



*THE TFP PROCLAIMS  
THE WHOLE TRUTH*

**THE CHURCH  
OF SILENCE  
IN CHILE**



*An Urgent Matter for Americans to Ponder*

## EDITOR'S NOTE

In the press, radio, and TV of the entire world, people frequently speak of the underdeveloped nations. Their upward march toward progress has become an irresistible imperative.

Without denying what truth there is in this concept, in itself too simple, we call it to mind with the sole purpose of making public an observation related to it.

In today's world, there is a worse condition than the material state of the underdeveloped nations. It is the spiritual situation of two categories of persons:

First, in the western societies, that of the scorned silent majorities, internationally relegated and reduced to a state of impotence by the great means of propaganda.

Second, in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, that of the Church of Silence.

But, is it only in the countries behind the Iron Curtain that silenced Catholics exist?

\* \* \*

Bewildered, perplexed, anguished, a silent majority of Catholics is forming as the destructive process of the Revolution advances, and within the Church, on the religious level, they are finding themselves in a situation of muteness analogous to that of the Church of Silence behind the Iron Curtain.

Why is there so much propaganda in favor of the underdeveloped, while so little interest is shown in the silent majorities and the Church of Silence?

\* \* \*

We do not understand it.

We think, however, that the victims of this unjust treatment have every right to resist it.

In Chile, this silent majority is almost as numerous as the population itself, and it looks, stupefied, upon an amazing fact: the greater part of the Episcopate and a decisive sector of the clergy and the religious have become the most dynamic and subtly effective force in the leftist assault. It is a revolutionary force which does not lead directly to war or bloody rebellion, but which facilitates the conquest of mentalities in this most modern form of war.

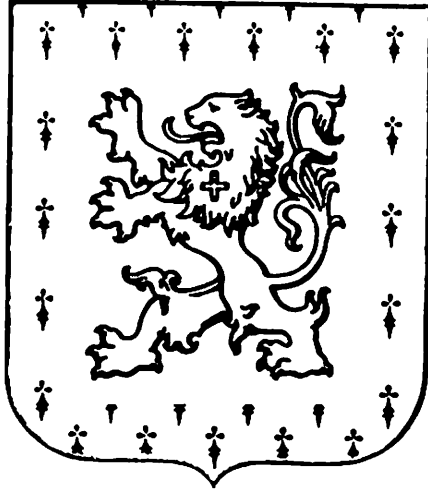
From the darkened regions of that Church of Silence, this book emerges in search of light, air, relief, and defense, like a shout of proclamation.

The truth is that in numerous other nations as well as Chile, "Satan's clouds of smoke" are invading and filling the Church and She is undergoing a mysterious process of "self-destruction" — the words are of Paul VI — carried out from top to bottom.

**THE CHURCH  
OF SILENCE  
IN CHILE**



THE TFP PROCLAIMS THE WHOLE TRUTH



THE CHURCH  
OF SILENCE  
IN CHILE

by THE CHILEAN SOCIETY FOR THE DEFENSE OF  
TRADITION, FAMILY AND PROPERTY

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# Contents

FOREWORD to the American Edition . . . . .	xvii
INTRODUCTION — Ecclesiastical Subversion and the Formation of a Church of Silence in Chile . . . . .	1

## PART ONE

<b>Ecclesiastical Preparation for the Christian Democratic Gov- ernment of Frei . . . . .</b>	<b>13</b>
Chapter 1 — Advance Notice of the Path Chosen by the Archbishop of Santiago . . . . .	15
1. Having been newly named Cardinal, he formulates ambig- uous eulogies to Communism . . . . .	16
2. Agrarian reform in the lands of the Archbishop, to open a process that would destroy the farms of Chile . .	17
Chapter 2 — Permissivist Tolerance of the Episcopate While the “Leftist-Catholic” Ferment Was Organizing and Grow- ing . . . . .	21
1. The Jesuit Priests of the Bellarmine Center launch the program of the Egalitarian Revolution . . . . .	22
2. Weekly of the Archbishop of Santiago defends the Revolution of <i>Mensaje</i> . . . . .	24
3. In the shadow of the Bellarmine Center prestige was given to the political leaders who would lead the future revolutionary process . . . . .	25
4. From then on, the Communist-progressivist pressure only increased . . . . .	26
5. With impunity, the evil extends to other fields: the cor- ruption of customs . . . . .	29

*Contents*

**PART TWO**

During the "Christian-Socialist" Government of Frei . . . . .	35
Chapter 1 – Ambiguous Orientations Supporting the Im- plantation of the Kerenskian Socialism of Frei . . . . .	37
1. The Cardinal Archbishop confirms the decisive influence of the Church on the constitution and the ascent of the Chilean Christian Democratic movement . . . . .	38
2. The rural missions of 1965, the point for launching peasant agitation . . . . .	41
3. In the face of socialist and confiscatory projects, the silence of the Shepherds becomes collaboration . . . . .	44
4. From the silence of collaboration to the ambiguous en- couragement of agrarian reformism . . . . .	49
5. The studies of the reform were given in detail and the ambiguous support of the Cardinal became ever more indefensible . . . . .	51
6. General and veiled support for the agrarian reform pro- cess continued . . . . .	56
Chapter 2 – Episcopal Support for Communist-Progressiv- ism in Preparation for the Allende Victory . . . . .	65
1. With the direct intervention of the Cardinal, the Cath- olic University becomes a focus of Marxist propaganda and agitation . . . . .	66
2. The Archbishop of Santiago throws new fuel on the fire: convocation of a Diocesan Synod . . . . .	73
3. Condemnatory note to the TFP for denouncing Marxist infiltration in the Clergy . . . . .	77
4. Episcopal meeting of La Florida: general condemnations	81
5. Dialectic tension between fast pace and slow pace revo- lutionaries on the road to Marxist synthesis . . . . .	84
6. The moderate Shepherd presents to his flock Commu- nist-progressive actions under an appealing and attractive light . . . . .	88
7. Post-synodal education in Catholic schools . . . . .	91
8. The TFP once again denounces the subversive plot in the Church . . . . .	94



## *Contents*

9. The double standard: the Archbishopric of Santiago snuffs out the action of the anti-communist Catholics . . . 97

**Chapter 3 – The Direct Action of the Episcopate and the Clergy in the Final Victory of Allende and the Installation of His Marxist Regime in Power . . . . . 103**

1. The Cardinal makes it known that he considers it licit for a Catholic to vote for a Marxist candidate . . . . . 103
2. The Secretary General of the Episcopate reiterates the criteria established by the Cardinal . . . . . 106
3. Significant “pastoral orientations” apropos of the Plenary Assembly of the CECH in Concepcion . . . . . 107
4. In the final weeks of the electoral campaign, nothing is forbidden by the ecclesiastical authority, if it serves Allendeism . . . . . 111
5. In the uncertain situation, important Episcopal assistance is given for the definitive ascent of Allende to power . . . . . 114

### **PART THREE**

**Episcopal Support of Allende's Marxist Government . . . . . 119**

**Chapter 1 – The Commitment of the Shepherds to the Program of Moral and Economic Destruction of a Catholic Nation . . . . . 121**

1. The joyful support of the Cardinal, from the first moment, stirring up the sympathies of the Catholics for the Allendeist program . . . . . 121
2. “Ecumenical” Te Deum of Thanksgiving for the rise to power of the Marxist President . . . . . 123
3. Revealing statements of the Cardinal to Cuban newsmen . . . . . 124
4. The Cardinal condemns the use of religious reasons in arguing against Marxist candidates . . . . . 128
5. First National Seminar of those responsible for Pastoral Care . . . . . 129
6. Disapproval of the militant activism of the Communist-progressivist Priests, but not of their Marxist “individual options” . . . . . 133

*Contents*

7. The Cardinal takes part in a worker demonstration organized by Communism . . . . .	135
8. Episcopal Document on "The Gospel, Politics, and Socialisms" . . . . .	137
9. Blasphemies against the Mother of God in a publication of the Allendeist Government . . . . .	139
10. The Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago takes lessons in revolutionary commitment in Castro's Cuba . . . . .	140
11. The Cardinal gives prestige to the youthful directors of CUT . . . . .	142
12. Episcopal proposal to the Synod of Rome . . . . .	142
13. Cardinal and Episcopate give enthusiastic welcome to the Communist dictator, Fidel Castro . . . . .	143
 Chapter 2 – In the Face of Popular Resistance, the Episcopal Collaboration Prolongs the Days of the Ominous Regime . . . . .	 147
1. The path proposed by the Episcopate: unity around the Allendeist changes . . . . .	148
2. The "First Latin American Encounter of Christians for Socialism" . . . . .	150
3. Prestige lent to Marxist institutions and personalities . . . . .	155
4. Calls to unity in favor of the survival of the Allendeist regime . . . . .	156
5. Faced with the project of totalitarian Marxist education, a new conciliatory attitude of the Cardinal . . . . .	169
 Chapter 3 – The Last Episcopal Efforts in Favor of Allende, While He Prepared for the Bloodbath . . . . .	 175
1. In search of a compromise formula . . . . .	175
2. The Cardinal desires that the Catholic politicians come to an understanding with the tottering Marxist regime . . . . .	180
3. Regarding the dialogue between Allende and the Christian Democrats, the Cardinal requests a truce to gain a little more time . . . . .	181
4. The significant Communist response to the call of the Cardinal . . . . .	183
5. The Government's interest in dialogue . . . . .	184

*Contents*

6. The letter from the Cardinal to the Secretary General of the Communist Party . . . . .	185
7. The Christian Democratic collaboration for a convergent dialogue . . . . .	185
8. Propaganda of the Communist newspaper in favor of the "dialogue" . . . . .	186
9. The interpretation which Fidel Castro gave to the Allende-Christian Democratic dialogue . . . . .	187
10. Up to the last days . . . . .	188
Chapter 4 – "In Payment for My Affection, They Treated Me Like An Enemy: But I Prayed" (Psalm 108) . . . . .	193

**PART FOUR**

<b>The Subversive Clerical Opposition to the Anti-Marxist Government of the Military Junta . . . . .</b>	<b>207</b>
Chapter 1 – How could Marxism Attempt to Regain Power in Chile? – The Episcopate, a Decisive Force in Countries With Catholic Majorities . . . . .	209
1. The difficulties encountered by Communism in the ideological persuasion of the people . . . . .	209
2. The impasse of the Communist Revolution in South America . . . . .	213
3. The slogan of Archbishop Helder Camara: to lend an ecclesiastical voice to those who have no voice . . . . .	214
4. A hypothesis that imposes itself . . . . .	216
Chapter 2 – At the First Moment, Clerical Dampening of the Anti-Communist Fervor and An Attempt to Save the Egalitarian Utopia . . . . .	219
1. The first Episcopal statement after the uprising . . . . .	221
2. The Cardinal avoids drawing anti-communist conclusions from the Allendeist experience . . . . .	224
3. The theoretically "anti-Marxist" pastoral document published one month after the overthrow of Allende . . . . .	230
4. The noble and just gesture that never existed . . . . .	235
5. The Cardinal reiterates his socialist aspirations . . . . .	236

Contents

Chapter 3 – The Second Step: the Insistent Episcopal Preaching of a False Reconciliation . . . . .	241
1. On Christmas Eve of 1973, the bitter taste of bile . . . . .	241
2. The Shepherds now favor the Marxists by a sensibility that was lacking when it came to defending their congregation against Allendeist abuses . . . . .	244
3. The irenic myth of “reconciliation”: a form of obstinacy in the Episcopal policy of collaboration with error . . . . .	246
4. The “reconciliatory” policy leads certain Shepherds to the extreme of not agreeing to official religious acts on the anniversary of the military uprising that liberated Chile from civil war . . . . .	249
Chapter 4 – Bishops and Priests Take Up the Vanguard of the Revolutionary Opposition to the Anti-Communist Government . . . . .	251
1. Terrorist arsenal in the cellar of a charitable institution of the Archbishopric of Santiago . . . . .	253
2. Christmas message of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate sharpens the discontent . . . . .	254
3. “Pastoral Orientations” for the present reality of Chile . . . . .	255
4. The Priest vice-president of “Caritas” defends the reopening of the mass media . . . . .	257
5. In the Cardinal’s message to the workers: no admonition about Communism and a general dramatization of the situation . . . . .	258
6. Episcopal Vicariate of the Rural-Coast Zone of the Archbishopric of Santiago presents the process of socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform as legitimate . . . . .	259
7. The Bishops of Los Angeles, Talca, and Chillan also reaffirm their adherence to the socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform . . . . .	263
8. The “Committee for Peace” begins to reveal its ultimate function: protection and stimulation of the terrorist elements of the non-conformist extreme left . . . . .	266
9. The document <i>The Gospel and Peace</i> . . . . .	270
10. Once again the ecclesiastical denunciation of “misery” and “institutional violence” . . . . .	279

*Contents*

11. The confidential statements of Msgr. Camus: a signer of the statement <i>The Gospel and Peace</i> unmasked . . . . .	283
Chapter 5 – Alliance of the Revolutionary Clergy of the Rapid March With Terrorism, Under the Episcopal Gaze . .	287
1. First priestly manifestations of complicity with terrorism . . . . .	287
2. The Marxist infiltration in the “Committee for Peace” recognized by Msgr. Camus . . . . .	291
3. Like a fetid tumor, a shocking scandal explodes: an organized alliance between terrorism and a significant sector of the ecclesiastics . . . . .	293
4. The ex-Episcopal Vicar of the Archbishopric of Santiago, Rafael Maroto, carried on “pastoral activity” in the company of the most radical revolutionaries . . . . .	297
5. Marxist Priests arrested in the North. Plan of subversive infiltration by way of the Cordillera of the Andes . . . . .	301
6. The ambiguity of the Archbishopric of Santiago ties it to openly declared Marxist subversion . . . . .	302
7. The Priest Jose Kuhl, treasurer of the Cooperative of the Clergy of Santiago, apparently broke the pledge of confidentiality between the Government and the ecclesiastical authorities . . . . .	308
Chapter 6 – The Fight Against Subversion Is Presented As Persecution of the Church . . . . .	311
1. The Cardinal surprises Chilean Catholics by censuring them for their indignation over the scandal of the Clergy being involved in terrorist plotting . . . . .	311
2. Surprising revelations of a Mirist document on the Episcopal opposition to the Chilean Government . . . . .	313
3. Popular reaction against the ecclesiastical subversion increases . . . . .	314
4. In extreme amazement Catholics are faced with the threat of excommunication by the Cardinal . . . . .	318
5. The dissolution of the “Committee for Peace,” presented by the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago as an unjust limitation imposed by the Government on the Church . .	320
6. The Head of the Emergency Military Zone of Santiago denounces a Marxist plan involving a religious pilgrimage	

## *Contents*

to the Sanctuary of Maipu . . . . .	324
7. In place of the march to Maipu, a vociferating show of raised fists in favor of the Cardinal in the Metropolitan Cathedral . . . . .	328

## **CONCLUSION**

<b>In Defense of the Church and of the Country . . . . .</b>	<b>335</b>
1. Recapitulation of the Conduct of Bishops and Priests in Favor of the Marxist Revolution in Chile . . . . .	337
2. Analysis of the Reality in the Light of Catholic Doctrine and Canon Law . . . . .	344
3. In Defense of the Church and the Country: To Resist in Accordance With Divine and Human Laws . . . . .	349
1. The interests of the Church and of the Christian Civilization in our country . . . . .	350
2. Our relations, as faithful practicing Catholics, with the destructive ecclesiastical authorities . . . . .	352

## **APPENDICES**

1. Respectful Interpellation Directed to His Excellency, the President of the Republic, Mr. Eduardo Frei Montalva . . . . .	363
2. Public Declaration to the Chilean Nation on the Project of Agrarian Reform of President Eduardo Frei . . . . .	369
3. Principles Which Orient the Action of the TFP . . . . .	397
4. Belgian Priest Favors Subversion in Brazil . . . . .	401
5. Reverent and Filial Message to His Holiness Paul VI . . . . .	407
6. Two Hundred Conciliar Fathers Ask Vatican Council II For a Categorical Condemnation of the Socialist and Communist Errors . . . . .	411
7. The Marxist Minority Was Preparing for the Bloody Implantation of a Dictatorship of the Proletariat . . . . .	417
8. Anti-Marxist Clergy and Restrictive or Less Radical Attitudes of Some Prelates Faced With the Process of the Demolition of the Church and of Chile . . . . .	423
9. Note of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate of Chile on the Chilean TFP . . . . .	429

*Contents*

10. The Chilean TFP Comments on the Note of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate . . . . .	431
11. Note of the Nunciature About <i>The Church of Silence in Chile</i> . . . . .	435
12. The Chilean TFP Answers the Note of the Apostolic Nunciature . . . . .	437
13. Thirty-two Priests Declare the TFP Is Right . . . . .	441





## FOREWORD TO THE AMERICAN EDITION

Today's mass media takes pride in being able to provide rapid reporting of central events of the day, while at the same time giving an extensive coverage of matters that appeal to a wide variety of interests. However, these same media usually fail to show clearly the principal causes behind those key events, and, moreover, in spite of their boast of satisfying immense audiences, they more often than not fail to focus with sufficient clarity upon the central issues that trouble public opinion as a whole.

What is the central problem that disturbs the majority of men of our day? Without any doubt, it is the continual advance of Communism throughout the world. Even though men often overlook their highest concerns, that problem remains central because it stems from the major ideological struggle of our time.

Regardless of any specialized concerns a man might have, Communism poses a source of disquiet for him because it threatens everything. A spiritual man, for example, sees and despises its atheism. And even the worldly man has some uneasiness with Communism, because he realizes that even the material order is threatened by it.

It was with this notion of the central importance of the Communist menace in mind — both from spiritual and material points of view — that we read with deep interest a recent article in *The New York Times* on "Church-State Conflict" in Latin America (August 28, 1976). The article deals with a recent development in these Latin countries, in which Communism and the Church are the focal points — and which marks a central development in today's world events.

The article points out that the hierarchy, once a bulwark of social conservatism, believes now that "clergymen

## Foreword

have a duty to speak out on human rights" against actions taken by the anti-communist governments. This change started when, "during the early 1960's . . . small groups of young clergymen . . . began to reject the conservatism and tried to bridge the gap between Catholicism and Marxism." Subsequently, "Marxist priests" began to "catalyze more moderate clergymen into making their voices heard" — which in turn led to "the dramatic deterioration in relations between state and church in Latin America in recent years." Meanwhile, however, *The New York Times* article states, "right-wing lay groups" have emerged to resist this new stand of the leftist prelates.

The immense significance of these developments — which is insufficiently clear in *The New York Times* article itself — is immediately understood by readers inspired by a love of the Church and the anti-communist spirit which flows from it. First, there is a most tragic reversal of roles by Catholic Bishops in recent years, in the face of the rise of the Communist menace. At the same time, however, various South American governments, rather than lose courage because of the widespread agitation of the "Marxist priests" and Communist-sympathizing Bishops, have moved forward in their determination to resist the Communist menace. But how is this possible? How could Catholic Bishops reverse their former anti-communist stand and begin instead to promote Marxist causes? And what inspired the "right-wing lay groups" to rise up and resist this unimaginable crisis?

With Lumen Mariae Publication's presentation of *The Church of Silence in Chile* in English translation, Americans will be able to answer these timely questions. They will have the long-awaited opportunity to see clearly the full story behind this South American development. Reading the best seller *The Church of Silence*, Americans will sense something of the noble struggle not of a third-rate interest group of a South American country that represents nothing of importance to Americans, but rather, much to the contrary, that of an organization of youthful idealists, who, viewing the crisis of their country with a vision that is fundamentally universal, have given rise to a debate that is

## Foreword

of central importance to the entire world, and which has taken place in a country whose political struggle has come to represent a "parable" in international circles (cf. "The Chilean Experiment" in *Crusade for a Christian Civilization*).

This organization, known as The Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property (TFP), became known to various sectors of American public opinion when, shortly after the publication of *The Church of Silence* early this year in Chile, the event was reported by some segments of the American press. How did such a group of young men ever come to produce a book of such international importance?

The misleading suggestion of *The New York Times* that the anti-communist action of lay groups is motivated by encouragement from the Chilean government, overlooks the following crucial fact: that the principal lay group, the Chilean TFP, has acted as it did through its own initiative, not because of outside support or encouragement. This is clear from the very book itself — it is the result of fifteen years of careful research, begun long before the present Chilean government came into power, and it manifests the tremendous foresight of these young men, not to mention their excellent credentials as authors in analyzing the current crisis. This fact, along with the enthusiastic support of the Chilean people as a whole, is the principal reason behind the writing and the successful dissemination of the book.

Not only the support for the book but also the reaction against it demonstrates the tremendous importance of *The Church of Silence in Chile*. Radio Moscow, broadcasting in the Spanish language, attacked the book violently four times, while defending the leftist Chilean Bishops! And the Bishops themselves reacted, but without being able to provide any refutation of the well-documented study. Also, statements rejecting the thesis of the book were forthcoming from the Papal Nuncio in Chile and from the Vatican Secretary of State, Cardinal Villot. Nonetheless, with its arguments still unrefuted (see appendices 10 and 12), the Chilean TFP continues with its initial success in disseminating the book throughout the country.

## Foreword

But what, specifically, can be said about the importance of the book for the American public? Obviously, *The New York Times* is touching upon something of immense importance in the analysis it makes of the role of Catholic prelates. For the Catholic leaders are the pivotal point around which the future of Latin America will be decided. Their position in the face of Communist subversion is *the* determining factor in events that will decisively affect the political and religious destiny of an entire continent. More than that: the issues being debated there are having very important repercussions in European countries where Catholicism has a similar influence. Clearly, then, the issues raised in *The Church of Silence in Chile* are not of isolated significance, for no reasonable American will conclude that the future of the Catholic countries of Latin America and Europe will have no influence on the destiny of the United States!

*The Church of Silence in Chile* is, then, a book of significance for political and religious leaders alike. The political symbolism of Chile is known to all who are informed about international affairs, and has been discussed in the previously mentioned work "The Chilean Experiment." As for the religious significance of the crisis in question, the book speaks for itself — it unfolds the whole problem faced by every Catholic who wants to remain faithful to the Church, but at the same time finds himself obliged to reject the actions of prelates who are openly favorable to Communism.

Therefore, *The Church of Silence* is clearly a book of immense importance to individuals in many fields: to religious and political leaders; to students who want to be well-informed about international affairs; to Catholics who want an answer to the crisis brought about by numerous members of the hierarchy having abandoned their missions; to those persons wanting to familiarize themselves more adequately with matters of Catholic doctrine relating to temporal society; and finally, to anyone who does not want to be left uninformed about a central question dominating international affairs in our times.

The best seller of the Chilean TFP has already gone through special editions in Argentina, Colombia, and Spain, and has been disseminated in Uruguay, Ecuador, and Vene-

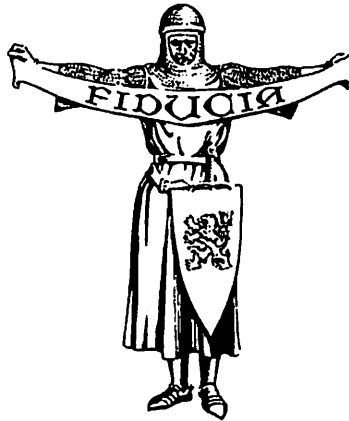
## *Foreword*

zuela. It has been extensively commented upon in the press, radio, and television of these countries, and has been prominently displayed and abundantly sold by their best bookstores.

For the various people associated with Lumen Mariae Publications, it is indeed an immense honor and privilege to be able to offer this English edition of *The Church of Silence in Chile*. Realizing the paramount importance of the work, and at the same time saddened by the immense crisis that necessitated it, they nonetheless are confident that this crisis is not permanent. For there is the promise of Our Lady of Fatima that the Communist menace will one day be defeated, when Our Lady Herself will crush the head of the Marxist serpent. On that day we will see once again not only the restoration of order within temporal society (so vehemently opposed by Communism) but also, and far more gloriously, the marvelous splendor of true Princes of the Church, faithful to their grand mission of ruling and sanctifying their flock, in total fidelity to the Tradition of the Apostles, and in total rejection of the actions of the prelates of today who abandon that Tradition and their mission for the sake of Marxist causes.

*Lumen Mariae Publications*





Introduction

Ecclesiastical Subversion  
and the Formation  
of a Church  
of Silence in Chile





In order to see the History of a human society with greater realism, we should analyze it as if we are considering the course of life of only one person. In other words, we should study the common denominator of the tendencies, concepts, and attitudes that express the mentality, the form of being, and of reacting of the components of the social body. And we should do this in the same manner in which we would study a human being who carries on his life with all of the fluctuations and stages that are characteristic of him. In effect, ten years in the life of a person could be compared to one hundred years in the life of a nation.

This universal principle, which allows us to understand social phenomena more deeply and subtly, also applies, obviously, to our own country.

That human conglomerate called Chile was born from the stem of Christian Civilization more than 150 years ago as an independent country — with its own territory, temperament, form of being and of life. It has already left behind its childhood on the road to an enterprising youth. On clearing this threshold, it was surprised by a terrible crisis which presented anguishing alternatives, but in their midst it found the necessary conditions with which to take stock of itself.

In fact, the Chile of today is very different from the nation which, several years ago, more or less unthinkingly stepped onto the downward slope that brought it to the Marxist abyss.

Twilight and tragedy in Chile

## *Introduction*

Imperceptibly, an artificial twilight was taking hold of Catholic Chile. There were many clouds on the horizon, which many people did not want to see clearly. Then at a certain moment these clouds appeared shot through with lightning, thunder and rays, and this existence of a true "dark tempest" (Jude 1: 13) made everyone feel that tragedy was upon us.

\* \* \*

Two years have passed since the country emerged from the painful crisis into which it was thrown by the Allende Government. The great cloud of dust stirred up by the regrettable Marxist experiment has subsided. But that peaceful, hard-working, orderly, and serene nation of the past has entered into a new stage of existence which is not yet concluded.

Chile was worked over, in these last years, by an anti-Chile, and the force of circumstances obliged it to enter into battle. In that battle, blood was shed — less, however, than would have been shed had it not been for the patriotic uprising of our Armed Forces and Carabineers on the memorable morning of September 11, 1973.

But there is an aspect of that battle which, being spiritual, is more terrible and painful.

Some fifteen years ago — to set a definite time period — a "Church of Silence began to be created in our country. It is a Church of Silence that is not subjugated by the physical violence existing in the nations that groan behind the Iron Curtain. It is a Church of Silence that suffers a psychological and spiritual violence, perhaps more tragic than physical violence.

This spiritual oppression reached a culmination which today afflicts many Catholics in Chile, even after they have come out of the Marxist shadows and begun the journey to moral reconstruction. How did this spiritual oppression occur?

In the decade of the sixties, more perceptible outlines began to appear in Chile, of what was to become a tremendous crisis of conscience.

Chile has a Catholic majority. But, indeed, a very considerable number of personalities of the Chilean ecclesiastical Hierarchy began a movement to abandon progressively

A "Church of Silence" in Chile

Product of psychological and spiritual oppression

The gradual revolutionary method

## Introduction

the spreading of the authentic Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ, as little by little they began to collaborate in the spreading of a counter-gospel, the Marxist counter-gospel. As we examine in retrospect how this was done, we are able to see clearly that the spread of that counter-gospel became the fundamental purpose, the most continued effort, and the most determined action of those personalities of the ecclesiastical structure.

Nevertheless, one of the most sorrowful aspects of that situation for Chilean Catholics is that the Marxist errors stemming from elements of the clergy have not been disseminated, in the majority of instances, with the angry raised fist, or under the despised and repudiated sign of the hammer and sickle. The reality has aspects which are much more subtle and filled with nuances. The shepherds who thus abandoned the care of their congregations have been constant for fifteen years in their commitment to the spread of errors, but their tactic has not always been the same. We see that at first they manifested a silence in respect to the principles of Catholic social doctrine which were more opposed to the Communist anti-creed. Then we see that certain notions related to social justice undergo an exacerbated and temperamental elevation, becoming overvalued to such an extent that it seemed that only they constituted the Christian concept of society. Later, we see the sowing of ambiguous ideas and the tolerance with impunity of pro-Marxist minorities in Catholic circles. These minorities at the very most received only false reproaches from the same Shepherds who systematically brought disrepute to those who rose up to defend Catholic doctrine and tradition, or who symbolized it in some form. The ground thus having been prepared, representative episcopal figures dared to show a poorly veiled support to those who clearly preached erroneous doctrines, reaching the point of favoring the rise of the Marxists to power and of supporting their continuation in power.

After a time the country passed through the Communist storm brought in by Allende. Then it should have been possible at least to expect a change in attitude on the part of the hierarchy. However, we see instead that the same Communist purpose, always active, adopted different forms in

First step: preparatory omissions

Second step: unilateral overvaluing of true principles

Third step: sowing of error

Fourth step: contempt falls on those who fight error

Fifth step: declared support of Marxist cause

After the cataclysm, evil germs survive and again begin their fermentation process

## *Introduction*

accord with the new circumstances of the country. Now we find that the government authorities, who are repressing the spread of the Marxist gangrene, are encountering veiled or open opposition, headed by many Shepherds.

At the same pace,  
the "Church of Silence" has been  
forming

Throughout these years, a great number of Chileans could sense the image of the Catholic Church being painfully modified in their consciousness. Thus there was a blurring of the figure of that genuine and traditional Church, which protected the poor but did not hate the rich, that Mother and Teacher of nations, who taught the truth with complete authority and superior balance and which constituted the homeland of our souls; that immortal Church which knew enough to denounce with the necessary firmness the excesses with which capitalism has been applied in many places, but which, in accordance with the immutable principles of her doctrine, showed herself also to be an implacable foe of Communism, heading and coordinating a continuous and vigilant international crusade in the spiritual order against the Red sect.

However, that resplendent sun of Justice and Truth began to enter into a terrible and mysterious twilight, through which thousands of Catholic consciences were shrouded with darkness. How did this occur? The leaders of the Sacred Hierarchy, who are the object of our customary admiring and respectful contemplation as the fount of immortal light handed down through the centuries, had allowed themselves to change slowly. In fact, they were slowly and confusedly transformed into accomplices of the enemy of the Christian name, the enemy they had previously fought.

It was in this manner that an authentic Church of Silence was born in Chile.

Indeed, Catholics who were faithful and loved the true tradition, continued to attend the religious ceremonies, but they felt within their hearts that in many churches they were treated, imponderably, as if they were in a foreign country (Ps. 48: 9). Their hands were tied by invisible rings of spiritual iron, which prevented them from mounting a vigorous resistance against entering the wrong road which lay before them. So they could only keep silence.

If future historians know how to penetrate the dramatic reality lived in this second half of the twentieth century by

## *Introduction*

the faithful of our country, as well as by those of other nations of the Christian West, they will describe the spiritual martyrdom of countless Catholics who — it burns our lips to say, it — were victims of Shepherds who were appointed to lead them, to nourish them with goodness and truth, and to defend them from the ambushes of the enemy. They will say that the Catholics most capable of reacting against the Marxist advance were thus imprisoned within this situation which we call the Church of Silence. Meanwhile, the ecclesiastical workers of “self-destruction” were carrying out their nefarious task of favoring the collectivist social revolution and a gigantic “progressive” transformation in the religious sphere itself.

Those historians will be able to show how terrible were the iron rings which bound, more than the hands, the very souls of so many faithful Chileans.

The first of those rings is composed of confusion that inhibits and discourages. It is the confusion of one who goes to his Shepherd in search of the teachings of eternal life and in amazement receives scorn and ambiguous orientation. It may be a word which extinguishes the old fervor, a phrase that benumbs our vigilance and renders prestige to the adversary, or an attitude that favors the designs of the most anti-natural and anti-Christian doctrine that humanity has ever known.

But it is confusion also because the impact of this enormous change of missions and of values is not suffered with all its brutality in one sole blow. The conscience of faithful Catholics has been in the process of being transformed by intelligent gradualism across the years. In this way, while it is true that some attitudes of influential Prelates in favor of Communism are public knowledge, very few of the faithful have managed to form a complete picture of the process of ecclesiastical self-destruction headed by Bishops and Priests.

To the confusion caused by the fact that error is favored from the Seats of Truth, has been added, for the torment of the faithful, the confusion created by the gradual and sinuous method with which such favoritism has been carried out.

\* \* \*

The rings which bind the hands of Catholics

a) confusion

## *Introduction*

The second iron ring that ties the hands of the Catholic who has not denied the true tradition arises from the enormous power of the Clergy in a Church that is hierarchical by divine institution.

Indeed, although the majority of the faithful had a vague consciousness that in the past certain Bishops and Priests had betrayed their mission by leading heresies that devastated the Catholics ranks, these faithful never imagined that they would perhaps be plunged into similar circumstances. And they certainly did not expect that the circumstances would be such that Catholics would be terrified to say or to do anything to contradict openly the deviation of their Shepherds, out of fear of incurring ecclesiastical penalties. Many faithful have even reached the point of not thinking about this dramatic reality, and in this way have avoided defining their positions before it for fear of being condemned. In the most intimate region of their souls, in their own capacity to observe, discern, and judge, Catholics are prisoners of those terrible iron rings that paralyze their consciences.

\* \* \*

TFP facing the Communist revolutionary process in Chile promoted by Bishops and Priests; and before the noble and suffering Church of Silence

The Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property — TFP — showed their perplexity and their disagreement many times during the course of this systematic evolution of a great part of the Hierarchy and the Clergy of our country, on the road to direct or indirect collaboration with the objectives of Communism.

In these last months, we waited and observed patiently and attentively the ecclesiastical Hierarchy, hoping that as it became more distant in time from the ominous ideological and temperamental climate created by the Allende Government it would awaken to the true reality. We hoped that it would comprehend the precipice to which, with its collaboration, the country had been dragged and that it would repair in a conclusive manner the enormous harm done.

But it was in vain.

It is certain that some ecclesiastical personalities, without clearly forsaking their commitment to the socialist and confiscatory ideas, once again raised some noble banners of the ideological fight, banners previously cast aside with scorn. However, the most dynamic part of the Chilean

## *Introduction*

clergy, under the leadership of His Eminence, Cardinal Raul Silva Henríquez, Archbishop of Santiago, continued traveling — their pace adapted to the new national circumstances — along the tortuous path that had led us to the abyss.

Save for some ceremonial and empty eulogies directed to the military authorities who took up the superhuman task of re-erecting the country, nothing was done to help the new government. Instead, the highest figure of the Chilean Church and an impressive part of the Episcopate and clergy worked to obstruct the heroic battle of Catholic Chile to affirm its destiny. Neither the pastoral zeal nor the patriotism of these ecclesiastics seemed to be moved by the heroism of this small nation which had decided like David against Goliath to confront the Communist colossus, before which there was a mysterious bowing on the part of religious, political, and business leaders in different countries of the entire world . . .

Thus, the danger continues.

It is impossible, then, to wait a moment longer.

The members and supporters of the TFP are Roman Apostolic Catholics, and lovers of their Church and of their country. They see themselves impelled by their consciences to break the harsh and cruel spiritual shackles that bind the hands of the faithful Catholics.

\* \* \*

Breaking the ring of confusion, the TFP brings before the eyes of Chile and the world a book to throw light upon these facts.

Breaking the ring of  
confusion

The positive and proven reality is the following: those elements of the ecclesiastical Hierarchy constituted in the recent past, and continue to constitute, an enterprising and lively force for the implantation of a leftist regime in Chile. But it is necessary to emphasize that, in the circumstances through which subversive dynamics are passing today, the ecclesiastical sector presents itself as the most efficacious force for the return of Marxism in Chile.

When the ecclesiastical power aligns itself with subversion, the latter finds its best means of action, because — to mention only one reason — it becomes transformed into a force that is more or less immune to criticism.

The government leaders of anti-subversion — who are presently confronting the international campaign of defa-

## *Introduction*

mation propelled by Communism and its followers, as well as the difficult economic circumstances stemming from the Allende catastrophe and the international financial crisis — these government leaders are faced with a difficult situation: if they adopt measures against the ecclesiastical power, they run the risk of turning the most anti-communist elements of the Country into enemies of the government, for the latter would see in this deed a persecution of the Church. Moreover, if the government acted in this manner, we would certainly see that same Hierarchy appear adorned with all its ancient and venerable ornaments and prerogatives, which it has been forsaking with contempt during these last few years.

The well-being of the Church and of Chile requires, therefore, that the destructive pattern of confusion be unraveled publicly.

\* \* \*

Breaking of the ring  
of silence

In the same manner, the TFP must break the second spiritual ring of iron which binds the hands of Catholics: fear of the canonical power upon which the Shepherds lean.

Is it lawful for the faithful to resist an ecclesiastical power which favors error and prevents our country from definitively triumphing over the Communist danger?

Should the faithful fear a just condemnation by their Shepherds, as long as they do this within the limits permitted by Catholic doctrine and Canon Law?

Are Shepherds who have abandoned the essential aspects of the duty of their ministries and who favor error continuously and seriously, still within the communion of the Catholic Church and, consequently, in possession of their jurisdictions?

What should be thought about all of this, and especially, what should be done?

\* \* \*

These problems, which are taking shape before the eyes of Chilean Catholics like figures in a nightmare, make continued silence illicit.

Throughout these pages, written with a respectful spirit and a saddened heart, but with a firm and resolute hand, the members and supporters of the TFP see themselves obliged to face these grave and delicate problems, since they



## *Introduction*

sense that the hour has arrived when this can no longer be delayed. Upon the resolution of this question of conscience depends, perhaps, the future of our country and, to some measure, the restoration of Christendom beyond the tempests that plow up the second half of the twentieth century.

\* \* \*

Let us state at the end of this introduction, that we are not leaving out another sector of the Chilean clergy: there are in our country learned and respectable ecclesiastics who obviously do not applaud the attitude of the Episcopate and the clergy led by Cardinal Silva Henríquez. If the good laymen had been able to hear the word of a good Priest and a good Bishop, they would have known what to think and what attitude to take. But History will one day affirm that the great part of the ecclesiastics in opposition to the destructive ideas maintained a strange silence.

To those members of the Clergy who constitute the exception, we send out a respectful call: to break that silence which they have found themselves forced, perhaps against their wills, to maintain, against the background of that grave moral drama which Chilean Catholics are undergoing. For if the hypothesis of a Cardinal and various Bishops' forsaking their respective missions and favoring error is terrible, in a certain sense it is perhaps graver still for those who comprise the moral reserves of the Church and of the nation, to remain silent in the face of the abomination that has forced its way into the sanctuary.

Respectful call





## Part One

# Ecclesiastical Preparation for the Christian Democratic Government of Frei



## CHAPTER 1

### ADVANCE NOTICE OF THE PATH CHOSEN BY THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF SANTIAGO

From the day he took possession of his charge as Archbishop of Santiago, on June 29, 1961, the first declaration of Msgr. Silva Henriquez showed more or less by its ambiguity, the approach that would characterize the progressive development of his work as ecclesiastical governor and of the great portion of the Episcopate, who would gradually adopt an attitude of solidarity with that conduct.

In fact the press of that period shows the special insistence of the new Archbishop on the urgency of undertaking agrarian reform and on the duty of every Catholic to contribute to the acceleration of the transformations needed to put into practice the Christian doctrine of social justice (*Ercilla*, 7/5/61; *Le Monde* of Paris, 10/23/61).

A leftist political ferment already existed in certain Catholic circles and the Chilean Marxist parties had already attained a great power of maneuver. Upon formulating, in that ideological climate, a statement such as the one we have mentioned, without setting the terms for the agrarian reform and the other structural reforms that he so strongly favored, the Archbishop of Santiago thus left out a precious word of warning to his congregation regarding the leftist propaganda. With that he also more or less showed that his position was not one of pastoral orientation and encouragement of his sheep regarding the demands, at the same time

From the first moment: the preaching of vague and urgent structural reforms...

In the midst of leftist political maneuvers

## Part One

bold and ambiguous, with which the adversary tried to sway them.

### 1. Having been newly named Cardinal, he formulates ambiguous eulogies to Communism.

After having taken this first public attitude, harmful by omission, the Prelate soon went on to adopt a line of conduct that could directly mislead his flock.

Reaffirmation of the path which had been begun

If a person cautious to the point of scrupulosity had considered the uneasiness already caused by his first statements as Archbishop to be without any basis, that person would soon see Archbishop Silva Henriquez, right after he was named Cardinal, give manifestations of the direction that would mark his future action.

