian schools, particularly at the Patrocinio San José. Within this period the young priest becomes an entrepreneur and manages to unite charity and good will with the social program

of the Catholic Church. His mother dies leaving him without living parents but with many brothers and sisters that expected much of him.

Chapter three narrates his work as Archbishop of Valparaíso and his many new ideas and pastoral policies that made him well known within Chile and within the Vatican. These first episcopal policies were to be reproduced and expanded within his long years as a bishop.

Chapter four explores in detail his appointment as the second cardinal in the history of Chile, the rituals and ceremonies that took place in Rome, and the enormous enthusiasm shown by Chileans and the Chilean government on his return. His pastoral plan for Santiago became a national plan of pastoral renewal and a new evangelisation for a Catholic country in danger of forgetting its Christian roots of nationhood and social personhood.

Chapter five interprets the significance of the 1963 general mission in Santiago and the constant challenges that Silva Henríquez faced regarding the involvement of the Church within a very traditional Chilean society. In that period he faced the renewed challenges of the election of the Christian Democrats to government and the first three sessions of the Second Vatican Council that not only confirmed the pastoral line previously taken by Silva Henríquez but also allowed him to propose new ideas within several important discussions of the Council.

Chapter six describes his tense relations with the Christian democrats within a changing Chilean society torn between social change and political stagnation. Within that period there was a great work for human and economic development but Silva Henríquez had to face the increasing political involvement by Christians, the implementation of the pastoral practices prescribed by Vatican II and the crisis of the Chilean universities including his beloved Catholic University.

Chapter seven explores the historiography of the 1967 Santiago Synod, and the increasing involvement in politics by clergy and pastoral agents that felt closer to socialist politicians than to the Church. During that period Silva

Henríquez had to intervene several times in order to discourage the clergy's public support for particular political options and he had harsh encounters with those that searched for a new Church, for a popular Church.

Chapter eight dwells on the good relations between Silva Henriquez and Salvador Allende within a historical period dominated by anger and hate, in which very few listened to the Church's call for dialogue and for a way forward in order to avoid a bloody civil war among brothers. It was a difficult moment for the Church as the movement Christians for Socialism pushed for further reforms and there were instances of divisions within the Church as well as within the nation.

Chapter nine explores the first period of the military regime and the role that Silva Henríquez played as Archbishop of Santiago within that period. The previous volume explored in clear detail the political situations that arose within that period while in this volume the summary chapter focuses on Silva Henríquez' protection of the persecuted, his calls for a democratic nation and his support for the relatives of the disappeared, particularly after the first remains of the disappeared were found in 1978.

The conclusions to this volume describe Silva Henríquez' activities within his retirement and the constant connection between him and the social actors of the second period of the military regime, topic to be explored in the next volume. His life as a Christian, as a religious, and as a priest were dominated by prayer and the daily celebration of the Eucharist. The conclusions aim at finding an answer to his political and social actions within the theological framework of Christian discipleship. In my opinion he played an important role in the life of Chile and of Chileans because he was first and foremost a good disciple of Christ.

CHAPTER 1

Childhood and Education

Raúl Silva Henríquez was born on the 27th of September 1907 in the southern town of Talca within a very large family of 19 brothers and sisters of which he was number 16. His father Ricardo Silva Silva was a lawyer and a member of the Conservative Party (Partido Conservador) while his mother followed the customs of the time and organised the large household following practices that dated back to Spanish colonial times. Indeed both families had colonial links and therefore were part of a group of families that owned lands and produced most of the agricultural resources needed to feed the population of Santiago.

On the 18th of September 1810 a self-proclaimed Junta had taken over power in Chile at a time when the Spanish monarch had been imprisoned by Napoleon. While the intention of such Junta was to take care of public affairs until the monarch regained control of the Kingdom of Chile the occasion served the purpose of an independence movement. Bernardo O'Higgins signed the actual declaration of Chilean Independence in the southern Maule Region, where Talca is located, on the 2nd of February of 1818.³ Chilean Independence followed a

³ The original document was kept at the La Moneda Palace in Santiago. However, despite efforts to save it during the bombardment of La Moneda on the 11th of September 1973 it was

campaign against Spanish forces that regained control of Chile and were only defeated after a patriotic army marched from Argentina led by Bernardo O'Higgins and supported by the Argentinean general José de San Martín. After independence those who were Spanish civil servants left for Europe while those born in Chile retained rights to their lands and their farms. That was the case of the Silva family who despite the economic centrality of the nitrate exports became agricultural producers of wheat at a time of great economic turmoil and when heavy criticism towards the British utilisation of nitrates grew.

The north of Chile became the place for worker's revolts while the south of Chile remained a place dominated by aristocratic families and their farms. Places such as Talca produced an economic and intellectual elite that dominated the Chilean Congress and the decision-making bodies in Santiago. While in the north socialist and democratic ideas prevailed that was not the case south of Santiago. Intellectuals with land holdings, such as Francisco A. Encina, born in Talca, spoke of an orderly society based on the observation of facts rather than on romantic ideas of societies that would never exist in social reality (Encina 1912). Even when European positivism did not include racism or social Darwinism those tendencies began to appear in a divided Chile that was forever dependent on foreign investors and European markets (Deutsch 1999: 13).

In the case of the Silva family, Silva Henríquez' grandparents –José María Silva Barazarte and Tránsito Silva Almarza- had a farm in Chimbarongo that, as in many other cases, was managed from somewhere else, in this case from San Fernando. The Silva family originated from the colonial Borges de Silva, originally from the Portuguese Island of Madeira that moved to Chile during the reign of King Philip II. The journey from San Fernando or Chimbarongo to Santiago took a full day's journey and as result all children that lived in the Maule Region were sent to boarding schools in England or France and in a few cases to Santiago.

destroyed by the lack of care of the military conscripts after government personnel had saved it from the fires that had spread throughout La Moneda (Ahumada *et alia* 1989: I, 142, f. 12).

That was the case of the cardinal's father-Ricardo Silva Silva- and his uncles Luis Ignacio and Enrique. They journey to the Central Railway Station in Santiago by train and on arrival they took the tram pulled by horses to the home of their grand aunt Servanda in Peumo Street. Ricardo Silva Silva started his studies at the Instituto Nacional, one of the best lay institutions in Santiago, during a period in which religious congregations of priests, religious brothers and nuns had the best schools in Santiago. The Instituto Nacional developed a good reputation for academic excellence and for training good citizens, individuals who would excel in the service of the nation within their own professions. Thus, the Instituto Nacional symbolised an ongoing battle between conservative sectors associated with a conservative Catholic Church and liberal sectors that proposed a secular state with professionals that would serve the state sector rather than the private sector linked to the role of the Church within Chilean society.

In a way it was unusual for children of the land-owning families to send their children to non-Catholic schools. However, Ricardo Silva's days at the Instituto Nacional did not last long. Discipline was very strict and economic resources not as good as in other boarding schools with the result of student discontent. Students perceived some practices as cruel and there was a student revolt during which windows were broken, teachers were attacked and the kitchen ransacked, where students consumed plenty of the items stored for the month such as hams, cheeses, honey and wines. As a result Ricardo Silva was sent to the Colegio San Ignacio, an excellent Jesuit secondary school. At the Jesuit school the Silva brothers found an exciting intellectual atmosphere and became enchanted by Christianity, particularly the study of philosophy, the discussion of issues related to faith and reason and the involvement of Christians in the running of civil society.

Ricardo Silva finished his schooling in 1879, the year in which the War of the Pacific between Chile, Peru and Bolivia started, a conflict that "was the most significant national experience for Chile since independence" (Collier and Sater 1996: 139). He studied Law at the University of Chile and joined the Conservative

Party, in those years the political party that was the closest to the Catholic Church. Ricardo Silva was a devout Catholic that knew the Christian faith and had profited from a Jesuit scholastic education. He became a benefactor of the Jesuits and the cardinal remembers that his father sent him with an envelope to the Colegio San Ignacio after the church had been damaged by one of the many earthquakes that disturbed the tranquillity of Santiago. Later, when the cardinal disclosed his religious vocation to his father, Ricardo Silva responded that he would be happy if one of his sons were to become member of a religious order, especially if he were to become a Jesuit. Silva Henríquez was very fond of his father and in old age regretted that he had not written anything about him.⁴

Silva Henríquez' mother, Mercedes Henríquez Encina, was also a descendant of a colonial family, the Henríquez, who were all descendants of the governor Henríquez' brother. The governor and his brother had arrived in Chile as part of the Spanish colonial service, however the governor, following colonial laws, was forbidden from marrying those born in the Spanish colonies and later emigrated to Italy where he got married. However, his brother did not have any impediments to marry and he remained in Chile after marrying a Chilean lady in Concepción and they had several children. The family moved to the Maule region after the governor Manso de Velasco decided to populate areas north of Concepción and founded the city of Talca. Mercedes Henríquez' parents were Diego Henríquez Cienfuegos and Delfina Encina, daughter of another colonial family previously from Peru, whose father Francisco Encina y Echeverría had colonised the Linares and Píduco region of Chile. The Henríquez and Encina families followed a long colonial practice and married their children in order to strengthen their family alliances linked to lands and to the common access to the Encina Channel.

After becoming a lawyer the cardinal's father returned to Talca and fell in love with a girl from the García de la Huerta family. However, he could not

⁴ Silva Henríquez accepted that his busy life as archbishop and cardinal had prevented him from doing this, *Memorias* I: 11.

convince her family to allow the girl to marry him, as the family wanted him to marry her older sister. Ricardo Silva was heart-broken and decided to visit his Argentinean friend and fellow lawyer Martín Rodríguez Galisteo. The visit turned into a long stay of four years and after his return to Talca Ricardo Silva fell in love with a 16 year old girl Mercedes Henríquez. They married at the chapel of the Talca Seminary in 1887 and their marriage followed a pattern of alliances between the Silva and the Henríquez' families, an alliance that already had two other marriages between members of both families.

Ricardo Silva and Mercedes Henríquez had 19 children. The cardinal does not mention all of them, however such a large number of brothers and sisters around the table explains why Silva Henríquez surrounded himself by guests at meals during his period as Archbishop of Santiago and Cardinal of Chile. The gap between the children meant that the older children were married with their own children while the younger children were still in school. Thus, there was a cohort mentality that allowed small groups of siblings to live the same experiences and therefore share more of their daily lives. Among those that Silva Henríquez mentions in his writings there was Eugenio who was the eldest brother and who joined the Navy. The third sibling was a sister called Marina (Navy or painting of the sea) who was named thus because of a particular incident that took place during the 1891 Revolution in Chile.

During the 1891 Revolution there was a rebellion of the Navy against the government of President José Manuel Balmaceda (1886-1891) and the rebel forces established a Provisional Junta in Iquique led by Captain Jorge Montt, Waldo Silva, and Ramón Barros Luco.⁵ The Navy flag ships were ordered to move to the south in order to take over the port of Valparaíso and those supporting the rebels got ready to support the take over across the central litoral

⁵ During the months previous to the 1973 military coup the Chilean media overplayed the professionalism of the Chilean Armed Forces by asserting that they had never conducted forced removals of democratically elected presidents and therefore were very different than other Latin American Armed Forces. This was indeed a historical myth as can be gathered from the 1891 Revolution and other examples from Chilean history.

and south of Santiago. Ricardo Silva decided to join the rebel forces that supported Congress and was condemned to death by the leaders of the Talca government controlled region. He took refuge in the San Clemente farm and as soon as he heard that the Navy was heading for the south he returned to Talca. His wife decided to convince him to flee and prayed to the Virgin Mary under the title of “helper” – María Auxiliadora. According to her narrative her prayers were heard and she found Ricardo who agreed to flee to Argentina through the mountain paths. It was only after he heard that Balmaceda had committed suicide inside the Argentinean Embassy and that the revolution had ended that he returned home.

Years later the cardinal recognised that if Ricardo Silva had been killed he would not have been born. Thus, he recalled such moment as a moment of grace through the intercession of the Virgin Mary under the name of María Auxiliadora, the advocation of Mary preferred by members of the Salesian Order of which the cardinal became a member. For Silva Henríquez the Virgen Mary had already crossed his path even before he had been born.⁶

Five of his siblings died. His sister Clementina died of diphtheria when she was twelve years of age, while four brothers also died. Other siblings included Armando, Adolfo, Josefina (a nun), Octavio, María Victoria and Regina (another nun). Those siblings close in age to the cardinal were Clementina, Anita and Hugo. The three cohort-groups lived in a large house attached to the Loncomilla Windmill, located between San Javier and Villa Alegre. There were four or five nannies that looked after the children and the Silva Henríquez had fond memories of those dedicated and caring ladies whom they loved. The staff made every attempt to provide good meals and to introduce the children to new foods, particularly exciting ones such as lobsters brought back from Santiago by Ricardo Silva.

⁶ ‘Aquel día extraordinario, María Auxiliadora, la Virgen salesiana, se cruzó por primera vez en el camino de mi vida, para decirlo de otro modo, hizo posible mi nacimiento’, *Memorias I*: 17.

The greatest yearly feast at the Silva Henríquez' home was his mother's birthday as his father did not celebrate his birthday. On that day forty to fifty relatives arrived and there was fun and laughter all over the house. The cardinal's sisters took turns –one of them per week- in order to manage the household in preparation for their future married life. His father read the Spanish classic *Don Quijote de la Mancha* at all times, and he read to his children as if Don Quijote were one of the most important characters in the history of humanity.

The cardinal and all his older brothers were sent to Santiago, to the Jesuit school (Colegio San Ignacio), while all his sisters studied in Talca at the school of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. However, the Silva Henríquez brothers refused to eat at the Jesuit school in Santiago and were all sent back to the Minor Seminary in Talca as day pupils and lay students. Boarding schools in Santiago did not develop a good reputation when it came to food and certainly all students from the south missed the quantity and quality of the food prepared in the farms and the estates of the Chilean aristocracy. However at the Minor Seminary of Talca young priests took the classes without much pedagogical preparation and Ricardo Silva was not happy with such situation. However, a religious congregation of Christian Brothers (Hermanos de las Escuelas Cristianas) took over a school –Liceo Blanco Encalada- in Talca with a much-improved standard of teaching.

The cardinal and his brothers were sent to that school, where one of the cardinal's classmates was Rafael Retamal, much later the President of the Chilean Supreme Court of Justice. Every morning the Silva Henríquez brothers were driven in a carriage pulled by horses to the San Javier Railway Station where they took the train to Talca. Much later the cardinal was sent to Talca as a boarder, following the practice that children who needed to board even when attending different schools boarded on the same premises from Monday to Friday.

It is clear that Ricardo Silva had to work hard in order to provide for such a large family and to sustain the school fees required from the private Catholic and boarding schools. His work was always associated with his windmill and income was heavily dependent on the demand for wheat and the availability of it.

There was a shortage of wheat in Chile and the demand always outnumbered the amount on offer. Therefore Ricardo Silva decided to import wheat from Australia, where it was cheaper and abundant. However, the boat that carried his purchased wheat had an accident at the Panama Channel and the delivery of Silva's wheat was delayed. By the time that the wheat was delivered the price in Chile was lower than previously expected and Ricardo Silva was financially broke. The Bank was generous and even when he lost his windmill he was allowed to remain as windmill administrator and after saving sufficient money he bought the windmill back from the Bank. Later he bought the first lorry of the area and conducted very successful agricultural transactions.

The cardinal did not mention his mother a lot. She was probably busy with the younger children and the boys always corresponded with their father concerning school issues, the payment of bills and their future plans. Ricardo Silva had an enormous religious influence on his children and he was himself a devout Catholic. On one occasion the cardinal had to spend a night in a room near the windmill and he shared it with his father. Once the lights were off his father asked him if he had said his night prayers and the cardinal responded that he had not. What followed was a kind and gentle reminder of one's night duties including daily prayers. Ricardo Silva intimated on that occasion that he prayed one *Salve* every night for his mother.

Raúl Silva Henríquez received his First Holy Communion in 1916 and at a very early age felt the call to a religious vocation. He confided in his father that he wanted to become a member of the Christian Brothers, a wish that pleased Ricardo Silva, though he reminded his son that he needed to complete his secondary school studies first. In 1920 and when he was 13 years old Silva Henríquez left Talca in order to study in Santiago at the Liceo Alemán. The school had been founded recently in 1910 and was managed by missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word, otherwise known at that time as the German Fathers because most of them were Germans or descendants of German immigrants to Argentina. He remembered that the German priests did not have a

lot of contact with the pupils and his vocation became less urgent as a result. Further he thought that he would not be able to become a member of that religious order because all of the German priests wore glasses and the young Silva Henríquez did not have them.⁷

At the Liceo Alemán Silva Henríquez was homesick and missed his family, the family meals, his nannies and most of all the presence of his father. He particularly missed those intimate moments of conversation when his father advised him on many matters of life and of the soul. Rarely he spoke of missing his mother, unusual for that time, when fathers were constantly on the move and mothers were left with the daily care of children and therefore became very close to their own children.

When he was 16 years old in 1922 Raúl Silva Henríquez joined the Catholic University School of Law, a thriving department within a small university. Those times were turbulent for the Catholic University due to the fact that the government of Chile had negotiated a complete separation between church and state, a legal agreement between Chile and the Vatican that became effective in 1925 with the proclamation of the new Chilean Constitution. Still the atmosphere at the university led to serious learning and the daily practice of the Catholic faith while the teaching staff was of distinction, well versed and passionate about their own subjects.

Silva Henríquez remembered after many years the lectures on the philosophy of law by Roberto Peragallo and the exquisite rhetoric and intelligence of Ezequías Allende who suggested that during that quiet period of Chilean history many good lawyers would be produced but not too many good politicians. It was Allende's thesis that a country needed good lawyers and good politicians in order to develop itself. The military coups of 1924 and 1925 changed that state of affairs and the confirmation of Carlos Ibáñez del Campo as president in 1927 meant general social unrest, strikes and protests against him that eventually forced his resignation.

⁷ He wrote 'como yo no los tenía, me dije: Entonces no sirvo', *Memorias* I: 25.

Issues of social justice and the problems of the working class did not yet affect Chilean society at large, even when very soon the previous massacres at the northern nitrate offices and the general social injustice within Chilean society dominated the political life of Chile. However, university students had plenty of opportunities for joining reflection groups. Silva Henríquez remembered a reflection group led by Father Ferrada, a diocesan priest, group to which he was invited to attend by Alfonso Cabrea, a former seminarian. Moreover he was asked to prepare a short talk that he prepared at the Jesuit library but that proved inconsequential and he did not return to such group. Instead, he was a member of another group with an intense Catholic practice that included daily communion and periodical retreats directed by Monsignor Carlos Casanueva in the coastal town of Las Cruces.⁸ Casanueva made a real impact on many university students because of his sermons and his reflections on faith and the life of the youth.

It was during this period that Silva Henríquez recovered his fervent Catholic faith and his intentions of pursuing a religious vocation. Thus, and during his third year at the School of Law he decided to enter a religious order and he confided such news with his friends Luis Felipe Letelier –from Talca and with whom he had attended school together since they were both six years of age- and Alberto Muñoz, who knew the Salesian Order and who joined it as well. However, Silva Henríquez did not know which religious congregation he should join and Carlos Casanueva advised him to become a diocesan priest. However, he was not convinced that a Bishop would guide him as much as a community with a common rule of life and a shared religious charism. Somehow, it seems that Silva Henríquez distrusted his own character and was looking for a firm guide, a superior of a religious order, rather than a diocesan bishop.⁹ Casanueva insisted

⁸ In his old age Silva Henríquez would return weekly to the seaside town of Las Cruces in order to visit his close friend Reinaldo Sapag. Sapag had a house in Las Cruces and escaped the business of Santiago, together with his family, every weekend (Reinaldo Sapag, oral communication, Santiago, 16 August 2004).

⁹ Silva Henríquez wrote 'Repliqué que la idea no me era del todo atractiva, porque mi temperamento podía conducirme fuera de las normas con demasiada facilidad; estaba convencido

that the best way of exercising the priestly ministry in Chile was through the diocesan priesthood, but Silva Henríquez was not sure of this.

He decided to discuss this matter with his confessor, the Uruguayan Jesuit priest José Zorrilla de San Martín, who listened attentively and asked him to return in the late afternoon. However, once Silva Henríquez returned to the Jesuit school of San Ignacio, where Zorrilla lived, he found that his confessor had been called by the Pro Nuncio and could not see him till the following evening. A day later he returned and could not gain access to the school as all gates were locked, with no bell on sight to ring. He knocked and knocked but nobody came, for him a clear sign that it was not the will of God for him to become a Jesuit.

Silva Henríquez discussed his disappointment with his friend Luis Felipe Letelier who advised him to see Fr. Valentín Panzarasa, a Salesian, who at that time was Letelier's confessor. Panzarasa was a radical priest who wrote a lot about the social doctrine of the Church, he gave lectures at the university and was liked by youth. The family connections were already there as Silva Henríquez remembered that a relative doña Mariana Silva de Garcés helped the Salesians in Talca and encouraged relatives to become helpers of Don Bosco. Indeed, during the 19th Century the Chilean bishop Ramón Angel Jara had encouraged the foundation of a group of helpers and volunteers for the Salesian Order.¹⁰ Thus, the Silva Henríquez' household had received publications and literature sent by the Salesians including the *Boletín Salesiano* and the *Mensajero de María Auxiliadora*, a modest publication that included short stories for children about Don Bosco's life that he found entertaining.¹¹

de que necesitaba una regla, un marco constante, y ello apuntaba mejor hacia una Orden o una Congregación', *Memorias* I, 30.

¹⁰ An Italian diocesan priest, St. John Bosco, ordained in 1841, founded the Salesians (SDB) in 1859 by binding 17 youth to a promise to serve other youth. His congregation was approved ten years later and the Salesians expanded their service to the youth, particularly those poor by founding schools and places of technical training. Currently there are 94 provinces of Salesians throughout the world. The Chilean Province grew throughout the 20th Century and there have been several Salesian bishops within the Chilean Bishops (Kuzmanich 1998).

¹¹ All publications were planned and produced by Fr. Juan Zin, *Memorias* I, 31.

Finally in December 1926 Silva Henríquez visited the Patrocinio San José school, where Fr. Panzarasa lived in the Bellavista area of Santiago beside the San Cristóbal Hill. Fr. Panzarasa was reading a philosophy text and when hearing that Silva Henríquez was thinking of joining the Jesuits confided that he had also recommended two other youngsters, former students of the Salesian school, to the Jesuits. He offered to write to the Jesuit Rector, Fr. Román. Silva Henríquez explained once again his interest in a religious vocation, and requested books about the Salesian founder and the Salesian Order in general to read over the summer. However, Silva Henríquez was already well disposed towards the Salesians because of the warmth and welcoming spirit that he had found in Fr. Panzarasa.¹² However, Panzarasa thought that Silva Henríquez wanted to become a Jesuit because he was soon to graduate from university as a lawyer.

During the summer of 1927 Silva Henríquez read the life of Don Bosco, founder of the Salesians, and he was touched by the simplicity of the man who seven years later was to be declared a saint by the Catholic Church. Don Bosco was the son of peasants, thus his enormous commitment to poor children who in most cases struggled to get a primary education. However, what was extraordinary about the founder of the Salesians was that he was able to perceive the service to the poor of this world in the context of their lives as good Christians and as good citizens. This attitude was unusual for his time because the Italian wars of unification had left a deep divide between the political powers and the Church. Indeed, after the unification of 1870 one of the most difficult aspects of Italian life was the appointment of bishops in the midst of a general distrust of all politicians by the Church. Thus, Don Bosco had a pioneering attitude towards relations of Church and State that were to unfold many years later in the Second Vatican Council when the Catholic Church finally declared that her concerns were the concerns of all the rest of the world.

¹² Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Creo que me impactó especialmente la disposición del padre Panzarasa. Parecía querer ayudarme sin condición alguna; ni siquiera intentaba convencerme de las ventajas de los salesianos, algo que yo hubiera considerado natural de cualquier miembro de una Congregación', *Memorias I*, 32.

There is no doubt that at this moment Silva Henríquez found a Christian charism to follow and he sought reassurance from people who had either met or knew of Don Bosco. One of them, Abdón Cifuentes, was a prominent Catholic who had met Don Bosco and who had taken *Rerum Novarum*¹³ and the social doctrine of the Church at heart within a Chilean milieu in which Catholicism was synonymous with conservatism.¹⁴ Thus, Cifuentes was very impressed by the humble appearance of Don Bosco who looked like a rural priest, humble in appearance and origin but with an inner wisdom in his dealings with people.

At the end of the summer holidays Silva Henríquez had decided to become a Salesian and thus confided his intentions to Panzarasa. The priest suggested that he finish his university education, in case he changed his mind later, and that he could live with the Salesian community at the school paying his keep in order to learn more about the Salesian way of life. They met every day in order to discuss the Christian faith and some relevant texts that could help Silva Henríquez to discern if God was calling him to be a Salesian and a priest within the Catholic Church.

One of those texts was *La vida interior* by Tissot in which the author explores in a very detailed manner the spirituality of St. Francis of Sales, a saint who inspired the spiritual life of Don Bosco. Panzarasa was fond of Tissot's ideas in which religious piety was not only related to feelings and the imagination but also to reason. As a result pastoral action and spirituality related to an objective world that could be explored by reason and dealt with by human action. Religious life and its charisma dealt precisely with the way of enacting God's action in the world in a particular context regardless of individual feelings or the influence of personal passions.

There is no doubt that the ideas liked by Panzarasa were fully supported by the then newly developed social doctrine of the Church. In his book *La justicia*

¹³ Encyclical letter written by Pope Leo XIII in 1891.

¹⁴ The actual distribution of such papal document had been delayed in Chile because the influential Conservative Party argued that Chile was not prepared and it would not understand such changes in magisterial ideas about society and economics (Ahumada *et alia* 1989, I: 333).

social Panzarasa had dwelt on the moral, political, and Christian imperative of dealing with social problems within society. It was in those conversations with Panzarasa that Silva Henríquez developed his conviction that any avoidance of those issues conduces to poverty, under-development, and eventually social violence.

At the Patrocinio San José -at that time a boarding school- he discovered the joys of teaching as an assistant to the Salesian priests and he battled with the ordinary tensions of a boarding school that at that time was one of the strictest in Santiago. Silva Henríquez attempted to play football, even with his weak knee, and he slowly learned how to deal positively with the youth who did not need force but reassurance.¹⁵ At the same time and until the year 1929 he worked as an intern in the law firm of Don Alejandro Reyes Cerda. On that year he graduated as a lawyer after completing his thesis on *Asignaciones modales*; however, he was never to exercise his legal profession as he took the decision to enter the religious family of Don Bosco.

He wrote to his parents and found some opposition among family members who saw him as a well prepared professional who should have entered the Jesuits and who certainly perceived the Salesians as a humble religious congregation with less intellectually able clergy. His father though did not express such reservations and in supporting his son requested that his decision be definite so as not to upset his parents later.¹⁶ Thus, on the 28th of January 1930, feast of St. John Chrisostom, Silva Henríquez entered the Salesian Novitiate and a day later celebrated for the first time the feast of St. Frances of Sales, so dear to the Salesians, within one of their communities.

The Salesian Novitiate was located in Macul, at that time a rural area near Santiago. Silva Henríquez left his suit and his golden watch and started to learn

¹⁵ Silva Henríquez wrote about his sometimes difficult experiences: 'En cierta ocasión le dí una bofetada a un muchacho y aquél reaccionó con ofendida violencia, mándandome a buena parte; no supe qué hacer', *Memorias* I: 36.

¹⁶ His father wrote: 'Nosotros no tenemos ningún reparo en que usted entre a los salesianos; por el contrario, lo único que le pedimos es que piense bien lo que va a hacer y que sea definitiva su elección, para que no mate de pena a sus pobres padres', *Memorias* I: 36.

the humbleness and the hard work expected of any Salesian.¹⁷ Most of his classmates, ten Chileans and eleven foreigners, were younger, between 15 and 16 years of age and for a while he was given the nickname ‘the lawyer’. Indeed he appreciated his work with the youth at the Patrocinio San José that prepared him for a group of enthusiastic young men preparing themselves for the religious life.

Their preparation to the religious life was centred on the ideas given by Don Bosco to the Salesians in his letter of 1884, an outdated mystical theology, and manual work, particularly those humble tasks that many of the novices had done by servants at their own homes. The Novitiate had a vineyard, where every novice picked-up grapes for the production of a sweet Mass wine with the name *Sagrada Familia* (Holy Family). Silva Henríquez learned through hard work to become a priest and to serve others and he saw many dedicated classmates that took immediately to manual and community work.

Due to his previous studies he was allowed to do philosophy and the practical period of school service (*Tirocinio Práctico*) in only four years.¹⁸ However, the novices while sheltered by the community were concerned about the economic crisis that affected the whole world in general and Chile in particular between 1930 and 1934. Already they followed the spirit of Don Bosco regarding the public sphere: they were not concerned with the political realm but needed to understand the political in order to be concerned with the social and those who suffered because of social processes, particularly the youth. Indeed, Chileans were suffering in a period of instability after a quick change in government, a mutiny against the establishment by the Navy and the installation of a Socialist Republic by Colonel Marmaduke Grove.

¹⁷ He wrote: ‘El padre Valentín Grasso, a cargo de los novicios, me advirtió que debía abandonar traje y pulsera en ese momento; se trataba de lujos que un sacerdote no podía permitirse’, *Memorias* I: 38.

¹⁸ At that time the Salesians required of their new members one year of novitiate, three years of philosophy, three years of *Tirocinio Práctico*, and four years of theological studies.

Studies in Europe

In 1934 Silva Henríquez was sent by his superiors to study theology at the Salesian Theologate in Turin together with other two Chileans, Carlos Weiss and Alberto Muñoz, a former law-student who had also been influenced by Fr. Panzarasa.

They departed aboard the Italian vessel *Virgilio* from Valparaíso. There were 300 passengers aboard distributed in three classes of compartments and the Salesians occupied a comfortable cabin in the second class that provided meals and some comfort. The *Virgilio* headed towards the Peruvian port of El Callao where Fr. Castorina, the Salesian superior in Lima and who had worked at the Patrocinio San José was going to meet them so that they could visit the community in Lima. However, they waited a whole afternoon and an evening and their host did not appear. They decided to leave the boat the following morning and headed for Lima. They managed to visit the community and headed back to the vessel. At that moment Fr. Castorina appeared in another boat and finally, together with the *Virgilio*'s captain, he brought them to Lima to see the Salesian school and the beautiful scenery of the colonial Lima.

Their journey was long until they reached the Panama Channel and to occupy themselves they wrote a hilarious diary, *Inter Nos*, with drawings and anecdotes to be sent periodically to the Salesian novices in Chile and that Silva Henríquez, as the main author, kept for many years.¹⁹ After Panama they stopped at La Guaira in Venezuela and from there they headed for Europe and their first port of entry, Barcelona. As previously arranged they visited the Salesian community and had the first experience of the Metro. They continued their journey through Marsella and the *Virgilio* finally arrived in Genoa on the 26th of September 1934.

From Genoa they took the train to Turin where two Chilean priests, Lázaro y Quiroz, met them. They reached the huge Salesian Seminary and during the next

¹⁹ Its subtitle was *Diario serio-cómico-noticioso-caricaturesco, editado por tres ratas chilenas de paso por las Europas*.

few weeks they explored places and houses where the history of the Salesians had taken place. One of the most moving experiences for Silva Henríquez was the visit on the day after their arrival to the Basilica of Maria Auxiliadora where the remains of Don Bosco were kept. They also visited the Oratory where the community kept intact the rooms in which Don Bosco lived and worked, including his chair, a desk and the chapel where he prayed and celebrated Mass. That visit made an enormous impression on young Silva Henríquez as he, together with Alberto Muñoz, prepared to help the Vice-General of the Salesians, Fr. Pedro Berrutti, at their first Mass in Italian soil. Fr. Berrutti had been provincial of the Salesians in Chile and he continued guiding and advising Silva Henríquez throughout his period of study in Italy.

At the Salesian Theologate there were 40 students, 20 of them Italians and 22 of other nationalities, including 6 Americans, 4 Argentineans, 3 Portuguese, a Yugoslavian and a Russian. The course of studies was demanding, particularly the Hebrew course, as commented by Alberto Muñoz in their ongoing *Inter-Nos* diary.²⁰ However it is clear that Silva Henríquez enjoyed the different styles of teaching used by the Salesian priests, and he was particularly fond of the course on moral theology given by Fr. Eugenio Valentini, and the study of the Bible given by Fr. Mezzacasa.²¹

An ordinary day for the students started at 5:30 am, meditation 6:00-6:30 am, followed by Mass, study and cleaning of bedrooms. At 8:00 am all the community had breakfast together, followed by three classes in the morning and two classes in the afternoon after lunch. There was study after supper and at 9:00 pm all students were in bed. On Thursday afternoon they were free to visit town and to visit their Mother House that had news from all over the world. On

²⁰ Muñoz wrote: ‘Ya aquí podríamos entretenerlos un momento para considerar las bellezas y armonías de la histórica lengua de Israel, con las explicaciones filológicas, rítmicas y literarias correspondientes, y dejarlos extasiados con la conjugación del verbo gatal en su forma gal, o hiphil o hiptael, o bien con la recitación de un trozo de la Sagrada Escritura, como aquel que empieza con Vayyómer Móshe ha Eloshim ...’, *Memorias* I: 51-52.

²¹ Much later the Salesian Theological Institute moved to Rome where it became the Salesian University.

Sundays there was a sung Mass and it was a day of rest and reflection. It was a well-disciplined life that prepared disciplined priests for their future ministry and that was very similar to the life of other seminarians in many other religious congregations.

At that time letters took months and Silva Henríquez was the unhappy recipient of a telegram from Chile in October 1934. It had been posted by the Salesian Provincial Fr. José Puertas and read as follows ‘Dad flew Heaven. Puertas’. It was a very sad moment for Silva Henríquez who wrote a moving letter to his mother recognising that his father had guided him all his life and that he had given him the most precious gift, his Christian faith.²² He regretted that he was not able to be beside his father when he died, however he became ever closer to his new religious family in Italy. Silva Henríquez’ brothers continued affirming his vocation while he tried through more frequent correspondence to keep in touch with them. In summary, he had found a new family, the Salesians, and had been captivated by the spirit of Don Bosco.²³

There is no doubt that sometimes there was a tension between the two families, the earthly and the divine, especially during those years of formation to the religious life and to the priesthood. One summer his brothers decided to support his desire to visit England and to learn the English language. However, it was customary for the students to go to the Italian Alps, to the house that the Salesians had in Ulzio, where Silva Henríquez spent four summers while in Europe. He requested permission to go to England and was quickly reminded about the simple life-style that the Salesians sought and the fact that his access to financial resources should not give him more privileges. He took such opinion in a very positive manner and always appreciated the beauty of the summer holidays at

²² He wrote: ‘El hombre que me había enseñado lo fundamental de mi vida –la fe-, el que me había ayudado y guiado en todo momento, el que había servido de manantial para mis ideas y mis sentimientos, había pasado a los brazos del Señor sin que yo pudiera estar a su lado’, *Memorias I*: 53.

²³ Throughout his life the Cardinal spoke in terms of having been captivated by Don Bosco and his charisma in order to follow Christ his Master, see for example his homily on the occasion of his fifty years as a member of the Salesians, ‘Don Bosco me ha conquistado’, Punta Arenas, 2 February 1981.

Ulzio. During those summer weeks the students could not only change their environment and escape the heat of Turin but also had access to news from all over the world that were constrained while studying by the fact that they could only read *L'Osservatore Romano*, *La Stampa*, and some theological journals.

The students were aware at that time that the relations between the Church and the Italian State had been strained for decades due to the Roman question of possession of St. Peter's Basilica and surrounding holy places. Indeed after the Italian Unification the Church had lost her identity and all sacred Christian places became part of the City of Rome. However, Benito Mussolini finally settled this question in 1929 when the Duce negotiated with Pius XI the agreements of Letran and a concordat by which the Church was given ownership and independence within the City of Rome.

By 1931 there were new tensions regarding the Italian youth and the plan of Mussolini of having a singular youth movement allied to his own vision of Italy and he opposed all Catholic organisations that co-ordinated youth movements. Due to the fact that the Salesians worked primarily with the youth such controversy became central to the discussions and experiences of the Salesian students in Turin. Till that time all youth activities in Italy were dominated by Catholic Action. Catholic Action embraced the apostolic mandate to immerse the youth in the tasks of learning the Christian faith and becoming active in the different kinds of apostolate that within Italian society made youth closer to Christ and indeed like Christ.

The controversy was met head to head by Pious XI that condemned all totalitarian attitudes by the *Duce* through his encyclical *Non abbiamo bisogno*, the first of his messages against the regime. The *Duce* sought another Concordat with the Vatican, a legal agreement that gave restricted power and access to Catholic Action in Italy. Those attitudes brought him some favour among Italian clergy that saw him as a man of order that wanted order and progress within a stronger Italy. However, by 1934 it was clear that no clergy should have hopes in the Duce that prohibited all priests from appearing in public during the visit by Hitler to

Venice. A year later in 1935 Mussolini invaded Ethiopia in order to avenge the defeat of the Italian troops by King Menelek II and started an Italian African empire adding to the ongoing Italian occupation of Eritrea. Ethiopia denounced such imperial attacks at the League of Nations and sanctions were imposed on Italian goods, a phenomenon that affected the Seminary and the Italian consumer in general.²⁴

Silva Henríquez did not like the *Duce* and he thought that a leader who looked for personal applause could not be credible. As a result Silva Henríquez had to stand disapproving comments from some of his classmates, particularly Argentineans, who were enthusiastic about a person they considered a great Italian leader. There were signs of political tension that affected the students, and that experience influenced Silva Henríquez much later, in his dealings with authoritarian regimes in Latin America.

Silva Henríquez, together with his classmates, received the minor orders, all of them necessary steps for the sub-diaconate, and for their ordination as deacons and eventually as priests within the Catholic Church. However, in 1937 Silva Henríquez, who was preparing to receive the sub-diaconate, got a fright when his superiors expressed their problem with one physical impediment that had become apparent in his body. He had broken some ligaments in his knee while kneeling for hours and at that time he could not kneel for long periods of time. While today this would have been considered part of a disability and therefore helped in some way, at that time, and within a pre-Conciliar Church atmosphere, the matter became a serious one. As a result, one of the pious priests argued that a person who could not perform Catholic rituals properly could not be ordained as a priest.²⁵ Thus, it was decided that he could not be accepted to the sub-diaconate.

²⁴ Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘Fueron días de estrecheces y emergencias. En el Instituto hubimos de adaptarnos a esa nueva realidad, que sufrimos por varios meses’, *Memorias* I: 63.

²⁵ One contemporary example is that of Pope John Paul II, who unable to stand or kneel because of illness, presided over Catholic rites from a chair or from a specially constructed wheel chair.

As he prepared to return to Chile his classmates spoke to Fr. Pedro Berrutti, second in command of the Salesians, who, through a telephone conversation, argued against the decision. Berrutti suggested that if the Chilean province of the Salesians had accepted him for training to the priesthood when he already had knee problems he could not be rejected that late in his studies. Thus, Silva Henríquez was accepted to the sub-diaconate and ordained as a deacon in 1938, a clear sign to him that he was called to be a priest.

Finally, Silva Henríquez was ordained as a priest by Cardinal Maurilio Fossatti at the Basílica of Maria Auxiliadora in Turin on the 3rd July 1938 together with Alberto Muñoz and Carlos Weiss.²⁶ He took the religious motto *Caritas Christi urget nos* through which he expressed his desire to return Christ's love to others and was granted permission to use some of his brothers' donations to visit other Italian cities including Milan, Venice, Padua, Genova, Florence, Ancona, and Assisi.

In Rome they had an audience with Pope Pious XI, who had been impressed by the figure of Don Bosco and had presided over his beatification and his canonisation at Easter 1934. Pious XI had also agreed to pursue the beatification cases of the Salesian priest Michele Rua and of the Salesian student Domingo Savio. Silva Henríquez had great appreciation for the courage shown by Pious XI towards the Fascist Italian regime and towards the Nazi stand for racism that he condemned through his encyclical *Mit Brenender Sorge* and that helped the position of Catholics and the Catholic Church within Nazi Germany. Pious XI had also internationalised the episcopacy by ordaining indigenous bishops in India, China and Indochina and by arguing that knowledge of the world helped a universal Christianity.²⁷ Thus, in 1931 he wrote his encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*, forty years after the publication of *Rerum Novarum*. The new encyclical cemented the ongoing engagement of the Church and the world through the social

²⁶ Twenty-five years later Silva Henríquez and Fossatti would sit together as members of the College of Cardinals.

²⁷ Pious XI had previously been director of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan and later of the Vatican Library.

doctrine of the Church and provided some of the social foundations of the kind of Christianity that Silva Henríquez was to forward much later within the Catholic Church in Chile.

One of the strong policies forwarded by Pious XI was the consolidation of Catholic Action and other lay movements within the Church that with a firm voice and their Christian actions laid the foundations for the engagement of the Church in the contemporary world. Catholic Action had been entrusted with the social legacy of Pope Leo XIII that was not to be centred either in the socialist trade union movement or in the capitalist industrial movement. The apostolic work by Catholic Action was expanded by Pious X and finally empowered by Pious XI through his encyclical *Ubi arcano Dei* in 1922. He emphasised that Catholic Action should work outside and above political parties so as not to divide Christians that naturally belonged to particular political parties.²⁸ Thus, Catholic Action as a movement should dedicate itself to youth formation called by Pious XI ‘the arts among all arts and the science among all sciences’.²⁹ Catholic Action became a highly centralised organisation, with headquarters in Freiburg, that was to become a beacon of Christian influence within a war-torn Europe and much later was to provide a pastoral model for the newly found lay apostolates within the renewal of the Church at the Second Vatican Council.

Further, in 1925, Pious XI expanded the influence of Catholic Action to the trade unions by supporting the creation of the Catholic Youth Workers Movement expanded by the Belgian Abbott Cardjin. He also created other organisations such as the Catholic Student Movement, the Catholic Agrarian Movement, the Eucharistic Crusades and even the Catholic sport federations. Thus, when Mussolini ordered to close down all youth houses and organisations in Milan, Cardinal Schuster instructed members of Catholic Action to open all windows that had been boarded up by Mussolini’s police. There was no response

²⁸ Pious XI used the Italian expression *al di sopra et al di fuori*, *Memorias* I: 69.

²⁹ Pious XI used the Italian expression *arte delle arti e scienza delle scienze*, *Memorias* I: 70.

from Mussolini who could not afford an open war with the apostolic movement at a time when he needed all the support he could get from the Italian youth.

Those experiences marked Silva Henríquez' formative years and had an enormous influence in his pastoral politics and negotiations with political governments much later, and indeed at the time of his return to Chile, then as a newly ordained Salesian priest.

CHAPTER 2

The Years of Priestly Ministry

Silva Henríquez returned to Chile in mid-September 1938, a month before the presidential elections that brought Pedro Aguirre Cerda to power.³⁰ The political climate in Chile was of change and there were new social expectations as the Frente Popular, an alliance of left-wing parties, had managed to elect their own candidate for the first time.

³⁰ Pedro Aguirre Cerda (1879-1941), born in Pocuro, near Los Andes on the 6th February 1879, the seventh child of 11 brothers and sisters. His parents were peasants and he received his primary education in Calle Larga and his secondary education at the Liceo of San Felipe. He graduated as a teacher from the Instituto Pedagógico in 1900 and as a lawyer in 1904 pursuing further studies of commercial law in Paris at La Sorbonne. On his return in 1914 he became a teacher at the Instituto Nacional and was elected president of the national union of teachers. Despite being a Catholic he joined the Masonic Lodge when he was 27 and the Radical Party (Partido Radical) as a result. He married his cousin Juana Rosa Aguirre; however they did not have any children. In 1915 he was elected member of the lower Chilean chamber (Cámara de Diputados) representing the province of San Felipe, Putaendo and Los Andes (1915-1918). In 1918 he was elected as deputy for Santiago and in 1921 he was elected senator for Concepción, and Minister of Justice and Public Instruction by president Juan Luis Sanfuentes. In 1920 and 1924 he was appointed Minister of the Interior during the government of Arturo Alessandri. In 1937 the Partido Radical joined the Frente Popular together with the Communist Party, the Socialist Party and the Workers' Union. In 1938 he was elected president representing the Frente Popular, however he died of tuberculosis on his third year in office on the 25th November 1941. He was nicknamed 'the president of the poor' because of his policies that included the foundation of the Corporación de Fomento de la Producción (CORFO) and the Corporación de Reconstrucción y Auxilio. He wrote *El problema agrario* (1927).

He was, like any newly ordained priest, excited about his forthcoming ministry and he had managed to experience the Salesian concern for Christian holiness within a personal incorporation of the social realm of human life, so dear to Don Bosco. For Don Bosco the search for social justice was very much part of the religious life that required a proper immersion in social realities. Further, such social immersion needed to be followed by clear words to the well-to-do concerning the realities of the poor within society. For the Salesian founder it was clear that if the rich did not share their resources the poor would be fostering violence and revolution rather than the orderly and just society already proclaimed within the late 19th Century social doctrine of the Church.

For Don Bosco to preach to the rich about their need to share resources was to help them to exercise the Christian virtue of charity that eventually would lead them to holiness and sanctity in their Christian life. The rich were to become poor as Job in order to enter the Kingdom of God.³¹ For within such Catholic model of society there was the possibility of striving towards the fullness of a just society, and in a just society there was no room for fights between brothers or social ruptures with violence. Silva Henríquez found solace in those concepts and as he later remembered he considered them ‘a beacon for his own pastoral ministry’.³²

His guide, Fr. Panzarasa, had left Chile after having written two books that created enormous controversy within Chilean society and particularly among the large conservative circles in Santiago. In his first book, *El veneno de la serpiente*, Panzarasa had used the metaphor of temptation in the book of Genesis in order to suggest that temptation and failure to know God was associated with economic and material greed and that as a result the poor and the destitute had to endure suffering and death. His second book, *La justicia social*, did not get Episcopal *imprimatur* from the Archbishop of Santiago José Horacio Campillo and had to be

³¹ *Memorias* I: 71-72.

³² He wrote: ‘Esta enseñanza que comprendí en toda su dimensión en el momento de ordenarme sacerdote, ha sido el auténtico norte de mi labor pastoral’, *Memorias* I: 72.

published *Ad instar manuscripti* – without official endorsement. Campillo felt that the act of publishing was a challenge to his authority and requested to the Salesians that Panzarasa be transferred back to Europe.³³

The climate within the Church was at that time cautious towards the new government made mostly of atheists or agnostics that perceived the Church in Chile as conservative and very much closely allied with the ruling classes and the Conservative Party. Among miners, workers and peasants there was animosity towards the Church and the left-wing alliance fuelled such discontent with stronger narratives of class struggle and revolution.³⁴ Some expected an outraged persecution against clergy and conservative groups proceeded to crush any ideas of social justice and social change. Their understanding was already of a political war between the values of a Christian civilisation and communism.

While the association between Catholicism and the Conservative Party was a common perception at that time, in 1938 a younger generation of Catholics formed the Falange Conservadora. The Falange came out of the movement of Catholic students and while it remained within the only political avenue for Catholics, i.e. the Conservative Party, its members criticised the fact that the social doctrine of the Church was ignored, particularly the call to rethink the Chilean social order expressed in *Rerum Novarum*. For the 1938 elections the Falange declared that members could vote freely for other candidates, including their own, a policy that the Bishops resented and that created enormous tension between the Conservatives. Eventually the Falange was to become a new political party, the Christian Democratic Party (PDC) that was to challenge the centrality of the Conservative Party within Catholicism in Chile.

³³ Valentín Panzarasa Negri had been influential within the Salesian community and directed the Instituto Teológico Salesiano from 1936-1938 (Kuzmanich 1998: 43, 88, 90, 117, 304-305, 308, 317, 449).

³⁴ He remembers an instance of this animosity: ‘Recuerdo bien que, pocos días después de llegar, pasé frente a un lugar donde había obreros trabajando y uno de ellos me gritó “Padrecito!” Cuando me volví, hizo con la mano el gesto horizontal de quien corta el cuello, con la risa maliciosa del que sabe que infunde miedo’, *Memorias I*: 73.

In 1939 Monsignor Campillo resigned as Archbishop of Santiago and Bishop José María Caro of La Serena took his place.³⁵ With such appointment Pope Pious XII accelerated social and religious change in Chile by appointing one of the few bishops that had recognised the political triumph of the Frente Popular and had understood its consequences for the Chilean political spectrum. Caro had also pledged the support of the Church for any social reforms that were to benefit the people of Chile.³⁶

At the Instituto Teológico Salesiano

In the meantime Silva Henríquez requested permission to spend a few days with his family and there was a large family reunion in Talca. He attended a solemn Mass at the Salesian chapel Iglesia del Salvador and a lunch organised by his mother and brothers at the Salesian school. On his return to Santiago he was sent to the Salesian theological college –Instituto Teológico salesiano (ITS)- that at that time was located in La Cisterna, Santiago, and whose director was Fr. Carlos Orlando.³⁷

³⁵ José María Caro Rodríguez (1866-1958) was the first Chilean Cardinal. He was born in Pichilemu on the 23rd June 1866 at the farm where his father worked, the youngest of four siblings and the only boy. As a boy he helped Canon Ramón Saavedra Jiménez of Santiago at the celebration of the Mass in Cahuil. Canon Saavedra convinced him to become a priest and Caro studied at the Seminary in Santiago. Later he pursued further studies in Rome at the Colegio Pio Latino and the Gregorian University. He was ordained in Rome on the 30th December 1890 after completing a doctorate in theology at the Gregorian University. Due to health problems related to his lungs he was later in 1910 transferred to Mamiña, a spa towards the interior of Iquique. In 1911 he was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Tarapacá and Bishop of Iquique, and he was ordained as a bishop at the Santiago Cathedral on 28th April 1912. On the 14th of December 1925 he was appointed bishop of La Serena and on the 14th October 1939 seventh archbishop of Santiago. He was made Cardinal on the 23rd December 1945 and he received his Cardinal's hat on the 19th May 1946. He died on the 4th December 1958. Major writings: *Fundamentos de la fe, Porque creo, El matrimonio cristiano, El misterio de la masonería, La Iglesia y los obreros.*

³⁶ In an interview in 1939 José María Caro said 'El presidente Aguirre Cerda vale mucho y está rebosando sanas intenciones. Sus deseos de dar al pueblo reformas que entrañen el bien de las masas son bien conocidas y muy loables. La Iglesia chilena está dispuesto a ayudarlo con todas sus fuerzas', in Raúl Silva Henríquez, *Memorias I*: 76.

³⁷ Carlos Orlando Mu[a]ggetti was born in Montonero, Vercelli, Italy on the 14th May 1903, he had made his first vows as a Salesian on the 13th February 1924, and was ordained in 1933. Fr. Orlando directed the ITS from 1938 to 1948, and founded a small school in La Cisterna on 22nd March 1942 that was later to become the Liceo Manuel Arriarán Barros. He was Salesian Inspector for Peru and Bolivia (1953-1958) and for Chile (1958-1961). He died in Rome on the 1st

The ITS included a large community of students with many of them having been sent outside Europe because of the imminent war and the problems with Mussolini in Italy. Thus, there were students from Germany, Italy, Belgium, Poland and England. The Salesians in total had 150 priests and 50 students distributed throughout Chile and as a religious community were undergoing a meteoric process of growth that required more and more personnel at their theological college.

Silva Henríquez taught canon law, church history, and the introductory course for the first year students. He enjoyed preparing and delivering his lectures within a convivial atmosphere of a group of good students. However, there were other problems attached to the quick growth of such community. One problem was physical space and more installations were already needed for the growing numbers of students.

The Salesians had land previously given by Ms María Santelices in the Gran Avenida and there were plans to finish a building and to build a church and a theatre. However, at the same time the Salesians were looking for financial help in order to build in La Cisterna. In 1929 they received a large donation from doña Carmen Arriarán, sister of Manuel Arriarán Barros, a prominent Catholic of the 19th Century that had been an admirer of Don Bosco and his work. Already in 1887 Arriarán had pushed for the Salesians to arrive and start pastoral work in Chile because he had been impressed by Don Bosco's concern for the marginalized, the poor and the workers. After his death in 1907, his sister donated a substantial sum of money so that a Salesian school in memory of her brother could be built.

Fr. Ambrosio Turricea undertook the task to commission an architect in order to prepare plans for the construction of a Salesian complex in Gran Avenida where a theological college, a church, a theatre and the Novitiate would be

August [or September] 1983 at a time when he was General Postulator for the Salesian Saints (Kuzmanich 1998: 40, 85, 90, 93, 94, 130, 204-205, 207-208, 215-217, 258, 365 photo, 370, 509, 528; [...] points to inconsistencies within Kuzmanich's work.

located. While there were no early plans for a school the proposed complex already included the possibility of a school, under the larger name ‘Obra de Don Bosco – Liceo Manuel Arriarán – Instituto Teológico Salesiano’. However, Silva Henríquez and other teachers argued that a school was needed in that already expanding area of Santiago and that the school would provide continuity for children that prepared to enter the Salesian community. Thus, after a revision of the original plans and in 1941 the Salesians began the construction of their new school with the name of Liceo Manuel Arriarán Barros.³⁸

With the help of a few workers the building was finished in 1943. The initial intake of pupils was wrongly estimated at around 50, and on the day of matriculation 200 prospective pupils arrived at the office of the registrar. The expansion of the school continued till there were 12 classrooms and Silva Henríquez became the first rector having to end his teaching spell at the theological college.

One of the aims of the school was to help those who were economically more vulnerable and that otherwise would not have had access to a good school education. The income and budget of the school while small was sufficient to pay teachers and to provide a simple but good infrastructure, however, the liberal government that was supposed to persecute the Church gave a substantial educational grant to the school that finally secured its continuity and future. President Aguirre Cerda had already died in 1941, however his successor, the liberal Juan Antonio Ríos,³⁹ capitalised on the good deeds of his predecessor and

³⁸ *Memorias* I: 82.

³⁹ Juan Antonio Ríos Morales (1888-1946) born in Huichicura, a farm near Cañete on the 10th November 1888. He studied at the rural school of Cañete and later at the Liceo of Lebu and the Liceo of Concepción. Ríos graduated as a lawyer in Concepción and became councillor for Concepción representing the Radical Party. A member of the Chilean Masonic Lodge, he married Marta Ide in 1921 and they had 3 children. He was Chilean Consul in Panama (1921-1924) and later he was elected member of the Lower House of the Chilean Congress for Arauco, Lebu and Cañete. In 1932, and after the military coup against President Juan Esteban Montero, Carlos Dávila, president of the newly constituted Junta de Gobierno, appointed Ríos as Minister of the Interior. However, when General Blanche led a new military coup Ríos was appointed Minister for Justice. Expelled from the Radical Party he served as an independent member of the House of Deputies from 1933 to 1937. On the 1st February 1942 Ríos was elected President of Chile, however he did not finish his term of office and died on the 27th June 1946.

defeated the conservative candidate Carlos Ibáñez del Campo. As the new government took over the newly constituted Falange became part of the government alliance for the time in their short partisan history.

Silva Henríquez spent five years as rector of the new school, an experience that fulfilled him as he was practising the Salesian charisma of working with the young and particularly with those who were disadvantaged within Chilean society.⁴⁰ However, Silva Henríquez showed from his early years as a priest a larger vision of what was possible for a religious community and certainly developed the gift of attracting benefactors and supporters that funded projects that were beyond the financial possibilities of the Salesian community. One of those projects was his wish to build a large church, following the model of the Salesian church in Turin, built on the occasion of the hundredth years of Don Bosco's ordination to the priesthood in 1941.

The project was put forward to the Salesian leadership and Silva Henríquez offered his enthusiasm in order to find resources. Some of the Salesian priests thought he was crazy and they feared that the religious community was to acquire enormous debts by building a large church rather than a small chapel within the Salesian building complex in La Cisterna.⁴¹ The Italian superior of the Salesian community gave his consent to this idea and Silva Henríquez sent monthly letters to all lay people associated with the Salesians suggesting that the new church would be the National Temple of Don Bosco, an even more grandiose perception of the project ahead. The response was generous and many people supported not only the idea but also the fundraising exercise associated with the possible starting of the building construction. A very distinguished architect draw

⁴⁰ He wrote: 'En la dirección del Liceo Manuel Arriarán pasé cinco años de mi vida, trabajando, como manda la vocación salesiana, junto a los niños, en la enseñanza y la formación, cerca de los corazones de la gente humilde', *Memorias* I: 84.

⁴¹ He recalls in his memoirs such sense of outrage by some of his fellow priests, with very strong comments regarding his crazy dream: 'Este hombre quiere hacer una cosa muy grande, de locos' ... 'Y la vamos a tener que pagar nosotros. Nos va a arruinar. Hay que saber de dónde piensa sacar los recursos', *Memorias* I: 86.

new plans for the new building replacing the initial ones that had been done by a former student of the Salesians that was studying architecture.

The works began with 20 workers at a time and with a budget that never came short of the money needed for salaries and materials. However, Silva Henríquez was only able to collect in advance the money needed for one-month work. Slowly, though, more donations came in. He remembered occasions in which he thought God's providence was with the project as the unexpected happened. For example, there was an Italian immigrant that monthly sent his donation and called Silva Henríquez regularly to chat about Salesian projects. One day that man contacted Silva Henríquez and with great excitement told him that he had won the national lottery and was donating ten percent of the money to the Salesian project, or as benefactors put it he was giving the money to Don Bosco. The money donated was the equivalent of the expenses for a whole month.⁴² On another occasion a couple of gamblers contacted Silva Henríquez. They had gambled at the Viña del Mar Casino and had lost everything. On their way home they stopped at Our Lady's Shrine of Lo Vásquez and 'borrowed' a bank note that was left half way out of a collection box. They returned to the Casino and won a large amount of money. They gave one third of their winnings to Don Bosco and his works.⁴³

However, there was still some opposition to the building of a large church by a very vocal priest influenced by the fact that the National Shrine at Maipú had been planned and on the making for many years.⁴⁴ But donations kept coming in despite the tight economic situation in Chile after the destruction in Europe during World War II and the general world wide economic crisis. Thus, even with a shortage of paper and ink Silva Henríquez managed to distribute 20,000 information bulletins and 40,000 raffle tickets a month. The last raffle was the largest with prizes including cars and a first prize of a farm. Finally the building

⁴² *Memorias* I: 90.

⁴³ *Memorias* I: 91.

⁴⁴ As in many other cases the Cardinal does not name such priest in his memoirs.

of the church with the name Templo Nacional San Juan Bosco was completed in 1950 while its construction had begun in 1944.⁴⁵

The Political Climate

In 1948 Silva Henríquez was moved to the largest and most prestigious Salesian school, the Patrocinio San José, in Santiago. Those were years of great hope after the end of World War II and Chile had already had two periods of liberal governments, those of presidents Pedro Aguirre Cerda and Juan Antonio Ríos, who had managed to polarise the electorate and bring votes away from the conservatives. Even the Falange took part in some government activities following Eduardo Frei Montalva's job as minister for public works (Ministerio de Obras Públicas). However, with a general worker's strike in 1946 and the death of six workers on the occasion of protests in Santiago, the socialists, the communists and the members of the Falange dissolved their previous political alliance.

Within the Catholic students there were two distinctive groups, the *afrancesados* and the *hispanistas*. The first group was heavily influenced by the French lay movement, and particularly by the philosophy of Jacques Maritain, playing a very important role within the Falange. The second group preferred a more traditional way of practising Catholicism akin to Spanish Catholicism and they remained closely related to Catholic Action. However, there were to be significant changes within Catholic Action by the time that Silva Henríquez was involved in the Patrocinio San José and much later in the organisation of a common body for those working in Chilean Catholic schools.