Indeed, the newspaper *La Nacion*, under the suggestive heading "We should not be reactionary. . ." (taken from the statements of the Cardinal) states in writing that the Chilean Cardinal affirmed, among other things; "*It is stupid to deny everything that is Communist just because it is Communist. They have achieved positive things in the public moral order which is most difficult and which is neglected here. . .*" (*La Nacion*, 11/25/62).

The great ambiguity and imprecision of these declarations made by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, is self-evident. More disconcerting still is the fact that the new Cardinal proposes to his faithful — in general terms — Communist actions as an example of positive achievements in the public moral order in contrast to the neglect with which such matters are supposedly treated in non-communist Chile.

In fact, his words tended to channel in favor of Communism the discontent raised by the deficiencies in the existing order of things.

Would such statements only denote an unfortunate slip or would they be reflecting a line of conduct adopted by the Chilean Pastor for his high and important mission?

## 2. Agrarian reform in the lands of the Archbishopric, to open a process that would destroy the farms of Chile

In Lent of 1962 a Joint Pastoral of the national Episcopate was made public under the title of *The Church and the Problem of the Chilean Land-Worker* (Publication of the Secretary General of the Episcopate in Chile, Santiago, 1962).

In that extensive document, one may still find, here and there, general references favorable to the natural right of private property, including the ownership of the means of production; to the principle of subsidiarity; to the need to avoid excessive taxes that would amount to the virtual abolition of property; and to legitimate and necessary measures for improving the conditions of the farm workers in accordance with the principles of Catholic morality. There is even a quick warning against agitators and demagogues who are penetrating the masses of farm workers without "a well founded ideology."

Nevertheless, the Joint Pastoral allows a partial view of the Chilean agricultural reality of that period to seep through, in which, exactly as in the leftist propaganda with a cavalier disregard for justice they make unfavorable judgments at every turn and carefully pass over in silence the positive aspects of the agrarian situation. Legitimately emphasizing the requirement that property fulfill its social function, the Bishops affirmed, however, that the situation on the Chilean farms was such that it seemed to them that the hour had arrived to begin the expropriation of private agricultural lands. This estimate was formulated in such an imprecise manner, that it signified the first overall episcopal approval of the massive agrarian reformist expropriations.

Without the necessary proofs, the Joint Pastoral assumed as an established fact that other measures capable of raising the economic and cultural level of the farm worker, by making it easy for the most efficient workers gradually to acquire property and by adopting a system of distribution of State owned lands, constituted a solution that was already outmoded.

Unfair generalization similar to leftist propaganda

The endorsement of massive expropriations

## Part One

The forgetting of Catholic morality

This meant an obvious disregard for the norms clearly set by Catholic Morality to justify such general expropriations as those which the imprecision of the Bishops suggested.

The setting up of the terrain for collaboration with Communism

In practice, this abandoning of moral exigencies in matters of expropriation of private property established an ambiguous terrain of collaboration between Catholics who felt the need to carry out reforms to achieve a more just order, and Communists, who wanted reforms to achieve an unjust chaos.

Proceeding in a manner contrary to the principle that says certain rights cannot be curtailed on the basis of uncertain data, the Joint Pastoral thus left open a door through which, with great ease, agitators and demagogues who had therein been criticized would enter, bringing with them the tempest of socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform. So much was this so that the Joint Pastoral exhorted "*all persons of good will*" to take action in Congress, through the mass media, etc., to "*prepare the atmosphere and open the path*" for the success of these ideas which, unfortunately, already contained the germ of an agrarian reformist process outside the limits of Christian Morality.

Finally, the document reported on an agreement adopted in the Episcopal Plenary Assembly of that year, to the effect that it "*recommends the study of an eventual colonization of the agricultural properties which are in possession and free use of the Hierarchy . . . in order to facilitate the access of the farm workers to ownership of the land.*"

\* \* \*

For his part, before the end of that same year 1962, Cardinal Silva Henriquez, who for some months had already been acting to carry out the initiative recommended at that Episcopal Assembly, with great publicity launched an agrarian reform of the lands owned by the Archbishopric of Santiago.

A distribution of agricultural properties in terms of agrarian reform, by the free will of their owners, does not in itself merit reproach and may also be worthy of praise, depending on the spirit which the authors of such an act wish to impress on it.

Because of the gaps that are in the above-mentioned Joint Pastoral of the Episcopate, the erroneous ideas that



## Chapter 1

tried to support themselves on it, and the prodigious propaganda effort that the Marxist left was carrying out in Chile in favor of socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform, from the point of view of the ordinary Catholic this measure taken by the Cardinal Archbishop contributed at least to the granting of the rights of citizenship to the reformist designs of a Marxist mold.

Archbishop to push the process of Agrarian reform

That psychological effect of the Cardinal's measure was reinforced by the fact that he did not soften the impact of his attitude with any apologetic statement defending those principles of Catholic Morality most especially denied by collectivism.

\* \* \*

Eight years after the launching of this initiative, in a ceremony in which the title of control was handed over to the recipients of the parcels of one of the places subjected to the agrarian reform carried out by the Archbishopric of Santiago, it was Cardinal Silva Henriquez himself who defined the spirit and the motives of the resolution he then initiated. His Eminence stated verbatim: "*These lands served for a long time to help the worship of God, the works of the apostolate, and the maintenance of the Clergy, but we felt that transcending all these needs was the future of the workers of the land, their dignity, and their cultural possibilities. We believed that our example would contribute to the creation of a spirit of reform and a transformation of our farmlands which would cause dependence and oppression to be exchanged for new forms of life, where the farm worker would feel responsible, respected, and worthy. . . . Today the agrarian reform process is going forward. Today many agricultural landowners should hand over their fields to be distributed according to the law,*" (El Mercurio, March 1970. — The emphasis is ours).

Cardinal satisfied with his contribution to agrarian socialism

Cardinal Silva Henriquez thus congratulated himself for having contributed to the accomplishment of the catastrophic Chilean agrarian reform process, presenting as legitimate the existing reform law promulgated by President Eduardo Frei in 1967.

The socialistic, confiscatory and anti-Christian character of that law was amply demonstrated by different personalities and trade-union associations. It fell in a special manner to the present directors of the Chilean TFP — at that time

*Part One*

young university students grouped around the magazine *Fiducia* — to criticize it in detail in its beginnings, by means of three public manifestoes widely distributed throughout the country, about which we will speak further on (Part Two, Chapter 1, no. 4).

\* \* \*

Parallel to this, agitation by the "intelligentsia" of the leftist Clergy is begun

Coinciding with the direction suggested by these initial actions of the Chilean Cardinal, the first of a series of great explosions of leftist ideas was produced in the diocese of Santiago, publicly sustained by influential personalities of the clergy and institutions tied to it. We will refer to them in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

PERMISSIVIST TOLERANCE OF  
THE EPISCOPATE WHILE  
THE "LEFTIST-CATHOLIC" FERMENT  
WAS ORGANIZING AND GROWING

On September 18, 1962 a new Joint Pastoral was signed by twenty-four Bishops and Archbishops, among them Archbishop Silva Henriquez. The authors called upon the Catholics to unite against Communism, which they condemned. But they said unity had to be achieved concretely through the reformist program of the Catholic left, which would be made explicit by a group of Jesuit Priests through their magazine *Mensaje*.

Unity to be achieved  
through reformist  
program

Later, because that program had been given prestige by a large part of the Clergy, it was possible for the Christian Democratic Party during the administration of Mr. Eduardo Frei (1964-1970) to put it into practice in essence, and thereby effectively help to prepare for the subsequent Marxist triumph of Salvador Allende (see *Frei, el Kerensky Chileno* by Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, Ediciones Cruzada, Buenos Aires, 1967).

*"The Christian"* – stated the Joint Pastoral – "should give preference to the institutions which are engaged in social reform and, according to his state in life, participate in them. He should also support institutional changes, such as an authentic agrarian reform, business reform, tax reform, administrative reform, and other similar ones" (Pastoral

*Part One*

Letter *Social and Political Duty at the Present Time*, publication of the Secretary General of the Episcopate of Chile, 1962, page 15).

The Bishops did not explain the precise limits and guidelines of the reforms, nor present concrete and sufficiently demonstrated reasons justifying the overwhelming collection of simultaneous acts of social surgery proposed by them. They also did not clarify the manner in which such fundamental principles as the natural right of private property, free enterprise, the principle of subsidiarity, etc. — to which the Pastoral Letter on farm workers had made general references at the beginning of that same year — were to be safeguarded. . .

Was it strange then that the group of Jesuit Priests from the magazine *Mensaje*, who exerted powerful influence in university circles and, obviously, among Catholics of socio-political influence, should feel free to begin openly propagating confiscatory socialism?

## 1. The Jesuit Priests of the Bellarmine Center launch the program of the Egalitarian Revolution

Actually, in that same year of 1962, the Jesuit Priests of the powerful Bellarmine Center, who directed and edited *Mensaje*, published a regrettably famous special edition of that magazine, entitled *Revolution in Latin America — a Christian Vision*. In giving a reason for the special edition, the management of the Jesuit organ said verbatim: “*Revolutionary winds are now blowing. An immense and ever-growing majority is becoming conscious of their strength, of their misery, and of the injustice of that political, juridical, social, and economic ‘order’ which they are required to accept; and that majority is not willing to wait any longer. They demand a change, a rapid, profound, and total change of structures.*”

The launching of a revolutionary program

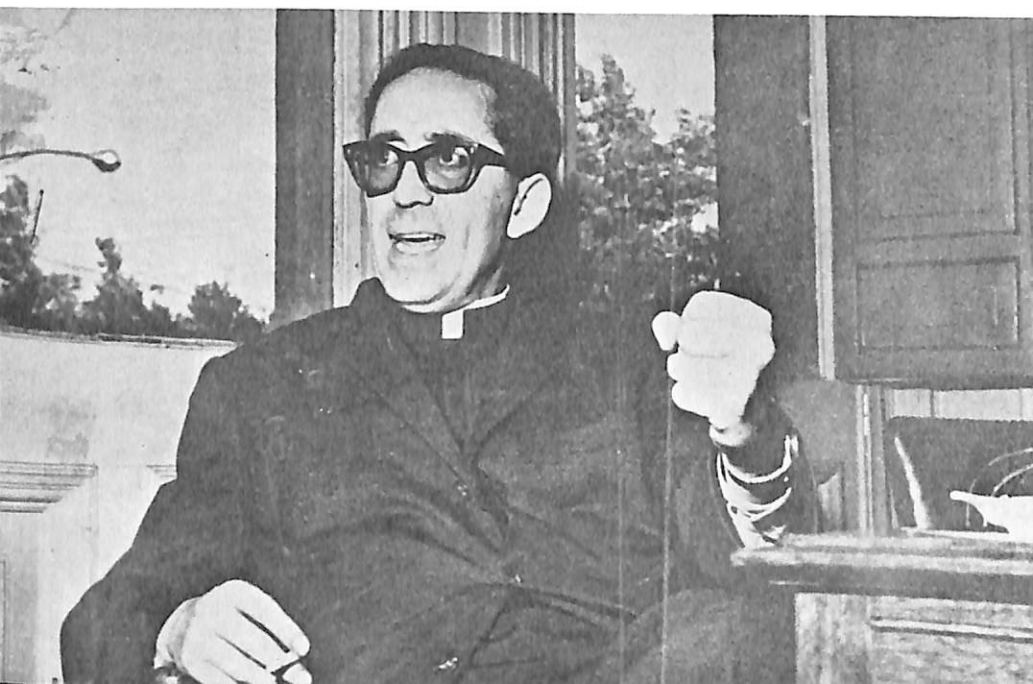
Reform: integral and radical

And later on the editorial of *Mensaje* continued to show that the “*revolution is, therefore, ‘reform’ — not this or that reform but an integral and radical one. . .*”

**Revolutionary dialectics:**

Cardinal Silva Henriquez: smiling and effectively supporting socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform.

Father Hernan Larrain, director of *Mensaje*, aggressively demands a complete revolution which destroys the past.



## Part One

To break with the  
past and begin with  
zero

*Authentic revolution includes all fields. It is clear evidence of the inadequacy, the inoperability, and the injustice of existing structures; it is, for that same reason, the irrevocable decision to break radically with the present 'order,' to finish with the past, and, beginning with 'zero,' to build a totally new order . . ."*

Finally, the editorial writer concluded with a sibylline exhortation: "*The revolution is moving. Not opposing it, but going along with it will obviously mean incurring a risk (no one knows exactly where the revolution ends), but life is a risk and Christianity is not a religion of safe harbors but of generous follies*" (*Mensaje*, no. 115, December 1962, pp. 589 to 592).

The word

Socialist and confiscatory reformism was thrown into the arena. The insinuated guideline would be picked up, after the first impact by leftist Catholic politicians: in order to combat Communism we should gradually and freely carry out the reforms that Communism wants to achieve by violence. . . Bourgeois, you who fear the persecuting violence of the Marxists, support a "Christian revolution". . .

## 2. Weekly of the Archbishopric of Santiago defends the Revolution of Mensaje

Public opinion, not entirely prepared to accept the formulations of *Mensaje*, was traumatized by this special edition of the most influential publication linked to the Chilean Clergy. But they waited for a word of rectification from the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago.

Archbishop's weekly  
is enthusiastic over  
*Mensaje*

On the contrary, the weekly *La Voz*, owned by the Archbishopric of Santiago and commonly considered to be its semiofficial organ, in its editions of December 16 and December 23, 1962, enthusiastically showed its solidarity with the special edition of *Mensaje*, "*As Christians, we are pleased with its appearance,*" states the editorial in *La Voz*, referring to the issue of the Jesuit magazine on the revolution, later adding that "*we are proud as Chileans that this effort to update Christian thought on the great problem*

of the continent has come from our nation" (*La Voz*, 12/16/62).

On the other hand, the assistant director of *La Voz* himself, Alejandro Magnet, was one of the contributors to the above-mentioned special edition (see article "Political Panorama of Latin America" in *Mensaje*, no. 115, December 1962).

Surprise mounted among countless faithful and, as was to be expected, voices of protest were raised among Chilean Catholic laymen. The directors of the Conservative Party at that time, professedly Catholic, showed "their astonishment and displeasure at some of the published items appearing in the periodical *La Voz*, owned by the Archbishopric, and in the magazine *Mensaje*, property of the Society of Jesus" . . . (*El Diario Ilustrado*, 12/27/62).

Surprise and indignation in Catholic circles

The controversy

Accordingly, a controversy arose between the Conservative Party on the one side, and the magazine *Mensaje* and the weekly *La Voz* on the other. The director of the latter, Mr. Gaston Cruzat stated the following: "Mr. Bulnes is of the opinion (on referring to ex-senator Francisco Bulnes, then president of the Conservative Party) that the deviations perpetrated by *La Voz*, and my lack of deliberation, compromise the Ecclesiastical authority. It is assumed that Senator Bulnes has not learned that last Saturday, at noon, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago assisted at the inauguration of the new offices of *La Voz*, and called the journalists employed there 'one of the best loved groups because of their priest-like hearts,' On the other hand, he has rejected my resignation from my position as director of *La Voz* which I tendered him with the object of leaving him with a free hand" (*El Diario Ilustrado*, 12/28/62).

Cardinal's support to weekly publication

### 3. In the shadow of the Bellarmine Center prestige was given to the political leaders who would lead the future revolutionary process

An idea of the storm of darkness closing in upon Chile as a result of the complacent silence or ambiguities of the

## Part One

Chonchol: man of  
the agrarian commu-  
nization

Cardinal is given by the fact that one of the authors of the special edition of *Mensaje* was also the future key man of agrarian collectivism during the governments of Frei and Allende, Mr. Jacques Chonchol, who for that issue wrote the article entitled "The Factors of Revolutionary Acceleration." Other strong advocates of socialist and confiscatory reform, who would in a few years have new posts with the arrival of the Christian Democrats in power, were editors of this special number of *Mensaje*, and of other issues of it, as well as of different publications tied to the Bellarmine Center.

Mr. Chonchol, however, was one of the most characteristic of these figures. He had played an important part in the agrarian reform of Fidel Castro in Cuba and had published in issues 232 and 233 of the magazine *Panorama Economico* in 1962 two articles on the theme of agrarian reform. In one of these, he affirms "*either we pay for the land or we carry out agrarian reform,*" and in the other article suggests in what manner the farm workers' unions should be utilized as weapons of pressure against the owners who resist the unjust violation of their rights when the moment arrives to apply massive confiscatory expropriations: it is a matter of leading the farm worker unions to occupy the lands whose distribution will later be solicited. . . It is the "*mobilization of political forces at the service of reform,*" for which the plan had already been mapped out years before. Mr. Chonchol began to apply that plan as executive vice-president of the Institute for Agriculture and Cattle Development (INDAP), a state organism that was a focus of farm worker agitation during the Christian Democratic administration of Mr. Eduardo Frei, and he continued it as Minister of Agriculture for the Marxist, Salvador Allende.

### 4. From then on, the Communist-progressivist pressure only increased

The pressure of the Communist-progressivist sacerdotal groups, from then on, only increased.



In October of 1963, *Ercilla*, a news weekly of national circulation, published an interview with Fathers Comblin, Hofmans, and Baga. The first two were professors at the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University of Santiago, and the latter at that time was the recently made head of the "Latin American Distributor of Publications" — DILAPSA — an entity formed under the auspices of the Archbishopric of Santiago.

In that interview, which had great repercussions especially in Catholic circles of Santiago, Father Comblin,<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Father Comblin, after his dismal work in Chile, went to Brazil, where he was named professor at the Theological Institute of Recife by Archbishop Helder Camara. In that post, he prepared a scandalous document of obvious Marxist-Leninist inspiration intended to serve as the text of a presentation by the Brazilian Episcopate to the Latin American Episcopal Assembly in Medellin in 1968.

Through an unexpected circumstance, the text of the Communist-progressivist cleric was published in the press, and it was then learned that the professor of the Theological Institute of Archbishop Helder Camara was praising the bloody revolutions of Mexico and Cuba as models, and that he proposed a violent Stalinist revolution in Brazil in order to impose socialism on a people in which the majority had already shown themselves to be resistant to revolutionary ideas.

The President of the National Council of the Brazilian TFP, Professor Plinio Correa de Oliveira, wrote in that period an eloquent open letter to Archbishop Helder Camara; the leftist Archbishop was reduced to a significant silence.

Later, in 1969, Father Comblin carried out a symposium in the city of Quito to stimulate the revolutionary fervor of a group of rebel pro-Marxist Ecuadorian Priests, "Reflexion." In attendance at that symposium also were some Colombian Priests who later made up, together with the Colombian Bishop of Buenaventura, the leftist group "Golconda," which later came to say it was the interpreter of the apostate guerrilla priest, Camilo Torres.

During the Marxist government of Salvador Allende, the Communist-progressivist "apostle" returned to Chile, where he was well received by the Archbishop of Talca, and

## Part One

without receiving any public admonition from the Cardinal Archbishop, made statements such as the following: "*Penicillin is the worst enemy of the Church. . .because it saves the lives of the elderly. As a result, the average age of the Bishops who are named for life is 70 years old, and when that chronological average is also mental, the result is fatal. There was a plan to limit the age of the Episcopate, but this was limited for obvious reasons. . .they are all over the age limit.*" The entire interview takes place in this unsettling tone.

Finally, the "religious" program of the three Priests interviewed is summed up by *Ercilla* in the following terms: "*Suppression of all anachronistic institutions, liberation of the living forces and following the dictates of the Christian people with their own banners which Communism snatched from them. . .*" (see *Fiducia*, December 1963).

Without any episcopal opposition

This setting in motion of the leftist revolution "in freedom" continued to gain force. It did not face the insurmountable obstacle of a Cardinal Archbishop and various Princes of the Chilean Church calling together theologians, Priests, professors, intellectuals and the general faithful in a sound and constructive reaction, capable of bringing peace to the Church and grandeur and prosperity to our country.

Another special issue of *Mensaje*

Month after month the magazine *Mensaje* continued spreading its program of socialist and confiscatory reforms, and brought out a new special edition entitled *Revolutionary Reforms in Latin America - Christian Vision* (*Mensaje*, no. 123, October 1963), which stands out among the others.

The uncontrollable revolutionary wave of the Jesuit, Claps

In April 1964, *El Mercurio* conspicuously published the conference with which the Jesuit Priest Gerardo Claps — vice-rector of the University of the North and assistant director of *Mensaje* — inaugurated the courses of the academic year. Father Claps did not lose that occasion to encourage the revolutionary program in progress, using the same psychological technique of proposing to Catholics "*suicide for*

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had no problems writing for the magazine *Mensaje*.

The reader may find the text of the impressive letter of Dr. Plinio Correa de Oliveira in Appendix 4 of this book.

*fear of dying:*" . . . everything favors the revolution. There is an uncontainable wave of nonconformity. Upon us depends the course that this wave will take: *Christianity or Marxism. Marxism is destroying the chance for an authentic Latin American Revolution. The desire for revolution advances because the poor lack the necessary resources*" (*El Mercurio*, 4/18/64. The emphasis is ours).

Father Claps repeats here, with the sibylline character that marked the promotion of this pre-Marxist revolutionary process, the slogan spread by the Bellarmine Center in printed matter, conferences, and contacts: it is a question of "Christianizing" a supposedly inevitable revolution, by postulating a social communitarianism scarcely distinguishable from Communism. The triumph of Communism could be prevented only by applying the socio-economic program of Marxism, leaving out its violently anti-religious hues and its "firing squads."

In this manner they were doing nothing more than preparing for a more solid triumph of Marxism itself over a Catholic opinion confused and corroded in its convictions by the preaching of this Christian-Marxist amalgam.

"Christianize" the  
Revolution

## 5. With impunity, the evil extends to other fields: the corruption of customs

The erosion of Catholic Doctrine that found an opening thanks to the inviting permissivism of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, was easily extended to other fields.

The same Father Claps, who was also the film critic of *Mensaje*, was interviewed by the magazine *Ercilla* in its January 1963 edition. Its film critics, together with those of other organs, were trying to determine and rate the best pictures of 1962. Father Claps found no difficulty in designating for "honors" two notoriously immoral and pornographic films, which the Catholic Action censor himself had publicly declared objectionable some time before. The Jesuit Priest did not see himself obliged to rectify his estimations,

Clerical praise of  
pornography

## Part One

and during the following years routinely continued lavishing praise on these films in his film review column in *Mensaje*, where he applauded other equally immoral and pornographic movies (see, for example, *Mensaje*, nos. 166, 167, 168 of 1968).

Assault of immorality

Parallel with the generalized, systematic, and intensive process tearing down the ideological barriers and the psychological wall of horror that then separated Catholics from Communism, there came these assaults of immorality. And another huge rampart of the Catholic citadel suffered a catastrophic destruction that cruelly struck at the heart of the Chilean faithful: Now the traditional doctrine of the Church on modesty and good morals, by means of the unitarian dynamics of the revolutionary process, was being demolished by the men called on to safeguard and propagate it.

For years, during the reign of the Cardinal Archbishop, this other phase of the Chilean tragedy was carrying on its devastating work in the populous ecclesiastical province of Santiago.

The Cardinal's silence

Although this became a more or less universal phenomenon, not even in this field did the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago mount the organized resistance required by the situation. On the contrary, many facts and situations of this type continued to add to the anguish of his congregation. We will not delve into this very serious and delicate problem in this work; we will only glance discreetly at it, treating it sufficiently to be able to appraise more adequately the set of hurricanes that burst upon the Chilean faithful. Then we will quickly return to the central thread of our study.

Capital of Christian Democrats and the Archbishopric of Santiago put into "Zig-Zag" publishers

In 1966 the press made known that the Archbishopric of Santiago, acting through the entity "Dilapsa," made a significant purchase of shares of Zig-Zag, a publisher of magazines and publications. Zig-Zag published, among other things, frankly pornographic magazines.

However, the capital put into it through "Dilapsa" plus that owned by well-known personalities of the Christian Democratic Party, was sufficient to be decisive in the control of the publisher. Therefore, faithful Catholics had every right to hope for not only the complete cessation of these immoralities, but also a public action of combat against them.

## Chapter 2

The new management of Zig-Zag in fact suppressed the specifically pornographic magazine that the publisher had printed, but this was done only in order that they themselves could begin to edit, as strange as it may seem, the magazine entitled *Adam*, in which the only change consisted in presenting pornography with an aura of "legality," with the aggravating factor that the honor of all the owners of the publishing house, was compromised, at least indirectly. This was the aberrant fact.

"Zig-Zag" publishes pornographic magazine, *Adam*

The magazine *PEC* denounced this fact, publishing a facsimile of the cover and the editorial that appear in the first issue of the pornographic magazine, *Adam*. The first issue carries an obscene photograph accompanied by sordid titles; the editorial carries the epigraph "*Morality is not a modest virgin.*" Within, it advises, by way of a cynical "justification," that "*all of society is shaken to its very foundations. It is useless to imitate the partridge and deny the evidence with our heads bidden under our wings*" (*PEC*, 12/9/66; and *Las Noticias de Ultima Hora*, 6/11/68).

"*Adam*" justifies "morality" of its infamous pornography

What is the actual dimension of the whole frightening situation? The newspapers, as we saw, contributed precise data. Writers denounced it in a more or less violent manner. The Archbishopric of Santiago, to our knowledge, did not publicly clarify these facts which had left Catholic opinion stunned and not knowing what to say.

\* \* \*

Not many months later, Father Rafael Sanchez, a Jesuit also connected with the Bellarmine Center and director-founder of the Film Institute of the Catholic University of Santiago, took the unspeakable step of allowing himself to be interviewed by the magazine *Adam* . . . . in its edition of Holy Week 1967! His impudent commentaries do not warrant being recorded, and only the unwavering love that we profess for the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, so horribly disfigured by a Priest such as this — himself consecrated in his investiture — obliges us to refer here to the deed, although only in passing, since the just repulsion which these terrible public realities deserve cannot continue to be smothered in the silence of our souls.

Scandalous priestly statements in Holy Week edition of pornographic magazine

\* \* \*

In that same year 1967, another scandal shook the

*Part One*

Immoral teaching in  
Catholic schools

Catholics of Santiago and all of Chile. It had to do with excesses and indiscretions committed in various Catholic schools in the capital of our country, in the teaching of children and teen-agers, in schools of both sexes, a so-called "sexual education" completely at odds with the traditional norms of the Church regarding modesty and Christian pedagogy (Magazine *Vea*, 7/28/66).

Archbishop Cifuentes  
protests

Justly angered by this intolerable situation, the former Archbishop of La Serena, Msgr. Alfredo Cifuentes, by that time retired, directed a public letter to the *Diario Ilustrado* in which he congratulated that newspaper for its editorial dealing with the question, entitled "Serious Spiritual Problem."

Msgr. Cifuentes points out in a paragraph of his letter: "*This article sums up the justified anguish of parents who, having enrolled their children in Catholic schools because they thought to find in them the guarantee of an intellectual and moral formation which would be a continuation of the atmosphere of their homes, now find themselves defrauded by the teachings and attitudes prevailing in some of those schools, at odds with the wholesome Christian pedagogy so often inculcated by the supreme Magisterium of the Church*" (*Diario Ilustrado*, 10/6/67).

The Cardinal is silent; anti-moral educational aberrations continue

The Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago made no similar protest.

Matters continued more or less in the same manner and in its issue no. 281 of 5/17/68, the weekly magazine *PEC* published a letter from a group of 57 parents of students at the San Ignacio school (educational institution directed by Jesuit Priests) in which, together with criticism of the teaching of revolutionary political doctrines, they describe incredible obscenities which, in matters of "sexual education," were being taught at the officially Catholic educational institution.

To destroy the family is to destroy the nation

If in accordance with Catholic doctrine the family is recognized as the foundation of civil order, doesn't this pernicious and corrupting poison that the Priests were pumping into Christian homes constitute a work of destruction of the nation? Obviously the answer is yes. Or, should one then say, with the Communists, that the family is no longer

the foundation of society and that Morality is no longer the support of the family.

We will not go into here the large number of priestly desertions registered in the Ecclesiastic Province of Santiago and in others in the country during those years (more than 400, according to approximate calculations), nor will we go into well-known individual priestly scandals.

\* \* \*

To conclude this sorrowful reference, we will only make mention of the immoral movies that were frequently shown in programs on Channel 13 TV of the Catholic University (the Grand Chancellor of same being the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago) and the theses contrary to morality and good customs upheld in various issues of the monthly magazine *Mundo 71*, connected with the Priests of the Congregations of the Divine Word and the Missionaries of the Heart of Mary, in which the director of the Department of Public Opinion of the Archbishopric of Santiago, Sergio Prenafeta, figures as editor (see, for example, *Mundo 71*, issues 37 and 40 of 1971, respectively, June and October).

We were faced with one more aspect of what Paul VI would call the mysterious process of "auto-demolition" existing in the Church (speech of 12/7/68 at the Lombard Seminary) and which takes in fields even more vast than those analyzed in these pages.

\* \* \*

Thus we take up again the analysis of the progressive aid that a large portion of the Hierarchy and Chilean Clergy gave to the process of moving Chile leftward.

In 1964 the preparatory conditions were already set for a climb to power by the supporters of the socialist and confiscatory reform ambiguously launched by the Jesuits of the Bellarmine Center.

The Christian Democratic Party had been presented by the greater portion of the Hierarchy and Clergy that had spoken in its favor — whether for its "moderate" currents tending toward a Kerensian government or its radicalized positions stimulating the advance of the revolutionary process — as a political party which represented a legitimate interpretation of the social thinking of the Church, thereby giving a guarantee to the faithful that this party would not

The sad phenomenon of priestly desertions

The immoralities of Channel 13 TV of Catholic University

"New Morality" in a publication connected with two religious congregations

One more aspect of autodemolition

Conditions set up for socialist and confiscatory triumph in Chile

a) CDP presented by majority of Clergy as legitimate expression of social thinking

## Part One

b) True principles clerically silenced and impugned by "Catholic" left

c) Collectivized communitarianism and relativist liberalism "legitimized" by deed and omission

d) Christian Democratic candidacy set up as the alternative to Communism

e) Victory for Christian Democrats

The understandable tranquility of the Communists

be a bridge to Marxism. On the other hand, the immutable principles of the Church most opposed to the Communist socio-economic regime had been progressively obscured and their sharpest and most precise contours diluted, silenced, and at times openly contested by the most revolutionary sectors of the Clergy with the approval or tolerance of the respective ecclesiastic Hierarchs.

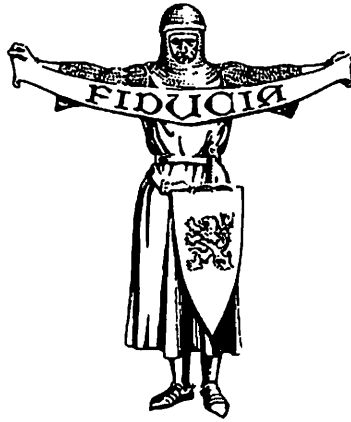
The collectivized communitarianism promoted by the Chilean Christian Democrats (its difference from the socio-economic regime of Communism was never explained) was thus legitimized by deed or omission by nearly all the Hierarchs in our nation. At the same time, along with that there was an acceptance of the liberal and relativist concept which the CDP unfurled, that of preaching an "ideological pluralism" which, in principle, supported as good, freedom of action and propaganda for Marxism, destroyer of all morality and law.

And finally, thus sheltered under the attractive and reassuring mantle of the Christian name, the Christian Democratic Party with its candidate, Eduardo Frei Montalva, was presented to the Catholics as the only real way to avoid the Communist triumph in the presidential elections scheduled for September of that year.

In this manner, on the fourth day of that month, the Christian Democratic candidate, Eduardo Frei, was elected. The record shows that he developed a singular method of "combating" Communism, which consisted in making the socio-economic regime of Chile more and more similar to the program that the Marxists demanded.

We can understand the tranquility with which, on August 9 of that year, 1964, the Secretary General of the Chilean Communist Party, Luis Corvalan, said to the foreign leftist press that, in the event the candidate of his party — who at that time was already the Marxist Allende — should be defeated, "*the revolutionary process will continue, we will make our weight felt regarding social contrasts, we will keep hitting the CDP so that they follow their program*" (*El Mercurio*, 8/22/64).





Part Two

During the  
“Christian-Socialist”  
Government of Frei



## CHAPTER 1

# AMBIGUOUS ORIENTATIONS SUPPORTING THE IMPLANTATION OF THE KERENSKIAN SOCIALISM OF FREI

On November 4, 1964 Eduardo Frei assumed the reins of power in the nation.

A few months later, the Christian Democratic President, during a tour of various countries of Europe, declared to the Parisian newspaper *Le Monde* that "the change of attitude of the Church in Chile in recent years has been one of the decisive causes of the success of the Christian Democratic movement in the country" (*El Diario Ilustrado*, 7/10/65).

Ex-president Frei is correct. The hierarchical character of the sacrosanct structure of the Church and the enormous influence the Clergy may properly exercise over the faithful according to the natural order of things, is such that the attitude of Catholics regarding socio-political problems depends, to a very high degree, on the position taken by the Bishops and Priests.

The facts related in the first part of this book are given in sufficient number to enable one to make a true judgment of this reality. There are countless other facts and illustrative details about which we remain silent so as not to make this present work more extensive. These facts show to what point the majority of Chilean Bishops and vast sectors of the Clergy situated in places of decisive influence prepared the terrain so that anti-communist Catholics, gradually imprisoned in that Church of Silence which was being set up in our nation, supported or accepted with resignation the

Frei considers ecclesiastical change decisive for the success of CDP

## Part Two

rise to power of the Chilean Christian Democratic movement

Clerical assistance  
prior to 1960

Although the assistance of some of these Bishops and Priests to the CDP had actively manifested itself much before the decade of the 60's, we decided to limit our analysis in time so that it would fall into a historical period that was richer in terms of public and evident facts regarding the ecclesiastical impulse that moved our nation to the left.

### 1. The Cardinal Archbishop confirms the decisive influence of the Church on the constitution and the ascent of the Chilean Christian Democratic movement

In a retrospective interpretation of the "process of liberation" that Chile underwent, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago himself confirmed with his own words that ecclesiastical support had been given to the Kerensian party of Eduardo Frei, which would serve as a bridge to the Marxist phase of the Egalitarian Revolution in our nation.

In fact, toward the end of 1975, the book *Theology of Liberation*, which was recently published in Spain, arrived in Chile. Therein appears the complete text of the statement of Archbishop Raul Silva Henriquez at an ecclesiastical meeting that took place in the city of Toledo on June 12, 1973. Very often in the course of these pages we will refer to this significant speech of the Chilean Cardinal. A foreword to the edition says that "*obviously we have suppressed more than a few paragraphs which, in the ecclesiastical atmosphere of trust, were expressed by the (Cardinal) for our better understanding of Chile.*" The note also points out that these words of the Cardinal Archbishop were "*pronounced with no intention of their being made public.*"

More than a few  
paragraphs not made  
public

At this conference, given when the Marxist Allende (successor to the Christian Democrat Frei) was still in power, Archbishop Silva Henriquez stated: "*In recent times, that is to say over the last twenty or twenty-five years, there arose a decided pressure from the Church to take up*

## Chapter 1

*the solution of social problems, the demand of the Church on politicians and Christians to confront the problem of underdevelopment, and, above all, that of social injustices, which were enormous (in Chile), as in all countries of Latin America."*

The Cardinal Archbishop then relates that there existed in Chile the Conservative Party, professedly Catholic, "*which the Church had found herself obliged to create*" in the previous century. He adds that "*Catholics belonged to this party; and during all of the previous century and up to the beginning of the present century, the Church was united with them. Until the moment arrived when the Church separated Herself from Her party.*"

The Church abandoned the Conservative Party

*"And thus a new party was born, a party of Christians, a party of young men who were born in the shadow of the Church and who were the great leaders of Catholic Action. This party was first called the "Party of the Falange" . . . ; then it was called the "Christian Democratic Party." This party was very much opposed by the Catholics of the right, that is, the old "Conservative Party;" even within the Hierarchy and the Clergy this division existed; but there were men of the Church who favored the youth and who had these ideas, ideas based on the great Papal Encyclicals."*

CDP was born in the shadow of the Church

*"These young men felt that they were spurred on by the Church to the cause of the redemption of the proletariat, they formed this party. . . . And then we have the "Christian Democratic Party," a party born of the Church, I would not say created by the Church, but created by the laymen. . . . Interpreting the social thinking of the Church, they created this party. . . which came to power and governed during six years, having Frei as its president" (Theology of Liberation, Conversations of Toledo, Spain, June 1973, El Mercurio, 12/2/75. The emphasis is ours).*

...their ideas were supposedly based on Pontifical Encyclicals

This retrospective interpretation of the Chilean Cardinal leaves no room for doubt.

\* \* \*

Whoever wishes, however, to recall in all its impressive details how Mr. Frei and his Christian Democratic Party prepared the mentality of the Chileans and the socio-juridical structure of the nation for the Marxist phase of the revolutionary process, may read the brilliant and documented

The best-seller *Frei the Chilean Keren-sky*

*Part Two*

best-seller of Fabio Vidigal Xavier da Silveira, *Frei, the Chilean Kerensky* (Ediciones Cruzada, Buenos Aires, 5th ed.).

CDP, leftist and Communist collaborator from its beginnings

This study, a so to speak photographic study of the “Christian-socialist” revolution of Frei, demonstrates that, from its beginnings, the political-ideological group that would be transformed with ecclesiastical support into the Chilean CDP had an accentuated leftist character and practiced the policy of the “outstretched hand” toward Communism, condemned by the Roman Pontiffs.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>From its origins in the decade of the 30's, the group of leaders of the future CDP, oriented and encouraged by some representatives of the Clergy, made clear their leftist spirit of collaboration with Communism and their secularist and blatantly relativist conception of democracy.

In 1945, the nascent Christian Democratic movement, which at that time was called the National Falange, made an electoral pact with the Chilean Marxist-Leninist parties, which was signed by the man who would later be President of Chile, Eduardo Frei Montalva. The future CDP also supported the formation of the Sole Central Office of Workers – CUT – inspired by the Communists to establish tyrannical control of the labor union movement.

This barely disguised position of sympathy toward the Communists won the future CDP the official censure of the then Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, His Excellency Jose Maria Caro, who publicly warned the faithful against the erroneous position of their leaders.

Nevertheless, Priests well situated in places of influence in Santiago and other cities of the nation continued lending their decisive assistance to the leftist party which would serve as a bridge for the arrival of Marxism to power in Chile.

Among the Bishops who from the beginning with their public support encouraged the growth of the Chilean Christian Democratic movement was Msgr. Manuel Larrain, then Bishop of Talca.

Numerous public positions in favor of Marxist designs were taken by those who would come to be the top leaders of the CDP. These designs were so subversive, that they forced President Gabriel Gonzalez Videla and the National Congress to decree the Chilean Communist Party outlawed.

In 1958, the Christian Democratic Party was part of a

*Frei, the Chilean Kerensky* portrays with vivacity and precision the aspects in which the Christian-Democratic government went contrary to the spirit and the doctrine of the Church in socio-political matters and enjoys the notable merit of having foreseen, three years ahead of time, that the Frei administration would serve as a bridge for the implantation of Marxism in Chile.

Foresaw implantation of Marxism in Chile via Frei administration three years ahead of time

With seventeen editions in Latin America and Europe — in book format or in newspapers or magazines — this work became a factor that accentuated even more the responsibility of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, and of the Hierarchy and Clergy who involved themselves in the process of destroying the Church and the Nation. None of them can, in fact, claim ignorance of the reality which, in their positions, they were in a condition to know perfectly and which was repeatedly and opportunely shown to them in the course of those extremely sad years.

Destructive Bishops and Priests cannot claim ignorance

## 2. The rural missions of 1965, the point for launching peasant agitation

A few weeks after having assumed power, President Frei announced reform projects of a socialist and confiscatory nature that would be the basis of his administration.

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coalition of leftist Congressmen who succeeded in revoking the law that prohibited the activities of the Communist Party.

The leaders of the CDP were not restrained by the public declaration made then by the Cardinal Jose Maria Caro recalling the norms fixed by the Holy Office prohibiting Catholics from directly or indirectly collaborating with Communists.

The Chilean Christian Democratic movement, which was conceived so that it could be presented to the faithful as a valid alternative to Communism, was sure of obtaining decisive ecclesiastical support, and continued its movement toward power.

Part Two

From the "Catholic-leftist" think-tanks...

...to the administration and legislation  
...while rural missions sought to transform mentalities

...throughout the Central Valley

Alarm of the farm owners

Rebellion and hate which Marxist agitators had not been able to spread

The theses "legitimized" by the "intelligentsia" gathered around *Mensaje* — and effusively backed up by the weekly *La Voz* — came out of closed circles of initiates of the small think tanks of the Catholic left, and from the sphere of intellectual prestige, to pass into governmental circles and be incorporated into the positive legislation of the country.

Meanwhile, these same theses which the Frei government was trying to make into laws were incorporated into the living flesh of reality where they exerted a continuous action aimed at transforming the mentalities of the people in their favor. This action was promoted by the Archbishop of Santiago.

In fact, at the beginning of 1965, the Archdiocese of Santiago decided to carry out a great official mission in the whole rural area of that diocese. Similar missions were set up throughout the extensive Central Valley of Chile.<sup>3</sup> Acting jointly in this task were members of the Seminary of Santiago, people from the Institute of Rural Education under the responsibility of Bishop Rafael Larrain and a team of Dutch Priests, whose exact background could never be established with precision, as the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago were always evasive concerning them.

The singular character of the apostolic work of the participants of the mission quickly aroused alarm among the owners of the rural properties who were subjected to it.

The sowing of rebellion and of hate which, up until that time, the Marxist agitators had not been able to achieve in the countryside, had a greater probability of success at this time: in a short while, scenes of social agitation, class struggle, and later mass production of petitions began to appear simultaneously on different "missioned" properties.

These "missionaries," perhaps due to their inexperience

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<sup>3</sup> It would be in the agricultural Central Valley of Chile that the socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform promulgated by Frei in 1967, would begin to be drastically applied. As we know, that region has the greatest population density in Chile. The possibility of stimulating socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform from the urban centers was much greater in this important sector of Chilean agricultural life.



in their new functions, made an incredible slip up in many cases; that is, they bitterly demanded wages and privileges inferior to those already being received by the workers in those fields. But the discord had already been introduced under a Christian cloak. . .

Prominent personalities of the agricultural sector went to the ecclesiastical authorities — according to what we know about the case of the province of Santiago — to protest against the abuse and deceit that they were witnessing in their fields: that is to say, the action of these new preachers who, presenting themselves in the name of the Church and the doctrine of Christ, brought a message more in agreement with the postulates of Marxist subversion.

According to well-founded testimony which has been brought to our attention, the affected farmers only received ambiguous and at times angry responses from Bishop Rafael Larrain, as well as from Auxiliary Bishop Gabriel Larrain, of Santiago.

Ecclesiastical malaise  
in the face of owners'  
protests

The social tension which was sowed in this way soon acquired such a public and well-known character that the ex-senator and writer, Mr. Eduardo Moore, described it in an extensive article on this subject in the newspaper *El Mercurio*, without fear of being contradicted.

After depicting the places and manner of operation of the seminarians of Talca, Valparaiso, and Santiago during this rural mission, the writer sums up the results obtained in the following manner: *"Summing up: what just a few days ago was cordiality among the components of that small human society (the rural farm), and chores that progressed normally, has now been changed into provocative gestures, bitter arguments, and disorder in respect to that work which assures the profit of all. The seed cast into the ground of human ignorance and credulity by hands made only for blessing has taken root. Is a brand new heresy rising up once more from the verses of the Holy Book?"* (*El Mercurio*, 10/30/65).

Intrigue, class warfare, invitation to rebellion, the preaching of a collectivist egalitarianism presented to the lowly man of our fields as a right endorsed by ministers of God, was preparing the terrain to break up the Chilean agrarian structure. It was not only a matter of correcting

In the treacherous  
darkness of the  
night, the collectivization  
of the farms  
was prepared under  
religious garb

## Part Two

these or those injustices. Deceitfully and in the darkness of night, hidden under the religious mantle, abusing the trust which the ecclesiastical authority inspired, socio-ideological conditions were being prepared to make possible a leftist revolution in a nation with a Catholic majority.

### 3. In the face of socialist and confiscatory projects, the silence of the Shepherds becomes collaboration

Constitutional reform that practically changed the right of ownership into a concession of the State.

The first of the great reforms presented to the National Congress by Eduardo Frei was a proposed amendment of the Constitution, which altered the norms existing in Chile regarding the right of private ownership. The proposed amendment changed it, in practice, into a mere concession of the State.

This ideological and institutional modification — whose true scope was not at first evident to the average Chilean — eliminated the guarantees in the Fundamental Constitution that previously supported private ownership as a right above the State itself, founded in natural and divine law.

This modification of the Chilean Constitution left the door open for a future Communization, which could thus be carried out under the shelter of the “bourgeois law” (to use a favorite expression of Allende, the Marxist successor to Frei).

*Fiducia* raises its voice in the silence of the nation

It was normal for the Chilean Catholics to await orientation from the Cardinal Archbishop on a question of such importance. But — allow us to state here — in the general silence of the nation, only one group of Catholic university students, some 800 in number gathered around the magazine *Fiducia*, organ of the Chilean TFP, raised its voice to appeal to President Frei about the unlawful Constitutional Reform of the right of property.<sup>4</sup> The Pastor of Santiago continued his silence.

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<sup>4</sup>The document signed by the 800 university students gathered around the magazine *Fiducia* had enormous national repercussion. The reader will find the entire text of same in Appendix 1.

## Chapter 1

Some priests publicly attacked the action of the 800 Catholic university students. Only Msgr. Alfredo Cifuentes, Archbishop of La Serena at that time, sent the Directors of *Fiducia* a public letter of support and praise for the above-mentioned interpellation (*El Mercurio*, 5/18/65, *Fiducia*, no. 17, May-June, 1965).

In contrast to the absence of a word of orientation from the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago and other personalities of the Episcopate, were the actions of distinguished representatives from the civic, cultural, and economic life of all of Chile, who demonstrated their repudiation of the Constitutional Reform of President Frei. Among these were: the dean of the Faculty of Law of the Catholic University who headed a list of signers of an agreement adopted by the most outstanding jurists of that academic body; other well known university professors such as the ex-cabinet member Mr. Julio Phillipi, the professor and historian Mr. Jaime Eyzaguirre, and other professors; the Executive Board of the Conservative Party, which also supported the appeal of *Fiducia* by unanimous agreement; the President of the Liberal Party, Congressmen, and journalists, the National Society of Agriculture, the National Society of Mining, the Society for the Promotion of Manufacturing, the Central Chamber of Commerce, the Inter-American Confederation of Production and Commerce, the Social Union of Catholic Businessmen, the Chilean Institute of Business Administration, and the National Society of Urban Proprietors; the latter entity also sent a letter of support to the magazine *Fiducia* (*Fiducia*, no. 17, May-June, 1965).

Thus, it happened that the most diverse sectors lamented the attempt against the natural right of private ownership as a pillar of Christian Civilization.

Meanwhile, the Pastor of Santiago and nearly the entire Episcopate were silent.

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Consistent with the amendment eliminating the constitutional guarantees that safeguarded private ownership as a natural right, President Frei presented the project of a socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform. The polemic against the Constitutional Reform, which already had the country aroused, took on even greater strength when the nation per-

Archbishop Cifuentes supports *Fiducia*. Leftist priests attack.

Silence of Episcopate and Cardinal contrasts with demonstrations of representatives from civic, cultural, and economic life

Frei presents socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform

*Part Two*

ceived the first great effect of the arbitrary power that the State would acquire over the rights of Chileans.

The silence of the Pastors continued.

A catastrophe that the Cardinal and Episcopate could have avoided

In a country where more than 80% of the inhabitants profess themselves to be Catholics, a categorical word from the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago opportunely recalling the true doctrine of the Church in social matters, would have been sufficient — even better if it had come from the Episcopate as a whole — to have made it completely impossible for the Christian Democratic government to continue pushing the collectivist project. Thus the integrity of the Catholic social convictions of the majority of Chileans would have been preserved, and our country people, proprietors, and farm workers would have been spared the ruinous and unjust destruction that later razed their rights.

Had they interrupted in that manner the nefarious process that was to lead Marxism to power, the Pastors would have opened for our country possibilities of progress and new authentically Christian improvements in which the natural right of private ownership would be preserved as such, fulfilling at the same time the social function that is inherent in it to the full extent that circumstances required.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Bishops Antonio de Castro Mayer and Geraldo Sigaud, together with the writers Plinio Correa de Oliveira and Luiz Mendonça de Freitas, wrote in 1960 the book *Agrarian Reform — a Question of Conscience*, which was of decisive importance in defending the Catholic opinion of Brazil against Marxist demagogy. Its doctrinal portion is a masterly compendium of Catholic thinking on agrarian reform. The book distinguishes with great precision and fidelity that, on the one hand, which could be an agrarian reform in accordance with natural law and the Doctrine of the Church from, on the other hand, a socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform opposed to true Christian principles.

As often happens with this type of publication, the elements of the so-called “Catholic left” never were able to show that the text of this masterly work differed even by one comma from the official thinking of the Church.

The book was widely circulated in Brazil, Argentina,



The "Kerensian" attack on private ownership begins. In the face of episcopal silence, Catholic university students of *Fiducia* interpellate Frei: Constitutional Reform opens the doors to the future comunization of Chile.

*Part Two*

The dramatic failure of egalitarian socialism already applied in other nations (and closer to home in the unhappy Cuba of Fidel Castro) was issuing an invitation to our Prelates, in a manner that allowed no excuse for rejecting it, to promote a sound and constructive reaction of that nature.

But none of this appeared to be sufficient to alter the course which, with some exceptions, the Chilean ecclesiastical Hierarchy had evidently marked out.

Many at that time were unaware of what the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago had responded in a personal letter,

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Uruguay, Colombia, Ecuador, Spain and Chile and up to the present date no one has been able to refute it.

In Colombia, there has been application of an agrarian reform law similar to the one that the Christian Democratic government was forcing upon Chile. In opposition to it, the illustrious Bishop Miguel Angel Builes, in his Pastoral Letter *Colombia in Chaos* referred to the book in laudatory terms, recommending it be read by *"our legislators for their enlightenment, so that all their laws may be in conformity with the Law of God, based on justice and for the good of all. It would also be fitting for our venerable Priests and our rulers to read it."*

And Msgr. Arturo Duque Villegas, Archbishop of Manizales, in a letter of August 26, 1972 addressed to the members of the Colombian TFP, affirms: *"You have been spreading a book of great importance entitled Agrarian Reform — a Question of Conscience. You kindly offered it to me, after I had already read it with great interest, because I share the learned criterion of its eminent authors. Written by two Prelates of Brazil, well prepared for the task, and by two secular technicians very expert in social questions, with no exaggerations of any kind, it places agrarian reform in an eminently practical terrain, showing how the dispossessed may become owners and productivity may be increased in a way that reduces the cost of living while the right of ownership is defended, against which no attempts can be made without causing greater ills than those that they hope to remedy with the realization of such a longed-for project. Private enterprise not only deserves encouragement, but if it is persecuted and stripped of support a social malaise can be created, which will take us no one knows where."*

dated, March 2, 1965, to the Superior of the Company of Jesus in Chile, Rev. Father Jose Aldunate.

Cardinal's personal letter reveals commitment to socialist agrarian reform of Frei

In that document, the Cardinal resolved a question proposed by the Jesuit priest about the suitability or necessity of handing over the lands of the Church to agrarian reform. The Cardinal Archbishop justifies, in his letter, the handing over of the lands of the Archdiocese to the reform on the basis of the agreement of the Plenary Assembly of the Episcopate of 1962, at the same time affirming: "*To this is added the fact that the Chilean government has solicited the cooperation of the Church in this field and feels that it would be highly useful for the solution of a problem that it considers vital for the country*" (*The Social Mission of the Christian: Class Conflict or Christian Solidarity*, by Cardinal Silva Henriquez, Ed. Paulinas, pp. 9 to 12. The emphasis is ours).

#### 4. From the silence of collaboration to the ambiguous encouragement of agrarian reformism

Finally, after a year of debate, Cardinal Silva Henriquez broke that silence of his which had been so useful to the Christian Democratic project but which was becoming indefensible before public opinion.

However, what was his long-awaited word of orientation? — The Cardinal publicly encouraged, though in relatively ambiguous terms, the Christian Democratic agrarian reform project.

On January 5, 1966, the magazine *Ercilla* carried in its pages an interview with the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago in which he declared that it is not up to him to judge the technical aspects of the agrarian reform project, adding, however, "*I think that the project coincides in its broad outlines with what is called for by the social doctrine of the Church.*"

The Cardinal broke his silence to encourage ambiguously the confiscatory law

After this endorsement, the Cardinal indicated, in dubious terms, some loose reservations: "*some aspects, which it seems would not be in accordance with the princi-*

## Part Two

*ples of equity that the common good demands, are criticized" . . . And immediately added that "some paragraphs — perhaps because of their lack of clarity — may be interpreted as revengeful . . . It seems to us that in accordance with Christian principles, all statism should be avoided, and private initiative promoted instead."*

Among the interpretations that these affirmations of the Cardinal suggest to the reader is that which most immediately came to mind in the general faithful: the agrarian reform project of Frei (which embodies a fundamentally statist and confiscatory socialism and which is, therefore, essentially contrary to Catholic Morality in the concrete conditions in Chile) was approved in this first public evaluation of the Cardinal Archbishop as being in accordance with the social doctrine of the Church. It would appear to require at the most only small rectifications that might perhaps be introduced in a more attentive technical study of the project, to correct possibly accidentally statist aspects, so as not excessively to discourage Chilean private proprietors.

While Cardinal Silva Henríquez's first pronouncement was not a declaration with all the formal character of official pastoral documents, the most important thing had been done. The Christian Democratic government could present its collectivist project before the Catholic majority of the country as being, fundamentally, an application of Church doctrine.

As we consider the tense ideological climate created by the opposition of countless of the faithful to the confiscatory reform program led by Mr. Frei, it appears to us that it would be difficult for a Pastor to find a more subtle and less compromising manner of favoring a revolutionary process, whose final Marxist goal was already being perceived confusedly by the Chileans.

The magnitude of the act is indicated in part by Fidel Castro's statement to a delegation of Christian Democratic Congressmen who visited Cuba where the Cuban dictator observed that the Chilean agrarian reform appeared to him to be more drastic than that applied by himself on that unfortunate island of the Caribbean. . . (*El Mercurio* of Valparaíso, 2/27/66).



The procedure of the Cardinal, along with encouraging an essentially collectivist and confiscatory process of redistributing our farmland, casts a shadow over the significance of certain ambiguities to which the Pastor would continuously recur.

Tactical ambiguities  
in form only

In fact, now that we can have a historic view of the whole of the more than fifteen years, the sibylline character of certain positions assumed by the Pastors does not speak very much in their favor. In this case, for example, what we already mentioned when we referred to the meaning which the Cardinal gave to the distribution of the lands of the Archbishopric carried out in 1962 should be kept in mind: in a speech given in 1970, the Cardinal declared that his intention in said distribution was to push forward the agrarian reformist process eventually put into effect in the law approved by Eduardo Frei in 1967 (see Part One, Chapter 1, no. 2).

As will be seen farther on, the socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform law of the Christian Democratic President was approved in 1967 with aspects contrary to Catholic social doctrine, such as its essentially statist character, the annihilating of the right of private ownership and its important social function; and the destruction of individual initiative and the principle of subsidiarity. Moreover, it was confiscatory and arbitrary in the criteria of massive and egalitarian expropriation which it decreed, and was obviously unjust in the indemnities paid for property snatched away; it was collectivistic and domineering in its treatment of the farm workers supposedly benefited by the reform, while at the same time it enthroned the class struggle in the Chilean countryside.

##### 5. The studies of the reform were given in detail and the ambiguous support of the Cardinal became ever more indefensible

The debate in Congress on the agrarian reform project soon reached the point of considering its particulars. This

Part Two

Statement of *Fiducia* shows the communizing character of Frei's agrarian reform project

situation made it imperative that the Catholic laymen urgently devote themselves to the task of studying the proposed legal corpus in the light of the teaching of the Church.

It was then that we Catholic university students gathered around the magazine *Fiducia* published in the national press an extensive declaration entitled: "Manifesto to the Chilean Nation on the Agrarian Reform Project of President Frei." This declaration showed in great detail how that project, taken as a whole, was a crime against natural law and Catholic Social Doctrine, which threatened to bring catastrophic moral and economic consequences to our country. The document cited in a precise manner and by number the articles of the project that gave just foundation to that accusation, contrasting them with the luminous teachings of the Roman Pontiffs on the subject, accompanied by abundant and appropriate quotations from the Papal Encyclicals (see *El Mercurio*, 2/26/66; *El Diario Ilustrado*, 2/27/66; *Fiducia*, no. 23, February 1966).<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>On August 20, the national press published a statement signed by one thousand students belonging to different Universities in the country, showing their solidarity with the position taken by the supporters and propagandists of *Fiducia* in their "Manifesto to the Chilean Nation on the Agrarian Reform Project of President Frei" (*El Mercurio*, 8/20/66).

A few days later, 500 high school students of Santiago also published a statement of support for the manifesto of *Fiducia*, entitled "The Marxist-Socialists or Communitarians Are Anachronistic: the Chile of Tomorrow Will Not Belong To Them" (*El Mercurio*, 8/25/66).

The supporters and propagandists of *Fiducia* carried on an intensive campaign of ideological enlightenment on the subject through personal contacts, through meetings, and through public demonstrations carried on during seven months in twenty-two provinces. They received the support of thousands of Chileans, which made it evident that the socialist and confiscatory project would have never been approved if the Bishops had expounded the true social thinking of the Church in this emergency.

The reader will find the entire text of that document in Appendix 2.

This document was immediately followed by another one by us, which was published in the national press on February 28, under the title: "Is It Licit for Catholics to Disagree with the Agrarian Reform Project of President Frei?" (see *El Mercurio*, 2/28/66; *El Diario Ilustrado*, 3/1/66; *Fiducia*, no. 23, February 1966).

In this second manifesto we were referring directly to the already mentioned declarations of Cardinal Silva Henriquez to the magazine *Ercilla*. Pressed by the affirmations of the Prelate, we faced a dilemma: on one side of us was the veneration and esteem that our unrestricted devotion to the Sacred Hierarchy inspired in us and, on the other side of us, the evidence of the anti-Christian character of the agrarian reform project, as well as the falsification of the concrete reality on which this was based.

Rather than enter into a clear and direct clash with the Ecclesiastical Magisterium, we preferred to opt for the most benevolent possible interpretation in considering the ambiguous affirmations of the Cardinal, which could not have been more definitely in favor of the agrarian reform under discussion. We also took into account the informality with which the Cardinal dressed his words, definitely concluding that it was perfectly lawful for Catholics to continue the ideological combat against the socialist and confiscatory project.

Both manifestoes having been made public, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago once again took refuge in silence. The Archbishop remained thus, against our wishes, in the difficult situation of one who had expressed himself in a first general impression that externalized his desire to facilitate passage along the road to the approval of the anti-Christian project and who, at the moment when the elements of judgment were presented to him with respect and in detail, omitted a clarifying definition of his ambiguous support of the confiscatory project.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Regarding this matter, the President of the Agricultural Commission of the Senate himself, Senator Enrique Curti C., wrote (on March 3, 1966) the following letter to the director of *Fiducia*:

"I have just noticed in the press the manifesto which

*Fiducia* points out that the Cardinal's statements cannot prevent Catholics from fighting the agrarian reform project

Cardinal and Episcopate maintain silence

## Part Two

It is necessary also to note that not one voice was raised among the Christian Democratic ranks or the Clergy to refute seriously the assertions that we formulated in both manifestoes.<sup>8</sup>

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the magazine you direct has brought to public attention. It contains serious and deserved warnings about the agrarian reform project that the President of the Republic has submitted for the consideration of the Congress.

“The completeness of your analysis of it has permitted you to conclude, with just cause, how much it offends against the natural right of private ownership, and how it tends, in accord with the central idea of its promoters, to implant socialist domination or the collectivization of the land, both regimes being most regrettable for the activity of a nation and for the social peace of its inhabitants, and, on the other hand, most incompatible with the principles of Christian order and of liberty.

“The cited manifesto constitutes on your part — along with the interpellation which you sent last May to the President of the Republic about the right of private ownership — an attitude of patriotic strength and of invaluable civil courage, consistent with the religious principles that inspire your action and that are so zealously defended by you in order to protect the dignity of the human person.

“Please accept my enthusiastic support and kind greetings, Yours truly, Enrique Curti C., Senator of the Republic and President of the Agricultural Commission of the Honorable Senate” (published in *El Diario Ilustrado*, 3/6/66).

<sup>8</sup>The silence of the partisans of the socialist agrarian reform of Frei was held up to public view by Congressman Gustavo Monckeberg Barros in a letter of March 7, 1966, addressed to the director of *Fiducia*, which is reproduced below:

“These lines bring my most enthusiastic support for the valiant and determined defense which the magazine *Fiducia* under your direction has made of the natural right of ownership. I have carefully read the principles set forth by *Fiducia* regarding the situation through which the country is going, and I must tell you that the issues raised and the attitudes assumed by the magazine *Fiducia* have made you become the interpreter of all of us Chileans who are not Marxists or Christian Democrats and who because of our

## Chapter 1

The third manifesto would not be refuted either. Addressing itself to the same agrarian reform project, it was published in September of that year under the title "Give in to Keep from Losing, or Fight to Keep from Losing?" in the newspapers of Santiago and the provinces.

These documents were widely spread by the supporters and propagandists of *Fiducia* in a public campaign from the north to the south of the country.

Today, viewing the events retrospectively, it is even more clearly confirmed that the determination of the Hierarchy and the Clergy led by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago was firmly set in favor of moving our country leftward, regardless of the moves backward which arose in times of tension.

The manifestoes of *Fiducia* against the socialist and confiscatory project were never refuted

The determination of a majority of the Bishops was firmly set in favor of moving Chile leftward

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love for our country in all its dimensions, in all of its history, and all of its tradition are very grieved by the errors being committed by those who are governing us.

"The elevated defense that you have made of the natural right of ownership, so seriously threatened by the agrarian reform project presented by the Christian Democrats, constitutes a document which, because of its breadth and seriousness should have been answered by those with the responsibility of doing so, and if they have not done so it is because they must not have found the necessary arguments to insist on their mistaken positions or because they fear that, persisting in them, their true face will be shown to public opinion, since this time they will not have been able to respond with vague reformist aspirations, but concretely and in a defined manner, to the concrete and defined charges which you have formulated categorically and with such solid mastery of the matter.

"I think that as long as we have in Chile youths such as those who collaborate in the magazine *Fiducia*, youths who are not restricted by small ambition and who are inspired exclusively by an unqualified Christianity, we can have hope that someday the truth will prevail in our nation.

"Affectionate greetings, Gustavo Monckeberg Barros" (published in *El Mercurio*, 3/10/66).

## 6. General and veiled support for the agrarian reform process continued

The support of the Episcopate, which was sufficiently clear between the lines and general enough not to risk being disputed, continued to surprise Chilean Catholics.

The "Third Social Week" sponsored by Ecclesiastical authorities

In the Catholic University of Valparaiso, on March 30, 1966, a "Third Social Week of Chile" was inaugurated under the sponsorship of the Ecclesiastical authorities, for which they obtained a letter from His Eminence, Cardinal Cicognani. The main purpose of the discussions was to analyze the right of ownership.

Against private ownership and in favor of collectivist agrarian reform

The president of the Seminar, Carlos Dominguez Casanueva, was extremely well known for his Christian Democratic ideas. In a press interview given on March 29, Mr. Dominguez Casanueva said that the study sessions were destined to consider the problems raised by agrarian reform. In confusing affirmations, he pointed out that "*private property is an idea that has been maintained for decades, but which should be abolished, since it does not correspond either to Christian thinking or to charity, nor to the principles of justice.*"

Allowing for the possibility of an error in transcription which might explain these surprising affirmations, we still find, however, that the rest of the interview gives the impression that Mr. Dominguez considered individual private ownership to be an entirely dispensable institution; on the other hand, other systems of ownership, such as "*managed private ownership, communitarian, cooperative,*" could perhaps be tolerated (*El Mercurio*, 3/30/66). This thesis formed part of the doctrine of "social communitarianism" sustained by well-known theoreticians of the Chilean CDP.

Active presence of Chonchol and solemn closure by Archbishop Emilio Tagle

During the roundtable discussions of the seminar, the participant who stood out was Jacques Chonchol, the man of Chilean socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform and the future minister of Allende. The Social Week was closed by the Archbishop Emilio Tagle, of Valparaiso.

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In this climate of ecclesiastical support, the supporters of socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform which was pro-

ected under the Christian name, felt safe enough to radicalize their positions, confident of not meeting opposition from the Chilean Prelates.

In August of that same year, three other groups, who were this time official organisms of the Christian Democratic Party and who were supported by the greater part of the Clergy, carried out significant ideological meetings.

At their third Congress, the Christian Democratic Youth came to, among others, the following conclusions:

(1) "*Reaffirms the principles of Communitarian Socialism as the final orientation of its historic action.*"

(2) "*Expresses its profound concern because the banks, monopolies, and corporations, after nearly two years of Revolution, have not yet been touched in a resolute manner. . .*"

(3) "*Proposes to the Second National Congress of the Party the imperative definition of a non-capitalist way of development, characterized by a rapid agrarian reform, drastic and massive, which may liquidate the large farms and ranches . . . and create new forms of farm worker ownership guaranteeing the communitarian experiences that arise during the course of its application.*"

(4) Considers it necessary to act "*in a unitarian and combative movement that nourishes the CD and its administration on the march toward Communitarian Socialism*" (*El Diario Ilustrado*, 8/17/66).

The farm worker sector of the CD, for its part, held a conclave which requested that the statist and confiscatory clauses should not spare any types of live stock, "*machinery, tools, utensils, and implements with which the farm properties are normally endowed.*" In this, they went even farther than the Communist Congressmen themselves who had demanded in Congress the spoliation of the possessions attached to the agricultural properties in less radical and less complete terms (*El Diario Ilustrado*, 8/25/66).

The National Congress of the CD finally called together the highest directors of the governing Party, including President Frei, whom the press presented as coming out of the seminar a winner. Some of the conclusions of the Party (which according to the Cardinal Archbishop interpreted Church doctrine) were significant:

(1) "*The Revolution in liberty is the step from the*

Christian Democratic agrarian reformists radicalize positions

a) Young CD Congress: integral communitarian socialism

b) Farm worker sector of CD: agrarian spoliation should not exclude machinery or tools

c) CD National Congress: go from capitalist society to a collectivist and planned society

Part Two

capitalist society to the communitarian society. The CD proclaims that its historic end is to bring about a communitarian society.”

(2) “The new society will not be a class society, but one of solidarity. . .”

(3) The third conclusion reaffirms the liberal-permissivist concept that permits Communism and its agents to destroy Western nations under the shelter of a false liberty. The Christian Democrats proclaim, as a benefit, that “*the new society will be pluralist,*” accepting the operation of any party or ideology. In the same sentence, they declare that the new society will also be “*communitarian in the sense that it will be a society of workers, where the means of production which collective work requires belong to the national community or to the communities of workers.*”

(4) The fourth is no less expressive. The Christian Democratic National Congress states: “*The way to non-capitalist development is characterized by the following: democratic planning of economic life . . . — Rapid agrarian reform, drastic and massive, which ends the large land holdings and establishes non-patronal forms of farm worker ownership . . .*” (*La Nacion*, 8/28/66. The emphasis is ours).

d) CD Congressmen:  
agrarian reform is  
only the beginning

The following year, the bulletin *Documentacion, Ideologia y Politica*, published by the Christian Democratic Congressman Alberto Jerez and other Congressmen of his party, cites Che Guevara and is not afraid to reveal the collectivist revolutionary strategy that is in progress: “*The change of structures almost always begins by agrarian reform. Such is the first front that is torn down . . . . If we carry out agrarian reform, the rest will come in the bargain. If we do not achieve it, we are politically wiped out.*” “*If the battle against the oligarchy has begun because of agrarian reform, it is because the landholder is the weakest and the most symbolic*” (cited bulletin 6 and 2/21/67).

Father Arroyo, the  
Episcopal meeting's  
spokesman

In 1967, the magazine *7 Dias* — edited by Zig-Zag — carried a report entitled “*Concilio a la Chilena*” about a plenary meeting of the Bishops of Chile in Punta de Tralca.

The passage of the agrarian reform project in the National Congress was reaching its final phases.

Acting as a spokesman for the Prelates, Father Arroyo, S. J., who according to the magazine *7 Dias* was “*a researcher*



in agrarian problems," summed up the objectives of the Episcopal meeting for that publication. This same Father Arroyo, who was influential at that time, would become during the government of Allende (beginning in 1971) the secretary of a clearly pro-marxist organization of Priests and laymen called Christians for Socialism, which would scandalize Chilean and Latin American Catholics with their postulates and activities contrary to Catholic doctrine.

At that time, Father Arroyo, who had not yet publicly externalized his thinking in favor of Marxism, told the magazine *7 Dias*:

*"The principal mission of the Church is to announce the good news . . . . I think that there is no sector in our society that is subjected to changes so revolutionary as is the agrarian sector. The good tidings should be preached with a new language, toward a new mentality and culture, to all the countryside.*

*"The social structure of the countryside, up to our time, shows a vertical relation between landlord and tenant, paternalistic treatment that still predominates even in religious matters.*

*. . . Religion lived in a context in which the prestige of the landlord was very strongly marked, has to be different from that which gives great importance to fraternal and communitarian relations."*

Father Arroyo emphasized in his declarations that in the Pastoral Letter of 1962, the Chilean Episcopate defined the broad lines of action and that *"recently the Bishops are returning to the problem, but giving an answer to concrete cases that affect the farm workers."*

Father Arroyo also affirmed that, naturally, the agrarian reform was considered during the meeting (*7 Dias* no. 3231, 3/17/67. The emphasis is ours).

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A few days after the "Concilio a la Chilena," Cardinal Silva Henríquez received in his office different representatives of the press interested in knowing his thinking with respect to the Encyclical of Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, made public recently. Questioned about what similarity could exist between the postulates sustained by His Holiness and by Marxism, the Cardinal thought it time-

Support for revolutionary egalitarian changes in the agrarian sector

Cardinal: common denominator between Marxism and Christianity "for the benefit of humanity"

## Part Two

ly to declare: "We are getting closer to a common denominator for the good of humanity and when postulates are formulated which are going to combat hunger and misery, we should not put labels on them, but see things as they really are" (*El Mercurio*, 3/30/67. The emphasis is ours).

With an ambiguity of relativist flavor that became a characteristic of so many Episcopal pronouncements, the Cardinal's delarations were introducing the following bitter doubt in the spirit of many of the afflicted faithful: Would the combat against hunger and misery work as talismans that passed over as a secondary problem the question of knowing whether the theses postulated by them corresponded to Catholic orthodoxy or to Marxist thinking?

To say the least, it is truly disconcerting for the Cardinal to leave a question such as this one involving pontifical thinking itself suspended in souls without further concern.

Such a proceeding must be viewed as even more harmful if we consider the atmosphere torn with doctrinal confusion into which the Catholic left was submerging Chile.

It is helpful, in order to understand the real significance and consequences of this way of formulating revolutionary opinions, to read the masterly essay *Unperceived Ideological Transbipment and Dialogue* by the renowned Catholic leader and professor from Brazil, Prof. Plinio Correa de Oliveira. This study, which had vast international repercussions, shows with the clarity of midday in what manner an emotional fermentation built up around concepts such as this one of the imperative of combating hunger and misery — formulated with a relativist flavor — serves the new strategies of Marxism (Editorial C.I.O., Madrid, Spain, 1971. See also *Fiducia*, nos. 21 and 22, of November-December 1965 and January 1966).

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Talismanic words with relativist flavor for ideological transfer toward Communism

At the feast of Our Lady of Carmel, the consummation of the brutal injustice

The day of July 16, 1967 (feast of the Most Holy Virgin of Carmel, Queen and Patroness of Chile) was chosen for the promulgation of the law of socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform, as a kind of a vain challenge by the egalitarian utopia to Her who "alone has crushed the heresies of the entire world" (Common office of the feasts of the Most Holy Virgin, seventh antiphon of the third nocturn).



Agrarian collectivism under a Christian mantle would implant injustice in the fields of Chile gravely injuring proprietors and farm workers. Catholic agricultural workers manifested opposition to the socialist and confiscatory law in different places. The banner above reads: "AGRARIAN PERSECUTION." "Farmers and peasants invite you to visit a farm badly worked and expropriated by CORA." Below, farm labor leaders of Curacavi against Frei's agrarian reform are shown with the president of the Chilean TFP.



## *Part Two*

The first great step of the collectivization process of our nation was aimed at the destruction of the agrarian structure, a revolutionary tactic that – it should be noted – Lenin had recommended as a basic step of Communist strategy for the enslavement of a people.

Thus it was that on a day of such significance for Chilean Catholics, one of the most monstrous injustices committed in Chilean History was consolidated, thanks to the omissions, ambiguities and initial impulse given to it by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago and the Clergy that follow him.

Legalized robbery and institutionalized class struggle were enthroned in our country. Then would come the destruction of a rural class which, having defects more or less like any other, had made important contributions for the good of our country.

The plunder and the moral and economic bankruptcy that closed in over Chile under the sway of an unjust law was not viewed by the Chilean Pastors to be of sufficient gravity to merit their paternal concern. The abandonment and enslaved submission in which the field workers would be left in the face of an omnipotent State power aroused no more compassion from the pastoral zeal of the Prelates than the misfortune of their despoiled landlords.<sup>9</sup>

Social injustice, hunger and misery were not the real reason for the revolution promoted by the Clergy

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<sup>9</sup>Even before the catastrophic Marxist-Leninist experiment that used the Christian Democratic agrarian reform law as one of its principal weapons to force communization in Chile, the agrarian reform applied by Eduardo Frei was already bearing its nefarious fruits.

Besides its intrinsically unjust and immoral character, the socialist agrarian process began to cause grave economic consequences from the first moments of its application.

Data of international agencies that have not hidden their sympathies for reforms of this nature, as for example the FAO (Food and Agricultural Organization of the UN), had already established the economic damage being caused by the Christian Democratic law as early as February 1968.

The data on the productivity, social situation, and eco-

It has been said many times that the cause of the ecclesiastical support for agrarian reform was the hunger and misery of those in most need. However, when, during the time of Allende, the black cloak of misery began effectively to cover Chile as an inevitable consequence of the integral application of confiscatory socialism, that same Clergy appeared to forget the material necessities of its people!

After all these years, pretexts of love of the poor can no longer be wielded to veil the deed that was then covered under Christian garb. It was the moral order itself — the

With the silence and support of Bishops and Priests, the very moral order in Chile is defiled on the sacred date

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conomic results of different properties still in private hands were compared with the results obtained from different settlements — the name given to the expropriated agricultural properties, where the farm workers (the supposed beneficiaries of the reform) had to work under the direction of the state bureaucracy without definitive title of ownership, a situation that could be prolonged indefinitely. The conclusions obtained may be summed up as follows:

On private farm properties, productivity was 28.60 escudos per workday, while on the collective “settlements” created by the reform it was only 17.45 escudos.

As far as the social situation is concerned, the workers “benefitting” from the reform — who could remain salaried on the “settlements” indefinitely — received 6.67 escudos per workday. In the same period, the workers of the private agricultural firms received an average of 11.24 to 11.59 escudos per workday. In other words, the result on the private farm properties was superior to that of the “settlements” by some 73%.

The study of profits on the “settlements” was also very significant. They showed an average of losses of some 2.3% . .

The situation meant an average investment of 17,000 escudos per “settled person” for the State agencies. At the same time that the implementation of Frei’s socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform (which promised to install one hundred thousand families in collective “settlements”) was on the increase, the Chilean State was in the position of being obliged to invest a figure close to 1700 million escudos,

*Part Two*

foundation of all social organization — that was being defiled on that sacred date, and it was being done under the guise of an egalitarian and anti-Christian pseudo-mysticism.

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or approximately 200 million dollars at the exchange rate of that period (Communique of the National Agricultural Society with data from the FAO and Icira; *El Mercurio*, 2/28/68).

To this fact, which was already being felt during the first moments of the implementation of the law, would have to be added the protests of numerous farm workers who (foreseeing with lucid understanding the deceptive destiny that the socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform offered them) meritoriously manifested their public opposition to the spoliation of the private lands where they worked as salaried employees in much better conditions than those offered by the unjust law. Outstanding among these, from the standpoint of the national prominence acquired, were the protests of the farm workers of the property of Santa Marta in Longotoma and the manifesto of 800 agricultural workers of the Valley of Curacavi in the province of Santiago.

CHAPTER 2  
EPISCOPAL SUPPORT FOR COMMUNIST-  
PROGRESSIVISM IN PREPARATION  
FOR THE ALLENDE VICTORY

The group of Jesuit Priests of the powerful Bellarmine Center began to show their true face.

The director of *Mensaje* at that time, Father Hernan Larrain, in statements made to the magazine *Ercilla*, defended the apostate priest Camilo Torres, who, as is known, allied himself with the Communist guerrilla movement in Colombia ("The Guerrilla, the Priest and Politics" in *Ercilla*, 3/9/66).

Director of *Mensaje* defends guerrilla priest Camilo Torres

The action of the Catholic left was entering a new phase. Little by little, it began to put distance between itself and the confiscatory reformism of Frei — or rather to draw from it the ultimate consequences — as it began to prepare for the advent of a more obviously Marxist regime.

"Catholic" left prepares a more radical stage

"Dialectical tensions" in that same sense were provoked in the CDP itself, with "divisions" showing up between moderate Christian Democratic directors, centrists, and advanced leftists.<sup>10</sup>

Dialectical tensions in the CDP

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<sup>10</sup>A current of Senators and Congressmen of the Christian Democratic Party, seconded by that group's youth organization, began to criticize as too moderate the "Kerenskiian" and socialist reformism of Frei. They wanted the latter to expand to other fields of national economic activity, and did not hide their desire to enter into ideological-political collaboration with the Marxists. Finally, these elements "broke" with their party and became integrated in the coalition of Popular Unity, supporting the candidacy of Salvador Allende.

In the evaluations that he formulated during the con-

## Part Two

In July 1967, a noisy “youth” manifestation took place favoring Communist North Vietnam. At the demonstration, the directors of the youth organization of the Christian Democratic Party and the Association of Catholic University Students appeared together with the directors of the youth from the Socialist and Communist parties, both of which are Marxist-Leninist (*Mensaje*, no. 161, August 1967; *El Siglo*, 7/13/67).

### 1. With the direct intervention of the Cardinal, the Catholic University becomes a focus of Marxist propaganda and agitation

Preparing the fall of the Catholic University – formerly a bastion of anti-Marxist resistance

During the year 1967, there appeared in *Mensaje* numerous articles stirring up the creation of a conflict in the Pontifical Catholic University of Santiago.

Teaching in that institution of higher learning were a considerable and representative number of Catholic professors of well-known anti-marxist orientation. In addition, there were large contingents of young university students who had developed an active civic and cultural life and who viewed with alarm the collectivist path on which the Christian Democratic administration was leading Chile.

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ference of Toledo in 1973, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago refers to the alliance of this group with the Marxist-Leninist parties in the following terms: “There is a conglomerate of parties containing socialists and Communists, as well as groups of liberals and Christians who left the Christian Democratic movement (Believing that the reform was not as rapid, drastic, and profound as necessary, they separated themselves from the Christian Democratic movement and formed a group called the MAPU movement, a popular action movement)” (*Theology of Liberation, Conversations of Toledo*, June 1973; *El Mercurio*, 12/2/75).



Because of the repercussion of university activity on the general civic life of Chile, it was fundamental for the Catholic left and Marxism to try to extinguish the anti-communist foci which existed in that University.

On August 11, 1967, the central building of the Catholic University of Santiago was taken by assault by brigades of Christian Democratic students.

Using student demands for co-government of the university as a pretext, they succeeded in creating a conflict which culminated in the resignation of the rector, Msgr. Alfredo Silva Santiago, and the assumption of control of the University by the Jesuits from the Bellarmine Center and the Catholic left in general.

In this decisive leftist transformation of the University, a special role was played by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, who was named mediator by the Holy See during the tensions arising from the conflict.