When Monsignor Augusto Salinas was appointed auxiliary bishop of Santiago he also became national assessor to Catholic Action. Once he took his new duties he did not like the growing antagonism between the Catholic youth

⁴⁵ On his retirement Silva Henríquez realised that the initial stage of fundraising for the Templo Nacional San Juan Bosco made him into a well-known national beggar and the whole project made him well known among the Salesians. He wrote: 'Allí inicié mi carrera de pedigüeño, que sin duda me hizo conocido en muchos lugares de la patria', *Memorias I*: 92.

and the Conservative Party and proceeded to change his chaplain, at that time Fr. Jorge Gómez Ugarte, previously classmate of Silva Henríquez at the Catholic University Law School. Salinas appointed a Jesuit, Fr. Alberto Hurtado, who went even further than Fr. Gómez and therefore was relieved from his duties. Two priests, Eladio Vicuña and Vicente Ahumada replaced him and in 1946 Hugo Montes was elected president of the Catholic youth. In 1947 there were further problems after the Catholic youth made a strong declaration on the social doctrine of the Church and made some controversial remarks related to the feast of the first of May. Salinas published a declaration warning the Catholic youth about their dissent towards ecclesiastical guidelines and politics, a clear remark against the authority of the Falange within Catholic circles. Thus, Hugo Montes and the whole leadership of the Catholic youth resigned. Even when firstly Cardinal Caro rejected their resignation, he later accepted it and Jorge Prat Echaurren, a farmer and lawyer, accepted the leadership of the Catholic youth.

A reaction followed, and nine former presidents of the Catholic youth, Eduardo Frei, Ismael Canessa, Javier Lagarrigue, Héctor Ríos Igualt, Rodolfo Valdés Philips, Julio Santa María, Martín García, William Thayer and Victor Risopatrón showed public support to Montes and his leadership. Salinas reacted by publishing a harsh critique of the Falange in the newspaper *El Diario Ilustrado* with the title 'the enemies of Christ'. The youth of the Falange requested a public clarification from the Chilean Bishops, who supported Monsignor Salinas, regretted the attitudes of members of the Falange and reiterated the public condemnation of communism by the Pope.

Members of the Falange considered the dissolution of the group, however before doing so they wrote to the Bishop of Talca Manuel Larraín who previously had been one of their chaplains. Larraín, who was later to become a very important Latin American bishop, did not see anything wrong regarding the Falange's involvement in politics and he even thought that they complied with some papal directives that suggested that Christianity could never be associated with the politics of one single political party.

The Falange was not dissolved and continued making important critiques to the conservative politics of that time. In 1948 and when president González Videla passed a law banning the Communist Party and had imprisoned anybody that was perceived as close to such movement members of the Falange feared for their safety because for some conservatives the Falange was closer to the communists than to the conservatives.⁴⁶

At the Patrocinio San José

Within that changing and turbulent political climate Silva Henríquez moved to his new ministry at the Patrocinio de San José, a Salesian school located beside the San Cristóbal Hill in Santiago. Blas Cañas, a prominent Chilean priest who had met Don Bosco, founded the school in order to educate boys and girls in separate sections of the educational complex. However, the school had been entrusted to the Salesians since 1891 when due to the Chilean civil war there was a need for a boarding school that initially catered to families that having had some wealth had for different reasons become poor. At the time of the Civil War the shelter of a boarding regime provided a home to many children in difficult circumstances, as it had previously been the case of Don Bosco's school in Turin. By the 1950s though such boarding regime seemed harsh and outdated and Silva Henríquez gave a lot of thought to the actual role of the school within society.

His conclusions were very clear: the school needed a good shake up. He realised that most of the students came from Santiago and not from the provinces, and that with an increase of urban transport they could visit their parents more often. At that time pupils were only allowed home twice a year, i.e. for the days surrounding the anniversary of Chilean independence (*Fiestas Patrias*) and for the Christmas season but they could also visit their homes for their parents' birthdays. The school had a reputation for being the most strict and severe in Santiago, not a good reputation according to Silva Henríquez, because it attracted children with disciplinary problems and it was perceived as a place for punishment rather than

⁴⁶ Ley de defensa de la democracia.

learning.⁴⁷ Indeed the residents called the school ‘the prison of San Pepe’.⁴⁸ It was clear to Silva Henríquez that despite efforts to alleviate such a boarding life, e.g. films on a Sunday or regular school outings, the school was not following the educational principles set by Don Bosco for the work of the Salesians.

Don Bosco had suggested that there were two contradictory models within any school education. The first one, a punitive system, conduced to fear and distrust and most attitudes were not developed on the longer term but satisfied the rules of those who were in-charge of the system. The second model, that Don Bosco called the preventive model, was that in which those in-charge of the system explained the rules and regulations but created a kind atmosphere where mistakes were corrected and behaviour improved by way of kindness and a strong sense of community values and relatedness with other peers, teachers and priests.⁴⁹ Don Bosco fostered the preventive model and rejected completely the punitive model.

In February 1949 and during a visit to Chile of the General Prefect of the Salesians worldwide, Fr. Pedro Berruti, Silva Henríquez spoke to him about those concerns and his vision for the Patrocinio San José. Berruti was very supportive and it was decided that all pupils would be offered the possibility of attending the school half-days, thus ending the boarding school regime.

Catholic Education in Crisis

At that time Catholic schools were more or less independent and provided they had the resources they had very little interference from the Chilean government. However, in 1948 the Minister for Education, Alejandro Ríos Valdivia, called to a

⁴⁷ By the 1980s and when my younger brothers studied at the Patrocinio de San José the school still had the same reputation of severity while the reality was that the school community was a delightfully happy and supportive place.

⁴⁸ ‘El Presidio de San Pepe’, in which Pepe is a shorter name for St. Joseph.

⁴⁹ Silva Henríquez summarised the preventive model in the following manner: ‘consiste en dar a conocer las prescripciones y reglamentos de un instituto y vigilar después de manera que los alumnos tengan sobre sí el ojo vigilante del director o de los asistentes, los cuales, como padres amorosos, hablen, sirvan de guía en toda circunstancia, den consejos y corrijan con amabilidad, que es como decir: consiste en poner a los niños en la imposibilidad de faltar’, *Memorias* I: 102.

meeting of directors of prominent Catholic schools, including Silva Henríquez. The minister's concern was that there were times when the government needed an opinion from those working in Catholic schools and it was very difficult to know how to gather common views.

Immediately Frs. Jorge Gómez Ugarte and Manuel Mella, rector of the Instituto de Humanidades Luis Campino, started organising a proper association. The plans were discussed and approved by Mgr. Augusto Salinas, and following the constitution of their Italian counterpart, the association took the name Federación de Establecimientos Educativos dependientes de la Autoridad Eclesiástica (FIDE). From that moment FIDE was under the guidance of the Archdiocese of Santiago, thus FIDE sent a circular letter to all Catholic schools in Santiago and all of them became affiliated to the newly created organisation.

The first president of FIDE was Fr. Jorge Gómez Ugarte and his apartment in Lira Street was used initially as FIDE's headquarters. Other members of the executive team included the lawyer Juan Frontaura Gómez – Gómez' nephew-, and Frontaura's classmates Hugo Montes and Sergio Contardo Egaña. The new association very quickly established itself and by March 1949 there were two magazines in circulation, i.e. *Boletín de Pedagogía* and *Rumbos* – a magazine directed by Silva Henríquez and prepared together with Fr. Gómez, Hugo Montes and Guillermo Blanco. The inspiration of *Rumbos* was the message on education given by Pious XI who expressed that the natural place for education was the family, created by God, and in which the good example by parents were the centre of all further education given at public places such as schools.⁵⁰

The experience of the FIDE made Catholic education much better, particularly in aspects of teaching methodologies and the actual practice of Christianity by the pupils and teachers alike. It is interesting that Silva Henríquez,

⁵⁰ 'El primer ambiente natural y necesario de la educación es la familia, destinada precisamente para esto por el Creador. De modo que, regularmente, la educación más eficaz y duradera es la que se recibe en la familia cristiana bien ordenada y disciplinada, tanto más eficaz cuanto resplandezca en ella más claro y constante el buen ejemplo de los padres, así como también el de los demás miembros de la familia', *Memorias I*: 104.

reflecting on those years at the Patrocinio, did not think that education was better in the schools of the 1950s. He agreed that pupils had more knowledge of religion and other subjects simply because they had to pass final exams of religion every year, however because of such academic link between religion and a subject to be examined they were not able to discern their practice of faith in a way that students in the 1970s and 1980s could have.⁵¹

Very soon private lay schools had joined FIDE in order to get the pedagogical support for their own activities. By 1949 Fr. Esteban Gumucio of the Sacred Heart Fathers was elected the second president of FIDE and a year later Silva Henríquez became the third elected president of that educational organisation. Together with the other leaders, Frs. Jorge Gómez and Jorge González, Silva Henríquez aimed at enlarging the membership of the organisation that already had 132 schools as members with a total of 80,000 students under its umbrella and his enthusiasm was clear as schools came together to cooperate and to plan a better Catholic education for the youth rather than to compete between each other secretly.⁵²

At the third conference of teachers (Tercera Jornada de Estudios Pedagógicos) it was clear that there was a very positive and reflexive work taking place when the following themes were discussed: advantages and disadvantages of the official educational programs, the need for further freedom within the curriculum, the absence of shorter technical studies, the need to foster the creation of more parents' associations, the free teaching of educational methodologies, the ideology of educational texts, the dignity of the Magisterium, and even the subject of teaching home economics. By December 1950 several educational advances had already been triggered by FIDE, for example, a service of educational support

⁵¹ By the 1970s and 1980s students of Catholic schools reflected on their faith through many seminars, workshops and reflection groups. For example, their preparation for the sacrament of Confirmation, administered at 17 or 18 years of age, required reflection groups in which all parents were also to be involved and that functioned at their homes rather than in the classroom.

⁵² In 1950 Silva Henríquez wrote in the *Boletín de Pedagogía*: 'Cada vez más se fortifica en nosotros el tan necesario espíritu de cuerpo, cada vez formulamos con mayor energía el propósito de ser paladines de la FIDE, dentro de la institución a que pertenecemos', *Memorias I*: 106.

available to schools, a working party revising reforms within primary education, and a sister organisation that affiliated all parents' associations in Catholic schools.

However, unexpectedly and only after two years at the Patrocinio the Salesians appointed Silva Henríquez director of their theological college in La Cisterna. According to Silva Henríquez there were two reasons for his sudden transfer: (i) the educational reforms at the Patrocinio had created a certain amount of debt, while they were absolutely necessary, and, (ii) there was chaos at the theological college because of the authoritarian style of the Italian director. Thus, the Salesian leadership decided that Silva Henríquez would be a good director with his gift of good communication with the theology students.

Silva Henríquez did not like that new appointment. If he were to be appointed to the theological college he would have to resign from FIDE because he would no longer be involved in primary or secondary education. He wrote to headquarters in Rome explaining why he thought that it was not a desired transfer, however stating in the last paragraph of his letter his religious obedience and therefore his intention to move if that was the final decision. The leader of the Salesians in Rome wrote him a warm and kind letter thanking him for his opinions, however reminding him of his vow of obedience. Thus, Silva Henríquez left the Patrocinio San José and started a six-year spell as director of the Salesian theological college.

At the Instituto Teológico Salesiano

The atmosphere at the theological college was difficult. There were several foreign students from Italy, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia, and the previous administration had not managed to integrate those different nationalities into a community. Silva Henríquez invested his time and efforts in creating community and was successful, in his own words, because of the efforts made by the teaching staff, that at that time included a very gifted director of studies, Fr. Egidio Viganó,

that later was to become Rector of all Salesians, the seventh successor to Don Bosco.

By returning to La Cisterna Silva Henríquez also returned to the complex where the new Salesian temple, his own project, was still under construction. By that time there was already a small chapel and Fr. Bartolomé Aliberti had been appointed parish-priest of the newly erected parish. Beside the temple and within land that the Salesians had sold to a financial institution for collar workers, the Caja de Empleados Particulares, there was also a new housing development, the Población del Salitre. When the temple was completed it stood tall, 25 metres high and 50 metres long. It also was a beautiful building with Italian Traventino marble and much later with a set of stations-of-the-cross painted by the Chilean artist Claudio di Girólamo. On its full completion and in 1961 the same artist painted a large wall fresco of Don Bosco that dominated much of the art within the Salesian temple. The temple seated only 800 but years later there were 1,500 people attending Sunday Mass.

The political climate of 1952 saw the end of the Frente Popular in government as Carlos Ibáñez was elected president after a campaign in which he pledged to brush aside politicians and to bring prosperity to the country. Even Silva Henríquez voted for him,⁵³ in an election in which the socialists and communists had Salvador Allende as a candidate and the conservatives had Arturo Matte Larraín. The Falange almost decided to put forward the name of Eduardo Frei Montalva for the presidency, however at the end they joined the social-Christian conservatives that supported Pedro Enrique Alfonso as presidential candidate.

Relations between Silva Henríquez and Ibáñez were good because the president appreciated the Salesians' educational work throughout the country, and despite the fact that Ibáñez was a mason, as many army officers of that time, Fr. Jorge Gómez was his confessor and heard Ibáñez last confession before he died.

⁵³ He wrote: 'Y yo, que había perdido mi voto en todas las elecciones anteriores, aquel año decidí sufragar a ganador: voté por Ibáñez', *Memorias* I: 112.

Silva Henríquez recalled that when Ibáñez visited the Salesian agricultural college in Punta Arenas he was very impressed by the products they were successfully growing, including wheat.

Religious Congregations Revisited

In 1953 the Sacred Congregation for Religious, following directives from Pope Pious XII, instructed all religious congregations to the effect that there should be local meetings in order to discuss the role of religious congregations within the pastoral plans of local dioceses. While in paper it was clear that secular priests were to minister to all, while religious congregations had a particular area of pastoral concern, in practice there was confusion regarding the correct relations between local bishops and religious superiors, between secular and regular priests. For the Pope the principle of Catholic unity should prevail, thus the need to meet and to reflect together on pastoral theory and pastoral practice.

The idea of the Vatican, communicated through the Vatican Embassy in Santiago, was for a local meeting to take place that would prepare a larger meeting of members of religious congregations in Buenos Aires that was to take place during the following year. Much later many religious delegations were to meet in Rome in what was going to be an extraordinary event within the Church, an event that had never taken place in the history of the Church of Rome.

However, there was no Pro-Nuncio in Santiago, as the previous one archbishop Mario Zanin had been recently transferred to Buenos Aires. In those circumstances the Vatican Embassy's secretary, Fr. Cámpora, decided to request help from the religious congregation with most members in Chile at that time, i.e. the Salesians. At that very moment the Salesians did not have a provincial superior, and a vice-provincial, Fr. Baltazar López, was priest-in-charge of Salesian communities in Chile. Thus when Fr. López was asked for a name he immediately gave Silva Henríquez' name.

Silva Henríquez took the task at heart and very quickly organised a congress for religious divided in two branches, one for male religious, the other

for females.⁵⁴ The Congress was to take place between the 26th of December 1953 and the 9th of January 1954. At the same time the Vatican Embassy appointed Silva Henríquez president of the executive committee that included Cardinal Caro, the Pro-Nuncio and all bishops of the Chilean Episcopal Conference.

With the help of theology students, the María Auxiliadora Sisters, and the Jesuits, Silva Henríquez sent thousands of circular letters, invitations and documents and he got in return a very enthusiastic response from religious communities. Thus, he took the coordination of male religious communities for the Congress while Sr. Inés Gandolfi, of the Salesian Sisters of María Auxiliadora, led the reflection of the female religious.

In September 1953 the new Pro-Nuncio, Sebastiano Baggio⁵⁵ arrived in Chile and he was very impressed by the work of the executive committee and the preparatory commission that had made the forthcoming congress a real opportunity for reflection and planning within the Church in Chile. Baggio requested the Apostolic Blessing for this work that was sent through the vice-secretary of state at the Vatican, monsignor Giovanni Battista Montini, later to become Pope Paul VI.

The Congress lasted for two weeks and the sessions took place daily from 9:00 am to 6:00 pm with the motto *Ubi Caritas et Amor Deus Ibi Est*. There were members of 30 religious congregations and the themes discussed were quite varied, e.g. discipline, the religious vows, obedience, formation of spiritual directors, shortness of vocations, education, Catholic schools, mass media, human and technical formation, and other problems that affected religious life in Chile at that time. The sessions were recorded in print at the request of the participants and

⁵⁴ Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘Asumí mi deber con la decisión de conseguir que el Congreso resultase lo mayor possible, que fuese visto como la circunstancia histórica que en verdad era para todos los religiosos’, *Memorias* I: 115.

⁵⁵ Baggio was a very polished, well-mannered and modern diplomatic educated at the Vatican Diplomatic Academy in Rome, who had completed a doctorate in Canon Law, and had previously served at the Vatican Embassies in Austria, El Salvador, Bolivia and Venezuela. Baggio had been consecrated bishop of Ephesus and had previously served as chaplain to the boy scouts in Italy, thus his fondness for shorts, later his trade mark in Chile.

formed a large body of 500 pages in one volume that was later brought to the meeting of religious in Buenos Aires.

The meeting in Buenos Aires brought together religious men and women from Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay and Uruguay. The Chilean delegation had 30 members and they developed a reputation of being noisy and well prepared for the group work that took place in Buenos Aires. At the end it was clear that Baggio was very pleased with the level of enthusiasm and organisation of religious in Chile and particularly with the leadership and organisational skills shown by Silva Henríquez himself.

European Migrants Arrived in Chile

As a result of World War II there were large number of immigrants arriving in South America. Initially an organisation based in Switzerland, Comité Intergubernamental de Migraciones Europeas (CIME), was in charge of those migrants. However, the Vatican created the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC), organisation that was dependent on the Vatican's Pontifical Commission for Migration and Tourism.

At the local level Catholic Action helped with the reception of refugees and in the Chilean case Bishop Augusto Salinas coordinated the small efforts of lay people belonging to Catholic Action in Chile, a small group formed by people such as Julio Philippi and the Izquierdo sisters, well-known philanthropists that at that time directed the Escuela Social Elvira Matte de Hurtado. From the end of World War II till 1955 the Catholic organisation for migrants arranged for 1,028 immigrants to arrive and made necessary contacts for them to acquire the necessary legal papers, education and work. The international organisations had selected them in Europe and had applied for their visas to the Chilean Government.

On arrival the immigrants were initially hosted in three places in Santiago: the Hogar San José, the Casa de San Juan and the National Stadium. However, conditions at the stadium were particularly difficult, as dozens of families lived

together awaiting their integration into Chilean society. While the CIME and the ICMC paid for their journey from Europe, at a cheap cost of \$268 there was a shortage of funds in Chile for their keep and their integration into society, that included an active search for possible work, their education and even a short course of Spanish.

The Pro Nuncio Baggio asked Silva Henríquez to take up the task to organise a national body for migrations under the auspices of the Catholic Church. Silva Henríquez was not too keen on that request and told Baggio that according to Canon Law a rector of a seminary could not take other duties. Baggio set aside those comments and suggested that the permission from the Vatican and the appointment of Silva Henríquez would come soon. Baggio had seen Silva Henríquez in action when he organised the congress for religious and was impressed by his organisational and leadership skills. Thus, if in other countries the director for migrations would have been a bishop in the Chilean case such appointment was given to Silva Henríquez on top of his ongoing work as rector of the Salesian theological college. Two weeks later the Vatican appointed Silva Henríquez as director of the Dirección Nacional de Obras de Migración.

The work ahead was enormous and pioneering and Baggio gave an assistant to Silva Henriquez, the German priest Wolfgang Wallisfurth. Wallisfurth was born in Germany and while he was studying theology in preparation for ordination as a Catholic priest he listened to some visiting Chilean bishops who were looking for German priests who would work in Chile. At a time when Germany had many vocations to the priesthood and a good number of priests Wallisfurth moved to Chile and finished his theological studies at the Catholic University, where he also finished a doctorate in theology. Later his use of the title 'Doctor' was to trigger giggles among fellow priests and Silva Henríquez

himself, but it has to be recognised that Wallisfurth was a very generous priest and a well-educated one.⁵⁶

When Wallisfurth finished his theological studies he was sent to the diocese of San Carlos of Ancud, at that time a larger diocese that included Ancud and Puerto Montt, as secretary to the local Bishop, don Ramón Munita Eyzaguirre. Wallisfurth visited all parishes in the diocese listening to their pastoral realities and showed an enormous enthusiasm and an enormous dedication to work and personal physical strength. However, he became more powerful than Bishop Munita, who requested for him to be transferred back to the Pro Nuncio by the fact of being a foreign missionary priest from a German diocese. He was appointed to the German immigrant community in Santiago, and he became the link with the Sainkt Raphaels Verein, organisation that helped German immigrants into South America. Thus, Wallisfurth became secretary to Silva Henríquez in the newly founded Catholic organisation for migrants in Chile, Instituto Católico de Migraciones (INCAMI).

The organisation started its work in February 1955 and the first meetings took place at the Vatican Embassy. Among those involved in the INCAMI were Julio Philippi, Adriana Izquierdo, Fernando Aldunate, the lawyer Raúl Yrarrázaval, Enrique Arechavala, María Figueroa de Valdés and the ICMC representative Cristóbal von Unterrichter. After preparing a legal document outlining aims, objectives, and legal status, the INCAMI was legally founded on the 4th of May 1955 with Fernando Aldunate as its first president. Much later in September 1955 an executive decree number 4150 gave the INCAMI legal standing as a lawful private corporation.⁵⁷

By then the European situation for refugees was in crisis, as farmers in West Berlin were being moved and Austria notified all refugees that they would have to leave the country. President Ibáñez encouraged European immigration to

⁵⁶ Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘En los años siguientes se haría llamar “doctor Wallisfurth”, un detalle que a nosotros nos causaba risa, y que él defendía en nombre de la majestad de la cultura’, *Memorias I*: 121.

⁵⁷ Personalidad jurídica como corporación de derecho privado, *Memorias I*: 122.

provinces outside Santiago and more immigrants started to arrive in Chile. They were mainly Ukrainians, Russians, Serbs and Croats. On arrival they were brought to the National Stadium and after a period of 25 days they were given identity cards and Chilean nationality and \$25 for personal expenses.

However, the National Stadium was not an ideal place and the Chilean government decided to use a property that previously had been a restaurant in the Quinta Normal. The property was initially given to CIME that passed it to the ICMC and finally it became the first hostel for refugees under the auspices of INCAMI. Silva Henríquez contacted several female religious congregations and finally got a positive response from a group of sisters in Argentina, Hermanas Carmelitas Misioneras Terciarias Descalzas. The Carmelites sent four sisters to the new hostel after Silva Henríquez negotiated their arrival with Cardinal Caro and with Bishop Alfredo Cifuentes, at that time in La Serena, who presided the Pontifical Commission for Migrations in Chile.

The hostel started with 63 immigrants, however after a few weeks it had a group of 329 guests. The hostel had 180 beds for adults and 20 for children as well as 15 bedrooms for married couples, 4 large dormitories and a chapel. There were chaplains for all language speaking groups and in general it was a clear example of how to welcome efficiently immigrants into the country.

Other churches started helping immigrants following the same pastoral model and Silva Henríquez was appointed secretary to the Episcopal commission for migrations led by Bishop Cifuentes following the lines of the Vatican's Apostolic Constitution *Exsul Familia*. Wallisfurth was a very enthusiastic helper and he negotiated places and land for immigrants as far as the lands of Patagonia. Of course there was a problem of transport for those destined to remote lands in the south and Silva Henríquez managed to secure the help of the Chilean Air Force (FACH) and their planes. Commander Diego Barros Ortiz, pilot and poet, was particularly helpful and he secured the help of the FACH Group 5 stationed in

Puerto Montt in order to refuel planes and continue the transportation of immigrants towards Punta Arenas.⁵⁸

By 1955 immigrants became fewer and fewer. It was clear that the post-war emergency had been helped within Europe, but also there were problems with the settlement of immigrants in the north, where they had fewer opportunities than in Punta Arenas and the Chilean government became more difficult in granting visas to immigrants. There were requests from international bodies to take Japanese immigrants but the Chilean government never agreed.

The budget given by ICMC and by the Chilean government was never sufficient and Silva Henríquez had a financial deficit for INCAMI during fiscal years 1956 and 1957. However, INCAMI played an important role in helping immigrants, fulfilling humanitarian and Christian duties at that time. Much later and after the military coup of 1973 INCAMI was to continue helping Chileans to settle in other countries and it helped with their repatriation after the end of the military government.⁵⁹

The New Caritas Chile

During 1955 there were new developments regarding help for refugees and for the poor in Chile. Johannes Schauff, executive director of the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC) visited Chile. He mentioned to Silva Henríquez that there was an over production of agricultural products in the United States that was given to the American Catholic National Welfare Conference (NCWC). The NCWC had been founded after World War I and by the 1950s had opened an office in Rio de Janeiro in order to link help and cooperation with Latin

⁵⁸ Silva Henríquez also mentioned the help of Commander Roberto Parragué but he does not expand on the unit Parragué commanded, *Memorias I*: 125.

⁵⁹ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'INCAMI realizó una labor hermosa en el doble plano de la caridad y de la difusión de la fe. Me emociona pensar que muchos años después, cuando los desgarradores acontecimientos de nuestra política local hicieran que muchos hermanos chilenos partieran al exilio, INCAMI volvería a hacerse presente, primero para ayudar en la emigración, y luego para contribuir en el retorno de esos compatriotas', *Memorias I*: 125-126.

America.⁶⁰ It had already signed an agreement with the Chilean government in order to give part of that agricultural surplus to Chile. However, the usual administrative procedure was to link NCWC with the local Episcopal Conferences and in the Chilean case Bishop Manuel Larraín of Talca⁶¹ had been appointed episcopal link between Chile and the NCWC. Larraín not only was a distinguished Chilean bishop but also a personal friend of the European director of NCWC, James Norris.⁶²

Silva Henríquez negotiated a certain amount of that American surplus to be given to INCAMI and Larraín agreed. However, Pro Nuncio Baggio spoke to Silva Henríquez about the possibility of starting another organisation that would channel charitable aid to the poor of Chile following the American model. Indeed at that time the United States had such a surplus that producers intended to destroy large amounts of dry powder milk, butter, rice, wheat, cotton and even clothing, in order to increase internal demand and therefore prices. The bilateral agreement between the United States and the Chilean Foreign Minister, Osvaldo Koch, had already been agreed and there was only need for the agreement to be ratified by the Chilean Congress.

The General Secretary of Caritas Internationalis, Monsignor Carlo Bayer, visited Chile on the 9th July 1955 and had a meeting with interested parties at the Vatican Embassy. Among those present were Bishop Manuel Larraín, Sr. Lucía Errázuriz (representing female religious), Fr. Bernardino Piñera (vice-assessor of Catholic Action), Claudio di Girólamo (Obra San Manuel), Fr. Alfredo Ruiz Tagle (Obra Mi Casa), the lawyer Julio Philippi, Fr. John Comber (Missionaries of Maryknoll) and Silva Henríquez.

⁶⁰ The NCWC was a North American member of Caritas International, the Catholic relief organisation founded in 1951 in order to provide all the necessary help with the post-war crisis. It would cooperate with the American War Relief Services and the Catholic Relief Services (CRS) came out of the merger of those two relief organisations.

⁶¹ Ordained bishop in 1938 as auxiliary bishop to don Carlos Silva Cotapos, a relative of Silva Henríquez, Larraín became bishop of Talca in 1939.

⁶² James Norris was a distinguished Catholic and later he was going to be one of the few lay people invited to attend the Second Vatican Council.

Monsignor Bayer was clear in his request, there were United Nations Agencies such as Unicef and FAO as well as European and American agencies interested in fostering help and development in Latin America and their main obstacle was that there was no centralised development partner within each of the Latin American countries. Thus, Caritas encouraged all Episcopal Conferences to become one of those development partners, however Bishops were busy, thus Caritas encouraged the formation of Catholic development agencies that would channelled aid and food from the first world into Latin America. Such help and cooperation should be for Christians and non-Christians alike throughout the Western and non-Western world.

Silva Henríquez was certainly impressed by such challenge and by the enormous effort supported by the Catholic Church towards the alleviation of poverty and suffering that was so close to the newly developed Social Doctrine of the Church.⁶³ Pro Nuncio Baggio appointed Fr. Wallisfurth secretary of the newly founded agency, the Chilean Caritas that became part of INCAMI. Silva Henríquez worked in the legal statutes of Caritas Chile as president of its legal body, aided by Rebeca Izquierdo and Frs. José Ortea, Alfredo Ruiz Tagle and Wolfgang Wallisfurth. The group continued working well into the summer of 1956 with the understanding that eventually a Chilean Bishop would be appointed as executive director of the new Caritas Chile.

Transfer to the Gratiud Nacional

Silva Henríquez had completed the maximum length of time allowed by Canon Law for the rector of a seminary, i.e. an initial period of three years that could be extended only to a second period of three years. Thus, the Salesian leadership transferred Silva Henríquez to the largest school run by the Salesians in Chile, the

⁶³ In his memoirs he wrote: ‘Monseñor Bayer nos impresionó con el relato sobre el jefe de una tribu de Argelia, un *chay* que jamás había visto a nadie de la Iglesia Católica; tras el terremoto de 1954, cuando llegó la ayuda de *Séours Catholique* (Caritas francesa), el *chay* quedó tan impresionado, que tomó una botella de vino del embarque y brindó por el Papa’, *Memorias I*: 130.

Gratitud Nacional. It was one of the earliest educational establishments founded by the Salesians. They had arrived in Concepción and Punta Arenas in 1887 and in 1891 they arrived in Santiago.

The school had already been founded shortly after 1879 in order to look after orphans or children in need as a result of the Pacific War of 1879. The church located beside the school was built as gratitude to God for the end of the Pacific War with the name La Gratitud Nacional al Sagrado Corazón de Jesús Por el Triunfo de las Armas Chilenas en la Guerra del Pacífico. The Teatinos Order took charge of the original school, however, during the 1891 Civil War troops opposed to President Balmaceda occupied the school and the church and converted them into military barracks. When the conflict ended the Salesians were entrusted with two schools, i.e. the Patrocinio San José and the Gratitud Nacional.

In 1956 the Gratitud Nacional School had 900 students divided in two separate establishments, i.e. the Liceo San Juan Bosco with pupils in the last years of primary school and all the years of secondary school, and the Escuela Industrial, a technical college, with 300 students. Within the San Juan Bosco School only 150 students were boarders while in the technical college they were all boarders. Silva Henríquez faced the same problems he had previously had at the Patrocinio San José. Thus, he reduced the number of boarders so as to keep those who could not live in Santiago or could not be supported by their families but allowing much more home visits and a constant flow of communication with their parents. In 1957 the new technical specialisation in machinery and tools gave a new direction to the technical school and a larger employability to all students attending the technical college.

President of Caritas Chile

However, in April 1956 Silva Henríquez was appointed the first president of Caritas Chile by direct nomination from Pro Nuncio Baggio. The Chilean Bishops confirmed such appointment and Bishop Larraín paid a visit to Silva Henríquez in order to convey their approval to his new appointment. With Silva Henríquez as

its president the first board of directors of Caritas Chile had the following members: Fr. Wallisfurth, Fr. José Ortea, Fernando Dávila Izquierdo, Jorge Sánchez Ugarte, Eugenio Browne and Sr. Lucía Duarte. Their first office was located in the migrant hostel Hogar del Inmigrante but very quickly they had to move out as the work of Caritas Chile increased rapidly.

The idea of Caritas was to affiliate foundations, schools, parishes and other charity organisations that would through membership pay the necessary administrative costs and therefore allow the charity work to continue aided by other national and international grants. Monsignor Bayer had given Caritas Chile an initial grant of \$250 dollars and with that money they printed and sent 3,000 circular letters inviting selected organisations to become part of Caritas indicating that membership had a cost of 2,000 Chilean pesos for parishes and 8,000 pesos for other organisations. Ten per cent of those who received the circular letter responded, however much later the response was so overwhelming that Caritas had to open a special secretariat office in order to cope with all the exchanges of correspondence and visitors that wanted to cooperate with the new organisation.

One of the first priorities of Caritas Chile was to try to speed up the congressional hearing of the bill that approved American aid in kind to the poor and the suffering in Chile.⁶⁴ There was initial opposition to the bill from both left and right wing parties. The left distrusted the aid because of past experiences of American intervention and imperialistic attitudes towards Latin America while the right argued that foreign products given free would only affect the Chilean markets and undermined the agricultural efforts of Chilean farmers and producers.

At the end it was the Conservative lobby that helped the approval of the bill in order to support the Pro Nuncio and the Catholic Church. And as soon as the bill was approved Silva Henríquez spoke with Enrique Bernstein of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs who made arrangements for the Vatican Embassy to be the only channel of communication between the American Catholic Relief Services and Caritas Chile.

⁶⁴ The bill was named 'Acuerdo sobre las Agencias de Rehabilitación y Socorro'.

One of the *sine qua non* conditions agreed by Caritas with the Catholic Relief Services was that none of the products could be sold. Thus, Caritas Chile had to find funding in order to transport the products from the ports of entry to those who were to receive them. Caritas needed 20 to 30 members of staff in order to coordinate the relief operation as well, thus needing constant funds that were not available from the start. There was also the need to keep storing spaces and to create a network of helpers to transport the products.

In one occasion Silva Henríquez visited Congress bringing some of the American cheeses that had recently arrived in order to convince congress members that not only those were first class products but also that Caritas should be exempted from having to pay importation taxes on those products. He also negotiated cheaper tariffs with the Chilean railways in order to transport the CRS donations and much later managed to secure the reimbursement of all transport expenditures from the Chilean Government. During 1957 Silva Henríquez also developed a system of payments by the recipients not of the products donated but of the containers, such as bags and tins that were sent with the products in them.

During 1956 there was an educational program about charity together with the distribution of food and clothing to the poor. A year later, in 1957, Fr. Wallisfurth visited the Catholic Relief Services in the United States and was told that they could send as much goods as Caritas Chile could distribute without any limitation. By 1957 there were 2,000 centres of distribution all over Chile that helped from prisoners to children in primary school, hospitals of the National Health Service, the old and the poor of Chilean urban centres. Even President Ibáñez wife, Graciela Letelier de Ibáñez, requested help from Caritas Chile for her project Roperos del Pueblo that gave clothing to the poorest of Chile.

However, Caritas Chile also contributed to alleviate suffering in other countries, as it was the case after the Soviet invasion of Hungary, when Hungarians immigrants to Chile collected money in order to help Hungarian children who were arriving as refugees in Italy and were protected by the Vatican and the Catholic Church in Italy. As a result Caritas Chile became a well-known

organisation and a respected partner to other Christian agencies in Europe. A clear example of such cooperation was the so-called revolution of the *chaucha* on the 2nd of April 1957.⁶⁵ On the previous day the government of Ibáñez decided to raise the price of public transport and on the 2nd there were serious disturbances in Santiago where mobs aided by anti-socials attacked public buildings. The government accused the Workers' Union (CUT) and the leftist parties of such violence while the opposition accused the government of provocation. However, the result for Caritas was that most foreign donors thought that Chile was very close to further social unrest because of the social and economic problems related to poverty and unemployment. Therefore during 1957 donations increased dramatically and Caritas Chile was able to help 700,000 people throughout the country.

However, in 1958 there was a general complaint by farmers and milk producers to the Chilean government regarding the milk distributed by Caritas Chile. Farmers argued that they were losing consumers and that the markets were being destroyed. The Minister for Agriculture created a commission in order to assess the situation that included farmers and members of Caritas Chile. Silva Henríquez was emphatic that those who were receiving milk did not have the means of buying Chilean milk and that they were not used to give milk to their children because they could not afford it. Thus, Caritas was not only supplementing the amount of milk available in Chile but also was educating parents and their children so that future generations could understand the need to drink milk daily.⁶⁶

At the end and after the milk producers suggested that Caritas Chile had paralysed the production of milk in Chile Silva Henríquez asked for a meeting with President Ibáñez. Caritas Chile had clear statistics related to milk production in Chile: there was a shortage of 600,000 litres per year, and Caritas was

⁶⁵ A *chaucha* was a single coin.

⁶⁶ Silva Henríquez wrote in his memoirs: 'Señores, les dije, los pobres a los que yo les doy no tienen para comprarle ni un litro a ustedes. Al contrario, yo les estoy creando el hábito de tomar leche', *Memorias I*: 142.

importing only 100,000 litres. Milk was not readily available, on the contrary, there was a shortage and there were many parents who could not afford to buy milk for their children.⁶⁷

CIEC Congress in Santiago

Despite his business with Caritas Chile Silva Henríquez had still to run the Gratiud Nacional School, and by becoming once again rector of a Catholic school Silva Henríquez was back as a member of FIDE, the organisation that linked all Catholic schools throughout Chile. Those links between Catholic schools had already taken off at a Latin American level as well as at a national level. Already in 1945 a continental organisation had been formed in Bogota, Colombia, with the name of Confederación Interamericana de Educación Católica (CIEC).

From 1950 and with the foundation of the Chilean FIDE the Chilean delegates to the CIEC congresses became active participants in the working parties and the general discussions related to Catholic education in Latin America. Frs. Jorge Gómez Ugarte, Manuel Edwards and Bruno Rychlowsky had important contributions at the IV CIEC Congress in Rio de Janeiro in 1951 and Frs. Jorge Gómez Ugarte, Francisco Lyon and Eugenio León made an impact at the V CIEC Congress in La Habana in 1954.

FIDE Chile hosted the next CIEC Congress that took place from the 7th to the 14th of September 1956 and in which delegations of 18 countries took part. Fr. Jorge Gómez Ugarte as president of FIDE organised a preparatory commission that looked at the general program, the invitations to be sent and the themes to be discussed in Santiago. The following people served in the preparatory commission: Hugo Montes, Juan Frontaura, Sergio Contardo, the lawyer Alejandro Silva Bascuñán, the musician Mario Baeza, and professor Julio Philippi. Silva Henríquez moderated all debates, playing a central role in giving

⁶⁷ The government of Salvador Allende later took this point made by Caritas Chile and provided a litre of milk daily to all children. The milk was either distributed through the government primary schools or through the local community organisations.

the participants clear aims and objectives in accordance with the pre-established themes for discussion.⁶⁸ The general theme that unified the congress was the social formation of pupils, while there were seven different sub-themes that were taken by the same number of committees, i.e. doctrinal foundations of Catholic education, social contexts for contemporary education, the development of educational ideas, sensibility towards social issues, training for social action, and the freedom of education.

The congress was a complete success and the seven commissions developed working conclusions that were implemented by all delegations present in Santiago. It was clear that Silva Henríquez had once again worked very hard and had shown extraordinary capabilities as an organiser and as a leader. He noticed, for the first time, that the Pro Nuncio was giving him more and more senior responsibilities while his Salesian peers were doing well as teachers and educators.⁶⁹

The Advancement of Caritas Chile

Higher things were expected of this Salesian priest but in the meantime Silva Henríquez took Caritas Chile to levels never expected by the Pro Nuncio. As Silva Henríquez would do much later with the Vicariate of Solidarity he increased the activities and financial viability of Caritas Chile to the point that it became almost a parallel organisation in direct competition with the meagre resources allocated to the poor by the Chilean government.

By 1957 Caritas Chile had been elected as a member of the International Executive Committee of Caritas Internationalis and there was a new variety of projects being developed. For example, personnel of Caritas Chile made pasta and

⁶⁸ He wrote in his memoirs: ‘Parecía una tarea sencilla, pero bien sabía él [el P. Gómez] que en realidad era crucial: dado que venían delegaciones de todo el continente, y que las ponencias eran de muy diversa naturaleza, el director de debates sería quien verdaderamente conduciría las conclusiones hacia un final que podía ser estéril, o tremendamente útil’, *Memorias* I: 134-135.

⁶⁹ He wrote in his memoirs: ‘En sus felicitaciones [por parte de Baggio] por el resultado del Congreso creo haber notado la silenciosa intención de seguirme dando responsabilidades enormes’, *Memorias* I: 136.

bread with the imported flour, they bought generators for rural areas cut off from the national lines of electrical power, fur coats and expensive clothing were used to make other clothes and to cover pieces of furniture, there was a national cookery competition that involved new ways of using imported agricultural surpluses, there was an expansion of the health and housing programs, and even the start of a new program to find jobs for the unemployed.

However, one of Silva Henríquez' favourite new programs was the summer camps organised for poor children. Fr. Baldo Santi, an Italian priest of the Order of the Mother of God took charge of such an interesting new adventure. Fr. Santi had arrived in 1946 to work in the Rancagua diocese, south of Santiago, that at the time had Bishop Eduardo Larraín as its head. Fr. Wallisfurth had requested Italian translations from him and much later Fr. Baldi was to become head of Caritas Chile. At that time, and with enormous patience and creativity he developed the idea that children of poor families could never have a holiday from school and from the difficult economic conditions that in many cases forced them to work at an early age. As a result their childhood disappeared and very quickly they became young adults with enormous responsibilities but with a limited future.

The first summer camp took place during the summer of 1959, in a farm, the Quinta de Tilcoco. Businessmen, associated with the Chilean steel industry (Asimet), made it possible through their generosity and the experience was a memorable one for the children and for the Caritas Chile personnel. Fr. Santi reported that 130 children spent a period of 20 days in the summer camp. As a result of the experience they put on weight, an average of two and a half kilos each, due to the fact that for the first time they could drink enough milk (an average of 100 litres per day were needed) and had regular meals, a three course meal at lunch and at dinner, with an average of meat four times a week.⁷⁰ There

⁷⁰ This regular diet of large meals and milk was the kind of life-style expected in Chile in a well-to-do family or a family of professional parents.

was non-compulsory daily Mass and an average of one hundred children attended daily Mass and many received the sacrament of reconciliation.⁷¹

Another interesting project was the construction of a hospital for lepers in Easter Island that eventually eradicated the disease from Chilean territory. Fr. Wallisfurth initiated this project and Silva Henríquez requested help from the Chilean Navy as he did not have funding for the hospital. His suggestion was that navy personnel would donate the money allocated for flour in their budget, thus instead of buying Chilean flour they would receive imported flour from Caritas Chile. On top of that they would help transport materials and building structures to Easter Island where they would provide bread for the local population, particularly for those who were helping in the building of the new hospital. The Navy agreed to Silva Henríquez' request and naval vessels Pinto and Esmeralda sailed from Valparaíso carrying building materials and builders to Easter Island. Eventually the Navy took over the hospital and leprosy ceased to be a problem in Easter Island.

However, as it happened previously others criticized some of the projects initiated by Caritas Chile. One of them was the importation of cars and pick-ups that helped the work of the organisation and that thanks to Caritas Germany were donated to the Catholic Church in Chile. According to Silva Henríquez Caritas Chile helped to equip the Chilean Church particularly in the rural areas, but others perceived such large acquisition of motor vehicles as a challenge to priestly sacrifice and could not see that those parishes that received cars or pick-ups were more effective in their own pastoral ministry. Indeed, a theology of sacrifice was not part of Silva Henríquez's pastoral ideals, but a theology of service that much later was to develop into a theology of solidarity with all.⁷²

⁷¹ Silva Henríquez wrote in his memoirs: 'Fueron años intensos y hermosos', *Memorias I*: 144.

⁷² Silva Henríquez wrote in his memoirs: '... el trabajo pastoral tenía una prioridad en el servicio no en el sacrificio. Es cierto que nuestros párrocos hacían enormes y emocionantes esfuerzos para trasladarse entre grandes distancias, pero también es cierto que muchas veces simplemente no podían hacerlo y decenas de personas quedaban desatendidas', *Memorias I*: 144.

Another challenging project was the attempt to bring films to parish communities that otherwise would have never been able to have their first experience of modern cinema. Silva Henríquez perceived such initiative as central to parish education and Caritas Chile bought 200 films projectors and hundreds of copies of films. In those instances the parish priests were the problem, as many of them did not agree with the fact that trained technicians needed to operate the film projectors. Very soon many copies of films were sent back to Caritas Chile because they were damaged and it was clear that such educational program was not going to work.

However, even the failure of the program suggested that Caritas Chile played an important role in modernising pastoral programs within the Catholic Church in Chile.⁷³ Silva Henríquez was at that time so naively optimistic that he thought that Caritas was going to end all economic poverty in Chile. Nevertheless, his conscious efforts to apply the Gospel to daily inhuman situations represented a new development within the Church in Chile that associated the promotion of human values and the dignity of all human beings with the work of the Church. At the same time the cooperation between rich and poor local churches was to set a parameter of pastoral cooperation that brought a high standard of commitment within the churches in Latin America.⁷⁴

Thus, in 1956 Caritas Chile together with the Hogar de Cristo, directed at that time by Fr. Alejandro del Corro, intervened in a crisis of housing for the poor of Santiago. Those who could not even afford food and clothing migrated to Santiago from all over Chile in search of employment and opportunities and

⁷³ Silva Henríquez commented much later: 'Mirando las cosas retrospectivamente, creo que no exagero diciendo que Caritas ha sido una de las instituciones más importantes y que más ha ayudado en el desarrollo de nuestra Iglesia', *Memorias I*: 145.

⁷⁴ Some of those ideas were developed by Gustavo Gutiérrez in his theology of liberation, see for example the introduction to the first Spanish edition of his seminal work, where he wrote: 'Este estudio nos permitirá indicar las razones por las cuales, a lo largo de estas páginas, tendremos en cuenta en forma especial la función crítica de la teología respecto de la presencia y actuar del hombre en la historia. El hecho mayor de dicha presencia en nuestro tiempo, sobre todo en los países subdesarrollados y oprimidos, es la lucha por construir una sociedad justa y fraternal, donde todos puedan vivir con dignidad y ser agentes de su propio destino' ('Introducción a la primera edición', Gutiérrez 1999: 14).

ended up in *poblaciones callampas* – illegal settlements in which families build temporary shelters sometimes with carton boxes and whatever materials they could find. One of those settlements was located beside a water stream - the Zanjón de la Aguada that provided an exit to all the city's unwanted waste. After a general fire in the settlement the Hogar de Cristo provided tin roofs for the residents while Caritas Chile provided blankets and sugar while publishing an ad in the Chilean newspapers asking for help for those living in temporary shacks that had been described in the past as illegal occupants of private lands.

The following year, in 1957, there was another fire within the *población callampa* Manuel Rodríguez. Caritas Chile provided 500,000 pesos to those affected by the fire and in three days 40 houses were built within that settlement. It was clear that the mission of Caritas Chile was to be there with the afflicted and with the poor and therefore to be involved in trying to alleviate as well as to solve the problem of housing for the poor.⁷⁵ While the Hogar de Cristo helped the poor with building resources and Caritas Chile helped in case of emergencies there was no coordination in order to provide a structural solution to many of the housing problems within Santiago. The government did not provide them and the Catholic Church needed to face the possibility of getting involved in such enormous task.

There was a particular incident that triggered further cooperation between all organisations involved in the housing problem. On Saturday 23rd October 1957 there was a larger fire in the *población callampa* El Carmelo, also located in the Zanjón de la Aguada. The fire devastated 130 temporary shacks and the affected families went to the offices of Caritas Chile to request help. Silva Henríquez pledged materials to build wooden houses provided that the families secured ownership of the land where those houses were to be located. Such request was very naïve, as those affected by the fire did not have resources to build up

⁷⁵ In a beautiful statement Silva Henríquez wrote: 'La misión de Caritas era estar allí donde hubiese dolor y sufrimiento, saliendo al paso de la desesperanza, propagando nuestro mensaje, inoculando el sopro de la fe', *Memorias* I: 148.

temporary shacks, thus they did not have larger resources as to buy their own land.

Some politicians had promised them lands nearby, in the Chacra La Feria, at that time owned by the government through the Corporación de la Vivienda (Corvi). Thus, the homeless families suggested that they would occupy that land because they did not have any other place to go. When asked for his opinion Silva Henríquez agreed that there was no other solution and he committed building materials for their wooden houses and his moral support so that the police would not evict them from the land till the politicians had heard their problems. This was an unprecedented step for someone who was heading official charitable bodies within the Catholic Church.

A few days later 250 families occupied those lands with their small possessions. Such illegal occupation of land was unheard of in Santiago and nobody knew what to do. Silva Henríquez spoke to Cardinal Caro and requested that the first Chilean Cardinal speak to President Ibáñez in order to stop any violence or the immediate eviction of the poor from those government lands. Ibáñez agreed and even suggested that there could be some conversations in order to plan the urbanisation of those lands. The *pobladores* quickly divided the land in plots of 8 per 16 metres and the Hogar de Cristo donated 100 small wooden houses with light tin roofs while Caritas gave loans to the new occupants as to use other more reliable materials in order to complete their houses. The new settlement was named La Victoria, a victory for the poor and the marginalized, with the help of the Church.

Following that incident Caritas Chile decided to start a program for urban developments and housing for the poor, a much-needed development within an ever-expanding Santiago metropolis. Towards the end of 1957 Silva Henríquez had completed the legal documents that started a new housing department within Caritas Chile with the name of Instituto de Viviendas de Caritas (Invica). In April 1958 the final statutes were finalised after some changes proposed by the Pro Nuncio. Invica's first board of directors included Fr. Wallisfurth, Ramón

Venegas, Eugenio Browne, Daniel Sotta Barros (Hogar de Cristo), Ricardo Labarca and Mariano Puga Vega (Caritas), with Silva Henríquez as first president, a nomination pushed by the Pro Nuncio.

On the 29th September 1957 Silva Henríquez' mother, Mercedes Henríquez, died. She was 86 years old and had lost some of her memory. Some of her children had celebrated her day on the 8th of September, day of the *mercedes*, a *merced* being a favour, and the Virgin Mary considered one of the generous gifts and favours by God to humanity. After the celebrations she had a cold that became bronco-pneumonia and she died peacefully surrounded by some of her daughters. Silva Henríquez saw her the following day and was touched by the serenity of her peaceful facial expression.⁷⁶ She lived a full life and after having 19 children felt peaceful and content about her life and her extended family. At that moment she did not know that one of her children was to be chosen as one of the bishops of the Catholic Church.

⁷⁶ He wrote: 'No la pude ver sino hasta la mañana siguiente, y el recuerdo de su expresión apacible, reposada, de quien ha terminado una vida plena, me ha acompañado desde entonces', *Memorias I*: 152.

CHAPTER 3

Archbishop of Valparaíso and of Santiago

Every six years delegates from all Salesian provinces met in Turin in order to discuss and evaluate their pastoral activities and their priorities for the future. Delegates to the General Chapter included the provincial of each province plus one or two other delegates.

In the Chilean case the election of a delegate for the 1958 Salesian General Chapter was to be an important one because the Salesian Superior, Fr. Ziggotti, had suggested in his visit to Chile that the chosen delegate would be the next Chilean provincial. The Salesians in Chile decided by an ample majority that Silva Henríquez was to be the delegate to the General Chapter, a decision that made him very happy not only because of his community's support but because he felt that finally he could do something important for his own religious family.

A few days later the Pro Nuncio spoke to Silva Henríquez and asked him if he wanted to become the new bishop of Antofagasta. The Pro Nuncio wanted to know his opinion before nominating him for the post to the Vatican. The diocese of Antofagasta had been erected in 1928 and its third bishop Monsignor Hernán Frías Hurtado had resigned from the post during 1957. However, Silva Henríquez wanted to become the new Salesian provincial rather than a new bishop in the

north of Chile. He felt that he had worked for years outside his community and that it was the right time to rejoin his community and to lead 200 priests working in more than 30 Salesian establishments throughout Chile. The Pro Nuncio understood the situation, however suggested to discuss it again after the Salesian General Chapter.

In June 1958 Silva Henríquez departed to Europe for a period of three months and passed through the United States in order to strengthen ties with the US Department and the Catholic Relief Services. He spent a few days in New York and then departed for Turin. The XVIII General Chapter of the Salesian Order started on the 27th of July and ended on the 9th of August 1958 and 119 delegates from all over the world took part. Among the delegates there was one of his classmates, Fr. Rafael Sánchez, representing Mexico.

The General Chapter was a grandiose occasion directed and guided by the Salesian Generalate that expected all delegates to consent to their guidelines. That attitude was not uncommon in a Church that had not seen the communal discussions of the Second Vatican Council, however Silva Henríquez was surprised. One of the most difficult discussions concerned Don Bosco's original-instruction that children should pray the rosary while attending Mass. Such directive followed centuries of disputes with the Protestant Churches that advocating the priesthood of all believers authorised any member of a congregation to lead prayers. And while there was a doctrinal danger on the part of the Protestants there was also a perceived liturgical danger in Catholics who wanted to have more participation during the celebration of the Eucharist. Therefore the translation of the Mass into the vernacular was still forbidden and those texts were part of the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* – the forbidden books that Catholics could not read or use.

Don Bosco's intention had been to make sure that children were not bored during the Eucharist and that at the same time by praying the rosary in the vernacular they would become closer to the example of the Virgin Mary and as a result to Christ himself. However, by the 1950s the prohibitions on the use of the

vernacular had eased, particularly outside Europe, thus in countries such as Chile the Episcopal Conference had encouraged clergy and lay people to follow the Eucharist in the vernacular in order to live more fully the liturgical and sacramental life of the Church.

Silva Henríquez spoke during the General Chapter suggesting that there was a clear contradiction between the directives of the Catholic Church and the directives of Don Bosco and according to Silva Henríquez that could not be. Other delegates supported his comment and requested that the Salesian superiors should solve this point of contradiction. The superiors responded immediately that they would follow the rules of Don Bosco and that the rosary should be prayed while the priest was celebrating the Eucharist sacrifice. Silva Henríquez spoke once again assuring everybody that he respected the traditions of Don Bosco but that he could not contradict the directives given by the Bishops. If the Salesians were to be exempted from those directives that would be different but the matter needed to be discussed with the Bishops. The Superior General stopped all discussions and asserted that the matter was to be discussed with the Sacred Congregation for Religious and not with the Bishops.

It is not clear if the Salesians ever raised the matter with the Sacred Congregation for Religious but it was clear that the Superior General did not like Silva Henríquez' intervention and that his future as the provincial of the Salesians in Chile was not a possibility any longer. However, Silva Henríquez was conscious that he needed to speak as a delegate elected by the Chilean province because in Chile at least his congregation was trying to follow a model of cooperation between the bishops and the religious orders.⁷⁷

⁷⁷ He wrote: 'Cuando salimos de la reunión, mi hermano Rafael Sánchez me dijo que había sido un bárbaro por mi intervención. Le respondí que era una obligación que yo sentía: para eso era el delegado de una provincia salesiana y, como mis demás hermanos, sabía que no podíamos quedar peleando con nuestros obispos', *Memorias* I: 157.

Death of Pope Pius XII

As Silva Henríquez was making his way back to Chile he heard the news that on the 9th of October 1958 Pope Pious XII died. The vacuum caused by his death was difficult to fill because Pious XII had led the Catholic Church throughout World War II and in the post-war period. He was an ascetic man who seemed to have been made for the post and who had a great intellect. People saw God in him despite his detachment from the world and from the ordinary people. He tried to introduce great reforms within the Roman Curia and was not successful but started a new practice of reassessing the position and mission of the Church within the contemporary world with the publication of his encyclical *Humani generis*.

Silva Henríquez returned to Chile on the 12th October 1958 and witnessed an enormous expectation regarding the election of the next Pope. The chosen one, after 12 rounds of ballots, was the Patriarch of Venice, Angelo Roncalli of 76 years of age. Roncalli was perceived as a transition candidate because of his age, and he was liked because he had optimism, he was kind and gentle. Thus on the 28th of October 1958 the French Cardinal Tisserant, Dean of the College of Cardinals, together with two other Cardinals, van Roey and Canali approached Cardinal Roncalli and asked him if he accepted to be Pope with the traditional words *Acceptasne electionem de te Canonice factam in Summum Pontificem?* Roncalli accepted and chose the name of John, previously used by 22 Popes, thus Roncalli became known as Pope John XXIII. His choice of name suggested that John was his father's name and that most of those Popes that had chosen that name had had a very short period in office. John XXIII was going to be a reformer instead of a quiet Pope and was to play a significant role in the life and pastoral ministry of Silva Henríquez.

Pope John XXIII

John XXIII was born to a peasant family in Sotto il Monte, near Bergamo, on the 25th of November 1881. Angelo Roncalli did his military service and after joining

the Seminary was ordained as a priest in 1904. During World War I he served as a chaplain to the Italian Army and was promoted from sergeant to lieutenant. At the end of the war and still as a young priest he served as personal secretary to the Bishop of Bergamo, Giacomo Radini-Tedeschi, who became a well-known Italian prelate and served in different Vatican offices under the pontificate of Leo XIII. Thus, Roncalli had his first lessons on Vatican governance and had the chance to travel to many places.

Roncalli fought for the implementation of the teachings of Leo XIII in Bergamo at a time when the local elites rejected the teachings of *Rerum Novarum*. In 1921 Benedict XV appointed him at a young age as head of Propaganda Fide, a Vatican organisation that had a major office in Lyons and a minor one at the Vatican II. Roncalli's task was to centralise Propaganda Fide in Rome and to give it a new impulse within the church.

Roncalli was consecrated archbishop in 1925 and shortly after appointed Vatican apostolic delegate to Sofia, Bulgaria, where his mission was to support the small Roman Catholic population in a kingdom that had adopted Orthodox Christianity as its official religion. One of his most difficult moments came when the Bulgarian King Boris III decided to marry the Catholic daughter of the King of Italy. Roncalli convinced the Vatican that it was possible for both of them to marry according to the Roman rite and they did. However, later they broke the agreement with the Vatican and married again following the Eastern rites.

In 1934 Roncalli was transferred to Turkey where there was a similar situation of religious tension due to the problems between Muslims and Greek Orthodox Christians. Later in 1944 Roncalli became Vatican Nuncio in Paris at a time when the future of France and indeed of Europe was being discussed, thus becoming a very experienced Vatican diplomat at very difficult times. His first task was to establish diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the new government of liberation led by Charles De Gaulle. His second and ongoing task was to sustain a post-war Catholic Church in France with all her new pastoral and theological developments.

Indeed, the Catholic Church in France was about to develop a new theology and a whole new social outlook with the post-war Church immersing herself in the social and political world of contemporary Europe. Great theological figures such as the Jesuits Henri de Lubac, Jean Daniélou and Henri Brouillard, and the Dominicans Yves Congar and M.D. Chenu, influenced not only the thinking of French theology but they were also important figures in the preparation of the Second Vatican Council. However, conservative French circles accused them of deviances in doctrine and faith. Roncalli followed such discussion and influenced matters so that instead of a papal condemnation of any new theologies Pope Pius XII made public his encyclical *Humani Generis* that supported the development of new theologies.

Roncalli became a well-liked figure in France and De Gaulle's confessor. Much later he mediated well the relations between the Vatican and the first president of the IV Republic Vincent Auriol who was a socialist and an atheist. Roncalli developed a reputation for being intelligent, humble and gentle, following his Episcopal motto 'obedience and peace'.

In 1953 Pope Pious XII appointed him as patriarch of Venice at the age of 72. Roncalli made significant progress in church-state relations by supporting the Venice Film Festival, previously condemned by the Church, by creating 30 new parishes, by refurbishing the Cathedral of Saint Mark and by exalting the figure of Pope Pius X, a Venetian patriarch much-loved in Venice and knick-named 'the holy pope'. Roncalli was a very energetic man that got up at 4:00 am and worked until 10:00 pm, visited all parishes in Venice and prepared a diocesan synod with the aim of renewing the archdiocese. He was working towards the diocesan synod when Pious XII died and Roncalli became Pope John XXIII.

New Pastoral Adventures

When Silva Henríquez returned to Chile on the 12th October 1958 he already knew that he was not going to be the new Salesian Provincial in Chile after his outspoken attitude at the General Chapter. However, he was going to suffer

further pain on his return due to a student's suicide at La Gracitud Nacional School. Already on arrival one of the priests gave him the sad news: a student had used a belt to hang himself in one of the toilets and had done so after stripping himself of all his clothes. His parents had recently separated and it was a clear case of loneliness exacerbated by the fact that he was attending a boarding school.

Silva Henríquez felt very guilty because he believed that if he had been there rather than in Italy the student would have confided in him and together with his parents they would have found a way forward. At the student's funeral the father of the student who had committed suicide was very offensive towards Silva Henríquez and when Fr. Gustavo Ferraris intervened the father tried to attack the priest. It was a difficult situation because Silva Henríquez felt that it was the parents who had left the student in such loneliness. However, Silva Henríquez explained to all students in assembly that their classmate was ill and they had to cooperate with a police investigation due to the fact that the student who committed suicide was naked, a fact that the police interpreted as having sexual connotations.

It was a dreadful time for Silva Henríquez who had already requested from his superiors to allow him to continue with full dedication his work at Caritas Chile.⁷⁸ It was clear to him that he could not continue performing well in two jobs: at the school and at Caritas Chile.

During the last weeks of 1958 Silva Henríquez had a meeting with the Vatican Nuncio Baggio who asked him about his future as Salesian Provincial. It was clear that Baggio still had hopes that Silva Henríquez would accept an episcopal appointment.

However, the political situation was not easy as to rush the appointments of bishops. Jorge Alessandri Rodríguez had been elected President of Chile with

⁷⁸ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'No estoy seguro ahora de que este terrible trance no haya tenido fuerte influencia sobre mi decisión de dejar el colegio; una experiencia como ésta es un golpe poderoso e imborrable contra la vocación de la pedagogía, porque pone al desnudo la impotencia y la debilidad del maestro frente a lo único que le importa, que es la salvación de su alumno', *Memorias* I: 171.

the support of the conservatives. He had defeated the leftist coalition that supported Salvador Allende, the Christians Democrats that supported Eduardo Frei Montalva and the challenge by a priest Antonio Zamorano, who had got 41,000 votes and 7,000 of those in Talca. Jorge Alessandri had 33,000 more votes than Allende and it was clear that if the priest of Catapilco had not stood as a candidate Allende would have become the first socialist president of Chile. Jorge Alessandri took office on the 3rd of November 1958 and attended a *Te Deum* at the Cathedral, presided by Cardinal Caro and in the presence of Nuncio Baggio.

Regardless of the electoral result that election divided Catholics within Chile. Previously, they supported the Conservatives, by 1958 they had an alternative choice –the Christian Democratic Party (PDC)- and their lines of political support reflected their own divided ideas related to the Gospel and Chilean society. The conservatives supported the *status quo* while the PDC wanted social and agrarian reforms that were in line with the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. That interpretive division was to divide not only the political life of Catholics in Chile over the next decades but it was to divide the country itself.

The conservatives wrote a letter to Mgr. Antonio Samoré, Vatican official for external affairs in Rome, denouncing that some Chilean clergy had supported the left wing party –they meant the PDC- instead of giving their support to the Catholic Party –they meant the Conservative Party, later known as the Partido Nacional (PN). Baggio had already informed Samoré about the political situation in Chile and there were no major repercussions, however such letters written by conservative Catholics denouncing other Catholics were to become common in the next few years.

For the Vatican the relation between Catholics and party politics had already been settled in a letter from Cardinal Domenico Tardini to Cardinal Caro in 1950. The letter, written on behalf of Pope Pious XII, suggested that the unity of Catholics in Chile was not to be around a particular political party but around the Chilean Bishops and the Church with a clear aim of solving the social problems present at that time in Chilean society. Thus, neither the conservatives

were entitled to keep the *status quo* nor the PDC could define itself as the only Catholic option within Chilean politics.

As discussions continued Chile was shocked by the death of Cardinal Caro, the first Chilean Cardinal, on 4th December 1958. Caro was 92 years old and died suffering from a complex set of illnesses that included leukaemia, a stomach bug and urinary infections. Large numbers of Chileans, multitudes never seen before, paid their respects to the 7th archbishop of Santiago, a kind pastor to the people and a firm and authoritarian bishop to his priests.

Caro was buried under the main altar at the Cathedral and Silva Henríquez took part in the procession towards the burial place. And as he was witnessing the burial an old priest, Fr. Leopoldo Manzor, whispered the following words in his ears: ‘watch carefully, your remains will rest here when you die’. Silva Henríquez did not take much notice, however, later in life he felt that as a premonition it was a mystery to him.⁷⁹

Vacancies in Santiago and Valparaíso

By the end of 1958 Baggio had two major ecclesiastical posts to be filled: archbishops for Santiago and Valparaíso. The late archbishop of Valparaíso, Rafael Lira Infante, had died on the 26th of October 1958. Lira Infante had been the second bishop of Valparaíso, diocese created in 1925, and he had the Episcopal motto of *Caritas Christi urget nos* – the same motto that Silva Henríquez had assumed at the moment of his priestly ordination. If with Lira’s death the attention of the Catholic factions turned to Valparaíso such interest quickly moved to Santiago due to the fact that it was clear that the power of influence of the archbishop of Santiago was greater than that of the archbishop of Valparaíso.

⁷⁹ Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘Su sentido profético estuvo oculto para mí hasta varios años después, y desde entonces me acompaña como un misterio que no puedo desentrañar’, *Memorias* I: 177.

Due to the fact that the archdiocese of Valparaíso did not have a Council of Canons –senior clergy- Cardinal Caro had given the temporary leadership of the diocese to Mgr. Nemesio Marambio, parish priest of the Parroquia del Espíritu Santo.⁸⁰ Marambio was an older priest who had been Rector of the Seminary in Talca when Silva Henríquez started thinking about his vocation to the religious life. According to Silva Henríquez Marambio was a good man and a good priest but without the necessary ideas in order to restructure the diocese that depended completely on the leadership of its bishop.

In the case of Santiago the Council of Canons met and elected Bishop Pío Alberto Fariña, auxiliary bishop in Santiago, as leader of the Santiago archdiocese while the Vatican appointed a new titular bishop. Fariña had also been at the Seminary of Talca together with Mgr. Marambio and Silva Henríquez had gone to him for confession. His reputation was that of a man with a severe character that knew lots of regulations, that had a wide knowledge of Canon Law and who was very conservative.

However, as soon as Fariña took over his role the Conservatives and the Christian Democrats started to lobby the Vatican in order to secure a bishop of their liking as archbishop of Santiago and no doubt future cardinal of the Catholic Church. The Conservatives favoured the bishop of Concepción, Alfredo Silva Santiago, while the Christian Democrats were firmly behind the bishop of Talca, Manuel Larraín.

From the point of view of President Jorge Alessandri the Catholic Church needed a conservative archbishop of Santiago rather than one of those favoured by Baggio who had all been assessors of Catholic Action, for example, José Manuel Santos, Bernardino Piñera or Juan Francisco Fresno. Alessandri developed certain animosity towards Baggio and the new appointment in Santiago was made more difficult because of the different opinions regarding the best candidate for the

⁸⁰ This situation would be a total anomaly today, however at that time, and in the absence of a titular bishop for Valparaíso, the archbishop of Santiago was able to appoint a temporary administrator for a vacant see due to the fact that previously Valparaíso was dependant on Santiago.

vacant post. It is a fact that the conservatives did not like the friendliness of Baggio or the fact that he could appear in shorts or he could play a tennis match in a t-shirt and shorts rather than clerical dress.

Among the many rumours that circulated in the sleepy Santiago of the summer of 1959 was that the Vatican intended to appoint as Apostolic Administrator with the right to succession one of Santiago's auxiliary bishops, Emilio Tagle Covarrubias. Tagle was known for his affinity with the Christian Democrats, and already as a young priest had complained about the unjust conditions of farm workers in one of the farms that the Archbishopric of Santiago had in La Florida. Mgr. Horacio Campillo had a heated discussion with Tagle and assured him that if the workers were alive they were well cared for. Thus, a group of conservative clergy had expressed their worries about such appointment to President Alessandri. Alessandri requested information from Baggio who kept any information from Alessandri as it was expected of any person involved in the appointment. However, Alessandri thought that Baggio's silence meant that Tagle was not going to be appointed as Apostolic Administrator in Santiago. Alessandri was clearly annoyed when Tagle was appointed and led some verbal attacks against Baggio who requested his transfer to another Vatican Embassy.

On the 12th of March 1959 the Vatican published the appointment of Tagle as Apostolic Delegate of the Archdiocese of Santiago and Baggio's appointment as Apostolic Delegate to Canada. Baggio's stay in Chile was made very uncomfortable by Alessandri who cancelled a proposed dinner in Baggio's honour customarily offered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at which occasion a silver tray had been given to all previous Vatican Ambassadors to Chile. Alessandri instructed civil servants to the effect that they should not go to the airport for Baggio's departure and as a result a dinner in his honour was organised by a group of clergy, the same group that saw him off at Los Cerrillos Airport on the 5th of April 1959. Silva Henríquez clearly thought that without Baggio the Chilean Church would not have been able to move forward in so many ways and would

not have acquired a structural cohesion that had made her a leading force in Latin America.⁸¹

Silva Henríquez had already left the Gracitán National School and had moved to the Patrocinio San José. From there he intended to be more fully involved in new developments at Caritas Chile and all the other related projects that had started with the approval and the generous support of Baggio. One of those 'projects' had been to appoint Silva Henríquez as bishop of the Church, however while Baggio had convinced Cardinal Caro that a third auxiliary bishop for Santiago was needed, Baggio did not convince those involved in such nomination that the candidate should be Silva Henríquez.

Destined to be Bishop

In 1959 John XXIII appointed Mgr. Opilio Rossi as new Nuncio in Santiago and Rossi arrived in June of that year from Ecuador. Rossi had been born in the United States but had joined the Seminary in Piacenza and Pious XII had ordained him titular bishop of Ancira in 1953. He had a doctorate in Canon Law and most of his diplomatic career had taken place in Europe while he had been Nuncio in Ecuador for the previous five years.

As soon as he arrived in Chile Rossi pursued his most pressing task, i.e. the appointment of bishops for Santiago and Valparaíso. After his initial consultations it was clear that both candidates for Santiago, Silva Santiago and Tagle, were no longer suitable for the post. Either of them would have antagonised one of the factions within the Church in Chile. Silva Santiago was too conservative and Tagle was considered too young and too inexperienced; the Curia Romana even suggested that Tagle was not able to take decisions.

⁸¹ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Su temperamento era tan activo y decidido, que sin él es difícil que hubiesen podido consumarse muchas de las grandes iniciativas que ampliarían el horizonte católico en los 30 años posteriores. Fornido, risueño, siempre optimista y abierto a las más disímiles inquietudes, este nuncio había conseguido erigirse en una figura de primera magnitud incluso para la Conferencia Episcopal, que por la naturaleza de su organización suele mostrar gran cautela ante los representantes directos de la Curia vaticana', *Memorias* I: 183.

While those discussions regarding the future of the Church in Santiago were taking place, Rossi called Silva Henríquez to a meeting on the 29th of September 1959, the second anniversary of the death of Silva Henríquez' mother. Rossi told Silva Henríquez that John XXIII wanted to appoint him as new bishop of Valparaíso. Silva Henríquez was very surprised and only responded that he would do whatever the Pope wanted. His appointment was officially announced in *L'Osservatore Romano* on the 24th October 1959. Silva Henríquez was not expecting such high office, after all Valparaíso was the second most important city in Chile and together with Concepción they represented important dioceses within the Chilean Church.

Silva Henríquez wrote to Baggio asking for advice. Baggio's advice was clear: he should listen to his flock, he should love them, care for them and most of all remember that he was no longer an active member of a religious order but a bishop of the universal church – *Catholicae Ecclesiae Episcopus*.⁸² With hindsight Silva Henríquez realised that his life as a bishop was of an intensity that he never experienced before because every moment of life in Valparaíso became his own and Valparaíso became his own diocese, a portion of the people of God in which the Church of Christ is present, operational and active.⁸³ However, at that time there were those who were critical of his appointment because he had been a successful financial administrator in Caritas Chile and he was a member of a religious order that was not part of the diocesan clergy in Valparaíso and had never worked in the main Chilean port.

⁸² Baggio's beautiful words were transcribed in the Cardinal's memoirs: 'Sea inagotable en la paternidad (padre de almas), mi querido don Raúl, sin que le sirva de pretexto el prestigio de la autoridad, el respeto de las tradiciones, el estado de su salud. Descienda toda vez que pueda del trono, de la cátedra, del tribunal, salga del palacio y comparta la vida de sus sacerdotes y de sus fieles, sin temor a las críticas. Abra de par en par las puertas de su casa y de su Curia; converse, platique más que predicar (aún cuando lo hace hartó bien). Acuérdesse que alguien piensa que Vuestra Excelencia es más bien duro y severo. Desmíentalos cuanto antes', *Memorias* I: 186-187.

⁸³ Silva Henríquez recalls such pastoral structure of a diocese from the writings of the Fathers of the Church but without specifying the actual writer[s]: 'La porción del pueblo de Dios que está bajo el cuidado pastoral de un obispo con la cooperación del presbiterio, de modo que, adhiriendo a su pastor y reunida en el Espíritu Santo mediante el Evangelio y la Eucaristía, constituye una Iglesia en la cual está verdaderamente presente y operante la Iglesia de Cristo, una, santa, católica y apostólica', *Memorias* I: 188-189.

Silva Henríquez managed to mediate all those uncertainties through the joy of having been called to be ‘a successor to the apostles’, ‘a teacher of doctrine, a priest of the sacred liturgy, and a minister within the government of the Church’, with the particular mission ‘to sanctify, to teach and to govern’.⁸⁴ At least in old age there is no doubt that he saw those years as a gift from God and a call to become once again an orderly member of a religious group, i.e. the College of Bishops of the Catholic Church. However, when the events took place there must have been uncertainty in his life. After all, Silva Henríquez had decided to join the Salesians instead of the diocesan clergy in order to acquire order and discipline. He had acquired a treasured way of life, discipline, order and method through daily study and daily work. He was very thankful to the Salesians; however, canonically he was suspending his life as a member of a religious order in order to lead many as a diocesan bishop.⁸⁵ The leadership of Caritas, after some significant turmoil, was entrusted to Raúl Fernández Correa.

The actual ritual of ordination took place on the 29th of November 1959 at the Cathedral of Valparaíso. Previously he had received his episcopal clothes at the Church of San Juan Bosco in La Cisterna from Archbishop Alfredo Silva Santiago. All those clothes had been made for him in Rome with the financial help from Archbishop Baggio and had later been fitted in Santiago by his sisters. His Episcopal ordination followed the norms provided by Canon Law that required the Nuncio to preside his ordination assisted by two other bishops. Thus, Rossi presided and was helped by Silva Henríquez’ schoolmate, Emilio Tagle, and the Salesian bishop Mgr. Vladimiro Boric of Punta Arenas. Silva Henríquez took as Episcopal motto *Caritas Christi urget nos* and was warmly welcomed by the faithful of Valparaíso who had been so long without a bishop. Procedures were completed when Mgr. Marambio filed his letter of appointment in the

⁸⁴ *Memorias* I: 188.

⁸⁵ He wrote these moving words: ‘Los salesianos fueron para mí no sólo una lección de vida, sino también de cariñosa disciplina, de fraternal invocación al orden, al método, al estudio y al trabajo’, *Memorias* I: 190.

diocesan book that recorded official correspondence between the Vatican and the diocese of Valparaíso.

A Bishop at Work

Why did he accept his appointment as a bishop? After all he had previously rejected such nomination. Silva Henríquez answered this question in his own memoirs where he confided that he wanted to announce the Kingdom of God to the poor. The God of Silva Henríquez loved the poor and showed a special preference for them. Therefore, and within a world that desired money and riches, Silva Henríquez wanted to undertake the difficult mission to show to the poor that God loved them. Twenty years later he still remembered his high Christian ideals; he believed that he could change Chilean society and the Church so that those who did not believe in that God would one day discover God's love and mercy.

The diocese of Valparaíso had been vacant for a year and there was fear and confusion among the faithful as well as within the clergy. The diocese of Valparaíso had two major Catholic institutions, the Catholic University of Valparaíso and the Seminary of San Rafael, and both seemed to have problems of staffing and performance. However, the diocese suffered at that time two major problems: the shortage of priests and the shortage of parishes. Many older priests were ill because of their efforts to attend to the faithful by covering very large pastoral areas.

Silva Henríquez, as a seasoned administrator, decided to develop a strategic group that was to respond to those administrative and pastoral deficiencies by providing a long-term strategic plan on how to provide better pastoral care to the faithful of Valparaíso. His main concern was a pastoral policy supported by the necessary diocesan structures, with a great emphasis on the pastoral, described by him as 'the vital horizon of every priest'.⁸⁶

The first step was to fill the canonical posts assigned to any diocese in the world. Silva Henríquez appointed Mgr. Angel Custodio Rodríguez as Vicar

⁸⁶ *Memorias* I: 194.

General already on the 2nd of December 1959. Rodríguez had been involved in Valparaíso since the day of its diocesan foundation, and he was intelligent and had a wide knowledge of all places and diocesan realities. However, despite the appointment of a council of priests there was the need to create specific departments in order to address particular pastoral realities. Silva Henríquez had noticed this pastoral model in modern dioceses outside Chile, particularly in Europe and the United States.

Fr. Enrique Barilari who worked in the poorest parish, El Forestal, and maintained a large number of street-children, who learned the Catholic Catechism, took over the Department of Pastoral and Liturgy. Fr. Félix Ruiz de Escudero took over the Department of Social and Charity Work, aided by a large inheritance that allowed him to found, support, and maintain the so-called city for children. Fr. Wenceslao Barra took over the direction of Catholic Action and the Lay Apostolate; he was also to become ecclesiastical diocesan judge and diocesan councillor. Fr. Carlos Camus took over Social Action while Fr. Carlos Contreras led the reorganisation of pastoral work for university students.⁸⁷ Among the closest assessors to Silva Henríquez was Fr. Michael Woodward, later assassinated after the 1973 military coup. In total there were nine pastoral departments that were located in a building close to the Archbishopric in Pedro Montt Street while Silva Henríquez' offices were located in Carrera Street.

After those appointments were made Silva Henríquez, together with his assessors, started a pastoral visit to all parishes. By April 1960 he had visited all parishes, forty in total, and he was ready to create others according to the pastoral needs of growing areas, and to alter the geographical limits of other parishes that were becoming too large for a single parish structure. Between April 1960 and January 1961 Silva Henríquez created twelve new parishes.⁸⁸ Not all of those new parishes were successful pastoral projects and some of them were not able to have

⁸⁷ Both of them were later to become bishops.

⁸⁸ The first was the parish of San Judas Tadeo created on the 21st April 1960; the last of the twelve had the name of San Juan Bosco, the founder of the Salesians.

a resident priest but Silva Henríquez was determined to improve the pastoral care given by the Church in Valparaíso.

The shortage of priests meant that Silva Henríquez wrote to many bishops in Europe begging for priests on loan to Valparaíso. At the same time he attempted to give the Major Seminary to a religious order but decided not to after a general protest by diocesan clergy. Instead, he removed those leading the San Rafael Seminary and appointed Fr. Jaime Fernández Sanfuentes as new rector.

Natural Disasters in 1960

While Silva Henríquez was working very hard in his first diocese the south of Chile became the centre of media attention because of several natural disasters. On the 21st May 1960 an earthquake devastated the lands of Concepción and Arauco. The Minister of Health, Dr Sótero del Río, travelled to Concepción and led a medical emergency unprecedented in the history of Chile while the Minister of Economics, Julio Philippi, assigned resources to those who had lost their houses and their livelihoods. However, on the following day another earthquake devastated other areas of the south – Valdivia, Osorno, Llanquihue, and Chiloé. Following the earthquake large sea waves covered the land destroying crops and killing human beings and animals. There were lava eruptions from the Osorno, Rupanco, and Puerto Varas volcanoes.

The emergency situation was dramatic and Caritas Chile as well as the Chilean Episcopal Conference were at the centre of a massive influx of food, blankets, medicines and building materials to the south of Chile. Damages to church property were enormous and Silva Henríquez calculated that U.S. \$20 million were needed in order to rebuild and repair unsafe buildings. Thus, after a short visit to the south of Chile in which he was accompanied by other bishops he sent messages of help to organisations in the United States and in Rome. In the United States Mgr. Swanstrom of the Catholic Relief Services organised a national collection in a single day in solidarity with Chile while Archbishop

Baggio encouraged the Canadian Bishops to do the same and alerted Caritas in Rome about the severe needs of the Chilean Church.

European Tour

In June 1960 Silva Henríquez began an international journey that was to bring him to the United States, Canada, and Europe in order to beg financial help for Chile. He had previously planned such trip in order to request missionary priests for Valparaíso and the Chilean Bishops urged him to depart earlier than planned in order to report on the 1960 natural disasters in Chile. His companion was the Spanish priest Fr. Félix Ruiz de Escudero. In their first stop in the United States they met with whoever bishop they could contact, they also met with staff of the Catholic Relief Services, and spoke to congregations at cathedral churches and parishes. They followed their journey to Canada where helped by Archbishop Baggio they also received great support from Canadian bishops and their parishes.

From North America they departed for Rome, where Jorge Sapunar, a seminarian from Valparaíso, acted as Silva Henríquez' secretary during his visit. Sapunar was completing his theological studies in Rome and had written warm letters of support to Silva Henríquez since the time of his arrival in Valparaíso. Silva Henríquez stayed at the Salesian House, at 42 Via Marsala, and visited all the Vatican offices in the Via de la Conciliazione while requesting an audience with Pope John XXIII.

In the meantime he attended the Congress of Caritas Internationalis. At that congress he reported on the work and growth of Caritas Chile and requested further help for those in need after the Chilean earthquake. The Caritas delegates welcomed him warmly, and to his surprise, they nominated him and duly elected him as world vice-president and Latin American vice-president of Caritas. After his election he was recognised as the man who had made Caritas Chile into the most efficient national branch of Caritas in Latin America.

His audience with John XXIII took place on the 2nd of August 1960 at the summer papal residence of Castelgandolfo beside lake Albano. Mgr. Oddone

Taccoli, a young cleric who had served as secretary at the Vatican Embassy in Chile, welcomed them. John XXIII received them in his private study and he was warm and enthusiastic about the work of the Church in Chile. As Silva Henríquez was introduced as *Radulfus Episcopus Valisparadisi*, John XXIII interrupted in Italian saying: *qui arriva un vescovo del Paradiso, e io sono soltanto vicario de Cristo qui a Roma.*⁸⁹ This behaviour was characteristic of John XXIII, a happy man who enjoyed meeting others and made them feel at ease. During the meeting Silva Henríquez requested a papal letter of introduction and support to be presented by him to the German Bishops when requesting financial support for the suffering peoples of southern Chile. John XXIII ordered for the letter to be prepared and encouraged Silva Henríquez to request help from the Italian Bishops. Silva Henríquez never did but it was clear to him that John XXIII thought that Italian Catholics should be helping other churches in a more concrete financial way following the example of German and North American Catholics.

After returning to Rome Silva Henríquez travelled to Turin in order to visit the Salesian community and later he continued his journey to Germany. He also visited the Archbishop of Milan, Giovanni Battista Montini –later to become Pope Paul VI- who gave Silva Henríquez \$200 donation, a large sum at that time. However, he decided not to request help from other Italian bishops. Instead, he spent a couple of days at the Salesian house planning a strategy for his visit to Germany and purchasing supplies for his own diocese. He discovered that Tomás González, a Chilean seminarian of the Salesians, was studying in Turin and Silva Henríquez entrusted him with the difficult task of choosing and buying vestments for the liturgical celebrations at Valparaíso Cathedral.

Silva Henríquez departed for Munich, where a Eucharistic Congress with guests from all over the world was taking place. Munich was also home to the Bavarian Capuchins, missionaries who had taken over the new Vicariate of the

⁸⁹ *Memorias* I: 201; John XXIII referred in his joke to the paradisiacal philological inclusion in the name of the Chilean port, a bishop coming from Paradise, while the Pope was only staying in Rome.

Araucanía in Chile during the early days of the XX century.⁹⁰ The Capuchins were also helping with the organisation of the event and they welcomed the presence of a Chilean bishop. The Capuchins had also engaged many well-to-do Bavarian families in order to support the stay and the projects of their foreign guests. One of those benefactors was Baron Frankenstein, a Bavarian noble married with an Austrian princess; he took special interest in Silva Henríquez and together with Jorge Sapunar they were invited several times to dine at his home. Silva Henríquez did not speak German and the Baron did not speak English, therefore their conversations were conducted in French. They became good friends and later on the occasion of the Second Vatican Council Silva Henríquez was able to host him in Rome.

His visit was very successful and the German bishops made every possible effort to strengthen ecclesial ties between the churches in Germany and Chile. Northern Germans remembered that the first parcels of food that arrived after the II World War came from Chile and most Germans knew that there was a large group of German immigrants in southern Chile. Large German organisations such as Adveniat and Misereor provided immediate help, mostly in financial aid.

However, the most important fruits of his visit were the contacts he made with other well-known Catholic figures who were working on foundations that were alleviating suffering in other parts of Europe and that included the powerful foundation Kirche in Not. Its founder, Fr. Werenfried van Straaten started helping refugees from Eastern Germany in 1947, when thousands of displaced people headed for the west in a post-war situation of devastation, hunger, and poverty. Later, he coordinated help for the persecuted churches of Eastern Europe and became a powerful symbol of Catholic solidarity with the persecuted of Europe.⁹¹

From Germany they went to Spain where they hoped to request missionary priests for the diocese of Valparaíso. The Spanish Church had already collected

⁹⁰ In order to start and to develop their work in Chile the Capuchins had had generous financial support from King Ludwig I of Bavaria.

⁹¹ Kirche in Not had in the 1990s Fr. Roger Vekermans, a Jesuit that had worked in Chile, as its director.

aid to Chile that was going to be channelled through the Chilean government. After a meeting with Silva Henríquez it was decided that half of the aid was to go to the Chilean state while half of it was to be administered by Caritas Chile. Nevertheless, the issue of getting priests on loan to Chile was more difficult and Silva Henríquez decided that Fr. Ruiz de Escudero should remain in Spain for a while in order to visit bishops and request help while he returned to Chile via North America. By the time he arrived in Chile he had been gone for two months. His visit created not only a good deal of admiration by other Chilean bishops but also opened a network of European associates and friends that Silva Henríquez was to use well over the next few years. He also received books sent by Sapunar from Rome, news about the Salesians from González in Turin, and encouraging reports from Fr. Ruiz de Escudero in Spain.⁹²

On his return Silva Henríquez witnessed the bitter division between Catholics in Valparaíso, where the newspaper *La Unión* –owned by the Church and directed by his cousin Alfredo Silva Carvallo- continued with a traditional conservative party line causing frictions against the progressive members of the Christian Democratic Party. Silva Henríquez had to intervene in order to make sure that the newspaper aimed at uniting Catholics rather than dividing them.

Another Appointment

Meanwhile the situation in Santiago had not been resolved; there was no archbishop yet. The situation had become ever more polarised between the government that wanted Mgr. Alfredo Silva Santiago as new archbishop and the Christian Democrats who favoured Mgr. Manuel Larraín. By then it was clear that Mgr. Emilio Tagle was not among the possible candidates considered by the Vatican Ambassador. Mgr. Rossi had not been able to decide but it was not possible for such an important office to be vacant. Therefore in March 1961 Rossi visited Silva Henríquez with the excuse of clarifying a complaint against Silva

⁹² On his return to Valparaíso and in 1961 Fr. Ruiz de Escudero founded the first village for orphaned children in Valparaíso, an idea that Silva Henríquez was to follow years later.

Henríquez filed by the Knights of Columbus of Santiago.⁹³ Very quickly, however, the conversation changed to the topic of a possible episcopal appointment for Santiago and Rossi asked Silva Henríquez if he would accept that appointment if asked. Silva Henríquez told Rossi that his character was not the best and that there were others more qualified, but he would serve the Pope in Vietnam or Nigeria if requested. Rossi was happy and promised to convey that piece of information to the Holy See.

On the 23 May 1961 Rossi telephoned Silva Henríquez to congratulate him on his appointment as new archbishop of Santiago, information that was to become public through the newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* on the following day.⁹⁴ Silva Henríquez said with feeling 'May God forgive you!'⁹⁵ When Silva Henríquez came off the phone he told his sister Marina who was staying with him as she had lost her husband. Her reaction said it all; she cried. Marina had the feeling that his brother was going to suffer and be misinterpreted in Santiago for many years to come. Years later, Silva Henríquez described his appointment as the heaviest cross he could have ever carried. His appointment was announced on the 24th May 1961 together with the announcement of the appointment of Mgr. Emilio Tagle as archbishop-bishop of Valparaíso.⁹⁶ His appointment displeased Conservatives and Christian Democrats, as well as many priests who did not know him, others who resented the appointment of a member of a religious congregation, and certainly all those many people who perceived him as a good business administrator.

Silva Henríquez had served as bishop of Valparaíso for 19 months only, however he got to know his faithful very well and he loved his first appointment as a bishop. He learned his first steps as father of many, and he also learned

⁹³ The Knights of Columbus (Caballeros de Colón) had branches in Santiago and Valparaíso, and while members in Valparaíso, with the approval of Silva Henríquez, had decided to foster university postgraduate courses, members in Santiago were against the idea, *Memorias I*: 209.

⁹⁴ The 24th of May was an important Salesian feast, that of Mary, Helper of Christians.

⁹⁵ *Memorias I*: 210.

⁹⁶ The papal decree of appointment (*bula*) was dated 14 May 1961.

responsibility and love for the daily lives of those entrusted to his episcopal care.⁹⁷ He was to use that experience well in his new archdiocese.

New Archbishop of Santiago

Mgr. Tagle had been so far administrator of the Archdiocese of Santiago and therefore he had the task of making a detailed report to Silva Henríquez, the new archbishop. Santiago had many challenges and it was always expanding its needs and social problems. However, as the most important Chilean diocese it was always in need of pastoral reform. Tagle gave the report to Silva Henríquez at a house in Concón, near the beach, house that was owned by the family of Fr. Gabriel Larraín, a young priest of the archdiocese. Tagle even suggested that Fr. Larraín would make a good Vicar General; Larraín was a fine priest.

Tagle's report was encouraging. In the previous year two French experts on pastoral work had visited Santiago in order to help those planning pastoral reforms within the archdiocese; Jean Francois Motte and Fernand Boulard had previously helped several French dioceses to face new developments such as pastoral work within a growing climate of secularisation. In Santiago they suggested that there was a somehow different phenomenon of de-christianisation. Pastoral remedies suggested were a renewed emphasis on the social doctrine of the Church and a more centralised pastoral plan at diocesan level rather than a much given stress on the parish and the local realities of Chilean Catholics.

Their visit was important, however, according to Silva Henríquez the occasion was over emphasised; there were already other priests that were heavily involved in planning a full engagement between the Church and Chilean society.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Silva Henríquez expressed his warm sentiment towards the people of Valparaíso as follows: 'Quise a esa ciudad y a su gente como si los hubiese conocido toda la vida. A la vuelta de tantos años, todavía siento que algo muy profundo de mí se agita cuando escucho ese nombre, cuando entreveo sus cerros, cuando retornan, como en sueños, las voces y los ruidos del puerto. Valparaíso fue una de las grandes ilusiones de mi vida; está asociada a muchas de las esperanzas que me dieron fuerza. Me enseñó a sentir la responsabilidad y el cariño del padre ante su grey pujante, generosa, llena de vida; me dio el optimismo de la paternidad: y eso se lo debo definitivamente', *Memorias* I: 207.

⁹⁸ *Memorias* I: 213.

Frs. Gabriel Larraín and Carlos González were already forming different committees in order to evaluate social and pastoral realities; Fr. Roger Vekemans SJ, who arrived from Belgium in 1957, was already running the Centro Bellarmino, thinking tank for research on socio-religious phenomena; and Father Renato Poblete had already organised the first office for the use of the sociology of religion (Oficina de Sociología Religiosa).

Those pastoral efforts had been slowed down by the fact that there was no archbishop in Santiago and aggravated by the lack of vocations to the priesthood. The archdiocese of Santiago had sustained the same number of priests for 20 years while the population had grown by 65%. Of those priests 50% were foreigners and there was an average of one priest for every 3,000 people. On top of those problems there was the serious political divisions among Catholics that the new archbishop was expected to address.

After a month of spiritual exercises Silva Henríquez was ready to take over as new archbishop of Santiago. His thoughts were clear as he left Valparaíso: 'I fell in love with my first wife [diocese] but I left her for a second, may God forgive me!'⁹⁹ His journey to Santiago started at the Túnel Zapata, border between Valparaíso and Santiago, and several cars escorted him as he visited different places in Santiago. Later, he walked from Alameda Avenue to the Cathedral escorted by parish priests and was received by the Cathedral Council of Canons. Mgr. Tagle welcomed him at the steps of the Cathedral saying 'Hold this staff that has guided this nation for four centuries ... Hold it in this time of uncertainty with the certainty that you come in the name of the Lord, to sow love and justice, to

⁹⁹ 'Esta diócesis fue mi primera esposa y me enamoré de ella. Luego la abandoné: que Dios me perdone', *Memorias* I: 214.

bring peace'.¹⁰⁰ Silva Henríquez replied with his own conviction that he was already listening to songs of love and liberation for his people everywhere.¹⁰¹

Pastoral Renewal

He gave his first public greeting and blessing to the people of Santiago from the balcony of the Archbishopric, looking over the Plaza de Armas.¹⁰² He occupied that night the archbishop's house in Merced Street; he was tired but happy and at 53 years of age he was ready for the difficult tasks ahead. In between receptions and meals that welcomed him to Santiago, he appointed on the 26th of June 1961 two Vicar Generals: Fr. Vicente Ahumada, who had served in that function with Mgr. Emilio Tagle; and Fr. Francisco Vives, Pro Vice-Rector of the Catholic University. Two weeks later Silva Henríquez appointed another two Vicar Generals: Fr. Andrés Yurjevic, Vice-Rector of the Seminary, and Fr. Enrique Alvear, a professor of theology. Their first decision was to separate the Major and the Minor Seminaries in order to tackle the lack of vocations and prospective candidates for the priesthood.

Other immediate appointments aimed at a renewal of the diocesan pastoral strategy, and in August 1961 a large team started a series of meetings in order to plan the future strategy for a complete renewal of pastoral structures in Santiago. Those involved in meetings at the buildings of Padre Hurtado and at the Major Seminary were Gabriel Larraín, Renato Poblete, Roger Vekemans, Manuel Edwards, Carlos González, Rafael Larraín, Marcos McGrath, Santiago Brurón and two priests from Valparaíso – Wenceslao Barra and Fernando Jara. They

¹⁰⁰ 'Empuñad, Excelentísimo Señor, este cayado, que ha guiado por cuatro siglos a este pueblo ... Empuñadlo en esta hora de incertidumbre, con la seguridad y confianza que os da el venir en nombre del Señor; para sembrar amor, para sembrar justicia; para dar la paz', *Memorias I*: 214-215.

¹⁰¹ 'Nos parece oír ya como coronación de nuestros sudores y nuestras lágrimas, el "canto de amor y liberación, que respira firmeza y valentía; canto que se elevará en los campos y en los talleres, en las casas y en las calles, en los parlamentos y en los tribunales, en las familias y en las escuelas": el canto de la justicia y de la paz; el canto del amor a Cristo', *Memorias I*: 215.

¹⁰² Years later the Vicariate of Solidarity would be located in that same building (1976-1992).

prepared a pastoral strategy for a re-christianisation of Santiago, a pastoral plan of action that was to follow in 1962.

The example of renewal in Santiago inspired other bishops and as a result the Chilean Episcopal Conference started a program of renewal through a national office, the Oficina Técnica de Planificación (OTP). That initiative was to bear fruits over many years, and was to be useful in developing pastoral strategies, particularly during and after the Second Vatican Council.

Many of the pastoral problems of Santiago reflected national realities. Among those were the resistance to change and reform in a time of international change and international conflict at all levels. During the early 1960s the colonial powers in Africa and Asia collapsed, the Soviet Union and the United States consolidated a political, military and ideological polarisation through the Cold War, and the election of President John Kennedy in the United States incorporated the Latin American world into a strategic Western hegemony opposed to the rebel triumph of Fidel Castro in Cuba and the socialist model of society developed by the Soviet Union.

Within those international phenomena the local churches in Latin America embraced a preoccupation for social change and explored the real possibilities of overcoming poverty and under-development. Kennedy's plan named 'Alliance for Progress' aimed at such social change providing American financial aid in order to foster structural changes within Latin American countries that would help the fight against poverty. Even when Kennedy's plan failed to eliminate financial dependency it created a political utopia that was embraced by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. In Chile the Jesuit Roger Vekemans was the main thinker on themes of development through the institute of Catholic sociology Desal. Those initiatives were sustained and supported by the publication of John XXIII Encyclical Letter *Mater et Magistra*, that published in May 1961, commemorated the 70th anniversary of the publication of *Rerum Novarum*.

Mater et Magistra addressed political freedom in relation to just relations between economic structures in society, equality within the working place,

individual rights and universal rights, the structure of business, and most importantly the possibility of creating a just Christian society. It constituted a crucial document at a time when social change in Latin America was imminent but Christians were being polarised between those who wanted revolutions, Cuban-style, and those who wanted to keep the *status quo*. On the 1st of January 1959 Fidel Castro and his group of young revolutionaries had taken over political power in Cuba and already by 1961 the Church was finding her own existence in the Caribbean island difficult. Nevertheless there were sympathisers of that revolution within the Church that resented the influence of the United States in Latin America.

At the beginning of 1962 John XXIII wrote a Pastoral Letter to the Latin American Bishops in which he encouraged them to strengthen the faith in their own Latin American countries. Later, the Vatican Secretary of State Amleto Cicognani wrote to the Latin American Bishops urging them to push urgently for more just societies in order to prevent more revolutions and violence in Latin America. He also encouraged Episcopal Conferences to devise courses and pastoral programs that could deepen the knowledge of the faith in order to encourage Christians to participate in the building up of just and Christian societies in Latin America. That urgent emergency pastoral plan condemned Communism and assumed the social doctrine of the Church as the foundation for all political and social relations. As a result the Church could not be considered a secondary actor in a changing Latin America but a central participant in all social and political processes that aimed at establishing a just society.

The Chilean Bishops were already active in that line of pastoral priorities and in July 1962 there was a Plenary Assembly of the Chilean Bishops in order to develop a plan of action. In August 1962 the Chilean Bishops published a pastoral letter with the title *Mientras el mundo marcha, la Cruz permanece*. That letter relied heavily on the text of *Mater et Magistra*, and warned against the absence of God in society that creates inhuman regimes and against the dangers of the unjust economic society that create suffering and even violence. The Chilean Bishops

declared that Chile was a mission country and announced a pastoral plan to evangelise Chileans and their structures. Their challenge had already been spelled out by Pious XII when he said ‘A new world must be built; it is up to you if it is a Christian world or not’.¹⁰³

The Chilean Bishops discussed again one of the great problems of those years, the public disputes between members of the Christian Democratic Party and members of the Conservative Party. On the one hand the bishops were worried about the voting against conservative policies by the Christian Democrats who allied themselves with Communists and Socialists. On the other hand they were also worried about the close alliance of the conservatives with the Radical Party, an ever growing party, but too close to the Masons. The Chilean Episcopal Conference decided that it was time for honest and open conversations with leaders of the conservatives and the Christian Democrats and they appointed Silva Henríquez as a person who would be able to exchange views with both parties in the name of the bishops.

Three months later Silva Henríquez had completed his task after speaking with Héctor Correa Letelier, leader of the Conservative Party, and with Eduardo Frei Montalva and Radomiro Tomic, leaders of the Christian Democrats. Both parties agreed to cease hostilities against each other but they could not agree on their own political opinions regarding social change and particularly the problem of agrarian reform. The Christian Democrats promised not to sign alliances with the Communists while they maintained that without significant reforms Chile was heading for a Communist style revolution. Silva Henríquez reported to the Chilean Bishops that there was no chance of an alliance between those two parties, however it was possible for both of them to avoid political extremism that would eventually generate hate and violence.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ *Memorias* I: 221.

¹⁰⁴ Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘Comprensión, cuidado diligente, intervención razonada y paterna, amonestación suave en el modo y enérgica en las cosas, parece que son los medios con que debemos tratar este delicado asunto’, *Memorias* I: 224.

However, it was not only the fear of a leftist revolution that worried him as protestant groups of extreme right-wing tendencies also appeared. In the case of one of them, *Rearme Moral*, led by a protestant pastor Frank Buchman, Silva Henríquez had to intervene and warn Catholics about it. The movement had attracted several conservative Catholics that in the climate of the Cold War had polarised their understanding of Catholicism as against-Cuba and for traditional conservative values. The conservative press accused Silva Henríquez of pro-Communist tendencies because he had suggested that a process of agrarian reform was needed in the name of the Gospel and that *Rearme* was only concerned with Christian spiritual practices. On their own those practices contravened the latest pronouncements by the Pope concerning the importance of the social doctrine of the Church that encouraged the involvement of individuals within social and political society.¹⁰⁵

Pastoral and Liturgical Reforms

Already during 1961 Silva Henríquez had encouraged his pastoral team to prepare a plan for pastoral renewal that could be used not only for Santiago but that could bring change to the Chilean Church as a whole. By July 1961 the Bishops' Plenary Assembly authorised a wider pastoral planning that could work in two ways: firstly, it would create the diocesan structures necessary for a diversified and intense pastoral renewal, and secondly, it would re-christianise Chile with a strong emphasis on diocesan life and common pastoral concerns. By September 1961 that plan was evaluated by an extraordinary Bishops' Plenary Assembly and sent to the Vatican for further consideration. With hindsight it is possible to argue that Silva Henríquez was preparing the pastoral and administrative elements for a complete renewal of the Chilean Church that for many decades had not been able to interact proactively in Chilean society.

¹⁰⁵ Silva Henríquez commented: 'Creo que fueron la primera campaña y la primera acusación de este tipo que sufrí en mi vida. Y, por supuesto, no sabía que era sólo el comienzo', *Memorias* I: 224.

By December 1961 the Vatican authorised those plans that were to be followed by the already discussed letter by John XXIII to the Latin American Bishops urging them to re-christianise Latin America. However, Silva Henríquez had managed to seek other permissions that were to prepare the Chilean Church for the forthcoming Council. Among them he got permission from the Sacred Congregation for Rites to use Spanish in various parts of the Mass within the archdiocese of Santiago. That use of the vernacular was quite unusual but Silva Henríquez was convinced that no renewal could take place if the faithful could not understand what was being celebrated at the Mass.

The administrative renewal of the archdiocese was completed with the appointment of Fr. Gabriel Larraín as fifth Vicar General. Fr. Larraín was rector of the Major Seminary and his successor was Fr. Carlos González Cruchaga, while Fr. Roberto Bolton took over the Minor Seminary. The autonomy of the Minor Seminary had created some dissent among the clergy that resented the amount of personnel and resources needed to educate youngsters of 11-18 years of age. Silva Henríquez was applying a French model of seminary life whereby if the young seminarians were supported properly 20% of them would continue studies for the priesthood at the Major Seminary. Some complaints reached Rome and Silva Henríquez expected to be asked some questions by personnel of the Vatican Embassy.

At the end of January 1962 Mario Peresín, an officer at the Vatican Embassy, called him; he wanted to speak to him as soon as possible. Silva Henríquez thought that Peresín wanted to speak about the running of the seminary. However, he was wrong; the conversation was even more serious - John XXIII wanted to make him a cardinal of the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER 4

Cardinal of Chile and of the Church

The papal decree making Silva Henríquez a cardinal of the Catholic Church arrived in February 1962. While Silva Henríquez expected that another bishop, older than himself, could become the second cardinal in the history of Chile it is difficult to think that any other archbishop outside Santiago would have had the importance of the archbishop of Santiago. Thus, he assumed his new appointment with joy and pride, understanding it as a vote of confidence by the Pope for the Church in Chile.¹⁰⁶ John XXIII wrote:

Dilecto hijo: salud y bendición apostólica.

Por las presentes letras, te hacemos saber que en el próximo Consistorio Nos te agregaremos al Sagrado Colegio de Cardenales, para darte un testimonio de nuestra particular benevolencia y para premiar con esta insigne dignidad tus méritos hacia la Iglesia.

Confiamos que por muchos años sigas prestando tu obra en el campo de la Iglesia Católica asignada a tus solícitos cuidados.

¹⁰⁶ In February 1962 the Chilean Episcopal Conference published a pastoral letter, urging an immediate and radical agrarian reform in Chile, with the title *La Iglesia y el problema del campesinado chileno*.

Debes saber, entre tanto, que lo que por estas letras te hemos comunicado, debes mantenerlo en secreto hasta su publicación oficial.

Como señal de las gracias celestiales y prenda de nuestro fraternal afecto, te impartimos de todo corazón la bendición apostólica.

Dada en el Vaticano a 7 de febrero de 1962, IV de nuestro pontificado.

Johannes P.P. XXIII¹⁰⁷

On the 17th of February 1962 the Vatican Press Office announced that John XXIII had created 10 new cardinals through his fifth Consistory. After those new appointments there were 87 cardinals, the largest number in the history of the Church. Over the centuries the Pope had conferred the title of cardinal to particular individuals who helped him administer the Church. Those individuals had not necessarily been all priests in the history of the Church but by the 20th century Canon Law had fixed their mandate as Cardinal Senators modelled on ancient Rome who took over the administration of the Church when a Pope died, and elected his successor by choosing the Pope out of the members of the College of Cardinals. During the 16th century Pope Sixtus V had fixed their number at 70, following the biblical number of the Israelites elders; however, John XXIII decided to increase that number in order to have a very strong and international College of Cardinals that would help him lead an international community of believers.¹⁰⁸

John XXIII went further on his reforms of the College of Cardinals and by March 1962 he announced that all cardinals were to have equal rank and all of them were to be Cardinal Bishops. The exception to that rule was to be the Dean of the College of Cardinals who continued to be appointed as bishop of Ostia. As

¹⁰⁷ The original in Latin was later translated for his memoirs, *Memorias* I: 226-227.

¹⁰⁸ At the beginning of the 21st century the number of Cardinals is even larger, with the proviso that those over 80 years of age cannot elect a new Pope.

a result of such reform all cardinals had equal standing at the forthcoming Council.

New Cardinal in Rome

The appointment of Silva Henríquez as cardinal was a great joy for all Chileans and particularly for the government of Jorge Alessandri. It seemed that all past disputes were forgotten and the Chilean government provided much needed financial help for the journey to Rome by Silva Henríquez and his entourage. The ceremonies at the Vatican required new clothing and there were several public functions and parties that required financial means to host and entertain hundreds of people. Therefore the Chancellor, Carlos Martínez Sotomayor, gave Silva Henríquez the salary of an ambassador and the Chilean Ambassador to the Vatican, Fernando Aldunate, made all his staff available while Silva Henríquez was staying in Rome.

Silva Henríquez left Chile on the 5th of March 1962 and arrived in Madrid on the following day. Two days later he arrived at Fiumicino Airport in Rome where he was welcomed by the Chilean Ambassador and a group of Chilean priests and seminarians. He stayed at the Salesian house in Via Marsala 42, where shortly after his arrival he blessed the new chapel of the house in the presence of hundreds of Salesians invited by the rector of the Salesian congregation, Fr. Renato Ziggotti. Later there was a welcoming lunch at the Chilean Embassy in the presence of Cardinal Aloisi Masella who had been Vatican Ambassador in Chile during the transition towards the separation of Church and State of 1925.

On Sunday 11 March 1962 John XXIII had a private meeting with Silva Henríquez scheduled to last for 20 minutes. John XXIII asked how things were in Chile and Silva Henríquez told him about the political situation and the pastoral plans to be implemented within the Church. However, he emphasised the difficulties they faced with the proposed agrarian reform. Silva Henríquez told the Pope that any agrarian reform would be meaningless without an agrarian reform within the lands owned by the Church. After a few quiet moments John XXIII

encouraged Silva Henríquez to carry out his plans for church lands despite any opposition by others. John XXIII continued his conversation despite the fact that his secretary kept reminding him that Jacqueline Kennedy, first American lady, had the next appointment and that he was running late. When Silva Henríquez left he got an unfriendly look from Mrs. Kennedy and on the following day the Italian Press had the following headline ‘Chilean Cardinal left first lady waiting!’

The Chilean Embassy had an official lunch to which several Cardinals were invited, including the Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, Cardinal Angelo Dell’Acqua, and Cardinal Agostino Casaroli.

The official ceremonies took place at the Vatican on the 19th of March 1962. At 9:30 am John XXIII had his private meeting with Vatican authorities in which he publicly announced the creation of those new cardinals, occasion in which he emphasised that their nationalities expressed the universality of the Church, a good preparation, according to John XXIII, for the forthcoming Council.

During that morning all the new cardinals stayed in their rooms, allocated and decorated according to strict protocol, outlined in a 24-page booklet. At 1:00 pm two Vatican officials, the Master of Chambers at the State Department and a representative of the Vatican Foreign Service, arrived at Silva Henríquez’ apartment in order to present him with the *billete*. The *billete* was the actual letter of formal notification of his creation as a cardinal that every cardinal had to show in order to attend the ceremonies at the Vatican. Silva Henríquez received the papers while sitting down and passed them to his companions. Then, the Superior General of the Salesians read the papal decree, while the Salesian Provincial of Chile, Fr. Oscar Valenzuela, read the invitation to the Consistory. Silva Henríquez responded to the words of the Master of Chambers with the following: ‘My God is all’ and ‘Lord, you know everything. You know I love you’.¹⁰⁹

During the following hours and days Silva Henríquez received the visit of other cardinals and ambassadors of other nations. Following Vatican protocol, his

¹⁰⁹ *Memorias* I: 232-233.

nephew Clemente Silva who acted as his best man, visited in his name all other new cardinals together with Frs. Enrique Alvear (Vicar General) and Sergio Valech (Pro Secretary). Fr. Tomás González, a young Salesian priest, stayed with him at all times, as he was in-charge of carrying the end of his cardinal's cape.

On the 21st of March 1962 at 9:00 am John XXIII gave the birrete, the cardinal's hat, to the new cardinals in the presence of the ambassadors from their countries of origin. On the following day the public Consistory took place following papal protocol already established by Pope Sixtus X in 1586. Among the guests were: Marina Silva Henríquez, Lucila Silva Henríquez, Clementina Silva Henríquez, the Chilean Ambassador and the President of the Chilean Lower Chamber Raúl Irarrázaval. The ceremony started with a procession by all cardinals together with the Pope on his elevated chair and the promise of obedience to the Pope by all new cardinals that knelt down for the occasion. There were 8 of the 10 new cardinals present at the public Consistory: Michael Browne O.P. (Ireland), Léon Josef Suenens (Belgium), Jose da Costa Nunes (Portuguese at the Vatican), Juan Landázuri Ricketts (Peru), Anselmo Albareda (Spanish at the Vatican Library), Acacius Coussa (Syrian Rite at the Roman Curia), Efrén Forni (Vatican Ambassador to Belgium) and Silva Henríquez. Ildebrando Antonutti (Vatican Ambassador to Spain) and Giovanni Panico (Vatican Ambassador to Portugal) followed local custom and were invested as cardinals by their own Heads of States. Silva Henríquez kissed the Pope's feet and was invested by a warm and smiley John XXIII before greetings all other Cardinals.¹¹⁰

The Pope left the ceremony and all cardinals proceeded to the chapel of St. Petronila where they sang the Te Deum in the Ambrosian Rite while the new cardinals remained prostrated on the floor. At that secret Consistory the Pope appeared once again and sealed with the sign of the Cross the mouth of all new

¹¹⁰ The Pope's words were recorded as follows: 'Recibe el sombrero rojo, singular distinción de la dignidad cardenalicia, lo que significa que tú debes mostrarte intrépido hasta derramar la última gota de tu sangre si fuera necesario por la exaltación de la fe, por la paz y tranquilidad del pueblo cristiano, por la estabilidad de la Iglesia Romana, en nombre del Padre, del Hijo y del Espíritu Santo', *Memorias I*: 236.

Cardinals.¹¹¹ After reading the decrees that made them cardinals once again he ‘opened’ their mouths with the sign of the Cross, gave them their rings and their cardinal hats, while those new cardinals who were archbishops like Silva Henríquez, received the *palio* only reserved for the archbishops.¹¹² At that moment Silva Henríquez was invited to say a few words, already prepared in Latin, however, John XXIII did not seem to understand his pronunciation and requested a copy of the text to have a look at it later.

The ritual activities continued that same evening when the Pope’s valet brought to the Salesian house the new *capello* that Silva Henríquez was to use in official occasions. On that occasion Mgr. Dell Gallo Roccagiovane made a special mention of the issue of agrarian reform within the Chilean Church. That was certainly a message of support sent personally by John XXIII.

Over the next two days there were more receptions and parties, however Silva Henríquez had particularly fond memories of his visit to the church of San Bernardo Alle Terme, from then onwards his own church in Rome.¹¹³ The church had been vacant since February 1962 when her titular, the American Cardinal Aloisius Muench, had died. The church took her name from the hot springs of Diocletian that were recorded in the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius in the year 312 and continued to have a profane use till the V Century. In 1593 Countess Catalina Sforza bought the ruins and gave them to the Cistercians. They built the church of Saint Bernard together with a Cistercian monastery. Previous titular cardinals included the first Salesian Cardinal Mgr. Cagliari, and Cardinal Sarto, later to be Pious X.

At the ceremony the superior of the Cistercians, Fr. Zigurd Klener, and the rector of the church, Fr. Placido Grossi, welcomed Silva Henríquez to his own Roman church. They pledged loyalty to the Chilean Cardinal and finally they all

¹¹¹ If the Pope were to die while the cardinals had their mouths sealed they could not vote in the election of a new Pope.

¹¹² The *palio* is a circular woollen band made of wool from sheep kept by the Sisters of St. Ines and blessed by the Pope every year. The *palio* symbolises closer communion with the Pope.

¹¹³ It is customary for all Roman Cardinals to be assigned a church in Rome.

sang the Te Deum. In those years it was customary to have a painting of the Pope and one of the titular cardinal within the Roman churches and Silva Henríquez, with the help of the Chilean Embassy, made arrangements for his portrait to be made and brought to the church of St. Bernard. Later, that portrait was brought back to Chile and located at the offices of the archbishopric in Santiago.

On the following day John XXIII had a private meeting with Silva Henríquez and his relatives, an occasion that proved very moving for his sisters. At the end of the celebrations in Rome he left for Turin where he rested for two days at the Salesian house and had the opportunity to visit Cardinal Maurilio Cossatti, archbishop of Turin, who had ordained him as a priest. On the 6th of April 1962 he departed for Germany and then for Madrid where he visited the Salesian community, and on the 9th of April had a brief meeting with Francisco Franco. From Madrid he went to New York and then returned to Chile on the 14th of April 1962 after a brief stop in Lima.

New Cardinal in Santiago

Silva Henríquez arrived at Los Cerrillos Airport where a large reception committee was waiting for him. Among those present were President Alessandri, Chancellor Martínez Sotomayor, the Vatican Ambassador Gaetano Alibrandi, government ministers and bishops. Along the streets there were thousands of people waiving white handkerchiefs and clapping. At the Ercilla Square the major of Santiago, Ramón Álvarez Golsack, proclaimed him illustrious son of Santiago. Silva Henríquez did not expect any of those happenings and he was overwhelmed by the warm welcome he received. Thanking the major for his generosity he said 'I bless God for letting me be born in this country and for giving me these noble people as my brother'.

Silva Henríquez proceeded to the Santiago Cathedral where those present sang the Te Deum. Fr. Andrés Yurjevic welcomed him on behalf of the Cathedral Canons and Silva Henríquez thanked them summarising some of the pastoral task ahead; he spoke of the need to make people more aware of the love of Christ but

also of the need, emphasised by John XXIII, of letting everybody have what they deserve by fostering the creation of a just and truthful society. Silva Henríquez emphasised that John XXIII had asked him to be a father to all, thus a father to the rich, but especially a father to the poor.¹¹⁴

A day after Silva Henríquez gave a press conference where he announced that a team of experts was preparing a report on how to initiate the agrarian reform within the lands owned by the Church. Some people did not take that announcement seriously but things were progressing rapidly within a changing world.

The Beginnings of the Agrarian Reform

At the beginning of 1962 the Chilean Bishops had published a pastoral letter addressing issues related to a possible agrarian reform in Chile. With the title *La Iglesia y el problema del campesinado en Chile* the pastoral letter proposed certain actions for reform that could apply to every diocese in Chile. The first need was to outline the Christian principles that could guide a reform in which all human activities, but particularly ownership of land and economic means of production, could be re-evaluated from the Gospel's point of view, and following the encouragement given by John XXIII through his encyclical *Mater et Magistra*.

The experts' own evaluation of the situation in the Chilean farms was critical as to guide any possible agrarian reform. The situation spoke by itself: there were no legal contracts for those working in farms owned by somebody else, there were unhealthy conditions, no proper housing, lack of proper food, and high infant mortality rates. For those working their own small farms there was no regulation of fair competition, training, holidays or subsidies; as a result there was no incentive to work the land and therefore too many were moving to urban centres in search of better conditions and better opportunities.

¹¹⁴ 'Cuando me despedí de Su Santidad, que tanto ama a nuestro país, me dijo: "Irás a tu tierra y allá serás padre de todos, de los ricos y, especialmente, de los pobres, porque para ellos te ha enviado el Señor". Y para eso estoy aquí', *Memorias I*: 240.

The national census of farms of 1955 had outlined a shocking reality: 10,000 large farms occupied 81.2% of all farmland, while 15,000 small family farms only had 7.4% of the total farmland.¹¹⁵ As a result a significant part of the large farms was not properly utilised for cultivation and the growth in population was not being matched by a growth in food production. Therefore the Chilean government had to import more and more food rather than increased the internal utilisation of arable land.

The pastoral letter on agrarian reform cited the thought of Pope Pius XII who had criticised capitalism because it exalted private property while ignoring the social value of things created and given to all by God. Pius XII had argued that following from such divine free gift there was the right for all to access material things in equal measure. Further, the pastoral letter assumed that a forced division of large farms was necessary in order to feed the country but also to provide a decent life for families that were living and working within those large farms. That drastic measure seemed justified in terms of the common good and following the principles of the social doctrine of the Church it overruled principles concerning private ownership of land and property. Lastly, the bishops announced that in the case of the lands owned by the Church they had requested a team of experts the preparation of a report that could address legal, canonical and technical issues related to the proposed agrarian reform.

Those were nevertheless contested proposals and certainly resisted by conservative sectors of Chilean society. Already the Chilean Ambassador to the Vatican, Fernando Aldunate, had lodged a complaint against Mgr. Bernardino Piñera, bishop of Temuco, because he had declared to the Vatican newspaper *L'Osservatore Romano* that the Chilean clergy should promote social reforms in Chile. Some of the clergy felt very strongly about those reforms and in June 1961 a group of parish priests of Aconcagua wrote to President Alessandri urging him to speed up the proposed plans for an agrarian reform in Chile.

¹¹⁵ Censo Nacional Agrícola y Ganadero de 1955.

President Alessandri had slowly prepared a first project for an agrarian reform, project that started to be discussed in 1960, became a written legislative proposal in 1961, and only reached Congress in May 1962. Therefore an agrarian reform within the Church could help to create a national awareness of the magnitude of the problem of land in Chile.

One of the most progressive bishops in Chile, Mgr. Manuel Larraín, bishop of Talca, had already raised those issues in the early 1950s. Years later, and in his role as leader of the Latin American Conference of Bishops (CELAM) he had raised awareness of the need for agrarian reform at a larger Latin American level. In 1961 an interview that Larraín gave to the American magazine *The Sign*, in which he affirmed very strong ideas about an agrarian reform, produced anger among those opposed to that program.

After his return from Rome Silva Henríquez had spoken to Larraín about a common effort at agrarian reform in the lands owned by the dioceses of Santiago and Talca. They both agreed that a common effort would be good in order to influence public opinion but that it would be also practical as the diocese of Talca owned land located within the archdiocese of Santiago. Thus, on the 28th of June 1962 Bishop Larraín gathered those families living and working in the farm Los Silos, located 20 kilometres from Santiago, and told them that the farm would be divided and that the land would be distributed among those 17 families. Los Silos had 182 hectares and according to the experts, belonging to the Instituto de Educación Rural, it could be bought by the common income of those families over a period of years. Bishop Larraín spoke of the beginning of an agrarian reform that would bring those working the land closer to it, and that would express the values of Christian farmers living in solidarity and hope.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Some of Larraín words were transcribed by Silva Henríquez: 'A través de esa experiencia, yo veo surgir claramente un Nuevo día del campesinado chileno. Los hombres arraigados en su suelo propio, unidos con los lazos de solidaridad humana y cristiana. Manos encallecidas en el arado que se estrechan fraternalmente. Rondas de niños campesinos que miran sin temor el porvenir. Madres que en el hogar acogedor acunan las eternas esperanzas del pueblo. Un Chile que avanza confiado en la nueva edad histórica que comienza', *Memorias I*: 247.

Silva Henríquez followed Larraín with the announcement that four farms within the archdiocese of Santiago would be given to the families living and working in them. In the case of the farm El Alto in Melipilla there were no families on the land thus Silva Henríquez offered land to some farmers that could purchase the land over a period of ten years. El Alto was an exceptional farm in that there were houses built by the archbishopric that were in some cases used temporarily by the Instituto de Educación Rural. In the farm Las Pataguas in Pichidegua the land was given to the families that lived on the land and worked on it. Initially the 1,508 hectares were owned communally and later they were divided and given to 106 families already living at Las Pataguas. The same process took place at the farms Hacienda San Dionisio in Linares (1,152 hectares) and El Alto de Las Cruces in Talca (340 hectares).