In a public letter directed to the Cardinal, the Dean of the Faculty of Economics of the Catholic University, Mr. Sergio de Castro, accuses him of not having acted as mediator, but actually as an intervenor on the side of the rebellious students (*El Mercurio*, 8/24/67).

For his part, the rector, Msgr. Alfredo Silva Santiago, in a telegram of resignation addressed to the Holy See, states that he took this action because of the formula of agreement arrived at by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago which "in essential points is harmful to the present and future of the University" (*El Diario Ilustrado*, 8/24/67).

Mr. Julio Philippi, member of the High Council of the Catholic University and ex-minister of State, also resigned because of his disagreement over the manner in which the Cardinal resolved the problem (*El Diario Ilustrado*, 8/24/67).

With the naming of a new rector, Mr. Fernando Castillo Velasco, the Pontifical Catholic University of Santiago remained under the direct protection of the Cardinal, who was designated the High Chancellor of that institution. The director of *Mensaje*, Father Hernan Larrain, S.J., was named director of the School of Psychology of the same institution; Father Juan Ochagavia was installed as Dean of the Faculty of Theology; and Father Gonzalo Arroyo, well-known supporter of confiscatory agrarian reform, came there to spread

Assault and taking of the University

Intervention of the Cardinal

Rector and professors protest against the Cardinal's gesture

New leftist Rector

Cardinal named High Chancellor of Catholic University

Communist-progressive influence increases

Part Two

his theses with complete ease as professor of Agrarian Economy. The team from the Bellarmine Center and other mechanisms of the "Catholic" left by these appointments succeeded in augmenting their already powerful means of influence.

*Mensaje*: no need to avoid Marxist infiltration in Catholic Universities

That same month of August, the magazine *Mensaje*, in its issue no. 161, carried an article "Reform of the Catholic Universities." This article observed that it was probable that Marxist infiltration existed in the Catholic universities, and asked how to avoid this, and even why it should be avoided. . .

The Catholics of Santiago and of all of Chile watched in astonishment the rapid progress of the nefarious work of moral subversion that was being carried out with the support of the Cardinal.

\* \* \*

Catholic University in its new stage

An idea may be had of the new climate which soon reigned in the Catholic University under the High Chancellorship of the Cardinal Archbishop by reading the article entitled "Grotesque and Unworthy" written in *El Mercurio* by Msgr. Alfredo Cifuentes, who at that time had already resigned as Archbishop of La Serena. In that article, he describes with just indignation the blasphemous parody executed by students of the Catholic University in its new phase, without suffering any canonical sanction from the religious authorities of Santiago. Msgr. Cifuentes relates: "*Pupils of the Pontifical Catholic University, on celebrating university week, did not hesitate to make the lowest and most unworthy spectacle of themselves when they first held a parade of pupils dressed as Priests, accompanied in disrespectful fashion by pupils dressed in religious habits. Later, they arrived at a place of indecent amusement to parody sacramental absolutions of the women who performed there. . . ; with good reason the spectators, including humble persons of the town, repudiated the parody with indignation*" (*El Mercurio*, 9/2/68).

a) Pupils make public show of blasphemy

Msgr. Cifuentes protests

The High Chancellor is silent

It is dreadful to say it, but the reports show that the audience in that place of immoral entertainment indignantly expelled the pupils of the Catholic University who had gathered there to perform that infamous parody, but the Cardinal preferred to remain silent about the matter, without making the public reparation that the lewd deed demanded.

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## Chapter 2

One trauma after another shook the conscience of Catholics: the Communist singer Violeta Parra had committed suicide and for several days in the Catholic University homage was paid to her memory in an ostentatious manner.

Several days later, the newspaper *Ultimas Noticias* of Santiago announced that the Communist organization of terrorist character, MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was founding a section in the midst of the students of the new Catholic University. . . This group, which arose from the leftist-“Catholic” fermentation, has a philosophy which is summed up as follows: “Action, violence, the red line of Mao. . .” (*Ultimas Noticias*, 9/24/68).

\* \* \*

The academic year 1969 was inaugurated in the Catholic University of Santiago by the Brazilian Archbishop Helder Camara, known as the “Red Archbishop,”<sup>11</sup> who had been invited to Chile especially for that purpose (*El Mercurio*, 4/18/69).

b) Homage to Communist singer who committed suicide

c) The MIR terrorist movement arrives at Catholic University

d) Archbishop Helder Camara invited to inaugurate academic year

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<sup>11</sup> The public actions of the Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, always covered with great propagandistic repercussion inside and outside of Brazil, are widely known for their demagogic and leftist character.

We point out here, as being especially suggestive for the analysis of reality that we have been describing, the revelation made by the French communist theoretician Roger Garaudy in his book *Parole d'Homme* published in Paris in 1975. Garaudy, who considers that the Christianity preached by the progressive-based communities can be united with anarchic Communism of the structuralist tribal kind, said that Dom Helder Camara had constantly encouraged him in his search for the synthesis that is set forth in the gnostic and nihilistic book of the French ex-Senator.

In fact, as proof of his affirmation, Garaudy cites sections of a letter that Archbishop Helder Camara wrote to him.

The Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, who has been called the “Red Archbishop,” writes to the Communist Garaudy:

“The next step to be completed by us Christians is to have it publicly proclaimed that it is not socialism but capitalism that is “intrinsicly perverse,” and that socialism is

Part Two

...encouraged "Catholic" Marxist group recently founded

... showed respect for violence of camilo Torres and Che Guevara

...he stayed at Cardinal's home

e) Priest and professor of Catholic University publicly affirms that:

There are no essential differences between Marxist and Christian concepts of man

Agrees with Marx on classless society

The Brazilian Prelate took advantage of the trip – surrounded by great publicity – to lavish his support on the Catholic left, even to the point of being interviewed with the "Catholic"-Marxist group recently formed in that period called Young Church, to which he dedicated words of understanding.

In a press conference in Santiago, Archbishop Helder Camara declared: "*I respect the memory of Camilo Torres and that of Che Guevara very deeply, and in general that of all those who in conscience feel obligated to choose violence. I do not respect parlor guerrillas. . .*" (*El Siglo*, 4/16/69).

Naturally, the Archbishop of Olinda and Recife felt no inhibitions whatsoever in making these declarations in the Diocese of Cardinal Silva Henriquez, who gave him lodging in his own residence (*Ercilla*, 4/23/69).

\* \* \*

While the Jesuits of *Mensaje* multiplied their pro-Marxist articles, another professor of the Catholic University of Santiago, Father Eduardo Kinnen made scandalous declarations to the newspaper *El Mercurio*. Father Kinnen was at that time professor of social ethics and philosophy at the pontifical institution.

In his interview he said: "*There are many coincidences between Western tradition and the thinking of Marx. If the thesis defended in my essay is correct (he refers to his book, The Social Humanism of Marx, which had just been published), Marxist anthropology is the continuation of Western spiritualist realism, that is, there is no essential and insurmountable difference between Marx's concept of man and ours, except, of course, for the religious problem.*"

Father Kinnen also points out: "*We agree with Marx's condemnation of the traditional capitalist regime. I think*

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*not condemnable except in its perversions. And for you, Rôger, the next step is to show that the Revolution is not tied by an essential knot but only by a historical one, with philosophical materialism and atheism, and that it is, on the contrary, consubstantial with Christianity.*" (*Fiducia*, no. 37, December 1975).



Msgr. Helder Camara, the Red Archbishop from Brazil. While in Chile, he propagates his relativistic apology for violence.

Part Two

we can also accept his ideal of a classless society.”

The ethics professor disagreed with the bloody methods employed by the Communist revolution, but not with the Marxist ideal of society (*El Mercurio*, 5/11/69. The emphasis is ours).

As in all other cases, the High Chancellor of the University did nothing to enlighten the faithful of his Archdiocese, nor did he impose any sanctions on the speaker of these words, who continued to give his singular lessons in ethics.

\* \* \*

Cardinal High Chancellor renders homage to the Communist Neruda

A tragic crowning of the Cardinal High Chancellor’s work favoring the ideological transshipment of the faithful towards Marxism was the concession that he made in August 1969, when he granted in the name of the Catholic University the title “Doctor Scientiae et Honoris Causa” to Pablo Neruda, poet and active militant of the Communist Party.

Basing his position on the session of the University Council of June 27, the Prelate affirmed, among other things, the following:

*“Our attitude reflects values of extraordinary importance . . . . The first value is that, once and for all, it is shown and believed that the Church esteems the true, the good, and the beautiful, even if they are represented by those who do not participate in its religious conviction. In other words, the Catholic Church, by its nature, Christianity by its nature, cannot be sectarian; sectarianism goes against our profound essence. In this is rooted the existence of a sane pluralism.*

Bases attitude in ideological pluralism

Affirms that atheism and Marxism may be taught in a Catholic university

*“And what does this mean? Can a professorship of atheism or Marxism be granted in a Catholic university? I say yes: it can be given, because we Christians are convinced that none of these sciences or doctrines lack some part of truth, and because at times they raise a criticism that is very useful for us to know”* (*Ultimas Noticias*, 8/21/69; “Church of Santiago,” *Informative Bulletin of the Archdiocese*, July 1969, no. 38. The emphasis is ours).

Thus we encounter one more act of demolition of the ideological barriers that separated Catholics from the Communists. It was, moreover, carried out by hands consecrated to the teaching and propagation of the deposit of absolute Faith.

The Pastor of Santiago made these grave assertions, impregnated with pernicious relativism, a few days after a "commando group against repression" made up of MIRists and other Marxists, was formed within the Pontifical Catholic University. This commando group voted in assembly on the alternative "whether to kill or simply beat" the anti-communist student leaders and professors. . . (*El Diario Ilustrado*, 6/22/69).

Thus it was that on the one side there was a radical anti-Christian manifestation, whereas on the other side there was a careless and festive relativism favoring atheist Marxism and the men symbolic of it . . .

It is fitting to remember, finally, that the homage of the Catholic University and its High Chancellor to the atheist Pablo Neruda took place when sectors of the Catholic left were struggling to attract the faithful to a position of thoughtless sympathy for Marxism and when only one year remained before the presidential election.

The Communists could easily see that the new title had propaganda value for their anti-Christian cause, because they immediately proclaimed the brand new "Doctor Honoris Causa" a presidential pre-candidate.

f) Student terrorists discuss in assemblies criminal means of aggression against anti-communist students and professors

g) Communist Party names Neruda pre-candidate to Presidency of Chile

## 2. The Archbishop of Santiago throws new fuel on the fire: convocation of a Diocesan Synod

While that destructive offensive against Catholic anti-communist opinion was being launched from the most important institution of higher Catholic education, parallel acts of demolition were developing on other fronts under the auspices of the Cardinal.

Such is the case of the Synod convoked by the Archbishop of Santiago in 1967. It was additional fuel put on the Communist-progressivist blaze, which contributed to its better propagation.

In its edition of August 12, 1967, *El Mercurio* reported that Cardinal Silva Henríquez referred to this Diocesan Synod, which would begin in September of that same year,

Synod: new blow against the ideological barriers

Part Two

as of great importance, being the seventh in the History of the Diocese and the first of the present century.

a) to transform profoundly the ecclesiastical structures

On that occasion, the Cardinal Archbishop announced that the structures of the Catholic Church of Santiago would be submitted to a process of profound transformation to adapt them to the necessities of the modern world and to place them at the service of man in his present anxieties.

b) Suggestions also received from non-believers

Suggestions were received from believers and non-believers. They were compiled in three hundred pages, separated by subject matter, and handed over to seven basic commissions for study.

c) Tendentious pre-synodal report

The final conclusions of these pre-synodal commissions were grouped in a voluminous text that the Cardinal later turned over to five hundred synodal examiners during a solemn ceremony.

This text contained, among other things, a critical report about the "Church and the world of Santiago." One of the editors was a Jesuit Priest connected with the Bellarmine Center, Father Manuel Ossa.

...in the manner of the "cahiers de doléances"

In the manner of a large part of the famous "cahiers de doléances" which were taken to the Estates General on the eve of the French Revolution, the report on the Church and the world of Santiago contained a false and tendentious description of Chilean reality. Thus the synodal examiners were being conditioned to fall in line with pre-established revolutionary designs.

...with demagogic generalizations conditioned to "orient" the synodal examiners

There we read, after dramatically exaggerated descriptions of the conditions of life of the Chilean people in the years previous to the movement in progress, that: *"During centuries our people lived their life of misery – an exhausting life, tense and without hope – with resignation and fatalism. When facing the landlords, they could only bow their heads and obey. A widely used phrase among the people summed up this attitude: "the poor have no rights." But circumstances have changed and our people have become aware of their misery. Technology (cinema, radio, television) has brought the nations closer together. Our people compare themselves with those of other countries and can see the abysmal difference. To this must be added the "conscientizing" influence of certain political parties, above all those of the left. The misery lived has been trans-*

...pointing out "conscientizing" influence of leftist parties



formed into conscious misery and, in truth, injustice. Now the landlords are not respected, but we tend to see them as exploiters. The people compare their level of life with that of the well-to-do, and they do not accept the tremendous difference. All of this makes our people desire and demand rapid, radical, and global changes of the social, economic, and political structures so as to permit them a more humane level of life. . . .”

Farther on the following is also found: “Faced with this will for change in our people, politically expressed in the desire for revolution – inside or outside the law, with or without liberty – and politically channeled and used by the majority of the different parties, the economically, socially, and culturally favored classes feel themselves threatened” (see Part One, cited document, “Diagnostic of the world of Santiago,” A. 13, page 5, and A. 14, page 6 – The emphasis is from the text itself).

According to the words of Cardinal Silva Henríquez at that time, these first sessions of the Synod of 1967 had as their only end: “becoming conscious” of the realities of the country (ABC, Madrid, 9/22/67).

Thus, in the tense ideological climate of 1967, the Cardinal had convoked a Synod that would persevere on the slippery field of becoming “conscientized” while exchanging “pastoral” experiences. In other words, there would be no doctrinal definitions exposing the clash between the new revolutionary tendencies and the immutable truths of the Magisterium. Everything was turned over to the terrain of anxieties, with full possibilities for the “Catholic left” to accelerate, within ecclesiastical circles, its preparatory work for the clearly Marxist phase of the Chilean revolutionary process already in gestation. Accordingly, it was natural for the magazine *Mensaje* to be named as the official organ of the Synod.

\* \* \*

In the year 1968, new sessions of the Synod were convoked in order to express concretely and in depth the proposals formulated in the assemblies of the previous year.

The “Young Church” – even after the taking of the Cathedral which we will analyze farther on (see Part Two, Chapter 2, no. 3) – had an active participation in that

... demanding in the name of the people “rapid, radical, and global” structural changes

Popular revolution inside or outside the law

d) Cardinal: synodal sessions are for the “awakening of conscience”

e) The slippery field apt for “Catholic” leftist agitation in ecclesiastical structures

f) *Mensaje* official organ of Synod

g) Synodal sessions of 1968 to go deeper into the matter

Pro-Marxist “Young Church” movement actively participates

Part Two

official event. According to press reports of that period, the group set up there a common front made up of "priests and workers" to reject as "bourgeois" the report on the business sector, in itself already clearly leftist.

A climate of euphoria

An idea of the climate reigning in the assemblies is given by the following newspaper description: "*Under a sustained rain of applause which united Bishops and domestic employees and businessmen with newspapermen, the assistant-director of Mensaje, Father Manuel Ossa Bezanilla, S.J., proposed: that in that very place, facing the business world, the Church commit itself with deeds, that as it had initiated agrarian reform, so it should now initiate the reform of business*" (*El Mercurio*, 9/21/68. The emphasis is ours).

Father Ossa demands Church initiate a socialist reform of business

The contribution of Father Ossa, which was effusively applauded in the assembly, proclaimed that:

"A radical change is required in the concept and function of business."

"What spoils business and manufacturing is the system to which it belongs, that is, capitalism."

"The Synod reminds businessmen that everything they do to develop communitarianism will be insufficient. This effort will only be acceptable if it is conceived as a decided step toward the stages that follow, of socialization."

The "New Church" appears more as a radical movement in collaboration with Marxism

Other information from the press states that "*the Young Church, that which took over the Cathedral, determined that a true charity could only be understood when it is able to destroy present structures,*" adding that "*the New Church, which is moreover schismatic, which torpedoed the four documents of the Synod, refused to accept any of the agreements which permitted anything to show through which could be understood as an anti-Marxist position. . .*" (*La Nacion*, 9/22/68).

\* \* \*

Father Ossa writes in Communist magazine about Christian-Marxist union

The same Jesuit Priest, Manuel Ossa, whom the ecclesiastical authorities granted such an outstanding part in the preparation and development of the Synod — and who still came off as a moderate compared to the "New" and "Young" "Catholic"-Marxist churches — wrote an article for the Communist magazine *Aurora*. Making a display of moral relativism which is shocking in a Priest, he affirms in that

article that: "In Cuba the only party that can promote the common good, because it is the only existing party . . . is the Communist Party. . ." ("Loyalty, Respect, and Confidence will Unite Christians and Marxists," by Father Manuel Ossa, S.J., in the magazine *Aurora*, no. 15, 1968).

\* \* \*

After having followed everything we have written in this chapter, only someone carrying naivete to unimaginable limits could fail to comprehend the tremendous truth: Bishops and Priests of the Catholic Church were actively preparing their disconcerted flock to accept a leftist regime more radical than that of Frei.

But there still remained a great deal to see and hear!

Bishops and Priests were preparing the Catholic flock for the new regime, on various fronts

### 3. Condemnatory note to the TFP for denouncing Marxist infiltration in the Clergy

In view of the size and the gravity which the religious-political crisis in our country was taking on, the supporters and propagandists of *Fiducia* — who had already been joined together for a year in the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property (TFP) — promoted a "Reverent and Filial Message" addressed to His Holiness, Paul VI.

TFP sends reverent message to Paul VI...

In that document, written in elevated and respectful terms, they denounced the fact that an active minority of ecclesiastics and laymen were already preparing for the advent of Communism in Chile. The message of the TFP presented precise accusations, in calm and elevated language. It filially implored His Holiness to adopt urgent measures to eliminate entirely the action of progressive ecclesiastics and laymen favorable to Communism. This message was backed by the signatures of more than 120,000 Chileans.

...denouncing ecclesiastics and laymen who were preparing Chile's fall to Communism

...imploing urgent measures

120,000 Chileans sign text

Once again, the illustrious Archbishop who governed the Archdiocese of La Serena, Msgr. Alfredo Cifuentes, sent a public letter of praise to the TFP concerning the above-

Msgr. Cifuentes publicly praises initiative



mentioned message to Paul VI (*Fiducia*, no. 26, January-February, 1969).<sup>12</sup>

What, on this occasion, was the attitude of the Archbishopric of Santiago? — That same Archbishopric which had tolerated with impunity frightening excesses in favor of Marxism, this time abandoned its silence: this was done by means of a note from Auxiliary Bishop Fernando Ariztia Ruiz of Santiago — a note which showed “its displeasure” with the TFP’s denunciation of Marxist infiltration in the Clergy. . . (*El Siglo*, 8/9/68 and *Clarín*, 8/8/68, *El Mercurio*, 8/11/68).

No direct and serious refutation was given by the Archbishopric to the documented and precise accusations made by the TFP in the message to His Holiness Paul VI.

We had been living nearly six years with a constantly growing process of Communist-progressivist agitation in Catholic circles. If anyone during this six-year period thought that this impressive collection of deeds had passed inexplicably unnoticed by the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago, then the attitude that these latter took in the face of the objective and calm denunciation of the TFP no longer left any room for doubt about this question. The tendency of the ideological preferences of the Pastors of Santiago had been shown to be stubbornly and consciously in favor of the left.

On the other hand, Bishop Ariztia affirmed in his communique against the TFP that the Church “in no way feels committed to any social system, be it capitalist or socialist.”

This assertion, in itself ambiguous, was made more harmful by the delicate political moment in which it was published. It placed a regime which is legitimate in essence,

The Archbishopric of Santiago expresses “displeasure” at TFP denunciation without directly and seriously refuting the accusations..

...favors socialism via ambiguous affirmation

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<sup>12</sup>Messages similar to that of the Chilean TFP were sent to Pope Paul VI by the TFP’s of Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay.

The messages from the four entities were backed up in their entirety by signatures of more than two million South Americans, who asked the Pope, in reverent and filial terms, for urgent action to bring about the cessation, in their respective countries, of the Communist infiltration in the Clergy and in Catholic organizations in general.

## Part Two

such as capitalism (in respect to which Catholic doctrine censures only the excesses with which it has been applied in many places), on the same footing with socialism, which has been repeatedly condemned by the Pontifical Teaching. To this should be added the fact that an alliance of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party was a part of an action mechanism by which Chilean Marxism-Leninism planned to take power.

\* \* \*

Three days later, Priests and laymen of the "Young Church" assault the Cathedral of Santiago, spreading Marxist slogans

Three days after the disapproving note from the Archbishopric of Santiago on the cited denunciation which so many thousands of Chileans had subscribed to, a group of Priests and laymen of the so-called "Young Church" took the Cathedral of Santiago by assault. They accompanied the act with the spreading of pro-communist slogans. The journalists were even able to photograph a slogan written in ink next to the gravestone that marks the resting place of the remains of the fondly remembered predecessor of Cardinal Silva Henriquez, Cardinal Jose Maria Caro. The slogan said: "*The people are suffering. JJ CC*" (initials of battle of the "Communist Youth").

National and international Catholic indignation

A national and international wave of indignation arose against the brazen sacrilege of those who, in the name of the anti-creed of Satan, had profaned our principal temple in order to boast there of their infamous doctrine.

The Cardinal intervenes with sanctions, only to pardon the following day

The Cardinal of Santiago for the first time felt it necessary to take measures against the guilty ones. He did not do it because of their Communist militancy, but rather because of the profane excesses of the violent taking of the temple, truly without precedent. . . (*El Mercurio*, 8/13/68). But, consistent with all of his previous behavior, the Cardinal lifted the sanctions the following day, after the rebel Marxist group gave ambiguous "explanations" (*Ultimas Noticias*, 8/14/68).

The "Young Church" continues with Marxist propaganda

This "Young Church" continued its Marxist propaganda from then on in an ever more obvious manner, practically unpunitively.

In fact, as noted in a previous paragraph dealing with the sessions of the 1968 Synod, members of this group played an active part in that ecclesiastical meeting.

#### 4. Episcopal meeting of La Florida: general condemnations

In October of that same year the Episcopal Conference was held in La Florida. Naturally, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago was among the Bishops present.

In view of the tremendous commotion which the growing tide of Communist-progressive scandals had been producing in Catholic public opinion, the Bishops thought it fitting to issue a statement at the end of their assembly.

The declaration disapproved "*certain attitudes of some student leaders of the Catholic University*," as well as "*certain articles published in Mensaje*." Neither the attitudes nor the articles in question were specified. The Bishops also thought it wise to declare that "*justice is one thing and Marxism is another. We do not state that all of Marxism is wrong or evil. But we do say, backed up by the experience of half a century of Communism, that the Marxist philosophy to which atheism is essential, the Marxist morality and in particular its political morality, and the Marxist mentality in general, are incompatible with the Christian faith . . . Marxists know that one cannot be a good Marxist and a good Christian at the same time. In this, we are in agreement with them*" — said the Prelates — who then added that "*without doubt there is great strength in the work of Marx. But there is infinitely more strength, more light, and more truth in the Gospel of Jesus Christ and in the teaching and the practice of the Church through 20 centuries*" (*El Diario Ilustrado*, 10/5/68).

How can one explain the strange flexibilities implied in such statements in respect to the Pastors and especially the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago? In the bosom of Chilean Catholics burn the flames of the dispute raised by pro-Marxist slogans developed with impunity for years. The Priests who impart them continue in their places of influence. No effective, systematic, and organized measures were adopted to contain this spiritual and doctrinal corrosion. On the contrary, the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago continue to ignore, disparage, and even publicly reprove the

Certain attitudes and certain articles

Always avoiding a specific condemnation of Marxist socio-economic concept

There is great strength in the work of Marx

Ambiguous condemnations without effective measures

MARIA  
DRODRIGUEZ  
- xii-1958

Capilla...  
del Sr. Carden...  
deben deposita...  
alcancia de la

EL Pueblo esta  
sufriendolo

JJCC

The assault on the Cathedral of Santiago by Priests and laymen to spread Marxist slogans, leaving as a sinister reminder the battle initials of the "Young Communists" (JJCC). On the wall near the tomb with the venerable remains of Cardinal Caro, one reads: "The people are suffering JJCC."

The following day Cardinal Silva Henriquez reconciled himself with the attackers, who continued their spreading of error. The headline below reads: "SIERRA MAESTRA IN THE CATHEDRAL."

EL HECHO CAUSA COMMOION MUNDIAL

# SIERRA MAESTRA EN LA CATEDRAL



3<sup>ra</sup>  
de  
la hora

SANTO DOMINGO DE CHILE.  
EL VOTO DE LOS SACERDOTES EN  
SU MASO...  
A NUESTRO...  
A NUESTRO...

EDICION DE  
32 PAGINAS

TOMA DE LA CATEDRAL.  
Una capilla... "esto es...  
"esto" que...  
A NUESTRO...  
A NUESTRO...  
A NUESTRO...  
A NUESTRO...





action of the Catholic faithful who battle ideologically against Communism.

In the face of the situation reigning in Chile at that time, what seriousness was there in a small paragraph of vague and at the same time limited disapproval directed against "*certain articles*" and "*certain attitudes*" of Priests and student leaders who carried on and continue carrying on a vast and constant action?

The Episcopal declaration says nothing, for example, of the blasphemous public parodies performed by the Christian Democratic students; of the socialist and confiscatory agrarian, urban, and business reform programs advocated by the Catholic left; of its social and economic communitarianism, which is scarcely distinguishable from Communism and which must result in the elimination of all inequalities of class, etc., etc.

There is, it is true, after all these years of guilty omission and collaboration, a warning about the incompatibility between Marxism and Christianity, an isolated general statement which in the midst of the confusion and ferment existing during that state of affairs meant very little.

This is all the more serious, since as is obvious, the Catholic left did not present itself as being made up of Communist Party cells. Accordingly, all of its potentiality for corruption was used precisely to sustain — as if they were advanced Christian theses — those ideas which, concretely, were nothing more than the socio-economic postulates of Marxism.

In this clearly tactical situation, the general condemnation formulated by the Bishops omitted precisely that aspect of Marxist doctrine which Catholic doctrine condemns as a denial of private property and its social function.

At the same time, the Episcopal affirmation that there is "*great strength in the work of Marx*" remained suspended in the air. Thus at the very moment that the Bishops were adopting an apparently less leftist position, they allowed a situation to be created in which their words could be taken advantage of to demoralize the spirits of those facing Communism. This practice of taking recourse in ambiguity of language, by which general condemnations of Marxism

Collaborationist program of Catholic left remains safe

## Part Two

are made relativistic, became habitual in this type of Episcopal declaration.

Finally, if we take as our hypothesis that the document provides a sufficiently serious warning regarding Marxism, how terribly incomprehensible is the Episcopal support that was given later to the Marxist government of Salvador Allende!

Accordingly, then, of what value are such "anti-Marxist" statements, written under the pressure of an indignant Catholic opinion and which turn out to be even more gravely offensive and ridiculous when they are very soon contradicted by new Episcopal declarations and attitudes?

"Let your words be: yes, yes; no, no"

Oh, how the Chilean faithful longed for the old unequivocal language which the Divine Master established when He said: "*Let your words be: yes, yes; no, no*". . . (Matt. 5:37).

What sibylline and frightening confusion prepared the way for the gloomy hour when the Communist sect would try to take power in Chile!

## 5. Dialectic tension between fast pace and slow pace revolutionaries on the road to Marxist synthesis

The revolutionary process in our country (which had as its goal the implantation of Communism) was approaching one of its decisive moments.

The Chilean Cardinal, in the previously mentioned speech given in Toledo in June 1973, explained that Frei and his administration wanted to obtain "*by means of legislation, the means to change structures, made what he (Frei) called a revolution, but a revolution in liberty, not a violent revolution, but a peaceful revolution and a legal revolution.*"

Cardinal: "the CDP did not know how to win the understanding of the proletariat..."

However, the Cardinal pointed out, the Christian Democratic Party of Frei "*bad a very great defect, which I would call its capital defect, that is, that its solutions were more technical than social and political; it did not know how to win the sympathy and understanding of the proletariat*

or of the people, so that it appeared a bit paternalistic and the solutions that it imposed from the top down did not win the understanding of the people . . .

...“appeared a bit paternalistic”

“The (Christian Democratic) party consciously did not want to touch a reform of business firms: it carried out an agricultural reform of land ownership, agrarian reform, but did not dare at the same time to touch reform of business for fear of disorganizing production in such a manner as to cause very grave damage to it” (*Theology of Liberation*, Conversations of Toledo, June 1973, *El Mercurio*, 12/2/75 – The parenthetical matter and the emphasis are ours).

...“they did not dare to make a reform of business firms”

It is curious to note that Cardinal Silva Henriquez indicated here that he foresaw the catastrophe, including the economic one, which would result from the socialist and confiscatory processes. This gives additional weight to the fact that he did not say this publicly and at an opportune time for the salvation of the country and the good of the Church.

The socialist economic disaster that the Cardinal hushed up

\* \* \*

At any rate, the myth of a “Catholic socialism” coming by means of revolutionary reforms made under the label of Christian Democracy had become politically out of date in Chile.

Catholic left crosses the meridian

Thus it was that the Catholic left decided to cross the meridian.

The magazine *Mensaje*, the most representative organ of expression of the Catholic left, carried in its August 1968 edition an article that characterized extraordinarily well the new step being taken. It was entitled: “The Existing Law: An Obstacle for the Revolution.”

*Mensaje* demands more

In that article, *Mensaje* showed its satisfaction with the fact that Frei’s reforms had been approved. Everything indicated that, with them, “a certain kind of society is on the road to disappearing.” But the writer of the article was distressed that these reforms had gone up to a certain point only and that the complete application of integral social communitarianism had been impossible.

Then came a significant lamentation:

“How simple and sterile, therefore, appear — said the writer of *Mensaje* - the arguments of those who want to reform the Constitution or change a few laws to solve the

The Chilean “Kerensky” must cede his place to a more radical politician

Part Two

social, economic, and political impasse in which our country finds itself! For more than three years, the country has undergone the experience of a government that was proposing to carry out a "revolution in liberty." It would have been better to call this project a "revolution in legality!" Today, few people doubt, while recognizing the progress achieved in some matters, that this revolution was thwarted" (*Mensaje*, no.171, August 1968, pp. 327 to 329. — The emphasis is ours).

In other words, a regime more extremist than Frei's was in preparation. The demonstrations of support for Marxism that followed, made it completely obvious that the Catholic left considered the "Christian Democratic" phase of the Chilean revolution to be passé.

At that moment, the victory of a Marxist such as Allende was already being sought.

The "rapid pace" revolutionaries bring about the event

The magazine *Mensaje*, the center for studies DESAL (of Father Roger Veckemans), the "Young Church" group, and the extreme sector of the Christian Democratic Party, among others, comprised the current that knew no bounds in preparing Catholic consciences to live in a Marxist system.

The "slow pace" leaders gradually and assuredly lead the process

The Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, who was situated in a key position to check or advance the new revolutionary phase, preferred to do the latter, acting from the strategic position of the slow revolutionary march.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>The distinction between "slow pace revolutionaries" and "quick pace revolutionaries" is expertly described in the Catholic leader Plinio Correa de Oliveira's famous book *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*. (Editor's note: published in the U.S. by Educator Publications, Fullerton, California 1972.)

Referring to the long revolutionary process that tries to lead the West stage by stage toward the final Communist goal, the illustrious author points out that the process "takes place at two different paces. One, which is generally destined to immediate failure, is rapid. The other, which is habitual-ly rewarded with success, is much slower."

The Catholic Brazilian writer adds subsequently that it is necessary to study the role of each one of those paces in the march of the Revolution. "It might be said that the swif-

When pressed by circumstances, he was willing to say something against the most ultra radical leftist revolutionaries. However, the positions taken by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago were never such that they served to check effectively the radicalization of the process. In fact, they seemed calculated precisely to be reabsorbed within the great stream of encouragement that he or his immediate aides were giving to the new phase of the Marxistization of Chile in the socio-economic sphere.

Typical of this procedure was the communique sent out by Cardinal Silva Henríquez in March 1969 concerning the so-called "Young Church" which was becoming more and more audacious.

On that occasion the Cardinal said: "(1) 'Young Church' is not an organization of the Catholic Church of Santiago, and has nothing to do with this Archbishopric. (2) Neither 'Young Church' nor any other entity can attribute to itself Church representation without having the same" (*El Mercurio*, 3/27/69). In other words, this disposes of the question. His Eminence has made clear that he has no commitment to the "Young Church," leaving it free to continue its nefarious work. . .

The action of the ecclesiastical authorities headed by Cardinal Silva Henríquez, always stayed a bit behind that

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*ter one is purposeless. However, this is not so. An extremist outburst means that a standard is hoisted, a target is set, which, on account of its very radicalism, entices moderates, who gradually come to accept it as their own. Thus, socialism shuns Communism, but bears silent admiration for it and moves toward it. Going further back the same might be said of the Communist Babeuf and his henchmen in the last flashes of the French Revolution. They were crushed, but little by little people tread the path along which they wanted to lead them. The downfall of extremists, is thus only apparent. They play their part in the Revolution indirectly, but powerfully, pulling the countless multitude of timid, moderate, and mediocre folk into carrying out their wild and guilty day dreams." (Revolucion y Contra-Revolucion, Plinio Correa de Oliveira, Part 1, Chapter VI, no. 4, Ediciones Paulinas, Santiago, 1964).*

*Part Two*

of the partisan groups who were in ultra radical collaboration with the Marxist currents, thereby lending to the anti-Christian revolutionary process the most effective type of aid that the latter could desire from these authorities.

**6. The moderate Shepherd presents to his flock  
Communist-progressive actions under an appealing  
and attractive light**

Dialectic tensions in  
the Church would  
be good...

Four weeks after having made the above-mentioned statement, the same Cardinal, in an *“Encounter with the Press,”* on Channel 9 TV (on 4/21/69), affirmed the following: *“Here there are also tensions between the young and the older people, and between the more conservative and the more advanced too. But I think that up to now we have handled this difficulty with understanding, with kindness among ourselves. For example: a few days ago a group of Priests, some 19 Priests, met in Santiago; they were called (wrongly called) rebel Priests; that is, those who have been in tension with authority. I went to see them, I was with them, we had a very frank dialogue and I have been impressed by their goodness, their love of their vocation, their love of the Church, and their very sincere desire to make the Church move along, improving its action, being at the same time generous in the service of men. I think it is good for them to do this. I think it is good that these two tensions exist.”*

...to help Jean Guitton's  
automobile  
move forward

To explain the situation, the Cardinal uses a figure of Jean Guitton, who, he explains, compared the Church to an automobile: *“Some want that automobile to have two brakes and no accelerator. Others want it to have two accelerators and no brake. The Church must have both brakes and accelerator.”*<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>It is difficult to reconcile these affirmations of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago concerning this antagonism (supposedly creative) between a more conservative force and a more advanced force within the Church, and the condemnation of St. Pius X, Pope Saint of this century,

The result of these “dialectic tensions” — we say — is that the faithful are led in a slower and surer manner to accept and tolerate the leftist revolution, as we Chileans have been tragically able to verify.

...and Chile fell into Marxist claws

In the same televised meeting, another newsman questioned the Cardinal about the case of the Auxiliary Bishop Gabriel Larrain, of the Santiago Diocese, who left his post, requesting a dispensation from his obligations. He went to work as a lay functionary in the cultural entity of the United Nations — UNESCO — in Paris. . . (see *El Siglo*, 3/27/69).

To this question, the Cardinal answered: “He felt that he could not, within the actual structure of the Church, do what he believed was necessary, and he felt disappointed

The Cardinal understands Bishop Gabriel Larrain

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in his famous Encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* against modernist errors.

In effect, St. Pius X points out that one of the characteristics of the evolutionism proper to the modernists is to sustain that within the Church “*evolution is the result of two forces combating one another, one of which is progressive and the other conservative. The conservative force is in the Church and it is Tradition. The exercise of this is characteristic of religious authority, whether “de jure,” since it is the nature of all authority to abide as much as possible by Tradition, or whether “de facto,” since, sheltered from the contingencies of life, little or perhaps nothing is felt of the stimuli which impel us to progress. On the contrary, the force which, corresponding to necessities, urges us on to progress, is hidden and works in individual consciences, mainly in those who are, as they say, more in touch with life. . . From a kind of pact between the forces of conservatism and progress, that is, between authority and individual consciences, come changes and progress. Individual consciences, or at least some of them, create pressure on the authorities, forcing them to capitulate and come to an agreement.*”

On condemning this evolutionist concept, incompatible with Catholic doctrine, St. Pius X affirms: “*Therefore, nothing, Venerable Brothers, can be called stable or immutable in the Church, according to the way of acting and thinking of the modernists*” (*Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, AAS, vol. XL).

Part Two

*with the structure of the Church. He felt an impotence in the presence of this structure which appeared to him to impede him from carrying out his ideals. This brought him not to leave the Church, not anything like that, but to meditate, to study, to work in other fields in order to know — according to what he has said — the will of God for him. I think this attitude is highly respectable.'*

...explains the atheism

The Cardinal appeared to receive all kinds of attitudes unconcernedly in apparently agreeable relativism, which masked the sinister process of the self-destruction of the Church.

Thus he referred, in similar terms to atheism, 'in response to another inquiry of the newsmen: *"I think, as you say, that the phenomenon of atheism is also explained in large part because those men are fighting against a God that does not exist, who is not the true God. They have made a God — perhaps we have been guilty of having given them an image of God so defective that they feel it a duty to fight against it."*

Upon being asked his position toward the Brazilian leftist Archbishop, Msgr. Helder Camara, the Chilean Pastor did not hesitate to respond:

...fully shares opinions of Archbishop Helder Camara

*"I can tell you that I fully share the opinions of Msgr. Camara. I have always shared them, I have been with him; the ways in which he presents himself are obviously proper to him. Some of his words may be misinterpreted, and should be perfected — I also believe that. But in respect to that which is substantial in his ideas, I think as he does."*

...and respects the apostate and guerrilla, Camilo Torres

Questioned later about Camilo Torres — the apostate Colombian Priest who became a Communist guerrilla — the position of the Cardinal was as follows: *"I understand the situation of that man. I believe he has suffered immensely and I respect him. I ask the Lord to judge him with immense kindness because he has sacrificed himself for his brothers"* (*Encounter with the Press*, 4/21/69, edition of the Department of Public Opinion of the Archbishopric of Santiago. — The emphasis is ours).

\* \* \*

"Young Church" involved in scandalous protest

Less than fifteen days after the Cardinal made these statements, the extremist movement "Young Church" interrupted the ceremony of consecration of a new auxiliary



## Chapter 2

Bishop of Santiago, Msgr. Ismael Errazuriz. This was done not to protest against him but against the system of electing Bishops.

The rebel group later gave a press conference in the headquarters of the Circle of Journalists. On that occasion, its representatives declared: "*We encourage any attempt that aims to destroy the present system which is based on the exploitation of man by man. We believe in dialogue and practical action with the Marxists, not at the academic level which has been tried in Europe, but in action with the people. This is the true sense of the Christian-Marxist dialogue in Latin America*" (*El Mercurio*, 5/7/69. — The emphasis is ours).

...and wants dialogue and practical action with Marxists

## 7. Post-synodal education in Catholic schools

Everywhere the Catholic left was developing an intense and generalized action to condition the mentalities of the faithful who, with only a year remaining before the presidential election, should have already been prepared to integrate themselves into a "Marxist society," to use the expression that the Communist newspaper *El Siglo* attributed at one point to Cardinal Silva Henríquez (*El Siglo*, 4/5/68).

Intense preparation of the mentalities

In July 1969, the newspaper *El Mercurio* published a report entitled "*Ferment in St. George's School: Incidents Arising From Marxist Penetration in a Catholic School.*" It was the fruit of the work of the Diocesan Synod of Santiago which met in 1967 and 1968, as we already mentioned in this chapter, and which was inducing a fermentation of the emotional climate created by the general offensive of Communism-progressivism.