Conservative Catholics attacked the bishops and accused them of populism arguing that other Catholics who were not able to give up their lands would be seen as not following the directives of the Church. Further, they accused the bishops of inflaming political passions and serving the cause of disorder and chaos. According to their critics the bishops had erred because they should have taught Chileans about how to work model farms rather than giving them to ignorant peasants that could never work the land properly without tools and experience. Regardless of those criticisms it was already clear from the bishops' strategy that they intended to push for a real agrarian reform program rather than an educational program that could have been directed by any agricultural college.

However, some of the most vicious attacks against the bishops pointed to the fact that lands owned by the Church had been given by generous donors and benefactors who expected that a bishop would use those material goods to foster good governance and the maintenance of parishes and schools. Thus, it was wrong for the bishops to give them away, a clear sign that the dioceses of Santiago and Talca had too many material goods and did not need any further help. Silva Henríquez recognised that his diocese was in a good financial position and therefore he could apply an immediate process of agrarian reform; however, while

recognising that other smaller dioceses could not part with their land, he was determined to encourage others to follow his example. Bishop Larraín suffered the same attacks and he almost decided to sell all lands owned by his diocese but after wise advice he did not do so.

After the first lands had been given to families, Silva Henríquez had to discuss the whole idea of agrarian reform within the archdiocese of Santiago with his own diocesan council. Its members were ecclesiastical Canons *ad vitam*, (elected for life) who in their majority had been Canons for sometime, and were distrustful of major changes, particularly by an archbishop who had been in office only for a few years. There was a vote taken and Silva Henríquez lost it by a majority who opposed any land reform on account that they had been given to the Church and not to others. Despite those challenges Silva Henríquez decided to go ahead with the agrarian reform because John XXIII had given him permission. He was accused of using communist tactics and one cleric even reminded him that there was the possibility of excommunication for those who administer church property and use it for other means and ends. Silva Henríquez argued that cardinals were only excommunicated in public according to Canon Law and asked that cleric if he was prepared to lead that public process of condemnation.

Later, in 1964, the Canons once again objected to any agrarian reform within the Church. They complained to the Vatican Ambassador, Mgr. Egano Rhigi Lambertini, arguing that those lands that had been left through legacies could not be given to others. Silva Henríquez was able to defend the legal position of the Chilean bishops that clearly showed that on the one hand those lands did not maintain the running of the dioceses and on the other hand the active involvement in running those lands created an unjust treatment of those living and working in them that was clearly against the teachings of the Church.

The Politics of Money

During 1962 Silva Henríquez organised a diocesan office that had the task of collecting contributions to the archdiocese from as many Catholics as possible

with the name *Contribución a la Iglesia (CALI)*. The idea had been developed from an initial week of financial contribution to the Church organised by Mgr. Emilio Tagle when he had been administrator of the archdiocese of Santiago. The idea was that instead of reaching for coins during the Sunday Mass Catholics would contribute 1% of their monthly income and even 2% in the case of those who had higher salaries and higher income. There were 17,000 people who contributed monthly and Silva Henríquez suggested that 75,000 regular donors were needed in order to run his archdiocese.

The diocesan office (*Oficina de Propaganda y Organización del CALI*) never achieved that target but it certainly created a new sense of fairly contribution towards the work of the Church by the Catholics of Santiago. Further, it helped to have clear means of assessing diocesan income and therefore it changed the perception that rents from lands owned by the Church were supporting all diocesan pastoral activities, a perception that was indeed wrong.

By that time the theme of the agrarian reform was at the centre of Chilean politics and President Alessandri had managed to pass his legal project through Congress. The Christian Democrats, Socialists, and Communists had voted against the proposed legislation that they considered insufficient for the needs of the country. Within those political discussions Catholics were divided in their opinions and very few were listening to the social teachings of the Church.

A Nation in Crisis

The Chilean bishops continued evaluating the difficult economic situation experienced by many through a closer exploration of the teachings of the Church. Apart from the agrarian reform there was a major problem of housing: 400

000 houses were needed and one in three Chileans did not have where to live. The problem was being felt at the urban centres where more temporary shelters were being built on ,and that belonged to ot(ers, with the consequent Problems of insecurity, crime, and social violence. There was also acute unemployment and 60,000 people were searching for jobs in the major eleven cities of Chile. The national income was unevenly distributed, whereby 10% of the population had more than 50% of the national)ncome whileE 90% fought for less than 50% of the national income. On matters of education, one third of all Chilean cHildren left school after the first year of primary school, while another t ird never finished primary school. The consequences of that situation affected many families that had to feed their chiLdren at home rather than allowing them to receive food at school. Indeed, the whole issue of food and clothing was in crisis and statistics showed that Chileans workers ate only half of the meat that they had eaten ten years ago previously.

In September 1962 the Chilean Bishops issued a pastoral letter expressing their concern for the social situation in Chile and asserting that Christians had a central role in the building up of a just society. The pastoral letter was called *El deber social y politico de los católicos en la hora presente* and it further developed ideas already present in the pastoral letter *Los deberes de la hora presente*, published two years before. Silva Henríquez wrote its draft after groups of priests and intellectuals had commented extensively on its form, content, and further pastoral implications.¹¹⁷ Finally, all Chilean bishops debated its content before it was given to the Chilean press. The pastoral letter had a collective sense of urgency and challenged the possibility that Catholics could only intervene in political life by belonging to a single political party, thus having to comply with political agendas of one nature or another. Instead, it developed the idea of a social order that was helped by the work of political parties but that it was willed

¹¹⁷ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Pero cuando todo estuvo listo, quise redactar la carta personalmente; la revisé con gran cuidado, y, para evitar errores, yo mismo pasé su texto definitivo a máquina. Suponía que iba a levantar polémica, pero sentía que no podía dejar de enfrentar estos temas', *Memorias I*: 254.

by God and therefore needed at times to be above party politics and local political interests.

Despite some polemics the pastoral letter was historical in that it gave the sense to many young Catholics that the Church cared for contemporary society and those living in it and that they also had a place as Catholics within the search for a more Christian society. Some young Chilean Catholics expressed their sense that the pastoral letter had helped prepared the spirit of Vatican II that was to challenge any non-political involvement in the world. However, the central assertion of the pastoral letter was that the social doctrine of the Church was central to the daily existence and the choices of Catholics within society. The pastoral letter reminded all Chileans of their Christian obligations towards the poor and the suffering and for the first time in Chile the letter spoke of a spirituality of economic development.¹¹⁸

In other aspects of the national reality the pastoral was clear in its condemnation of communism while recognising that one of its valuable points was the search for a just and human life for all workers of the world. Nevertheless, following Pious XII *Divini Redemptoris* the pastoral letter reminded Chileans that it was the Gospel and the social doctrine of the Church that could change society and create a just working environment for all. It warned that any imposition of a communist society in Chile would bring only sadness and tears as it had already happened in Eastern Europe and in many third world countries of Africa and Asia. The pastoral letter also maintained the Church's condemnation of the abuses of liberal capitalism that had not created a just society in Chile and therefore could not be seen as a *status quo* solution; on the contrary, radical changes to that economic conception of society were needed in order to become closer to the gospel values offered by the social doctrine of the Church. According

¹¹⁸ 'No es esta una tarea indigna del cristiano, sino una implicación necesaria del amor a nuestro prójimo necesitado. No es esto un vergonzoso concentrarse en lo material, sino una respuesta a la situación de subdesarrollo en que nos encontramos. No trepidemos en hablar de una verdadera "espiritualidad del desarrollo económico", *Memorias* I: 255.

to the bishops liberal capitalism violated human rights and therefore it was morally unacceptable.

The responses to the pastoral letter were strong and firm by those who did not like it. The communists gathered at the Caupolicán Theatre in Santiago, in a meeting led by Pablo Neruda, condemned the bishops' view of the world, and maintained that the world was on its way to a socialist and communist society. The socialists accused the bishops of intervening in party politics by defending the discourse of those who supported an anti-communist narrative. They tried to pass a complaint against the bishops in Congress but they failed to gain enough support. Members of the Liberal Party were upset because of the condemnation of liberal capitalism and requested an explanation to what they perceived as a condemnation of the political alliance that supported President Alessandri. However, all those who were unhappy about the pastoral letter agreed that the only beneficiaries of that public statement were the Christian Democrats.

Silva Henríquez decided to offer a press conference in order to clarify some aspects of the pastoral letter. At the press conference he reinforced the condemnation of communism and liberal capitalism given by the Church and suggested that any Chilean involved in either movement should have a chat with a priest, preferably their confessor. However, despite all the polemics he was pleased by the fact that the Chilean Church had engaged herself with contemporary Chilean realities and that most of the ideas contained in the pastoral letter coincided with the ideas of the universal Church in preparation for the Second Vatican Council. In the meantime, the members of *Caritas Internationalis* elected him as their world president. That honour was an international recognition of his leadership that was to prove central in the preparations by the Chilean Church towards the forthcoming Council of the Catholic Church.

Preparing for the Second Vatican Council

The calling of the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II) by John XXIII was a surprise to all who considered him a 'transition Pope' and had no expectations

that an old man would make any changes within the Roman Curia or would have a significant influence within the Church.¹¹⁹ However, John XXIII had announced already in 1959 and on the occasion of a Consistory with his cardinals that he had two projects in mind: a synod for the diocese of Rome and a Council for the universal Church.

Silva Henríquez heard about the forthcoming Council in 1960 when he was still bishop of Valparaíso. There was a preliminary meeting called by the administrator of the Santiago archdiocese, Emilio Tagle, in which there were discussions on how to proceed to prepare the Chilean contribution to the Council in communion with other Latin American bishops. At that meeting, the bishop of Concepción and Rector of the Catholic University of Santiago, Mgr. Alfredo Silva Santiago, had suggested not to worry about anything due to the fact that he was of the opinion that all conclusions of a Council were already prepared and sealed and therefore it was a waste of time to get involved. Silva Henríquez was shocked by that opinion and kept silence because he was a young and new bishop. Later, he understood that many bishops in Latin America had the same experience. However, after his election as archbishop of Santiago, and as the preparatory documents began to arrive at his desk, he pushed for a full involvement by the Chilean Church in the preparations for Vatican II.

Silva Henríquez asked for help from a group of young theologians that were to advise him on many aspects of the Council and in preparing a serious response to the preparatory documents. Most of them were teachers at the Faculty of Theology of the Catholic University and the group included people like Egidio Viganó, Juan Ochagavía and Jorge Medina, helped at times by León Tolosa, Raúl Hasbún, Gustavo Ferraris and the Panamanian Marcos McGrath who at that

¹¹⁹ The amount of academic works on Vatican II is vast and beyond the scope of this chapter, however interested readers can consult the final documents of the Council, particularly the study edition, and the still incomplete history of this Council (Flannery 1992, Alberigo 1995a, 1995b, 1995c, 1995d, 1997a, 1997b, 2000a, 2000b). Other useful works include personal memoirs and diaries that help us understand the climate of the Council and the major problems within the Church and the world that Vatican II was trying to address (Falconi 1964, Küng 2003).

moment was Dean of the Faculty of Theology.¹²⁰ They met weekly at the Seminary and the seminarians teased them by calling them ‘the mothers of the Council’.

The group developed, with the help of McGrath, a preparatory document on the Church and the world that later was read at the main session of Vatican II. The Belgian theologian Charles Moeller visited Chile at that time, helped them to sharpen their draft, and later gave it to the main writer of *Lumen Gentium*, the Louvain based theologian Mgr. Philips. Philips acknowledged the Chilean contribution to the final document several times in the drafts prepared for the Council Fathers. Other visitors, including Cardinal Joseph Frings of Cologne, made a point of speaking with the Chilean group on their visits to Santiago. Frings particularly found their contribution refreshing and very important for the forthcoming Council. After his appointment as Cardinal Silva Henríquez became member of the preparatory commissions and already in 1962 had to take part in pre-conciliar meetings in Rome. At those meetings he realised that the Chilean ideas were in the minority but that they were very close to the thought of John XXIII.

Vatican II began on the 11th of October 1962 and a few days later the Chilean bishops together with other Latin American bishops had a meeting at the church of the Sacro Cuore in Rome. The main question posed by the Latin American bishops was if they should present a common front in relation to the preparatory documents. While it was clear that most Latin American bishops expected to meet regularly, Mgr. Alfredo Silva Santiago expressed his own ideas related to the binding force of the preparatory commissions and nothing was decided at that meeting. It was clear to many that the proposed reform of the 1917 Code of Canon Law had started without major consultation and that the Roman Synod, that included 190 parish priests working in Rome, had only developed

¹²⁰ During that year Marcos McGrath left Chile to take up his appointment as auxiliary bishop in Panama.

prohibitions to assist to public functions, to go to the cinema and to wear any other clothes apart from the clerical cassock.

Despite those developments Silva Henríquez had a different perception of any initiative proposed by John XXIII. Thus, in his opinion, the Roman Synod had given a certain self-identity to the priests working in Rome that eventually was to help them in developing a common pastoral plan. Regarding the Pope's intentions for the Council Silva Henríquez had very clear in his mind that John XXIII had already spoken in 1959 of a pastoral council, and that on the same year had published his encyclical *Ad Petri Cathedram*, in which he had introduced the idea of a Church that examines 'the signs of the times'. Later, in an interview with the newspaper *La Croix* John XXIII had spoken of *aggiornamento* – updating as one of the objectives of the Council.¹²¹

During 1960 the Pope had created the Secretariat for the Unity of All Christians that clearly pointed to his will to foster a Church in dialogue, and possible communion, with all Christians. The consultation that took place before the Council included 2,000 people representing 57 different countries. Those were signs that the preparatory commissions were not to have the last say on anything but that there was room for a refreshing contribution by the growing churches of Latin America. By 1962 the Pope had outlined three main objectives for Vatican II: the active participation of the Church in the search for a better world, the change of structures and messages in order to face the challenges of the contemporary world, and the search for unity among all Christians.

On his inaugural speech John XXIII castigated those who perceived the modern world as sinful and bad. Instead he requested hope and courage to find God in the modern world. The first meeting of the Council took place on Saturday 13th October 1962 with the presence of 2,540 conciliar fathers. The cardinals had precedence in the discussions and ten of them organised the different working

¹²¹ The last Council had been Vatican I, sadly interrupted by war and in which the infallibility of the Pope was declared as a response to modernism. The Chilean representative at Vatican I had been Archbishop Rafael Valdivieso.

parties that dealt with the same number of topics to be discussed during the first session of Vatican II. Those Roman Cardinals that had already organised the preparatory commissions proposed that the same working parties continued working on the same topics, a suggestion that, according to Silva Herrquez, proposed to keep the *status quo* and that indicated that all preparatory documents could have been approved as they were already written. However, Cardinal Achille Linart of Lille spoke out objecting to that idea and proposing instead that the fathers of the Council were given sometime to get to know each other before any working party were to be suggested. Cardinal Frings seconded the motion and a rousing applause was heard from all sides of the room. The presiding officer, Cardinal Eugene Tisserant, accepted the motion and the first meeting of the Council ended.

During three days there was lots of work done, mainly requesting names to be proposed for different commissions. Mgr. Manuel Larran knew many bishops and he was a key figure in contacting other Latin American Episcopal Conferences so as to secure Latin American members within the working commissions. It was clear from the start of the Council that the bishops congregated in Rome were there to critically assess the life of the Church in the world and not to consent to all proposals by the preparatory commissions. That aim was made clear in a *Message to the World* prepared by the Fathers of the Council that stated that the aim of the Council was renewal in faith, hope and love for God and all men and women. Further, the participants at the Council expressed their solidarity with the hunger, the fear, the suffering, and the poverty of the world and wanted to stress the maternal vocation of a Church that cared for the world. That care became clear during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 when John XXIII in the name of those taking part in the Council pleaded for peace and good will from the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union. The public intervention by John XXIII was active and decisive and showed that there was no room for indifference and passivity within the contemporary Church.

However, Vatican II was not going to be a completely peaceful gathering, and at the fourth meeting there was an intense discussion regarding the theme of the sacred liturgy within the Church. The draft document spoke on its preface of the need to stress the use of vernacular languages, a proposition that Silva Henríquez also supported. Several voices spoke against that proposition led by the Head of the Holy Office, Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani. Ottaviani was a warm and likeable character, however he had been working at the Holy Office since 1935 and clearly thought that it was his role to discern between truth and error. By 1961 he had been involved in a political controversy when the Italian Christian Democrats had entered into a political alliance with the Italian Socialists. Despite the fact that the Pope had prevented any Vatican official to comment on that matter, Ottaviani had issued a public condemnation of that alliance. Later he tried to suppress a pastoral letter from the Belgian Bishops and had written a list of modern errors that should have been condemned by the Council. Ottaviani's influence as head of the Council's theological commission was enormous and he was a conservative influence within the general discussions at the Council.

One of the central discussions of the Council was the use of Latin within the Catholic liturgy. Progressive theologians argued that it prevented a full participation by the people of God and that if the liturgy was to be an occasion for teaching and instruction, then it should be celebrated in vernacular languages understood by those taking part in it. Ottaviani, together with other Italian Cardinals, and some traditional American Bishops opposed the theological premise that the liturgy had any elements of teaching, but they understood liturgical acts as solely acts of worship towards the person of God. Those in favour of the use of vernacular languages argued that Latin was only used within the Church from the third century, and because

Latin was the language used by all. Mgr. Eladio Vicuña, bishop of Chillán, made a moving call to remember those who participated in the sacred liturgy but cannot understand it; and Bishop Manuel Larraín made a plea for more simplicity in the liturgical ornaments and vestments used for the liturgy.¹²² Ottaviani did not gather support for his conservative opinions and decided not to attend the discussions on the liturgy for two weeks after an embarrassing moment at the meeting. On the 29th October 1962 and while speaking against the use of the vernacular in the liturgy he went over the time limit of 15 minutes given to any Council member in order to speak.

Cardinal Bernard Alfrink reminded him that his time was up with the following words: *Eminentia vestra habeat me excusatum, quindecim momenta praeterierunt*. Ottaviani looked disconcerted and replied: *Ego jam finivi, jam finivi*. However, Mgr. Pericle Felici, as secretary of that session, took over the microphone, action that was followed by a loud applause from the participants!

Those discussions at the Council and the position of the Chilean Bishops was going to be crucial for the immediate future of the Church in Chile, as some of those discussions were going to continue when the bishops returned home after each one of the four sessions of Vatican II.

After approving the use of vernacular languages, better active participation by the laity, priestly concelebration of the Mass, and communion with bread and wine for all participants, the Council discussed issues of revelation, another document prepared by Ottaviani's theological commission. The proposed document emphasised two principles of Catholic revelation, i.e. the Scriptures and the tradition, however it suggested that the second had more importance than the first and it condemned many theological schools and other Christian churches in a manner that resembled the Contra-Reformation.

There was a strong reaction against the document and Cardinal Liénart spoke of the need to foster people's faith rather than condemn it. Silva Henríquez intervened representing the voice of the Latin American bishops and argued that

¹²² *Memorias I*: 268.

any condemnations created animosity towards other Christians and dissent within Catholic circles. After all, he remarked, bishops are not theologians but shepherds who did not have much time for petty disputes between theological schools.¹²³ The discussion was moved forward by Cardinal Léon Josef Suenens, archbishop of Malinas-Brussels, who argued that any document on revelation should address two different realms of discussion, one internal –aspects of revelation within Catholicism, and another one external – the relation of Catholic revelation with other churches and with the world.

A few days later, and as the controversy over revelation and doctrine continued, the Cardinal of Munich, Mgr. Julius Döpfner, spoke arguing that despite the fact that they had been told that the theological commission had reached a consensus agreement on the draft document it was clear that several members had not agreed with the draft presented for discussion. In those circumstances he requested that the draft document be rejected and drafted once again. The vote taken secured a majority against the draft document but not the two-thirds required for rejection. John XXIII intervened and ordered for the draft to be taken away and for all points made by those against it to be incorporated into a new draft. The vote of the 20th of November 1962 marked the end of the attempts to foster a new contra reform. Even so Ottaviani tried to prevent some public talks given at the Biblical Institute on the historicity of the Bible and made every effort to expel the German theologian Karl Rahner from Rome.

Those discussions were noted with interest years later by Silva Henríquez, who remarked that far from a Council to approve the work of the preparatory commissions, Vatican II was becoming a ongoing fruitful discussion on the nature of the Church and it was strengthening the idea of national Episcopal Conferences that had the possibility of meeting with others and of exchanging views on topics that previously were being dictated by the Roman Curia. As Ottaviani was losing the battle for control, the voice of the Chilean Bishops and indeed of the Latin American Bishops in general was becoming stronger and more pastoral, a fact that

¹²³ *Memorias* I: 270.

was welcomed by most European Bishops and particularly by the German Bishops present at Vatican II, comment made by Cardinal Döpfner towards the end of the first session.

There were 17 Chilean Bishops at Vatican II and while those who appeared making most interventions at different meeting were Cardinal Silva Henríquez and Bishop Manuel Larraín it is clear that all Chilean Bishops met at the Salesian College in order to discuss different documents and to exchange views with messengers from other bishops.¹²⁴ Some of their guest speakers included Karl Rahner and Yves Congar and they also visited regularly two bars located beside St. Peter's Basilica in order to exchange views with others.

Other preliminary discussions at Vatican II included a draft document on the media and the difficult discussions on the unity of all Christians, document that included themes such as the general principles for Christian unity, the Eastern Churches, and the Protestant Churches. By then it was clear that Vatican II was to continue through a second session. During the first session there were 73 documents proposed and only five were discussed through 115 hours of meetings over a period of one month. John XXIII announced that a second session was to take place in September 1963 and there were some suggested documents to be discussed. Among those proposed some Council fathers argued for a document on the Virgin Mary. Silva Henríquez and other opposed that proposal because they thought that the Virgen Mary should be discussed within the document on the Church. Cardinal Montini, Archbishop of Milan, spoke the last words of that first session rejecting the possibility of discussing the place of the Virgin Mary outside the document on the universal Church.

¹²⁴ The Chilean Episcopal Conference of 1962 had the following members: Fr. Miguel Squella Avendaño SJ (Apostolic Administrator of Arica), Francisco Borja Valenzuela Ríos (Antofagasta), Pedro Aguilera Narbona (Iquique), Juan Francisco Fresno Larraín (Copiapó), Polidoro Van Vlierberghe OFM (Illapel), Raúl Silva Henríquez (Santiago), Francisco Gilmore Stock (Armed Forces), Eduardo Larraín Cordovez (Rancagua), Manuel Larraín Errázuriz (Talca), Eladio Vicuña Aránguiz (Chillán), Manuel Sánchez Beguiristain (Los Angeles), Alfredo Silva Santiago (Concepción), Arturo Mery Beckdorf (Auxiliary, Concepción), José Manuel Santos Ascarza (Valdivia), Guillermo Hartl de Laufen (Araucanía), Bernardino Piñera Carvallo (Temuco), Francisco Valdés Subercaseaux (Osorno), Alberto Rencoret Donoso (Puerto Montt), and Vladimiro Boric Crnosija (Punta Arenas).

As the Chilean Bishops returned to Chile Silva Henríquez summarised their interaction at the first session of Vatican II as of intense communion, and that of other bishops as representing the diversity of humanity and of the Church, all united in a search for better service to all human beings and of a better engagement with the issues posed by the modern world.¹²⁵

Mission in Chile

In January 1963 John XXIII wrote the letter *Mirabilis Iste* encouraging all bishops of the world to bring the renewal of Vatican II to their own people. He exhorted them not to fear changes because fear only arises out of a lack of faith. Further, he negotiated the release of the Ukrainian archbishop Yosyf Slipyi who had been 18 years in prison. The archbishop visited him as soon as he was released and John XXIII invited Alexei Adjubei, director of the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia*, to a private audience. Adjubei was married to a daughter of Nikita Krushchev and the press did not understand why John XXIII was inviting Communists, after all excommunicated by the Church, to the Vatican. John XXIII was very clear in his message – a human being is more important than any ideology, regardless if that human being is in communion with the Catholic Church or not.

The publication of the encyclical letter *Pacem in terris* reiterated that idea because it was the first encyclical letter addressed to all human beings and in which the Pope was to set forth the centrality of human rights and human obligations towards those rights in order to foster and keep peace in the world. John XXIII spoke of real things and real people by addressing issues such as birth and death, nuclear armaments and hunger as part of the concerns of the Church.

In the case of the Chilean Church Silva Henríquez felt that John XXIII had reaffirmed all his previous efforts to foster economic and social development in Chile. The pastoral plan for Chile had already declared Chile as a mission country

¹²⁵ Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘La cristiandad entera, sacudida por este acontecimiento, comenzaba a mostrar la decisión de buscar el entendimiento de todos los hombres, la unidad entre todos los hermanos en la fe, el privilegio de la misericordia sobre la justicia, la promoción de la paz en los corazones por sobre las luchas de la inteligencia’, *Memorias* I: 273.

and during 1963 all the Chilean dioceses were to support pastoral initiatives in order to bring fresh vigour to the Church and to encourage all Chileans to take part in that renewed plan of social engagement triggered by the first session of Vatican II.¹²⁶

The pastoral plan for Chile had two major areas of engagement: a plan for renewal in governance at diocesan level and a plan for lay involvement in national areas with a General Mission planned for 1963. At the level of diocesan governance each diocese was asked to foster pastoral departments that would increase a diocesan outreach to different groups of society, for example, departments for the youth, for business people, for workers, for social and economic assistance, etc. Also each diocese was to be divided into pastoral zones, deaneries, parish councils, and parish organisations. The General Mission of 1963 was to be prepared by a central national office that would generate materials in order to involve lay people in all national areas and would help renew individuals within the new governance structures of their own pastoral zones, deaneries and parishes.

In Santiago Silva Henríquez was the leader of the general mission while Vicar General Alvear was the general coordinator. There were 2 million 300,000 people living in Santiago at that time and the major challenge was to use human and material resources well in order to reach each one of them. The pastoral plan had reversed the traditional sense of a mission that previously had implied that people would converge to centres of renewal, according to their interests. The general idea of the 1963 Mission was to reach people where they were and within their interests decentralising the urban centre into local pastoral units where lay people were the main pastoral movers. One of the key players in all that

¹²⁶ The Chilean Bishops had endorsed the following assessment of Christianity in Chile: 'Llamamos *crístiandad* a un país en que los principios católicos inspiran la acción de los hombres y de las instituciones, aun cuando haya personas que no compartan nuestra fe. En una *crístiandad*, el ambiente favorece y estimula la práctica religiosa de los individuos. Llamamos país de misión al caso contrario: un país en el que la mayoría de los hombres y de las instituciones no se inspiran en principios cristianos ni favorecen, sino más bien son contrarios, a la práctica de la minoría católica. Es el caso de Chile hoy día', *Memorias* I: 279.

movement was the newly created Departamento de Formación y Difusión Social del Arzobispado (1962), known by most people as Indiso, that under the able leadership of Fr. Santiago Tapia had as a main objective the teaching and pastoral implementation of the social doctrine of the Church. Another key player was Fr. Jorge Gómez Ugarte who as Vicar General for education had the task of encouraging the involvement of all Catholic schools in the 1963 mission.

There were three chronological phases for the 1963 Mission: during the summer (January and February) pastoral agents would visit all the rural areas of Santiago, during April they would visit the coastal area of the archdiocese, and from September till December they would concentrate on the urban centres and the metropolis. On the 7th of January 1963 one thousand missionaries –clergy, religious sisters, and lay people- started visiting the rural areas with the general question ‘Do you know that God loves you?’ Those missionaries had been trained through ten communal sessions in which they reflected on their faith, the doctrine of the Church, and the materials specially prepared for their missionary outreach. From January to March 1963 they visited ten geographical areas and they organised meetings with farm workers where they reflected on issues such as health, housing, work, alcoholism, and their economic condition on the light of the social doctrine of the Church. There were more specialised talks given to them on topics such as marriage, birth control, education and communal ownership of land. The missionaries stayed in the humble homes of the farm labourers and helped create communal organisations dealing with worship, catechesis, social assistance, and job creation.

As a result of that missionary work those who preferred a more passive and spiritual ecclesial community attacked the idea of the 1963 Mission and the new pastoral ideas fostered by Silva Henríquez. Those attacks were to be expected; previously a missionary priest conducted a rural mission in a particular farm over a period of one week with the consent of the landowner. During the 1963 mission all missionaries proceeded to visit whoever they wanted, they discussed their social and pastoral realities and they created an ongoing link with

other communities and with ongoing centres of education and formation within the archbishopric of Santiago. A general social change was being triggered by the pastoral mission of the Church that coincided with changes fostered by Vatican II and a changing contemporary world at large.

CHAPTER 5

Council, Politics, and Socialism

Silva Henríquez expected complaints about the 1963 mission; however complaints about him were aired at the Vatican and not in Chile. Cardinal Ottaviani was worried about the Chilean Cardinal's previous objections to his scheme in the document on revelation and he was even more worried about the possibility of integrating discussions on the Virgin Mary within the conciliar document on the Church. Ottaviani's opinion was that Silva Henríquez had something against the Virgin Mary; therefore, he did not want discussions on a separate conciliar document about the Mother of God. Ottaviani expressed those

concerns in a letter to Silva Henríquez that the Chilean prelate answered cordially but firmly. However, Silva Henríquez soon realised that Ottaviani's letter had been circulated to a number of Latin American and Italian bishops. For example, most of the Mexican bishops had received a copy of the letter.

While Silva Henríquez decided what to do about that situation another letter, this time from the Holy Office, arrived. The letter accused Silva Henríquez of achieving very little by all the efforts of the 1963 General Mission. It was not possible to identify the signature in the letter, however Ottaviani was at that time secretary to the Holy Office, previously the office of the Inquisition. The accusations were very clear even when the letter did not provide the names of those who were unsatisfied with the pastoral practices forwarded by those involved in the 1963 mission. The accusations were: (i) the mission was being carried out among a great opposition, (ii) the doctrinal contents were cause of scandal to the faithful, (iii) the preaching about the Virgin Mary had been left out and some images of the Mother of God had been taken out of parishes and sacred places, and, (iv) the preaching on the Parable of the Good Samaritan had been used for political means to limited ends. It was clear that those reproaches coincided with Ottaviani's complaints against the Chilean cardinal.

Silva Henríquez responded politely assuring the Vatican that the mission was supported by the faithful highlighting the fact that more than 300,000 people had taken part in the mission's activities while thousands of missionaries had given their time and energy in order to organise, teach, and listen to those participating in the mission. According to Silva Henríquez the mission constituted the largest pastoral effort ever undertaken by the archdiocese of Santiago and those few who were against it included the Communists and some landowners. Thus, those who did not like the style of the mission were the enemies of the Church; otherwise most Catholics found an opportunity to deepen their faith and to celebrate the sacraments. The preaching of the mission's materials was centred in Christ and Mary had a place as the mother of Christ within those catechetical materials. Regarding accusations regarding the removal of statues Silva Henríquez

was only aware of the removal of one single statue of St. Maria Goretti after conversations with the religious congregation that administered the parish in question.

Silva Henríquez also pointed out that the Vatican had recognised the importance of the General Mission by appointing its main coordinator, Fr. Enrique Alvear, auxiliary bishop of Mgr. Larraín in Talca.¹²⁷ However, despite that good sign Silva Henríquez was worried about Ottaviani's intervention and decided to let the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, know about it. Further, Silva Henriquez requested that all the correspondence be available to John XXIII for his own information.

A Variety of Elections

The second phase of the General Mission started in April 1963 in Lo Abarca and Santo Domingo, followed by a great pastoral effort in the port of San Antonio. Fr. Pedro Castex led 200 missionaries who with enthusiasm reached thousands of homes and all parishes. While the format was the same as used during the first phase of the mission there were two interesting developments: Fr. Florencio Infante preached through the radio and his talks were later used by families to discuss the Christian faith while the Movimiento Familiar Cristiano developed and performed plays in order to highlight particular themes. One of the most important achievements of phase two was the formation of deaneries with representation of one layperson from every parish within a deanery.

During phase two of the mission there were municipal elections in Chile and the Christian Democratic Party got the majority of the votes given to a single political party (ca. 450,000) while the closest contenders were the socialist and the communist parties (ca. 470,000 votes). The cardinal was of the opinion that there was a chance that the Christian Democrats could win the 1964 presidential

¹²⁷ Bishop Larraín had apologised to Silva Henríquez arguing that the Chilean Cardinal as a son of Talca needed at one point or another to give something back to his land of birth, *Memorias* I: 284.

elections. He wrote to Mgr. Angelo Dell'Acqua, Deputy Vatican Secretary of State, suggesting that the fact that a Catholic party was ahead in the polls for the first time in a long time could not be bad for the Church; however, he argued that the best position for the Church was to leave the politicians lead the campaign for the presidential elections and not to intervene in any manner. It was, nevertheless, a clear sign that Catholics were taking on board the social doctrine of the Church and opting in large numbers to follow a middle path between a possible *status quo* and a leftist revolution.¹²⁸ For Silva Henríquez it was clear that there would be a three-horse race with candidates representing the right coalition, the left coalition, and the Christian Democratic Party at the centre of Chilean politics.

The position of Silva Henríquez was not supported by all Chileans, and certainly not by the Vatican Ambassador, Mgr. Gaetano Alibrandi.¹²⁹ While there were groups of Chilean Catholics that expected a cardinal to support publicly the traditional Catholic political coalition, that is the Conservative Party, Mgr. Alibrandi had conservative tendencies and also thought that the voice of the Vatican Ambassador should have more weight than the voice of the Chilean bishops. Alibrandi did not consult with the Chilean bishops and Silva Henríquez expressed his worries about this exclusion in a meeting at the Vatican Embassy. Alibrandi confided that he was not confident about the opinions of most bishops in Chile and wanted to do the best for the Church. However, Alibrandi consulted only with those bishops he trusted rather than with all the Chilean bishops. Alibrandi was slow in making decisions and one example was the request by Silva Henríquez to appoint two auxiliary bishops for Santiago. He submitted his request to the Vatican and even prepared three nominations for each one of the new posts, however he had to wait for three years in order to have new auxiliary bishops.

¹²⁸ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Quería decir que el mensaje de la Iglesia, aunque fuese filtrado por una óptica política particular, estaba recuperando su vigencia; igual habría sido mi opinión si otro partido de raíz y vocación católica hubiese logrado lo mismo', *Memorias* I: 285.

¹²⁹ Doctor in Theology and Law Alibrandi had been Vatican Ambassador to Indonesia before being appointed archbishop and posted to the Vatican Embassy in Chile.

In May 1963 the Chilean bishops elected Silva Henríquez as president of the Chilean Episcopal Conference. Mgr. Alfredo Silva Santiago was the other candidate, however he had already resigned as archbishop of Concepción after the first session of Vatican II and did not have the same influence among the bishops he had had before. As a result, Silva Henríquez received 21 votes while Silva Santiago only received 3 votes. A few months later Mgr. Manuel Sánchez became bishop of Concepción bringing Silva Santiago into actual retirement.

Mission Accomplished

The third and last phase of the General Mission took place in the urban centres of Santiago and was a success. Over five months 11,000 lay people together with parish priests, schools and convents brought a message of renewal and commitment to the urban populations. The mission started in San Bernardo and Puente Alto and slowly moved inwards until reaching the city centre. From the city centre the lay missionaries visited all factories, places of work, neighbourhoods, and all homes one by one.

The themes of the mission took over discussions previously dominated by political choices and political passions. Among those themes Catholics discussed the following: sin, hell, baptism, confession, birth control, and celibacy. The Chilean Cardinal was able to receive critical feedback on issues that lay people thought should be changed, including the wealth of the Church, the lack of communication with lay people, and the distance between priests and lay people. The most wanted desire by lay Catholics was to create a community where priests shared their pain and their joys.

There were other signs that the mission of 1963 had been successful. One of those was the ongoing agrarian reform of the lands owned by the Church that was triggering a national debate on that matter and was being successful.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'En el caso de las tierras que eran de la Iglesia, el proceso jamás fue estéril. Un número apreciable de familias comenzó desde entonces a vivir con paz, tranquilidad y bienestar. La producción aumentó en esos predios enormemente y en algunos casos

However, the Cardinal knew that there were no experts in agricultural policies within those who knew philosophy and theology and together with Mgr. Manuel Larraín they decided to found an institute for planning and evaluation of the agrarian reform.

The Instituto de Promoción Agraria (Inproa) started its work during the first months of 1963, however it only became a legal entity on the 5th June 1963. Inproa had a board of directors with seven permanent members and another seven nominated by sister organisations, including the Fundación Diego Portales, the Fundación Cardenal Caro, Fundación León XIII, the Instituto de Educación Rural, the Unión Social de Empresarios Cristianos, the Instituto del Desarrollo, and the bishopric of Talca.

Inproa's aims and objectives were to foster national social and economic development while supporting those working lands that had been part of the agrarian reform program. That support included technical expertise for the restructuring of land ownership, and technical support for those taking over those lands. In fact, many of those later involved in the national agrarian reform program had been trained and had worked at Inproa. Initial funding for Inproa came from the dioceses of Santiago and Talca (Santiago 66% Talca 33%), however, immediately after its foundation the German foundation Misereor gave Inproa three times the initial contribution.¹³¹ Inproa's main activities related to lands in Santiago and Talca, however the bishops of Linares and Concepción also tried their own agrarian reform with less success and opted to sell lands quickly rather than allowing families to work the land communally with the intention to buy it later.

la experiencia se convirtió en un modelo. Que por desgracia no haya sido seguido con las mismas directrices en el nivel nacional, no es algo que nos haga sentir culpables', *Memorias I*: 289.

¹³¹ In 1982 the bishop of Talca, Mgr. Carlos González, decided to leave Inproa, and the organisation became solely based and funded by the Archbishopric of Santiago.

A New Pope

In June 1963 Silva Henríquez began a new visit to the United States. During that visit the University of Notre Dame was to confer him a doctorate *honoris causa* during the Mass that traditionally opened the new academic year at that prestigious Catholic university. During that visit Silva Henríquez had access to the political world of Washington where U.S. politicians showed a particular interest in his opinion about the future of Latin America and the impact that Vatican II would have on the Latin American church and *de facto* in the social and political life of Latin Americans. While Silva Henríquez was in Washington senator Hubert Humphrey spoke to the American Congress on the need to understand change within Latin America and he asked that the Chilean pastoral letter *El deber social y político ...* be included within the minutes of the congressional session.

However, his visit only lasted a few days because the news that came from Rome was dramatic: John XXIII had died and all cardinals of the Catholic Church had to meet at the Vatican in order to elect a new pope. John XXIII had died on the 3rd of June at 7:49 am at the age of 81.¹³² His last papal decree had been the authorisation to crown an image of the Salesian Virgin adorned with the papal symbols, a statue that was crowned during the evening in which John XXIII was dying. After the Camarlengo, Cardinal Aloisi Masella, called upon the body of the Pope three times by his Christian name, Angelo, and did not get any reply, the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Amleto Cicognani announced the news to the world.

Without a Pope the power of governance of the Church rests on the College of Cardinals and any legislative action is postponed till a new Pope takes office. Even the ordinary mail is sealed till the new administration takes over the Vatican. Silva Henríquez made his way to Rome together with all cardinals of the world in order to reside at the Apostolic Palace for the conclave that would elect a

¹³² His period in office had been the shortest since Pope Pious VIII who had been Pope from 1829 to 1830.

new Pope. The world media was present in full force at the funeral of John XXIII; he had managed to attract the attention of the world during the procedures of Vatican II. The Chilean delegation to the funeral was small and consisted of the Chilean Ambassador to the Vatican and some embassy staff plus Cardinal Silva Henríquez and a group of Chilean priests that included Frs. Jorge Sapunar, Alfonso Baeza, Jorge Matte, Alejandro Rada and Wenceslao Barra.

Of the conclave Silva Henríquez remembered the devotion and emotion shown by the cardinals as they deposited their vote inside a chalice. There were no political campaigns or chosen candidates but each cardinal had a list of all cardinals of the Church and was asked to write the name of whoever he thought would be the best for the sacred office. The possible candidates included Cardinal Ottaviani, Cardinal Francis Spellman of New York, and the president of the Italian Episcopal Conference Cardinal Giuseppe Siri. Other possible candidates were Cardinal Bernard Alfrink of Holland, Cardinal Giacomo Lercaro of Bologna, and Giovanni Battista Montini of Milan. One of the questions that many cardinals had was that related to the continuation of Vatican II; would the new Pope continue with Vatican II or would he declared it ended? Silva Henríquez requested an answer from Cardinal Montini who replied *Il Concilio non lo ferma nessun* – ‘nobody will end the Council’.¹³³

The chosen candidate needed 2/3 of the votes plus one and on the 21st of June 1963 Cardinal Montini got the necessary majority of votes. At 11:18 am Ottaviani announced the news to the people assembled at St. Peter’s Square. Montini took the name Paul VI, a sign of continuity with Paul the apostle to the gentiles, meaning to all.

Paul VI was 66 years of age at the time of his election and had been born in Concesio in Brescia, the son of teachers. His father had entered politics and had served in parliament three times and had also edited the local newspaper *Il Cittadino*. Paul VI had studied theology at the seminary and at the Gregorian University and he had also read literature at the University of Rome. Mgr.

¹³³ *Memorias* I: 298.

Giuseppe Pizzardo recommended him for the Vatican diplomatic service and after a short spell at the Vatican Embassy in Warsaw he returned to Rome quite ill. Montini became involved with Catholic Action and with the Christian Democrats and also supported the efforts of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States. In 1944 Pious XII appointed him second-in-command at the State Secretariat and in 1954 Montini became Archbishop of Milan. Previously, Montini had been Vatican representative to Unesco in Paris at the same time that John XXIII had served as Vatican Ambassador in Paris.

Paul VI was well known at the Vatican and as soon as he assumed his office he initiated some changes in Vatican protocol. It was customary that the first night after being elected the new Pope would eat by himself at the papal apartments. Instead Paul VI asked to all members of the College of Cardinals to join him and he sat at the same place he had occupied as a cardinal rather than presiding over the meal at the end of the table. Three months later Paul VI started the reorganisation of the Roman Curia.

On his return to Chile Silva Henríquez also started the reorganisation of the Archdiocese of Santiago. The Vatican had urged him to create a new diocese of Melipilla that would incorporate some of the parishes near the coastal fringe of Santiago. Silva Henríquez was not minded to do so and wanted a full division of the archdiocese by the creation of areas subjected to the archbishop but with their own local bishops. The Vatican rejected that idea and the Archdiocese of Santiago continued to be a large single unit even after the Vatican had suggested that the Archdiocese of Paris was a good example of ecclesiastical governance, where the archbishop had given territory for the formation of smaller dioceses around the metropolitan see. However, while the Vatican ended the controversy, some clerics accused Silva Henríquez of wanting to have more auxiliary bishops in order to secure more support for his proposals and his election as president of the Chilean Episcopal Conference.¹³⁴

¹³⁴ *Memorias* I: 302.

Back to the Council

It is difficult to imagine how Silva Henríquez was managing to lead a large archdiocese in between journeys to Europe and the United States and his work for Caritas Internationalis. Nevertheless, he seemed to manage and on the 23rd September 1963 he was back in Rome for the opening ceremony of the second session of Vatican II, led by the newly elected Pope Paul VI.

Silva Henríquez followed the deliberations with even more enthusiasm because Paul VI gave a refreshed support to the process of *aggiornamento*. In the previous two weeks Paul VI had nominated the Cardinals that were to direct deliberations and the four elected, Gregorio Pietro Agagianian, Giacomo Lercaro, Julius Döpfner and Léon Josef Suenens, did not come from the conservative quarters of the College of Cardinals. Paul VI spoke of three main tasks that should be addressed by the Council: to discuss the relation between the Pope and the bishops, to foster a deeper study of the Scriptures in order to renew the Church, and to advance the unity of all Christians.

The first document to be discussed was that related to the Church whose draft had been rejected during the first session. Silva Henríquez submitted a written contribution with the help of his theological experts and it was incorporated within the first and second chapter of the final document that dealt with the relation of the Church and the bishops. The following chapters on the people of God and the holiness of all Christians was prepared by the theologian Jean Daniélou, later to be made a cardinal. On the 1st of October 1964 Silva Henríquez spoke on behalf of 44 Latin American bishops requesting that the chapter on the people of God preceded that of the bishops in the final document, requesting further discussions on the issue of *communio* that could stress the eschatological nature of the Church, and supporting Cardinal Joseph Frings and his idea that the saints should not be prominent within the final document. Further, he requested that pronouncements about the Virgin Mary be incorporated

within the document on the Church rather than in a separate document.¹³⁵ There was an outcry from some quarters, particularly from the Spanish bishops; 46 of them requested, through Cardinal Benjamín de Arriba y Castro of Tarragona, that a separate document on the Virgin Mary be prepared for discussion. Those who supported Silva Henríquez' proposal were the French and Mexican bishops.

Other difficult discussions related to the primacy of Peter among the apostles, and the issue of collegiality among bishops of whom the Pope was one more for some, the most important and absolute for others. Those who opposed any collegiality, among them the Italian Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini, argued that the calling of Peter (*Tu es Petrus...*) pointed to a single calling of an absolute leader; those who wanted further emphasis on the collegiality of the bishops, among them Cardinal Bernard Alfrink, replied that Jesus called 12 apostles and entrusted their organisation and support to Peter, one among many. Archbishop Dino Staffa, in charge of seminaries and universities warned that collegiality could destroy the primacy of the Pope, while the eastern bishops reminded the assembly that among the Oriental Churches collegiality has been a norm since the 11th Century rather than a fruit of discussions on modernity.

Other heated debates on ecumenism, the diaconate, the role of missionary work, the sacramentality of bishops, and other issues followed creating a difficult atmosphere. Cardinal Lercaro pointed to that crisis, and argued that the only way to move forward was to incorporate more cardinals as leaders of working parties; he even suggested that Silva Henríquez should be one of those included. The Chilean bishops requested a vote on some of the most contentious issues, and

¹³⁵ Silva Henríquez argued that in the case of Latin America there was too much separation between the devotional life to the Virgin Mary and the ordinary daily devotional life of the Church, *Memorias* I: 306. Despite efforts by the Latin American bishops that separation was to remain central to the pastoral concerns of the Church that could not condemn the so called 'popular religiosity' or 'popular piety' but wanted a more Eucharistic centred ecclesial life based on parish structures rather than on Marian feasts such as the liturgical feast of the Immaculate Conception on the 8th of December. Years later, this remained a preoccupation for the Catholic Church; however, John Paul II perceived popular piety as an instrument against secularisation 'correctly guided, purified and enriched by genuine elements of Catholic doctrine', see John Paul II, 'To members of the Special Assembly for America: Authentic popular piety can build the faith', Vatican Library, 5 November 2004, *L'Osservatore Romano* 17 November 2004.

Cardinal Suenens agreed to the proposal on the day when he was presiding the Council. However, the General Secretary, Mgr. Pericle Felici, protested arguing that Suenens as moderator did not have any authority when it came to approve procedures. Felici threatened to resign and there were a few days of difficult meetings between several cardinals and Paul VI. Finally, it was decided that a vote on the role of the moderators was to take place, and by 11 votes against 9 moderators were allowed to dictate conciliar procedures while presiding discussions on particular draft documents. Finally, it was decided that there would be five questions put to the Council Fathers, and that a general vote on the issue of the Virgin Mary would take place.

The Virgin Mary was discussed on the 24th of October 1963 using a new method: only two Council Fathers would debate for and against a motion. In that occasion Cardinal Rufino Santos of the Philippines argued for a separate document on the Virgin Mary while Cardinal Franz König of Vienna spoke for the inclusion of the Virgin Mary within the document on the Church. The vote became like a battle front understood as a 'yes' or a 'no' to the Virgin Mary, and those who wanted her within the document of the Church associated that position with the proposal made by the Chilean Cardinal, Raúl Silva Henríquez. There was a lot of campaigning for a separate document by Mgr. Carlo Balic of Yugoslavia, a consultant to the Holy Office, and the Eastern Fathers paraded their icons of the Virgin Mary in front of St. Peter's Basilica.

Silva Henríquez left events to divine providence and on that 29th of October 1963 he offered the votive Mass of the Virgin Mary in order to ask for her intercession.¹³⁶ The vote was very close with a majority of votes for the incorporation of the Virgin Mary into the document on the Church: 1,114 for the motion and 1,074 against it. The standard joke of the Council Fathers was that because of forty votes the Virgin Mary re-entered the Church. However, several

¹³⁶ The central role of the Virgin Mary in Latin American Catholicism can be discerned through the writings of Silva Henríquez who wrote about the agency of Mary within the Church in the following words: 'Dejemos que la Virgen nos indique donde se quiere ubicar', *Memorias I*: 311.

bishops accused Silva Henríquez of personal betrayal to the Virgin Mary and a certain deviation from the doctrine of the Church, an accusation that was to appear later within Vatican II and within the context of Church-State relations in Chile.

The following discussions of Vatican II examined the role of the bishop within the Church and particularly the relation between the Pope and other bishops. The traditional model was monarchical, with an all-powerful pontiff that exercised office helped by his own court, the Roman Curia. The progressive model, based on the communion exercised by the early churches around the Eucharist understood the role of all bishops as members of a body that elected the Pope and that together with him guided a praying Church united by eucharistic principles. The 'progressive' model was close to that of the Eastern Churches where different local churches had their own patriarchs all in communion with one another.

The Roman Curia felt attacked and Cardinal Ottaviani, as president of the Theological Commission, argued that the opinions of the Council Fathers had still to be approved by the theologians appointed by the Pope himself. One of the challenging issues of that moment was the possibility of diversifying the Roman Curia, at that time mostly Italian. Silva Henríquez, through a letter supported by 10 cardinals and hundreds of bishops, requested from the Pope that bishops from other parts of the world be incorporated in the central government of a universal Church. Paul VI did not answer the letter but soon after several non-Italian bishops were incorporated to the Roman Curia. There were rumours that Silva Henríquez had requested a special audience with Paul VI in order to discuss those issues and that the Superior General of the Salesians had admonished him for his views on the Virgin Mary. Those were false rumours and the only one to challenge his attitude and to express concern about his attacks on the Roman Curia was Mgr. Opilio Rossi, previously Vatican Ambassador to Chile and at that moment Vatican Ambassador in Vienna.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Rossi lived a very long life and died in 2004, see 'Mass for deceased cardinals, bishops: Partaking in the Eucharistic banquet, hoping for an eternal banquet', Eucharist presided

The following discussions on ecumenism and the Christian churches did not produce the same rupture between factions of Council Fathers. It was generally agreed that charity should prevail over judgments and historical divisions. The Chilean bishops made two interesting proposals through Silva Henríquez and Mgr. Bernardino Piñera. Silva Henríquez spoke about mixed marriages, that is those between a Catholic and a member of another Christian church, and argued that mixed marriages should be recognised as valid. Piñera argued for a simpler way of life and a simpler way of celebrating the liturgy, practices that could avoid criticism towards the Catholic Church by other Christian denominations. Relations with the Jews were also discussed, and after a very clear exposition by Cardinal Agostino Bea, head of the Vatican Secretariat for the Unity of all Christians, the Council Fathers agreed that it was wrong to blame Jews for the death of Christ.

However, discussions on religious freedom did not progress in the same positive way. Silva Henríquez was one of those Council Fathers who had pushed for a positive statement on religious freedom in order to allow the Catholic Church to recognise God's grace and human freedom. Bishop Emile de Smedt of Belgium proposed the general lines of a declaration on religious freedom that was resisted by the traditionalists within the Council that resented the possibility of allowing religious freedom on account that for them those who erred had no rights any longer. The discussion did not continue and further discussions on the Jews and religious freedom were postponed.

Once again Silva Henríquez and other bishops requested from the Pope that the heads of working groups could be chosen from among those who were not part of the Roman Curia. Paul VI allowed for elections of the vice-presidents of the commissions, and after an exhausting lobby of other 58 Episcopal Conferences Silva Henríquez was satisfied that all those elected had been nominated with the support of the Chilean bishops.

However, the second session of Vatican II ended after the sad news of President Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas, on the 22nd of November 1963. Silva Henríquez expressed his own fear that all American initiatives towards progress in Latin America would end with Kennedy's death. Despite those events the Council Fathers approved the constitution on the liturgy and the decree on the media. In the case of the Constitution on the liturgy, its official proclamation was postponed till February 1964 (*vacatio legis*) in order to allow for a working party to discuss its implementation all over the world. Silva Henríquez became a member of that working party, together with nine other cardinals, 28 bishops, and 3 members of religious orders.

At the end of the second session Paul VI announced his visit to the Holy Land, a new sign of a new spirit of communion and solidarity with the Oriental Churches.¹³⁸ The working parties that were to prepare the third session were still working on the documents on revelation, the Church, the bishops, and ecumenism. However, one the most awaited documents, that on the Church in the modern world was also being prepared under the close scrutiny of Cardinal Suenens.

It is clear that during the second session the Chilean bishops became more vocal and they made a significant contribution to the debates. They were fully supported by the Uruguayan bishops, and their main theologian was a young priest, Jorge Medina, called by the theologian Yves Congar 'the Council's antenna'.¹³⁹ In total the Chilean bishops tabled 132 amendments to the document on the Church, 31 amendments to the document on ecumenism, and another 10 amendments related to other documents. The Chilean bishops also prepared two

¹³⁸ Paul VI visited the Holy Land at the beginning of 1964 and met in Jerusalem with Athenagoras I, Ecumenical Patriarch of Jerusalem. He also crossed into Jordan to meet King Hussein and into Israel, where he met with President Chaim Shazar. The only other pope to 'visit' the Holy Land had been Teobaldo Visconti, later to become Pope Gregory X, who was part of one of the crusades in 1271.

¹³⁹ Much later Jorge Medina was to become a bishop and very prominent in the Sacred Congregation for Doctrine under John Paul II.

full document drafts: on the theme of bishops and on the Virgin Mary. They became the most consulted group of Latin American bishops.

Shaping the Chilean Church

Before returning to Chile Silva Henríquez had a meeting with Paul VI in order to discuss the problems that the Chilean Church was facing, mainly the attacks on the pastoral mission, the Catholic University, the lack of vocations, and the appointment of bishops without major consultation by the Vatican. Paul VI listened attentively and somehow understood the urgency that the Chilean Cardinal had: in a period in which the presidential elections of 1964 would dominate the life of the country it was not possible to have a Church removed from those realities, a Church that should instruct on matters of agrarian reform, Catholic education, and the political future of all Catholics within Chile. The Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, wrote to Silva Henríquez expressing the Pope's support for the General Mission, the process of agrarian reform, and the work in the Major and Minor Seminaries, all areas that had been criticised by traditional Catholics in Chile.

On his return home Silva Henríquez blessed the new equipment of the radio owned by the Archdiocese, Radio Chilena, founded in order to educate Catholics on the social doctrine of the Church. At the same time a group of lay people associated with FIDE and led by Camilo Pérez de Arce and Sergio Wilson organised the first ever study week on the social doctrine of the Church for all Catholic schools, following a practice that had started in France. The plan was to challenge a lay conception of society and remind Catholics of the Catholic values to be present in Chilean society. As a result there were complaints from the left-wing coalition but also from the right that was represented by Julio Durán, a non-Catholic and a mason. Durán accused Silva Henríquez of supporting the Christian Democrats and betraying the Conservative Party, traditional bed of support for the Church. The Chilean Ambassador to the Vatican, Fernando Aldunate, sent the pastoral letter *El deber social y político de los católicos en la hora presente* to

conservative theologians in Rome and secured a letter condemning the contents of the pastoral letter. Aldunate gave a copy of the letter to Silva Henríquez who assured him that the letter had been approved by the Catholic Church, a body larger and more important than a couple of theologians. While Aldunate later apologised, he represented groups of Catholics that still felt that the Catholic Church should support the political cause and the policies of the Conservative Party.

However, the misunderstandings with the Conservative Party continued when its leaders involved in the Conservative newspaper *El Diario Ilustrado* requested from Silva Henríquez economic help in order to continue its production. Silva Henríquez spoke his mind and told them that if the Church wanted to spend lots of money in a newspaper it would have started a new one. Later some Conservatives reminded the Cardinal that the Archdiocese of Santiago had the newspaper *La Voz* that did not share conservative opinions. Silva Henríquez was able to say that the Archdiocese of Santiago planned to close it down because of its enormous economic cost. The Conservatives were right in reproaching Silva Henríquez, however the newspaper *La Voz* had been a costly idea of Cardinal Caro that Silva Henríquez had inherited.

La Voz had been initially a parish-oriented newspaper that after Caro's death was entrusted to Fr. Oscar Domínguez Correa by the diocesan administrator Mgr. Emilio Tagle. Fr. Domínguez made it into a current affairs newspaper by his association with a group of young journalists that helped him to produce the newspaper, among them the following: Alejandro Magnet, Guillermo Blanco, Lidia Baltra, Sergio Livingstone, Javier Rojas, Leonardo Cáceres, Hernán Poblete, Darío Rojas, Abraham Santibáñez, Vicente Pérez, and Francisco Castillo. By the time that Silva Henríquez became archbishop of Santiago Gastón Cruzat was directing the newspaper operation, however already by 1964 Silva Henríquez was convinced that the newspaper did not have an economic future. However, the newspaper had been the first to outline the concerns by the Church for the poor and the marginalized of Santiago, it had informed about religious persecution in

Eastern Europe and it had informed about the debates taking place in Rome at Vatican II.

Politics in 1964

On the 15th of March 1964 there was a bi-election in Curicó after the unexpected death of the member of the lower chamber Oscar Naranjo Jara, a socialist. The right-wing coalition (Frente Democrático) announced that election as a forecast for the presidential elections. Traditionally the right-wing coalition had had the majority of the votes and certainly a significant amount of support among voters. They had also forecasted that the Christian Democrats would not do well in Curicó. There was a surprise; Oscar Naranjo Arias, son of the previous incumbent representing the left-wing coalition (Frente de Acción Popular, FRAP) was elected with 39% of the votes. The right-wing coalition got 32% of the votes and the Christian Democrats 27% of the votes.¹⁴⁰

On the following day the right-wing coalition was dissolved as Julio Durán resigned as their presidential candidate. While Durán represented the Radical Party at the presidential elections it was clear that there were only two serious candidates: Eduardo Frei Montalva for the Christian Democrats and Salvador Allende for the FRAP. The young Catholic Conservatives that had founded the Christian Democratic Party had become more powerful than the Conservatives themselves. The polarisation of Chilean politics started at that moment, a polarisation that was to become endemic by the early 1970s.

Silva Henríquez and the Catholic Church in general were also concerned about the growing support for the FRAP and they feared that Chileans were looking for political solutions within Marxist models of society rather than from the social doctrine of the Church.¹⁴¹ Instead of producing a public condemnation

¹⁴⁰ One of the reasons for this change in voters' preferences was due to the fact that in the past farm workers voted for their patron's candidate, while after an intense campaign for workers' rights farm workers were speaking their minds through the electoral ballots.

¹⁴¹ Silva Henríquez recalls a confidential memorandum that he consulted at that time that read as follows: 'La situación se presenta muy difícil. El candidato socialista (Salvador Allende) es

of communism Silva Henríquez decided to publicly order clergy not to take part in party politics and to keep the independence of the Church at all times. It was even clearer to him that a danger of that time was the slowing down of pastoral policies and liturgical reforms because of an intense political preoccupation and participation by Christian communities.

In April 1964 the liturgical reforms were implemented in Chile after a summer of *vacatio legis*; Spanish was used not only for the prayers and readings but also for the sacrifice of the Mass, and the altars were moved so that the priest was facing the congregation instead of showing his back to the people. At the same time the restructuring of the Archdiocese of Santiago was implemented; six pastoral zones were created in order to coordinate pastoral work and liase through their leaders with the archbishop.¹⁴² The Church was ready to face changes and there were many to come.

The political campaigns were intensified with two major preoccupations: the religious persecution in Cuba, even Silva Henríquez had written to the Cuban government on behalf of the persecuted, and the public association of the Christian Democrats with the Catholic Church. Even the Christian Democrat candidate Eduardo Frei Montalva was worried about that public perception and wrote to Silva Henríquez requesting advice. Many voters had asked him if the Catholic Church was to govern the country after his election as president of Chile. In the past the Conservatives had been accused of a coalition with the Catholic Church and Frei did not like the possible comparison.¹⁴³ In June 1964 the Chilean

en realidad un candidato comunista y su triunfo es un triunfo del comunismo, con todas sus consecuencias. La Iglesia, si ellos triunfan, entraría a corto plazo a la condición de la “Iglesia del silencio”. Además consideran los comunistas que el triunfo en Chile les asegura el triunfo del comunismo en toda América Latina, dada la influencia que tiene Chile en el continente’, *Memorias II*: 14.