"Conscientization" in St. George's School

That report in *El Mercurio* cites activities within St. George's School at the Center of Economic and Social Studies, an organization comprised mainly of fifth and sixth year students of the humanities (Translator's Note: Boys of about 18 years of age).

a) Center of Economic and Social Studies and pro-Marxist forums with clerical advice

The Center had forums programmed which were based on an agenda and a guidebook that had been worked out in

## Part Two

consultation with the Priests Fernando Vial Clark and Robert Plasker, who was an American.

Also participating actively in the preparation of that program was Gustavo Miranda Narea, professor of philosophy at St. George's School, and formerly a professor in other private Catholic educational institutions such as the Pontifical Minor Seminary and the College of the Divine Shepherdess in Santiago.

b) Professor Miranda, an enthusiast of the Communist-anarchist Revolution of the Sorbonne

In order to have an appreciation of the mentality of Prof. Miranda, we need only consider his reaction to the very grave Communist anarchist revolt that broke out in Paris in May 1968; this gentleman affirmed to the students of St. George's School that he regretted he was not in France at that moment to take an active part in the revolution so as "*to destroy and smash to pieces the French educational organization, for it is necessary to destroy it all.*"

c) Fathers Canepa and Urrutia: clear leftist sympathies

The other promoters of the conferences in question were Mr. Juan Urrutia, professor of History and Civic Education and also a known Marxist, and the Priest Canepa Ossa, director of the theater group at St. George's School. In a magazine published in December 1968 which was circulated inside that school, Father Canepa is shown smiling complacently while reading the diary of Che Guevara, a portrayal which Father Canepa permitted.

d) Revolutionary slogans to orient the student debates

The documents profusely distributed in the school to "enliven" the debates were of a clearly Marxist inspiration. Without reservation or nuances, they identified capitalism with exploitation. They categorically and absolutely affirmed that "*in our reality, there is neither justice, nor love, nor liberty . . . Therefore, Christian education should combat this reality and the system that sustains it.*"

Radical anti-capitalism

In other words, the theses that the magazine *Mensaje* advanced some time ago (1962) in its special issue on the "Revolution in Latin America" (supported at that time by the official weekly of the Archbishopric of Santiago) had now become commonplace: everything was bad in the Chilean social order; it was necessary to reject flatly not just the excesses of capitalism, but capitalism itself, to begin with nothing and to make of Chilean education a system of "conscientization" in favor of this destructive revolution.

The guidebook which was designed to "orient" the forums advised the users "to mention the Army as an example of this corruption in education" and farther on it urged them to speak of "*the profound human and Christian perversion of the so-called 'contemporary civilization' and to describe with contempt 'values' such as those of 'public order' and others.*"

It becomes clear that such theses, without directly mentioning Marxism, were inspired by it.

To achieve an easier penetration of ideas in a manner less compromising to the Marxist teachers, it was arranged that these ideas be transmitted by groups of carefully chosen students, to students of the lower grades. Obviously, students with a different thinking were excluded from these groups.

The week of debates began with "*a work of poetic folklore in the theater of the Argentine college of the Sacred Heart. The Marxist poet Jaime Gomez Rogers . . . and the Communist singer of protests Victor Jara took part*" (Reports of Hernan Gonzalez Valdevenito in *El Mercurio* of 7/12/69 and Tomas P. Mac Hale, in the same newspaper, 11/9/75; see also *El Mercurio*, 7/18/69).

The "consciousness-creating" activism at St. George's School leaked out to the public, causing a scandal among Catholics.

The rector of St. George's made public to the press a copy of the circular that he had addressed to the parents of students of the institution, in which he defended the professional qualifications of Mr. Miranda, one of the persons most implicated in the case, and denied the "*existence of Communist or Mirist infiltration in the school.*" He did not, however, contradict the concepts that appeared in the cited documents. Furthermore, he said that the school has complete assurance with respect to the "*educational thinking that inspired them*" and that this "*will be maintained firmly, without any variation.*"

To put away any doubt, the rector explained the position of the school saying that right after the Diocesan Synod began in 1967, the institution "*defined itself as a Christian post-synodal school. Since that time, it has integrated itself into the action of the Synod and is making concrete efforts*

Disparagement of the Army

...and "public order"

e) System of transmitting pro-Marxist slogans

f) Week of debates inaugurated with leftist actors

Rector praises Professor Miranda and denies Communist infiltration...

...reaffirms educational orientation

...states he is fulfilling Synod directives

## Part Two

to fulfill its directives" (*El Mercurio*, 7/15/69. — The emphasis is ours).

g) Archbishop in silence

No rectification or denial was provided by the Archbishopric of Santiago.

h) Priest Rector of Minor Seminary publicly supports post-synodal line of St. George's ...

Instead, the community of the Minor Seminary publicly supported the Management of St. George's School as follows: "We completely support the new line of the School. It is our opinion that with the testimony given by the Management of the School and by the Parents Center you are fulfilling your obligation to the national community with fidelity to the liberating message of Christ in our America of today." The letter of support is signed by the Rector of the Minor Seminary, Father Julio Dutilh, and by the presidents of several other institutions; i.e., the Parents Center, the Student Union, and the Pedagogical Council (*El Mercurio*, 7/31/69. — The emphasis is ours).

...because it will comply with liberation for Latin America

As we will see subsequently, the Holy Cross Congregation, which ran St. George's School, continued to be used by leftist Priests to aid Communist subversion even after the overthrow of Allende.

## 8. The TFP once again denounces the subversive plot in the Church

In June 1969, in the face of the ever greater power and influence continuously being acquired by the forces of "autodemolition" acting in the bosom of the Chilean Church, the TFP published a new and extensively documented denunciation.

Special issue of *Fiducia* denouncing IDO-C and prophetic groups

It was a special issue of its magazine *Fiducia* in which two documented studies were transcribed, one from the magazine *Ecclesia* of Madrid and the other from *Approaches* of London. The article in *Ecclesia* described the existence of small semi-clandestine communities scattered all through the ecclesiastical body called "prophetic groups," and the one in *Approaches*, a gigantic, but at the same time discreet, propagandistic Communist-progressive organization, known as IDO-C.

*Fiducia* showed the extension and unity of these semi-clandestine organizations in different parts of the world, organizations which favored the subversion of ecclesiastical structures and which supported the egalitarian and collectivist revolutionary process in temporal society. These entities had clear ramifications in Chile, where they worked feverishly to prepare the psychological and ideological climate of the country for the already proximate Marxist triumph.

Briefly, the ideology of these "prophetic" rank and file micro-organisms was as follows:

a) All subordination of a being who is endowed with reason to another being is an alienation, an exploitation that evolution must bring to an end.

b) That evolution is fomented by the vanguard of progressivism, by the presumed "prophets" of the Church of the future, who in the religious sphere promote the subversion of the Church in order to replace Her with a New Church that sympathizes politically with Marxism.

c) For them, God is neither personal nor transcendent, but scattered and immanent in the Cosmos as the energy that promotes evolution.

d) This being the case, they conclude that the only real problems of man are those of this world, that the Church should pay no attention to the celestial, and that She should dedicate herself to the solution of human problems. Believing that the Church should renounce Her sacred character, they fight to transform Her into a profane entity, without defined juridical structure, one that will promote the "disalienating revolution against the exploiters," in the style, as has been said, of the Marxist postulates. Otherwise, they say, the Church will be rejected by humanity.

In a public campaign in the streets of the principal Chilean cities, members and cooperators of the TFP sold 24,000 copies of the issue of *Fiducia* which contained this grave and detailed denunciation.

As on previous occasions, not one Bishop or Priest was able to refute the public denunciation that we formulated.

We must state in writing with gratitude and joy that, once again, Archbishop Alfredo Cifuentes gave us his valu-

Subversive plot with worldwide ramifications

"Prophetic" revolutionary doctrine:

a) All subordination is wrong

b) Evolutionism incarnated by prophets of New Church

c) God, immanent "energy" of evolution

d) The new desacralized Church, without hierarchy, at the service of an egalitarian, pro-Communist Revolution

The TFP's denunciation is carried to the entire country...

...without response

## Part Two

New support of Archbishop Cifuentes

*Fiducia* faithful to genuine Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman spirit

reveals with documentation the plot of the enemies of the Church

In the Council a neo-modernist current was already mobilizing

It is necessary to make known the plans and tactics of the enemy of the Church

The battle strengthens virtue

They are accompanied by those who truly love the Church

able public support. We transcribe here the significant words of his letter:

*"As with the previous issues of Fiducia, this latest issue has come to my attention, published in double form (Nos. 29-30).*

*"I always read with great interest this magazine of such high doctrinal value, so rich in selected documentation, so faithful to the genuine Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman spirit. But this latest issue deserves special attention and just praise.*

*"In it you reveal with authentic documents the fallacy, the hypocrisy, and the arrogant boldness of the enemies of the Church of Christ as they try not only to reform Her according to their own design but to destroy Her. They will certainly not achieve their end: Christ Himself watches over Her.*

*"Already, even during the very days of the Council, we were able to verify that an underground current was mobilizing a Neo-Modernism that was trying to penetrate and exert its influence.*

*"You have performed a great task, very useful and worthy. Because in order to defeat the enemy, it is necessary to make known his nefarious plans, his deceitful tactics — the same ones that the devil has used from the beginning of the world and that, with his allies, he invariably continues to use, so as to endanger the ignorant and the unwary.*

*"I know well that you have had to suffer sacrifices by no means small and cowardly attacks in this noble campaign. I do not lament it, but, on the contrary, I congratulate you, because this is an omen of greater vigor and of triumph, since virtue, especially in the young, strengthens itself precisely in the struggle.*

*"Onward! Well you know that you are accompanied by all those who truly love the Church and who for this reason are your sincere and faithful friends, as is, and always has been, the one who at this moment congratulates and blesses you.*

+ Alfredo Cifuentes G. — Titular Archbishop of Tapso."

A new warning about the approaching Marxist catastrophe became engraved on the pages of Chilean ecclesiastical and civil history. It was a warning from the simple faithful

which adds to the burden of responsibility of nearly the entire ecclesiastical Hierarchy and a decisive part of the Clergy in respect to the progress of the Marxist heresy in Chile.

Those Hierarchs and Priests can now no longer validly allege a supposed ignorance of the results of their destructive conduct, since these results are now apparent as the fruits of a consciously sought design.

Another warning, adds to the burden of clerical responsibility in respect to the progress of the Marxist heresy

## 9. The double standard: the Archbishopric of Santiago snuffs out the action of the anti-communist Catholics

The extent to which the ecclesiastical authorities favored the pro-Marxist left continued to increase before the bewildered Catholic opinion of the nation.

*El Mercurio* reported that a Mass for MIR (the terrorist organization) was said in the Pedagogical Institute of the University of Chile (*El Mercurio*, 9/7/69).

Mass for MIR terrorists

In response to this news, the Department of Public Opinion of the Archbishopric of Santiago issued a denial signed by Mr. Sergio Prenafeta J., its director, which stated:

The denial that denies little

"(1) *The Mass referred to was not for MIR, since this liturgical celebration has nothing to do with determined political strategy, and*

"(2) *The intention of the community present and the celebrant, Father Jose Ruiz Guinazu, was none other than to pray for the troubled and the oppressed, who because of their social condition have no defense before justice.*"

Soon after this rectification, the editorial staff of the newspaper explained the following:

"(1) *The invitation to this Mass dated September 4 and signed by the Young Church Movement pointed out that the ceremony was 'for those who are the victims of persecution and repression.'*"

The "Young Church" sponsored the act

"(2) *At the end of the Mass a statement was read which was also subscribed to by the Young Church, the first paragraphs of which we reprint here:*

Part Two

...in defense of the terrorists

*There you have the man!*

*His name is Jorge Silva. And he has come to be the symbol of many workers and students detained and brutally beaten whose names remain anonymous to public opinion."*

*"(3) During the celebration of Mass — continues the newspaper — various speakers (not Father Ruiz) wrongly spoke of the fugitive Mirist students likening them to those 'persecuted for justice sake,' as a commentary on the reading of a passage of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews."*

The note from the editorial staff of *El Mercurio* ended by saying that two journalists from that newspaper were present at the Mass celebrated on Friday, September 5, between 19:30 and 20:20 hours in a room in the History Department of the Pedagogical Institute. (*El Mercurio*, 9/12/69).

\* \* \*

While this act of the "Young Church" was being permitted first (and being covered up for later once it had been denounced), the Archbishopric of Santiago was in the process of giving a demonstration of its inflexible conduct against any Catholic activity inspired by the traditional and immutable doctrine of the Church. In fact, the TFP found itself obliged to publish in the national press — a month and a half after the scandalous deed just described — the following communique:

The TFP prevented from having a Mass said for the victims of Communism...

"To the Most Eminent Cardinal Archbishop and Reverend Clergy of Santiago.

*"As the coming month of November will mark the 52nd anniversary of the imposition of the Soviet regime in Russia, foretold by Our Lady of Fatima, the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property wishes a Mass to be said for the eternal rest of all those who, from that date up to the present, have died around the world as victims of Communism.*

...and for Our Lady to preserve Chile from the machinations of the Red sect

*"As an intention of the Mass, the TFP also wishes to include a request to Our Lady of Carmel, Patroness of Chile, to preserve our nation from the machinations of Communism.*

*"The TFP, having successively directed itself to various Priests, requesting authorization for that Mass to be celebrated in their respective churches, and having obtained*



## Chapter 2

*from these Priests a negative response, now makes a public call to all the Reverend Fathers in this Archdiocese in the hope that some of them, with the consent of the Most Eminent Cardinal Archbishop, may authorize that Mass in their respective churches.*

“It would be sad for all of Catholic Chile and a cause of lively apprehension, if in our country it becomes evident, that in this diocese it is impossible to have a public Mass said for such a holy and patriotic intention” (*El Mercurio*, 10/31/69).

Finally, the negative reply of the Archbishopric of Santiago on this matter was made formal and categorical in a note written by the Vicar General of that Archbishopric, Msgr. Jorge Gomez Ugarte, and addressed to the TFP in the name of the Metropolitan Curia (see the article “How the Curia of Santiago Tyrannizes Over the Adult Laity in the Conciliar Era – Those Who Fell in the Defense of the Faith Deprived of the Sacrifice of the Altar” in *Fiducia*, no. 31, January, 1970).

Official denial by Archbishopric of Santiago

The double standard used by the Cardinal and his immediate assistants (favoring the progress of the pro-communists, on the one hand, and curtailing the activity of the anti-communists, on the other) has been transformed by the eloquent language of the facts into a burning accusation that speaks for itself.

The double standard which by itself accuses the destructive Clergy

\* \* \*

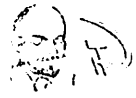
Towards the end of 1969, the post-synodal education also produced other effects. In the school located on Alameda Street which is directed by the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts (French fathers), some leftist Priests subjected the supporters and sympathizers of the TFP to hostility, and finally expelled them from the school accusing them of destroying the unity by their lack of accord with the revolutionary preaching.

Supporters and sympathizers of the TFP persecuted in school of Congregation of the Sacred Hearts in Santiago

In a conversation with the directors of the Chilean TFP in its headquarters at 8 Seminary Street, the Rector made it clear that this drastic decision had the support of the Cardinal.

It is important to note that the brutal intolerance of the college of the Sacred Hearts toward these Catholic youths surprised Chilean Catholic circles. At exactly the

Surprise in Catholic circles over this brutal intolerance



# HOMENAJE A LENIN

En la Iglesia Santa Catalina  
de la Población Salvador Cruz Gana

(Ubicada entre la calle de Población y la Escuela Católica)

**HOY SABADO 18, A LAS 7 DE LA TARDE**

H. CARLOS MALDONADO  
Secretario General del Instituto  
de Investigaciones Marxistas

Se proyectara el film de titulo:

**"LENIN EN OCTUBRE"**

Atenas: PROGRAMA ARTISTICO.

## HOMAGE TO LENIN

In the Church of Santa Catalina  
in the town of Salvador Cruz Gana

(location of Church)

**TODAY SATURDAY 18,  
AT 7:00 P.M.**

Speaker: **CARLOS MALDONADO**  
Secretary-General of the  
Institute for Marxist  
Investigations

A documentary film will be  
shown:

**"LENIN IN OCTOBER"**

plus **ARTISTIC PROGRAM**

A double standard which symbolizes the drama of the Church of Silence in Chile: above, doors of the sanctuary are open to pay homage to Lenin; however, they were closed to pray for the victims of Marxism-Leninism, as is attested by the open letter to the right, published by the Chilean TFP on account of the systematic refusal of the Priests of Santiago to celebrate a Mass promoted by the organization, for the victims of Communism.

# AL EMMO. CARDENAL ARZOBISPO Y REVERENDO CLERO DE SANTIAGO

Transcurriendo en el próximo mes de Noviembre el quincuagésimosegundo aniversario de la imposición del régimen soviético en Rusia, preanunciado por Nuestra Señora de Fátima, la Sociedad Chilena de Defensa de la Tradición, Familia y Propiedad desea que sea rezada una Misa por el eterno descanso de cuantos, desde aquella fecha hasta nuestros días, murieran en el mundo entero como víctimas del comunismo.

Como intención de la Misa, la TFP desea incluir también el pedido a Nuestra Señora del Carmen, Patrona de Chile, para que presene a nuestra Nación de las maquinaciones del comunismo.

Habiéndose dirigido la TFP sucesivamente a varios sacerdotes, solicitando autorización para que en las respectivas iglesias fuese celebrada esa Misa, y habiendo obtenido de éstos una negativa, la TFP hace un llamado público a todos los reverendos padres de esta diócesis en el sentido de que algunos de ellos, con el asentimiento del Eminentísimo Cardenal Arzobispo, autoricen dicha Misa en la iglesia a su cargo.

Sería una tristeza para todo Chile católico y motivo de viva aprensión que en nuestro país se vuela patente que en esta diócesis es imposible decir una Misa pública con tan santa y patriótica intención.

**SOCIEDAD CHILENA DE DEFENSA DE LA TRADICION,  
FAMILIA Y PROPIEDAD**

Patricio Amunátegui Monckoberg  
Vicepresidente

Patricio Larrain Bustamante  
Presidente

## Chapter 2

same moment that these Priests were thus castigating the Catholic faithful, the leftist Clergy was preaching a permissivist dialogue, even with non-Catholics (see the cited report of Tomas P. Mac Hale, *El Mercurio*, 11/9/75). The president of the Association of Parents and Guardians of the school and the Catholic Congressmen Gustavo Monckeberg Barros and Miguel Luis Amunategui Johnson denounced the significant unilateral persecuting action of these Priests against the young supporters and sympathizers of the TFP. These denunciations occurred on the floor of the Chamber of Deputies on January 6, 1970.

Post-synodal ideological persecution denounced on the floor of the Chamber of Deputies



CHAPTER 3  
THE DIRECT ACTION  
OF THE EPISCOPATE AND THE CLERGY  
IN THE FINAL VICTORY OF ALLENDE  
AND THE INSTALLATION OF HIS  
MARXIST REGIME IN POWER

1. The Cardinal makes it known that he considers it licit for a Catholic to vote for a Marxist candidate

As we saw while discussing the move leftward of the Catholic University (see Part Two, Chapter 2, no. 1), the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, in August 1969, granted the title of "Doctor Scientiae et Honoris Causa" to the militant Communist Pablo Neruda.

In December of that year, when the country was in the middle of the presidential campaign, when questioned as to whether the Church would permit a Catholic to vote for a Marxist candidate, that same Pastor said: "*If he does it in accordance with his conscience, it is alright. The important thing is that he feel in his conscience that what he is doing is correct*" (*Ultima Hora*, 12/24/69).

The newspaper *Clarín* published the following version of the same interview: "*He was asked if the Church, in its new spirit, supports the punishment of those who, being Christians, vote for Marxists. (His Eminence) replied: 'If a Christian in conscience votes for a Marxist, if he votes for what he feels is his duty, then I understand it'*" (*Clarín*, 12/24/69).

The TFP then addressed a respectful open letter to His Eminence, imploring him to clarify or retract the serious

In the middle of the presidential campaign

Respectful open letter of the TFP

Part Two

affirmation attributed to him, which would certainly benefit the candidacy of the Marxist Allende. The TFP also made note of the fact that the statements of the Cardinal created a delicate situation with respect to the standing of the decree of excommunication issued by His Holiness Pius XII against those who collaborate with Communism (*El Mercurio*, 1/24/70).<sup>15</sup>

The statement of the Cardinal neither denied nor responded to the TFP

However, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago judged it preferable neither to deny nor to clarify his public affirmation and refused, in a very rude and unpastoral manner, to make any reply to the TFP.

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<sup>15</sup>The Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office, by mandate and with the authority of the Supreme Pontiff Pius XII, passed a decree on July 1, 1949, which categorically proscribes Communism and all collaboration with it, responding to the following questions:

*"(I) Is it licit for Catholics to give their name and lend their support to Communist parties? Reply: It is not licit; Communism is materialistic and anti-Christian; indeed, Communist leaders, even when they give their word that they do not fight against religion, in fact, with everything, by doctrine as much as by action, show themselves to be the enemies of God, of the true Religion, and the Church of Christ.*

*"(II) Is it licit to publish, distribute, and read books, magazines, newspapers, and pamphlets that defend Communist doctrine and activities? Reply: It is not licit; it is forbidden by the law itself (Can. 1399 of the Code of Canon Law).*

*"(III) Can the Christian faithful who, knowingly and freely, have committed the acts described in numbers I and II be admitted to the Sacraments? Reply: They may not be admitted; according to general principles, the Sacraments must be denied to those who are not in the necessary disposition to receive them.*

*"(IV) Don't the Christian faithful who profess the materialistic anti-Christian doctrine of the Communists and mainly those who defend and spread it, incur, ipso facto, excommunication especially reserved to the Apostolic See, as apostates from the Catholic Faith? Reply: Yes, they do" (AAS, vol. XLI, 1949 - page 334).*

It was the wolf who came out in defense of the Shepherd. . . The official newspaper of the Communist Party of Chile, *El Siglo*, published an extensive article entitled "A New Reactionary Assault," signed by Raul Iturra Falka. The Communist organ defends Cardinal Silva Henriquez, and violently attacks the TFP. It emphasized that the time when the Church prohibited Catholics from voting for Marxist candidates had already passed.

The wolf in defense  
of the Shepherd

*"Between that time and now – the Communist daily stated – everyone has seen a large amount of water pass under the bridge, and it is no longer unusual to read of an authority of the Catholic Church affirming that the faithful of his religion can vote for a Marxist if their own consciences have indicated that this is necessary for them. Only those groups that are most placid or most committed to regression in our country and the whole world could make a fuss over such a simple and rational matter. In a world in which dialogue between Marxists and Catholics is growing and improving, the stone-age thinking of those who want Marxism to be swept from the world no longer fits. . ."* (*El Siglo*, 1/27/70).

Although this article was given prominence in *El Siglo*, it also apparently did not warrant any denial by the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago.

Thereafter, the faithful would be able to interpret a new statement of the Chilean Cardinal in an exclusive interview granted to the newspaper *La Tercera de la Hora* (published nationwide) in the same sense as his aforementioned statements published in *Ultima Hora* and *Clarín*. In this the Cardinal pointed out: *"I think that there also exists a vocation to the political life: a vocation of consecration and service to the great national community. A Christian layman who discerns this vocation in himself should not retreat from it. . . Normally it will require of him that he support a certain party – that which his conscience freely chooses as fitting – and to accept the rules, at times very hard, of the political game, with respect toward those who choose, also freely, a different option. For them – the laity – it is a right and a duty"* (*La Tercera de la Hora*, 1/15/70. – The emphasis is ours).

New declaration of  
the Chilean Cardinal

## Part Two

This statement, when added to the one previously cited, relegates to the subjectivism of the conscience (with no objective moral norm) the question of whether or not to support the candidate Salvador Allende by means of the coalition parties endorsing his candidacy. Two of them, the Communist and the Socialist, were Marxist-Leninist; a third, the Radical Party, was of socialist-democratic tendencies; in addition, there were Catholic leftist groups, such as the "Young Church," as well as the dissidents of the Christian Democratic Party.

### 2. The Secretary General of the Episcopate reiterates the criteria established by the Cardinal

In April of that same year, the Secretary General of the Episcopate, Msgr. Carlos Oviedo Cavada, took charge of reiterating the criteria established by the Cardinal. The Communist newspaper *El Siglo* calls attention to the news with obvious joy.

Msgr. Oviedo confirms the moral subjectivism that favored Marxism

Questioned about whether or not a Catholic could vote for a Marxist, Msgr. Oviedo called the question strangely "insidious" and "anachronistic." *"It may be insidious," he explained, because it may carry underneath a desire to stress the opinion of the Hierarchy for a certain candidate, or to exclude a certain candidate. And since we are facing a definite election, those candidates' names are in the public domain."*

The Secretary General of the Episcopate added: *"It may be anachronistic because we pastors have preached that Christians are autonomous in their temporal life, so that in accordance with the principles of the Gospel, they can define the diversity of situations that life presents to them."* Finally, he clarified that *"the citizen votes in Chile for a doctrine or for a person and in those same conditions the Catholic is found"* (*El Siglo*, 4/20/70. — The emphasis is ours).

Prevent Catholics from being consistent

In other words, in plainer English, the pastoral prestige and authority had to be pledged in order to prevent as



much as possible Catholics, who form the great majority in Chile, from being consistent with their fidelity to the traditional and immutable doctrine of the Church and thereby denying their vote to the Marxist-Leninist candidate.

\* \* \*

The preceding declarations left the way open for Father Hernan Larrain, S.J., director of *Mensaje*, to make a statement.

Accordingly, on the news program Press Meeting on Channel 9 TV (June 29, 1970), he said: "*If a concrete platform of battle is established, from which it is really proposed to reconquer the earth for man, to make men more brotherly, to allow us all to have the same possibilities and man to fulfill himself completely, obviously I see no reason that would prevent a Christian from voting for a Marxist if he judges him to be more adequate for carrying out this political line and this historic destiny.*"

Director of *Mensaje* also makes statements which benefit Allende

It is unnecessary to point out that the newspaper *El Siglo* also hastened to publish these statements — two months before the presidential elections — with large headlines (*El Siglo*, 7/3/70).

Official Communist organ points them out

### 3. Significant "pastoral orientations" apropos of the Plenary Assembly of the CECH in Concepcion

In March of 1970 the Plenary Assembly of the Episcopal Conference of Chile took place in the southern city of Concepcion.

The Pastoral Commission of Bishops in June 1970 published a text entitled *Pastoral Orientations*. We will point out some significant portions of it.

The text is edited in an extremely sketchy manner with an ambiguousness that is significant in view of the process and events reported in previous chapters, and, of even greater import in light of the ones unveiled in this and subsequent chapters.

## Part Two

By way of introduction to the document, the Pastoral Commission of the Bishops stated:

*"In the past few years, the Chilean Church has taken a road to maturity in which two great lines are marked out.*

*"The first line was especially emphasized in the Plenary Assemblies of Chillan (1968) and La Serena (1969), and was oriented to the formation of Christian Base Communities and catechetical and liturgical aspects.*

*"The second line looks to the evangelizing presence of the Church in different human environments . . . and leads to the implementation of a Church-World commitment.*

*"The Assembly of Concepcion has especially considered the world of the poor in our country and the changes which are being made and which still have to be made to achieve complete liberation of the Chilean man.*

*"Then, bearing in mind the Episcopal Conference of Medellin, it affirms that it is resolved to adopt concrete commitments in the face of the process of change.*

*"It wants the Church . . . to be actively present together with man in search of his liberation.*

*"The Pastoral Commission of Bishops in charge of this publication . . . also invites you, where it seems fitting, to compare it with the agreements of the diocesan Synods themselves in the respective churches where these have been held. We suggest this latter in order for you to verify how the pastoral orientations have been carried out throughout Chile."*

When we consider the events that occurred in the synodal sessions of the Archdiocese of Santiago in 1967 and 1968 (see Part Two, Chapter 2, no. 2), we are left truly stupified in the face of this endorsement. The reader has here another proof of the line of conduct firmly established by these Bishops in their commitment to the process of destruction of the Church and the nation.

The document then goes on to give the "pastoral" orientations.

*"In the commissions of the Assembly, the desire of the Bishops to assume concrete commitments that would make the Church present in the most vital social measures remained evident.*

*"The criteria orienting those options are the following:*

Episcopal Assembly of Concepcion: to urge the changes still needed for liberation

Synods have unified pastoral orientations

Pastoral plan of revolutionary activism

### Chapter 3

"a) *insist on the evangelization of those circles which are most dynamic, which will mean a greater influence in the processes of change of society (youth, rural life, workers, university students, journalists, intellectuals, artists, and professors).*

"b) *(insist) that pastoral options be taken with a vision of the future aiming at a forecast with which the precipitation of events may be foreseen."*

What were the events that would be precipitated in Chile and in what way would their prevision determine "pastoral options"?

The Bishops were formulating these suggestions in May of 1970, six months before the presidential election that would bring the Marxist-Leninist parties to power.

When we keep in mind the statements that the Cardinal and the Secretary General of the Episcopate, Msgr. Oviedo, made in order to prevent Catholics from rejecting the Marxist candidate on the basis of Catholic doctrine and their convictions, these schematic and vague orientations take on an impressive significance.

Later events only confirm the "pastoral" service rendered by these Prelates to the progress of the Marxist cause in Chile.

The "pastoral orientations" continue.

*"It is a question of addressing those persons who move, or are capable of moving those most dynamic circles and who are an active principle in the construction of a positive humanism.*

*"Those persons must be placed . . .*

*"The location of these environments and those persons means a separate study in each diocese. . .*

*"To succeed in having the Christian 'message' make explicit the relation between the liberation of Christ and human liberation. . .*

*"It is necessary that the Church, its people, and its institutions begin acquiring the characteristics that the new circumstances seem to require . . .*

*"It should be kept very much in mind that for a time, whose duration is known only to God, we shall have a Church with few Priests.*

*"This forces us to stress the formation of laymen."*

\* \* \*

a) Presence in the most dynamic circles and those of greatest influence in moving the process

b) Adoption of orientations foreseeing a "precipitation of events"

c) The events which the Bishops and Priests helped to make explicit

d) The painstaking search for the agents most able to promote change

e) Make explicit the relation between the liberation of Christ and human liberations

f) To acquire characteristics required by new circumstances

Part Two

Concrete resolutions

The document continues to list what it calls "concrete resolutions."

a) Emphasizing the best elements for getting the process of change under way

*"In each diocese, the Bishop and his pastoral team will study and set pastoral priorities according to the key points of greatest influence in the social change of the area, emphasizing for this end the elements best able to serve these priorities."*

b) Support the most "committed" Priests, religious, and laymen

*"The Bishop will stand by and will seek especially to support the work of the persons (Priests, religious and laity) who are most committed to these key points of social change."*

c) A pastoral review in accordance with these norms

*"The pastoral review of the meetings of ecclesiastical provinces will be made in the light of these agreements."*

\* \* \*

The text thereafter gives a "pattern for pastoral reflection." *"On making the preceding pastoral reviews, it is fitting to ask oneself sincerely, what up to now has been the contribution of the Church in regard to necessary social changes: has it favored them, has it ignored them, or has it made it difficult for them? Why? Has it formed persons who are committed, and whose commitment is a testimony of faith in Christ?"*

\* \* \*

d) The role of the base communities

Farther on the episcopal document expands on the "Christian base communities." With respect to them, the Bishops state: *"it is clear that the still growing Christian base communities are emerging in different areas."*

*"The Christian base communities have the mission of reconstructing the Church of today, starting from the bottom."*

Yet according to the episcopal document this rank and file movement should be promoted from above, as is shown when two paragraphs farther on it instructs the Hierarchy to *"delegate promoters of the Christian base communities in the dioceses."*

Here we see being drawn the ductile and dynamic instrument designed to convey the destructive ideas of the Pastors and Priests to the capillaries of the Church and the country.

\* \* \*

### Chapter 3

Finally, the text notes that the new statutes of the Episcopal Conference point out as a special innovation several items, among which we mention the following:

New statutes of the Episcopal Conference

“a) *The theological-pastoral aspect of the collegiate mission of the Conference;*

“b) *the construction of a smaller and more dynamic Permanent Committee, founded more on pastoral effectiveness than on local representation*” (*Pastoral Orientations – III, Episcopal Conference of Chile, Plenary Assembly, Concepcion, March 1970. – The emphasis is ours.*)

A “smaller and more dynamic” Permanent Committee, founded on “pastoral effectiveness

As we shall see, this new Permanent Committee, which has been given credentials to act in the name of the Episcopate in the measure authorized to it by the statutes of the CECH and permitted by the Bishops, will often support the process of Marxist revolutionary change.

#### 4. In the final weeks of the electoral campaign, nothing is forbidden by the ecclesiastical authority, if it serves Allendeism.

In this final phase of the presidential campaign that would lead the Marxist Allende to power, the Catholic left carried out a number of activities with impunity, which, because of the gravity of the circumstances, acquire a much more direct and accusatory character for the man who governed the Archdiocese of Santiago and exercised the primacy of leadership over the Catholic Church in Chile in an unlawful way, as well as for all the ecclesiastical authorities who supported him or kept their silence.

For example, it was with horror that Chilean Catholics learned that the newspaper *El Siglo* published a prominent propagandistic notice, adorned with the hammer and sickle, in which the people were invited to a homage to Lenin.

Homage to Lenin in St. Catalina Parish

According to the notice given by the official organ of the Communist Party, the event would be carried out in the Parish Church of St. Catalina in the town Salvador Cruz Gana of Santiago. The publicity announcement also pointed

Part Two

out that Mr. Carlos Maldonado, Secretary General of the Institute of Marxist Research, would speak, and the “documentary” film entitled *Lenin in October* would be shown (*El Siglo*, 4/18/70).

...with the tolerance of ecclesiastical authorities

Indeed, the blasphemous homage was carried out, without any impediments from the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, who thought it licit for a Catholic to vote for a Marxist and who denied authorization for the saying of a Mass for the victims of Communism. . .

...organized by parish Priest

With undisguised satisfaction, the Communist Party newspaper reported the incident: “*The event was organized by Communist cells of the towns of Villa Olimpica, Villa Canada, and Salvador Cruz Gana, and had from the beginning the enthusiastic support of Father Paul, the parish Priest. . . The leader of the local Committee of the Communist Party, Hector Benavides, and Father Paul, the parish Priest, took positions at the head table*” (*El Siglo*, 4/22/70. — The emphasis is ours).

The scandalizing of little ones

This terrible distortion of the pastoral mission of the Church performed by a Priest to benefit Communism, in an eminently worker zone, calls to mind the words of Our Lord Jesus Christ against those who scandalize little ones (Matt. 28: 6).

Anything seemed permissible to the ecclesiastical authorities. The die was cast in favor of Marxism. “*Haec est hora vestra et potestas tenebrarum*” (Lc. 22: 53).

\* \* \*

Priests publicly support the Marxist candidate Allende

A considerable number of Priests openly and publicly showed themselves to be in favor of the Marxist candidate, Allende, some even going so far as to give speeches at public events during the electoral campaign.

Twenty Priests and religious headed by Father Dario Marcotti published in Valparaiso a manifesto of support for the candidacy of Allende (*Portada*, no. 15, October 1970).

TV of Catholic University transmitted propagandistic documentary on Fidel Castro ...

Channel 13 TV — property of the Catholic University of which the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago is the High Chancellor — transmitted an interview of Fidel Castro. Concerning this, the newspaper *El Siglo* advised that the movie with the dialogue of Fidel Castro reached Santiago carried by the Priest Juan Ochagavia, Dean of the Faculty of Theology of the Catholic University. Father Ochagavia formed

### Chapter 3

part of the delegation of university professors from the Catholic University who visited Cuba, presided over by the rector Fernando Castillo Velasco (*El Siglo*, 8/7/70).

In the same edition, the Chilean Communist Party official organ also published with joy the texts of prayers distributed by the Chilean Episcopate to be prayed by Catholics until September 4, when the presidential elections would take place. Under the title of "*Bishops: Indirect Veto of Jorge Alessandri*," *El Siglo* stated that by means of the above-mentioned prayers "*the rightist positions embodied by the candidate Jorge Alessandri are indirectly objected to*" (see *El Siglo*, 8/8/70). Such political utilization by the Communists proves that the Marxist propaganda was able to draw advantages from this action by the Bishops.

The text of one of the fourteen prayers says: "*Remove from our heart all anguish and fear of social changes, to elect the man who can lead our country to the most profound changes for the good of all Chileans, as you desire. Let us pray to the Lord*" (*El Siglo*, 8/8/70; *El Mercurio*, 8/10/70. — The emphasis is ours).

There is recorded, by way of sole rectification, a statement from the Secretary General of the Episcopal Conference, Msgr. Oviedo, who affirmed in a communique: "*In the face of purely political interpretations which have been made about the text of these prayers, I must declare that they are entirely foreign to their author*" (*El Mercurio*, 8/11/70). Nevertheless, the meaning of these prayers remains no less clear. . .

In addition, a few days before the presidential elections of September 4, the Priest Gonzalo Valdivieso (a professor in the same educational institution of the Sacred Hearts, which expelled the supporters and sympathizers of the TFP for their anti-communist position) attempted to celebrate a Mass in the polyester factory of Yarun, which was occupied by armed leftist ex-workers who even held several hostages there for a few hours. Although the police prevented Father Valdivieso from carrying out the act, he succeeded in obtaining in the press a wide repercussion favorable to the Marxist candidate (*Portada*, no. 15, October 1970).

\* \* \*

...brought from Cuba by Father Ochavavia, Dean of Theology of the same University

Communist paper applauds episcopal prayer for the elections

...asked to elect candidate who would lead "to most profound changes"

Priest backs up extremists

## *Part Two*

### Silence of anti-communist Clergy

On the other hand, as the TFP would have occasion to point out in a manifesto in the national press on February 27, 1973, the absolute muteness (we would say almost without exception) of the non-communist, non-progressivist Priests was especially noticeable during the presidential campaign. Even the most respectable voices of the anti-communist Clergy remained silent, a fact which exerted considerable influence on the progress of the events. It is, moreover, indicative, in the context of these pages, of the kind of direction that the Cardinal Archbishop and other members of the National Episcopate were impressing energetically on their ecclesiastical reign (see "The Auto-demolition of the Church, Factor in the Destruction of Chile" in *La Tercera de la Hora* and *Tribuna*, Santiago, 2/27/73).

### 5. In the uncertain situation, important Episcopal assistance is given for the definitive ascent of Allende to power

### Minority triumph of Allende

Having obtained the relative majority of 36% of the voters in the September 4, 1970 elections, Allende had to wait 45 tense days during the final stages of the definitive election of the President of Chile. When the winner of the direct election does not obtain an absolute majority, the Chilean Constitution demands — as is known — that the two chambers of the National Congress assemble in joint session and elect the President by choosing between the two candidates who obtained first and second place in the vote.

### The difficult Marxist election in Congress

That was precisely the situation in this presidential election. Salvador Allende, winner by a mere 1.6% over the second candidate supported by the forces of the right, had before him a difficult battle: an enormous majority of Chileans (including many who had supported the third-placed Christian Democratic candidate) did not want to see the Marxist candidate in power.



There were even rank and file organizations of the Christian Democratic Party which publicly expressed their desire that the Christian Democratic Congressmen vote against Allende (*Portada*, no.15, October 1970). In the same National Congress, the number of rightist and Christian Democratic Congressmen had an overwhelming majority over the coalition that supported Allende.

Without counting the "Young Church" – which in a public manifesto pressed the Cardinal Archbishop to anticipate the verdict of the National Congress by supporting the election of Allende as president of the Republic (see *Clarín*, 9/13/70) – different organizations of the official apostolate of the Church hastened to close ranks behind the Marxist candidate.

In fact, the Worker Movement of Catholic Action, the Catholic Worker Youth, Rural Catholic Action, Catholic Student Youth, and Catholic University Youth made public a joint declaration in which they affirmed among other things: *"In the face of the workers' triumph by means of the candidate of the Popular Unity in the person of Dr. Salvador Allende G., we call on workers, peasants, and students to surmount pre-electoral ideological differences and confront the construction of a new society, where we all have a chance to participate. As apostolic movements forming part of the Church, symbol of Christ the liberator in History whose mission is to serve man, we pledge ourselves to continue working because the process of change indicated by the majority signifies a true liberation, where the values of the Gospel are put into effect."* (*Clarín*, 9/13/70. – The emphasis is ours).

Father Manuel Segura, at that time Provincial of the Society of Jesus, addressed a letter to all the Jesuits calling on them to collaborate with the program of the Popular Unity. Reserving to itself the possibility of opposing a program of compulsory materialistic education which might possibly come to be established by the Marxist government, the letter said: *"The Popular Unity program, known by all of you, sets some goals that we could consider truly Christian . . . . It should be for us a motive of profound joy that the group that obtained the majority at the polls promises to work for the people and for the poor. . . Our sincere*

CDP rank and file ask for congressional vote against Allende

Overwhelming majority of Catholics and non-communists

Pressure of "Catholic" leftist organizations favoring Marxist triumph in Congress

The apostolic movements under the direction of the Hierarchy

Collaborationist letter of Jesuit Provincial

Part Two

*attitude should be one of loyal collaboration in all that signifies the good of the poor and the creation of a more just society. In no way should we appear to be allied with those who oppose these transformations, very often in defense of their personal interests. . .*" (SIC, no. 328).

Allendeist statement  
of Bishop Hourton

For his part, the Bishop Jorge Hourton, Apostolic Administrator of Puerto Montt, anticipating the verdict of the National Congress, accepted as certain the definitive ratification of the election of Allende (CIDOC, no. 251).

\* \* \*

Finally, the ambiguous episcopal support that consolidated the election of the Communist candidate

The Chilean Episcopal Conference pronounced itself in those tense days by means of a declaration in Punta de Tralca, dated September 24, 1970. The declaration is signed by Msgr. Jose Manuel Santos, Bishop of Valdivia, and Msgr. Carlos Oviedo Cavada, Auxiliary Bishop of Concepcion, respectively President and Secretary General of the CECH.

The Bishops began their document by recalling that "*days before September 4, when it still could not be predicted which of the three candidates would obtain the majority, we Bishops declared that we would only visit the candidate who achieved the absolute majority; otherwise, we would await the end of the constitutional process.*"

Thus the Episcopal Conference of Chile mentioned their decision not to make a visit of recognition to the winning candidate if he failed to obtain an absolute majority. However, once that candidate was the Marxist Allende, the Bishops found a way implicitly to recognize him in the same document.

Applying a passage from the Declaration of Medellin to Chile, the Episcopal Conference said: "*We are on the threshold of a new historic epoch of our continent, full of a desire for total emancipation, of liberation from all servitude, of personal maturity and collective integration. We cannot fail to interpret this gigantic effort for a rapid transformation and development as an evident sign of the Spirit, who guides the History of men and of peoples toward their vocation.*" And later they added that "*we Christians want to participate with the values of the Gospel in the formation of the 'new man'*" . . . And farther they stated: "*We have cooperated and we want to cooperate with the changes, especially those which favor the poorest. We know*

that the changes are difficult and entail great risks for everyone. *We understand that it is hard to give up some privileges*" (*El Mercurio*, 9/26/70; *Documents of the Episcopate*, Chile, 1970-1973, pp. 28 and 29. — The emphasis is ours).

That declaration, in the circumstances which surrounded it, was interpreted by all political circles as a manifestation of implicit support for Allende, by calling on Catholics to have no fear of the tragedy that was approaching and by ambiguously insinuating the advent of Marxism to power as a kind of sign of the times, more or less inevitable and even desirable. Thus the Bishops obviated the slightest risk that any Christian Democratic Party Congressman would vote against Allende in the election that the whole Congress would hold within a few weeks.

The Marxist candidate and mason, Allende, was so certain of the support of the Episcopate for his future administration that he made these significant statements to *The New York Times* in October 1970: "*It is well known that the old incompatibilities between masonry and the Church have been surmounted. What is most important, the Catholic Church has undergone fundamental changes. . . . I had the occasion to read the statement of the Bishops in Medellin and their language is the same that we have used since our initiation into political life thirty years ago. At that time we were condemned for the language that is used today by the Catholic Bishops. I think the Church will not be a factor of opposition to the government of Popular Unity. On the contrary, it will be an element in our favor, because we will be trying to convert Christian thinking into reality.*"

\* \* \*

A large step had been taken on the road to the calvary to which the Christian people of Chile were being led.

Prevents Catholic Congressmen from voting against Allende

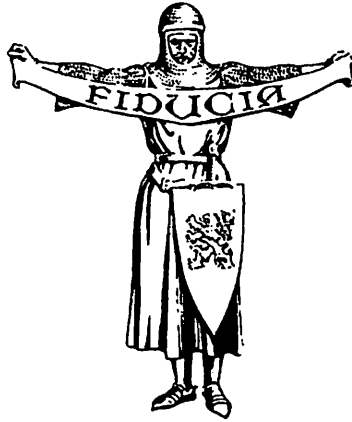
Significant statements by the future Marxist government

a) incompatibilities surmounted

b) Ecclesiastical language same as that of Marxist politicians

c) Church will be favorable factor to Popular Unity government





Part Three

Episcopal Support  
of Allende's Marxist  
Government



**CHAPTER 1**

**THE COMMITMENT OF THE SHEPHERDS  
TO THE PROGRAM OF  
MORAL AND ECONOMIC DESTRUCTION  
OF A CATHOLIC NATION**

After the election of Mr. Allende was ratified by the National Congress, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago spoke in clearer language.

**1. The joyful support of the Cardinal, from the first moment, stirring up the sympathies of the Catholics for the Allendeist program**

Cardinal Silva Henriquez visited the Marxist Salvador Allende to congratulate him on his election and stated on that occasion: *"We have come to greet the President of Chile and to tell him that we are at his disposal to serve our people and to help to carry out his great programs of public welfare"* (*Ercilla*, 11/4/70. — The emphasis is ours).

On October 27, the Marxist president-elect returned the visit of the Cardinal, meeting him at the Archbishopric of Santiago. The Cardinal allowed himself to be photographed with the Marxist leader in smiling and friendly poses and presented him with a copy of the Bible. On taking leave of Allende, the Cardinal said: *"You can count on me, Mr. President"* (*El Siglo*, 10/28/70).

Cardinal Silva Henriquez: support for Allende's "great programs of public benefit"

"You can count on me, President"

### Part Three

The well-known French magazine *Informations Catholiques Internationales*, relating this same fact, adds that "later on explaining to journalists the meaning of these words, the Cardinal affirmed that it means that the Chilean Church wishes to help the new President in every way." Thereafter, it cites the following phrases of the Chilean Prelate: "It is necessary that all Chileans *work* to carry out in a concrete manner the ideals of common good and of social 'redemption' which the president has" (*ICI*, 11/15/70, pp. 12 and 13. — The emphasis is ours).

Chileans should aid ideals of common good and social redemption of Allende

The newspaper *Clarín* interviewed Cardinal Silva Henríquez a few days after the president-elect had been at the seat of the Archbishopric. The newspaper mentions that it asked the Cardinal how he viewed the role of the Church in a government presided over by a Marxist: "I think that it should be a role of frank and loyal cooperation in all things regarding the common good" — answered the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, later making an inconsistent and general reservation about Priests who wanted to be involved in politics (*Clarín*, 11/1/70).

Frank and loyal cooperation

...to undo vigilance and create enthusiasm

There is in the above-mentioned expressions a keynote for the behavior reflected by the Cardinal Archbishop during all of his collaborationist activities. These expressions are used to obviate any sentiment of wariness or vigilance in Chilean Catholics in the face of the Marxist programs of Allende, and even to create an enthusiasm in the faithful for those programs.

The omissions

Whenever the occasion permitted, the Pastor of Santiago showed a seemingly almost boundless enthusiasm for Allende and his government. On such occasions, he omitted saying — with much agility — that the faithful should fight against all actions of the Marxist government which were contrary to Divine law and natural law.

Dampening Catholic reactions

On the other hand, when anti-communist Catholic opinion was sufficiently scandalized by the alarming excesses of the extremist faction of Communism-progressivism to demand some rectification by Cardinal Silva Henríquez, he would respond to this pressure by taking some steps to prevent any clear attrition of his identification with his post. But his words always appeared to be ambiguous



and confused, thereby discouraging the legitimate anti-Marxist reaction of the immense majority of his faithful.

## 2. "Ecumenical" Te Deum of Thanksgiving for the rise to power of the Marxist President

On the occasion of the arrival to power of Salvador Allende — the first Marxist-Leninist president of Chile — the Cardinal promoted and led an "ecumenical" Te Deum of Thanksgiving in the Cathedral of Santiago, with the participation of protestant pastors and rabbis (*La Revista Catolica*, no. 1015, September-December 1970, page 5885).

At that event, according to the magazine *Ercilla*, instead of making the sign of the cross, the Prelates stretched their arms in front of themselves. Each one pronounced an invocation according to his ritual. Later there was a common prayer: "Grant to your son, the president, success in his new post". . . (*Ercilla*, 11/4/70 to 11/10/70).

In the already often mentioned *Conversations of Toledo*, Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez — who, as you will remember, became a speaker at that event in June 1973 when the Marxist government had already advanced a good part of its run on the road to Communism — refers to the "ecumenical" Te Deum requested by Allende with the words: "A Communist leader, who was rector of the technical university. . . in Santiago, at the reception that took place at the Soviet Embassy [after the Te Deum], to which I was invited and which I attended, told me: 'Cardinal, I have never been present at a religious ceremony which touched me so deeply.' There in fact the transmission of power in Chile was made, in the Cathedral of Santiago. Now this is a very strange thing, atypical; we are having a dialogue with a government which is Marxist, which is atheist, but which up to this moment has not been contrary to the Church. This is the truth. And neither does the Church wish to be contrary to the government" ("Theology of Liberation" in *Conversations of Toledo*, June 1973, see *El Mercurio*, 12/2/75. — The emphasis is ours).

The Cardinal's affirmations speak for themselves.

The Cardinal in the Soviet Embassy

Communist leader pleased with Te Deum

In the cathedral, the transmission of power

Part Three

### 3. Revealing statements of the Cardinal to Cuban newsmen

Not satisfied with the preceding actions, Cardinal Silva Henriquez decided to deal a new blow to the troubled Catholic conscience of his congregation. In statements to two Cuban newsmen – Luiz Baez from the newspaper *Juventud Rebelde* and Gabriel Molina of Radio Habana – he made affirmations of the tenor indicated below.

Support for Popular Unity basic reforms

“The basic reforms contained in the Popular Unity Program are supported by the Chilean Church,” said the Cardinal upon commencing.

Process viewed with sympathy since the time of Frei

Then the Cardinal said – according to what is recorded by the Cuban newsmen – that “it is a very difficult job, *which has already begun in Chile and which we now hope can be speeded up.*”

In other words – we comment – the Cardinal here showed himself to be fully aware of the nature of the socialist and confiscatory process of Frei’s administration, which he had so warmly supported – a process which he hoped to see continued and, even more, accelerated with the arrival of Marxism to power.

It was natural then that he should immediately add: “*We see this, the Church sees this, with immense sympathy.*”

Collaboration and very good relations with the Popular unity

Farther on, Cardinal Silva Henriquez said that “we are going to work on a great many things in agreement with the present government.”

Referring to the relations of the Church with the leaders of the Popular Unity, the Cardinal was not afraid to say that “*they are very good, we have no discrepancies. We are in agreement on a great many things. . .*”

There are Catholics in the Popular Unity and it is all right

Then he immediately put aside the generic pseudo-reservations which, in past moments of popular Catholic anti-communist reaction, he seemed to have regarding the “Catholic”-Marxist groups which vociferously supported Allende in the presidential election. Indeed, the Cardinal continued his statements saying unconcernedly: “*And we also know that there are a number of faithful, of practicing Catholics who form part of the Popular Unity.*”

## Chapter 1

Referring again to the reforms which Allende meant to carry out, the Chilean Cardinal asserted: *"It may very well be that we do not fully agree with the implementation of reforms, that is to say, we do not have the same criteria, but it is not for us to determine, that is, it is not for the Church to determine the reforms nor their methodology, that is a matter for the Government. What does interest us is (that) the result of these reforms be what we all expect it to be."*

And extending a benign understanding to the new socialist-Marxist regime which he had so often denied to the capitalist system, Cardinal Silva Henriquez thought it his duty to state also that *"errors may be committed on this road, but I think that there is no government in this world nor any ideology that can guarantee an error will never be committed. We must understand and know the end being sought, the upright and honorable intention that is in mind and we must support it."*

The Cardinal continued: *"The Church should be a servant of this great cause of the poor and should stand by its side. We are called upon to be the first in the battle against all injustices."*

In short, Catholics should forget that the Allende government was an element of the strategy of imperialist domination of an intrinsically perverse sect. They should consider the Marxist cause of the president to be the appealing cause of the poor. . . and the road to justice to be the injustice of a regime such as the one that they wanted to impose on Chile!

The Cardinal again insisted on the reforms, affirming that *"since the majority of the reforms planned by the Popular Unity coincide with the desires and the programs of the Church, there is obvious support"*. . . He also added that the Church wishes the government to have *"success and in that sense we will loyally cooperate."*

Perhaps encouraged by these truly terrifying and incredible statements, the Cuban newsmen asked Cardinal Silva Henriquez what he thought of the Church having relations with socialist states. The Cardinal expounded on the subject in the following manner: *"I think that socialism has enormous Christian values, that from many points of view it is much superior to capitalism. The value given to work,*

The Marxist government supposedly has an upright intention

Allende's cause supposedly the cause of the poor

No room for doubt on support

His Eminence is not tied to capitalism but commits himself to socialism

Part Three

*is given to the person over capital. It seems to me to be an extraordinary value, to break the exigency, the tyranny of profit, the eagerness for gain, (and there is) also the power to organize all of production. All of these ideals being pursued seem to me to be very close to what the Church desires for the organization of society."*

Memory of thousands of victims

What can be said before the Court of God regarding these dreadful statements, by the thousands of Catholics who have died as victims of the "respect for the human person" which is carried out in the concentration camps of Cuba, Russia, and other socialist nations?

Slave labor

What does the materialistic and mechanical concept of slave labor in the socialist camps and factories have in common with the Christian concept which values the productive effort of the worker in a just and balanced way?

Socialist misery

And what can be said of the Cardinal's praise of a statist organization of the whole economy, which is in effect a derision of the subjugated peoples of the socialist orbit, who suffer the terrible consequences of total and inhuman planning?

Abandoned principles

How can we not be chilled by the contempt which a Prince of the Church shows in these statements for natural law and the Catholic social doctrine on ownership, the legitimate desire for profit, individual initiative, subsidiarity, and the concept of the State?

Egalitarian utopia

The Chilean Cardinal thus commits himself to socialism in such terms that his statements could well be subscribed to by someone who declaredly and fanatically professed the egalitarian and anti-Christian utopia contained within the socio-economic system of Marxism.

Anti free enterprise bias

At the same time, on this occasion as on many others, the Cardinal, without calling attention to the nuances of Catholic doctrine, criticized capitalism, which, being good in itself, is reproachable only in its abuses.

After this tremendous socialist commitment, the Cardinal added: "*We should really collaborate with men of good will who try to improve the world, and we should not bind ourselves to socio-economic institutions or organizations that are transitory, many of which are already outdated. The Church cannot feel obliged to maintain eco-*

conomic institutions or regimes which She, after all, never established, and is not called upon to maintain. . .”

What are these socio-economic institutions, organizations, and regimes to which we should not bind ourselves, seeing that the Cardinal believes socialism has so many superiorities and capitalism so many inferiorities?

Destructive disorientation

In the context of the interview, the ambiguous and generic formulation of His Eminence — which suggests more than it affirms — lent itself to the greatest disorientation of the Catholic faithful. And this disorientation came precisely when the faithful were immersed in the emotional and ideological climate of a regime that sought to destroy the right of private ownership and of individual initiative and to establish statist and egalitarian collectivism.

The Cardinal ended by making two supplications in respect to the work of moral and economic destruction of two Christian nations — supplications which we really do not know how to judge on the lips of a Catholic Pastor.

Two terrible requests of the Cardinal

First, he referred to Allende, who before he committed suicide, had made himself into the scourge of his people, while at the same time he was hypocritically preparing a terrible blood bath for them.<sup>16</sup> About him, the Cardinal said: “*He is a loyal and honest politician who has fought during all of his life for an ideal and who at this moment is in a position to accomplish it. I ask God that he may actually be able to realize all the good that he desires for his country.*”

Then he immediately directed his attention to the people of Cuba. Even though the Communist dictator of that island-prison had already repeatedly recognized his failure and had admitted the indigence to which the glorious and long suffering people of the Caribbean had been subjected, the Archbishop of Santiago was not afraid to say: “*I ask the Lord to help the Cuban people in the work they are carrying out. . .*”(Ultima Hora, 11/12/70. — The emphasis is ours).

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<sup>16</sup>With respect to the preparation of the bloody dictatorship of the proletariat, see note 21 and Appendix 7.

*Part Three*

When we think of the misery and unhappiness that Marxism has brought to Chile and the other countries where it has been implanted and consider the slave labor, firing squads, and horrendous prisons such as La Cabana being suffered by the unfortunate Cuban people, these two supplications of the Chilean Cardinal leave us aghast, to say the least.

But, most of all, when we consider the affront to God and His Church represented by the existence of Marxist and anti-Christian regimes on the face of the earth, it is impossible not to allude to a question that has come to mind often during the exposition of this tragic series of events: What did the Chilean Pastor do with the Sacred Mission entrusted to him, that of leading souls to Our Lord Jesus Christ?

#### 4. The Cardinal condemns the use of religious reasons in arguing against Marxist candidates

We have already encountered the Cardinal's position of collaboration with the Marxist regime which he explained with such crudeness to Cuban newsmen. Some months later his position was consistent with that when he defined it in respect to the first general election carried out under the presidency of Allende.

The statement

In an official communique signed by him and by his Auxiliary Bishops, the faithful were able to read the following: *"Each believer is free to assume his own political commitments, according to his conscience enlightened by the Gospel. Therefore, we deplore and denounce as an abusive aggression against consciences the use of electoral arguments based on religious facts or reasons."*

The paralyzing of an anti-communist reaction born of Catholic conviction

This general election was one of the first great occasions offered to Catholics to join their forces and resist the communization of Chile by using the democratic processes stipulated by the laws of the country. By denying Catholics the possibility of urging the electorate for religious reasons not to vote for the Marxist candidates, the statement of the

Cardinal and Bishops of Santiago tended purposefully to eliminate the profoundest motive for such a reaction.

In order to understand the paralyzing scope which this communique had for the faithful we need to recognize that the principal reasons obliging a Catholic to refuse his collaboration to Communism are precisely those of a religious and moral character.

On the other hand, the Cardinal's support for the Marxist president was said to be based on evangelical requirements for the eradication of injustice and misery. . .

The same communique subsequently adds a call "to Catholics . . . to overcome useless tensions and conflicts. Beyond an elective process, be the first to fight for the profound transformations which the Gospel requires in men and in structures" (*El Mercurio*, 3/31/71).

In other words, the Cardinal and the Bishops of Santiago took the position that Catholic anti-communism no longer made sense. The pastoral recommendation was to forget the irreducible incompatibilities between Catholicism and Marxism or perhaps to place them in parenthesis in order to collaborate with the irreversible evolution of the times in a common synthesis that would be a profound transformation of structures. The moral transgressions that such an attitude would involve appeared to represent nothing in the eyes of the Cardinal and the Bishops, so long as the vague social change being preached was implemented as quickly as possible.

On the other hand, for the Cardinal and Bishops to speak, without concrete specifications, of the transformation of structures, in the midst of the confusion existing during the course of a Marxist revolution, constituted an unmistakable collaboration with Allendeism.

A matter only of useless tensions

Revolutionary process is the essential thing

Relativism

Always vague and urgent transformations

## 5. First National Seminar of those responsible for Pastoral Care

In March 1971, the bulletin *Church*, of the Department of Mass Media of the Episcopal Conference of Chile published in its issue number 5 the "Conclusions" of the *First*

### Part Three

*National Seminar of Those Responsible for Pastoral Care*, which was carried out when the convulsions provoked by the application of Marxist socialism in Chile were already stirring up the country.

In the introduction to the "Conclusions," the Pastoral Committee of the Episcopate again made reference to the successive Episcopal Plenary Assemblies of 1968, 1969, and 1970 and their respective Pastoral Orientations for the Church of Chile (see Part Two, Chapter 3, no. 3).

Those responsible  
for Pastoral Care

This introduction also made clear that those "responsible for pastoral care" — Bishops, vicar generals, parish pastors, and members of auxiliary groups throughout Chile — would evaluate the program of pastoral orientation of the faithful that had been developed in recent years.

Among the objectives of the evaluation are the following:

a) To form an idea  
of the Chilean reality  
and political  
changes

*"The second objective was to form an idea of the reality that the country is undergoing and the direction of that reality, especially after the political changes that had occurred in the country."*

b) To determine if  
pastoral orientation  
already given re-  
mains valid

*"The fourth objective was for the participants in the Seminar to compare the Pastoral Orientations with those elements of judgment in order to judge whether said orientations remain valid, (in order to determine) where to persist or what new things should be proposed"* (The emphasis is ours).

Results of evaluation:

After Allende rose to power with the decisive intervention of the Church in favor of the left and of Marxism itself, the Pastoral Commission of the Episcopate was not afraid to affirm:

a) Clerical unity and  
validity of orienta-  
tions

*"It is encouraging to confirm the basic unity with which we have been working and the validity of the orientations that we have prompted in the last ten years."*

b) Necessity to com-  
mit themselves fur-  
ther

However, it is necessary to commit ourselves more thoroughly and to be consistent with the lines we have discovered" (The emphasis is ours).

c) Scientific study ...

Appearing to ignore the obvious reality that Chile was being essentially destroyed as a Christian nation, the Seminar adopted "Conclusions" such as the following: "A critical study should be promoted of today's reality, which has as its objective the discovery of similarities and differ-



## Chapter 1

ences between the Christian and Marxist vision of reality in persons, action, and realizations” (The emphasis is ours).

In other words, we verify once more that which was to become more aberrant as the Allende government advanced; in short, those ecclesiastical authorities had abandoned their duty of ideological battle against Communism. Instead they were speaking about dialoguing and were searching for similarities as though they did not face the strategy of an international sect seeking to dominate the country.

It is obvious that Catholic Chile would not have tolerated a Marxist statement from the ecclesiastical Hierarchy. It was not a question of that. The ecclesiastical authorities who were committed to the Chilean revolutionary process acted in a more subtle and, therefore, more penetrating and effective manner — they viewed Marxism as a science, as one more historical phenomenon in which positive and negative aspects must be studied with complete impartiality.

Thus it was that, in the face of a formidable enemy which, under the control of Moscow or Peking enslaves millions of beings, violates treaties, persecutes Religion, and adopts tactical forms to fit the circumstances, Catholic militancy and apologetics were mysteriously being set aside.

What national reality, “*in its socio-economic, ideological, cultural, and political aspects*” did those responsible for the ecclesiastical Pastoral Care in Chile study?

A very different reality, certainly, from that which the Catholic people painfully felt on their shoulders under the Marxist oppression.

It was natural, then, for the participants of the Seminar to conclude, as they did, that it was necessary to urge the “*putting into practice*” of the aforementioned Pastoral Orientations.

In other words, they asked for an accentuation of the dynamism of the social changes (always vague and urgent) involved in the process of moving Chile leftward.

When we think of how those Pastors aided the maintenance of the Marxist Allende in power until the last moment, it is terrible to look at the following conclusions of the Seminar of pastoral evaluation:

...which denies essential aspect of reality in favor...

...of Communist strategy

d) A more effective collaboration

e) The battle abandoned

f) Insensibility to the popular suffering

g) The urging of the application of revolutionary orientations

Part Three

h) The "presence of Christ" and accentuation of "values today"

*"To orient with respect to the presence of Christ in the History of Chile today.*

*"To stress the values existing today.*

*"To respect the process of maturation of the people, not changing from one orientation to another, but rather permitting the deepening of each one" (The emphasis is from the text itself).*

i) Faithful should participate in Chile's step from capitalism to socialism

Later, the participants of the Seminar, after overlooking in a brutal manner the reality of the process that was tearing the nation apart (its essentially dismal character being of no importance to them), affirmed the following: *"At present in Chile we are going from a capitalist context to a socialist context. The Christian should live this process from inside, not as a spectator but with a generous and constructive attitude because Christ is encouraging this new world and he should do this to discover more clearly the need for the total liberation of man"* (The emphasis is from the text itself).

"Christ is encouraging this new world"

In other words, in the ambiguous terms of formulation regarding the duty of the Christian to incorporate himself in the Marxist process being imposed on Chile, they insinuated that Our Lord Jesus Christ was encouraging the new world being developed by Allendeism!

j) Ecclesiastical dynamism applied to collectivist triumph

Yes, the most dynamic and capillary elements of the ecclesiastical structures had, under the direction of their Pastors, insinuated a blasphemous compromise between the designs of Our Lord and the egalitarian, collectivist, and anti-Christian world that the red sect, behind Allende, was constructing in Chile! How could certain Pastors later say that they did not collaborate in maintaining Marxism in power?

k) Father Maroto, future pro-Mirist, was Episcopal Vicar of Santiago

We will not tire the reader with the rest of the conclusions. They are all in the same key. We will only call to mind the fact that among the participants in this Seminar were Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez, then president of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate, and the Priest Rafael Maroto, in his capacity as Episcopal Vicar of Santiago.

A little more than three years later, the ex-Episcopal Vicar of Santiago, who under the ecclesiastical government of the Cardinal held a post of great responsibility and was one of the persons responsible for the "Pastoral Care,"

would be detained wearing a symbol of the Communist terrorism of MIR on his collar!

But we will refer more amply to this matter later (see Part Four, Chapter 5, no. 4).

## 6. Disapproval of the militant activism of the Communist progressivist Priests, but not of their Marxist "individual options"

The Communist progressivist Clergy felt the hour had come to make of our country a true bastion of its work of ideological transhipment of Catholic mentalities toward Communism. Countless and scandalous Communist progressivist manifestations took place at that time, revealing a decision to make public the existence of clerical organizations for the implantation of Communism in Chile (see "The Autodemolition of the Church, Factor in the Destruction of Chile," *La Tercera de la Hora*, and *Tribuna*, 2/27/73).

We point out here, as an example, the statement published by no less than 80 Priests in April 1971, favoring militant and open collaboration with Marxism (*El Mercurio*, 4/14/71).

Various professors of theology of the Pontifical Catholic University of Santiago gave them their support publicly. In support of the "80" Priests, the theologians of the Catholic University stated:

*"We cannot but agree that the conditions of exploitation of the working classes which acquire dramatic reality for pensioners and the malnutrition and misery of the workers and peasants, are the result of the . . . capitalist system that exists in Chile.*

*". . . The process of the construction of socialism is the concrete and real way that exists today in the history of our society to overcome injustice and misery. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that this project is headed by parties of a Marxist orientation. This makes obvious the need for Christians to collaborate with the Marxists. It*

Bastion of ideological transhipment to Communism

The "80" Priests, pro-marxist political activists

### Part Three

would be naive, superficial, and lacking in a sense of history to pretend in present times to construct a free and socialist society without these Marxist parties. Besides it is already a known fact that day by day the number of Christians seriously committed to the parties of Marxist orientation in the construction of socialism in Chile increases" (*El Mercurio*, 4/14/71. — The emphasis is ours).

"Slow march" Episcopal intervention

In the wake of such compromising affirmations, first the Vicar General of the Archbishopric, Msgr. Gomez Ugarte, acting on the basis of his personal authority, and later the Cardinal and Bishops, in a joint declaration, thought it their duty to make an announcement regarding the same matter. As previously indicated, the "slow-paced" revolutionary Clergy, obliged to respond publicly to verbal excesses not susceptible to being overlooked without a definitive loss of face before Catholic public opinion, did so in the most parsimonious possible manner, always finding a way to continue lending support to the Marxist process being implanted in Chile. Thus, in the joint declaration of the Episcopate, signed in the city of Temuco, the following may be read: "*Before the legitimate Government of Chile, we reiterate the attitude that comes to us from Christ: respect for its authority, and collaboration in its task of service to the people. Every effort to construct a more humane society, eliminating misery and making the common welfare prevail over individual welfare, demands the support of those who, as Christians, are committed to the liberation of man.*"

a) Oppressor Marxist government is legitimate

b) Collaborate in task of service to people to eliminate "misery" and liberate man!

c) Regrets public priestly political activism...

The statement later referred to the pronouncement of the 80 Priests, to regret that they had given the moral backing of their priestly character to their political option. In spite of everything, it did not condemn the individual option of the Priests, even in favor of Marxism. It was a question only of criticizing the official partisan political activism of these priests, which the Bishops labeled as "*already outdated clericalism*" (*El Diario Austral* of Temuco, 4/22/71).

...but leaves doors open for less scandalous work of destruction

In other words, the doors remained open for the Priests to collaborate in the destruction of their country and with the penetration of error within the Church itself, the condition being that this not be done in such a public and impudent manner.

On the other hand, this reprobation of the organized intervention of Priests (acting as such) in partisan politics was entirely inconsistent on the part of the Cardinal and Bishops. Were not they themselves clearly and effectively intervening – although in a different manner – in favor of the Marxist policy of the government of Salvador Allende?

...and political intervention more subtle and powerful

## 7. The Cardinal takes part in a worker demonstration organized by Communism

The Chilean Catholics would experience new defections of ecclesiastical authority in the first year of the Marxist government.

In every way, the Cardinal seemed willing to make known his desire to lend prestige to the ruling regime.

On May 1, 1971, for the first time in Chilean history, a prince of the Church was present at the mass meeting of the Central Organization of Workers (CUT) – controlled by the Communist Party – seating himself in the gallery next to the Marxist president and his ministers. Along with sending an effusive message to the Secretary of CUT, the Cardinal wanted also to attest to his identification with the new era which wrapped Chile in dense clouds of tragedy, by marching together with the Catholic Worker Youth in one of the human columns that converged toward the place of the mass meeting (see *La Nacion* and *El Siglo* of 5/2/71).

In the same gallery with those who were oppressing Chile

It is easy to understand why on that occasion Jacques Chonchol, Allende's Minister of Agriculture, referred to this fact in an interview to the press in the following terms: "*The presence of Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez signifies that the false division that some sectors tried to make between those workers bound to the ideas of Marxism and those others, to Christianity, has been overcome in Chile.*" (*El Siglo*, 5/2/71).

Minister Chonchol interprets Cardinal's presence

Division between Marxist and Christian workers "overcome"

This interpretation was made by the man who aided the agrarian reform of Castro in Cuba, implanted the socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform of Frei, and directed the communization of Chilean agricultural lands during the

The consenting silence



Ecclesiastical support of the Marxist experiment oppressing Chile.

While receiving the tyrant Castro with exuberance the Cardinal avoided any reference to the tortures, crimes, and violations of natural and Divine law by the Cuban regime.



time of Allende; yet it did not undergo any rectification on the part of the Chilean Cardinal.

## 8. Episcopal Document on “The Gospel, Politics, and Socialisms”

As a product of the same Episcopal Plenary Assembly of Temuco, whose collaborationist scope we have just recorded (see Part Three, Chapter 1, no. 6), the Bishops of the Pastoral Commission of CECH would later deliver a “working document” on “*The Gospel, Politics, and Socialisms. . .*”

“*The general lines of this document were set in the Plenary Assembly and correspond to the thinking of the Chilean Episcopate*” – the presentation points out.

This document represents an incredible model of shameful sinuosity, which ultimately suggests nothing more or less than the tragic refrain intoned by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago in December 1969: it is licit for Catholics to support Marxists in the government of the nation (see Part Two, Chapter 3, no. 1).

Shameful sinuosity

At the end of an extensive and intricate ideological labyrinth in which some little criticisms of Marxism were incorporated, the “working document” proposed by the Pastoral Commission of Bishops stated in writing the following:

Intricate ideological labyrinth

“*It appears to us that the powerful presence of Marxism in the process of the construction of Chilean socialism is what makes more complex for Christians the option before them, since it makes their future seem most uncertain. The Christians who desire the replacement of capitalism by some socialist model would wish – if it depended on them – to be able to construct one which offered the certainty of being a fully humanist socialism, without the dehumanizing factors which we have found in Marxism.*”

“Complex choice”

With phlegmatic frugality, the Bishops rambled on about hypothetical options for a chameleon-type socialism, with appearing and disappearing ideological colors in which its essential enigmatic principles are not exactly disclosed.

Chameleon-type socialist aspirations

### Part Three

Thus the text just quoted shows that Marxism appeared to them to be a "powerful presence" which increases the pallidness and timidity of Christians — their significance and number are not even known — who would wish to be able to construct an indefinite socialism, "if it depended on them". . . Such lucubrations were explicitly published as "*doctrinal orientation*" for the faithful, at a moment when the Catholic anti-Marxist majority was agitated, suffering, and looking for a way to shake off the yoke of the egalitarian and collectivist socialism that oppressed it.

Indefinite or undefinable chimera. . .

...did clerical support determine Allendeist catastrophe?

Legitimate question of Church of Silence: who are these Pastors?

Careless relativism

The text indicates that the Bishops of the Pastoral Commission, backed up by the other Bishops of the CECH searched arduously for a socialist option; if this option was not merely a vague desire of some "Christian" utopians (repudiated by the Catholic majority), the point is to ask: Was it for an indefinite or undefinable chimera that these Prelates favored the triumph of the Allendeist experiment and helped so much to sustain it? Were Chilean Catholics being invited by the word and example of their Pastors to enter unthinkingly and cheerfully upon a socialist adventure, like passengers in the last car of a Marxist train, in order that, when that adventure converted itself into tragedy, they would still have to listen to those same Pastors say that the journey was now presenting complexities?

Is it not legitimate then that in such circumstances many of the discouraged and deceived Catholics in the Church of Silence being constructed in Chile should ask themselves: Who are those Pastors? What kind of Shepherds are these, who dare to act in this manner, with a disconcerting moral insensibility to the crushing of the congregation that was entrusted to them?

"There are those who believe — continued the '*working document*' of the Pastoral Commission — *that this possibility remains open for the future. Others confirm that the forces in Chile today which lead in the building of socialism are in their majority Marxists, but they think that there is no room among us for any other form of socialism except the present one, which needs to be constructed in collaboration with the Marxists by accepting them as the directors of the process.*"



In other words, all this might be considered thus, with careless and "superior" relativism: they were simply opinions, choices, evaluations. . .

In the same tone, the Bishops continued: "Before opting for socialism and the concrete manner of participating in its construction, *each Christian, each group and each party* must weigh all the positive and negative aspects of socialism in general as well as that which is being built in Chile today, *asking themselves, with respect to the latter, if its notably Marxist inspiration will really permit them to introduce in it all the necessary corrections to guarantee its humanist application.* Each one should try to determine in his conscience the degree of risks, *judging the advantages and the dangers, to determine which of these two aspects he thinks will, because it possesses a greater dynamic strength in the Chilean case, finally impose itself in the end.*" (*El Mercurio*, 7/26/71; *Episcopal Documents*, Chile 1970-1973, page 85 — The emphasis is ours).

"Each one should try to determine"

Really, it is impossible for us to think of a way to deal with the tragedy that Chile was undergoing in terms more slippery and, at the same time, more capable of paralyzing the fighting spirit of Catholics in the face of Communism.

Confusion which benumbed and paralyzed consciences

In the end, everything is left to the more or less subjective considerations of those who want to choose a "socialism" of their own liking, including Marxism. . . Yet, as if this were not sufficient in itself, the Secretary General of the Episcopate would later feel no shame about citing this document as one of the clearest episcopal orientations (see *Que Pasa*, 12/7/73).

## 9. Blasphemies against the Mother of God in a publication of the Allendeist Government

In this climate of condemnable relativism — always oriented in favor of the Marxist regime — few things now seemed to offend the moral sensibility of the Pastor of the Church of Santiago, who was gradually abandoning the es-

### *Part Three*

sential duties of his sacred post to favor the action of the enemy of the Christian name.

In July 1971, an official magazine of the Ministry of Education of Chile published on its cover a photograph in which may be seen the cars of a train with young people of both sexes crowded in the small windows, at the moment when they were leaving to go to the "summer jobs" to help Marxism. On one of the cars which would conduct those miserable ones on their journey of destruction through our Catholic country, the following blasphemy could be clearly read: "*Virgin Mary, you who conceived without sin, why don't you help me to sin without conceiving? . . .*"

From the far South, the Bishop of Osorno, Msgr. Francisco Valdes Subercaseaux, "*assuming the responsibility of spiritual leader of the Catholic Christians of Osorno,*" felt obliged to write to President Allende a letter of protest (*La Prensa de Osorno*, 8/4/71; *El Mercurio*, 8/10/71).

This circumstance made more obvious the relativistic and contemptuous abandonment with which Cardinal Silva Henríquez especially, and the majority of the Hierarchy in general, had treated not only doctrines and traditions sacred to every truly Catholic heart, but the very person of the Mother of God Herself.

Neither the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago nor other representative figures of the Episcopate considered it fitting to offer suitable reparation to the Most Holy Mother of God for the public offense that She had received from the Marxist government.

What can be thought of this deed, when we consider that Our Lord Jesus Christ, during His adorable Passion, did not permit the executioners to insult His Holy Mother?

## **10. The Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago takes lessons in revolutionary commitment in Castro's Cuba**

The action of ecclesiastical authorities in destroying the ideological barriers separating Catholics from Commu-

nism was shown to have a terrifying consistency, in spite of certain formal criticisms of the extremist Clergy.

The Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago, Msgr. Fernando Ariztia, accompanied by the Bishop of Talca, Msgr. Carlos Gonzalez, decided to travel to Cuba and remain there for fifteen days in February of 1971. Upon his return, the Communist progressivist magazine *Mundo 71* spoke with Bishop Ariztia, reproducing the discussion in an incredible version which may be read in the June issue of that same year of the cited publication.

Bishop Ariztia admitted the “*austerity and even poverty*” that reign in Fidel Castro's Cuba “*but without misery*” he quickly added.

However, he spared no praise for the immoral and anti-Christian “*egalitarianism*” reigning on the island. And referring to the tragic and cruel realities suffered by the Cuban people, Bishop Ariztia used the most ridiculous euphemisms to serve as poorly disguised justifications of the regime.

For example, he called the terrible rationing of food existing in Cuba the “*equitable sharing of available resources. . .*” Of course, in the version of *Mundo 71*, we can't find the characteristic allegations against poverty resulting from injustice and oppression which are employed by the leftist Catholic Clergy in such a lavish way against the non-socialist regimes.

Finally, a report in the newspaper *La Tercera* by Juan Eduardo Prado pointed out that Bishop Ariztia on his return from Cuba had declared: “*Our people cannot pay the high price that Cuban Catholics paid for their obstinate opposition to changes. Christians should not place themselves at the edge of the revolutionary process. They should incorporate themselves into it and give the best of themselves. They should not remain on the side criticizing*” (*La Tercera de la Hora*, December 1971. – The emphasis is ours).

This statement of the Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago is in perfect accord with those made by the Cardinal Archbishop to two Cuban newsmen in November 1970, which have already been cited (see Part Three, Chapter 1, no. 3). Moreover, it would soon acquire an impressive implicit ratification from the Chilean Cardinal during Fidel Castro's visit to Chile.

Bishop Ariztia: Castro's Communist egalitarianism is worthy of praise

Rationing

Chilean Christians should incorporate themselves into the Allendeist revolution

## 11. The Cardinal gives prestige to the youthful directors of CUT

Meanwhile, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago continued his practice of lending prestige to the Central Organization of Workers (CUT), which is controlled by Communism. At the end of the Fourth Conference organized by CUT, a luncheon meeting was held between the Cardinal Archbishop and the national directors of the youth branch of CUT, as a result of an exchange of invitations between the Prelate and the above-mentioned directors.

The directors of CUT later informed the press that the dialogue with the Cardinal had been very beneficial for both parties, and there was a commitment to continue it in the next few days (*El Mercurio*, 8/14/71).

If the reader finds the strength and courage at present to plumb to the depths the abyss into which the greater part of our Prelates have been rushing their congregations, he will want to compare the attitudes of the Cardinal at that time (when he was faced with a regime whose doctrine essentially violated all of the natural laws) with the attitudes that the Cardinal is adopting at the present time toward governmental authorities who – deficient or not – want to prevent the rebirth of the sinister Communist plague on our native soil.

But it is necessary and unavoidable to continue on this painful journey and drink the bitter chalice to the end. Accordingly, we resume this sad story, in which the facts themselves speak with all their irrefutable eloquence.