¹⁴² Zonas Norte, Este, Oeste, Sur, Centro y Rural-Costa.

¹⁴³ Frei wrote: ‘He observado en todo el país un estado de ánimo que yo calificaría de extrema susceptibilidad y desconfianza en todo lo que pudiera llamarse Iglesia y política [...] El país entero pregunta, y se lo digo porque lo encuentro a cada paso, es cierto que el clero va a manejar su gobierno? [...] He recorrido varias provincias y en todas ellas se me hace un *memorandum* de cuáles son los problemas más agudos a tratar. Invariablemente en toda comuna surge el primero: referirme a la libertad religiosa, que no mandará la Iglesia Católica en el gobierno’, Frei to Silva Henríquez, 21 May 1964 *Memorias II*: 16-17.

Episcopal Conference decided to keep silent and let lay Catholics act in conscience.

Nevertheless the Church printed and distributed 20,000 copies of the pastoral letter *El deber social y politico* while all the clergy and 2,000 lay Catholics received instruction on the relation between the social doctrine of the Church and communism. The communist senator Jaime Barros reacted angrily to those practices in Congress attacking the Catholic Church and the person of Silva Henríquez. As a result many undecided Catholics rallied around the archbishop and the FRAP had to ask Barros to apologise for his archaic ideas so as not to produce any more cohesion among Catholics before the presidential elections.

Divisions on ecclesiastical policy did exist. While Silva Henríquez pursued his policy of silence and lay involvement, other bishops wanted public declarations. Emilio Tagle of Valparaíso wanted to issue a public declaration that would condemn communism and he was deeply concerned about the future of the Catholic Church in Chile if the left-wing political coalition were to be elected at the presidential election. Mgr. Alfredo Cifuentes wanted to publish a *monitum* from the Holy Office that had condemned all those associated with any form of socialism. Mgr. Larraín was of a different opinion and he saw any alliance between the Church and any political party as dangerous. According to Larraín the people of God wanted a more Gospel-oriented Church rather than a clerical body interfering with the voters at every election. Clearly there were two models of Church in operation; those who perceived the Church as teacher and absolute guide, and those who in the spirit of Vatican II respected the possibility that people could vote according to their consciences and the magisterium without being coerced into doing so.

In August the Vatican Ambassador, Mgr. Emano Righi-Lambertini, expressed his concern to the Chilean bishops about those public debates and he requested an immediate report on the bishops' plans to stop the spread of communism in Chile. Silva Henríquez assured him that everything was under control. However, there were signs that religion and politics were becoming

closely linked in the political campaigns. Salvador Allende and Julio Durán, both members of the Masonic Lodge, were taking part in baptisms in rural areas where they were asked and agreed to become baptism's sponsors (*padrinos*) of some poor children. Silva Henríquez prepared a letter condemning those practices and was ready to make it public when Fr. Gustavo Ferraris advised him not to do so. According to Ferraris the letter would show a clear political intervention by the Church. Silva Henríquez agreed to consult with Patricio Aylwin, a practising Catholic who was trusted; Aylwin advised him not to interfere and not to publish the letter while his wife Leonor, also trusted by Silva Henríquez, expressed the same opinion. Silva Henríquez decided not to publish his letter.

On the 3rd of September 1964 Allende met with Silva Henríquez to thank him for his non-intervention in party politics and to assure him that he was going to win. Further, Allende assured him that the Church would not be touched and that Allende would always listen to Silva Henríquez' concerns. Allende did not win and during a political rally that took place in October at the Esmeralda Theatre he attacked the Church for her political intervention. Nevertheless, later he once again assured the Church of his good political intentions.

Eduardo Frei Montalva had been elected with the largest amount of votes in the history of Chile; he received 430,000 more votes than Allende, 56.1% of the total national vote. However, six days after the presidential elections the left-wing coalition decided to stand in opposition to the new government and accused the Christian Democrats of standing together with foreign capitalists and with the Chilean financial oligarchy.¹⁴⁴ Frei's party, the PDC, had promised a 'revolution in liberty' and had an enormous challenge for its six years in government.

¹⁴⁴ The FRAP did not trust that the PDC was going to advance any major political changes that would restructure economic wealth and social injustice within Chile and they were clear in the words of their political agreement: '[la convención adoptó] la decisión irrevocable de realizar una política de oposición al gobierno del señor Frei, convencido de que éste, por su composición social y sus vínculos con el capitalismo extranjero y la oligarquía financiera, servirá en lo esencial los intereses de la clase dominante y no los del pueblo chileno', *Memorias II*: 22.

Vatican II: Third Session

Silva Henríquez left for Rome immediately after the presidential elections as all the Catholic bishops were meeting once again for the third session of the Second Vatican Council. The session started on the 14th of September 1964 with a Mass concelebrated by all bishops with the Pope, for the first time, and in accordance with the directives provided by the document on the liturgy. Paul VI pushed this issue and during his homily he encouraged the Council Fathers to push for change and to debate with honesty the most important pending document for the third session: the relations between the Pope, as bishop of Rome, and all other bishops of the world.

Paul VI wanted to accelerate all deliberations and make the third session the last one of the Council. Some quarters agreed with him because it seemed an unnecessary burden and publicity to have all bishops away from their dioceses for such a prolonged period of time; the traditionalists wanted quick deliberations because many of their supporters were feeling the passing of time and the strain on their physical bodies. However, other more progressive quarters wanted long deliberations in order to have the opportunity to discuss central issues of doctrine and practice that would mark the life of the Church for decades to come.

The first document to be discussed was that of the Church, that incorporated two new chapters: one on the eschatological nature of the Church and a second one on the Virgin Mary. The first new chapter was approved immediately, while the chapter on the Virgin Mary provoked new unpleasant discussions. On the 16th of September 1964 Silva Henríquez spoke about the document on behalf of Cardinal Humberto Quintero of Venezuela and other 43 bishops from Latin America. Silva Henríquez supported the approval of the document and praised the scripture-centred document that spoke of the only mediation of Christ, setting aside the role of the Virgin Mary that according to

him had scandalised other Christians and that had been so prominent in some Latin American quarters.¹⁴⁵

His intervention had the support of Cardinals Paul Emile Léger, Agostino Bea, and León Josef Suenens. Nevertheless unexpected press reports from the Associated Press reached Chile and the newspaper *El Mercurio* reported that Silva Henríquez had accused Chileans of an exaggerated Marian devotion, an accusation that suggested once again that he was an enemy of the Virgin Mary.¹⁴⁶ In the meantime the discussions regarding the role of the Virgin Mary continued in Rome with a motion by the Archbishop of Granada, Rafael García y García, that her title ‘Mother of the Church’ be restored while the Bishop of Cuernavaca, Sergio Méndez Arceo, argued that there was a contradiction in terms between the Virgin Mary as mother of humanity and the Church already understood as mother of all.

It is clear that while Silva Henríquez was becoming a prominent actor at Vatican II the conservative groups in Chile were attacking his pastoral and political positions. Following press attacks on his doctrinal opinions related to the Virgin Mary the Metropolitan Canons of the Archdiocese of Santiago voted against the transfer of diocesan lands to Inproa in order to implement the already planned agrarian reform within the Church, and to complete a difficult scenario the Holy Office requested information from the Cardinal as many complaints from lay people and clergy had been filed against him. The complaints against Silva Henríquez followed within three areas of concern: the division among lay

¹⁴⁵ Silva Henríquez was referring to those who put too much stress on ‘popular piety’ as a way to God in which Christ and the sacraments appear in practice to be secondary for eternal salvation; he said: ‘Nos agrada particularmente la afirmación abierta de la única mediación de Cristo, a la cual no puede añadirse ninguna otra en su orden propio. Nos parece, en efecto, que tal declaración es necesaria; ya que, si bien pertenece a la fe y consta clarísimamente en la Escritura, esta única mediación aparece a veces oscurecida en la devoción de algunos fieles. A esto se agrega que no pocos predicadores, extendiéndose en la mediación de María, no ponen suficientemente de relieve la mediación de Cristo. Se origina así una deformación en los fieles, además de escándalo para algunos hermanos separados de nosotros, todo lo cual se debe ciertamente evitar, por amor a la verdad y por deber de caridad’, *Memorias* II: 26.

¹⁴⁶ ‘Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez afirmó en el Concilio que es excesiva la devoción mariana’, *El Mercurio* 17 September 1964.

people and clergy due to the political opinions of the Chilean primate, the indiscipline and liturgical abuses by young clergy who also argued in public that Chile was not a Catholic country but a mission one; and, the opinions expressed by Silva Henríquez at the Council that had generated scandal and negative opinions toward the Church.

Silva Henríquez was very clear in his response. He agreed that Catholics were divided, not only in Chile but also in the rest of the world and he assured the Vatican that he had tried to proceed with prudence and without issuing public declarations or condemnations. Regarding the liturgical abuses he recognised that such situation could have arisen but he also accused traditional sectors of not following the new liturgical norms approved by the majority of Chilean bishops. Regarding his opinions on the role of the Virgin Mary Silva Henríquez reminded the Holy Office that those opinions were supported by the Council, thus placing them above any other questioning, and certainly above opinions by the Holy Office. Silva Henríquez reiterated his opinion that the Roman Curia needed restructuring because their members were still acting as if they were above the Council, above the Pope, and above the Episcopal agreements on matters of doctrine and liturgical life. If that were not the case they themselves would have provided the same answer to those accusing the Chilean Cardinal of opinions against the Virgin Mary and against the Church.

There was no response to his letter by the Holy Office and the deliberations on the Virgin Mary by the Council Fathers ended. What followed was a very heated debate on the relation between the bishops and the Pope. A clear majority understood the role of a College of Bishops that elected the Pope as a *primus inter pares* while a minority still pushed for a monarchical papal role outside any Episcopal collegiality. However, a majority approved the idea of collegiality among bishops, with a final authority that resided on the Pope.

The following discussions were on the issue of revelation, a rewritten document that was approved very quickly, and on religious freedom. Silva Henríquez spoke in favour of the declaration on religious freedom on behalf of 48

bishops. For that group the possibility of proclaiming the Resurrection without any religious coercion was central to the ecumenical work of the Church in Latin America, and for the dialogue by the Church with world religion in Asia, and many indigenous religions in Africa. The conservative groups of the Council were divided on this declaration: the bishops of the United States were in favour of the declaration because it allowed for a separation between Church and state, while the Spanish bishops were against it because the declaration did not leave room for a condemnation of error and of unethical behaviour.

On the 9th of October 1964, and despite a majority in favour of the declaration on religious freedom, Mgr. Pericle Felici, secretary to the Council, sent a letter to Cardinal Bea, President of the Secretariat for the Unity of all Christians, informing him that the debate was suspended and that the Pope wanted a mixed commission to discuss the text, a commission that was to integrate four new members: Cardinal Michael Browne, the Master of the Dominicans Alfonso Fernández, the Superior General of the Holy Ghost Fathers Marcel Lefevre, and bishop Carlo Colombo. They were all opposed to the declaration. A group of Cardinals met under the auspices of Cardinal Joseph Frings and wrote to the Pope expressing their concern that the rules of the Council had been broken and that the Roman Curia was trying to influence the outcome of the Council without consulting with the moderators, a dangerous trend that could undermine any authority given to the Council sessions and to the subsequent declarations. Among those meeting at Frings' apartments and who signed the letter was Silva Henríquez. Others included Joseph Frings and Julius Döpfner (Germany), Bernard Alfrink (Holland), Franz Koenig (Austria), Albert Gregory Meyer and Joseph Elmer Ritter (United States), Paul Emile Léger (Canada), Joseph Lefebvre, Achille Liénart and Paul Richaud (France), Leon Josef Suenens (Belgium), Giacomo Lercaro (Italy), Laureanus Rugambwa (Tanganyika), Juan Landázuri Ricketts (Peru), and Humberto Quintero (Venezuela).

When Cardinal Frings delivered the letter to Paul VI he was assured that the rules agreed for the Council would be followed and the following day the

debates on religious freedom continued. The only repercussion after the letter was the resignation of the director of *La Voz* in Santiago. Gastón Cruzat had been reporting on the Council for the archdiocese of Santiago and for the Latin American Bishops' Conference (CELAM) whose president was Mgr. Manuel Larraín. Cruzat reported the letter from the group of cardinals to the Pope but the official Vatican news agency denied it. Bishop Larraín asked him to resign but Cruzat did not agree to resign. Thus, he was sacked for reporting gossip; though in fact he had reported the truth.¹⁴⁷

After the approval of the issue of religious freedom there were long debates on the role of lay people and their particular apostolate. Bishop Marcos McGrath of Panama, previously working in Chile, spoke about the need to search for the proper role of lay people as agents of evangelisation within the secular realm rather than within the religious spheres of ritual and liturgy. Silva Henríquez spoke very strongly about the lay apostolate among secularised and atheistic societies, where the 'new man' was able to integrate the transcendent and the temporal following the lines of theological anthropology proposed by Teilhard de Chardin.¹⁴⁸ Bishop Denis Herley of South Africa supported the inclusion of words by Teilhard de Chardin, a man that a few years earlier had been investigated and persecuted by the Holy Office.

Following from the idea of human beings and social justice, Silva Henríquez pleaded on behalf of the work done by Caritas Internationalis for the inclusion of a clear distinction between evangelical poverty and material poverty, one leading to grace and sanctity, the other leading to suffering and inhumane conditions opposed to human dignity and therefore not willed by God. Further, Silva Henríquez suggested a yearly ecumenical collection of funds in order to alleviate poverty, an idea that had been initially suggested by the French

¹⁴⁷ *Memorias* II: 36.

¹⁴⁸ The idea of the 'new man' already present in the writings of the apostle Paul was used by Vatican II, by the Medellín Conference of Latin American Bishops in 1968, and by Salvador Allende in his political campaign for a 'new man', a socialist in solidarity with all others and particularly the workers.

protestant theologian Oscar Cullmann.¹⁴⁹ A large majority approved the document on the Church in the Modern World that integrated in its final form all those discussions triggered by the forcefulness of Silva Henríquez. Bishops such as Helder Camara suggested immediately that the document was going to be read by many and that it was going to be as important as the papal encyclical letter *Pacem in Terris*.¹⁵⁰

The discussions that followed concerned the document on the missions whose first draft was rejected by the Council Fathers despite the interest that Paul VI had to approve it as soon as possible. That was the first time that Paul VI took part in the session and the morning Mass was quite lively with drumming and dancing provided by Ethiopian seminarians. The document on the life and work of the priest was also rejected while there was approval for the document on priestly formation.

On the 19th of November 1964 there was total chaos as it was announced that any vote on the declaration related to religious freedom was to be postponed until the following year. That announcement followed the approval of the document on ecumenism after 19 changes had been imposed by Paul VI who had also proclaimed the Virgin Mary as Mother of the Church despite strong advise not to do so. Cardinal Eugene Tisserant who was presiding that day received many verbal complaints from Council Fathers that decided to walk out, and a letter of protest written by an American Bishop was quickly signed by almost 1,600 Council Fathers. The letter addressed to Paul VI begged him to allow the vote on the document on religious freedom before the end of the third session. In a secret consistory Paul VI pleaded for unity and requested a postponement of the vote until the beginning of the fourth session in 1965. There was silence but no protest.

¹⁴⁹ Cullmann was present at the Council as an observer and he wrote a thankful letter to Silva Henríquez after his intervention for ecumenism in the work for social justice. Cullmann was well placed to raise those issues; he was a personal friend of Paul VI, *Memorias II*: 37.

¹⁵⁰ Camara said 'Este esquema será un documento tan leído como la *Pacem in Terris* y tan útil como el Telstar', *Memorias II*: 37.

There was no doubt that the new Chilean Cardinal made an impact at the third session of Vatican II so that the theologian Hans Küng, for example, thought that Silva Henríquez would have been a good head for the Vatican Congregation on the laity (Küng 2003: 334). Silva Henríquez was heavily involved in theological discussions on a declaration on Jews and non-Christians, and the forwarding of the declaration on religious freedom. As narrated previously and after those declarations had been blocked by Pope Paul VI on 9 October 1964, a group of European Cardinals met to discuss the repercussions of that move with their theological advisors, and Silva Henríquez was also present at the meeting (Küng 2003: 421).¹⁵¹ Their pressure, through a letter signed by 13 important cardinals, made possible that on 20 November 1964 the draft decree on the Jews be approved as well as new discussions on religious freedom opened.

On the 21st of November 1964 Paul VI presided over the ceremony that ended the third session of Vatican II and showing a new understanding of collegiality he proclaimed, together with all other bishops, the documents on the Church, on ecumenism, and on the Oriental Churches.

At the end of the third session Paul VI started his second journey outside the Vatican on the occasion of the 38th International Eucharistic Congress in Bombay. The ‘messenger of peace’, as the press called him, toured India imparting blessings and hopes on the millions of poor that felt the presence of a holy man among them. On his return from India Paul VI shocked the Catholic world by creating 27 new cardinals; the total numbers of cardinals reached 103 and 71 of them were not Italians. Three of the new cardinals were patriarchs of the Oriental Churches: Maximus IV Saigh, Stephen I Sidarous, and Peter Paul Meuochi; two were bishops of Eastern Europe: Yosyf Slipyi of Ukraine and Josef Beran of Prague; other three were not bishops: Fr. Giulio Bevilacqua, the Swiss theologian Charles Journet, and the founder of the association of Youth Catholic Workers, Fr. Joseph Cardijn.

¹⁵¹ Those present were Cardinals Liénart and Lefèbvre (France), Meyer and Ritter (USA), Frings, König (Austria), Döpfner (Germany), Alfrink, Silva Henríquez (Chile), and Lèger.

Silva Henríquez prepared his own return to Chile satisfied with the major advances contained particularly in the document on the Church. Vatican II had managed to integrate all men and women in a theological concept ‘the people of God’ that included all those of good faith, be they Catholics or Protestants. At the same time there had been a strengthening of the collegiality of bishops among themselves and with the Pope through a clearer understanding that all bishops were successors of the apostles. As a result the bishops needed to strengthen their collegial ties at the universal and the local spheres. Finally, there was a renewed sense of unity with all Christians, particularly with those who were not in communion with Rome due to the Reformation and with those of the Oriental Churches that wanted to keep their rich and ancient traditions.

CHAPTER 6

Community, Political Crisis, and University Reform

In the middle of the third session of Vatican II Silva Henríquez had managed to fly to Santiago in order to be present at the Te Deum that marked the inauguration of President Eduardo Frei Montalva.

There was general optimism and great expectations for the new government. Frei had promised a ‘revolution in freedom’ and the alleviation of poverty and injustice through legislation. While the Catholic Church was not siding with any particular political party it was nevertheless clear that the Christian Democrats who were firmly founded in the principles associated with the social doctrine of the Church were the closest choice of many clergy and lay Catholics. President Frei realised that the Church supported him and decided to consult with Silva Henríquez before appointing his first cabinet minister for education, Juan Gómez Millas, who was a mason. Silva Henríquez made clear to Frei that a president should appoint the best possible candidate for a ministry, and that there would be no problems provided the policies on education respected the Catholic schools and the teaching of religion within all schools.¹⁵²

Many well prepared professionals that worked for the Catholic Church joined the civil service convinced that the new government was the solution to many social problems. Silva Henríquez remained cautious and while supporting the freshness of Eduardo Frei continued strengthening the Church’s involvement in social programs for agrarian reform and the reduction of poverty in Chile.

In March 1965 the Christian Democrats extended their political lead after the national elections. They got 43% of the national vote, obtained full control of the Lower House (82 places out of 147), but failed to gain further places at the Senate (13 places out of 45). Immediately after the elections the right-wing coalition decided to sit in opposition to Frei’s government because new taxes were introduced and there were announcements of further social reforms. The left-wing coalition had already staged its own protest at the inauguration of the newly elected Congress and sat in opposition.

¹⁵² *Memorias* II: 47-48.

The proposed political program announced by Frei included the start of a process of agrarian reform, the start of a process of nationalisation of the Chilean copper mines, the building of 60,000 new houses per year, the increase of the number of citizens allowed to vote, an educational reform, an educational promotion for those less fortunate, and a program of local participation and economic improvement for poorer urban populations that included the expansion of local community council, centres for women and mothers, and the building of community centres. For the right-wing parties those policies were similar to a socialist revolution while for the left-wing parties they did not go far enough and they kept the *status quo* within Chilean society.

In July 1965 Frei visited the Vatican, and while Silva Henríquez was not allowed to accompany the president Paul VI was very impressed by the visit of a Christian Democrat as president of Chile.

Latin American Integration and Development

Some of the important themes that were being discussed throughout Latin America were the issues of integration and development that could continue the policies of the late U.S. President Kennedy and also be of interest to Paul VI. In February 1965 Silva Henríquez as archbishop of Santiago and Cardinal Antonio Caggiano as archbishop of Buenos Aires had presided over the 60th commemoration of the building of the Cristo Redentor, a statue of Christ that towered over a frontier path between Chile and Argentina. The idea of the commemoration was to foster integration initiatives between the two countries and discourage any plans for governmental disagreement over international borders and maritime possessions. The Chilean and Argentinean ministers for foreign affairs and defence were present and letters adhering to peace among the nations were sent to Paul VI and to the presidents of Chile and Argentina. In June 1965 Silva Henríquez accepted an invitation from the Argentinean president Arturo Illia, and visited Buenos Aires and the Argentinean Senate. Those efforts became difficult much later when at the end of 1965 the Chilean Lieutenant

Hernán Merino was killed at Laguna del Desierto in an unclear incident and when later in June 1966 president Illia was deposed by the Argentinean military.

Silva Henríquez continued his own efforts to integrate the Latin American Church under the new guidelines given by Vatican II and in March 1965 visited the Dominican Republic to preside over two congresses on the Virgin Mary – one on the theology of the Virgin Mary and the other on the issue of popular piety and the Virgin Mary. Silva Henríquez has been recognised as a leader in these fields of theological reflection and Paul VI appointed him pontifical envoy for those two meetings. Silva Henríquez spoke on the sole mediation of Christ and on the important role of the Virgin Mary within the community of believers and the contemporary Latin American Church. Those congresses were very successful and not only helped the further integration of the Latin American Church but they also strengthened the life of the Church in the Dominican Republic.

As he was returning via New York there was another earthquake in Chile that impacted on the dioceses of Valparaíso, San Felipe, Santiago and Illapel. Once again Caritas Internationalis played an important role in securing financial help from Germany in order to alleviate suffering and to rebuild communities and parishes later.

The Council and the Church in Chile

It was during 1965 that the first liturgical changes suggested by the Council were implemented throughout the country. Priests were allowed to change their black cassocks for a 'clergyman' or Roman collar and the first letters from the Vatican regarding obligatory changes in the liturgy were circulated among all local churches.

For Silva Henríquez that was a hopeful moment that showed that the Council was going to have an impact on the local churches and that the documents were not going to be filed away in libraries for the use of educated theologians only. There were limitations to the liturgical reform but there was also a new

renewed commitment to the possibility of a Church open to the world and indeed in need of others for communion and for the ongoing life of a community.

The openness proclaimed by Vatican II had an immediate effect on the Jewish community all over the world, after the declaration that stated clearly that they were not to blame for the death of Christ. Instead, the clear message of the Council was that the foundations of Christianity came from the ancient institutions of Judaism and the Old Testament, particularly the sacred covenant between God and Israel. It was all fitting then when the Jewish community of Santiago invited Silva Henríquez to visit the synagogue.

Silva Henríquez accepted the invitation and in a packed synagogue he spoke about the respect for all human beings in the Old Testament.¹⁵³ During his lecture Silva Henríquez emphasised the teaching of the Council that lifted any accusation towards the Jews in relation to the death of Christ. His words generated a responsive clap from those attending the lecture, and Silva Henríquez proceeded to emphasise the unity of Jews and Christians that shared the divine revelation received within the Old Testament. The chosen people, Israel, received the first announcements of the Messiah and the first Christians came out of a Jewish group of believers who associated the awaited Messiah with the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

According to Silva Henríquez justice and human rights within a western civilisation came out of the Old Testament. It is in that testament where the values of marriage and fecundity, the physical integrity and the defence of the poor, the foreigners, the physically handicapped and even the slaves are primarily found. Silva Henríquez later faced some critics among those who did not want to break with sectarian traditions but he always thought that his visit was necessary and much needed as a sign of the new spirit given to the Church by the Council.

¹⁵³ The title of the lecture was *El respeto a la persona humana en el Antiguo Testamento*.

Back to Rome

On the 14th of September 1965 Paul VI inaugurated the fourth and last session of Vatican II and Silva Henríquez had once again to entrust the daily running of the archdiocese to others. Paul VI had been very clear in announcing that it was to be the last session, even when there were still 11 themes to be discussed. Further, there was the need to summarise the inclusiveness of the Council so as not to create a possible division between ‘old Catholics’ and ‘new Catholics’.

By then there was already a division in liturgical practices and some Catholics in Holland had stopped the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and the celebration of daily Mass overstressing the need for community when celebrating the Eucharist. Dutch theologians had developed the term ‘trans-finalisation’ that they perceived as complementary to the term ‘transubstantiation’. It expressed not only the transformation of bread into the body of Christ but it had a long-term effect on the community transforming a human activity into a divine one. In order to clarify any possible misunderstanding Paul VI had written the encyclical letter *Mysterium Fidei* in which he reaffirmed that the Eucharist is not only a sign of the communion between God and human beings but it is the source of that communion.

In the speech that inaugurated the fourth session of the Council Paul VI made two important announcements: he was going to visit the United Nations in New York in order to speak at the U.N. forum and he was going to call a Bishops’ Synod that was to include bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs from all over the world. The aim of the Synod was to advise the Pope on many important matters and it responded pragmatically to the request to internationalise the Catholic Church until then dominated by Italian members of the Roman Curia.

After those exciting announcements the Council Fathers resumed their discussion of the document on religious freedom that had been completely redrafted and had a length of ten pages. Its main points stated that:

1. Every person has the right not to be coerced in religious matters either by secular society or by the state.

2. It cannot be forbidden for a person to act according to his conscience.
3. Every person had the right to express his religious opinions.
4. Civil liberties cannot be equated with ontological freedom, thus every person had the obligation to choose between right and wrong and to choose a particular religion in order to serve God.

For those in favour of the text, religious freedom implied that if a person made a choice, be it right or wrong, he continued to be a person and therefore should be treated as such by the Church. That comment by Cardinal Charles Journet was central to the debate because it excluded a practice of punishment by a Catholic state or by the Holy Office. On the 16th of September 1965 Silva Henríquez spoke in favour of the document by arguing that religious freedom would not trigger relativism but a strong respect for the Church, by non-Catholics and Catholics alike.¹⁵⁴ On the 20th of September 1965 the decree on religious freedom was approved (1997 in favour, 224 against) just before Paul VI journey to New York, where he was going to speak to the world on the issue of religious freedom.

During the following debates the Council Fathers discussed the document on the Church in the modern world. The document developed a very solid Christian anthropology and dealt with important themes such as marriage, procreation, the modern world, atheism, and socio-economic issues, among others. Bishop Larraín made his own strong and decisive intervention during that debate requesting the inclusion of ideas of equity and justice for all within contemporary society. The document, one of the most important ones to come out of Vatican II, had been taken very seriously by the Chilean bishops, who had appointed a team of theologians to help them reflect on issues related to Catholicism within the modern world. The team met during 1965 and its members were Frs. Jorge Medina, Egidio Viganó, the Jesuit Julio Jiménez, Juan de Castro,

¹⁵⁴ Silva Henríquez said: ‘Todo lo dicho contra el empleo de cualquier tipo de coacción en la presentación del Evangelio vale no sólo en relación a los paganos y a los cristianos no católicos, sino también respecto a la relación de la Iglesia con sus propios fieles’, *Memorias* II: 61.

Juan Ochagavía, and Roger Vekemans. The team invited special speakers that included Charles Moeller and Joseph Comblin.

There were interesting discussions related to the Church in the modern world that were directly related to particular groups within the Council. For example, those who had politicians among their expert assessors asked questions about evil and the Devil within contemporary society, while Cardinal Ottaviani requested a total condemnation of all kinds of totalitarianism. There is no doubt that one of the most influential lobbying groups of the Council were the U.S. Bishops who sought support in order to avoid a condemnation of scientific weapons or of war, two important aspects of American involvement in the contemporary world of that time, e.g. Vietnam. At the request of Paul VI the final document was ready in two weeks.

Discussions on the document on mission followed and the document was quickly approved. However, the same did not happen in the case of the document on priests. So far there had not been any conversations on the role of priests in the contemporary world and Cardinal Suenens pointed to that anomaly when he remarked that the document portrayed an abstract and eschatological vision of the priest; instead he proposed to ask questions about the role of the priest in a secularised society where the priest himself asked questions about his role in relation to that of the Catholic laity. Cardinal Lefevbre argued that the role of the priest was the building up of the body of Christ, thus, according to others shared an eschatological (transcendent) and an immanent role (as a symbol of the incarnation). Discussions followed on the practice of priestly celibacy. However, those discussions focused mainly on the possibility of ordaining married men in cases where there was a shortage of vocations rather than on the abolition of that priestly practice. Paul VI ended the discussions after he wrote to Cardinal Tisserant, moderator of the Council, suggesting that those discussions should not continue.

After those very fruitful discussions there was a solemn session on the 28th of October 1965 in which Paul VI proclaimed five of those approved documents:

on the pastoral role of bishops, on the renewal of the religious life, on priestly formation, on Christian education, and on the relations between the Church and non-Christians faiths.

The deliberations continued with the document on revelation that was approved by a substantial majority after Paul VI reinforced the Church's understanding that tradition and scriptures go together in a context of the historical faith of the Church.

After 10 days of holidays the Council restarted on the 9th of November 1965. However, the final task was to vote on documents rather than to continue discussions on doctrinal themes. On the 18th of November 1965 Paul VI publicly presented two other documents: on divine revelation and on the lay apostolate; at the same time he made two important announcements: the reorganisation of the Roman Curia and the restructuring of the Holy Office. On the 19th of November 1965 Paul VI presented the final document on religious freedom that stated that religious freedom was a natural right supported by divine revelation. Further it affirmed the freedom of religious practice within the nation-state and suggested that the so-called accusation of incompetence by the state in religious matters had been an error that related to waves of religious intolerance by the Catholic Church towards others.

On the 7th of December 1965 Paul VI proclaimed the documents on ministry and the life of priests, on missionary activity, and on the Church in the modern world. That last document was elevated to the rank of Pastoral Constitution with a name given by the first words of the document *Gaudium et Spes*. The beginning of that text sets up the whole agenda for the pastoral action of the Catholic Church in the world, and of the Chilean Church in a particular time of political transition from a traditional to a pro-socialist society:

The joy and hope, the grief and anguish of the men of our time, especially of those who are poor or afflicted in any way, are the joy and hope, the

grief and anguish of the followers of Christ as well. Nothing that is genuinely human fails to find an echo in their hearts.¹⁵⁵

For Silva Henríquez *Gaudium et Spes* symbolised the aggiornamento of the Catholic Church, the irruption of the Church in the contemporary world, and of the contemporary world in the Church. *Gaudium et Spes* was the first and central fruit of Vatican II and triggered all the many political involvements of the Latin American Church in the world of the poor and the world of the poor in the Church. There were other signs too. On the 4th Of December 1965 Paul VI invited all Council observers from other Churches and other faiths to the church of Saint Paul (San Paolo Fuori le Mure) to an ecumenical service in which he called them brothers.

The closing ceremony of Vatican II took place on the 7th of December 1965. Paul VI encouraged all bishops to abide by the agreements of Vatican II and to implement them all over the world. The Chilean Church was present through the wafers consecrated as the body of Christ at the Eucharist: the wheat to make them had been sent by the Salesian Agricultural College in Punta Arenas, Chile. However, for Silva Henríquez the poignant moment was when he and Cardinal Döpfner accompanied Cardinal Leon Esteban Duval of Argelia as the African prelate read the Council's message to women.

On the morning of the same day the Vatican lifted the excommunication of the Oriental Church of Constantinople and the patriarch of Constantinople decreed that the Church of Rome was a sister church. Those were previously unthinkable measures that spoke to the world about the fruits of Vatican II. By the evening of that day the papal decree [*motu proprio*] *Integrae Servandae* had reformulated the structure and aim of the Holy Office that in reality had disappeared to become the Vatican Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. Cardinal Joseph Frings had pushed for this restructuring with the help of a young theologian, Fr. Joseph Ratzinger, who years later became prefect of that Vatican Congregation. The first

¹⁵⁵ Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes* (GS), 1.

measure of this newly created congregation was to abolish the list of forbidden books (*Index Librorum Prohibitorum*) that had been established by Paul IV in 1557 and restructured under more lax conditions by Leo XIII in 1890.

As Vatican II ended Silva Henríquez felt that the Chilean bishops had played an important role within the Council despite their small number in comparison with other Latin American Episcopal Conferences. Other churches started consulting them in matters of pastoral practice and diocesan administration and the Chilean theologians were invited to international congresses and diocesan meetings. But the most important point was that the Church had become servant of others and that religion and people met each other once again.¹⁵⁶

Post-Conciliar Tensions

The optimism of the Council Fathers, and the rich documents that reincorporated the Church into the contemporary world, created an optimistic and exciting atmosphere in Latin America. However, there was no way in which all the different pastoral agents were going to act and think in the same way. There was the need to renew the Christian communities but there was also the need to outline economic development and a better distribution of wealth within society.

The means to achieve that social and economic change were of concern to Christians and to Marxists alike, and therefore within a post-Cuban revolution period a few Christian communities and a few priests understood the ‘signs of the times’ as calling them to join Latin American groups that wanted to foster violent revolutions. That was the case of Fr. Camilo Torres Restrepo, a Colombian priest that was to become a symbol of the possible Christian commitment to Latin American revolutions. Already at the time of the Council Camilo Torres had

¹⁵⁶ Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘Es imposible cubrir en un resumen la inmensa riqueza del Concilio. Sin embargo, yo sintetizaría su mensaje diciendo que en él, la religión del Dios que se hizo hombre se encontró con la religión del hombre que se hace Dios. La simpatía inmensa que lo cubrió todo, y que nos llevó a explorar los problemas humanos desde su dimensión escatológica hasta su aspecto más concreto, dio lugar a un nuevo humanismo, por el cual la Iglesia reclamaba para sí un papel principal como promotora del hombre. Toda la riqueza doctrinal se volvía en una sola dirección: servir al hombre, en todas sus condiciones, debilidades y necesidades. Desde aquel día de diciembre de 1965, la Iglesia se proclamaba servidora de la humanidad’, *Memorias II*: 72.

developed the idea that the revolutionary struggle could be a Christian and a priestly activity. His influence was large in Colombian society because he himself came from a well-to-do family but also because he was involved with students at the National University of Colombia. Cardinal Luis Concha moved him from the university to a suburban parish where he started attacking the hierarchy of the Church by suggesting that they were part of the Colombian oligarchy, a group that according to him impeded the formation of a more just society in Colombia. In June 1965 he asked to be relieved from his priestly duties and in November 1965 he joined the Colombian guerrilla, the Ejército de Liberación Nacional. Torres was killed on the 15th of February 1966 and became an icon for many other Christians in Latin America.

Religion and Politics in Chile

The political situation in Chile after a year of the government of Frei was not peaceful. The Christian Democrats had failed to implement legal reforms that could satisfy the agrarian reform wanted by the left and the right, and there had been strikes in the copper mines where on the 11th of March 1966 the police killed 8 protesters and left 40 others injured. The copper mines were the source of national gross income, however they were still owned by U.S. companies and the government of Frei had not managed to negotiate a clear handover of the mines back to the Chilean government treasury.

On the 22nd of June 1966 Bishop Manuel Larraín of Talca died in an accident between Santiago and Talca. Larraín's car impacted on a horse-carriage that crossed the road and the horse landed on the bishop's body.¹⁵⁷ Larraín was buried on the 25th of June 1966 with a Eucharist celebrated at the cathedral in Talca and presided by his friend Mgr. Augusto Salinas. The Christian Democrats

¹⁵⁷ Bishop Manuel Larraín had read Law at university and after joining the seminary he had completed his studies at the Gregorian University in Rome. Ordained in 1927 he became auxiliary bishop of Talca and then titular bishop in 1938. In 1950 he became national assessor to Catholic Action and continued serving Latin American as head of its Latin American Episcopal Conference (CELAM) from 1955.

did not take part in the Mass because Salinas had in the past condemned them and Silva Henríquez presided over the funeral commendation outside the temple in the presence of the Christian Democrats. Larraín's death was a clear blow to the Chilean Church and left Silva Henríquez with a harder task in matters such as the agrarian reform and the pastoral role of the Church in Chile. Larraín had been president of the Latin American Episcopal Conference and indeed a well-known figure of the universal Church.

Silva Henríquez was clear in his working aims after the Council and his policies were quite effective during times of political turmoil. Together with the Chilean bishops he emphasised the need to support the Chilean clergy in that period of religious and political transition. There were three aims that had arisen out of the Council and that needed to be implemented in every diocese and every parish in Chile: the need to support lay involvement so as to change it from a passive one to a very active and creative at all levels; the need to change a ritualistic Christian life into an active pastoral one; and, the need to develop a more collegial pastoral model within the life of every parish community.

The plan was complex and difficult because for some there was the immediate need to restructure from above while others did not see the need to change anything. Silva Henríquez addressed his clergy on the Eucharist of Maundy Thursday in 1967 asking a general question about the role of the priest within a society in which all lay people were trying to build a more just and better society. He further asked them if it was worth being a priest during times in which all answers seemed to come from technological developments and the centrality of human knowledge and progress. For Silva Henríquez it was very clear that the mission of the priest immersed in the world was even more challenging than before and that his mission was to accompany and guide others so that human history would not at the end fail to encounter God and his grace.

Post-Council Synods

In April 1967 the Chilean bishops re-elected Silva Henríquez as president of the Chilean Episcopal Conference for a second period and the Chilean Church started a series of diocesan synods in order to apply the Council to the local pastoral realities. The instruction by the Chilean bishops suggested that all dioceses should have a synod as well as a diocesan council made of priests and that by the end of 1967 they should have planned pastoral plans and ways of involving the laity at all diocesan levels.

Silva Henríquez started the pastoral plan for Santiago with the appointment of Fr. Ismael Errázuriz as the general coordinator. Fr. Errázuriz articulated three main objectives for that year: the translation of Vatican II to the diocesan realities of Santiago, the renewal of the apostolic personnel, and the actualisation of the diocesan pastoral plan. The pastoral consultation during 1967 and the diocesan synod of 1968 were to generate an enormous enthusiasm and an atmosphere of hope and renewal. By mid-1966 Silva Henríquez created his own diocesan council following the decrees *Christus Dominus* and *Presbyterorum Ordinis* of Vatican II. The diocesan council had 25 members of which only four would be appointed by the archbishop of Santiago, while 12 of them were to be elected by members of the pastoral zones – half of them directly elected and another half nominated by their Episcopal Vicars or heads of the pastoral zones. The pastoral arrangement was provisional for a year; however the appointment of episcopal vicars was to become a tradition within the archdiocese of Santiago under the government of Silva Henríquez. The first ones, appointed in 1966, were: Gabriel Larraín (northern zone), Pedro Castex (southern zone), Ismael Errázuriz (eastern zone), Fernando Ariztía (western zone and Vicar General), Rafael Maroto (centre zone), and Rafael Larraín (rural and coastal zone). The Council of Priests started its deliberations on the 30th of September 1966.

In September 1966 the Vatican finally agreed to the appointment of a new auxiliary bishop and Fr. Gabriel Larraín was ordained bishop at Santiago Cathedral. Larraín had previously tried to explain to the Vatican Ambassador and

to Silva Henríquez that he wanted to work with the poor but he had been reminded that under obedience his superiors knew what was best for him.

Crisis at the Catholic Universities

During 1967 the Latin American Episcopal Conference decided to review the situation and aim of the Catholic universities in Latin America. The meeting took place in Buga, Colombia, and the conclusions were very clear: the Catholic universities were an enclave of well-to-do people that did not work together on social issues and did not use their influence for the development of Latin America.

During 1966 the crisis at the Catholic University was triggered by financial cuts within the school of Medicine. The students spoke to Silva Henríquez who assured them that he did not have any power to change financial policies. The students were not happy and in April of 1967 the president of the Catholic University student union (FEUC) Fernán Díaz went to Rome and spoke with the Pro-Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for Seminaries and Universities, Cardinal Gabriele Garrone. He promised them some changes, particularly when throughout 1967 there would be a new pro-rector (mid-year) and a new rector (end of the year).

The first problems arose at the Catholic University of Valparaíso on the 15th of June 1967 when staff of the School of Medicine took over the university at a time when the rector Mr. Zavala was abroad. The academics dismissed the role of the university authorities, took over the university, and suspended all classes. The Vice-Rector, Fernando Molina, agreed with the need to restructure the university and called for a democratic election of a new rector, a measure that had not been approved by the local bishop, Mgr. Emilio Tagle. Tagle sacked Molina and the whole academic council and decided to wait for the rector's return. On the 21st of June 1967 three hundred university students occupied the university buildings supporting the need for the university's reform. Mgr. Tagle condemned the occupation and did not accept the resignation of Zavala, the rector.

The situation in Valparaíso triggered protests by the student of the Catholic University in Santiago, who led by Miguel Angel Solar a left-wing Christian Democrat, argued that the rector, Mgr. Silva Santiago, was not interested in any reforms proposed by Vatican II; the students requested the change of rector. To make matters worse the national union of students (Unión de Federaciones Universitarias de Chile) led by José Miguel Insulza called a national strike of students in order to support the students' demands for reform at the Catholic University of Valparaíso. Negotiations in Valparaíso between students, represented by Sergio Allard, Alexandro Foxley, and Eduardo Vio), and the archbishop had collapsed when the students realised that Mgr. Tagle did not intend to activate any reforms.

On the 27th June 1967 Mgr. Bernardino Piñera requested an extraordinary meeting of the Bishop's Permanent Committee in order to discuss the crisis at the Catholic universities. Mgr. Alfredo Silva Santiago recognised that there was a crisis precipitated by the Vatican's inability to speed up the new constitution but that the new constitution was ready and its acceptance would end all problems at the Catholic University in Santiago. Bishop Carlos Oviedo, auxiliary bishop of Concepción, argued for a clear assessment of a general crisis in Catholic education at the general level of all universities, a point that was supported by Mgr. Bernardino Piñera who was of the opinion that the issue of hierarchical leadership was only one issue among many others.

Silva Henríquez was present at the meeting but canonically he did not have any leadership at the Catholic University at that time. Nevertheless the Vatican Ambassador, Mgr. Egano Righi-Lambertini, had reminded Silva Henríquez that a cardinal and president of the bishop's conference could not avoid getting involved in the reform of the Chilean universities. Following from that advise Silva Henríquez proposed to those present at the meeting that as Fr. Adamiro Ramírez was about to finish his period as pro-rector of the Catholic University a lay replacement be found, a person that could satisfy the needs for reform requested by the students and the need for continuity requested by the

Church. Everybody agreed with the idea and after advise from Bishop Gabriel Larraín Silva Henríquez decided to talk to the students about this proposed formula for administrative reform. The students agreed with the proposal but the Academic Council of the Catholic University perceived that appointment as a triumph by the students. They managed to convince Mgr. Silva Santiago that it was a mistake and Silva Santiago changed his mind and refused to sign the public declaration already written by the Chilean Bishops' Permanent Committee.

The Chilean Government was also quite anxious about those developments and the Chilean Ambassador to the Vatican, Clemente Pérez, tried to accelerate the appointment of Silva Henríquez as rector of the Catholic University. Silva Henríquez himself wrote to Cardinal Garrone reinforcing the idea that Mgr. Silva Santiago should end his term of office at the end of 1967, that a lay pro-rector should be appointed, and that the Catholic University should follow the directives on social reforms provided at the meeting in Buga.

The problems at the Catholic University of Valparaíso became more severe as the university professors complained about pressures put onto them by the university authorities, particularly on their salary opportunities. After 22 departments were on strike and the central building still under occupation by those on strike the Academic Council decided to vote for radical reforms and resume classes. While the academics agreed, the students did not. The president of the Catholic University of Valparaíso students' union, Luciano Rodrigo, and the president of the Law students, Eduardo Vio, travelled to Santiago and spoke to Silva Henriquez. There were two students' demands that had not been met: that the date of the rector's election be fixed despite the fact that the Vatican had still to approve the new constitution and that the students be given 25% of the total representation of the General Council.

On the 1st of August 1967 Silva Henríquez called another meeting of the Chilean Bishops' Permanent Committee. He was firm in arguing that the two petitions by the students needed to be met, and pressed Mgr. Tagle to convince the Academic Council to comply with a date for election and a quorum for the

students within the General Council. Tagle managed to convince them but before he could communicate the good news to the students a group of students entered the Archbishop's building and vandalised some of its contents. The police had to intervene, despite the fact that most of those arrested were members of the Christian Democratic Party in government. Finally, and on the 6th of August 1967 Tagle reached an agreement with all sides on the election of a new rector by the whole academic community during 1968. The occupation of the buildings ended and classes resumed throughout the Catholic University of Valparaíso.

However, the situation in Santiago got worse, and on the 3rd of August 1967 the National Union of Workers (Central Unica de Trabajadores - CUT), and the National Health Service union (Servicio Nacional de Salud) wrote to Silva Henríquez supporting the students of the Catholic University in Santiago. On the 4th of August 1967 the president of the Catholic University student union (FEUC) also warned Silva Henríquez that if on the 9th August 1967 the pro-rector Ramírez was in his post there would be further actions taken by the students. Silva Henríquez, together with Bishop Rencoret, and in the name of the Chilean Bishops' Permanent Committee, met with Mgr. Silva Santiago and asked him to appoint a new pro-rector as soon as possible. Mgr. Silva Santiago agreed and started working on finding a new pro-rector.

Nevertheless, new problems arose. On the 4th of August 1967 Silva Henríquez went to the airport as the Vatican Ambassador was travelling to Rome. At the airport he met Fr. Raimundo Kupareo, Dean of Catholic University, who told him that the Board of Governors of the university was not happy with Silva Henríquez' proposal and that they would oppose the appointment of a new pro-rector. On the 7th of August 1967 the secretary of the Catholic University governing body, Luis Felipe Letelier, announced through the television that all its members were resigning but that they would remain in place till new appointments were made. Another member, Pedro Lira Urquieta, wrote to Silva Henríquez reminding him that the appointment of a new pro-rector was certainly a

waste of time and that the whole administrative body of the Catholic University needed to be replaced.

However, Silva Santiago and Luis Felipe Letelier tried to appoint a new pro-rector before the deadline of the 9th of August given by the academic community for new actions for reform. They spoke to Silva Henríquez and they proposed the appointment of Fr. Egidio Viganó as pro-rector. Silva Henríquez did not agree with their proposition because he wanted a layperson as pro-rector, and because Viganó was a Salesian priest and a close friend of Silva Henríquez; his appointment could have triggered accusations of political manipulation on the part of the archbishop of Santiago. At the same time Silva Henríquez proposed Dr. Roberto Bovenrieth, director of the Catholic University Hospital, as new pro-rector. They all agreed. However, the appointment needed to be confirmed as quickly as possible, not only because of the August deadline but also because the newly elected leadership of the Christian Democratic Party located at the left of the party intended to nationalise all university education, including the Catholic University. Bovenrieth agreed with his possible nomination provided he was given full powers for reform and an assurance that Silva Santiago would resign with immediate effect. Silva Santiago did not agree with those conditions and the 9th of August arrived without a solution to issues of leadership and reform within the Catholic University.

In the early hours of the 10th of August 1967 all the students of the Catholic University (6,500) began a general strike and they occupied the central building (Casa Central) of the university. On the 11th of August 1967 groups of students opposed to the action tried to enter the building through Marcoleta and Portugal Streets. There were violent clashes and many students were injured. The Board of Governors did not agree with any negotiations and the situation became tense and very difficult. The Vatican Ambassador was not in the country and the Chilean Bishops' Permanent Committee wrote to the Vatican Embassy second in command, Fr. Angelo Sodano, advising him of the very difficult situation. Silva Henríquez was clear that what was needed was pressure from the Vatican in order

to push for the election of a new rector and a new board of governors as soon as possible.

On the 17th of August 1967 President Frei spoke to Silva Henríquez. The Chilean Armed Forces feared revolutionary activities by left-wing groups and further violence that could threaten peace and democratic stability in Chile. Frei gave Silva Henríquez a deadline for a clear intervention by the Church; otherwise on the 21st of August 1967 the government would take over the Catholic University. Silva Henríquez requested a letter stating that deadline, letter that Frei wrote and Silva Henríquez received on the 19th of August 1967.

On the 18th of August 1967 the Foreign Secretary, Gabriel Valdés, spoke to Silva Henríquez and told him that he had spoken to Sodano and that the Chilean Ambassador to the Vatican had informed the Vatican of the need for intervention. He had been assured that the Vatican had sent a cable to Sodano requesting the immediate intervention of Silva Henríquez, and Valdés requested on behalf of the government that Silva Henríquez remained in Santiago instead of going to Antofagasta, where he was due to preside over the inauguration of the new diocese of Antofagasta and its bishop Francisco de Borja Valenzuela. Silva Henríquez called Sodano who in turn called the Vatican to find out that the cable was on its way and had been delayed because Paul VI had changed the text. Sodano listened to the text and assured Silva Henríquez that his intervention was being ordered by the Vatican.

Immediately Silva Henríquez spoke to the leaders of the Catholic University professors and requested a meeting of all professors for the 20th of August. In that meeting they were to nominate five candidates for pro-rector from whom the rector could appoint the new pro-rector with immediate effect. The three candidates with the highest number of votes were: Fernando Castillo Velasco (professor of architecture, member of the Christian Democratic Party, and major of La Reina), Dr. Cruz, and Fr. Egidio Viganó. The governing body appointed Castillo Velasco as pro-rector, an appointment that was not favoured by the students who wanted somebody who was not an active politician and would

have preferred the appointment of Fr. Viganó as pro-rector. At 1:00 pm of that day Silva Henríquez received the note from Sodano and spoke to Silva Santiago requesting that the appointment of Castillo Velasco be put on hold until he spoke to the students. Silva Santiago did not agree but Silva Henríquez pressed the point as the representative of the Vatican to bring to an end all problems of leadership at the Catholic University.

Next Silva Henríquez assembled the leaders of the professors that were Castillo Velasco, Viganó, and professor Ricardo Jordán and met with the students. He tried to convince the students to accept the appointment of Castillo Velasco as pro-rector and succeeded after a long meeting, with their condition that Mgr. Silva Santiago should also accept the appointment of Castillo Velasco as pro-rector. Silva Santiago agreed with the appointment, however he expressed his disappointment at the intervention of Silva Henríquez in university matters. Despite those criticisms Silva Henríquez met with the students at his house from 10:00 pm to 1:00 am and they agreed to end the strike. Immediately after that the students left the university buildings that were retaken by the janitors.

In the morning of the 21st of August 1967 Silva Henríquez met with the board of directors; some of them were quite angry about the agreement with the students and the intervention of the Vatican as a foreign power within the life of the Catholic University. Despite their anger Silva Henríquez was very clear in explaining that the Catholic University belonged to the Catholic Church and that the decisions that had been taken were for the best of all the members of the university community. They agreed to try to work positively within the new administrative parameters and to remain in their jobs, a promise that they quickly broke as most of them resigned shortly after a meeting with Silva Santiago that took place on the evening of that same day. Immediately after the meeting with the board of directors Silva Henríquez met with Silva Santiago who was irate and did not want to ratify the agreement with the students. However, Silva Henríquez was very clear: he had been appointed by the Vatican to intervene after Silva

Santiago could not solve the crisis and as envoy of the Vatican he could sign on behalf of the Catholic Church, after all the owner of the Catholic University.

Silva Henríquez conducted a final negotiation with the students requesting that they only take 20% of the total representation within the university's general council; initially they had fought to have 25% of the total quorum. The students agreed with the Cardinal's request, with one condition: that the Chilean Episcopal Conference Permanent Committee appointed a delegate to the Catholic University General Council. At 7:00 pm Silva Henríquez met with the bishops of the Permanent Committee and after securing their agreement and signature he met with the students who also signed the legal agreement and a copy was immediately sent to the Vatican Embassy for future reference.

It seemed that Silva Henríquez had won a difficult battle but that was definitely not the case. On the 22nd of August 1967 he travelled to Punta de Tralca, a beach house and pastoral centre owned by the archbishopric of Santiago, for a meeting of the Chilean Bishops' General Assembly and he noticed that the right-wing newspapers had editorial attacks on his style of leadership, and his failures as a cardinal as well as accusations of being too close to the Communist Party. The front of his house was vandalised and painted with graffiti stating that he was a traitor and a pseudo-communist. The newspapers had reinvented history and instead of the Vatican mediator Silva Henríquez was portrayed as the root of the problems at the Catholic University. At the same time the majority of members of the university Council resigned instead of helping the newly appointed pro-rector. Among those who resigned were Julio Philippi, Salvador Lluch Soler, Carlos Infante Covarrubias, Enrique Evans de la Cuadra, Carlos del Solar (Dean of Technology), Juan de Dios Vial Correa (Dean of Medicine), Fr. Jorge Medina (Dean of Theology), and Sergio de Castro (Dean of Economics). Among those who remained in their jobs were Enrique Serrano Viale-Rigo, Vice-Rector for Economic Affairs, who had opposed any reform but who had promised to continue doing his job in order to help the new pro-rector. De Castro wrote a public letter to Silva Henríquez on the 22nd of August 1967 in which he disagreed

with the solution of appointing a new pro-rector and also accused Silva Henríquez of interventionism in university business.

In fact, the situation at the Catholic University became worse due to the fact that Silva Santiago did not give enough powers to reform the university to Castillo Velasco, he did not reappoint new deans, and he did not prepare the approval of the new university budget by the appropriate ministry (Ministerio de Hacienda), whose minister Andrés Zaldívar needed to incorporate the financial contribution by the government and get Congress to approve the budget. At that time the Catholic University received 60% of its annual budget from the Chilean Government and less than that amount would have made the university unable to pay staff salaries. In the meantime Castillo Velasco announced that he would resign if the reforms could not be carried out and Silva Santiago resigned as rector and grand chancellor in a letter to the Vatican's Sacred Congregation for Seminaries and Universities. The Vatican rejected his resignation but even after a visit by Angelo Sodano Silva Santiago refused to continue being rector under what he called 'immoral policies'.

On the 25th of August 1967 Silva Henríquez had to return to Santiago as the crisis within the Catholic University was already a public affair. He met with 400 university professors and after explaining the situation he secured their support. On the 29th of August 1967 the Chilean Episcopal Conference made public its support for the solution given by Silva Henríquez to the university crisis, but on the same day Silva Santiago had a meeting with the deans who had recently resigned and explained to them that he was not going to support any new policies or reforms. As a result the Chilean Bishops wrote to the Vatican on the following day requesting that all Catholic universities be returned to the Episcopal Conference and that the Chilean Bishops be made responsible for their administration, reform, and academic development. At the same time Silva Henríquez had a meeting with Silva Santiago and Castillo Velasco, in which an irate Silva Santiago reiterated his resignation and Silva Henríquez agreed that it

was the best possible outcome taking into account the difficulties between the rector, the students, and the Vatican.

Finally on the 31st of August 1967 Silva Henríquez wrote to Cardinal Garrone requesting that the crisis be ended, that the resignation of Silva Santiago be accepted, that Castillo Velasco be appointed as *interim* rector and that the new university constitution be approved. On the 7th of September the crisis was over and Angelo Sodano gave a letter to Silva Henríquez that announced the appointment of Castillo Velasco as interim rector, and that approved the proposed university constitution in order to carry out elections and to incorporate all members of the university community into the Catholic University General Council.¹⁵⁸

With the university constitution approved it was possible for the General Council to nominate three candidates for the election of rector of the Catholic University by the Vatican. They were: Fernando Castillo Velasco, Ricardo Krebs Wilckens, and William Thayer Arteaga. The Vatican ratified Castillo Velasco as the new rector and he led a successful reform of the Catholic University in 1968. Finally in March 1968 the Vatican returned the leadership of all Chilean Catholic universities to the Chilean Episcopal Conference.¹⁵⁹

To Silva Henríquez that was a difficult moment and one that he did not want to go through too often. However, he recognised that it led to an improvement in academic work and also a new refreshing moment in a community of faith that was involved in politics and in the social changes that

¹⁵⁸ The letter, signed by Cardinal Garrone read as follows: ‘Esta Sagrada Congregación, muy agradecida por la autorizada y eficaz obra desarrollada por Vuestra Eminencia Reverendísima y por el Comité Permanente del Episcopado de Chile, para solucionar la grave crisis surgida en esta dilectísima Universidad Católica, ruega a V.E., en su calidad de presidente de dicho Comité Permanente, continuar la delicada misión que le ha sido encomendada por la Santa Sede, hasta una rápida y completa normalización de la vida académica y la realización de la reforma de los estatutos. Este Sagrado Dicasterio, frente a la insistencia del Excmo. y Revdmo. Mons. Alfredo Silva Santiago en mantener su renuncia, nombra rector *ad interim* de la Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile al profesor Fernando Castillo Velasco, actual prorector de la misma’, *Memorias* II: 108.

¹⁵⁹ Silva Henríquez had to try to solve the next crisis at the Catholic University in 1973 when the military government took over all Chilean universities including those of pontifical right.

were taken place not only within the archdiocese of Santiago but at national level as well. Nevertheless, to his critics that was a period when chaos and Marxism reigned.

CHAPTER 7

Synod, Socialisms and the Popular Church

Muy pronto se vio que 1968 sería un largo momento crítico para todos, uno de esos períodos cortos y fulgurantes en los que la humanidad parece estremecerse entera, como si en cada rincón del mundo hubiese un acuerdo para agitar todos los más arduos conflictos. Fue un año de exaltación y locura, como hay pocos en el siglo XX y no hubo sobre el planeta conciencia que no se sintiese tocada por la efervescencia y el asombro de aquellos días- Raúl Silva Henríquez.¹⁶⁰

The reform and renewal of the Catholic University had been only one of the many aims that were triggered by Vatican II. The synod of the archdiocese of Santiago was another of those necessary steps for renewal.

The synod of Santiago was preceded by the ordination of Fernando Ariztía, Episcopal Vicar of the western pastoral zone of Santiago, as auxiliary bishop. Ariztía was the second auxiliary bishop given by the Vatican and his ordination took place at the Basilica of Lourdes, Santiago in July 1967. The synod followed the publication of the papal encyclical *Populorum Progressio* on the 26th March 1967. The encyclical followed the same themes developed by the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* and proposed to Catholics not only a preoccupation for the poor but encouraged them to get involved in processes of development –

¹⁶⁰ *Memorias* II: 121.

the new word of the 1960s that was deemed by Paul VI as the way to peace. In his view, Christianity could offer a full human development that when ignored antagonised people against other people; thus, if human beings organised the earth without God they organised it against each other and outside the values of a divine kingdom of justice and peace. The humanist perspective of this new encyclical was based not on an individual social morality but a universal call to all nations and all groups to work together in order to eradicate poverty and to help God recreate the world and the human community. In its post-Vatican II perspective Paul VI included all God-fearing peoples and recognised that those who were in need within the third world lived a full religious life, however asking harsh questions about the nations that considered themselves part of a Western Christian civilisation.