## 12. Episcopal proposal to the Synod of Rome

At that time, the Episcopal Conference convened in Punta de Tralca approved a proposal that would be presented at the Synod of Rome on September 30 of that same year (*El Mercurio*, week of August 9 to 14, 1971).

The Argentine newspaper *La Opinion*, in its October 23, 1971 edition, carried cablegrammed information coming from

Vatican City about the participation of the Chilean Episcopate in the Roman Synod. It mentioned that Bishop Sergio Contreras, of the diocese of Ancud, spoke in the name of the Cardinal and the Chilean Bishops. He interrupted his speech to read, in the presence of the Supreme Pontiff, a telegram that he had just received from his Episcopal Conference. In it they asked the Synod to pronounce on the morality of Third-World nations conducting expropriations and indemnizations of companies from rich nations. According to the cablegrammed information, Bishop Contreras also proclaimed that Chile was marching toward socialism by democratic means and asked that they revise the concepts of liberty and property postulated by the social doctrine of the Church, with a view to the general welfare.

Revise Catholic concepts of liberty and ownership

### 13. Cardinal and Episcopate give enthusiastic welcome to the Communist dictator, Fidel Castro

In November 1971, the Chilean Cardinal went to the Santiago airport to receive the tyrant Fidel Castro. Subsequently, in the presidential Palace "La Moneda," he attended a cocktail party given for the bloody Communist dictator of Cuba, under whose orders thousands of anti-communist Catholics were killed or brutally tortured. . .

In airport with Castro

Cocktail party at "La Moneda"

Later, he had a friendly interview with him in the Seat of the Archbishopric of Santiago, where he presented him with a Bible, just as he had already done for the Marxist president Allende, also allowing himself to be photographed in poses of friendly cordiality with the sinister man who oppresses the ancient Pearl of the Antilles.

The interview

At the end of the interview, Fidel Castro, referring to the positions assumed by the Cardinal, declared to the journalists: "I know his pronouncements and his statements, and I have personal sympathy for his position." Castro declared that the Cardinal "is a magnificent person" (*El Siglo and Clarin*, 11/24/71. — The emphasis is ours).

Castro's praises

Castro had good reasons to say this from his point of view as a Communist revolutionary.

Since Chile maintains separation of Church and State, the Cardinal's trip to the Santiago airport by which he paid homage to the dictator, and the visit of the latter to the ecclesiastical authorities were not official requirements of protocol. It was only a new propagandistic move in which the Chilean Cardinal acquiesced in favor of a Communist personage.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>In the Conversations of Toledo, in June 1973, Cardinal Silva Henriquez sketches an explanation of his enthusiastic reception of the Communist tyrant, Fidel Castro. This explanation, in a certain sense, is worse than the reception itself.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago explained that he based his attitude on the reception that Pope John XXIII gave at the Vatican to the son-in-law of the boss of the Kremlin at that time, Nikita Krushchev, a few weeks before the carrying out of elections in Italy. Later, referring to Fidel Castro, he added:

*"And then I asked him why he had wanted to come to see me, something so strange, and he told me for three reasons: first, because he admired me; second, because he was very grateful for the manner in which I (in our countries, they think that the Cardinal in the capital is the leader of the Chilean Church, the one who rules all the Church, for them I am the Cardinal who commands all the others, the Bishops are my subordinates) had treated the political regime in Chile; and third, he told me, 'because when I came to Chile, the Chilean government gave me a list of persons whom I should and should not visit, and you were one that I should visit.'*

*"Then, I realized why, but also that it absolutely was not politics or propaganda. The room was full of photographers and television people, and they took all the photographs they wanted. The moment we started to talk, I told him: 'Look, Mr. Minister, I am a man of the Church, a man who profoundly believes in his faith. I am convinced of one thing: that the Church is not reactionary, that the Church is not against the changes that tend to make the life of man more humane and produce greater justice in Latin America. And I am convinced of something else, Mr. Minister, that the solution for Latin America is going to be impossible if the Church does not support it.' He told me that he also*

No word of criticism or protest was registered by the Cardinal or his Auxiliary Bishops over the tortures, sum-

Silence regarding human rights

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*believed in this, and was happy to see that the Church was not like some people thought it was."*

In the same explanations the Cardinal registers not the slightest reference to the terrible violation of human rights which the Fidel Castro regime signifies in itself and concretely, having, on the other hand, reached thousands of heroic Catholics unjustly victimized by the red tyranny on the Caribbean island. The Cardinal is satisfied with having given a Bible to the sectarian dictator and for the permission which the latter gave him to send ten thousand copies of the Holy Scriptures to Cuba.

Later the Cardinal continued with his explanation, telling us that he asked Fidel Castro: "*Were you educated in Catholic schools?*" "Yes." "*And you were Christian, and now you believe in nothing?*" "No." "*But, how did you lose your faith?*" – He said: "*I never had faith.*" "*Why not?*" "No, I never had faith." "*But then, what did they teach you in school?*" "*Look,*" he said, "*in school they taught us some religious practices, but they never taught me to know what faith was and I never had faith.*" The Cardinal added, "*We must take the words of this gentleman as an inventory benefit, undoubtedly. But, I would say, it is an enormous criticism which may have a certain aspect of truth*" (see *Theology of Liberation, Conversations of Toledo*, June 1973; apud *El Mercurio*, 12/2/75).

In other words, at the moment that the Chilean Cardinal tried to justify his reception of Fidel Castro, he also omitted any censure of the terrible moral and material ignominy being suffered by the glorious Cuban people, and again showed his iron determination to consider Communism in a sympathetic and optimistic light, which ignores the repeated teachings of the Pontifical Magisterium with regard to the Red sect, as well as the most obvious historic truth, and spreads an imprudent collaborationist attitude, especially harmful in the times through which Chile was living.

Today Cuban guerrillas serve as an instrument for Soviet Communism to install itself militarily in Angola and from there to threaten the Atlantic and even the South American continent itself.

### *Part Three*

mary trials, violations of human rights, and the intrinsic and all-embracing injustices of the Communist regime of Fidel Castro, not even over the misery that overwhelms the Cuban people under the oppression of the Castro dictatorship.

Episcopal welcome  
in five other dioceses

A similar comment can be made about the reception granted to the Cuban tyrant by the Bishops of five other Chilean dioceses (Antofagasta, Iquique, Concepcion, Puerto Montt and Punta Arenas) which he visited during his delayed and clownish stay in our country (*Tribuna*, 11/25/71).

Revealing a double-  
standard of conduct

Nothing was lacking to complete this unnameable deed, which today returns like a shining accusation against those same Pastors who now refuse to cooperate in the present moral reconstruction of the country, under the pretext of eventual repressive excesses, while they threaten with sanctions the faithful who seek to show the harmfulness of their aberrant conduct to the general welfare and the conservation of the Faith.



## CHAPTER 2

### IN THE FACE OF POPULAR RESISTANCE, THE EPISCOPAL COLLABORATION PRO- LONGS THE DAYS OF THE OMINOUS REGIME

After a year of the Allende government, in spite of the systems of threats and pressure developed by the Marxist minority against the Chilean people, the general malaise began to make itself felt in a manner dangerous for the ruling regime.

The collaboration of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, as well as that of the Hierarchs who acted together in one way or another with him, was at that time more precious than ever for the designs of international Communism.

Thus, a few weeks after the festive welcome given to the Cuban tyrant, Cardinal Silva Henríquez took part in a program on Channel 13 TV — of the Catholic University — where he pointed out that the government of Allende “is working sincerely and arduously for the well-being of the mass of the people” (*Última Hora*, 12/27/71. — The emphasis is ours).

It is necessary to emphasize that these spontaneous propagandist statements in favor of Allende were pronounced by the Cardinal at the same time that more than one hundred thousand women went into the streets of Santiago to protest the shortage of food brought about by the socialist policy of the government, in one of the famous “marches of the empty pots.” Future historians will find it difficult to believe a reality so brutally aberrant as that which we have been describing.

Clerical collaboration ever more important for Marxism

Cardinal on TV: Allende working sincerely and arduously for the well-being of the collectivity

Empty pots

### Part Three

Special sufferings of  
the Church of Silence

However — we repeat — there are facts against which there is no argument, which demonstrate to us this “*via dolorosa*” suffered by the Chilean Catholic flock, perhaps without precedent in the history of the Church and of Christianity.

We are linking the data together in a connected way, in order to dispel the confusion in which these data present themselves to the minds of the people. Such confusion is one of the iron rings that shackle and silence the respectful but just protest of countless of the faithful.

## 1. The path proposed by the Episcopate: unity around the Allendeist changes

The Episcopal Conference at Punta de Tralca

On April 11, 1972, before a country shaken by the progressive implantation of Marxism and by the resulting infamy and misery, the Chilean Bishops, from Punta de Tralca — in another of their frequent collaborationist meetings — made public a message about the situation that our country was enduring. As a kind of appalling irony, they wanted to entitle the referred to document *On a Road of Hope and Joy*. . .

a) Concealing the  
malice of situation  
created by Allende

The Cardinal and the Bishops began by saying that they had studied with uneasiness the situation in Chile. But, immediately afterwards, with a really surprising ease and agility they evaded making any pronouncement about that same situation and declared, to the astonishment of the faithful, that “more than just applauding the good and criticizing the bad, *we thought it could be useful to remind Chileans of what our true needs and common desires are, convinced that if these are taken care of, the unity of the Chilean family, which is dangerously threatened today, could be established.*”

The Bishops avoided taking unequivocal responsibility for the just complaints of a people who very well knew their “true necessities,” having seen natural law and Catholic Morality being trampled by a fundamentally unjust government. Instead of placing themselves at the head of

their flock, which had been mistreated with impious iniquity by the mythomaniacs of materialistic, atheistic, anti-Christian egalitarianism, the Shepherds showed themselves to be determined to establish tranquility in a unity unconnected with the Truth. At that time, such a calm would have been favorable to the Marxist government, which was being rudely criticized by an anti-communist majority in a growing state of indignation.

But there is more. The Chilean Bishops went so far as to declare in their joint message, something which signified a certain denial of the Chilean reality, which was so self-evident for the most myopic of observers, that we don't know what to say regarding it. Thus, they stated: "*Justice today is development, participation, and equality, and we can only be glad for the great steps which our Country has taken and is taking in this direction.*"

b) Episcopal joy in the presence of the process of destroying Chile

The Episcopal statement proceeded to accomplish a true marvel of distortion of the situation of the country. Thus, it pointed out that "*we understand that the process of change, which many call revolutionary, in which we are engaged and which corresponds to the will of the immense majority, cannot be made without the sacrifice of the privileged ones of yesterday or today. We remind them of the insistent evangelical teaching of indifference to worldly goods . . . The wealth, luxury and squandering of a few are a permanent insult to those who still live in misery*" (*El Mercurio*, 4/20/72, and *El Siglo*, 4/16/72. — The emphasis is ours).

c) Strange distortion of reality

Shortly more than a year after the general uprising that would culminate in the overthrow of Allendeism, the Bishops (while trying to overlook the bankrupt state into which the Allende regime was precipitating both rich and poor), persisted in affirming, against all evidence, that the will of the great majority of Chileans desired the process of revolutionary changes being imposed by Marxism. Moreover, the reminder that was given to thousands of unjustly despoiled Chileans about "indifference to worldly goods" sounds like a refined and cruel gibe, coming as it does from the very ones who had contributed to the establishment of the system of oppression that was strangling our country. It is put down in writing here as one more example of inversion of

values and realities which will help us fulfill the purpose of this work and provide a lesson for future generations.

## 2. The "First Latin American Encounter of Christians for Socialism"

Scandalous manifestation of radical Priests

At this point an event occurred in Chile which, because of the importance given to it by the national and international press and the impudence of its perpetrators, surpassed the previous audacious militancy of the quick-paced revolutionary Clergy in favor of Marxism. The Priests of the so-called "Group of 80," which had been growing and forming nuclei in different areas of the country, set up a secretariat of "Christians for Socialism." This secretariat, tied to groups from other countries, announced that the "First Latin American Encounter of Christians for Socialism" would be held in Santiago from April 23 to 30, 1972.

...compromising elements from the entire Continent

The presence of the "Encounter," prepared by Priests who boasted of their organized and active militancy in favor of Chilean and continental Marxism placed the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago in an acutely difficult position in respect to the Catholics of Chile and the Clergy and faithful of Latin America in general.

The line of conduct of the Hierarchy in Chile — save for an honorable exception — had brought about a profound confusion and malaise in the Chilean people.

Accordingly, the development of the collaborationist action of the ecclesiastical authorities would at some point make it necessary for them to explain to their flock their reasons for acting in a manner so contrary to their essential obligations. At a certain moment those ecclesiastical authorities would have to put aside the mask of ignorance they were trying to wear regarding the anguished and silent reprobation rising up from thousands of the faithful over the conduct of such Pastors.

We have seen how the ecclesiastical authorities tried previously to flee from this thorny task by issuing sporadic general statements ineffectively calling to account the Com-

munist progressivist Priests for invoking their priestly state while favoring Marxism in a partisan political way.

However, the hour had come when it was no longer possible for the Cardinal and these Prelates to avoid publicly explaining the congruence which they imagined existed between their conduct, the Doctrine of the Church, and the duties of their Episcopal state.

Therefore, on the occasion of this new affront to the Catholics of Chile, the Western hemisphere, and the world, the Episcopate judged it necessary to give a satisfaction which was – we would say – almost an imposition.

The secretary general of the Episcopal Conference of Chile informed all the Episcopal Conferences of the Continent that the cited meeting, in which Communist progressivist Priests of different Latin American nations would participate, was being held on its own authority without the official sponsorship of the Chilean Episcopate. This communique, nevertheless, was of a confidential nature, and knowledge of it was vaguely known only because, it seems, one of the pro-Marxist Priests himself attending the so-called “encounter” reported its existence.<sup>18</sup>

The Cardinal, having been invited to participate in the encounter, in a letter of reply to the Jesuit Priest Gonzalo Arroyo – opening speaker of the socialist assembly – declared “*his deep preoccupation because of this political meeting of obvious Marxist orientation*” and, alluding to the Congregation to which Father Arroyo belongs, asked: “*How is it possible that the Society of Jesus permits itself to be thought of as having a Marxist orientation?*” (*La Segunda*, 4/5/72. – The emphasis is ours).

As usual, all of this did not hinder the Chilean Cardinal from later receiving a delegation from the “Encounter” in a very cordial audience.

Confidential communication of the CECH

Tensions between the rapid pace and slow pace revolutionary Clergy

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<sup>18</sup>This confidential document would only come to be published after the overthrow of the Marxist regime, in April of 1974. It was put out by the secretary general of the CECH as part of an extensive volume which contains the collection of the Documents of the Episcopate written between the years 1970 and 1973 (pp. 121 to 124).



Scandalous clerical-partisan organization of "Christians for Socialism."

Commenting on the audience, Msgr. Mendez Arceo, Marxist Bishop of Cuernavaca and the most representative figure of the "Encounter," concluded that what had determined the attitude of the Chilean ecclesiastical authorities was the desire to abstain from participating so that they, the "Christians for Socialism," would feel more comfortable. . . (*Que Pasa*, 5/4/72).<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>The secretary general of the CECH, Msgr. Carlos Oviedo, sent a private letter to Msgr. Sergio Mendez Arceo, Bishop of Cuernavaca, on the occasion of his participation in the Latin American Encounter of Christians for Socialism.

We also became aware of that letter in 1974, in the already mentioned collection of Documents of the Episcopate. The letter is dated May 16, 1972.

Msgr. Oviedo reveals that the participation of Msgr. Mendez Arceo in the referred to Encounter, and especially his statements to the press and television, have been the object of study and worry for the Chilean Episcopal Conference "*and for many Bishops the object of frank disapproval and rejection as well.*" Later he adds that "*in study, we have been able to evaluate those positive aspects which his presence has been able to have inside that Encounter, and we cannot do anything less than fraternally thank him.*"

As on previous occasions, the Episcopal lament is mainly directed to the fact that a Bishop is participating in "*an event that had an obvious and unquestionable partisan posture.*" Msgr. Oviedo indicates that Msgr. Arceo's partisan attitude has not been that of the Episcopate. As we have seen, aid to the Marxist cause by the majority of the Bishops and by the Priests who accompany them has been more subtle (and for that reason more effective) than what would have occurred if they had been militant in a communizing political partisan organization. In fact, such a scandal without precedent, which would have involved nearly the entire Episcopate, would have completely obviated its capacity to neutralize the anti-communist Catholic reaction.

The next cause of concern to Msgr. Oviedo was the fact that the Bishop of Cuernavaca, in a press conference, criticized the Chilean Bishops with a certain tartness.

Msgr. Oviedo defends himself from the criticism of Msgr. Mendez Arceo by pointing out that the Chilean Episcopal Conference "*is sincerely and loyally dedicated to con-*

### Part Three

...without great concrete consequences

...except confusion for the trusting faithful

The tension between the Cardinal and the national Episcopate, on the one hand, and the new international Marxist clerical organization being founded in Chile, on the other hand, was sufficiently elastic and insignificant to leave both sectors comfortably situated. This dispute signified nothing serious in the march of the comunization process of Chile. On the contrary, it served to submerge the trusting faithful in an even more confusing silence which made it more difficult for them to construct as a whole the religious-ideological process tearing them apart in the hidden recesses of their consciences.

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*tributing to social justice in the country. Recalling only the last decade, we can remember pastoral documents and deeds carried out by the Chilean Episcopate concerning agrarian reform, the participation of the people in the gestation of the common good, the evangelizing of precisely the most dynamic circles which lead to the process of change, the duty of the Christian in the construction of the world, etc. At the same time, we respect pluralism in the search for the common good and (the sharing of) political power between Christians and all citizens" (see Documents of the Episcopate, Chile, 1970-1973, pp. 137 to 139).*

In conclusion, then, the position is to maintain the conduct that has been destroying the Church and Chile; the only thing being rejected is participation in clearly Marxist political-partisan organizations. Nevertheless, it is thought that the Church should support a process of social changes (which in Chile had acquired in fact a clear character of Marxist inspiration) so long as it does not proclaim itself openly atheist and violently persecuting. The secretary general of the CECH reveals that he is in agreement with the ideological pluralism that in Chile made collaboration between Christians and Marxists easier, allowing these latter complete liberty of action which permitted them to attain power.

Finally, it is interesting to point out that Msgr. Oviedo indicates that three Provincial Bishops asked the Episcopal Conference publicly to pronounce itself against the statements of Msgr. Mendez Arceo.

Instead, the Permanent Committee decided to send a personal letter to the Bishop of Cuernavaca to convey to him the reactions that his attitude had provoked in Chile.



Besides, concerning the Chilean Priests who participated in the "Encounter" (and who ipso facto showed themselves to be without moral and doctrinal competence to form the opinion of their faithful in this delicate situation), it is not clear that they were deprived of their posts or of the prestige that they had up until that time enjoyed for their nefarious work.

No effective measure...

The preoccupation of the Cardinal, as on previous occasions, seemed to be mainly with the fact, so to speak material, that the Priests had participated, as such, in a partisan political meeting. What he criticized was a way of collaborating directly with Marxism. . . a way that was grossly scandalous in the eyes of the public that condemned it.

Such reservations of the Cardinal, as we see, were not accompanied by known canonical sanctions, nor by practical measures of doctrinal and pastoral action which would have put a stop to the heretical action of the pro-Marxist Priests.

So then, the tension between the Chilean Cardinal and the "Christians for Socialism" was kept within the limits necessary for the continuation of the revolutionary process, as we have already said.

...and the revolutionary process continued

### 3. Prestige lent to Marxist institutions and personalities

A few days later (on May 1), Cardinal Silva Henríquez would again attend a mass meeting of CUT. The Chilean public would thus see, for the second time in all the newspapers of the country, photographs of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago in the gallery next to the Marxist Allende, the Communist Congressman Luis Figueroa (president of CUT), and other ministers of the government.

Again with Allende, in governmental gathering

There are attitudes that exert an educational force upon popular mentalities, shaping them more strongly than thick volumes read with difficulty (such as for example the book *Das Capital* written by the insipid Karl Marx). This principle of social psychology should not have been ignored

Pedagogic revolutionary force of certain attitudes

### Part Three

Castro's Communist ambassador gives conference in Catholic University

by a man who had reached the rank of Prince of the Catholic Church.

Yet, the Cardinal Archbishop and High Chancellor of the Catholic University of Santiago did not bother to make any proper response, when that high level school, under the auspices of its rector, carried out a series of conferences on the countries of the Third World, to which the ambassador of Communist Cuba was invited as one of the lecturers (*El Mercurio*, 5/5/72). At that point of the Chilean revolutionary process, it would have truly been naive to hope for a communique from the Cardinal's offices showing his disapproval of something as minute as that . . .

However, if ten years before the former rector of the Pontifical University would have allowed an agent of Satan to teach in the venerable establishment instituted for the knowledge and service of the Truth, he would have immediately lost his high post. *Tempora mutantur. . . .!*

#### 4. Calls to unity in favor of the survival of the Allendeist regime

Tension in the country was increasing. The suffering of Chileans under the immoral system that oppressed them was becoming unbearable. The Pastor of the Church in Santiago made himself heard.

Msgr. Silva Henriquez appeases the discontented

Would he, at least this time, be on the side of the millions of Chileans so unjustly abused in their dignity and rights as men and Christians by a sect of egalitarian mythomaniacs? No. His call repeated the same slogan: it was a call of "*confidence in our democratic institutions, in our public leaders, called to be servants and guarantors of national unity.*"

The omission is flagrant

It was not required, of course, that the Cardinal make a call for violent battle. But in his position as leader of the Catholic Church in Chile, it had long since been time for him to make himself the interpreter of the popular outcry of the faithful against injustice. By means of pacific and suitable conduct, the Pastor could have acted decidedly to end the ignominy in which Allende was sinking Chile.

## Chapter 2

Instead, the Cardinal, before the eyes of the Chileans, raised the threatening specter of civil war, and concluded by leaving only one way out for the people: To cease the just reaction that was threatening to topple the government, and open their mind to vague feelings of confidence and hope . . . (*La Prensa*, 9/3/72).

\* \* \*

In connection with the "Day of Prayer for Chile," the Cardinal would persist in the same position. It was a question of asking for, he said — "*a rebirth of brotherhood.*"

It seems like a reasonable enough desire, but a half truth expounded in a one sided way sometimes serves error more efficaciously than if the latter presented itself brazenly.

As if the Marxist minority government were inflicting no humiliations and injustices on all the Chilean people, the Cardinal continued: "*Brotherhood does not put up with the humiliation of the weakest. It is able to forgive and to go so far as to conquer evil by good. Brotherhood does not put up with injustice, it is capable of any sacrifice to give to each person what is due to him.*"

If this is so, it becomes inevitable to ask oneself: then, why, instead of trying to calm the protests of a justly indignant people, did brotherhood not make the ecclesiastical authorities voice their support of a defenseless, orderly, and peaceful people such as ours, who have been victims of humiliations and injustices inflicted by the minority entrenched in power?

What is the object of such words? Brotherhood of whom and for whom? What motive did the Cardinal have in silencing the subjects and objects of that singular brotherhood?

The Cardinal, nevertheless, continued: *Without a doubt, we need, whatever our ideological or partisan positions may be, a resurgence of spiritual brotherhood*" (*El Mercurio*, 9/22/72. — The emphasis is ours).

The brotherhood thus suggested was disconnected from the truth, tending to lead the mind away from ideas, including atheistic and materialistic ones, while it remained silent about the real situation in Chile. It was then the vehicle for anesthetizing popular discontent.

Tendentious raising of specter of civil war

Day of prayer for Chile:

a) For an inconsistent brotherhood

b) Above ideological differences

c) Anesthetizing popular anti-Marxist discontent

Part Three

More than this, the preachers of that brotherhood in the abstract did not appear to be interested in the obligation to love God and His Church that had been publicly offended by the implantation of a disgraceful anti-Christian regime in Chile.

\* \* \*

In October 1972, the discontent of the Chilean people had reached a critical point.

Truckdrivers strike

A national strike of drivers and owners of small vehicles of transport was declared all over the country. The strikers, who were protesting against the abuses of the Marxist regime received the support of the most diverse sectors. Allende had already declared that if the people demanded it, he would retire peacefully from power.

Allendeist power totters

The Bishops decided to intervene at that critical hour. The Cardinal had traveled to Rome; Msgr. Ismael Errazuriz, Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago, had been left to govern the Diocese.

Bishops intervene

While the demonstrations of popular protest were multiplying, a delegation of nine Bishops, of which Msgr. Ismael Errazuriz formed a part, requested an audience with Allende. It was granted to them on October 20.

...asking for union to overcome tensions

The meeting lasted nearly two hours. Upon leaving the Presidential Palace, the Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago declared: *"He (Allende) gave us a panorama which was illustrative of the situation. We made known to him the anxiety that all Chileans feel at this moment. The situation — he added — is difficult but not desperate. We hope that all Chileans of good will will unite in order to forge ahead."*

Upon taking his leave of the reporters, Msgr. Errazuriz emphasized that *"confrontation would be folly. We have confidence that the situation can be overcome"* (*La Prensa*, 10/21/72. — The emphasis is ours).

...juggling the truth in favor of the Marxist regime

In other words, once again we find the extolling of a deceitful unity, cautiously formulated in the abstract, a unity proposed as a supreme good in itself, which painted as terrible divisionists those thousands of Chileans who wanted to see the cessation of immorality and injustice institutionalized by the Marxist minority.

This juggling of the truth, done under the talisman of a unity devoid of real content, tended in substance to im-

pede the rooting out of the Communist cancer, which was dividing Chileans.

At this point of the process leading to the communization of Chile, even the Secretary General of the CECH, Msgr. Oviedo, did not hesitate to declare by means of an official communique, that the audience with Allende "*was very cordial and there His Excellency heard with great interest the expressions of the Bishops and repeated to them his high aims of service for the common good of the Chilean people.*"<sup>20</sup>

Msgr. Oviedo: Allende repeated "his high aims of service for the common good"

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<sup>20</sup>It is difficult, in a few lines, to give an idea of the scale of the moral and economic catastrophe into which the Allende government had precipitated Chile.

Representatives of the magazines of the TFP's from all over the Americas decided to entrust a special team of journalists with the task of carrying out an adequate analysis of the whole Allende regime. The results of this exhaustive study were published in *Fiducia*, no. 36, of May 1974. That report was also published by the magazines: *Catolicismo*, of Brazil; *Tradicion, Familia, Propiedad*, of Argentina; *Lepanto*, of Uruguay; *Cruzada*, of Colombia; *Covadonga*, of Venezuela; *Cristiandad*, of Bolivia; and *Crusade for a Christian Civilization*, of New York.

The Bureau Tradition-Familie-Propriete also published that report as a book in France and other European countries.

We extract here for the reader some of its conclusions:

\* The socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform of Frei, radicalized by Allende, hastened the ruin of the poor and rich farms and ranches as well as the peasants, bringing chaos and violence to these lands together with an impressive decline in the production of agricultural products and cattle. This provoked enormous shortages, generating in the cities the phenomenon of "queues" (enormous lines to obtain rationed foods) and gave rise to the "black market," by means of which agents of the Allendeist government benefitted scandalously.

\* The revolutionary changes brought a misery unprecedented in Chilean History. The people fell into a lamentable

*Part Three*

Statement of Permanent Committee of Episcopate

a) Deaf ears to the just clamor of their people

On October 21, 1972, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate delivered a public statement under the expressive title: "*We ask for a constructive and brotherly spirit.*" In this statement they persisted in refusing to consider the great weight of justice which was on the side of the majority of the Chileans in their indignation at governmental abuses. They again falsified the outcome of every real

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state of malnutrition which, in turn, enormously increased the rate of infant mortality.

\* The most essential foods were lacking and Chile had to begin to import half of the food it consumed.

\* On the other hand, industry was being statized by cunning means. Labor agitation and attacks on business by terrorist bands were being provoked so that the firms could be taken over afterwards. In this way some 55% of Chilean industry was confiscated by the State. This "business reform" caused a precipitous fall in industrial production. The statized businesses showed losses. Absenteeism and disciplinary chaos became habitual. The industry of copper mining and smelting now completely controlled by the Marxist government and of vital importance for Chile, entered into complete disorder, causing enormous losses for the nation.

\* Foreign financial help (70% of which came from socialist countries) reached some \$1,250,000 per diem, in order to be able to maintain "the pacific road toward Communism." Inflation was now 300% and was forecast to be 600% by the end of 1973, in the event the Marxist government of Allende had continued.

\* Allende had the State take over the commercial distribution of agricultural and industrial products; he created a tyrannical organism called DINAC; he brought to ruin 30% of the small businessmen; and he implanted the JAP ("soviets" that controlled popular consumption), persons in the regime who blocked the distribution of products, at the same time ran a shameless "black market."

\* The verdicts of the Courts of Justice were constantly flouted by the agents of the Marxist government.

\* The hospitals lacked alcohol, medicines, gauze, sterilized sheets for surgical operations, etc. There was no way

attempt to solve the Chilean crisis, insinuating that the persistence of popular protest demonstrations in the present degree would lead to a dramatic civil war. The statement expresses timidly, and for the first time, a concern about the economic situation. However, it asks "*that constitutional continuity be preserved along with respect and obedience to the legitimate authority*" and "*that the process of changes tending to free the poor from any situation of injustice or misery and to establish equality among all Chileans be continued . . .*" (*El Mercurio*, 10/22/72; *Documents of the Episcopate*, Chile, 1970-1973, page 146. — The emphasis is ours).

What can be said in the face of these statements?

...raising the phantom of civil war

b) that "legitimate authority" be obeyed

c) that the revolutionary process continue

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of providing special diets for the sick. Hospitalized persons were dying because they could not be operated on for lack of medicine. In the meantime the Marxists were constructing clandestine hospitals to be used during the violent struggle they were preparing to unleash in order to dominate the country by force.

\* Along with economic ruin, the socialist State was promoting the moral corruption of the people. There was a program of vulgar atheism for kindergarten pupils. A plan for a "Unified National School" for the Marxization of education would be launched between the end of 1972 and the beginning of 1973.

\* Allende did not hide the fact that his regime was a transition step on the road toward Marxist socialism. To dominate the enormous wave of protests, the Marxist regime, which wanted to give democratic aspects to its "road to socialism," was setting up subtle means to establish a police dictatorship. Accordingly, the Political Police had departments which specialized in the defamation of anti-communists. And political prisoners were brutally tortured. The opposition press was completely hemmed in. In its final phase, the Allendeist regime was preparing to put into execution a national plan that would bloodily eliminate — with the help of 13,000 foreign terrorist elements — its main opponents and would implant a "dictatorship of the proletariat" of the classic type.

\* While the "liberating" communization by "legal means" was being carried on in Chile, the spontaneous pop-

*Part Three*

The stubborn insistence on collaborating with the regime

— Chile was groaning and writhing in generalized poverty, as all of her rights were being systematically violated; meanwhile, the Bishops wanted the collectivist and egalitarian process that was destroying the country to continue.

It was not easy to face such a terrible abandonment of one of the most essential duties of their sacred charge as was the case with their refusal to do battle against the radically anti-Christian Communism rending the nation; yet — even worse — the people of Chile were obliged to face the spectacle of a determined collaboration with Marxism where even the ignominious falsification of the most evident reality prevailed.

\* \* \*

From Rome: the Cardinal offers help to Allende

To complete the terrible panorama in that hour when the task of maintaining the Marxist president in power was becoming difficult, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, from Rome, sent a public message to Allende expressing his concern over the events and offering to return immediately

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ular indignation of the majority was increasing. At the end of 1971, the famous marches of the “empty pots” began, in which thousands of women from every social strata participated. In addition, there were other massive demonstrations, such as strikes, complaints, etc., outstanding among which were strikes against agrarian socialism, which came to include more than 400,000 farm workers. From January to April 1973, more than 43 worker or peasant strikes were counted. Finally, a strike of miners, teamsters, and businessmen led the country to being paralyzed, and resulted in a demand for the departure of Allende. On September 11, 1973, a military uprising deposed the Marxist President.

\* Numerous thefts of money and other items, together with moral scandal and frightful orgies carried out in the presidential residences (all documented in an irrefutable manner), would come to confirm, after the fall of Allende, what the majority of Chileans had already suspected.



to the country if the leader who was oppressing his people thought it necessary (*El Mercurio*, 10/29/72).

\* \* \*

Having returned from Rome, the Cardinal published an extensive document wherein he set forth the conditions that, to his way of thinking, were necessary to establish understanding, harmony, and tranquility between the two factions in the battle.

Once again, the collaborationist indications of the last Episcopal interventions were repeated in general terms without reflecting even a small part of the drama of the communization of Chile and the attempts against natural law and Catholic morality which were a part of it.

For the Cardinal, the first condition for establishing calm was respect for the legitimate authority. This principle, though in itself perfectly true, was under the circumstances and in the terms expounded, a real swindle.

Indeed, in view of the fact that Chile was then manifesting a general protest against the Allendeist government, to maintain this principle without specifying concretely how it should be applied was to insinuate that the well-founded reaction of Chilean public opinion constituted an unjust rebellion against the legitimate exercise of power by a true authority.

Without even considering that a system which violates the natural and divine law cannot be made legitimate by any electoral majority, we must still point out that Allende had made evident that his authority was invalid by his systematic violation — and that on principle — of natural law and by his expressed intention to lead Chile to integral Communism by means of Marxist socialism.

On the other hand, it is necessary for us to state that we never saw the Cardinal invoke respect for the authority and legitimate rights of owners on their lands, for example, when the missionaries of the Archdiocese of Santiago urged the farm workers to take subversive action against them, or when this authority and rights were denied by the institutionalized violence of the Allendeist government and by the action of Mirist hordes.

Continuing, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago dislocated the center of the ideological and moral question

Returned to Santiago, Cardinal publishes document:

a) Ignores drama of communization of Chile

...and attempts against natural law and Catholic morality

b) Considers the oppressing Marxist power to be licit

...insinuating that a movement of public reaction would be an unjust rebellion

c) Double standard in favor of illegitimacy

d) Falsifying the nature of the conflict

### Part Three

tearing the nation apart, when he pointed out in his document: "*Chile today requires of us the generous renunciation of our pride, the arduous and intelligent search for solutions which, overcoming the present conflict, may build the future grandeur of our country. For that reason, no one has the right to think of himself first, of his personal prestige or of the triumph of his own cause, when what is at stake is the institutional life of the nation.*"

On reading these sentences, it would seem that Chile contained two factions confronting each other for purely personal reasons or for prestige, as though morality, justice and right were on neither side or, perhaps, on both sides.

Even though there actually may have been (as always) in the political life of the nation some leaders disposed to work for their own advantage, the clamorous Chilean reality at that moment was of a different character. At one pole was the Marxist minority, which, carried away by its egalitarian mythomania, was progressively imposing on the people the postulates of a collectivist pseudo-metaphysics; at the other pole was the majority abandoned by their shepherds and justly aroused against the impious and illegitimate regime.

In that situation, the ones who were placing the very essence of Chile as a Christian country in jeopardy were precisely the Marxists, the ones causing the "present conflict" which the Cardinal Archbishop took great care not to delineate in its most fundamental characteristics. To terminate the disgraceful process of moral and material destruction of the country would not be to jeopardize the Chilean institutional life. On the contrary, it would be to save it before it was too late.

But the Cardinal, who had no right to ignore those truths, preferred to continue covering the work of Allende with a false social calm. Brandishing once again the distorted image of a bloody civil war, he ended by assuring Chileans that the road indicated by God for them was that "*of unity in mutual respect, as the best and only road*" (*El Mercurio*, 10/31/72).

The mutilation of moral notions by the use of ambiguous statements and the pledge of the sacred Episcopal investiture in order to impede the fall of the Allendeist regime

...covering up the destructive work of the Popular Unity

continued to be astonishingly inflexible constants in the Cardinal's conduct.

\* \* \*

A few days after this declaration, an act of "ecumenical worship" was celebrated in the Catholic parish of Veracruz, at which Cardinal Silva Henríquez, a Pentecostal, a Baptist, a Methodist, an Adventist, a Lutheran, a member of the Salvation Army, a representative of the Russian schismatic Church of the Patriarch of Moscow, a representative of the Moslem community, and a rabbi participated. During the act, they prayed for peace — that abstract peace which seemed to have nothing to do with true order, the foundation of authentic tranquility.

"Ecumenical worship" for peace

Immediately afterwards, the participants, led by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, headed for the palace "La Moneda" to deliver a joint document to Allende.

In the text was the vague and terribly habitual relativist refrain: "*We, a group of spiritual leaders of the religious communities in Chile, feel profound anguish and concern for the irrational antagonism that today divides the Chilean people.*"

Of course the signers say nothing of the causes of the situation which they lamented, giving it to be understood that the anti-Marxist protest constituted only one of the sides — as questionable as the other — of this dumb antagonism.

...to "recover a unity" which forgets truth

The authors of the document then said, without making a distinction of any kind and as usual nourishing a false hope of union between Catholic Chile and the Marxist anti-Chile, that "*we believers have participated in this sowing of hate by expressing ourselves in thoughtless words and lack of charity. We have also remained silent in the face of abuses arising from political passions. We have not lived like brothers of one family and sons of one father . . . . But this situation of sin cannot be prolonged any longer without taking us into a fratricidal battle of unpredictable consequences.*"

They ended by stating: "*we are confident that in the hearts of all Chileans there is a desire to recover unity in order to progress in the search for the common good which*

Part Three

we all desire" (*El Siglo*, 11/4/72; *El Mercurio*, 11/6/72. — The emphasis is ours).

\* \* \*

Meanwhile, the Marxist minority could permit sinister aspects of their true countenance to show through without disturbing the Cardinal.

Communists publish blasphemy against Sacred Host

*El Mercurio* of that same month of November relates that the Congressmen Ricardo Tudela and Ernesto Iglesias wrote Mr. Fernando Sanhueza, the President of the House, a letter asking that copies of the Communist newspaper *Puro Chile*, which had carried an intolerable blasphemy about the Sacred Host be removed from the reading room of the congressional building.

This action was taken by two Christian Democratic Congressmen (*El Mercurio*, 11/24/72).

Ecclesiastical authorities prefer conciliatory silence

How fitting it would have been had the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, the Auxiliary Bishops, the Metropolitan chapter etc., organized an act of public reparation to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament! The Catholic people of Santiago would have come out en masse for a manifestation of that kind. It would have been a reparation worthy of the offended August One — an orderly and peaceful demonstration of faith that would have brought consolation to the troubled consciences of the Catholics of Chile.

Eternal truths and absolutes

But there was nothing. The eternal truths and absolutes seemed to have been abandoned or relegated to a Platonic Olympus. Nothing seemed to be serious to the Cardinal and the Hierarchs who seconded him; their only binding concern was the maintenance of a resigned and relativist unity around the illegitimate government of Allende.

Social consequences of the Faith

For the maintenance of that unity, the faithful were asked to renounce not only their legitimate individual rights, but also the necessary social consequences of the Catholic Faith which justify and give legitimacy to those same rights.

\* \* \*

Episcopal message on Congressional elections

On Christmas, 1972, Cardinal Silva Henríquez, now as president of the Episcopal Conference, and Msgr. Carlos Oviedo, in his capacity as secretary general, issued a new document in the name of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate.

It was another call to an ethereal peace, empty of truth,

at the cost of ignoring the most elemental evidence of the facts!

Referring to the new and decisive general congressional election that was drawing near, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate affirmed: "*The worst enemy of Chile, the enemy of peace*" is that "*which fights with hate, which uses lies, fraud, calumnies, impudence, insults, threats, violence. . .*" It is clear. Who, among Catholics struggling against Communism, could favor fraud, lies, calumnies, etc.?

It was one more flagrant distortion of the Chilean reality in its very substance. The center of attention was diverted away from the Marxism-anti-Marxism struggle toward the possible excesses that might arise in the course of the upcoming electoral contest.

On the other hand those who with pernicious obtinacy were introducing the systematic and unnatural disorder of Marxism into Chile were not pointed out by the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate as the true traitors to the nation and the enemies of the authentic peace which is the tranquility of order. Everything seemed to be reduced to a question of mindless passions which had flared up as a result of egotistical personal quarrels.