Synod in Santiago I

The synod in Santiago started with a public pilgrimage to Maipú, an activity that was very close to the soul of ordinary Chileans and a practice that had been implemented by some priests such as Mariano Puga of the Sacred Heart Fathers, who regularly walked to the Marian shrine together with university students. The pilgrimage took place on the 3rd of September 1967, Pentecost Sunday, amidst controversies sparked by those who argued that those public activities were opposed to the idea of a humble servant Church and therefore opposed to the new ideals of becoming closer to the world of the poor. Nevertheless, 80,000 pilgrims arrived in Maipú and 230 priests concelebrated the Eucharist.¹⁶¹

The meetings of the Santiago Synod started on the 9th of September 1967 at the auditorium of the Sacred Heart School (Monjas Inglesas) in Santiago. There were 400 delegates that debated equal number of issues, 111 votes were taken, and 18 proposed issues, practices, and proposals were rejected. The synod allowed the Church in Santiago to hear the concerns of lay people and to refresh their enthusiasm for a post-Vatican II Church that wanted to serve and to be immersed

¹⁶¹ Photographs of that pilgrimage are available at *Memorias* II: 110-112.

in the world. Most of the complaints were about liturgical vestments and liturgical forms associated with a colonial and outdated Church that was still present in Chile, particularly among the economic elites and the well to do of the country. The statistics collected by sociologists in 1965 were self-revealing: 85% of those living in Santiago declared themselves Catholics, however only 12.9% attended Mass on a Sunday, and only 33% prayed regularly. Regarding religious contributions to the archdiocese only 31,698 people did contribute regularly. There were 1,161 priests working in Santiago of whom 50% were foreign nationals; of those only 419 were diocesan priests and there were 742 priests who were members of religious congregations. There were 240 religious communities of nuns with a total of 2,626 religious sisters living in them. In summary there was one priest per 2,072 people with only 33 students training for the priesthood, an average of one seminarian per 100,000 Catholics. There were 7,800 registered lay activists that battled the poor statistics for catechesis and religious education in general: 64.6% among the educated elites and 22% among the working classes. The most shocking statistics suggested that 64.6% did not know anything about the Bible and that 78.2% did not know what the mystical body of Christ was.¹⁶²

Given that situation the main emphasis of the synod was on evangelisation understood as a process of awareness and education in the Christian faith. Three groups were given priority: the youth, the centres of social education, and the popular neighbourhoods understood not as the workers' organisations but as the urban centres of low income housing that constituted the majority of the population of Santiago at that time.¹⁶³

Roman Synod of Bishops

After the first session of the Santiago Synod ended Silva Henríquez departed for Rome in order to attend the first Synod of Bishops called by Paul VI and that was

¹⁶² *Memorias* II: 114.

¹⁶³ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Digo con cierto orgullo que nuestra Iglesia fue pionera en la exploración del fenómeno de los pobladores, porque esto se convertiría después en un tema de primera importancia en América Latina, y hoy es una categoría obligada de estudio para la sociología', *Memorias* II: 114-115.

due to start on the 29th of September 1967. There were 200 bishops who took part and who discussed five main themes: the possible threats to doctrine, the renewal of the Catholic seminaries, the problem of mixed marriages, the implementation of the liturgical reform, and the revision of the Code of Canon Law.

The revision of the Code was a mandatory exercise that had started already in January 1966 when the president of the pontifical commission entrusted with the revision of the Code, Cardinal Pietro Ciriaci, had contacted all bishops of the Catholic Church in order to request advise on possible changes to the 1917 Pius-Benedictine Code of Canon Law. The idea of a revised Code incorporated suggestions made by several bishops who wanted the spirit of Vatican II to be reflected in the law of the Church. Therefore the Code was expected to be a legal framework oriented to foster the growth of a pastoral model within an ecclesiological model of a servant Church immersed in the contemporary world. The work of the commission was central to any ecumenism and to the possibility of an institutional reform within the Catholic Church.¹⁶⁴

Synod in Santiago II

The second session of the Santiago Synod took place in November 1967 and its main objective was to explore a pastoral plan that could integrate all aspects of Catholic life in Santiago including the role of education and of lay people within the archdiocese.

There were severe critics towards Catholic education particularly within the private schools sustained and administered by different religious congregations. For some of the delegates those schools did not have a social role and their students lacked any social conscience. Others questioned the possibility of having Catholic schools if the role of the Church was to immerse herself in society rather than to remain isolated by the running of Catholic and non-Catholic schools; particularly when the Catholic schools created a class division whereby

¹⁶⁴ The work of the commission continued for 15 years till John Paul II approved the new Code of Canon Law in 1983.

the rich were educated and the poor ignored, thus, sustaining a traditional model of Chilean society. At the end of the discussions it was clear that the Synod was not going to be able to solve all the social and cultural problems inherent in Chilean society. Therefore, the Synod requested that the Chilean Bishops continued guiding all Catholic on issues of education, a task that was taken by the Chilean Bishops in their pastoral letter concerning education of 1968. There were also harsh comments towards the clergy and the ornate of their buildings, the paternalism of some charity work, and the political power exercised by some bishops through their works of charity.

Silva Henríquez presided at the Synod but decided to pledge a vow of silence in order to listen to what pastoral delegates had to say. When it came to discussions on the role of the archbishop there were harsh comments towards the inefficiency of the diocesan structures, the secretive activities of the archbishop, and finally towards an archbishop that appeared cold and distant and was perceived more as an administrator than as a shepherd of his flock. Some of those comments were hurtful to Silva Henríquez' pride, others were unjustified, but the whole exercise allowed him to learn and to listen to the pastoral concerns of lay Catholics.¹⁶⁵

The most important discussion of the Santiago Synod was on the relation between the Church in Santiago and the contemporary world. The general aim was to make the Church closer to every human being and delegates proposed the following objectives: to increase the role of women within the Christian communities, to teach about human love for couples as a symbol of the divine love, to foster intense and organised pastoral work, to proclaim the equality of every human being, to foster solidarity, social participation and a genuine interest for other people's lives at local, national, and international level.

¹⁶⁵ Some of the conclusions were: 'Los laicos lo quisieran más *profeta* de la hora presente; los religiosos (especialmente las religiosas) lo quisieran más interesado de su consagración y de sus carismas; los presbíteros lo quisieran más hermano, más dialogante, que haga posible una buena modalidad de obediencia sacerdotal, más de colaboración que de dependencia', *Memorias* II: 118-119.

The Battles of 1968

While the Church was trying to reform herself, the government of Frei was battling for reforms that were impeded by the majority in opposition at the Chilean Congress and by the National Workers' Union (Central Unica de Trabajadores – CUT) that during 1968 staged more than 1,000 strikes. The political climate became ever more polarised as the right-wing traditional elements of the Conservative Party became the National Party (Partido Nacional – PN) and the Socialists who were becoming ever more influential within the left-wing coalition proclaimed the right to armed struggle if necessary. Some farms were occupied by elements of the left who wanted to accelerate the agrarian reform and the left-wing elements of the Christian Democratic Party were elected as leaders of the previously moderate middle of the road party in government. Thus, Rafael Agustín Gumucio, Julio Silva Solar, and Sergio Fernández Aguayo replaced leaders such as Patricio Aylwin and Eduardo Frei Montalva.

The resignation of Bishop Larraín

Within the Catholic Church the year 1968 started with the shocking news of the departure of bishop Gabriel Larraín, auxiliary bishop in Santiago, the second bishop in the history of Latin America who decided to resign as a bishop and leave the priesthood.¹⁶⁶ Larraín came from a prominent Chilean family and had followed his studies from secondary school to the seminary, where he had become rector at the young age of 33. Larraín had pleaded to be sent to a working class parish because he had discovered his priestly vocation out of a social concern for the poor and the marginalized. Already in 1966 when he was nominated as auxiliary bishop he had pleaded with the Vatican Ambassador and the Cardinal not to be ordained but to be appointed to a parish. During 1967 Larraín was already in a personal crisis of faith and he had to deal with the resignation of Fr. Pedro Castex, vicar of the southern pastoral zone of Santiago, who had left for

¹⁶⁶ The other one had been the auxiliary bishop of Lima Cornejo Ravadero.

Uruguay with the intention of leaving the priesthood. Bishops Gabriel Larraín and Carlos González flew to Uruguay to try to convince Castex to give some more time to his decision but they both failed in their mission. Larraín's crisis became effective at the beginning of 1968 when he spoke to Silva Henríquez about his deep crisis and decided to leave his life as a priest in Santiago. Silva Henríquez failed to convince him not to do so and Larraín departed for Lyons where he remained under obedience to the local bishop but in a situation of solitary personal discernment. Finally he decided to request a dispensation from his priestly duties.¹⁶⁷

Silva Henríquez felt responsible for Larraín's loss of faith and apologised to Paul VI for his own failure to understand one of his most gifted and generous priests. However, Castex and Larraín were only the tip of the iceberg as many priests were leaving not only in Chile but also all over the world.¹⁶⁸ It was a phenomenon that shocked the hopeful post-Vatican II ideals; important changes in the image and role of the priest impacted negatively on many of them who felt pressured into a priestly role that was difficult and that many did not understand. The majority of priests of the archdiocese of Santiago remained faithful servants of their communities and some of them altered their social roles by allowing more power of decision to their lay leaders and to the communities in general. Others realised that they wanted to become worker-priests following the rich French tradition, earning their keep by holding a manual job while living in non-affluent neighbourhoods and assuming a spirituality of poverty and service in their ordinary daily lives.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁷ Years later Gabriel Larraín recovered his faith and became an active lay member of the Catholic community.

¹⁶⁸ Fr. Roberto Bolton remembers that time as follows: 'Estamos en pleno vendaval post Concilio, con toda esa crisis sacerdotal que sobreviene, en que se iban los sacerdotes, se casaban o no se casaban, pero se iban, y, por consiguiente, lo mismo sucedía con los seminaristas. El Seminario Mayor estaba regido en ese momento por don Jorge Hourton. Este seminario se despoblaba ... El Cardenal se da cuenta que hay que hacer algo, que hay que frenar esta hemorragia' (Morales Herrera 1996:48).

¹⁶⁹ The first one was the Jesuit Ignacio Vergara, followed later by the Dutch priest Luis Caminada, who lived with a group of priests in Calama and even insisted that workers-priests

The Priestly Crisis

Silva Henríquez evaluated the priestly crisis of those years at two levels: at the international level there was a changing role for the priest and that challenged many individuals in their personal lives while at the national level there was an increase in political commitment that made some priests impatient with the slow march of the Church and who decided, in most cases, to live a lay life in order to become fully involved in the building of the Kingdom of God understood as a political and personal option. For Silva Henríquez it was clear that the priestly role was two-dimensional: to speak of the beauty of the contemporary world that included politics but in relation to a heavenly world that was richer than this one.¹⁷⁰

At the national level the priestly crisis was manifested by a need to rethink the formation of Catholic priests at the Seminary in Santiago. As the previous rector, Fr. Carlos González had been ordained as a bishop, Silva Henríquez had entrusted the seminary to Fr. Jorge Hourton, a seminary professor who had taught at the seminary for 17 years, a well-respected intellectual and good priest. Immediately after the end of Vatican II the students had complained that education at the seminary was too rigid, too formal, and that the location of the building in Apoquindo, one of the affluent districts of Santiago, did not give testimony of a servant Church that was trying to become closer to ordinary people.¹⁷¹ Some priests were also of the idea that part of the seminary education should be carried out in small communities of students who lived with a priest in less affluent areas of Santiago and who took part in parish life and the life of

should belong to a political party (Vergara 1988). Most of those priests were foreign nationals, with the exception of Fr. Mariano Puga (Morales Herrera 1996:57-58).

¹⁷⁰ 'Por medio de nosotros, pobres hombres, por medio de nuestra fe vacilante, debe realizarse la comunicación de los dos mundos: del mundo de abajo, con su formidable poder de atracción vertiginosa, y del mundo de arriba, con su inmensa e infinita riqueza, pero actualmente escondida. Esta es nuestra misión esencial; si no hacemos esto, no somos sacerdotes', Homilía del Jueves Santo 1968, Catedral Metropolitana, *Memorias* II: 124.

¹⁷¹ The seminary had been built in Apoquindo in 1954 at a time when it was part of the small farms that surrounded the city, a place apart from the urban centre but close enough. At that time there were no neighbourhoods or affluent houses around it.

ordinary people. By 1967 there was a rebellion against Hourton in the seminary as he did not agree with the dispersion of the seminarians and many of them had left the diocesan seminary and joined religious communities that insisted in the formation of priests within poor neighbourhoods. In December 1967 Hourton spoke to Silva Henríquez about the crisis at the seminary and Silva Henríquez agreed to try to implement the dispersion of the seminarians during 1968. There was no need to have a rector any longer and Hourton requested to move to Valdivia, however, Silva Henríquez convinced him to remain in Santiago and to work in a parish in Renca.

The seminarians were moved to small communities within poor parishes in Santiago in an experiment that was only to last for two years.¹⁷² The secularised and over-political atmosphere of the poor parishes had a bad effect on the seminarians; they not only studied very little philosophy and theology but also were pulled by the angry political climate. Hourton had been correct in his assessment of seminary education and after two years the seminarians started requesting to return to a single community of formation. There was concern at the Vatican because the Council of Priests who had to take action when Silva Henríquez was away in Europe decided to sell the building to INACAP¹⁷³ and the seminarians were unable to return to the building in Apoquindo Avenue. As a result, the seminarians were moved into a single community in La Florida where years later a newly built seminary complex was opened.

By the time that the crisis at the seminary seemed to have been solved Silva Henríquez had to deal with the retention of his best clergy against the needs of others. During 1968 the bishop of Puerto Montt, Mgr. Alberto Rencoret, was looking for a new auxiliary bishop in order to cover his vast diocese. The Vatican Ambassador, Mgr. Carlo Martini, who had arrived in Chile in October 1967,

¹⁷² The seminarians left the seminary of Apoquindo Avenue on the 10th of May 1968. The philosophy students went to Bernal del Mercado Street 394, later the Vicariate for the western pastoral area of Santiago, a Fr. Roberto Bolton who went with them became parish priest of the Santiago Apóstol Parish that was located beside their house. The theologians went to live in Los Alerces, Macul, together with Fr. Mario González.

¹⁷³ Instituto Nacional de Capacitación.

wanted the appointment of Fr. Ignacio Ortúzar, a dedicated priest who had been parish priest in San Bernardo and was in 1968 Episcopal Vicar of the southern pastoral zone. Silva Henríquez objected to that appointment because Fr. Ortúzar did not want to leave Santiago, and also because the southern pastoral zone had previously lost Fr. Castex and Bishop Larraín. The Vatican announced his appointment and Ortúzar asked Silva Henríquez to intervene. After a conversation with the Vatican Ambassador it was clear that Ortúzar did not want to go to Puerto Montt, and Mgr. Rencoret told the Vatican Ambassador that he did not want him to come if he was not willing to.¹⁷⁴ Finally the Vatican cancelled the appointment and the discussions ended in a bitter note for Silva Henríquez who was misunderstood; everybody thought he wanted Ortúzar as auxiliary bishop in Santiago, and the Vatican decided he did not deserve another auxiliary bishop.

It was clear that the archbishop of Santiago had to face many crises and Mgr. Rencoret approached Silva Henríquez to suggest that the Chilean Episcopal Conference needed to elect a president who was not the archbishop of Santiago. In April 1968 Mgr. José Manuel Santos was elected president of the Chilean Episcopal Conference, with Mgr. Carlos González as vice-president, and Mgr. Enrique Alvear as its secretary. It was a young and dynamic team, much needed for the difficult times ahead.

On the 5th of April 1968 the Chilean Bishops had published a pastoral letter that coincided with the 150th anniversary of Chile's independence from Spain. With the title *Chile, voluntad de ser* it followed issues that had been introduced after the Santiago Synod in their pastoral letter on education *Los católicos y la educación*.¹⁷⁵ The pastoral letter analysed the history of Chile and outlined the presence of God within that history and the values that arose out of the formation of a Chilean national identity. Within that history the role of the Church had been shaped by the historical circumstances that surrounded her

¹⁷⁴ In 1969 Fr. Jorge Hourton was appointed auxiliary bishop of Puerto Montt.

¹⁷⁵ The title was taken from the work of the Chilean Nobel Prize winner Gabriela Mistral *Recados contando a Chile*.

actions and the Church could not have been judged by contemporary developments.¹⁷⁶ Finally, the pastoral letter criticised those groups that had challenged the power of democratic institutions and those who advocated other means, for example violence, to a democratic end.¹⁷⁷ The usual criticisms followed: ‘lack of vision’ according to the left-wing newspapers and ‘inflammatory calls’ associated with Pablo Neruda and the communists by the right-wing newspapers. To Silva Henríquez the pastoral letter was a significant step in the life of the Church in Chile and those who were not involved in angry political disputes, the minority, appreciated its contents and its challenges.

Humanae Vitae

In July 1968 Paul VI had finished writing an encyclical letter that dealt with the crisis in marriage, procreation, and contraception that surrounded the contemporary world addressed by the post Vatican II Catholic Church. The crisis arose out of a sexual revolution and the wind of change within traditional social institutions such as marriage. The Western world searched for a better world but questioned the romantic paradigms and searched for new ways of asserting diversity and community. Concerns for progress and development articulated different economic and social theories that were contrary to the teachings of the Catholic Church. On the one hand there were theories of development that suggested that if people could not feed their children (the case of the poor nations of the world) they should not have them; on the other hand there was a fashion of sexual licences that was triggered by the 1960s sexual revolution and the general use of the contraceptive pill in order to prevent conception. The Catholic Church

¹⁷⁶ ‘Nos parece que hay entre los católicos juicios demasiado duros acerca del pasado de la Iglesia, porque en la práctica no se toma en serio el que Ella comparte muchas de las contingencias de la humanidad’, *Memorias* II: 129.

¹⁷⁷ ‘Se pone en duda la eficacia del sistema democrático y se pierde la esperanza en efectivos cambios sociales dentro de la legalidad, se ahondan las divergencias ideológicas y cunde en algunos sectores la idea de que la vía ilegal y aún la violenta, sean las más efectivas’, *Memorias* II: 130.

disagreed with those models on account that one of the natural fruits of marriage - and marriage was considered a sacrament- was the procreation of children.

The Church had expressed the basics of marriage and human love within the sacrament of marriage and had considered marriage part of the natural order of humanity since the publication of *Casti Connubii* by Pious XI in 1930. However, John XXIII had seen the need to rephrase some terms and some pastoral situations; he did so by appointing a pontifical working group made of theologians and lay people that was inherited by Paul VI and whose deliberations were brought into the final text of *Humanae Vitae*. In that encyclical circulated to the bishops of the world on the 24th August 1968 Paul VI had taken the minority view on contraception by writing in number 14 that all cases of contraception, by all means and in all situations, were forbidden by natural law and therefore by ecclesiastical law. The rest of the encyclical provided a theologically oriented model of love within marriage that came from God and allowed married spouses to be in communion with God and with fellow human beings.

As soon as Silva Henríquez received the official text from the Vatican he prepared himself for a pastoral approach to the encyclical letter and to the negative connotations offered by number 14 within the text. His concern was that Catholics who were supposed to feel the Church close to them could decide to ignore the text and therefore lapse from the traditional understanding that the teaching of the Church allowed them to grow and to journey within the Christian community. However, within number 14 there was no option for personal conscience in relation to family planning and contraception.

The response by his Council of Priests was a complete rejection of the encyclical. Thus, on the following day Silva Henríquez decided to meet with a select group of theologians, particularly moral theologians and sociologists in order to discuss the implications of the encyclical letter. Among those present at the Centro Bellarmino in Santiago were: Juan Ochagavía, Juan de Castro, Egidio Viganó, and Roger Vekemans. The group agreed that the encyclical letter would undermine the pastoral care of the Church by its punitive appearance and its

general avoidance of the fact that a number of Catholics were using the contraceptive pill. They urged Silva Henríquez to request to Paul VI that the letter be discussed more widely before its official publication. Silva Henriquez did not agree with that request because he knew that if Paul VI had decided to speak he would not change what he had to say. Thus, Silva Henriquez agreed to consult with other European Cardinals about their own opinions and actions on the encyclical letter. Silva Henríquez together with his group of experts called Cardinal Julius Döpfner (Münich), Cardinal Leon Joseph Suenens (Brussels), and Cardinal Bernard Alfrink (Amsterdam). They also thought that the encyclical letter was not convenient in its form but necessary in its content.

On the 25th of August 1968 Silva Henríquez sent a telegram to Paul VI requesting that the publication of *Humanae Vitae* be postponed. His concern was pastoral and he did not want to publish something that was to damage the good relations between the Church and ordinary Chileans at a moment when the Church was trying desperately to become closer to people, their needs and their aspirations in their Christian journey.¹⁷⁸ With hindsight Silva Henríquez realised that his letter to Paul VI was not a good idea. Days later he received a severe letter from Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, Vatican Secretary of State, reminding him that Paul VI had written the encyclical letter after long reflection and that the Pope needed at that time the support of all and particularly of his cardinals. Silva Henríquez in his own faithfulness to the Pope felt he had done the wrong thing, however he was not on his own as the international protests against *Humanae Vitae* were massive and included the dissent of theologians and lay people in many parts of the world.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁸ Silva Henríquez expressed his pastoral feelings in the following words: ‘En todo caso, yo me convencí de que nuestro deber pastoral estaba primero; que nuestra obligación fundamental era aliviar la pesada carga de los fieles, y especialmente de los más débiles, de los pobres no sólo en bienes, sino también en cultura, que debían sentir la cercanía y el apoyo de su Iglesia’, *Memorias* II: 134.

¹⁷⁹ In the United States 200 theologians dissented from the encyclical letter, while at Catholic University, Washington D.C., the suspension of a theologian that opposed the encyclical letter triggered riots among the student body. There was dissent in Germany and Holland and the

A group of Chilean theologians wrote to Paul VI expressing concern over the encyclical letter and expressing as a matter of personal conscience their rejection to the letter. While a Chilean bishop suggested that those theologians should cease to be employed by the Catholic University Silva Henriquez tried to bring everybody together in a moment of absolute despair by some of those lay Catholics who were very enthusiastic about the non-monarchical and servant Church proposed by Vatican II. Silva Henríquez spoke through the Television Channel of the Catholic University (Canal 13) explaining the theological dimensions of the letter and arguing that finally a right personal conscience is the one that reaches a just personal decision. The Vatican Ambassador, Carlo Martini, accused him of watering down the encyclical and he wrote to the Vatican reporting the incident. Three months later and during a personal visit to Rome Silva Henríquez received a reproach from Paul VI. Silva Henriquez apologised and asked for forgiveness from the Pope, forgiveness that was granted but left Silva Henriquez ashamed of his actions during the crisis over *Humanae Vitae*.

Protests at the Santiago Cathedral

During 1968 Paul VI travelled to Bogotá, Colombia, in order to open the 39th International Eucharistic Congress. The first visit by a Pope to Latin America was seen as a great moment for a growing Church. However, in Santiago and on the 14th of June 1968, a group of Catholics who called themselves ‘the young Church’ (la Iglesia Joven) gathered at the San Luis Beltrán parish in Barrancas in order to protest against the Pope’s visit to Latin America. They argued that he was going to bless poverty and injustice and that if he were to speak against the rich and against the oppressors he would not have been able to visit Colombia. Silva Henríquez wrote to the Vatican with his own concerns about this movement and tried to open dialogue with a Spanish priest, Paulino García, who was their leader. He realised that Fr. García was not happy with the slow renewal of the Church

general attitude towards the letter by European clergy was dismissive. In England some priests left the priesthood after they were told to instruct the laity on number 14 of *Humanae Vitae*.

and that he had an enormous hate for the rich and for the oppressors of the poor. The meeting ended with an irate Silva Henríquez who reminded Fr. García that any of those protests could not take place in his homeland, at that time ruled by the Spanish dictator Francisco Franco.

Unlike the protestors Silva Henríquez felt excitement about the Pope's visit to Latin America and he saw the visit as a service to all.¹⁸⁰ The 'continent of hope' was the best ground for the implementation of Vatican II and Silva Henríquez felt that finally the servant of the servants of God was arriving to visit the poor of Latin America as the leader of a servant Church. The meeting of Latin American bishops in Colombia was also going to set the guidelines for the implementation of Vatican II in Latin America and the final document of Medellín was to vindicate the demands of those protestors rather than to crush them (DM). It is possible to argue that without the arrival of the Pope the meeting of all Latin American bishops at Medellín would not have had the same strength and the same impact on the pastoral life of the Church in Latin America.

The protests continued in July 1968 when the group by then called 'the Young Church' or the 'Clandestine Church' protested against the building of a national temple at Maipú because they considered it a luxury; they also wrote anonymous letters accusing the Chilean bishops of a conspiracy to oppress the poor due to their long-term alliances with the Chilean rich.¹⁸¹ However, protests by those who felt that the Chilean bishops were not implementing the guidelines of Vatican II were followed by protests organised by right-wing groups. However, instead of gathering in a parish members of the Sociedad de Defensa de la Tradición, Familia y Propiedad (TFP) wrote an open letter to Paul VI condemning

¹⁸⁰ Silva Henríquez gave the following thoughts in an interview with U.S. News & World Report: 'Este proceso, válido para toda la Iglesia, se singulariza y reviste de connotación particular en América Latina. Continente en vías de desarrollo, el servicio eclesial a América Latina se concreta en un servicio al desarrollo, entendido en la acepción de Populorum Progressio: de condiciones menos humanas, hacia un humanismo integral, que incluye el don de la fe', *Memorias* II: 137.

¹⁸¹ The initial group led by Fr. García had been expanded by the support of some members of the Juventud Obrera Católica, of the Asociación de Universitarios Católicos, and of the Juventud Estudiantil Católica.

Marxism and all members of the Chilean clergy that were too close to Marxist ideas.¹⁸² They also condemned those who were trying to change a harmonious society based on principles of class inequality. They named those that were guilty of those accusations: those working at the Jesuit magazine *Mensaje*, the Jesuit research centre Centro Bellarmino, and the Jesuit centre dealing with sociological studies of religion, Desal, led by the Jesuit Roger Vekemans. Thousands of copies of the letter were distributed and it was also published as a private notice in several right-wing Chilean newspapers. Silva Henríquez ignored the letter but retired archbishop Alfredo Cifuentes responded to it giving some legitimacy to their concerns. Thus, Bishop Fernando Ariztía wrote a letter condemning the accusations and defending the pastoral position of the Church in Chile. Silva Henríquez wanted to open some channels of communication with the FTP but they publicly accused the Church of ending any conversation. It was clear that those holding extreme ideological positions did not like the fact that Silva Henríquez was trying to implement the guidelines of Vatican II by trying to include ‘the people of God’, meaning all, in the pastoral plans of the Church in Chile.

In the midst of those controversies Silva Henríquez learned that the ‘young Church’ was planning to occupy the Metropolitan Cathedral in Santiago, and he asked the Minister of the Interior, Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, to provide some police protection. Despite those warnings, on Saturday 10th of August 1968 a group of priests, nuns, and lay people who had attended the evening service remained within the cathedral building. On the following morning they opened the cathedral doors to a group of 200 protesters, including 8 priests, that took over the building and made public two documents: *Manifiesto de la Iglesia Joven* and *Por una*

¹⁸² ‘Reverente y filial mensaje a Su Santidad el Papa Pablo VI’. TPF published a well-known magazine *Fiducia* and had also published larger works such as one accusing President Eduardo Frei Montalva of being a willing collaborator with Soviet Communism, see *Frei, el Kerensky chileno*, that was written by the Brazilian lawyer Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira. The Brazilian Plinio Correa de Oliveira founded FTP in order to preserve the Church from the influence of Communism and most of its attacks were against the Brazilian bishops, particularly Dom Helder Camara.

Iglesia servidora del pueblo. They made clear that they were not attacking the Pope or the Archbishop of Santiago but they were denouncing the role of a Church that was allied with the oppressors and those who did not want anything to change within the Church or within Chilean society.¹⁸³ At 5:00 pm they left the building.

Silva Henríquez was not in Santiago as he had a Mass near San Antonio at 10:00 am. In the evening he met with all his Episcopal Vicars. After Bishop Ariztía read a public declaration condemning the occupation of the Cathedral Silva Henríquez suspended the 8 priests from their priestly ministry (suspension *a divinis*).¹⁸⁴ Silva Henríquez also invited all Catholics to a Mass in order to repair any disturbances that took place within the Cathedral, and the Cathedral was filled by Catholics who were shocked at the action of members of the ‘young Church’.¹⁸⁵

On the following days Bishop Carlos González had a private meeting with each one of the priests who had been suspended from active priestly ministry and the bishop suggested that they write to Silva Henríquez apologising and seeking a solution to their canonical sanctions. Silva Henríquez received the letters, accepted the apologies, and lifted the canonical sanctions. However, and despite the end of that crisis Silva Henríquez felt betrayed at a moment when a diocesan synod was trying to find ways to serve the poor better, and when the crisis at the Catholic University had ended through his own support towards the students’ demands.¹⁸⁶ Silva Henríquez gave them the benefit of the doubt and argued more

¹⁸³ Part of their manifesto read as follows: ‘Nuestra voz no se alza hoy contra el Papa Pablo VI. Tampoco contra el pastor de nuestra diócesis, el cardenal Raúl Silva. Denunciamos la estructura de poder y de riqueza en la que se ejerce a menudo la acción de la Iglesia; la mentalidad y las organizaciones que condicionan y desvirtúan la labor de la Jerarquía’, *Memorias* II: 140-141.

¹⁸⁴ In his public condemnation Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘La acción de unos pocos sacerdotes descontrolados, olvidados de su misión de Paz y Amor, ha llevado a un grupo de laicos y de jóvenes a efectuar uno de los actos más tristes de la historia eclesial de Chile ...’, *Memorias* II: 141.

¹⁸⁵ The protesters had painted some of the walls with graffiti such ‘El pueblo está sufriendo’ signed by the organisation of young Communists (Juventudes Comunistas de Chile).

¹⁸⁶ One of those involved with the protesters at the cathedral was Miguel Angel Solar, previously a student leader at the Catholic University.

strongly for the involvement of pastoral agents with the poor and their realities assuming with humbleness that the Church was at fault.¹⁸⁷ Despite his efforts all those priests involved with protesters at the Cathedral later left the priesthood.

The Vatican Ambassador, Carlo Martini, was not entirely happy with the conciliatory measures implemented by the archbishop of Santiago. Thus, he did not attend a dinner offered in honour of Silva Henríquez by the Colombian Ambassador to Santiago on the occasion of Silva Henríquez' journey to Colombia. The Chilean Foreign Office complained to the Vatican not only because it was impolite not to attend diplomatic events but also because Ambassador Martini had already made mistakes with his guidelines regarding rebel priests. When 23 priests in Valparaíso had requested a diocesan synod from Mgr. Emilio Tagle, Martini had ordered him to be firm with them. As a result all of them resigned and Tagle had to mediate for their return to active ministry in a diocese where priests were in short supply. Another impasse with the Vatican Ambassador took place when Silva Henríquez commented at dinner that he did not think that he was going to last as archbishop because of the Vatican Ambassador's influence on local matters. Several priests got very worried about the situation and several dozen priests signed a letter to the Pope defending Silva Henríquez' decisions on behalf of the Catholic Church in Chile. Fr. Luis Antonio Díaz gave the letter to Senator Tomás Pablo, who was travelling to Rome, and Pablo gave it to the Chilean Ambassador to the Vatican. It finally was delivered to the Pope who expressed his absolute confidence on the ability of Silva Henríquez as archbishop of Santiago. Martini was annoyed once again because the letter had not been delivered through the Vatican Embassy in Santiago.

On the 21st of August 1968 Silva Henríquez travelled to Colombia in order to await the Pope's arrival on the following day. Paul VI ratified the winds of change given by Vatican II, the support of the Church to the poor and their just

¹⁸⁷ He said 'No hemos sido quizás suficientemente humildes, pues creíamos que nuestra Iglesia era la mejor de todas; quizás nuestro diálogo no ha sido suficiente; tal vez no hemos sabido darnos a nuestros sacerdotes y a nuestro pueblo en la medida que hoy se necesita', *Memorias II*: 143.

causes, and he condemned any issue of violence to achieve a just society in Latin America. Paul VI inaugurated the second general meeting of Latin American Bishops at Medellín and returned to Rome. Silva Henríquez was asked once and again about the incidents at the Santiago Cathedral and he returned to Santiago leaving other Chilean bishops at the meeting in Medellín. The Medellín conference was a fruitful opportunity for renewal and many of the concepts outlined in the final document were new additions to the social doctrine of the Church, e.g. ‘a truly human economics’, ‘institutionalised violence’, and ‘sinful structures’.

The Medellín conference gave a boost to the renewal of the Church in Chile and to the diocesan synod in Santiago. The synod had its second session during the months of September and November 1968. The theme of the laity was the only theme of the second session, after further discussions on media, pastoral assistance, and culture were rejected. Within the general theme three groups were discussed: the youth, the workers, and the businessmen. There were heated debates on the relation of workers with businessmen, and even President Frei called Silva Henríquez to stress that the social doctrine of the Church should prevail over national discussions. Participants were also very critical of the archbishop and they accused him of creating large economic organisations that should not be encouraged in the post-Vatican II Church. They referred to Dilapsa, a company that distributed Catholic publications and that bought part of the national editorial company Zig-Zag. Outside the synod supporters of the political right accused Silva Henríquez of supporting pornographic publications due to the fact that the magazine Zig-Zag had somehow daring materials for a traditional 1960s Chilean society. Silva Henríquez kept silence throughout that controversy because he admitted that Dilapsa had not been a good idea; it ended when two Catholic businessmen involved in the organisation tried to buy their economic control of Zig-Zag and fought each other to the disrepute of the archbishop of Santiago.

The second session of the synod was not as good as the first one, mainly because more conservative and traditional delegates decided not to come to a meeting dominated by concerns for the poor. However, it was nevertheless a good exercise and the pastoral priorities outlined by the synod were very clear: evangelisation, mission, the poor, pastoral work within certain areas rather than on the structures of society, formation of a responsible laity, and pastoral co-responsibility.

The synod reflected the national tensions that were increasing within a rising inflation caused by a shortage of water for agricultural products and the increased numbers of strikes by workers. On the government front President Frei had managed to request the full support of his political party and a team led by Renán Fuentealba had replaced the leadership of Rafael Agustín Gumucio. However, while the Christian Democrats fostered their own political advancement their youth wing pushed for alliances with the left-wing political coalition particularly within university elections. The FRAP left-wing coalition had ended after the Socialist Party legitimised armed struggle at their 1967 Congress in Chillán, and the newly constituted Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (MIR) with its base in Concepción started a series of violent attacks on supermarkets and the formation of armed paramilitary groups.

In October 1968 the Chilean Episcopal Conference met at the Casa de Ejercicios Las Rosas in order to discuss the final document of Medellín and they published a declaration condemning violence, Marxism, and any hatred towards others. It was clear that the bishops preferred to be consistent with the Christian message rather than fill churches in a populist effort to go with the political flow of change and socialism.¹⁸⁸ On the 5th of October Silva Henríquez expressed those concerns to Paul VI in Rome and had to admit that some of the young Christians

¹⁸⁸ The bishops said: 'Una cosa es la justicia y otra es el marxismo ... Los marxistas saben que no se puede ser a la vez un buen marxista y un buen cristiano... En el fondo de esta violencia impaciente hay más odio que amor, más pasión que razón, más voluntad de ver y destruir el mal presente que de construir el bien futuro, que permanece las más de las veces lejano y confuso', *Memorias II*: 150-151.

were too close to some leftist political groups that they perceived the Church as a solely human institution. Silva Henríquez continued his preaching of peace and understanding at Maipú where 150,000 pilgrims gathered to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Chilean independence but he felt that it was already in vain.¹⁸⁹

There were other signs of growth for the Catholic Church in Santiago and one of them was the appointment of Fr. Ismael Errázuriz as auxiliary bishop in Santiago. Errázuriz was ordained as a bishop on the 4th of May 1969 at the Sagrado Corazón Parish of El Bosque, Santiago amidst great joy. However, during the Eucharist a group of members of the 'Iglesia Joven' interrupted the ceremony and Leonardo Jeffs read a declaration requesting that lay people elected their own bishops. There was violence as a group of parishioners evicted the protestors by force.

Political Campaigns

Already in March 1969 Chile was preparing itself for the presidential elections of 1970 in a highly tense political climate. During the parliamentary elections of the 2nd of March 1969 the right wing party increased its vote to the detriment of the Christian Democrats while the left-wing coalition kept its previous electoral gains. Following the elections, on the 9th of March 1969, groups of homeless occupied lands in Puerto Montt and were evicted by the police.¹⁹⁰ However, there were 6 people dead and more than 50 injured. However, the left-wing parties blamed the violence on Edmundo Pérez Zujovic and as a result Radomiro Tomic resigned as Christian Democratic candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections. At the meeting to decide a strategy for the elections the Christian Democrats decided to

¹⁸⁹ In his homily he said: 'Pedimos a Jesucristo, por la intercesión de su Madre Santísima, que nos haga conocer de qué espíritu somos; que ponga en evidencia ante nuestros ojos que los chilenos, y especialmente los sacerdotes, somos los sembradores del amor y no del odio; que la prueba del supremo amor que debe llegar hasta nuestros adversaries, es dar la vida por los amigos y los enemigos, siguiendo el ejemplo de quien nos amó hasta el fin; que este espíritu de amor es incompatible con el espíritu de violencia y de guerra, y que la prueba única de que somos verdaderos discípulos del Señor, es que nos amamos los unos a los otros', *Memorias* II: 152.

¹⁹⁰ The lands belonged to Daniel Irigoín Oyarzún and the occupied land was known as 'Pampa Irigoín'.

have their own candidate instead of seeking an alliance with the left-wing coalition. As a result a group of Christian Democrats resigned from the party and formed a new political party, the Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitaria (MAPU), that immediately joined the left-wing coalition at that time led by Salvador Allende and Pablo Neruda. Among those who joined the MAPU were Rafael Agustín Gumucio, Alberto Jerez and Julio Silva Solar.

In June 1969 Frei negotiated with the U.S. Company Anaconda a legal contract by which the state of Chile would be the owner of 51% of the copper mines. Alejandro Hales, the Minister of Mines, had to battle forcefully over many sessions in the Chilean Senate as the left-wing coalition wanted a total expropriation of the copper mines with no economic compensation to the U.S. companies arguing that they already had enriched themselves by selling refined copper taken away from Chile as raw and cheap materials. One of the most critical opponents of Frei's policy was Radomiro Tomic who in August 1969 was once again proclaimed by the Christian Democrats general meeting as their candidate for the presidential elections. Tomic believed that the left-wing parties, so divided on the issue of revolutionary violence, would not be able to agree on a common presidential candidate, and that they would finally agree on running together with Tomic.

Finally that was not the case. Even when all left-wing parties decided to nominate their own candidate for the general meeting of the left-wing political coalition their first resolution was to exclude the Christian Democrats from their election card. The left-wing coalition had to decide between Alberto Baltra (Partido Radical), Jacques Chonchol (MAPU), Rafael Tarud (API and social democrats), Pablo Neruda (Communist Party), and Salvador Allende (Socialist Party). Thus, by the end of September 1969 it was clear that the race for La Moneda was to be fought along the same political lines as previously done in 1964.

The Church at local level was also immersing herself in the preparation for the presidential elections and if in the past party politics was a subject for the

most-devoted in 1969 even the clergy was following politics very closely, some with the fear that a socialist government could persecute the Church, others with the hope that socialism could finally incorporate Christianity into a political utopia of building up the Kingdom of God through a just and peaceful temporal society. In any case those discussions about the Church and the contemporary world were also carried into discussions about governance and life within the Catholic Church. For example, in October 1969 politics was present outside the Synod of Bishops' meeting that was taking place at the Vatican. A group of priests protested publicly against some ecclesiastical disciplines and requested that bishops be democratically elected, that the Pope serve only for a short period of time, that priestly celibacy be abolished, and that priests be allowed to stand for political office. In July of that year the Chilean Bishops in plenary assembly at Padre Hurtado had discussed some of the lack of religious piety that the post-Vatican II spirit had brought to the communities, however they also endorsed the need to strengthen the basic Christian communities after they had been considered a priority for the Latin American Church at the Medellin meeting of bishops. Nevertheless, the Chilean bishops stated very clearly that no political option could embrace all the objectives of the Church as a symbol of Christ on earth, and certainly those political options that included atheism and Marxism as their means to a humanist end were not close to the ideals of the Gospel.¹⁹¹

While the left-wing media criticised the bishops for adopting 'a spiritualist stand', the more conservative groups within the Catholic Church criticised the bishops and particularly the Chilean Cardinal for not exercising ecclesiastical discipline on those who were too close to marxists, atheists, and socialists. For them Silva Henríquez was being used as an instrument of socialist propaganda.

¹⁹¹ The Chilean bishops said: 'La Iglesia se define por su conciencia de ser portadora de una Palabra absoluta: ella no es una ideología, es decir, una doctrina especulativa acerca del hombre y el mundo; no es tampoco una empresa de civilización y promoción humana. Es el signo de Cristo resucitado y vivo ... Un cristianismo sin Iglesia sería una mera ideología humana. No nos dejemos instrumentalizar por quienes nos llaman a unirnos a ellos en la empresa de liberar al hombre por caminos que pasan por el odio, el ateísmo y la reducción del cristianismo a mera ideología o alienación', *Memorias II*: 162.

For example, when on the 14th of August 1969 Pablo Neruda received a doctorate *honoris causa* from the Catholic University some objected to the nomination due to the fact that he was a Communist and that still then he was running as presidential candidate of the Communist Party. The Cardinal left the decision to the Academic Council but he supported it on account that the international community through European universities had already made several awards to Neruda and that it was clear that he was not the frontrunner to win the presidential nomination from the left-wing coalition.¹⁹² The Academic Council voted to confer the doctorate and during the ceremony Neruda paid tribute to the Church and to the Catholic University for their work fostering literature, poetry, and the humanities in general.

If those who criticised the award were a minority, Cardinal Gabriele Garrone, Prefect of the Vatican Congregation for Catholic Institutions, wrote to Silva Henríquez in December 1969 expressing concern about different situations at the Catholic University. Garrone was concerned about the doctorate *honoris causa* given to a Communist candidate, the result of the elections by staff and students that had placed left-wing leaders within the university, the recent employment of well-known left-wing leaders at the university,¹⁹³ the opening of an exhibition about the Soviet Union, and the proposal to create a University Chair for the study of Communism.¹⁹⁴ Silva Henríquez wrote back arguing, point by point, that the Catholic University was in very good shape after the 1968 reform; further he explained each one of those decisions arguing that even John

¹⁹² 'Creo que debe establecerse con claridad cual es la mente de la Universidad al concederlo. Mi opinion personal es que, sin lugar a dudas, el poeta lo merece. Creo que la Universidad, al concederle este título, realiza un gesto que tal vez no sea comprendido por los necios, pero sí por otras personas de valer', Raúl Silva Henríquez, 'Doctorado a Pablo Neruda', meeting of the Catholic University Academic Council, 27 June 1969.

¹⁹³ This referred to the recent employment of Jacques Cholchol (presidential candidate of the MAPU) as a member of staff.

¹⁹⁴ During discussions on the nomination of Neruda for a doctorate *honoris causa* Silva Henríquez had said: 'Puede darse una cátedra de ateísmo o marxismo en una Universidad Católica? Yo digo que sí: puede darse, porque los cristianos estamos convencidos de que ninguna de estas ciencias o doctrinas deja de tener una parte de verdad, y porque a veces nos plantean una crítica que nos resulta utilísimo reconocer', 'Doctorado a Pablo Neruda', meeting of the Catholic University Academic Council, 27 June 1969.

XXIII received the visit of one of the members of Kruschev's family (son-in-law) in order to foster the possibility of an understanding of the Soviet Union's political position vis-à-vis the Church.

The Tacnazo

In October 1969 the Chilean government started negotiations with Army officers in order to review their salary payments. While negotiations were taking place General Roberto Viaux Marambio, Head of the Army First Division of Antofagasta, requested a meeting with government officials in order to discuss those matters. By requesting that meeting he broke Army protocol and dismissed his superiors. The Army Commander in Chief, General Sergio Castillo Aránguiz, retired him with immediate effect and ordered his transfer to Santiago. Viaux arrived in Santiago on the 20th of October 1969 and declaring that he had not accepted his retirement he went home. On the following day a military patrol collected him from his home and brought him to the Tacna Regiment, unit that had been taken over by an Army Captain. With the support of an Army training unit (Escuela de Suboficiales) Viaux took over the Tacna Regiment while the Chilean Government declared a state of emergency. Viaux received the support of the tank regiment (Regimiento Blindados No.2) and General Emilio Cheyre and his paratroopers surrounded the Tacna Regiment. In the midst of all those manoeuvres a government envoy arrived in order to negotiate with the army rebels; he was Dr. Patricio Silva Garín, medical doctor at the Military Hospital and Silva Henríquez' nephew.¹⁹⁵ In the meantime the students marched into Santiago offering their support to the government while the trucks that collected rubbish surrounded the presidential palace in order to protect the government. There was some sporadic violence with some injured civilians but on the early morning of the 22nd of October 1969 Viaux agreed to swear allegiance to the

¹⁹⁵ Silva Garín was at the moment Subsecretario de Salud Pública.

Chilean President and the mutiny ended after the government agreed to speed up financial reforms favourable to the Chilean Army.¹⁹⁶

The Tacnazo as it was known from then onwards did not end the Army rebellion and when Viaux appeared in the Chilean Courts charged with public disorder and mutiny he had the physical support of 200 Army officers that stood outside the Santiago Courts. The mutiny achieved little but for Silva Henríquez it was a clear sign that the Army did not have the absolute determination to defend the democratically elected leaders or to preserve old democratic institutions. Silva Henríquez was in Rome at that time and therefore his Episcopal Vicars made a public declaration expressing support for the democratically elected leaders of the country. Much later the Permanent Committee of the Chilean Episcopal Conference alerted Chileans to the dangers of any violence against democratic institutions. Both pronouncements met with criticism by both ‘the Young Church’ and the association of retired Army officers.

Elections of Church Leaders

In November 1969 Silva Henríquez allowed for some input from clergy, nuns, and lay delegates in the process of appointment of Episcopal vicars for the different pastoral areas of Santiago. A total of 1,200 delegates voted for new vicars from a list of 20 candidates per zone of which those three with the highest amount of votes would be part of a final list presented to Silva Henríquez, who finally would choose the Episcopal Vicar for each pastoral zone.¹⁹⁷ Those chosen by Silva Henríquez were Fr. Pablo Laurin (Zona Sur), Fr. Rafael Maroto (Zona Centro), Bishop Fernando Ariztía (Zona Poniente), Bishop Ismael Errázuriz (Zona Oriente), Mario González (Zona Norte), and René Vio (Zona Rural-Costa). They

¹⁹⁶ Due to the mutiny the Army Commander in Chief General Castillo resigned and President Frei appointed General René Schneider as new Army Commander in Chief; General (R) Tulio Marambio also resigned as Minister of Defence and was replaced by Sergio Ossa Pretot while Generals Alfredo Mahn, Ramón Valdés and Emilio Cheyre retired.

¹⁹⁷ It is understood within this context that the Episcopal Vicars had to be ordained priests within the Catholic Church.

were appointed for a six-year period.¹⁹⁸ There were criticisms from the traditionalists who opposed any elections, and from the radicals, particularly in the Zona Sur, where a group of priests wanted a direct election of Episcopal Vicars to take place.¹⁹⁹

The 1970 Presidential Elections

By the summer of 1970 the left wing coalition had chosen Salvador Allende as its presidential candidate and the presidential campaign had already started with Jorge Alessandri running as an independent candidate opposed to any radical changes, and Radomiro Tomic as the candidate of the Christian Democrats. Tomic criticised the Frei administration by arguing that the Christian Democrats had already done a lot for the country but they had not managed, under Frei, to make a revolution in Chile.²⁰⁰ In February 1970 the MAPU of Rafael Agustín Gumucio and the Christian Democrats proposed to the Chilean Congress that if no candidate were to get the majority of the votes there should be a second round in order to allow voters to assess their democratic preference. That proposal was rejected by the other parties in the most significant congressional decision for the 1970 presidential elections and for the future.

The political tension and the social divisions of Chilean society impacted on the clergy whose majority was working happy in their own parishes; however, a minority was clearly politicised supporting the reforms proposed by Allende or attacking that position by alerting the laity on the forthcoming dangers of a religious persecution if Allende were to be elected. Those tensions were carried forward to the Bishops' Plenary Assembly that took place in March 1970. All the bishops had already received letters requesting support from all the presidential

¹⁹⁸ Some of them did not complete their period in office because of the military coup of 1973. In fact, the coup meant that there were many changes in pastoral personnel due to the persecution against all priests who had sided with socialism, particularly foreign personnel.

¹⁹⁹ Silva Henríquez met with priests of the Zona Sur in order to hear their grievances but failed to convince them that he was giving up some of his authority to appoint in order to accommodate the wishes of those working in their own pastoral areas. Indeed, this was the only time that there was an election of Episcopal Vicars in the archdiocese of Santiago.

²⁰⁰ Frei resented those opinions, *Memorias* II: 174.

candidates. The bishops debated if to publish some guidelines for the forthcoming presidential election and tested some proposals through heated and long debates. Firstly, it was proposed that the bishops should condemn the possibility of voting for Allende and that proposal was not carried forward. Secondly, it was proposed that the bishops should at least suggest that it was not proper to support a candidate who was a mason, a socialist, and an atheist. That motion was not carried forward. Finally, it was agreed that because of the antagonistic positions taken by some of the clergy it was not advisable to make any statements for or against any of the three candidates. Once the meeting ended the new president of the Chilean Episcopal Conference, Mgr. José Manuel Santos, and Silva Henríquez spoke to the press telling them that the bishops had decided not to make any particular pronouncement regarding candidates or their programs before the forthcoming presidential election.

However, the bishops prepared a homily for the Eucharist of the Maundy Thursday Mass in which they clearly stated that it was part of the Christian mandate to proclaim the Gospel within society and within a particular political option but recognising that no single political option embodies all the Gospel of Jesus Christ.²⁰¹ Together with those clear thoughts on religion and politics Silva Henríquez stressed the fact that the practice of celibacy remained relevant within the Roman Catholic Church and that the Church was neither oppressing human needs for social, economic, political, or emotional fulfilment but it was part of the nature of priestly ministry to be a sign of love to all and not to a particular spouse. For Silva Henríquez it was clear that politics and priestly celibacy were the main reasons why many Chilean priests were leaving the priesthood.²⁰² Further, he told

²⁰¹ Regarding the role of the clergy the bishops stated that ‘El papel propio y específico del ministerio sacerdotal consiste fundamentalmente en proclamar el Evangelio con la palabra y la vida, a fin de que el cristiano aporte la riqueza de ese mensaje a las opciones contingentes, sin pretender jamás que una de ellas ... pueda arrogarse el privilegio de ser la traducción única del Evangelio’, *Memorias* II: 176.

²⁰² The Chilean bishops supported the practice of celibacy throughout the period but other European bishops did not. The Dutch Bishops, for example, had at the beginning of 1969 published a declaration suggesting that it was necessary for the Catholic Church to accept married

his priests that celibacy was an essential part of the priestly ministry within the Catholic Church. In his Easter Sunday homily Silva Henríquez spoke of the need to avoid any violence and to build up a just society through service to others.²⁰³

Since April 1970 there were enormous political tensions at the Catholic University. The conferment of a doctorate *honoris causa* to Eduardo Frei Montalva provoked a heated debate between the history professor Ricardo Krebbs who nominated Frei for the academic award and those who opposed the nomination, Miguel Angel Solar (president of the students' union), Carlos Montes (for the left-wing political coalition), and professor Raúl Lecaros (for the right-wing political coalition). The doctorate *honoris causa* was conferred but the tensions continued when the newly elected president of the students' union, Hernán Larrain Fernández, published several notices in the newspaper *El Mercurio* to the effect that the university rector, Fernando Castillo Velasco, favoured any opinions and proposals that came from the left-wing political parties. Castillo Velasco was uneasy about the fact that the election of university rector was to coincide with the presidential elections and after consultation with Silva Henríquez he resigned as to allow for fresh elections. In the new elections Castillo Velasco was the only candidate and on the 30th of June 1970 he was re-elected with 86.9% of the general vote. Those who were unhappy about the educational reforms continued posting letters to the Vatican and Cardinal Garrone decided to send an envoy, the Jesuit Paolo Dazza, in order to evaluate *in situ* those accusations. His report did not condemn the reform but created even more tension within the university community.

On the 20th of July 1970 Silva Henríquez read through the television channel of the Catholic University (Canal 13) a letter on the theme of Church,

priests. Other bishops supported celibacy as a good pastoral practice, however, the Chilean Bishops considered celibacy essential for priestly ministry.

²⁰³ He said: 'En este año en nuestro Chile el Señor llama a los cristianos a ser levadura en la masa, la sal de la tierra, la luz del mundo. Hoy, cuando en nuestra patria, debido a la contienda electoral, suenan tantas voces airadas, pareciendo que la paz y la equidad y el amor no tienen más cabida en ella; hoy, más que nunca, Cristo nos llama a deponer toda clase de violencia y edificar el bien de la nación sobre la base de la generosa entrega, de la serena equidad y de la justicia que se construye sin estridencias', *Memorias II*: 177.

priesthood, and politics (*Iglesia, sacerdocio y política*). In the letter Silva Henriquez made very clear that the Church was not allied to particular political parties and could never be because she was there to serve all and not to divide the laity by taking political options associated with a particular political association. However, all Chileans were divided, and that included the clergy that took opposite positions in relation to the forthcoming election of Salvador Allende as president of Chile.

CHAPTER 8

The Cardinal and Salvador Allende

The presidential elections took place on the 4th of September 1970. On the previous day the Chilean Episcopal Conference had issued a public statement announcing that the bishops were going to pay their respects to the new Chilean president only when one candidate was the legally declared winner. The bishops were trying to avoid the possibility of a public visit to the candidate with the majority of votes but not the absolute majority. The voting took place among high security but there were no incidents and at the end of that day it became clear that Allende had the majority of votes but following Chilean electoral law the Chilean Congress had to decide who was going to be the president elect between the two candidates who had the majority of the votes, either Salvador Allende or Jorge Alessandri. The Christian Democrat Radomiro Tomic was not on the presidential race any longer.

Silva Henríquez did not sleep well that night as he had the feeling that there would be lots of political tension and even violence. According to the law there was a period of 50 days between the polling day and the voting by members of Congress of a new president. The voting in Congress was to depend on the policies of the Christian Democrats and the votes of its parliamentarians.

However, on his own accord Tomic visited Allende on the 5th of September 1970 and congratulated him as the new president of Chile. That gesture was followed by a visit by a group of priests who supported Allende and by a pronouncement by Mgr. Jorge Hourton, auxiliary bishop of Puerto Montt, who on the 7th of September expressed his opinion that the people had voted for Allende and that they deserved to be given their democratic right. Two days later, Alessandri assured Christian Democrats that if they voted for him and he won he would certainly resign and allow for fresh elections to take place in which ex-President Eduardo Frei could be their candidate. As suspected, the Christian Democratic Party did not agree with that proposition.

While Silva Henríquez was concerned about forthcoming events he continued working out the possible problems that the Church could encounter if Allende were to be elected president. The Jesuit Francois Houtart had prepared a technical report on the failings of the Church at the time of socialist revolutions and had clearly indicated that there were areas that were going to be pressurised by any socialist government, including private Catholic education and the public profile of the Church in matters of state governance.

In all this transition there was one major question about the possible role of the Chilean military. Silva Henríquez met with the Army Commander in Chief, General René Schneider, who assured him that his line of command was the compliance and the defence of the Chilean Constitution. Whoever the president was, Schneider assured the Cardinal, he was going to defend that constitutionally elected figure. Following those conversations and on the 30th of September 1970 the Christian Democrats and the Popular Unity coalition agreed on a list of policies that Allende was to keep in order for the Christian Democrats to support his election in the Chilean Congress. Those political agreements settled the fears of the opposition to Allende because they guarded basic democratic rights such as the right to free speech, the right to meet, and the right to a choice in education. One of the agreements outlined the sole responsibility of the police and armed

forces to keep public order and condemned the existence of armed paramilitary groups.

The period before the meeting of the Chilean Congress was tense for everybody and was marked by a sustained effort to disrupt peace by the placing of bombs in key locations. Those who were publicly accused were the left-paramilitary groups while later it was clear that right-wing extremists aided by the CIA were responsible for those violent acts. The signs of a possible consensus were there and even presidential candidate Jorge Alessandri requested his supporters to vote for Allende so that the newly elected president could have all the support needed in such a difficult moment. It seems that a wide political consensus was possible but there were groups that did not see that agreement as a possibility for them.

There were two groups that were against any agreement: one that found a catalyst in General @ Roberto Viaux, and a second one that was led by Army General Camilo Valenzuela, Admiral Hugo Tirado, Air-Force General Joaquín García and General Vicente Huerta of the Carabineros. It is clear that those two groups wanted a military coup, even when they had not thought about the possible consequences of that violent action. They were supported by the CIA and by young members of the National Party, particularly those belonging to the paramilitary group Patria y Libertad (MNPL). There was one single obstacle to their plans and that was the democratic stand of the Army Commander in Chief General Schneider. Once and again in what was later named “the Schneider doctrine” he reiterated that the role of the Armed Forces was to defend democratic institutions centred round a democratically elected president. At the end such courageous democratic stand costed him his life.

In the morning of the 22nd of October 1970 five cars blocked the path of Schneider’s car in the junction of Martín de Zamora Street and Américo Vespucio Avenue in Las Condes. According to the terrorists they wanted to kidnap Schneider but Schneider’s response was quick and he aimed his pistol at the kidnappers. They lost control and shot Schneider four times while escaping from

the scene. Schneider agonised for three days at the Military Hospital and died. The military were put on the highest level of alert and President Frei confirmed that the Chilean Congress would meet on Saturday 24th of October 1970. However, the incident had a deep impact on the Christian Democratic Party and all her members voted for Allende during the session of the Chilean Congress. The final result was clear: Allende got 135 votes, Alessandri had 35 votes and there were 7 votes with no preference. Allende was proclaimed the winner of the presidential elections.

On the following day Schneider died at the Military Hospital and his funeral took place on Monday 26th of October 1970. Silva Henríquez presided the Requiem Mass at the Cathedral and in his homily he spoke of the sadness of all and of the Chilean nation [*la patria*] that ‘with resilience weeps but is ready to continue her life’.²⁰⁴

In spite of those sad events Allende had been confirmed as the new Chilean president and several prominent personalities such as President Frei and the Army Vice-Commander General Carlos Prats had visited him. Immediately after his election by Congress Allende had requested a meeting with Cardinal Silva Henríquez at the building of the Santiago archbishopric. The meeting took place on Tuesday 27th of October 1970. Allende arrived surrounded by hundreds of reports and the short conversation did not touch on major areas of religion or politics. Allende looked happy and relaxed and they both had a joyful conversation. Silva Henríquez asked Allende if he would accept a Bible as a gift and Allende accepted the Bible commenting that he could not refuse to accept a book where the story of the first revolutionary was narrated. On the following day, and following Chilean protocol, Silva Henríquez, his Vicar General Fr. Jorge

²⁰⁴ Silva Henríquez said: ‘Reunidos hoy en este templo, donde la patria ha orado en todos los grandes momentos de su historia, no venimos sólo para llorar al padre, al amigo, al jefe, sino para proclamar nuestra fe en los grandes valores que su sacrificio encarna. La patria no ha muerto: llora emocionada, con noble entereza, ante el sepulcro que es también emblema de grandeza ciudadana, y mudo y elocuente testimonio de amor a las nobles tradiciones republicanas y democráticas de Chile’, *Memorias* II: 194-195.

Gómez Ugarte, and Mgr. Carlos Oviedo paid a visit to Allende's home (Guardia Vieja 392) where the president and his wife welcomed their visitors.

The inauguration of Allende as new president took place on the 3rd of November 1970 and the previous day President Frei sent a personal letter to Silva Henríquez thanking him for his friendship, his prudence, and his presence during the difficult moments of Allende's election.²⁰⁵ The letter touched the cardinal's heart and its contents were very similar to those delivered at Silva Henríquez' funeral by Eduardo Frei's son, President Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle.²⁰⁶ Silva Henríquez thought about Frei's own capacities of negotiation and leadership as Allende was given the presidential sash at the Chilean Congress before proceeding to the Santiago Cathedral for a service of thanksgiving (*Te Deum*). A *Te Deum* at a president's inauguration was not a Chilean tradition while Presidents Alessandri and Frei had requested the archbishop of Santiago for one. That was the case of Allende, a Marxist and an atheist, who requested a religious service in order to start his presidency in a country where most Chileans were Christians and indeed most Christians considered themselves Catholics. Silva Henríquez took the request as recognition of the central role of the Catholic Church as an institution within Chilean society and he read the homily not a customary practice for the archbishop of Santiago. Allende was touched by the occasion and commented to Silva Henríquez that the ceremony had been the most important of his inauguration.²⁰⁷ Silva Henríquez continued his efforts to keep good communication with the new government by attending a reception in honour

²⁰⁵ Frei wrote: 'Hoy es el último día que estaré en La Moneda y tal vez sea la última carta que escriba en ella. El objetivo es muy simple. Darle las gracias por su amistad inalterable, por el afecto que me ha rodeado, por la confianza que ha tenido en mí, por la discreción maravillosa que ha demostrado y, sobre todo, por su permanente lección de hombría, de tranquilidad y de valor. Usted no podrá imaginar cuánto me ha ayudado saber que usted era el jefe de la Iglesia chilena, porque para mí lo es como cardenal y arzobispo de Santiago. Usted ha sido un gran pastor. Con el tiempo se reconocerá su labor. Su prudencia en un momento tan difícil para Chile nunca será suficientemente apreciada. Antes de abandonar este cargo, reciba usted el sentimiento de mi gratitud y, sobre todo, de mi más profundo afecto. Eduardo Frei, Presidente de la República', *Memorias II*: 196-197.

²⁰⁶ 'Homenaje del Presidente Eduardo Frei R-T', *El Cardenal de Chile* CD Radio Cooperativa.

²⁰⁷ *Memorias II*: 197.

of Allende at the Soviet Embassy in Santiago. At that reception Enrique Kirberg, rector of the Universidad Técnica, commented once again on the *Te Deum* as the actual inauguration of Allende.

There is no doubt that relations between Silva Henríquez and Allende were good, not only because Silva Henríquez kept all lines of communication open but also because socialists and communists had a false ideological image of the Church as an ally of the traditionalists and an enemy of the people. Any gesture of openness by Silva Henríquez meant that he made an impression on the Popular Unity coalition. However, the Chilean traditionalists read those gestures wrongly. They perceived the cardinal as a leftist, an ally of the Popular Unity coalition, and labelled him ‘the Red Cardinal’ following a visual association of the red colour with the Soviet Union and Soviet affairs.²⁰⁸

On the 5th of November 1970 Allende spoke to a large gathering of supporters at the National Stadium. He reiterated his determination to carry out the 40 intended policies of his government, and to lead a revolution Chilean way, with red wine and *empanadas*.²⁰⁹ His policies started to be implemented by the end of 1970, including the welcome availability of half a litre of milk to all children of school age. It must be remembered that the Chilean poor lived on tea and bread when they could not purchase the basic foods such as pasta, rice, and flour. By early 1971 Allende’s government started buying the majority of shares in state companies in order to consolidate a pool of state-owned industries. The agrarian reform began in earnest and the Ministry of Agriculture led by Jacques Chonchol moved to the south of Chile in order to be close to the lands to be

²⁰⁸ Many Chileans acquired that association, exploited by the media, without studying the messages or the homilies written by the Cardinal. For example, and after the publication of my short biography of the Cardinal in Chile (Aguilar 2004a) an aunt of mine sent me an e-mail admitting that she had always thought that Silva Henríquez was a Marxist and she was glad to discover through my book that he had been a devout Catholic who had to take difficult decisions within the history of Chile.

²⁰⁹ *Empanadas* are beef pastries that have become a national Chilean institution and part of the Chilean diet.

expropriated. In January 1971 twelve large farms were taken by the government adding to a total of 260 farms already part of the national led economy.²¹⁰

At the end of 1970 Allende pardoned members of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario who were in prison for bank robberies and terrorist activity calling them idealists. At the same time Carlos Altamirano became Secretary General of the Socialist Party and immediately advocated the end of the bourgeoisie state of law. The different political forces were pushing in different directions and even the Cardinal had to face its first public misunderstandings when he declared to foreign reporters that socialism was superior than capitalism, a point already made in the social doctrine of the Church.²¹¹

Within the Church there had been a growing tendency of involvement in the temporal side of life and many priests were involved in local politics. As a result there had been a growing number of priestly resignations and the number of applications to join the seminary was for the first zero. The statistics are astonishing: 202 priests left the priesthood during this period while since 1960 only 35 had done so. Silva Henríquez had never been happy about the practice of having seminarians immersed in parish communities, and he decided to have a meeting with Fr. Mario González, who was at that time the leader of those seminarians that were immersing themselves in the popular realities of the Church in Santiago. The meeting took place in Punta de Tralca, and it was a stormy, open and honest meeting. After the meeting Silva Henríquez decided that a seminary with a building and a group of teachers were needed in order to train future priests but as he did not want to hurt Fr. González and others working with the poor he opted to have a two-tier system for priestly formation. Some seminarians could

²¹⁰ The process of agrarian reform was based on the fact that the majority of large Chilean farms did not produce what was expected of them. Most of those large farms were owned by families who exploited part of their potential and owned vast amounts of land that were not utilise for agricultural purposes. By a process of agrarian reform Allende's government aimed at increased the national agricultural produce but also to divide large farms and give part of the land to those who were already working it. The process of agrarian reform produced enormous tensions, violence, and strife between those who claimed the farms as their private property and the national policies of expropriation for the good of many.

²¹¹ *Memorias* II: 198.

live in modest houses in a parish setting; others would occupy the new Major Seminary that Silva Henríquez built in La Florida with financial help from Europe.²¹²

At national level the Popular Unity coalition increased their share of the national vote during the local elections in April 1971.²¹³ The political tension increased and those Catholics who had left the Christian Democratic Party became part of the Popular Unity program through the Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario (MAPU) and the Izquierda Cristiana (IC), a political party formed by Catholics who were previously disenchanted by the Christian Democrats' position toward the Popular Unity coalition.²¹⁴ One of the leading Catholic workers of the country, José Aguilera, who a year before had been elected president of the Catholic Workers World Organization, was also a member of the political commission of the MAPU and therefore a member of the Popular Unity coalition.²¹⁵

Christians for Socialism

The Chilean Bishops were nervous about the Catholic involvement in a leftist coalition that was driving towards class struggle and as a result was creating a division between the nation and the Church. The bishops became more nervous in April 1971 in Punta de Tralca when they heard that a group of 80 priests mainly from Santiago, but also from Talca, Valparaíso and Concepción, were meeting in the south of Chile in order to discuss the involvement of Christians in building a socialist society in Chile.²¹⁶ Those priests worked among the poor and included the Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo, and Frs. Alfonso Baeza, Martín Gárate, Juan Martín, Ignacio Pujadas, Esteban Gumucio, Sergio Torres, Pierre Dubois and Santiago

²¹² The first team of seminary professors was on loan from the Schönstatt fathers.

²¹³ UP - 49.7%, PDC - 25.6%, PN - 18.1%.

²¹⁴ Among those who left the PDC and founded the IC were Bosco Parra, Luis Maira, and Pedro Felipe Ramírez.

²¹⁵ Rodrigo Ambrosio, leader of the MAPU, met regularly with priests and seminarians.

²¹⁶ The title of the series of workshops was 'La participación de los cristianos en la construcción del socialismo en Chile'.

Thijssen.²¹⁷ They published their first document of a series of letters, documents, working documents, and manifestos that were to follow. They gave a press conference on the 16th of April 1971 in which they declared their hope for a socialist society, and they dismissed critiques towards a Marxist analysis of society.²¹⁸

Silva Henríquez was not only surprised but also hurt not only because he knew those priests well – some of them were his trusted helpers and friends- but also because they knew that the Chilean Bishops were at that time preparing a document that was to analyse relations between Christianity and Marxism. The cardinal made a quick and short declaration stating that the Church could not support or be identified with a single political system and that while priests were entitled to their own political choices they could not use their moral authority in order to support a political system or political party.²¹⁹ Immediately Esteban Gumucio, Alfonso Baeza, and Santiago Thijssen met with the cardinal in order to apologise for any misunderstanding. They expressed their support for the bishops' position but wanted to support their own people who saw a beacon of hope in the new political situation. Silva Henríquez understood their position and their feelings for their parishioners, for workers with whom they lived, with the poor and their aspirations. However, he had to condemn any political use of the Church and her message.²²⁰ The problem was that the group of the 80 priests had pushed the boundary between the use of social analysis and Marxist theory to the point where their letter identified Marxist practice with Gospel values. For the Cardinal

²¹⁷ The same group of clergy had visited Allende in September 1970, before his presidential ratification by the Chilean Congress, in order to congratulate him.

²¹⁸ They said: 'Constatamos la esperanza que significa para las masas trabajadoras la llegada al poder del Gobierno Popular y su acción decidida en favor de la construcción del socialismo. Esta intuición del pueblo no es errada', *Memorias* II: 203, see "Declaration of the 80", 16 April 1971 (Eagleson 1975: 3-6).

²¹⁹ 'Declaration of the Bishops of Chile', Temuco 22 April 1971 (Eagleson 1975: 12-15).

²²⁰ Silva Henríquez commented: 'Ellos trabajaban en medios obreros; eran vecinos de la pobreza, de las privaciones, del sentimiento de injusticia. Los obreros no pueden ser personas que defiendan el orden establecido; sería inhumano pedirles que no tuvieran aspiraciones de mejorar sus condiciones de vida; del mismo modo, era antinatural creer que los sacerdotes que trabajaban con ellos, con tanta abnegación, no se identificaran con sus luchas', *Memorias* II: 204.

those were opposed values and ways of life, and he argued that the publication of *A Theology of Liberation* (1971) by the Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutiérrez had pushed for a Marxist practice within the Church. Gutiérrez had been guest speaker at their first colloquium and Silva Henríquez identified him with a political option.²²¹ The polemic continued when Fr. Beltrán Villegas wrote them a letter in which he accused them of suffering from clericalism.²²² A few days later, eleven theology professors of the Catholic University expressed their support for the Christians for Socialism and joined the movement.²²³

The Cardinal and the CUT

In mid-April Allende invited Silva Henríquez to join the celebrations by workers of the 1st May, a traditional holiday when left-wing workers took part in a large public gathering on Alameda Avenue.²²⁴ Silva Henríquez initial response was to decline that invitation, he had a family celebration to attend, but also thought that with all the public attacks by the conservatives on his person the idea of attending a massive act organised by the Worker's Union (Central Unica de Trabajadores – CUT) was not a good idea.

However, by the time that the official invitation sent by the officers of the CUT arrived, his own priestly council had suggested that he should attend the public meeting.²²⁵ Fr. Renato Poblete argued that the lessons of history were clear, in Poland the Church survived because she continued dialogue with the

²²¹ Silva Henríquez was wrong in this critique of Gutiérrez. Neither his *A Theology of Liberation* nor any of his other writings depart from the teachings of the *Magisterium* or the teachings of the Bible. *A Theology of Liberation* is a theological critique of underdevelopment in Latin America that uses social theory for his analysis but argues strongly for the role of the Church within a Christian liberationist process of social change, see Aguilar (2002, 2005).

²²² 'Letter to 80 friends', 19 April 1971 (Eagleson 1975: 7-11).

²²³ The office of religious sociology of the archdiocese of Santiago carried out a survey among the clergy regarding cooperation with Marxists and political options. The result was clear, while 52% was open to cooperation with Marxists 82% rejected the possibility of party politics by the clergy.

²²⁴ The 1st of May is a public holiday in Chile, the Day of the Worker, marked by the Chilean Church as the Feast of St. Joseph the Worker.

²²⁵ The CUT office bearers were Luis Figueroa (President) and Nicolás Pérez Suárez (Secretary).

Communist government while in Hungary the Church almost disappeared when the Church refused to open lines of communication with the Communist government. While Silva Henríquez was persuaded by that argument he also heard a personal plea from Fr. Luis Antonio Díaz, chaplain to the Catholic Youth Workers (Juventud Obrera Católica – JOC). Fr. Díaz argued that the JOC was almost expelled from the CUT because they did not endorse socialism as their path but were allowed to stay after the cardinal insisted that they should. Not to attend the celebrations would send the wrong signals to the CUT and to the Catholic workers who eventually could leave the Church.

Even with all good will there was still the problem of Silva Henríquez' journey to Talca where one of his sisters celebrated an important anniversary as a member of a religious order. Finally they solved the problem by hiring a helicopter that would take the cardinal to Talca immediately after the meeting of the CUT. Allende was to be the only speaker at that meeting, however after a request by the Church a message from the Cardinal was also read. In that message Silva Henríquez announced a petition for the canonisation of the Chilean Jesuit Fr. Alberto Hurtado, champion of the poor and of the workers. The photos of the Cardinal sitting on the main podium together with Allende circulated throughout the world and were used by the Popular Unity then and by the military years later for their own means and ends.

Evangelio, Política y Socialismos

On the 27th of May 1971 the Chilean Bishops published the working document *Evangelio, política y socialismos* outlining the doctrinal position of the Church regarding the Gospel, politics, and the socialist political system. Fr. Hernán Alessandri prepared the doctrinal part and the document became an important guiding point for most Catholics torn between political practice and ritual piety. The document expressed the conviction that Christ wanted the integral liberation of all human beings, not only a spiritual liberation but also a material one. However, that liberation was not attained by a blind adherence to a single political

system but to the Gospel values. Thus, the option for the poor was dear to the Church, understood as solidarity with the aspirations of all those who suffer rather than a class struggle for social, political, or economic control within society. According to the document Christians are free to choose their political option, but if they chose a Marxist perspective they must realise that Marxism while having a positive preoccupation for human beings and their welfare also contradicts the Gospel inclusion of all within any political process. As a result the Church would always respect the democratically elected government but she could not support any revolutions that instigated the violent overthrow of democratic governments.²²⁶

The group of the 80 provided an answer to the document by publishing some 'reflections'. For Silva Henríquez the 'reflections' did not provide any real contribution and he was quite harsh on their critique towards the bishops and the teaching of the Church. Despite the fact that Bishop Bernardino Piñera thought that the Cardinal had been too harsh in his response to the 80 priests, Silva Henríquez could not accept the dismissal of the document because, according to them, after all, *bishops were part of a class system that discriminated against the poor*.²²⁷ Silva Henríquez had a chance to clarify his views when he spoke at the Catholic University emphasising that neither a Christian humanist system nor a Marxist one could be imposed by force at the university or anywhere else.²²⁸

In July 1971 the group of the 80 became the group of the 200 when they met to discuss the Catholic priesthood in preparation for the Synod of Bishops

²²⁶ The Vatican, through Cardinal Baggio, praised the document, *Memorias II*: 217.

²²⁷ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'No puedo aceptar que alguien pueda pretender desvirtuar un acto serio de magisterio Episcopal, partiendo del supuesto, nunca demostrado, de que los obispos son tributarios de una mentalidad alienada, ahistórica, anticientífica y clasistamente determinada. Aceptar eso implica disociar la Iglesia ...en el fondo, entregarse maniatados a la criteriología marxista, para la cual no hay una verdad, una moral, una fe, que no sea expresión y defensa de una clase', *Memorias II*: 208.

²²⁸ Silva Henríquez said: 'Así como no podemos imponer por decreto un humanismo cristiano, tampoco podemos prohibir por decreto la marxización de nuestra universidad ... Si fuera cierto que este peligro de marxización existe y crece, no queda otro camino ... que robustecer la vitalidad de nuestro humanismo cristiano, fortaleciendo la vitalidad de la fe, la esperanza y la caridad cristiana', *Memorias II*: 208.

that was to take place in October 1971 in Rome. Fr. Rafael Maroto, one of the Episcopal Vicars of Santiago, also took part creating the feeling that the number of clergy involved in public political activities was growing rather than decreasing and, according to Silva Henríquez, creating more confusion among the faithful. One of the issues articulated by the 200 was a revolutionary ecclesiology that pointed to a Church without structures and advocated the end of the practice of canonical celibacy for priests. The Roman Synod of October 1971 was to reinforce the importance of celibacy as sign within the consecrated life, and Cardinal Suenens, one of the most progressive bishops did not request the end of the practice, instead pushed for the possibility of having married priests as well as celibate priests within the Catholic Church.

Silva Henríquez' major criticism towards the 80 and later towards the 200 pointed to the fact that while concerned with the hopes of socialism they kept silence on the increasing theme of violence and hatred among Chileans, incited by the clashes of political options in public life. Already on the 8th June 1971 a group known as Vanguardia Organizada del Pueblo (VOP) had assassinated Edmundo Pérez Zujovic, formerly Minister for the Interior in Frei's cabinet, in Providencia, Santiago. At his funeral Silva Henriquez remembered the assassination of General Schneider, arguing that the killing of two men was already too large a number, and pleading for hatred to be killed, before hatred could kill the soul of Chile.²²⁹ Pope Paul VI discussed the Chilean situation with Silva Henríquez in Rome during October 1971. The Pope and Silva Henríquez agreed that the Church could not condemn governments that were democratically elected and at the same time should continue to be involved in public life proclaiming Gospel values rather than particular political options.

²²⁹ Silva Henriquez said: 'Tenemos que matar al odio, antes de que el odio envenene y mate el alma de Chile', *Memorias II*: 209.

The Cardinal and the UP

Relations between the cardinal and the Popular Unity coalition were open, cordial, and warm on the part of the Communists. Silva Henríquez remained sceptic because he was afraid of being used for political means and public propaganda. However, he invited leaders of the Communist Party to his house where they dined together and discussed relations between the Catholic Church. Luis Corvalán, Volodia Teitelboim and Mireya Baltra were clear in their appreciation of the moral voice of the Catholic Church. They also recognised that most of their members, particularly the poor, considered themselves Catholics.

The cardinal was invited to all government events, including the signing of the nationalisation of the copper industry in June 1971. While he was abroad he nominated Bishop Ismael Errázuriz as his delegate for that important occasion. At one point or another Silva Henríquez commented how the Popular Unity had a sense of the centrality of the Catholic Church within Chilean life while right-wing politicians ignored the Church.

In November 1971, Fidel Castro, Prime Minister of Cuba, visited Chile for almost a month. On the 22nd of November 1971 Castro met with the 80 priests for socialism and spoke about his strategic alliances with Christians. On the following day he visited Archbishop's House and met with the Cardinal. Castro had requested that visit and Paul VI had encouraged Silva Henriquez to meet him even when once again the cardinal was not completely convinced that Castro's visit would not be used for means of political propaganda. Paul VI had suggested that two credible witnesses should be at the meeting in case there were incorrect media reports later. Thus, Bishops Ismael Errázuriz (auxiliary bishop of Santiago) and Carlos Oviedo (Secretary to the Episcopal Conference) accompanied the cardinal during his meeting with Castro. The dialogue between Silva Henríquez and Fidel Castro was honest and open.²³⁰ Castro explained that he got a list provided by the Chilean government with names of those he should visit; the cardinal was among

²³⁰ Silva Henríquez narrated the meeting in detail helped by a chronicle written by Bishop Oviedo after the meeting, *Memorias II*: 212-216.

them. Castro expressed his warmth towards the Church and her compromise with the liberation of peoples and the cardinal gave him a Bible as a present, that after a request by Bishop Errázuriz, the Cardinal signed. The meeting lasted for thirty minutes and at the end of it Bishop Oviedo requested from Castro permission to donate 10,000 copies of the Bible for Christians in Cuba. Castro promised to make sure they arrived provided there was no publicity about that donation. Indeed, the Bibles arrived in Cuba and the cardinal remained more puzzled about the good relations between a government that had persecuted the Church and the Latin American Church.

Church and Politics

During 1972 the cardinal received the Human Rights Prize 1971 from the Latin American Jewish Congress. The organisation presented the prize to the archbishop of Santiago for his involvement in the inclusion of all within Chilean society. However, that recognition carried a heavy cost of involvement within a society and a Church that remained heavily politicised.

At the same time the political tensions increased, particularly within the area of public and private education. Following the Bishops' declaration of April 1971 where the Bishops requested a democratisation of the Catholic private schools, the provincials of the Jesuits and the Sacred Heart Fathers decided to take action. They proposed to the cardinal to give three important Catholic schools to the state: San Ignacio de El Bosque and Sagrados Corazones of Alameda y Manquehue. The Cardinal insisted that the Chilean bishops should give their permission because there had been already tension between the school administration and the parents of those schools. The situation was also difficult because the government was in favour while the association of Catholic Schools (FIDE) under the presidency of the Jesuit Fr. Paricio Cariola was against the idea. However, the bishops voted against the idea, even when the Cardinal had argued that Catholic schools were perceived as secluded places where social discrimination continued to be experientially passed unto young generations. The

bishops encouraged the opening of the schools to a diversity of students and the Jesuits gave scholarships to able students with less financial resources than the traditional students.

However, the more serious problems regarding political issues were taking place within the Church. The Christians for Socialism (an evolution of the 80 and the 200 together) planned a Latin American meeting for April 1972 to coincide with the third conference of the United Nations' agency, UNCTAD.²³¹ The Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo invited the cardinal to sponsor the event.²³² Of course the Cardinal declined but at least knew what was happening. Earlier a document had reached him, written by an Episcopal Vicar, in which there was an assessment of the growth of the Popular Church that included Christian communities rather than Catholic communities and assumed the end of priestly celibacy and the end of the authority of bishops. For Silva Henríquez members of those groups had been taken over by political ideologies, and he was very worried about increasing divisions within the Chilean Church.²³³

Silva Henríquez did not accept their invitation and wrote a strong letter condemning the Christians for Socialism because, according to the cardinal, they were helping to destroy the Church by their choice of Marxism as the only alternative to social injustice within Latin America.²³⁴ For Silva Henríquez members of the group had become blind to any alternatives; some of them had even gone to Cuba in order to help with the harvest and on their return had praised the totalitarian regime of Fidel Castro. Others, led by Fr. Luis Antonio Díaz had

²³¹ 'Christians for Socialism: Draft Agenda of Proposed Convention' (Eagleson 1975: 19-31), and Carlos Oviedo Cavada, Auxiliary Bishop of Concepción, Secretary General of the Episcopal Conference of Chile, "Confidential Episcopal Memo on Upcoming Convention", Santiago 12 January 1972 (Eagleson 1975: 35-38).

²³² Gonzalo Arroyo, 'Letter of Invitation to the Archbishop of Santiago', Santiago 10 February 1972 (Eagleson 1975: 39-40).

²³³ *Memorias II*: 221.

²³⁴ Raúl Cardinal Silva Henríquez, 'Initial Response of Cardinal Silva to Gonzalo Arroyo', Santiago 3 March 1972 (Eagleson 1975: 41-47), and, 'Response of the Coordinating Committee to Cardinal Silva', Santiago 20 March 1972 (Eagleson 1975: 48-61). The Cardinal provided a further response, 'Response of Cardinal Silva to Coordinating Committee', Santiago 13 April 1972 (Eagleson 1975: 62-63). A summary of Silva Henríquez' views was also published as 'Authorized summary of Cardinal Silva's views' (Eagleson 1975: 64-66).

explained the pastoral situation of priests working among workers. They received the support of the cardinal and wrote a letter supporting the bishops and the social doctrine of the Church. The letter received further support from 600 priests throughout Chile and showed that while the divisions remained within the Church, it was possible to support the workers without being part of the Christians for Socialism.

The Chilean Bishops made a clear declaration rejecting the over-temporal options of many priests who had become members of political parties. That option for Christian option of unity and community rather than sectarian partisan options was reaffirmed before the April meeting of Christians for Socialism when the secretary of the Chilean Episcopal Conference, Mgr. Carlos Oviedo, circulated an official letter informing that the bishops were not hosting the meeting and that they had forbidden it. Fr. Sergio Valech, secretary of the Archdiocese of Santiago, expressed the same condemnation and informed all Catholics in Santiago. Despite those condemnations the meeting took place and foreign clergy took part, including the bishop of Cuernavaca, Mexico, Sergio Méndez Arceo.

In the meantime, the fact that the UNCTAD was meeting in Santiago was a sign that the world was focused on what was happening in Chile. The government of Allende was ready to show visitors how to implement a model that would bring economic prosperity with social justice for all. However, the outside world focused also on the work of the Church seen as wholly committed to the same search for social justice. In February 1972 the World Council of Churches of Holland requested advise from the cardinal on how to prepare their member churches for the meeting of the UNCTAD. Silva Henríquez wrote an important letter that was read in many churches and that set the pace for the contribution of Europeans to development in Latin America, and in the case of Holland through the Catholic Church in Chile. For Silva Henríquez poverty in the Third World created anger and violence among the poor, and therefore poverty was not only an economic one but also a moral one, where those responsible for economic policies were creating a cycle of violence and distrust. The letter was brought to the

attention of Allende who congratulated Silva Henríquez for his vision and assured him that the meeting of the UNCTAD wanted to address the same social and moral problems of the Third World.²³⁵

In April 1972 and during the meeting of bishops in Punta de Tralca three priests, members of the Christians for Socialism met, with Silva Henríquez. They were Frs. Alfonso Baeza, Mariano Puga and Pablo Fontaine. Silva Henríquez was very fond of them and trusted their pastoral commitment for the poor. Thus, he told them that he was glad that they were part of the group because at least through them some resemblance of Christian communion and unity with the Church at large would be considered. They invited Silva Henríquez to meet with some members of the Christians for Socialism in order to try to guide them. Silva Henríquez agreed and the meeting took place at the Caritas Hall a few days later. The hall was packed and it wasn't a quiet meeting. Some foreign priests and nuns showed lack of knowledge of all the work for the poor that Silva Henriquez was fostering and his words were interpreted as harsh and lacking substance, without concrete actions for the poor in Latin America. After the meeting there was a proposal to cancel their meeting with President Allende because he was yet another politician that would not understand the realities of the poor as they felt it was the case with the Cardinal. Fr. Gonzalo Arroyo managed to pull them together and they had a meeting with Allende but the proposal of cancelling that meeting was a clear sign of the radical position of a group of priests that wanted to go further than the Popular Unity coalition itself.

Shortly after their April meeting the Christians for Socialism, that as a group had militants of the Izquierda Cristiana and the MAPU, became ever more radical, as those political groups evolved in political positions closer to the

²³⁵ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'No nos conocen: no saben del drama de nuestros hacinamientos humanos, con su cortejo de insalubridad, promiscuidad, atenuación y pérdida del sentido moral. No sospechan el proceso de acumulada frustración, que deviene resentimiento y rencor, y desemboca en el odio y la violencia, cuando se ve que tantos tienen tan poco, y tan pocos tienen tanto, y que los individuos y los países ricos se hacen siempre más ricos, mientras que los pobres siguen siendo, día a día, más pobres. Esta situación amenaza condenar, a unos, al subdesarrollo material, y a todos, al subdesarrollo moral', *Memorias II*: 222.

Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario. Arroyo y Baeza, among others, left the group, and they lost force as a unique Christian voice within the Popular Unity becoming part of a political alliance rather than members of an independent social group. However, the Christians for Socialism had an impact on left-wing political parties that previously were anti-religion, atheist, and distrusted Catholicism as an ally of the anti-revolutionary movement. The Christians for Socialism, according to Silva Henríquez fulfilled their role in evangelisation by fostering change within the Popular Unity, changes that were to impact after the military coup in the cooperation between left-wing parties and the Chilean Catholic Church.²³⁶ Their sense of being part of the Church continued and they sent the conclusions of their April meeting to the Holy See. The Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Jean Villot, wrote to Silva Henríquez appreciating their allegiance to the Church, however requesting that they expressed the same in the case of the Chilean Bishops. The Vatican did not agree with their conclusions, and Villot was particularly worried about any mention of class struggle, but in fact the Vatican appreciated their constant communication and their search for avenues of Catholic action within society.

The cardinal did not take too well to the religious and political crisis and he had a small heart attack and had to take to bed for a month. He got up for the 1st of May celebrations when for the second consecutive year he sat at the main podium with the leaders of the Popular Unity, together with Fr. Luis Antonio Díaz, chaplain to the Youth Catholic Workers. The Catholic workers marched with their own banners, in which large paintings of Cardinal Cardijn (Founder of the Youth Catholic Workers) and Bishop Manuel Larraín were prominent. The banners had citations from the social doctrine of the Church; they had kept their identity and were part of the presence of the Church among the workers and among the poor. Silva Henriquez had doubted if to attend the public act and did so

²³⁶ Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘La incrustación de estos cristianos en ese medio transformó también la fisonomía interna de esos partidos; y hay en esto un aporte objetivo a la evangelización que sería injusto desconocer’, *Memorias* II: 226.

as to support Fr. Díaz and his ministry. Once again he was attacked by the press and suffered misunderstanding by many Catholics.

Two months later Silva Henríquez suffered the pain of the death of his beloved Fr. Jorge Gómez Ugarte, a generous and astute priest who was at that time the right hand man of the Chilean Cardinal.²³⁷ Silva Henríquez felt that loss, particularly at a time when the intransigency of all political parties exacerbated the deterioration of the political situation. The socialists decided to depart from the slow democratic road towards socialism, and the Christian Democrats tried to fix the public, private, and mixed areas of the Chilean economy. The Chilean economy was suffering due to international embargoes on Chilean copper and the strike by truck drivers that hurt the economy. There was a shortage of basic commodities and inflation was rising 5% monthly during 1972. In October 1972 47,000 trucks were on strike supported by 600,000 men and women involved in commerce through retailer shops, white collar workers and professionals. Silva Henríquez was in Rome during the crisis, however Bishops José Manuel Santos y Carlos Oviedo met with Allende to discuss the situation. It was clear to them that Allende did not have control over some of his supporters and some of his civil servants. As a result Silva Henríquez wrote a letter from Rome requesting respect for all ideas and requesting constraint when approaching political adversaries.²³⁸

There were some signs of dialogue: members of the Armed Forces were incorporated into Allende's cabinet and the Chilean parliament approved a fire-arms law that allowed members of the Armed Forces to search for and to confiscate illegal weapons owned by paramilitary groups. Thus, General Carlos Prats became Minister of the Interior, Vice-Admiral Ismael Huerta took over the Ministry for Public Works, and Air Force General Claudio Sepúlveda became Minister for Mining. Later, and during the Christmas period the Chilean Bishops

²³⁷ Silva Henríquez expressed his affection for Fr. Gómez and for God at his funeral when he said 'Hemos visto al Señor; pasó a nuestro lado haciendo el bien. Y desde el fondo de nuestra alma ... te alabamos, Señor, por el sacerdote que nos diste, porque en él volviste a nosotros y con nosotros has caminado iluminando los senderos de nuestras vidas, fortaleciendo nuestra debilidad, avivando nuestro amor', *Memorias* II: 229.

²³⁸ Raúl Silva Henríquez, *Chile necesita una operación respeto*.

reiterated their prayer so that Chile could find peace. It was too late, and the Chilean situation continued deteriorating. Allende felt the stress of the situation and suffered a heart attack. However, he still visited the Soviet Union and spoke at the United States condemning the American intervention in Chilean affairs. President Nixon did not receive him but he had a meeting with the American Ambassador to the United Nations, George Bush Sr.

At the start of 1973 most of Chile turned its attention to the parliamentary elections due to take place on the 4th of March. The results increased the amount of votes received by the Popular Unity government and did not allow the opposition to have enough votes as to call for a constitutional accusation against Allende in order to ask for Allende's removal from government: UP - 43% of the total vote, opposition - 55% of the total vote. Those elections saw a priest standing as candidate for the MAPU in Talca and the Christians for Socialism revived their reflections with the arrival of Fr. José Comblin to Talca. Comblin was expelled by the Brazilian government and welcomed in Talca. Very soon several theologians of liberation, including Hugo Assmann and Gustavo Gutiérrez, started visiting Talca and contributing to the life of Christians for Socialism.

In April 1973 the Plenary Assembly of the Chilean Bishops decided to prepare a document condemning Christians for Socialism, and forbidding priests from joining that movement. The preparation of the document took a good few months, and it was only ready in October 1973 when it did not have the same urgency due to the military coup. At that time, Silva Henríquez thought that the doctrinal parts of *Fe cristiana y actuación política* were relevant for any moment of history.²³⁹ He had expanded some of those ideas in May 1973 when a text with some of his speeches on class conflict and Christian solidarity were published as *La misión social del cristiano: conflicto de clases o solidaridad cristiana*.

The conflict between Chileans increased and there were battles between the director of the Catholic University Television Station (Canal 13), the Rector of the Catholic University Fernando Castillo Velasco and the Allende government

²³⁹ *Memorias* II: 237.

due to the expansion of the television station into the south of Chile without expressed permission either from the government or the university authorities. Canal 13 was perceived by the Allende administration as an enemy of the people allied with foreign interests due to the fact that a U.S. educational company (International Educational Development) owned half of its shares before the state intervention of the television station. The main problem for Silva Henríquez was the presence of Fr. Raúl Hasbún as director, a priest that he trusted as one of his secretaries but who had very strong ideas about the role of the television station in preserving the freedom of expression within Chilean society in a situation where all other channels were controlled by Allende's government. Whatever the details were Silva Henríquez had a clear idea that most people were blind and that any dialogue or mediation was impossible any longer.²⁴⁰

Escuela Nacional Unificada

One of the greatest conflicts between the Church and Allende's government was the educational proposal of the Minister for Education, Jorge Tapia (Radical Party). At the time of the March 1973 elections Tapia had circulated a draft document on education in Chile for discussion in all schools.²⁴¹ Tapia intended to evaluate the need for free education for all and the ways in which education formed citizens. However, part of the document elaborated a vision of education within a socialist society in which his critiques read an education proposal in order to incorporate children into a political ideology and a futuristic project close to the Cuban model of communal education.²⁴² Within Tapia's project there was

²⁴⁰ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Pero lo que pasaba en el país era superior a todos nosotros. Las noticias de violencia aumentaban cada día, mientras la economía entraba en una enloquecida espiral de desabastecimiento, inflación, mercado negro y caos. El gobierno no se mostraba capaz de dominar la situación y, en vez de evitar nuevos problemas para resolver los que ya tenía, iba abriendo nuevas brechas a cada paso', *Memorias II*: 240.

²⁴¹ *Informe sobre la Escuela Nacional Unificada (ENU)*.

²⁴² The main objective of the ENU project was related to the building up of a socialist society as outlined in the document: 'La construcción de una nueva sociedad socialista basada en el desarrollo de sus fuerzas productivas, la superación de la dependencia económica, tecnológica y cultural, el establecimiento de nuevas relaciones de propiedad, y la auténtica democracia y justicia social garantizada por el ejercicio efectivo del poder del pueblo'.

an intended political motive and an inherent challenge to Catholic education, particularly private Catholic education for the Chilean elite.

The draft document suggested that the educational policies described in the document would be implemented by 1 June 1973. There was anguish in many Catholic sectors and Mgr. Emilio Tagle of Valparaíso was one the strongest in his own critiques towards Allende and his government. Tagle contacted Silva Henríquez and urged him to speak to Allende. Thus, after the meeting of Chilean Bishops in March 1973 Silva Henríquez and Mgr. Carlos Oviedo met with Allende. Silva Henríquez explained that the Church supported free education for all, and also supported education as part of the liberation and the development of all peoples, however the ENU educational project sponsored by the government did not fit within models of pluralistic education and a pluralistic society. Allende listened attentively and agreed that the project had been a mistake if the Church did not support it; he promised that the project would be delayed in its implementation and that there would be an all-inclusive discussion on its future aims and objectives. Following that meeting the Chilean Bishops published a letter in which they supported a model of education for all but requested that the ENU be postponed because it did not include the humanistic and Christian values attached to the fibres of Chilean society.

Despite those assurances to the Church the Ministry of Education continued promoting the ENU and on the 11th of April 1973 Minister Tapia met with 150 officers of the Chilean Armed Forces. At that meeting Vice-Admiral Ismael Huerta, ex-minister of Allende, expressed the opposition to the ENU by the Chilean Navy. In another meeting General Carlos Prats also expressed the opposition of the Chilean Army to such project. In the meantime the secondary school students organised massive protests against the project with the support of the Christian Democratic Party. The Chilean Bishops followed with a second letter condemning the project. A document with the Bishops' thoughts on education followed on the 1st of June 1973 with the title *El momento actual de la educación en Chile*. Previously, and within a message to the nation, Allende

expressed his support for the project but its immediate postponement. The Church had made her voice heard and the ENU project had collapsed.²⁴³

On Easter Sunday 1973 Silva Henríquez spoke very strongly against violence and against hate between political opponents. He considered such hate an offence against Christ and part of the many attacks Christ suffered during his arrest and crucifixion.²⁴⁴ He declined an invitation to attend the workers' celebration of the 1st of May 1973 and explained his point of view to the Catholic workers arguing that his presence would be used in order to further antagonise worker against worker.

Final Dialogues

It was at that time that Allende called Silva Henríquez twice to discuss the difficult political situation, particularly the impossibility that the government faced in passing any legislation through Congress, place in which the opposition blocked any possibility of political dialogue and democratic negotiations related to the economy. During their first conversation Allende expressed his fears that the situation was going to end in a civil war, due to the fact that the miners of El Teniente in Rancagua were on indefinite strike and that armed force personnel was entering factories in search of arms at an average of three factories per week. Paramilitary groups were arming themselves and there was a general sense that there was no possible solution to the political situation. Allende feared that such disaster were to take place during his presidency and wanted to find a way out by engaging the Christian Democrats in dialogue. Allende saw the cardinal as the

²⁴³ Years later Silva Henríquez was able to discuss that project with members of Allende's administration. They all recognised that the ENU had been a costly mistake that probably triggered further opposition towards Allende and his government, *Memorias II*: 244.

²⁴⁴ 'Las envidias, los odios, las luchas que la desangran, las pasiones desatadas que la acosan, ponen en el rostro de nuestra patria la corona de espinas, los golpes, los salvazos que también han desfigurado el rostro de Cristo ... No es posible que el grande e inmenso anhelo de cambios mejores que vive en el corazón de la gran mayoría de los chilenos, para hacer una patria más humana, más justa, más abierta a todos sus hijos en igualdad de posibilidades, se frustre por todos estos grandes pecados personales y colectivos, y el anhelo de justicia social desemboque en otro modelo de sociedad injusta y tiránica, que nada resuelva y que sólo haga pasar el poder de un grupo minoritario a otro', *Memorias II*: 246.

only moral authority that was recognised by all and that could foster that open dialogue, however such dialogue needed to take place in private in order to avoid further political rhetoric and social hate.

During their second conversation Allende requested that Silva Henríquez fostered a dialogue between Allende and Eduardo Frei Montalva. That night Silva Henríquez was having supper with Frei and Allende thought that it would have been a good private moment to talk to Frei.²⁴⁵ Political circumstances had divided them, particularly the presidential campaign of 1964, when Frei tolerated a campaign of political undermining against the credibility of Allende. Later, and when Allende presided the Chilean Senate he refused to take the chair when President Frei was to deliver an annual message to the nation. Silva Henríquez told Allende that he thought it would be unlikely that Frei would agree to a meeting with Allende, but he promised to try. He mentioned it to Frei in order to apologise for his late arrival; he was an hour late. During that supper Silva Henríquez spoke of the need for dialogue while Frei resisted the idea. Finally, Silva Henríquez commented to Frei that if he had to choose between his government and Allende he thought that Allende's government took better care of the poor and therefore it was a better Christian oriented administration. That was a mistake and Silva Henríquez recognised that he had made an idiotic statement. Supper ended shortly after.²⁴⁶

In the following days Frei wrote to Silva Henríquez stating that he did not see the open possibilities of dialogue and that he would not pursue it. However, if the Cardinal were to ask him to supper he would attend to honour the Cardinal's home but not because he thought that anything could come out of that occasion.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ That supper was hosted by the Italian priest Fr. Baldo Santi and his sister did the cooking.

²⁴⁶ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Estuve mucho tiempo arrepentido por esto que dije. Supe que había herido a Frei como nunca antes, y que debió hacer un gran esfuerzo para creer en mi buena fe. Se produjo un silencio tremendo, y la cena terminó a los pocos minutos', *Memorias II*: 253.

²⁴⁷ Frei wrote: 'Si le formulo estas consideraciones no es por evitarme una reunión que desde luego, siendo en su casa, es muy grata, sino porque creo realmente que si en un momento dado es necesario que yo contribuya a la paz pública o a cualquier solución útil para Chile, es conveniente que los pasos se den muy cuidadosamente, sin quemar oportunidades que pueden ser

Frei became president of the Senate, however the press attacks against him continued and Allende never invited him to have a direct conversation related to the difficult political situation.

On the 1st of June 1973 the bishops of the central belt of Chile gathered in Rancagua made a public declaration requesting dialogue and a new Pentecost. The letter with the title *Sólo con amor se puede construir un país* did not have any impact as the opposition considered it an attack on the Popular Unity and those in government agreed that it was a dressing down aimed at the opposition. Shortly after Pope Paul VI declared 1975 a Holy Year and requested that during 1974 all Catholics celebrated a year of reconciliation. The Chilean Bishops once again supported that call for reconciliation arguing that it was very much needed in Chile.

Allende tried to convince his cabinet to call a national referendum on the economy but he was denied that opportunity. Meanwhile the Communist Party started a public campaign against a civil war and they requested that the Cardinal played a part on that campaign. However, Silva Henríquez travelled to Europe with his own concern that while the communists were advocating peace the socialists were pushing for a violent take over of the factories and the Chilean means of production. As the Cardinal was flying back to Chile accompanied by Fr. Renato Poblete they were told that the plane could not land in Santiago because there was a movement of troops in Santiago. That morning of the 29th of June 1973 a group of tanks from the Tacna regiment had taken positions opposite the Moneda Palace. Coronel Roberto Souper had been the leader of a plot to attack the Ministry of Defence because of the previous arrest of those involved in planning a military coup. The attack was defeated by the troops led by General Augusto Pinochet. However, during that morning Allende had called on all workers to occupy the factories and had publicly announced that there would be arms available for their use in defending his government.

satisfactorias desde el punto de vista personal, pero estériles desde el punto de vista de lo que usted, yo y seguramente su invitado patrióticamente buscan', *Memorias II*: 253.

The situation became ever more violent and many argued that the Cardinal should make new calls for peace and reconciliation. Following those suggestions the Chilean Bishops spoke again on the 16th of July 1973 through their letter *La paz de Chile tiene un precio*. The bishops called for a need to change sectarian attitudes and start a process of dialogue. The Communist Party supported their call immediately while Allende spoke of the document in a meeting with workers' leaders. Allende wanted to start a dialogue with the Christian Democrats but his party, the Chilean Socialist Party, did not give him permission. On the 24th of July Patricio Aylwin contacted the cardinal to inform him that the Christian Democrats were ready for any dialogue. However, when the time came and Allende offered to integrate four members of the Christian Democrats in his cabinet, the Christian Democrats rejected the offer.²⁴⁸ Violence continued and on the 26th of July a right wing paramilitary group assassinated Allende's naval attaché, Commander Arturo Araya Peters.

The dialogue finally started with a meeting on 30th July 1973 between Allende and Aylwin. The meeting was honest and somehow demands from both government and opposition were aired. However, Allende and Aylwin did not agree in the future steps after a second evening meeting took place on the same day. Aylwin wanted an immediate implementation of policies regarding private property, the role of the Armed Forces and their incorporation into the cabinet while Allende wanted bi-lateral conversations. By the 2nd of August the Christian Democrats informed that such dialogue was not getting anywhere and the meetings stopped. However, with a general strike in place and more than 180 bombs in a period of 40 days the chiefs of the Armed Forces joined Allende's cabinet on the 9th of August 1973, without the support of all their staff.²⁴⁹ By the 16th August 1973 Air Force General César Ruiz Danyau resigned due to the fact

²⁴⁸ José Antonio Viera Gallo (MAPU) made the contacts with the Christian Democrats Gabriel Valdés, Domingo Santa María, Radomiro Tomic and Fernando Castillo Velasco.

²⁴⁹ They were Army General Carlos Prats at the Ministry of Defence, Admiral Raúl Montero at the Ministry of Economy, Air Force General César Ruiz Danyau at the Ministry of Transport and Carabinero General José María Sepúlveda at the Ministry of Land.

that the government was using too much force in trying to control the truckers' strike. Following that resignation Allende offered the post to other Air Force officers that did not take it and Ruiz Danyau changed his mind and forced Allende to keep him in place. There is no doubt that those tensions were a clear sign that not even the Armed Forces were willing to help the situation.

Allende called the cardinal and requested that he arranged a meeting between Allende and the Christian Democrat Patricio Aylwin. Silva Henríquez agreed that dinner for three of them at his own home would be the most appropriate set up for a conversation between the president and the leader of the Christian Democrats. Silva Henríquez spoke to Frei about it and after Frei talked to Aylwin they decided that Aylwin would attend that dinner on the 17th of August 1973. Aylwin arrived at 9:00 pm followed by Allende who was running later and who arrived at 10:00 pm. Those taking part in the dinner were Silva Henríquez, Salvador Allende, Patricio Aylwin, and the cardinal's secretary Fr. Luis Antonio Díaz. Dinner was pleasant until Aylwin pushed Allende to define what his real policies were going to be, in other words, Aylwin told him that he could not befriend the Socialist Party and the Navy at the same time. Allende explained his policies and for a moment it seemed that both men were open to some dialogue that was to be continued, as it was already 2:00 am and Allende decided to return to his home.

On the following day Aylwin visited Silva Henríquez in order to give him his opinion about the conversations of the previous night. For Aylwin it was clear that there had been no depth in their discussion and that nothing would come out of it. The Cardinal had a different opinion, and Allende wrote him a note informing him that thanks to his mediation new conversations had restarted related to the mixed areas of the Chilean economy. Those negotiations involved Carlos Briones and Patricio Aylwin and they finally failed to carry them forward because of the veto expressed by the Socialist Party Secretary General Carlos Altamirano, who rejected Allende's idea of appointing Briones as Minister of the Interior and even commented that Briones was not a socialist anymore.

On the 20th of August 1973 Allende had to fly to Chillán and the Air Force pilots had a plan to kidnap him, a plan that was finally left as confidential information and did not take place. The Cardinal received information about this and about the preparation of a military coup and made a private call to all commanders-in-chief in order to request calm. Instead of assuring him of their good intentions the commanders complained to Allende about the cardinal's intervention and they reported the member of Allende's government that had alerted the cardinal about the possible military coup. On the 23rd of August 1973 Allende appointed a new Army-Commander-in-Chief, General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, after a vote of no confidence towards General Prats by his chiefs-of-staff. At the same time the Navy appointed a new head, Admiral José Toribio Medina, a well-known anti-Marxist.

The political crisis reached its climax when on the 8th of September 1973 the Christian Democrats announced the resignation of all their parliamentarians, an announcement that was followed the following day with the announcement by the Socialist Party, the MAPU, and the Izquierda Cristiana, of their resignation as members of the Popular Unity coalition. Those left-wing parties started preparing the workers for an armed conflict that looked ever more real.

On the 10th of September the cardinal gave an interview to the magazine *Hoy* and for the first time he suggested that any intentions of political dialogue were not making any difference and that political actions for dialogue and peace were needed.²⁵⁰ However, that issue of the magazine was never published due to the military coup that was to take place on the following day. The cardinal returned from Punta de Tralca on the same day after a long weekend on the coast, occasion in which he had visited the poet Pablo Neruda who lived in Isla Negra, minutes away from the summer retreat house frequently used by the Chilean

²⁵⁰ Silva Henríquez commented to the journalist: 'Yo creo que en las circunstancias actuales que está viviendo el país, no podemos continuar un "diálogo indefinido". Ha llegado la hora de transformar el diálogo en hechos concretos. Son esas actitudes y esas verificaciones objetivas las que expresarán si la búsqueda de un consenso mínimo fue eficaz', *Memorias II*: 279.

bishops. As he returned to Santiago the preparations for the military coup were already under way.

CHAPTER 9

The Cardinal and the Military

La experiencia triste de muchos países nos recuerda que, tarde o temprano, la Iglesia, en defensa de estos mismos valores (democráticos) se ha encontrado enfrentada a regimenes de fuerza. Estos regímenes terminaron por cometer las mayores injusticias para mantenerse en el poder. Nuestra palabra hoy quisiera ser un elemento de reflexión para prevenir situaciones que traerían consigo inútiles e injustificados sufrimientos ... Creemos que la supresión del regimen democrático, sea por partidos políticos o por las Fuerzas Armadas, traería tales daños a la nación, a las instituciones y organizaciones nacidas por la voluntad libre de los chilenos, que nos parece indispensable recordar ahora el valor fundamentalmente humano de la convivencia democrática.²⁵¹

After the collapse of the talks between president Allende and Senator Aylwin, talks sponsored by Cardinal Silva Henríquez, Allende had started conversations and preparations for a national referendum. The referendum on his own

²⁵¹ Comité Permanente del Episcopado de Chile, December 1969, in *Memorias* II: 169.

government was to be announced on the morning of Tuesday 11th of September 1973, at a speech that the President was to pronounce during his visit to the *Universidad Técnica* (Technical University) in Santiago.

On the evening of the 10th of September Allende had been working on the speech and had consulted with different government officials. At the presidential palace of *La Moneda* he had met with Senator Hugo Miranda (Radical Party) and a leader of the MAPUOC (Movimiento de Acción Popular Unitario Obrero y Campesino), Jaime Gazmuri. Clodomiro Almeyda, the Foreign Minister, who had arrived a few hours before from a meeting abroad, went directly from the airport to La Moneda palace for the same reasons. President Allende believed that the referendum would allow his government to find a solution to the political crisis and to seek future cooperation from the opposition parties.

Immediately after Allende left for his family residence in Tomás Moro Street in Las Condes, a well-to-do suburb of Santiago. His wife and daughter had arrived that day from Mexico and they all had dinner with Allende's Interior Minister Carlos Briones and two advisors, Augusto Olivares and Joan Garcés. After dinner Allende's Defence Minister, Orlando Letelier, arrived and joined the party and once the ladies had left the dining room further conversations followed concerning the referendum announcement and the possible reactions to it.

It was during that meeting, and at midnight, that Allende's Interior Minister received a call from the chief of police (*Policía de Investigaciones*) Alfredo Joignant, reporting that the army was on red alert in their army units. Letelier called Herman Brady, chief of the army in Santiago, who said he did not have any idea about the 'red alert'. However, Brady told Letelier that he had troops in their barracks in case of disturbances at the petrol stations the following days.²⁵² Another phone call alerted the minister about the fact that troops of the

²⁵² Since 1972 Chile had been in constant economic crisis and the association of truck drivers had staged an ongoing strike by blockading main roads and the transportation of fuel from refineries to petrol stations. The declassified documents released by the US Government in 1999-2000 reveal that the truck drivers were supported and financed by the CIA within a larger plan to terminate Allende's government.

San Felipe regiment, stationed in the town of Los Andes, two hours from Santiago, were on their way to Santiago. At 5:00 am a call from the chief of police in the port of Valparaiso announced that army personnel from the Maipo regiment were moving in that port.

Allende called the chief of police (*carabineros*) in Santiago and asked him to re-enforce the number of policemen at *La Moneda* palace. Further, he asked his Interior Minister to go to *La Moneda* and to remain there. Even when President Allende tried to communicate with General Augusto Pinochet and other army generals he found that they were unavailable, ‘they were taking showers’, or were travelling to the south of Chile. The military coup was taking place, even when Allende still believed that those activities could all be considered rumours (Verdugo 1998: 34). The military coup was to start a period of complete uncertainty for the cardinal as many demands on him would have been previously unthinkable and the constant tension Church and state relations would become a constant struggle of minds and misunderstandings.²⁵³

The Military Coup²⁵⁴

By 6:30 am it was clear that some kind of subversive movement was taking place. At that time the Captain of the *carabineros* José Muñoz was called to Allende’s house in Tomás Moro Street. Muñoz was responsible for the palace guard and Allende asked him to send more men together with his own bodyguards, known as GAP, to the presidential palace in central Santiago.²⁵⁵

²⁵³ This chapter can only highlight some of the complex historical realities related to Church and State relations during the period after the military coup. I have explored those events in full detail in *A Social History of the Catholic Church in Chile* volume I (Aguilar 2004), and I have also explored other relevant documentation elsewhere (Aguilar 2003a, 2003b, 2004b).

²⁵⁴ The amount of literature on the military coup is enormous; see e.g. Americas Watch 1983, Arroyo 1974, Dorfman 1998, Gómez Aranedo 1988, González Camus 1988, Pinochet Ugarte 1979, Prats 1985, Rojas Sandford 1976, Sigmund 1977, Smith 1982, Soto 1998 and Verdugo 1998.

²⁵⁵ The *Grupo de Amigos del Presidente*, as Allende called them, was a group of young supporters, trained for his own defence after October 1970, when a right-wing commando killed General René Schneider, at that time Army Commander-in-chief. Members of that group became known as GAP.

Further phone calls revealed that senior officers such as Admiral Patricio Carvajal had arrived at their offices in the Ministry of Defence at 6:00 am. Thus, Allende decided to move, together with the GAP to the La Moneda palace. In the city centre, tanks were already located in front of the presidential palace. Preparations started for a difficult day; nevertheless at that moment nobody thought that this could be the end of a democratic government. Already on the 29th of June soldiers and tanks of the Tacna regiment stationed in Santiago had attempted a coup; however other units and the police had impeded further developments and the attempted military coup had been controlled in a few hours.

Allende arrived at La Moneda at 7:30 am and the presidential guard saluted him as usual. At the same time Allende's Defence Minister Orlando Letelier arrived at the Ministry of Defence, where he was immediately arrested. The *carabinero* commander-in-chief José María Sepúlveda was with Allende at La Moneda, while the Admiral-in-chief Montero had been arrested in his own house. The other military, air force, navy and police commanders were all in their places, ready to co-ordinate the bombardment of La Moneda palace and the taking over of all centres of government within Santiago and throughout Chile.

At 7:55 am Allende spoke through the mobile equipment of the Corporación Radio asking workers and supporters of his government to go to their places of work and remain vigilant. Before his second message minutes later the air force started the bombardment of the radio's antenna. By that time the *carabineros* commander-in-chief had discovered that he did not have any power over the *carabineros* any longer. In fact, small tanks located opposite the presidential palace were there to attack the palace rather than to defend it.

The Air-Force Commander Sánchez informed the president that a plane was ready to take him and his family abroad as the armed forces were taking over the government and the country. Allende refused to accept the offer and made another address to the nation immediately after the first communication by the newly constituted military junta to the nation through a national chain of radios and television stations. To the order to keep all leftist stations silent, or to face

bombardment by the air force Allende responded by telling all Chileans that he had been democratically elected and that he would not resign or leave the presidential palace.

At 9:15 am Allende spoke for the last time through Magallanes Radio. He was 65 years old and that day would be his last morning as president of Chile. In his words, he announced the hope of a better future and of a more just society; however he anticipated that Chilean workers and his own supporters would suffer. He said: '[...] they have force. They will be able to enslave us. But social processes cannot be stopped by crime ... or by force. History is ours and peoples make it' (Verdugo 1998: 67). And the battle for the palace started.

The leaders of the military coup directed the coup from different places in Santiago and through direct radio communications they ensured that a constant dialogue was in progress.²⁵⁶ Two Hawker-Hunter combat planes attacked the presidential palace with rockets of extreme precision and the palace started to burn. The army entered the presidential palace and found president Allende dead after 2:00 pm. It is possible to suggest that regardless of the many discussions on his death, there is evidence that he committed suicide. A couple of medical doctors were still in the palace when the troops found the president and he was already dead. Thus, president Allende died at the presidential palace, while defending it together with others.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ An *aficionado* recorded those dialogues and years later the recording was found and published by the journalist Patricia Verdugo (1998). From those recordings it is clear that there were different people in command of the actions and the movement of troops. They were located at the Comando Militar, Peñalolén (Military High Command Peñalolén, number one, General Pinochet), Academia de Guerra de la Fuerza Aérea (Air Force War Academy, number two, General Gustavo Leigh), Escuela Militar (Military Academy, number three, general connections), Ministerio de Defensa (Ministry of Defence, number five, Admiral Patricio Carvajal and Air Force General Nicanor Díaz Estrada).

²⁵⁷ For years there was an ongoing controversy about Allende's death at La Moneda palace. While the military government informed the nation that Allende had committed suicide, sympathisers of the Popular Unity government believed that Allende had been shot by the troops that stormed the palace. Allende's widow was not at La Moneda palace on the morning of the coup, contrary to the information given by Paul E. Sigmund (1977: 246); however on her arrival in Mexico (15/9/73) she suggested to the press that her husband had been killed. Other accounts included that of one of Allende's bodyguards (GAP), Luis Renato González Córbova, who took refuge at the Mexican embassy in Santiago. He narrated a battle between military personnel and

All occupants of the palace were taken prisoner and the armed forces continued a sustained campaign of arrest and intimidation. Leaders of the left-wing *Unidad Popular* coalition were sent to Dawson Island in the south of Chile, and prison camps functioned at the National Stadium and the Chile Stadium in Santiago, at navy vessels in Valparaiso, and in many other places along the long geography of Chile.

Cardinal Silva Henríquez and the Te Deum

It is amidst such violence and change that the cardinal found himself in a new situation, requiring new responses within days of having discussed the possible national referendum on his government with president Allende.

The morning of the military coup Cardinal Silva started the day in his usual manner, by praying in the chapel. Bishop José Manuel Santos, at that time Bishop of Valdivia, phoned him with news of the military insurgency and suggested that he listened to the radio. Cardinal Silva remained at his house (Simón Bolívar Street) together with his secretary Fr. Luis Antonio Díaz.

Throughout Tuesday 11th priests from all over the country reported to the cardinal that the military were searching for arms by entering houses and conducting massive arrests of people. The Cardinal spoke with most of the bishops by phone and they agreed that those in Santiago would try to meet at the Vatican Embassy the following day.

Silva Henríquez was extremely concerned about the situation and sent his secretary in his own diplomatic car to see what was actually happening in different areas of Santiago. His secretary's report worried him even more, as he had seen left-wing paramilitary units at the entrance to factories in the industrial area of Vicuña Mackenna Avenue, armed and ready to confront the actions of the

president Allende. The only doctor who saw the suicide as he was leaving the upper floors of La Moneda palace was Dr. Patricio Guijón, before he was himself taken to the Ministry of Defence and the War Academy (Sigmund 1977: 244).

armed forces. Another priest who lived at his house, Fr. Raúl Hasbún,²⁵⁸ also went out and came back to his room without a word of what was happening.

On the 12th of September bishops José Manuel Santos (Valdivia), Bernardino Piñera (Temuco), Orozimbo Fuenzalida (Los Angeles), Sergio Contreras (Ancud) and Cardinal Silva met at the Vatican Embassy. They prepared a public declaration on behalf of the Chilean Episcopal Conference, concerning the military coup, to be given to the press on Thursday 13th of September.

On the 14th of September a copy of the declaration was given to the government at the Ministry of Defence. The official who met with Fr. Luis Antonio Díaz objected to the content of the text that had already been circulated among the Chilean Press. A messenger from the junta brought a confidential note to Cardinal Silva and its message was clear: the junta felt that ‘they had been stabbed in the back’, as the cardinal had not mentioned any words related to the junta’s patriotic work of saving Chile from the Marxists.

For the church a long period of self-reflection and commitment to those persecuted by the Pinochet regime had started. For the new regime, difficult years of confrontation with the Catholic Church were already unfolding. Christian communities, parishes and religious communities all over Chile were challenged by a new pastoral choice, either to help those who were the enemies of the state or to consider them enemies of the church as well as of the state.

The junta appointed a retired general, Jorge Court, as go-between Pinochet and the Cardinal. Thus, a few days later General Court and other military personnel, including a military chaplain, visited the cardinal at his home. The junta wanted to celebrate the annual *Te Deum* at the Military Academy (Escuela Militar). That *Te Deum* had always been a moment in which the Chilean nation - symbolised by the Catholic Church and all other Christian denominations plus the Jewish chief-rabbi- gave thanks to God for Chile’s independence on 18th September 1810. The service was customarily conducted at the Cathedral in

²⁵⁸ Fr. Hasbún became one of the most well known broadcasters of the Catholic University TV Station and a supporter of General Pinochet and his government.

central Santiago, and the Chilean president, members of his government and members of the opposition attended.

The publicity connected with that celebration included a carriage with horse-escort from the presidential palace to the Cathedral that carried the Chilean president and the broadcasting of such service to the whole country by the state television (channel 7 TVN). From that point of view the Junta wanted as much publicity as possible; however they also wanted to be perceived as saviours and protectors of all Chileans, who had in their understanding faced the danger of being assassinated by foreigners and by leftist extremists of Allende's government.

During that short visit the cardinal rejected the proposition of a *Te Deum* at the Military Academy and also reprimanded a military chaplain, Fr. Alberto Villarroel, for carrying a pistol and for being dressed in combat military uniform. It is clear that it took the cardinal some time to realise that the climate of political co-operation had been completely broken and that the military chain of command and mode of doing things was already in place.

The cardinal insisted that the *Te Deum* be celebrated at the Metropolitan Cathedral. Finally a compromise was reached and a low key *Te Deum* took place at the church of the Gratiud Nacional. That church had been built as a sign of national gratitude to the Sacred Heart of Jesus for the armed triumph by the Chilean Armed Forces in the Pacific War of the 19th Century between Chile and the Confederation formed by Peru and Bolivia.

Nevertheless, the junta was not satisfied by the lack of public support it seemed to have received from the Catholic Church. The reasons for such caution on the part of the cardinal related to the excessive violence against parishes, priests and particularly foreign missionaries. Militaries had searched the Santiago parishes of Cristo Rey, San Cayetano, Santa Rosa de Lo Barnechea, Cristo Nuestro Redentor and Santa Helena. Troops had entered the buildings of two Pastoral Vicariates of the Archdiocese of Santiago (Oriente and Poniente) and members of Catholic movements such as the Movimiento de Obreros de la Acción

Católica (MOAC) and the Juventud Obrera Católica (JOC) were being arrested. Schools and convents were also searched, including the Colegio Sagrado Corazón and the school run by the Sacred Heart Sisters (known as the Monjas Inglesas). The Saint George School, run by the Congregation of Holy Cross, was taken over by air force personnel and the priests who were teaching at the school were interrogated and accused of indoctrinating their students with Marxist ideas. Catholic Magazines were closed down, including *Pastoral Popular*, *Mensaje* and *Mundo 73*.

By December 1973, three priests had been killed, more than 45 had been arrested, and 50 foreign missionaries had been deported. Three Canadians who were deported continued bringing out news of violence, abuses and suspicion towards the Church by the Chilean military.

The Plan Z and the Church

The justification for such actions was the findings of a so-called 'Plan Z'. According to the military, there was a concerted plan to eliminate the officials of the armed forces and their families on the 19th of September 1973. On that day, the armed forces celebrated their day with a national bank holiday and a military parade at the O'Higgins Park in Santiago. Any discovery of arms at Allende's houses and at other places was thereafter linked with the Plan Z. Interrogations and torture aimed at extracting information about arms and their location using brutal methods of interrogation became an ordinary routine.

In fact, the military believed that progressive sectors of the Catholic Church were also involved in that plan of massive assassination of military personnel. Following the United States briefings, they associated changes within the Catholic Church and the theology of liberation with armed struggle, subversion and a threat to the traditional democratic institutions of Chile.

However, the Plan Z was an invention of ideologues within the military regime that truly believed that Allende's supporters were going to take over all

democratic institutions by force,²⁵⁹ and were going to proclaim a socialist republic in the style of the Soviet Block or Cuba.²⁶⁰ Thus, immediately after the ‘11th’ army officials started talking about that plan to their troops. Most military were horrified and used the declared ‘state of war’ in order to suppress any remote possibility of attack by Allende’s supporters.

The brutal force used in order to arrest Allende’s supporters was far too much in relation to the small resistance to the military coup and the consequent complete taking over of power by the military. Thus, the arms that were shown on television and were photographed for the newspapers could not have been enough to challenge the over all armed supremacy of the army.

²⁵⁹ Following such rumours, on the morning of the military coup General Pinochet suggested to other military officials that the bombardment of the presidential palace should go ahead sooner rather than later, because he had been informed that socialist brigades were ready to attack the Ministry of Defence (Verdugo 1998: 101). In reality, none of Allende’s supporters were able to cross the military barriers that isolated Santiago’s city centre.

²⁶⁰ In the *Libro Blanco* and through a media campaign after the military coup the new authorities disclosed a plan by Allende’s supporters to kill military personnel at the annual military parade of 19th of September and a selected number of Allende’s opponents (Secretaría Nacional de Gobierno 1973). The ‘*autogolpe*’ was, according to the militaries, called ‘Plan Z’. While the *Libro Blanco* included some lists of Allende’s opponents and certain documentation related to arms and training, the Plan Z has been suggested as an invention of the military in order to prove the urgency of their political agenda. At the time of the coup hundreds of arms were shown in the TV programs. The suggestion was that those arms were part of the Plan Z. It is unlikely that Allende’s supporters could have taken over power (*autogolpe*) when in reality the pockets of resistance to the military coup were minimal. The National Commission of Truth and Reconciliation corroborated that armed resistance to the armed forces was only present in the VII, X and Metropolitan regions of the country (CNVR I, part 3, chapter 1, A, 1.b). Within the whole metropolitan region pockets of resistance were only present around the presidential palace (*La Moneda*) and in the La Legua shanty-town (CNVR I, part 3, chapter 1, A, 2a1) where policemen were killed as they tried to enter the place. Thus, if one takes into account resistance in the factories such as Sumar in Santiago, the military had more or less full control of the capital city by the afternoon of the 11th September 1973 (Sigmund 1977: 247). Within a totally controlled freedom of information the Chilean middle classes really believed that the Plan Z was a reality. Even a respected historian, Frederick Nunn, writes a couple of years after the military coup, assuring readers of the conclusive proofs of the Plan Z: ‘Only in Chile has there been such convincing proof of plots, including what appear to be a number of proposals for action, collectively called “Plan Zeta”, to create a clandestine “parallel, irregular, socialist, revolutionary people’s army” and to liquidate high-ranking military leaders and opposition politicians’ (Nunn 1976:300). I am afraid that the sources that F. Nunn reveals are publications encouraged within circles of support to the military government, as Chile was in a declared ‘state of war’ and there was no freedom for ordinary citizens to publish their books. For example, a book of humoristic vignettes by the poet and writer Sara Herrera was censored before publication to the point that any mention of knives and blood and a red cover were out of the question.

However, the military continued searching parishes, Catholic schools, and Pastoral Vicariates with the belief that arms were stored there and that the Church was covering up parts of the Plan Z, still to be executed after the military coup. With that ideological construction of self-defence, the armed forces went into an attack mode and forgot their traditional respect for sacred places and the respect attached to the priest within Chilean society.

If the response of the cardinal and the Catholic Church in general was minimal immediately after the military coup it was because they remained in shock at what was happening and did not actually believe that more abuses could take place in the next few months.

When Catholic priests were arrested, tortured and killed the Cardinal and other Bishops started to realise that they had to take a stand on what was happening, particularly regarding the thousands who were arrested and their families. Those families sought help in parishes, and more and more people arrived asking for advice at the cardinal's house.

The Persecuted Church of the Poor

Three priests were killed after the military coup: Fr. Joan Alsina, Fr. Michael Woodward, and Fr. Gerardo Poblete (Aguilar 2004: 32-48). Fr. Alsina (1942-1973), a Spaniard, who was working as an administrator within the San Juan de Dios Hospital in Santiago was arrested and later executed at the Bulnes Bridge in Santiago.²⁶¹ Fr. Michael Woodward (1932-1973), an Anglo-Chilean, who was a worker-priest in Valparaíso was arrested at his home by Navy personnel. He was tortured and vilified in the Esmeralda ship, and died of his injuries at the Navy Hospital in Valparaíso. Fr. Poblete (1942-1973), a Salesian like the cardinal, was a teacher at the Salesian School in Iquique. He was arrested by the *carabineros*, severely beaten at a police station, and declared dead on arrival at the hospital. In a society where the media was officially controlled, it was difficult at that time to know what had happened. Their stories remained the knowledge of few, namely

²⁶¹ Raúl Silva Henríquez, *Memorias* II: 293.

their relatives and their bishops, who had to deal with the recovery and burial of their bodies somehow in a confusing time for the church. In the case of Fr. Woodward his body was never found while legal investigations later clarified that he had been buried at a Valparaíso Cemetery.

After years of legal investigations it is clear that members of the armed forces killed them, after subjecting them to torture and humiliation, because they perceived them as a threat. In doing so, a reality difficult to accept started to appear. The military were not ready to respect priests and religious when it came to actions that were considered part of 'a war against Marxism'. This was new in the history of Chile, and it was to change the passive position of the cardinal, the Vatican and other sectors of the Chilean Church. The cardinal had a difficult task: on the one hand there was a clear threat to freedom and democracy, on the other hand he wanted to keep channels of communication open with the military junta and particularly with General Pinochet. His task was difficult: to mediate respect for human beings without all the information necessary and with a personal conviction that not all he was hearing was true. Others, networked by Bishop Fernando Ariztía helped the persecuted to get into foreign embassies applying the clear principle of saving lives rather than complying with the legislation.²⁶²

Cardinal of the Persecuted

With a controlled official press and a general uncertainty for those wanted by the military authorities, the cardinal kept an open line to General Pinochet and those members of the military who professed the Catholic faith. However, the cardinal responded to the cry of many relatives of those persecuted and those who were in prison. His preoccupation for the persecuted could be summarised by the

²⁶² This group known as the *chapulines*, name taken from the television cartoon *El Chapulín Colorado* whose character fought to save those in danger, was formed by priests and nuns who came in contact with people wanted by the military authorities. The *chapulines* worked in poor areas of Santiago and had been witnesses of the mass raids and killings after the military coup and were in no doubt that those wanted would be killed if given over to the authorities. They came from well-to-do families or were foreign personnel with contacts that allowed them to use cars and pose as window cleaners, painters and decorators, in order to locate themselves beside the embassies and they used ladders in order to deliver fugitives, known to them as 'parcels'.

following actions: his visit to the National Stadium, his visit to the prisoner's camp on Chacabuco in northern Chile, a Mass celebrated for the repose of the soul of Allende's Minister of Defence José Tohá and his own protection for one of Allende's body guards.

Cardinal Silva Henríquez visited the National Stadium on Monday 24th September 1973 after hundreds of requests by relatives of those taken there as prisoners. His visit followed many failed attempts by other members of the clergy that arrived at the gates of the stadium in order to request information about parishioners and friends. Even Fr. Mariano Puga, who had been a young cadet at the military academy failed to gain access to the prisoners (Ahumada *et alia* 1989 I: 177-178). The football and athletics stadium was the first organised centre of interrogation of suspects after the coup and teams of interrogators and torturers operated with total impunity. They included teams from Brazil that had flown in order to extract information from the many Brazilian prisoners that previously had been political refugees in Chile and had escaped from the military dictatorship in their own country. During that visit the Cardinal was physically ill after witnessing the cramped conditions of the prisoners, their lack of dignity, and the total power of the military. He asked to speak to the prisoners through the loud speakers and his words were moving and simple expressing his sense of leading a servant Church that wanted to help them with messages, with requests to the outside world, a Church for all and in which all had a place.²⁶³

The visit to the stadium was the conversion moment of an archbishop that was already committed to all but who felt that his planned retirement was not going to take place very soon. Hundreds of relatives of those imprisoned without trial and those who wanted to leave Chile tried to contact him. Silva Henríquez had become a focal point of safety for those in danger. Thus, he joined a group of

²⁶³ Silva Henríquez said: 'Quizás muchos de ustedes no me conocen –dije-. Me llamo Raúl Silva Henríquez; soy el cardenal de la Iglesia Católica. Soy el representante de una Iglesia que es servidora de todos, y especialmente de los que están sufriendo. Quiero servirlos y, como el Señor, no pregunto quiénes son ni cuáles son sus creencias o posiciones políticas. Me pongo a disposición de los detenidos. Cualquier cosa hagánmela saber a través de las autoridades ...', *Memorias* II: 294.

nuns and relatives in a visit to the prisoners' camp of Chacabuco in northern Chile. Those prisoners located in Chacabuco were considered a danger to the nation and had already passed through the horrors of the National Stadium, the Chile Stadium, Tejas Verdes, or the navy ships stationed at sea opposite Valparaíso. They lived in wooden houses under a military regime that depended on the style of the camp commander. They awaited their own military trials accused of treason to the nation or of attempting to kill opponents of Allende including military officers and troops.

During his visit to Chacabuco on the 9th of April 1974 Silva Henríquez blessed a crucifix that had been made by the prisoners. The crucifix was located inside a house where Oscar Vega, a prisoner, had committed suicide. Vega had been a worker at Chacabuco thirty years earlier when the mines were still functioning. The army chaplain

Father Zenteno objected to the blessing as he argued that the Church had always condoned suicide. However, Silva Henríquez argued that a cross was a cross and that as a symbol of Christ's redemption he would go ahead and bless it. During that visit the prisoners organised a musical group with the name 'Los de Chacabuco' and sang their own musical composition 'El alma de Chacabuco' and Angel Parra's oratory 'Pasión y muerte de Jesús'.²⁶⁴ The prisoners gathered in the dining room read a letter in which they asked Silva Henríquez to pray for them and their tortured bodies, and for their relatives who were far away and did not have the chance to visit them. The response of Silva Henríquez, who was moved by the occasion, was clear: 'we must uphold human rights and the Catholic Church will continue working towards that goal' (Cozzi 2001: 51, 71-76).

The example of reconciliation and his efforts for those who were suffering were enormous and at times commentators have asked questions about the strength shown by Silva Henríquez. He had enormous physical strength as to go through long days of meetings, visits, and journeys; however, he also had an enormous psychological strength to deal with suffering and pain, and to be somebody who not only consoled those who were suffering but also condemned those that had created the circumstances for that suffering. One example of this is found in March 1974 and within the circumstances of former Minister of Defense José Tohá, a socialist who supported the Allende coalition. On the 15th March 1974, and according to the official version by the military authorities, José Tohá hung himself in his room of the Military Hospital of Santiago, where he remained a prisoner after having been returned from the prisoners' camp of Dawson Island and Punta Arenas, in the south of Chile. Tohá suffered from acute malnutrition and had been very ill, even mentally disturbed by all the psychological and physical abuses on him by navy and military personnel. His wife, Moy de Tohá,

²⁶⁴ Members of the musical group included the lawyer Antonio González, Dr. Manuel Ipinza, Julio Vega Pais, Héctor Cereceda (cousin of Angel Parra), Marcelo Concha Bascuñán, and the winner of the national prize of architecture Francisco Aedo. After the visit the second camp commander Campos was annoyed at the fact that the prisoners had used Marxist materials in their songs; however, he was clearly told that Parra's texts for the oratory were taken from the prophets of the Old Testament.

contested that version arguing that Tohá's face and head were intact and therefore suicide by asphyxia had to be ruled out (Ahumada *et alia* 1989 I: 417).

As Mrs. Tohá was leaving the Military Hospital having refused a coffin paid by the military government Silva Henríquez arrived. His intention was to celebrate a Mass for the repose of Toha's soul. The military command spoke to the cardinal and refused permission for a public Mass and funeral to be celebrated at the Metropolitan Cathedral. Silva Henríquez immediately arranged for the Requiem Mass to be celebrated at the cardinal's residency, and further he responded that he was not sure that Toha had committed suicide. The Mass was well attended and among those present were all the ambassadors, and all the wives of the political prisoners of Quiriquina Island, Chacabuco, Dawson Island, and even the wives of those military that were held prisoners accused of treason. The traffic had to be stopped and thousands of people lined the streets around the cardinal's house.

Silva Henríquez was the good shepherd of Catholics and non-Catholics alike and saved lives by his immediate support for those who had been part of Allende's government. While it is possible to argue that without his presence more Chileans would have lost their lives, it is also possible to say that Silva Henríquez took personal and authoritarian actions when needed. For example, Jaime Hernández (alias Bernardo Bernales), a former member of Allende's military escort (GAP) was arrested by the DINA at the end of 1974. After being tortured at the National Congress Building, at the torture house of Londres 38, and at the Villa Grimaldi, he was brought by Osvaldo Romo and Luz Arce to a house where they wanted him to find arms and valuables. While DINA personnel searched the place he managed to escape and after being helped by a religious sister and other friends he decided to hide at the General Cemetery where he had been brought up as a child

as all his family worked there. After two weeks in hiding, helped by his family, one day he was approached by a man with shiny black shoes who came out of a diplomatic car. That man was Silva Henríquez who personally delivered him to the Italian Embassy where he had been granted political asylum. Silva Henríquez made possible his expulsion from Chile and therefore he saved his life (Quiroga 2001:299-230).

Silva Henríquez' motivation in breaking the law in order to save one person was to follow the teaching of his Master, who in his parable of the Good Samaritan set an example of help for the needy regardless of their social status or their place within society. The same motivation triggered larger initiatives by the cardinal in order to protect the persecuted and uphold the dignity of all Chileans through a campaign to protect human rights and find legal justice for those arrested and in prison. For Silva Henríquez there was no other way to follow his Christian principles; in practice, his own past legal training and his public influence helped his Christian actions.²⁶⁵

Lawyer and Advocate for the Persecuted

Silva Henríquez, as a trained lawyer, appreciated the power and social importance of documents, legal papers, and even the importance of wearing suits in order to get things done in Chile. Chile is, and it was even more at that time, a very traditional society where lawyers and medical doctors occupy a central place within society. Thus, in October 1973 the Cardinal supported the creation of a legal office, the Comité de Cooperación para la Paz en Chile (COPACHI), that had its headquarters in a house that belonged to the Movimiento Familiar Cristiano in Santa Mónica Street 2338.

²⁶⁵ Years later and assessing his own actions after the military coup Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Por eso, para mí, crear el Comité Pro Paz, y después la Vicaría de la Solidaridad, fue un imperativo de conciencia ante los atropellos a la dignidad humana que veíamos a diario. Lo hice pensando siempre en la parábola del Buen Samaritano. Jesús nos enseñó a detenernos ante los heridos del camino, sin fijarnos en su condición social o religiosa"', in 'A la manera del Buen Samaritano', Santiago, agosto 1989 (Ahumada *et alia* 1989 I: xxx).

Initially, Pro Paz as it was known, had an executive secretary, the Jesuit Fernando Salas and a group of dedicated social workers and lawyers. As time passed by Pro Paz became a very strong legal advising organisation that was required to provide information on the Chilean situation to the foreign correspondents. The strength of Pro Paz came from the fact that it was an ecumenical organisation that included most of the Christian Churches and the Jewish community. Pro Paz had a board of directors, that included Bishop Ariztía, and the day-to-day plans were organised by the Lutheran Bishop Helmut Frenz. However, its main task was to help those who wanted legal aid in order to request information about their relatives in Orison or who had not been accounted for. Pro Paz had other humanitarian mandates such as support for those who had lost their jobs and could not feed their families but generally those who went to Pro Paz were women, who were all interviewed and were asked to provide legal documentation in order to keep a legal folder open for each one of the complaints.

The creation of the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) towards the end of 1973 provided a body of security personnel recruited from the ranks of the Armed Forces and from the right-wing paramilitary groups that were totally loyal to Pinochet's crusade against Marxism and therefore against all those that had cooperated with Allende's government. The DINA, led by Colonel Manuel Contreras, a close friend of Pinochet, suspected that priests and nuns were involved in the hiding of those persecuted by the regime, and one of the tasks assigned to the DINA was to conduct surveillance operations on parishes, youth centres, and the house of the cardinal himself. The cardinal's house was searched by Air Force Personnel looking for a piece of a plane that had fallen from the sky and the DINA kept some agents in constant search for fugitives outside the Pro Paz headquarters. Contreras had even tried to convince the cardinal that he needed a DINA bodyguard for his own safety, a suggestion that the Cardinal rejected knowing that such DINA bodyguard would report all his movements to Contreras himself.

The first confrontation between the DINA and Pro Paz took place in May 1975. On the 15th of May 1975 Dina agents brought one of their prisoners, the socialist Jaime Za-ora Herrera, to the vicinity of the Pro Paz building so that he could identify those who had previously helped him at Pro Paz. However, Zamora managed to escape from the car and he entered the Pro Paz building. As DINA agents followed him they were alerted that they were within a Church building and they left requesting armed reinforcements that surrounded the building. Bishop Enrique Alvear, bishop Frenz, a lawyer José Zalaquett, and the Jesuit Fr. Cariola were inside the building. Bishop Alvear telephoned the cardinal and requested advice as they presumed that the DINA agents would try to enter the building. In the meantime Alvear spoke to the agents and requested that they leave the building. However, as the situation became ever more tense Silva Henríquez spoke to Pinochet, who assured him that the DINA would not enter a church-building and that he would send two envoys to assess the situation. By the time that those envoys arrived, one of them Manuel Contreras, Zamora had been moved from the building and had been sheltered by some priests.

Fr. Cariola requested that the cardinal's physician examined Zamora whose body had multiples bruises, cigarette burns and clear signs of physical torture. Dr Alberto Lucchini conducted the medical examination and provided a diagram of a human body in which he drew single dots on the wounded places. The dots were many and they spread throughout the body. Silva Henríquez was able to show the diagram to the meeting of Chilean Bishops in order to alert them of the atrocities that were being carried out by the DINA. He also wrote a letter to Pinochet justifying the role of those priests that helped Zamora and alerting him of the tortures inflicted on Zamora by the DINA.²⁶⁶ At that time Silva Henríquez still believed that Pinochet did not know everything that was happening to

²⁶⁶ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Creo, en primer lugar, inevitable que un sacerdote católico exteriorice juicios sobre los procedimientos con demasiada frecuencia y evidencia imputados a la DINA. Ellos son, desde luego, conocidos ampliamente en Chile, y en forma particular por los hombres de la Iglesia. Y la calificación moral que merecen no puede ser otra, para una conciencia cristiana y honesta, que el absoluto repudio, en nombre de valores que son ya parte sustantiva y definitiva del patrimonio ético de la humanidad', *Memorias* III: 62.

prisoners in Chile while Pinochet still perceived the cardinal as an ally against communism.

That trust between Pinochet and Silva Henríquez was to end in October 1975 due to the protection of armed combatants by the Church after a media-frenzy related to the persecution of the leadership of the MIR. On the 15th of October 1975 the DINA discovered that the high command of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (MIR) lived in a farm in Malloco, near Santiago. Those living in Malloco included Andrés Pascal Allende, leader of the MIR, and Nelson Gutiérrez. Since the death of the MIR leader Miguel Henríquez, Andrés Pascal - nephew of President Allende - had taken over all military operations by the MIR. The DINA had managed to arrest, torture, and make to disappear hundreds of members of the MIR but they had never found Pascal Allende.

As the DINA agents opened fire on the property, two members of the MIR covered their leaders who together with their partners and a baby escaped through the fields. While the baby was left in the custody of a local the five fugitives made it to the main road where they intercepted a car and escaped into the city. The fugitives sought refuge with Catholic priests and they were given refuge in secret locations but within ecclesiastical properties. While the DINA looked for them and all the Chilean newspapers reported the incident the fugitives were being hidden from the DINA by the Church. On the morning of the 16th of October 1975 Fr. Cristián Precht informed the cardinal and they deliberated what to do. Silva Henríquez was clear in his thought: if they were given back to the DINA they would be tortured and killed. Therefore they had to be protected and delivered to foreign embassies. In his memoirs the cardinal is clear in his judgment: while others thought the Church was being used by terrorists, the cardinal did not perceive that utilisation, instead he saw human beings that were cornered by the security forces and who would be killed if discovered, without a due legal

process. Once again the Cardinal used the parable of the Good Samaritan in order to justify his actions and that of the Catholic Church.²⁶⁷

Bishop Alvear coordinated the protection of the five fugitives and Frs. Gerardo Whelan, Rafael Maroto, Fermín Donoso and Patricio Cariola moved them to different parishes, convents and religious houses. In the case of Nelson Gutiérrez, who had a bullet wound in his leg, the priests asked a British lay missionary, Dr Sheila Cassidy, to operate and administer antibiotics. Fr. Cariola convinced the fugitives to give up their arms and Fr. Salas disposed of them in different places throughout Santiago. However, on the 2nd of November the DINA located the fifth fugitive at the house of Fr. Whelan, and arrested them. Immediately the DINA proceeded to arrest all foreign clergy involved, and they attacked the Columban Fathers' house in Santiago where Dr Sheila Cassidy was resting. On the 4th of November 1975 Silva Henríquez and Bishop Valech met with the Minister of the Interior, General César Raúl Benavides in order to discuss the tense and difficult situation.

In the meantime Fr. Cariola managed to bring Nelson Gutiérrez to the Vatican Embassy and Andrés Pascal to the Embassy of Costa Rica. However, the tribunals wanted to interview Frs. Cariola and Salas and they remained as guests of the cardinal in his house. Days later, Silva Henríquez met with Pinochet in order to discuss the situation and the general arrest of foreign clergy that was taking place all over Chile. Pinochet requested that Pro Paz be closed down, and the cardinal in turn asked Pinochet for such request to be put down in writing. However, the cardinal assured him that the humanitarian defence of the persecuted by the Church could not end and that if an organisation such as Pro Paz were not allowed to legally exist he would hide fugitives under his bed if necessary. Pinochet requested the closure of Pro Paz on the 11th of November

²⁶⁷ Silva Henríquez wrote: 'Se me dijo muchas veces que esto era ingenuidad, que confundíamos la caridad con la tontería, que los terroristas no nos perdonarían ni a nosotros; e invariablemente respondí que un sacerdote ante un hombre acorralado, perseguido, herido, no está frente al terrorismo, que es algo abstracto, sino frente a un dolor humano, un dolor que debemos salvar, porque para eso nos instituyó Cristo en la tierra', *Memorias III*: 77.

1975, and while the Cardinal agreed, he wrote a letter stating his Christian position towards human rights abuses and the conviction that the Church in Chile under his leadership could not cease to help those in need.

During November 1975 hundreds of foreign missionaries were expelled from Chile and the DINA continued its own dismantling of the MIR and the Communist Party. Frs. Cariola and Salas turned themselves to the courts and were brought to the Capuchinos annex of the Santiago Prison. As they entered the prison, under heavy escort and handcuffed, the prisoners lined outside their cells and a long applause followed. When the cardinal heard such story in Rome where he had gone to request the Pope's advise he felt proud, and he wrote: 'they were my priests, the priests of my Church, the priests of the Church in Chile, that was their blessed madness'.²⁶⁸ While in Rome Paul VI supported him and publicly spoke of Frs. Cariola and Salas as 'martyrs of Christian charity' while assuring the cardinal that he had all his support for the defence of human life in Chile. In December 1975 Silva Henríquez officially closed Pro Paz and the last prisoner of the DINA associated with Pro Paz, the lawyer Josi Zalaquett, was able to leave Chile into foreign exile.

As a result the good relations between Pinochet and Silva Henríquez ended and while the closing of Pro Paz was an immediate defeat for the cardinal he started thinking of a better way to help the persecuted and the relatives of the disappeared.

An Alternative State

Silva Henríquez approached Fr. Cristián Precht with the idea of creating a pastoral body within the ecclesiastical structures of the SanTiago Archdiocese that would Deal with the care of the peýsecuted. If Pro Paz could be dissol6ed it was because the evangElical churches did not have inDependence from the state and were not registered charities. However, the new plan for a Vicaría de la Solidaridad (Vicariate of Solidarity) located that new organisation within the

²⁶⁸ *Memorias* III: 82.

ecclesiastical structure of the Catholic Church, as a pastoral body led by an Episcopal Vicar. While Precht initially rejected the offer of becoming The first Episcopal vicar within the Vicariate of Solidarity on account of age, he was finally appointed as Vicar of Solidarity.

By January 1976 the Vicariate of Solidarity started its operations with personnel that was not directly involved in political parties and with offices at Plaza de Armas 444, beside the Metropolitan Cathedral. The location chosen not only indicated the centrality of the new Vicariate but also allowed easy access by those visiting it. Those employed were lawyers, social workers, archivists, and pastoral agents. For the outside world the Vicariate continued the work initiated by Pro Paz, for those inside the small network of friends of the cardinal the Vicariate had the potential of educating Chileans on the ways of social justice through educational programs available for parishes and schools.

In reality the Vicariate became an alternative state in total opposition to the values pursued by the military. The first job of the Vicariate was to continue the legal battles to find those who had been arrested and remained disappeared. Their relatives were hosted at the Vicariate where they had access to space to support each other and at the same time had the help of psychologists in order to deal with their trauma and the social and individual trauma experienced by their children. While Fr. Precht did a good job organising hundreds of staff Silva Henríquez flew twice a year to the United States and to Europe in order to request financial support for the Vicariate. The budget needed was enormous, however he secured a constant influx of financial resources that managed to support the legal department, the educational programs and the running of soup kitchens through parishes all over the Archdiocese of Santiago. Later the Vicariate sold its publication *Boletín de la Vicaría de la Solidaridad* throughout the country and there were offices of the Vicariate throughout Chile. The cardinal always publicly expressed all his warmth and affection for the staff of the Vicariate, who in very difficult moments for Chile defended human dignity and dreamed of a more just and peaceful society.

The legal archives of the Vicariate became central to the legal processes related to the disappeared. They contained hundreds of legal files with information about the circumstances in which individuals had been arrested, testimonies of their relatives and copies of their birth certificates, ID cards, and marriage certificates. The legal files were a testimony of their existence, a fact that was being denied by the military authorities.

In November 1978 the cardinal had the first fruits of his work to find the disappeared. A man came to the Vicariate and testified under the secrecy of confession that he had found human remains in an abandoned mine in a place called Lonquén, 50 kilometres from Santiago.²⁶⁹ Silva Henríquez organised a group of journalists and lawyers that together with Fr. Precht and Bishop Alvear went to Lonquén and after removing soil from two abandoned mine ovens ratified the information given by the old man. While the cardinal informed the President of the Supreme Court and a magistrate started the legal investigation related to those human remains, it was the staff of the Vicariate of Solidarity that provided information about the case of men arrested and disappeared days after the military coup in the larger area of Lonquén. The legal investigations suggested that, after the military coup, the police had arrested a group of farm workers who previously had supported Allende's government and had requested the partition of the farm under existing laws of agrarian reform. They had been accused by the farm owners of having arms and of plotting an armed attack against the local police station. The police force that escorted them followed orders from their

²⁶⁹ Within the writings of Ascanio Cavallo *et al.* the man is given the nickname '*el viejo*' (the old man) and is known to be called Inocente de los Angeles, a retired miner whose son was kidnapped by unknown security agents. Thus, in his search for his own son Inocente was tipped about the existence of human remains at Lonquén (Cavallo, Salazar and Sepúlveda 1997: 223). The memoirs of Cardinal Silva Henríquez only make a brief mention of this event, thus assuming the confidentiality related to a personal confession of such information by Inocente to a priest at the Vicariate of Solidarity; as a result, protecting the identity of the first person who was to disclose information about the location of the disappeared, with others following his example and providing information related to human remains at Cuesta Barriga, Yumbel and Laja.

commanding officer, shot them, and buried them inside the abandoned mine ovens.²⁷⁰

Silva Henríquez had to deal with the national dismay at those assassinations and as he had previously done, he scheduled a Requiem Mass for them at the Metropolitan Cathedral in September 1979. His caring word was heard at the Cathedral when the bodies were not released on time for the Mass and the service had to go ahead without the bodies. He was angry and spoke of the suffering of those who could not even bury their dead.²⁷¹ By that time Silva Henríquez had lost contact with Pinochet and believed that the power of the DINA had taken over the military government.

Towards a New Constitution and Retirement

However, more dangerous than the DINA was the right-wing lobby that supported the military and tried to consolidate a regime that had not been democratically elected. If, during the first period of that regime force and fear were used in order to prevent any opposition, Pinochet plotted to legalise his regime by national consensus. Since 1977 and Pinochet's announcement of a new national constitution at Chacarillas, ex-president Jorge Alessandri had been working very hard analysing the pros and cons of the 1925 Chilean Constitution. By the time that Alessandri had finished his work, and others such as Jaime Guzmán had commented on the proposed text of a new constitution, Pinochet called for a national referendum in order to approve the text. Pinochet's announcement on the

²⁷⁰ Most of the information on the legal proceedings of those findings can be found in Pacheco's book *Lonquén* (Pacheco 1980) that was banned by the military authorities. It was alleged that the book was destined to create disunity in the country and that only presented the victims' version of the facts. See Claudio Orrego Vicuña, 'Solicitud de autorización para los efectos del bando No. 122 de fecha 30 Nov. 1978', Santiago 26/03/80; Humberto Gordon Rubio (Jefe de Zona en Estado de Emergencia de la Región Metropolitana y Prov. San Antonio), 'Emite respuesta sobre petición de publicación', Santiago 2/07/80; Jorge Fernández Parra (Director de la División de Comunicación Social), 'A Sr. Jefe de Zona en Estado de Emergencia Región Metropolitana y Provincia de San Antonio', Santiago 20/06/80. The book by Patricia Verdugo and Claudio Orrego, *Detenidos-Desaparecidos: Una herida abierta*, included a section on the findings at Lonquén and it was also banned by the military authorities (see Verdugo and Orrego 1980).

²⁷¹ 'Declaración del Arzobispado de Santiago en relación con la entrega de los cadáveres de las víctimas de Lonquén', Santiago 14/09/79.

10th of August 1980 took the country by surprise because the date of the referendum was the 11th of September 1980, just a month later.

Silva Henríquez commented that he thought that a revision of the 1925 Chilean Constitution was a good idea, after all as a lawyer he had studied the text in his younger years. However, he thought that a month for people to discuss the text and incorporate amendments if necessary was not sufficient. The 1980 Constitution incorporated several articles that gave power to the government to enforce states of emergency in case of unrest and the infamous article 24 allowed the relegation of those deemed dangerous to the state to remote locations without the intervention of the judiciary and by the power of the Minister of the Interior. The question put to the voters was to say 'yes' or 'no' to the proposed constitutional text that gave Pinochet extra terms in office and did not provide for the immediate restoration of democratic institutions such as Congress. Despite protests from the Chilean Bishops and public meetings held by personalities such as ex-president Eduardo Frei Montalva the referendum approved the new Chilean Constitution and Pinochet secured at least another eight years in office.

In November 1980 Silva Henríquez and the Vatican Ambassador visited Pinochet in order to invite him to take part in the closing Eucharist of the 1980 Eucharistic Congress that took place at the National Shrine in Maipú. While Pinochet accepted the invitation he did not accept any requests to bring back some of the Chileans on exile, particularly the Christian Democrat Andrés Zaldívar. That request had come directly from John Paul II who was not happy with the situation of Chileans on exile. Pinochet spoke of the many priests that were involved in supporting subversive activities and even the Vatican Ambassador felt that despite a new constitution there had been no change among the military regime.

The closing of the Eucharistic Congress was a very joyful occasion with thousands of people on the road to Maipú and thousands present at the Eucharist. That was the last massive pastoral activity that Silva Henríquez was to attend as Archbishop of Santiago and he felt thankful that despite the difficult

circumstances Chileans had found a home in the Church and in God. Most of those in Maipú were young and joyful and the chanting of them exulted Christ, the Virgen, and the Pope – their pop idols and their examples. The Church had managed to reach all Chilean homes through a missionary drive to pray and study the Christian faith together and the fruits were many. Chileans felt at home in a Church that was close to them and they supported in their majority a deeper involvement of the Christian communities in the social and political realities of a country that was still searching for a fuller transition to democracy.

However, Silva Henríquez was reaching the prescribed age of retirement for Catholic bishops and on the 20th of September 1982 he wrote to John Paul II with his resignation as Archbishop of Santiago after 22 years as leader of the archdiocese.²⁷² In his autumn visit to the Vatican he discussed his resignation with John Paul II for forty minutes and while it was accepted he was clearly told that he would remain in place till a successor was to be found. The archdiocese of Santiago had bought a house for retired archbishops in Los Pescadores Street, in the neighbourhood of Ñuñoa in Santiago and by January 1983 Silva Henríquez attempted to move in order to prepare for his retirement. However, the repression by the security forces against priests and trade unionists had intensified and those closer to him asked him not to leave them in those difficult moments. In April 1983 the Vatican announced his successor, Archbishop Juan Francisco Fresno of La Serena, and Silva Henríquez started his long awaited and well-deserved retirement on the 1st May 1983, Feast of St. Joseph the Worker.

²⁷² Silva Henríquez wrote: ‘Santo Padre: El 27 de este mes de septiembre cumpla 75 años de edad. En cumplimiento del decreto conciliar *Christus Dominus*, deseoso de hacer la voluntad de Dios, pongo en Vuestras Manos, Beatísimo Padre, la renuncia de mi cargo de Arzobispo de Santiago. Durante 22 años he dirigido la Arquidiócesis de Santiago. Doy gracias a Dios por todo el bien que he podido hacer en estos años y pido perdón por el mal que ciertamente he cometido en este mismo período. Disponga, Santo Padre, de su afectísimo y humilde servidor en Cristo’, *Memorias III*: 248-249.

CONCLUSIONS

The Retired Archbishop

Quienes hemos sido pastores en este difícil período, fuimos profundamente marcados por la invocación de la doctrina social para construir un mundo más humano, más fraterno y más cercano a los designios de Dios. Vivimos no sólo los cambios sociales pacíficos y progresivos en nuestra patria, sino que además nos sumergimos en el aire renovador que inspiró las sesiones del Concilio y las actuaciones de los papas Juan XXIII y Pablo VI. Desde nuestras posiciones humildes, frecuentemente limitadas y a veces provincianas, fuimos persuadidos y estimulados por la certidumbre de que la Iglesia debía asumir un papel activo en la realización de la dignidad humana - Raúl Silva Henríquez.²⁷³

Silva Henríquez continued his support for priests and pastoral agents within the years of his retirement. Indeed, he was busier than before, not only within the Archdiocese of Santiago but also within political and trade union circles close to the Church. Many visited him and he gave them support and encouragement within those years of protests and social movements for a return to democracy in Chile.

His house in Los Pescadores Street continued to be visited by many of his fellow priests and he continued his orderly daily life with the celebration of the Eucharist, prayer and meditation, and either lunch or dinner with some friends at his home. In a way he became busier than before because he had more time to decide what to do with his life and he was indeed in old age open to continue his

²⁷³ *Memorias* II: 119-120.

involvement with people, particularly children and youth. Sixty years before Fr. Panzarasa had encouraged him to get involved with the young and during the early years of his retirement he became a regular visitor to the St. Gaspar School, where he became spiritual director, and to the Minor Seminary where Fr. Miguel Ortega appointed him confessor, a pastoral activity that he named his weekly joy.²⁷⁴

Fr. Cristián Precht appointed him assistant priest at his parish – Nuestra Señora del Carmen-, and Fr. José Costa did the same in his parish of Ñuñoa. However, his happiest moments were always on weekends when he visited the children’s village that he had founded with the help of the international agency SOS in 1978. The idea was to give orphaned children a sense of family and to send them to school. A couple that acted as foster parents managed the SOS village and in the case of Punta de Tralca had been dedicated parents to all children. Silva Henríquez arrived on Friday evening to the retreat house at Punta de Tralca, visited the children, heard their confessions and on Sunday celebrated Mass for them. After the Mass Reinaldo Sapag, a close friend, collected him to have Sunday lunch with the Sapag family in Las Cruces, another small town on the coast. In 1990 Silva Henríquez inaugurated a SOS village in Santiago, for those studying at secondary schools, and in 1991 he also opened another SOS village in La Pintana, a disadvantaged suburb of Santiago, for urban orphans.

When in 1987 he celebrated his 80th birthday Reinaldo Sapag and other friends organised a special dinner at the Círculo Español, he thought that a group of 50 people would gather. In fact, there were 1,200 people, who heard about the Pope’s letter appointing him Cardinal Emeritus and who gave their own testimonies to an edited collection in his honour with the title *Raúl, Amigo*. Silva Henríquez was deeply touched by the occasion and in his after dinner speech he urged all politicians present to unite themselves in order to restore democracy in Chile. When that unity took place and Pinochet lost the referendum intended to keep him in power some of the cardinal’s friends asked him if he would stand as

²⁷⁴ *Memorias III*: 266.

candidate for president of Chile. Of course he replied that he couldn't do so as dictated by the canonical norms of the Catholic Church but he was touched by the fact that he had managed to inspire trust not on his own but in the name of the Church. If when he became Archbishop of Santiago the poor and the marginalized distrusted the Church by the 1990s the Church was trusted as defender of the poor and those who suffered. Silva Henríquez found joy and peace in those public recognitions because he found recognition for God and his Church.

Other public recognitions followed. On the 13th of August 1992 the Central Avenue of Lo Espejo en Santiago was renamed Raúl Silva Henríquez Avenue. His name was given to boats in Chiloé, San Antonio, and Valparaíso, to an orphanage, to a children's nursery, to a newly established farm cooperative, to a sweets' shop, to a trade union, to a bakery, to a Christian community, and even to a football team. As he continued visiting Christian communities people greeted him loudly: "*Raúl, amigo, el pueblo está contigo!*" (Raúl, friend, the people is with you!). The greeting brought tears to his eyes and he thanked them for their solidarity in his old age. He was getting more and more frail and had to be moved to a Salesian house for the old where there was better medical care for retired Salesian priests.

Silva Henríquez died on Friday 9th of April 1999 after a respiratory crisis. Those who were with him were his close relatives, the priests that had been close to him, and Reinaldo Sapag, his friend of many years. The Chilean government declared national mourning and after many Masses at the Cathedral he was buried at the Metropolitan Cathedral. Thousands of people attended his funerals and special hourly Masses were organised for particular groups that had worked very closely with Silva Henriquez. One of those groups was the dedicated team of lawyers and social workers of the Vicariate of Solidarity who had grown as professionals and as Christians under the guidance of the late cardinal. At the Masses and when the name of the Vicariate of Solidarity or of the Cardinal was mentioned the faithful chanted once and again "*Raúl, amigo, el pueblo está contigo!*" As his coffin was carried the flags of the left-wing paramilitary groups

were there as well as politicians of all political parties. The mothers and relatives of the disappeared were there, waving their handkerchiefs to the one who had opened the Church to them in times when there was nobody else who would support them.

Silva Henríquez was an archbishop that centralised the Chilean Church under his leadership while giving responsibilities to many lay people and their communities. He had a patriarchal way of leadership and a kind disposition to unite and mediate between political opponents and enemies. In many ways he remained all his life a person from the south of Chile, he wore a *poncho* and perceived his decisions as final while he agreed that he wasn't right all the time. However, his political involvement within the most difficult times of Chilean politics cannot be understood without understanding the Christian man of faith that spoke very cordially to God and felt very close to God in his daily tasks. In very difficult moments he prayed together with others using a language that could have been used by a child rather than by an archbishop. He was a traditional pastor that listened to the needs of people and spoke to them about a God that was close to them within the traditional structures of the Church. Indeed, while labelled a communist Silva Henriquez condemned any attempt to take Christians options for socialism or to develop pastoral structures without bishops or a centralised hierarchical church.

Silva Henríquez intervened in social and political issues questioning the validity of poverty and social deprivation and he questioned the fibre of Chilean society against the values of the Gospel. His enemies recognised that he was an intelligent adversary and a well-prepared lawyer while his friends recognised in him a man of prayer, who loved to sit at table to eat and drink in order to discuss social realities. Indeed, his invitations to lunch and dinner became for some occasions in which he expected them to bear their souls to others but through which they discovered their own selves in relation to others and to the common good. Thus, Silva Henríquez did not like to eat alone –an understandable trait after being raised in a family of many children- but he allowed the meals to be a

place where adversaries could discuss their differences and where all invited could feel comfortable and at home.

Silva Henríquez was a reformer and during the periods of democratic government of Jorge Alessandri, Eduardo Frei Montalva, and Salvador Allende he strived for a pastoral model of affirmation towards the poor and the marginalized, departing from charitable models of handouts without a future. A number of institutions that bear witness to that enterprising pastoral model are many. Among them one could mention his reshaping of the work of Caritas Chile, the Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano and the Vicariate of Solidarity.

However, if one were to assess why he made such an impact on Chilean society one would have to say that he wanted a better Chile, and that he loved the nation where he was born. Without producing romantic narratives of nationalism Silva Henriquez loved that far away land and his people. He rejoiced in contemplating the sea, and many of his deeper moments of prayer took place beside the sea. In him many Chileans saw a dedicated archbishop that loved them and embraced them. However, he reminded them that there was the possibility of living in a more just society and that Christ had willed so. He reminded people of their own frailty and their need of God but without asking them to leave their realities. On the contrary, he encouraged people, especially the youth, to immerse themselves in their activities, in their families, and in their communities in order to co-create with God a better world, a world of laughter and solidarity.

If in the Gospel one of the central themes is Jesus' tableship with sinners he ate with all, he drank with all, and he loved them following Jesus' example. He became in old age the good shepherd who was ready to risk his own security and his own image for those who needed him. Thus, no political analysis would suffice when trying to understand the life of Silva Henríquez because it was his life of faith and Christian commitment that allowed him to sustain his years as archbishop and to dream of a better Chile, better not only economically but a Chile in which God would have a place and a central place.

His image in old age is the image that summarises his life as member of the Salesians, as priest, as bishop, archbishop, and cardinal. He sat for hours with his breviary in his hands, turning the pages slowly while dwelling on the psalms, falling asleep but awakening again to turn yet another page. It is not the image of the pop star among the crowds that sustain his memory but the quiet moments he spent with his God and with his people. His figure remains central to understand the history of 20th Century's Chile and the events that made Chile central to the news bulletins all over the world. He comforted those in exile and he pleaded on their behalf with political firmness and with religious fervour. And in his last spiritual will he pleaded for the end of poverty in Chile and in the world. In his words, he loved and admired the poor in their strives but he also condemned economic misery, arguing that it is neither human nor Christian.

Recently a statue of Silva Henríquez was built at the Plaza de Armas Square in Santiago, in front of the Metropolitan Cathedral. It is there that those who lived this period of history through dreams and nightmares still greet him at a distance: *Raúl, amigo, el pueblo está contigo!*

APPENDIX I

Carta de Clemente Silva a su padre en Chile

Letter by Clemente Silva, the cardinal's nephew, to the extended family of Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez in which he narrates the ceremonies that surrounded his appointment as cardinal in Rome.²⁷⁵

Roma, 25 de marzo de 1962

Señor

Armando Silva Henríquez

Santiago

Querido papá:

Hoy a las 6:30 de la tarde, ha terminado la última ceremonia del Cardenal con la toma de posesión de la Iglesia de San Bernardo alle Terme.

El día 19 –lunes- fiesta de precepto en Italia, por el día de San José, tuvo lugar en el departamento del Cardenal en el Sagrado Corazón la primera ceremonia: la entrega del Biblietto, del cual era portador el maestro de Cámara del Cardenal Secretario de Estado. Cerca de la una del día llegó a la residencia del Cardenal, pues en su itinerario de entrega de análoga comunicación a los otros nuevos cardenales debió recorrer gran parte de la ciudad, correspondiéndole a nuestro Cardenal el último lugar. Desde las 10 de la mañana, se encontraban en la Cámara del Cardenal su maestro de Cámara, su Capellán y su Gentil hombre,

²⁷⁵ The letter was originally published in Reinaldo Sapag Chain, ed. Raúl Amigo... Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Copygraph, 1977 © Ediciones Copygraph. My thanks to Reinaldo Sapag for allowing me to reproduce the text of this letter.

todos en traje apropiado. Cerca del medio día llegaron el Embajador y el Secretario de la Embajada, y se reunieron con el Superior Mayor de la Congregación, algunos parientes, amigos, fotógrafos y demás personas que esperaban la fausta nueva.

Llegando el portador, se hace anunciar por el Decano de Sala, firma el Libro de Visitas y le entrega un sobre al Cardenal que está sentado en su Cámara rodeado de su séquito, del Embajador y de los Superiores Salesianos, amén de los familiares. El Cardenal abre el sobre, lo lee en silencio, y se lo pasa al Superior Mayor de los salesianos Revdo. Padre Ziguiotti quien le da lectura en alta voz. Luego, el Superior de los Salesianos de Chile, Rvdo. Padre Valenzuela lee el Decreto Consistorial, por el cual se le notifica al nombrado para que concurra al Concilio del día Miércoles 21 a recibir el birrete rojo de Su Santidad El Papa. El maestro de Cámara portador del Biglietto, pronuncia brevísimas palabras de congratulación y el Cardenal le contesta, con gran circunstancia en un breve y bellissimo discurso en que junto con agradecer al Santo Padre, le manifiesta que él es un instrumento de Dios para desempeñar en la Iglesia el rol que se le ha asignado, que esta dignidad la recibe para la grey Católica de Chile, para la Congregación que lo formó y concluye diciendo, nada puedo decirle a nuestro Dios que exprese mejor mis sentimientos que lo que San Pedro le dijera: ‘Señor, tú sabes que te amo’. Luego recibe los abrazos y felicitaciones de los que allí se encuentran, y la mañana concluye con un gran almuerzo en la Casa Salesiana del Sagrado Corazón, al que asisten todos los familiares. El Superior Mayor de la Congregación dice algunas palabras y al concluir repite el discurso del Cardenal, pues agrega que contiene una lección inmejorable para todos: poner a Dios ante todo. Compara al Cardenal con Don Bosco y dice que no es de extrañar que con el tiempo se le llame como ‘Don Silva’, por su infatigable trabajo, especialmente entre la juventud y los más necesitados. Esto fue realmente muy emocionante.

Después de almuerzo, el Cardenal recibe la visita de los cardenales antiguos y del cuerpo diplomático, además de la visita de los gentiles hombres de los otros nuevos Cardenales.

A mi turno, como gentil hombre del Cardenal Silva debo visitar a los ocho nuevos Cardenales presentes en la Curia para presentarles a nombre de mi Príncipe los saludos y congratulaciones por su designación.

El día Martes estuvo dedicado a recibir las visitas y felicitaciones de los chilenos, amistades y sacerdotes.

El día Miércoles tuvo lugar en la Sala Clementina del Vaticano, el Consistorio Secreto con imposición de la birreta roja Cardenalicia por Su Santidad a los nuevos Cardenales. Allí se encontraba presente un reducido número de personas, el Embajador y el séquito Cardenalicio. El Santo Padre desde su trono Papal recibió a cada Cardenal y junto con imponerles la birreta los abrazó efusivamente. Quedé muy impresionado por la belleza de los salones del Vaticano desde el suelo al cielo, ricamente adornados y haciendo un marco magnífico a la figura del Papa y de sus Cardenales. Los Cardenales después del acto se dirigieron a los salones privados de Su Santidad donde departieron por algunos momentos con él. El Papa les dijo entre otras cosas, que la ocasión era muy propicia para tomarse un traguito con él, pero en sigilo agregó: ‘No me dejan...’ Luego fueron fotografiados junto a Su Santidad y al despedirse le dijo al Cardenal portugués que había pronunciado el discurso a nombre de sus compañeros en el Consistorio: ‘Su discurso debe haber sido muy bueno, va a tener que darme el escrito correspondiente, porque no le entendí nada...’ En efecto el discurso fue dicho en latín muy mal pronunciado.

El Santo Padre al abrir el Consistorio destacó la significación de él, por la vecindad del Concilio Ecuménico, en el cual deseaba encontrarse con las luces de las figuras más esclarecidas del Clero; agregando que las cualidades personales de los nuevos Cardenales y la variedad de su origen eran un símbolo de la universalidad de la Iglesia y demostraba la inquietud permanente de ella para buscar los mejores instrumentos para hacer triunfar el Reino de Dios.

El Jueves fue un gran día; desde temprano en tenida adecuada el Cardenal y su séquito esperaban la hora de partir hacia San Pedro (todo estaba prolijamente

reglamentado, desde la vestimenta hasta el número de automóviles y el orden de sus ocupantes).

El ingreso se hizo por las salas del Vaticano y en amplios salones los Cardenales tomaron su lugar mientras respectivos maestros de ceremonias daban a ellos las últimas instrucciones. Después desfilaron acompañados de su séquito por interminables y solemnes pasadizos y escalas, flanquados por imponentes guardias suizos hasta una capilla lateral de la Basílica de San Pedro que estaba protegida de la vista del público por cortinajes. Allí en largos bancos, ricamente alfombrados, tomaron asiento y esperaron la llegada del Cardenal Tisserant, quien dirige la Congregación de Ritos. Uno tras otro ante él pasaron al altar y al lado de la Epístola prestaron juramento de sumisión, secreto y obediencia. Esta ceremonia no fue accesible al público y solo la presenciaron los respectivos séquitos de los Cardenales. No obstante se permitió el acceso a fotógrafos y cinematografistas, y así fue como aparecí televisado en toda Italia detrás de mi Cardenal, según me lo contaron alborozados en el Hotel, Vinicio y Paolo.

A continuación los Cardenales, vueltos a su asiento, escuchaban el Credo que fue iniciado solemnemente por una sola voz: 'Credo in unum Deum...' y acto seguido se propagó a todos los presentes que atestaban la Basílica, constituyendo para mí el momento más importante y magnífico de la ceremonia por la fuerza inmensa que brotaba de ese canto al Creador en el lugar mas propio, y entonado por miles de fieles que repletaban la Basílica de San Pedro. Concluido el Credo, el abogado Consistorial, dio lectura en latín al Decreto Convocatorio y se testimonió de que todo estaba cumplido.

En ese instante desde lugares estratégicos las trompetas de plata rompieron el aire con una marcha, que supongo debe haber sido el Himno Papal, e hizo su aparición el Sumo Pontífice. Instalado en su Trono Magnífico frente al Altar Papal cubierto por un baldaquino que sostienen 4 columnas salomónicas. El estrado al final del cual está el Trono Papal tiene más de una cuadra de largo y se encuentra protegido por alfombra roja. El Trono, bajo la imponente ornamentación del Artífice Bernini, y el Cuadro que representa la Fundación de la

Iglesia por Jesucristo es realmente imponente, supera todo lo imaginado. Hacia el Trono uno tras otro, a prudente distancia, con la Capa Magna desplegada, a paso lento, van los Cardenales para recibir el Capello.

Cierro esta carta con un fuerte abrazo, y llegando a Barcelona donde pasaremos dos días en espera de combinación a París, la continuaré.

Cariños a mis hermanos e hijos. Clemente

APPENDIX II

Testamento Espiritual del Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez

Mi palabra es una palabra de amor. He buscado a lo largo de mi vida amar entrañablemente a mi Señor. A Él conocí desde niño. De Él me entusiasmé siendo joven. A Él he buscado servir como Sacerdote y como Obispo. Si tengo una invitación y un ruego que hacer con vehemencia es precisamente este: que amen al Señor. Que conozcan su Palabra. Que lo escuchen en la oración. Que lo celebren en los sacramentos. Que lo sirvan en los pobres. Y que pongan en práctica su Evangelio en la vida de todos los días.

Mi palabra es una palabra de amor a la Santa Iglesia. Fue la Iglesia doméstica en mi familia, la que me enseñó a orar y a servir. Fue la Iglesia la que me educó en el amor y me regaló la fe. Fue la Iglesia la que me llamó, por el ejemplo de Don Bosco, a servir a los jóvenes y a los pobres. Fue la Iglesia la que me dio grandes responsabilidades a pesar de mis limitaciones. Fervientemente eso les pido: amen a la Iglesia. Manténganse unidos al Papa y a sus Obispos. Participen activamente en la comunidad eclesial. Tengan misericordia con sus defectos, y sobre todo sepan apreciar su santidad y sus virtudes. Procuren en todo momento que ella proclame con alegría y entusiasmo la Buena Noticia que su Maestro le encargó anunciar a todos.

Mi palabra es una palabra de amor a Chile. He amado intensamente a mi país. Es un país hermoso en su geografía y en su historia. Hermoso por sus montañas y sus mares, pero mucho más hermoso por su gente. El pueblo chileno es un pueblo muy noble, muy generoso y leal. Se merece lo mejor. A quienes tienen vocación o responsabilidad de servicio público les pido que sirvan a Chile,

en sus hombres y mujeres, con especial dedicación. Cada ciudadano debe dar lo mejor de sí para que Chile no pierda nunca su vocación de justicia y libertad.

Mi palabra es una palabra de amor a los pobres. Desde niño los he amado y admirado. Me ha conmovido enormemente el dolor y la miseria en que viven tantos hermanos míos de esta tierra. La miseria no es humana ni es cristiana. Suplico humildemente que se hagan todos los esfuerzos posibles, e imposibles, para erradicar la extrema pobreza en Chile. Podemos hacerlo si en todos los habitantes de este país se promueve una corriente de solidaridad y de generosidad. Los pobres me han distinguido con su cariño. Sólo Dios sabe cuánto les agradezco sus muestras de afecto y su adhesión a la Iglesia.

Mi palabra es una palabra de amor especial a los campesinos que trabajan con el sudor de su frente y con quienes compartí desde mi infancia. En ellos hay tantos valores que no siempre la sociedad sabe apreciar. Quiero pedir que se los ayude y se los escuche. A ellos les pido que amen y que cuiden la tierra como un hermoso don de nuestro Dios.

Mi palabra es una palabra de amor a los jóvenes. En los primeros y en los últimos años de mi ministerio sacerdotal a ellos les he dedicado de un modo especial mi consejo y mi amistad. Los jóvenes son buenos y generosos. Pero necesitan del afecto de sus padres y del apoyo de sus profesores para crecer por el camino de la virtud y del bien. La Iglesia y Chile tienen mucho que esperar de una juventud que está llamada a amar con transparencia y cuya voz no puede ser desoída.

Mi palabra es una palabra de amor a mis hermanos obispos y a los sacerdotes que con tanto celo sirven a su pueblo. Doy las gracias a quienes colaboraron conmigo en tantas tareas hermosas que emprendimos, primero en la amada Iglesia de Valparaíso, y después en esta muy amada Iglesia de Santiago. A los laicos que lealmente me dieron su amistad y su cooperación les deseo que su trabajo sea comprendido y valorado. Que no se cansen en su servicio. Y que cuiden de un modo especial a sus familias.

Mi palabra es una palabra de amor a todos. A los que me quisieron y a los que no me comprendieron. No tengo rencor. Sólo tengo palabras para pedir perdón y para perdonar. Sólo tengo palabras para agradecer tanta bondad que he recibido.

A la Virgen Santa me encomiendo, ya que ella es el Auxilio de los cristianos.

A todos les doy mi bendición en el nombre del Señor.

APPENDIX III

Mi sueño de Chile

Me preguntan por el país que sueño o que deseo. Y debo decir que mi deseo es que en Chile el hombre y la mujer sean respetados. El ser humano es lo más hermoso que Dios ha hecho. El ser humano es 'imagen y semejanza' de la belleza y la bondad de Dios. Quiero que en mi patria desde que un ser humano es concebido en el vientre de una mujer, hasta que llega a la ancianidad sea respetado y valorado. De cualquier condición social, de cualquier pensamiento político, de cualquier credo religioso, todos merecen nuestro respeto.

Quiero que en mi país todos vivan con dignidad. La lucha contra la miseria es una tarea de la cual nadie puede sentirse excluido. Quiero que en Chile no haya más miseria para los pobres. Que cada niño tenga una escuela donde estudiar. Que los enfermos puedan acceder fácilmente a la salud. Que cada jefe de hogar tenga un trabajo estable y que le permita alimentar a su familia. Y que cada familia pueda habitar en una casa digna donde pueda reunirse a comer, a jugar y a amarse entrañablemente.

Quiero un país donde reine la solidaridad. Muchas veces ante las distantes catástrofes que el país ha debido enfrentar, se ha demostrado la generosidad y nobleza de nuestro pueblo. No es necesario que los terremotos solamente vengán a unir a los chilenos. Creo que quienes poseen más riquezas deben apoyar y ayudar a quienes menos poseen. Creo que los más fuertes no pueden desentenderse de los más débiles. Y que los más sabios deben responsabilizarse de los que pertenecen en la ignorancia. La solidaridad es un imperativo urgente

para nosotros. Chile debe desterrar los egoísmos y ambiciones para convertirse en una patria solidaria.

Quiero un país donde se pueda vivir el amor. Esto es fundamental. Nada sacamos con mejorar los índices económicos o con levantar grandes industrias y edificios, si no crecemos en nuestra capacidad de amar. Lo jóvenes no nos perdonarían esa falta. Pido y ruego que se escuche a los jóvenes y se les responda como ellos se merecen. La juventud es nuestra fuerza más hermosa. Ellos tienen el derecho a ser amados. Y tienen la responsabilidad de aprender a amar de un modo limpio y abierto. Pido y ruego que la sociedad entera ponga su atención en los jóvenes, pero de un modo especial, eso se lo pido y ruego a las familias. No abandonen a los jóvenes. Escúchenlos, miren sus virtudes antes que sus defectos, muéstrenles con sus testimonios un estilo de vivir entusiasmante.

Y por último, quiero para mi patria lo más sagrado que yo pueda decir: que vuelva su mirada hacia el Señor. Un país fraterno sólo es posible cuando se reconoce la paternidad bondadosa de nuestro Dios. He dedicado mi vida a esa tarea: que los hombres y mujeres de mi tierra conozcan al Dios vivo y verdadero, que se dejen amar por Él y que lo amen con todo el corazón. Quiero que mi patria escuche la Buena Noticia del Evangelio de Jesucristo, que tanto consuelo y esperanza trae para todos. Este es mi sueño para Chile y creo que con la ayuda de María, ese sueño es posible convertirlo en realidad.

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