Although the Bishops say that "*it is not that error and truth, good and evil are all the same,*" they did not actually seem to be concerned about the immutable principles of Catholic social doctrine being profoundly violated by the ruling Marxist regime. In the concrete order, these principles could be sacrificed to the idol of a relativistic peace. Above all, according to this Episcopal orientation, it was necessary that Catholics forget that one pole of the battle was represented by egalitarian mythomaniacs of a fanatical sect, which is the mortal enemy of the Christian Civilization (*La Nacion*, 12/24/72; *Documents of the Episcopate*, Chile, 1970-1973, pp. 147 and 148).

The year 1973 began with more than sixteen protest movements against the arbitrarities and excesses of Allendeism, including the lawyers society of Santiago, the doctors of Valparaiso and Aconcagua, the public employees of Puerto Montt, the National Confederation of Settlements and Cooperatives of Agrarian Reform, and the small craftsmen of Punta Arenas.

a) Catholics should not pay attention to Marxist-anti-Marxist battle

b) The evil would be in the unscrupulous excesses of the different contenders

c) Do not identify the sinister promoters of revolutionary disorder

d) In practice, principles must be sacrificed to a relativistic peace held up as the supreme good

1973: uncontrollable popular indignation

Part Three

\* \* \*

Cardinal wants everything to remain peaceful...

Cardinal Silva Henriquez, in the meantime, traveled to the southern province of Magallanes for a rest.

There he told journalists: *"What grieves us is to think that some time soon a confrontation could take place in Chile. It would be dreadful."*

He immediately said that he begged *"God every day for Chile to remain peaceful. It is my greatest wish and aspiration at this moment"* (*El Mercurio*, 1/30/73. — The emphasis is ours).

...as if the revolutionary destruction could be called tranquility!

How could he, without blushing, call the state of things which international Communism had imposed on our country tranquility?

It is impressive to consider, on the one hand the inconsistency of the Prelate in relation to the absolute principles he was called upon to guard and, on the other hand, the unbroken continuity of the public positions adopted by him to cover up the work of Allende.

\* \* \*

Communist-progressive terrorist alliance pays homage to Camilo Torres

The group of "Christians for Socialism," (which continued with impunity its intense activity in Chile), the Communist Party, the Catholic left, the MIR, and the Christian Democratic dissident group called MAPU organized an act of homage to the guerrilla Priest and apostate Camilo Torres.

Jesuit Arroyo: Cardinal said that socialism was inevitable

The Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo, director of "Christians for Socialism" in a press conference in the Chamber of Deputies, after singing the praises of Camilo Torres, pointed out that his movement had "supported and shared the positions of Cardinal Silva Henriquez when acting together with workers, such as in the acts of CUT and others. Besides, the Cardinal himself said on one occasion that socialism was inevitable and that he agreed with it" (*La Prensa*, 2/15/73. — The emphasis is ours).

When the congressional election was coming closer, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate once again let us hear its voice.

Episcopal "orientation" before the election...

The Episcopal precept for the anguished faithful who were preparing to cast their votes was as follows: *"Each Chilean who participates in the Supper of the Lord and who sincerely desires to love others as He loved us should consider it his urgent task to promote all those social changes which insure, around the common table of Chileans,*

...in favor of egalitarian changes

*a brotherly spirit of love, justice, equality, and mutual respect. Each time we celebrate the Eucharist we should renew that commitment, and with that light, fix our position and personal attitude in the face of the upcoming elections"* (*La Prensa*, 2/23/73; *Documents of the Episcopate, Chile, 1970-1973*, page 150).

Certainly Father Arroyo and his "Christians for Socialism" already knew what social changes the electorate should be counseled to support and how they should understand the ambiguous brotherly spirit and the word "justice," which were included generically in this statement.

Not even at this moment, after nearly two and a half years of Marxist-socialist experience in Chile (which in turn was a prolongation of the confiscatory process begun by Frei) did the collaborationist Hierarchy fail to persevere in its preaching. It was always there, launching its cry for reforms, without defining their nature, as if pretending to speak for an abstract country, in the middle of a process that was leading Chile to the final goal of Communism.

\* \* \*

From his far away diocese of Cuernavaca, in Mexico, the Marxist Msgr. Mendez Arceo manifested his hope that the Chilean people, in the upcoming elections, "*may not turn away from the revolutionary process which they began to live with the government of President Salvador Allende,*" Msgr. Mendez Arceo also begged, in his homily, for the continuation of a popular government in Chile . . . (*Las Noticias de Ultima Hora*, 2/27/73).

The Archbishop of Santiago did not think it necessary to rectify the affirmations of the Bishop of Cuernavaca which were published in Chile only eight days before the congressional elections.

## 5. Faced with the project of totalitarian Marxist education, a new conciliatory attitude of the Cardinal

At the end of 1972, a Congress of professors favored by the government had a project for the "democratization"

Continues preaching in favor of the comunization of Chile

Bishop of Cuernavaca asks that Chile not be swayed from Allendeist revolution

Government was preparing totalitarian educational plan in the midst of ecclesiastical silence

Part Three

of teaching under study. Spokesmen from the Ministry of Education gave it to be understood that they were dealing with a purely technical plan. The ecclesiastical authorities kept silent about the matter.

Scandal explodes

In March of 1973, an official report of the government about the project of educational reform reached the hands of more decided and lucid anti-communist professors. Then the scandal exploded: the Allende government was preparing a gigantic plan of education reform which was nothing more than the setting up of a shameless totalitarian machine to model consciences according to the Marxist doctrine.

The system embraced individuals from the cradle to maturity and sought to introduce its influence even in the families themselves.

The reform likewise discussed an entire apparatus of political pressure and the encouragement of class struggle in education, involving the action of the Allende – controlled mechanism of Marxist unions and the Central Organization of Workers (CUT) itself, also directed by Allendeism.

Just student rebellion in all of Chile

Students of all social levels, entering the streets in vibrant demonstrations of protest against the Allendeist project, encountered violent governmental repression. Associations of parents assembled throughout Chile.

Cardinal Silva Henriquez adopts conciliatory position

In the midst of the enormous reaction which took place, Cardinal Silva Henriquez went to meet with Allende. After the audience, the Cardinal himself took charge of declaring to the press, in a conciliatory manner, that the Church was not in conflict with the government and that, in his judgment, the existing problems could be overcome. . . (see *El Mercurio*, 3/28/73).

Permanent Committee of Episcopate continues similar line

On the same day as the Cardinal's interview with Allende, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate made public a declaration, signed by Cardinal Silva Henriquez and Msgr. Oviedo, which acknowledged, in the Report on the National Unified School (ENU) "*positive aspects that we support without hesitation.*" Among those values, as incredible as it may seem, the Episcopal declaration emphasized "*the incorporation of all Chileans in an educational process which does not discriminate against anyone for . . . his ideological position!*"



How were the Bishops able to make this affirmation about a plan which constituted a poorly veiled experiment in Marxist totalitarian education designed to dominate consciences?

As for the negative aspects, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate declared that it did not see "*emphasized in any part of the report human and Christian values,*" regretting that the educational plan ignored the thinking of other sectors of public opinion opposed to the governmental ideology.

For the Cardinal, a delaying formula would resolve the problem. For that reason, his effort with the President of the Republic was limited to asking "*that the application of this plan of the ENU be delayed, in order to allow ample national debate*" (see *Documents of the Episcopate, Chile, 1970-1973*, pp. 151 to 154).

On the other hand, there were a few Episcopal figures who independently adopted, in this Allendeist twilight, a more categorical attitude against the ENU plan. Such was the case, for example with Archbishop Emilio Tagle, of the diocese of Valparaiso.

Catholic opinion, however, absolutely did not assume the conciliatory position of the Cardinal and nearly all the Bishops. Numerous assemblies of parents and guardians turned their attention — indignant and stupefied — toward the ecclesiastical authorities who, with some exceptions, took attitudes similar to that of Cardinal Silva Henriquez. Expressions of protest came from all over the country. For example, three hundred mothers of families in the southern city of Los Angeles wrote a moving letter to the Cardinal in which they said: "*Your Eminence expects to talk, make accommodations, and dispute with Marxism. We Chilean mothers hoped to be able to count on Your Eminence, the Cardinal, on your courage, on your patriotism. We are left alone, without a Leader, and without a Shepherd. . .*"

The Chilean TFP promoted a message directed to the Cardinal and the Bishops, "in defense of the unalienable rights of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the family." This document, signed by more than 50,000 Chileans, expressed intense concern over the soft attitude that the Episcopate had

Action of Cardinal asks delaying project application

Episcopal exceptions

Catholic opinion protests against Cardinal's conciliatory attitude

50 thousand Chileans sign TFP letter asking more Episcopal energy

### Part Three

publicly adopted toward the project of Marxist education, thereby arousing apprehension that an inadmissible deal had been made on that matter (*Fiducia*, special edition no. 36, May 1974).

Bishops back up Cardinal's action

In a statement of the Plenary Assembly of the Episcopate dated April 11, 1973 in Punta de Tralca, the Bishops backed up "*the effort of the Cardinal with the President of the Republic to obtain a delay in the application of the ENU*" and reaffirmed, in cautious terms, their general reservations about the very grave project. On the same day, they sent a letter to the Minister of Education thanking him for "*the attention which you have given to our request to amplify and extend the debate regarding the Unified National School*" (*Documents of the Episcopate, Chile, 1970-1973*, documents nos. 51 and 52, pp. 155 and 156).

The conciliatory attitude of the Bishops which asked for a delay in the execution of the sinister project and their timid and cautious reservations did not succeed in preventing, of course, the Allende government from continuing the application of the Marxist educational plan in fact, in chosen strategic spots, while reserving their next offensive for a more favorable occasion.

Not even this time were they in the vanguard of a sacred struggle

The Chilean Bishops were not found in the vanguard of a sacred ideological struggle defending the consciences of children and youths as well as the rights of the family and the Church. Compelled by the circumstances to make a pronouncement that could eventually have unfavorable repercussions for the Marxist government, the Bishops formulated it once again in a way that avoided definitively associating themselves with the suffering of their flocks.

Meanwhile, running the risk of physical and moral violence from the Communist hordes in the agitated streets of Santiago and other cities, thousands of people affixed their signatures to the already cited letter of the TFP. The signers proclaimed: the Church received from her Divine Founder "*a right which is her own and inalienable and an obligation to teach directly and freely, which She cannot renounce — a right and obligation which She must defend — if necessary — even at the cost of Her blood. . . . If Their Excellencies the Bishops wish to be the authentic continuers of the dignity of the Shepherds of the past who, imitating the divine*

*Pastor gave their lives for their flock, the time has now arrived when the Prelates must come into the arena for a bloodless but heroic battle."*

However, the attitude of the Episcopate was not of this nature. Two months later, when the majority of the country was in the final phase of its just rebellion against Marxism, the Pastors published an extensive "working paper" on education, one of the parts of which was designed to formulate critical judgments of the ENU plan (cf . *Mundo* 73, no. 61, July 1973).

The obvious doctrinal reservations made in the very system of "the voice that lulls to sleep and the hand that pacifies" — to use the phrase of Clemenceau — was not what the faithful had the right to expect from their Pastors. Rather, circumstances and duty asked of the natural leaders of the Catholic conscience that they be the vanguard, and not a psychologically paralyzing rear guard.

"The voice that lulls to sleep and the hand that pacifies"



**CHAPTER 3**

**THE LAST EPISCOPAL EFFORTS  
IN FAVOR OF ALLENDE, WHILE  
HE PREPARED FOR THE BLOODBATH**

In the manifesto entitled *The Autodemolition of the Church: Factor in the Destruction of Chile*, published in the press of Santiago and the provinces toward the end of the month of February 1973 — already cited in these pages — the TFP mentioned some of the deeds referred to here. It likewise foresaw an eventual tactical step backward by the Episcopal figures, up until that moment so committed to sustaining the Marxist Allende regime in the face of the increase of its unpopularity in proportions now difficult to contain.

*“If this were to happen — said the manifesto of the TFP — the ecclesiastical statement thus conceived under the pressure of very obvious tactical circumstances could not make the Chilean people forget the past years during which it became obvious what pole of ideological attraction the sympathies of the Hierarchy turned toward, so long as they were not pressured by tactical reasons”* (see *La Tercera de la Hora* and *Tribuna*, 2/27/73).

**1. In search of a compromise formula**

In the month of June — three months before the final collapse of Allende — the Bishops of the ecclesiastical Province of Santiago signed a statement which contained

Three months before the collapse of Allende

Part Three

some signs of concern for the mantle of misery that had fallen over Chile.

...Bishops still sustain process of revolutionary changes

However, if there was an imaginable limit of collaboration in the situation, the Pastors went that far, for even this time they did not affirm that the cause of the Chilean drama was the terrible Marxist gangrene corroding our nation! It is almost impossible to imagine such doggedness. But there are the textual words of the Cardinal and the Bishops that show, from the very beginning of the document, the meaning of the compromise formula they would suggest: "*we start from a fundamental fact: Chile is a country that is in a strong process of change.*"

After this premise, in which the Episcopal statement seemed to want to fix the central lines of the Allendeist government as a kind of irreversible conquest, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago and the Pastors who accompany him quickly avoided a pronouncement about the process of change, which for them was unquestionable and indisputable.

Instead, they jumped from the field where they began toward a plane which perhaps seemed more comfortable and general to them. In fact, they immediately added that "*we place and express our reflection and our word in the perspectives of our Christian faith and not on the level of the human sciences.*"

Relativistic evolutionism

"There will always be changes" — proceeded the document. "*It is our human condition to search for the definitive goal already promised by Christ: the final resurrection when He comes.*"

What does this mean? Is relativistic evolutionism raised up as an absolute value?

Who are these Shepherds, and what is the true meaning of their language?

It is disconcerting and dreadful!

The Prelates continued announcing that "*in this perspective we want to say a word about our situation in Chile.*"

Contradictorily, the readers of the document once again found themselves placed on the concrete terrain of facts.

Their concern is tardy and cautiously vague ...

But, then, the principles for judging reality vanished on the agile and cunning pen of the authors. Next it was a matter of a tardy lament for reality, from which the Pastors drew no definite conclusion: "*We are concerned about the*

*progress of the country, about the way events are going. It pains us to see the long queues of Chileans — the millions of hours wasted each week — suffering the humiliation of living in those conditions. It seems like a country scourged by war.”*

If this was so — we ask ourselves — would not the most elemental logic require that the moral causes of such a grave situation be pointed out so that an immediate remedy could be applied? Did not some elements exist in Catholic social doctrine, which the Bishops normally would know and which could be used to pass judgment on those events, to orient the faithful and to enable them peacefully but categorically, to confront the sectarians of atheist materialism responsible for that disastrous process?

On the other hand, a catastrophe of such magnitude is not produced from one day to the next. This was well understood by the men on the Chilean farms and ranches who suffered in the flesh the beginnings of the process during the Frei government, as it was also later by the millions of Chileans who groaned under the implantation of Communist egalitarianism with the rise of Allende. Yet the Cardinal and Bishops seemed to have only recently noticed that something serious was happening. . .

The Episcopal statement continued: *“We are concerned about the black market, unleashed by the immorality of those who negotiate in an unjust way with food or other essential products.”*

In other words, the result worried them, but they were not interested in publicly discerning the cause.

What an incongruity! Who did this incongruity favor if not the authors of the general plan to destroy Chile?

Farther on, referring to the worker protests that were growing every minute against Allendeism, they added that *“currently we are watching the problem of the copper miners of “El Teniente” with the implications that this has in the life of the unions, for the progress of the economy. We condemn the growing violence in this labor conflict and we think about the sufferings that could have been avoided.”*

It would be difficult to describe the situation in Chile in a more ambiguous manner, since from these affirmations it could even be understood that the Bishops were actually

... always avoiding pointing out moral-ideological causes of the catastrophe

...hiding as much as possible the malignity of the regime

Ambiguous episcopal reference damaging to the heroic struggle of the miners

### Part Three

The preaching of  
appeasement

reproving the unfortunate miners of "El Teniente" who were heroically rising up against the Marxist oppression.

The Bishops subsequently continued their well-known preaching of appeasement, pretending to be unaware that the painful conditions in Chile were the work of a fanatical anti-Christian sect which had never in its whole existence abandoned its materialistic anti-dogmas and which only backed away like the panther in order to leap with greater strength and ferocity later on.

Indeed, the Pastors stated: "*Society cannot be built upon the basis of the principle that we are a collection of enemies. Peace will not come through the domination of one group by another. The good of society requires the contribution and the collaboration of all and the complete recognition of all rights. . .*" They later point out that "*we must search for what unites us most and not for what divides us.*"

And now the com-  
promise formula

At this point, the call no longer was to unite around the illegitimate presidential authority of Allende. The situation of the latter was, at the moment, nearly indefensible. And a compromise formula was the most that a demanding Allendeist could try to achieve in order to continue the "peaceful" road to Marxist socialism or to prepare himself better for the final aggression.

Thus, the text in the Episcopal statement which put the most distance between itself and the conduct of Allende, was the following: "*We are concerned by the tendency toward absolute statism, without adequate participation.*"

And this theme is continued two paragraphs later with the assertion that "*the Church has always denounced totalitarianism. Under this name is bidden any total and absolute system, generally based on ideologies which can be very different and at times antagonistic and which tolerate no counterbalance, no criticism, no balancing force. Let us remember the words of Christ: 'You cannot serve two masters.' It is impossible to serve both God and money. You cannot serve God and worship power*" (*Documents of the Episcopate, Chile, 1970-1973, pp. 164 - 167*).

You cannot really serve two masters: service to God and to a Marxist regime is impossible to reconcile, no matter how much juggling of language and conduct you do:





### Destruction of the Church and of Chile

Socialism brought injustice and misery for the people... but the irreverent celebrations of the spurious "Catholic"-Communist alliance continued.

Luis Figueroa, Communist deputy and president of CUT, dances the *cueca* with Sister Noemi of the Congregation of the Daughters of St. Joseph.



Part Three

and even more so when one is invested with the sacred Episcopal mission and the Cardinal's Purple Robes.

2. The Cardinal desires that the Catholic politicians come to an understanding with the tottering Marxist regime

The CP fears falling from power

On June 12, during the conference held in the Spanish city of Toledo, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago admitted that "*the Communists who know perfectly well how the people think, have come to tell me, more than once, that the Church and the Cardinal have an enormous influence on the people.*" Likewise, the Cardinal related that shortly before he traveled to Spain "*some assistant directors came, in the name of the Communist Party, to talk with me and to ask me a favor, that is, what could I do to prevent civil war.*"

In this private speech the Cardinal showed that he knew what, in his public statements, he seemed to be unaware of. In fact, referring to the Communist request, he added: "*Today the Communists fear civil war immensely; they fear it because they are not sure of winning it; if they were sure of winning it I think they would laugh themselves into civil war, but they are not sure of it; they are greatly afraid of losing.*"

Communist efforts with the Cardinal

What the Communists really feared was that the popular indignation of the majority would cause them to be overthrown.

The Cardinal wants an understanding with the Marxists

The Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago justified his conciliatory action aimed at preventing the overthrow of the Marxist minority by pointing out that "*we believe that in Chile a solution is also possible at this moment. Yes, if Catholics, the laity, since they are the ones called on to manage things and to know what political actions should be taken, reach an understanding with the Marxists, not to form a common Marxist program but to carry out and to permit the carrying out of works for the public welfare, the common good, the*

benefit of the people" (*Theology of Liberation, Conversations of Toledo*, June 1973 — see *El Mercurio*, 12/2/75).

We see here, in this attempt at justification, the repetition of the same consistent conduct: obviously, the Chilean Cardinal could not declare himself to be a partisan of a "Marxist program" (that would have been the last straw!). His invitation to Catholics overlooked three years of unjust and immoral reforms which were leading to the communization of Chile. His call was to a common program "for the good of the people," a contract with those who seek on principle to de-christianize them.

This proposal had the effect of prolonging in power the anti-Christian sectarians who only make agreements or retreat in order to dominate more surely and completely.

In this conduct of the Prelate one cannot recognize the clear and balanced teaching which the Pontifical Teaching has, for centuries, imparted concerning relations with the enemies of the Church and of Christianity, on the nature of heretical movements, on Communism, the opposition between the children of light and the children of darkness, and the dogma of original sin, with all its concrete consequences in the individual and social life of man.

...prolonging the rule of the anti-Christian sect

### 3. Regarding the dialogue between Allende and the Christian Democrats, the Cardinal requests a truce to gain a little more time

The miners of "El Teniente" had for several weeks staged a resistance strike against the Marxist government. They received backing from all points in Chile. A dissident group from the Central Organization of Workers supported them. The second strike of truckdrivers began and received the united help of Chileans from all social classes. The youth of "Fatherland and Liberty" heroically carried on their anti-communist fight. Rumors swarmed about a discontent existing in military circles concerning the socialist regime.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, upon his return to Chile, intervened once again. A new statement from the

Government now is not able to survive

Part Three

Permanent Committee of the Episcopate was made public over his signature and that of Msgr. Oviedo.

Why?

Bishops ask national consensus for peace and the accomplishment of social transformations

To solicit "a great national consensus to achieve peace and carry out social transformations."

It really seemed like a horrible nightmare, but there were the stubborn expressions in all their starkness.

...they suggested a truce

...to gain time

The Episcopal leaders added: "*We ask the political leaders and high officials of the country to exhaust all dialogue between themselves.*" And more concretely, they indicated: "*We suggest a truce. The politicians know how to realize this strong desire for truce; it is not a solution, but it gives time to find one. This would permit us to search more calmly for lasting solutions, based not on the exclusion of one group or another, but on the just valuation of the legitimate and the positive which is found in both factions, and the positions which have the support of the great majority of Chileans*" (*Documents of the Episcopate, Chile, 1970-1973*, pp. 171-173. - The emphasis is ours).

In the last few days before the complete shipwreck of the Marxist socialist experiment of Allende, the Cardinal Archbishop, in the name of the Episcopate, tried in this way to gain a little more time which would permit the achievement of an agreement for rapprochement.

Can one imagine a greater determination to save the process of collectivist changes which Allende was allowing to be implanted than that which was manifested by the man who occupies the primacy of leadership in the Chilean ecclesiastical Hierarchy?

...while the Marxist minority prepares a bloody dictatorship

Let no one childishly object that it was a matter of avoiding a bloody civil war in our Country, which would last for years. The facts showed later how this truce would have been used by the infamous minority of Marxist leaders, who were preparing their forces for the bloody implantation of classic Communism.

On the other hand, the easiest means of averting the danger of civil war was for the Chilean ecclesiastical Hierarchy, with the Cardinal at its head, to search for a way of uniting itself with the immense majority of the Country by demonstrating in an orderly, peaceful, and irresistible way that the Marxist Allende and his minority of sectarians

should absolutely abandon power for the good of the Country. The strategists of international Communism, of which Allende was a puppet, knew perfectly well that in such an event the only remaining solution would be to abandon their prey.

But since the Cardinal and Bishops who followed him had shown many times already a resolute will to sustain the Chilean Marxist revolutionary process, it was consistent of them not to spare their flock the pain of this final form of collaboration, which meant obtaining a little more time for Allendeism.

#### 4. The significant Communist response to the call of the Cardinal

To mock the Chileans, the Communist Party immediately and mellifluously responded to the call of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago.

The wolf disguised as a sheep had a foreboding of the possibility of an imminent defeat. Now it hypocritically spoke the language of reconciliation between Chileans, quoting phrases from the Sacred Scripture and asking — what a marvel! — that the sheep heed the Shepherd. . .

All of this can be found in the article by the Communist Senator Teitelboim, which appeared in the newspaper *El Siglo* under the title “We respond to the call of the Church.”

There one could read, in fact, expressions such as the following:

*“This is the voice of Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez. . . Is he crying in the wilderness? He does not unsheath ‘the two edged sword,’ but asks for peace among Chileans.”*

*“Look for I am at the door and I am calling,” say the Scriptures.*

*“We Communists, open our door. And we answer. We answer, “yes.”*

*“Will there be a reply from those to whom this appeal of the Church is directed?”*

Hypocritical Communist language

...uses the Holy Scriptures

Part Three

...gives lessons in  
"piety" to Catholics

"Or will there be deaf ears? The worst are those who do not want to hear, although some regularly attend Mass and receive the consecrated Host with pious gestures."

...and support to  
the Cardinal

Then the Senator continued: "We, the Marxists, who search like so many believers to abolish the domination of man over man, answer, yes. We respond affirmatively to the pastoral appeal." And he even went on to add: "And we are eager for a 'new Chile' built on respect for each human being. . . . We accept your appeal for peace. Your plea and your call for a needed dialogue moves us. . ."

...they were eager  
for dialogue

At this hour, even the totalitarian "dogma" of the obedient servant of Moscow is forgotten. And we have these words of satanic mockery: "Yes, starting, of course, from the idea of useful and viable consensus, that no one possesses the monopoly on truth nor the only complete infallible solution to all the Chilean problems."

... and praised  
prayers for peace

And the Communist response by the pen of Teitelboim piously ended: "Although on next Sunday, July 22, we do not personally enter the cathedrals and churches of the country to celebrate the "Day of Prayer for the Peace of Chile," which the Episcopal call convokes, our companions who are believers will also raise their prayers for such a noble cause" (*El Siglo*, 7/17/73).

These Communist declarations are so eloquent that any further comment is superfluous.

The following day, Luis Corvalan, Secretary General of the Communist Party and at that time a senator, declared that the position of his party was in accord with the explanations of Teitelboim. He sent a letter to the Cardinal Archbishop in which he said textually: "I take the liberty of addressing myself to Your Eminence to declare that the Communist Party of Chile gives a positive response to the exhortation of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate" (*El Siglo*, 7/18/73).

## 5. The Government's interest in dialogue

That same day, the government itself, through its General Secretariat, accepted the hand extended toward it by the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate.

A statement by the Secretariat contains the following: *"Therefore, with great interest, the government has become aware of the message addressed today, July 16, by the Cardinal of the Catholic Church, Msgr. Raul Silva Henriquez, as representative of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate"* (Puro Chile, 7/17/73).

## 6. The letter from the Cardinal to the Secretary General of the Communist Party

Immediately, it was the Cardinal himself who answered the Secretary General of the Communist Party. In fact, the press published the Cardinal's letter to Senator Luis Corvalan.

In a main paragraph, the Chilean Cardinal said to Corvalan: *I have faith, Senator, in the rectitude, in the good sense, and in the patriotism of the Chilean political leaders and I am sure that not only will they show their verbal conformity with our hope for national reconciliation, but will take the necessary steps to reestablish the lost dialogue, 'the disarmament of minds and of hands,' and achieve, from the Government as well as from the opposition, the necessary consensus so that the eagerness for justice and peace of our people will not be frustrated by petty interests of groups or parties which exist on both sides"* (*El Mercurio*, 7/21/73. — The emphasis is ours).

## 7. The Christian Democratic collaboration for a convergent dialogue

After the entreaties of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, on July 22 Senator Renan Fuentealba — going against the feeling of the rank and file members of his party — publicly stated, for the Christian Democratic movement, the following: *"I think it is indispensable for the highest leaders of the Government and the opposition to make a supreme effort to achieve a minimal consensus . . . It is a*

### Part Three

*question of looking for the coincidences and convergences that undoubtedly exist between the government and wide sectors of the opposition, in order to continue making the transformations which Chile requires, but without impositions and taking into account the points of view of the adversary” (El Siglo, 7/22/73. — The emphasis is ours).*

## 8. Propaganda of the Communist newspaper in favor of the “dialogue”

Fulfilling the collectivist program of the Catholic left, the Christian Democratic Party, extending the first steps it made in 1964, opened the road to the Marxist triumph in Chile. It is not surprising then that the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, the Communist Party of Chile, the government itself, naturally, and the Christian Democratic Party were in agreement to save the transformations that were tearing the country apart.

Communist organ made propaganda in favor of Cardinal's dialogue

The official organ of the Communist Party had reason to become an ardent propagandist of this initiative of the Cardinal, which would open the last door for Marxism. Under the heading of “Clearing the Way for Dialogue,” *El Siglo* published, on an entire page, the points of agreement that it saw between the desires expressed by Cardinal Silva Henriquez in his statement, those expressed by the Christian Democratic leader Renan Fuentealba, and those of the secretary general of the Chilean Communist Party, Luis Corvalan.

After showing these resemblances by selected quotations, that page of Communist propaganda closes with the following revealing slogan: “With dialogue the people win and those who are against the country lose” (*El Siglo*, 7/26/73. — The emphasis is ours). It was in this way that the Communists viewed the Cardinal's initiative. It is a mystery to no one, of course, that the Communists call the party's interest, the “interest of the people.”



## 9. The interpretation which Fidel Castro gave to the Allende-Christian Democratic dialogue

The same day, July 26, on which the Communists printed that symbolic page of propaganda, the second general strike of drivers and small transport businessmen began all over Chile. The defeat of Communism was a question of days.

From Cuba, Fidel Castro saw very well — as would any observer with a minimum knowledge of the Marxist methodology — the ultimate advantages which the Allende-Christian Democratic dialogue would bring to the Red sect: *it was a question of gaining time for the purpose of launching Chile, under the best conditions that circumstances would permit, into a blood bath for the restoration of a Communist dictatorship.*

In fact, in a personal letter from Castro to Allende, signed July 29, the Cuban dictator wrote the following:

*"I see that you are now involved with the delicate question of the dialogue with the Christian Democrats in the midst of grave occurrences . . . For this reason I imagine the great tension that exists in your desire to gain time and improve the correlation of forces in the event that the battle begins . . . . Your decision to defend the process with firmness and honor even at the cost of your own life, which everyone knows you are capable of doing, will attract to your side all the forces capable of fighting"* (La Tribuna, 9/25/73).

This "interpretation" by the Communist Cuban tyrant was proven — even to persons who considered Communism under a more optimistic light — when the Armed Forces and Carabineers of Chile discovered the so-called Plan "Z," which included mass assassinations of leaders in conditions to oppose the designs of Allende.

This design was further shown by the existence of clandestine schools for the formation of militias which Allende maintained and immense arsenals and war supplies that the socialist regime had accumulated at strategic points

Fidel Castro: gain time and improve the correlation of forces for the battle

Guerrilla schools, clandestine arsenals, para-military militias, conspiracy, and plan "Z"

all over Chile, hidden of course from the knowledge of the Armed Forces and the Carabineers.<sup>21</sup>

## 10. Up to the last days

There was really no other way of explaining the fact that, though it was absolutely evident that continuing the Marxist-socialist experiment in Chile was impossible, Allende insisted on remaining in the government up until that moment. The strike of the truck drivers was now extending itself to almost all the unions and activities of the country. The authority of the Popular Unity government had been reduced to fragments in the streets. It had been contested by the Supreme Court of Justice (public letter of 5/26/73)

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<sup>21</sup> Allende and personalities representative of the Popular Unity made it obvious publicly that they were never going to cease rushing the pace of the "democratic" path toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was the goal of the first stage of the socialization of Chile.

In fact, as was proven by irrefutable facts, the Marxist minority mounted vast schemes of popular militias and guerrilla schools in different points of the country, and stored powerful arsenals of war with arms which came mainly from the Soviets, the Czechoslovaks, and the Cubans; in addition, they prepared clandestine hospitals for the fight, and had various plans for the infiltration or neutralization of the Armed Forces and for surprise attacks on nerve centers of the country in order to control it by violence.

The antecedents of this blood bath being prepared by the Allendeist regime to subjugate definitely the people of Chile were published by different press organs of Chile and abroad, and were abundantly documented by the Armed Forces and the Carabineers of our country, who issued a volume entitled *White Paper on the Change of Government of Chile* about this matter.

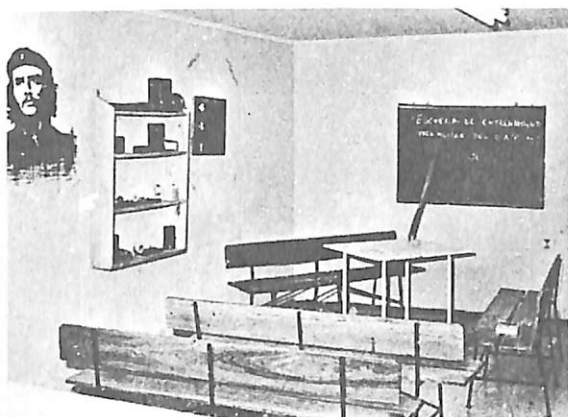
The reader will find in Appendix 7 some aspects of this sinister machination which corresponds to other plans used to enslave many non-communist nations of the world.



The monument to Che Guevara erected in Santiago and the Leninist wall murals of the "Ramona Parra" Shock Brigade were symbols of the preparations being made to change to the "violent way."



Arsenals and guerrilla warfare schools at presidential house. Marxist minority was preparing bloody dictatorship of proletariat.





...and the Cardinal prolonged the days of the immoral government by proposing dialogue and truce.

*Part Three*

and by the General Comptrollership of the Republic (judgment of 7/2/73).

Allende, certainly counting on the collaborationist position of the greater portion of the Episcopate, tried to gain a little more time. He sent persons of the Popular Unity to the man who had so many times opportunely intervened in his favor: the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago.

Their mission was to obtain from the Cardinal his promise to mediate with the opposition sectors, especially the Christian Democrats, with a view to finding a solution to the problem of the drivers and others "which affect the country."

Last efforts of the  
Cardinal

The press reported that the Prelate agreed to carry out efforts regarding the matter (*El Mercurio*, 8/19/73).

On August 22, the Chamber of Deputies approved an agreement declaring that Allende had placed himself outside the limits of the Constitution.

On August 30, the Archbishopric of Santiago convoked a final dialogue between socialists, Christian Democrats, and Communists. The place was the auditorium of the University of Chile (*La Prensa*, 8/30/73).

\* \* \*

The rapid, efficient, and patriotic intervention of the Armed Forces and Carabineers of Chile, which overthrew the Marxist minority on the glorious dawn of September 11, smashed the sinister plans being prepared by the Red sect for Chile. The Marxist contingent, which included some 13,000 foreign agents and militiamen, was not able to launch the country into the horrors of civil war.

But most important of all, the Chilean Armed Forces tore our country from the claws of a regime that was contrary to natural and divine law and to its best Christian traditions.

## CHAPTER 4

### “IN PAYMENT FOR MY AFFECTION, THEY TREATED ME LIKE AN ENEMY: BUT I PRAYED” (PSALM 108)

We have examined up to this point, in the light of the Catholic spirit and the doctrines of the Church, various impressions and observations. However, above all, we have evaluated, using the same criteria, more than 150 documents and facts chosen from a vast pile which we accumulated during a period of more than ten years.

These documents provide an overall view of the long and many times sinuous road followed by the Archbishop and later the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, as well as the greater part of the Hierarchy, in their commitment to the process of Marxization of our country. This was a commitment which was seconded by deed or omission by the Chilean clergy in general, save for some honorable exceptions.

Since this reality was first made public, we the young university students who comprised the original nucleus of the magazine *Fiducia* (in 1961) and of the Chilean TFP (in 1967) have been observing the line of conduct of these ecclesiastical authorities and the Clergy who followed them and the general configuration that their behavior was acquiring — a work which we have undertaken along with all those who in the heart of the ideological battle gathered under the same standard.

We also felt that in certain Catholic circles some Priests and laymen were willing to form a more daring and radical spearhead of that “ideological transshipment” toward the left, of which those Church Hierarchs and their Clergy were

1961: original nucleus of *Fiducia* is formed

Since then, we were following the situation

... the ardor of radical Priests and laity

Part Three

... and the more powerful action of the slow-paced Clergy

Ideological collisions which were not made public

Exchange of impressions with a minority of concerned Bishops and Priests

... at times even tears

The light which cannot be extinguished

Confidence born of Faith

Ideal of St. Pius X

the rear guard. They were the rear guard, yes, but for that very reason powerful and influential, capable of dragging the country, by their cloaked and less extremist leftism, toward the Marxist catastrophe, as actually happened.

During the first moments of that gigantic and tragic ideological transformation, there were many times and many places such as lecture halls, private conferences, hallway discussions, convent cloisters, colleges, or universities, which became occasions for the most radical elements of the Clergy and pro-Marxist laity to sustain before militants of the future Chilean TFP, a thesis which they later made public little by little.

Those ideological clashes with the most radical elements of this initial Communist progressivist revolutionary phase induced some of the present members of the TFP to convey their impressions to some Bishops and Priests who, in the seclusion of parish houses, private offices or cells, also expressed their concern and, above all, the feeling of isolation that was hemming them in before that which was being revealed as a half-defined but general drift of the Chilean Clergy. On more than one occasion, we saw the faces of those men who had consecrated their lives to the sacred mission of preaching the Gospel everywhere, become dampened with venerable and manly tears.

Although we felt the revolutionary tempests blowing in our country and in the world, faith and love for the Catholic ideal which grace sustained and nourished in our souls told us it was impossible for the light of Christianity to be extinguished forever. Not in vain did we choose as the title of our magazine the Latin name *Fiducia* which means "confidence born of Faith."

The Pope Saint of this century, St. Pius X, had inspired us regardless of the difficulties with his motto: "omnia instaurare in Christo." In words of fire pierced through with anti-relativistic Faith, the Holy Shepherd had already said in 1912, on condemning the laymen of the "Le Sillon" movement, predecessor of Maritain and of Christian Democracy: "No, civilization is not to be discovered, nor is the new city to be built in the clouds. It has existed, it exists; it is the Christian Civilization, it is the Catholic City. It is only a matter of renovating and restoring it without end on its



*natural and divine foundations against the always new attacks of the noxious utopia, of the Revolution and of impiety” (Notre Charge Apostolique, Pontifical Documents, B.A.C., pp. 401 to 423, nos. 10 and 11).*

Led on by our religious formation, founded on the true orthodox Catholic Doctrine received in our childhood and later carried forward by the notions of Thomist scholasticism held by the Church to be the guiding school of thought for the elaboration and explication of its Doctrine, we used to study with eagerness the works of Catholic authors on matters of historical, social, and natural law.

Most especially we analyzed with admiration the luminous papal documents of the Roman Pontiffs such as Pius IX, Leo XIII, St. Pius XI and Pius XII, under whose memorable reign we passed our first youth.

With these elements of contemporary religious, cultural, and political life, we confronted, in a still private and individual battle, the elements which made up the vanguard of nascent Communism-progressivism.

\* \* \*

In those circumstances, we extended our horizons in search for a perimeter of effective action appropriate to our condition as faithful and unwaveringly submissive sons of the Church, and as a result we discovered similar dramas unfolding in other Christian nations of the world.

It was with enormous relief and hope that we came into contact with that pleiad of Catholic laymen led in Brazil by Professor Plinio Correa de Oliveira, notable thinker and man of action, of whom it can be said with gratitude, satisfaction, and without fear of contradiction: he has, since his youth, been a “Catholic and completely apostolic man.” These Catholic men were gathered together in the Brazilian TFP, which was founded in Sao Paulo in 1960 by Professor Correa de Oliveira, its president. Included in the group were extremely prominent university professors, intellectuals, and professionals of sound ideological formation, as well as many young university students, businessmen, and workers from all corners of Brazil.

For a long time, several significant figures of the Clergy gave their precious support to the Catholic laymen of the Brazilian TFP. Outstanding among them was the eminently

Ardent search

In those circumstances, we extended our horizons to brother nations

The great Catholic leader Plinio Correa de Oliveira and the Brazilian TFP

### Part Three

Illustrious Bishop of Campos, Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer

brilliant and illustrious Bishop of Campos, Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, whose friendship with Professor Correa de Oliveira dates from the third decade of this century. (Both of these leaders served in the Catholic Action of Sao Paulo, the first being its Vicar General and the second its president).

It was also particularly consoling to our anguished hearts to read avidly the pages of the vibrant cultural monthly *Catolicismo*, launched in 1951 under the auspices of Msgr. Mayer, who shortly before had been raised by Pius XII to be Bishop of Campos. This monthly journal was spread with dedication by members and cooperators of the Brazilian TFP.

*Revolution and Counter-Revolution*: a masterpiece with worldwide repercussions

Especially inspiring to us in the endeavor we were determined to undertake was the famous essay of Professor Plinio Correa de Oliveira, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, which was published for the first time in *Catolicismo* in its issue no. 100. We studied that handbook of battle against the egalitarian and anti-Christian Revolution in one of its Spanish editions, with a preface by Msgr. Romolo Carboni, at that time Apostolic Nuncio of His Holiness Pope John XXIII in Peru and later Nuncio before the Quirinal.<sup>22</sup> That book has had repercussions in other countries as well as in Chile. Having been translated into French,

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<sup>22</sup>The first part of this exceptional work sums up the errors, spirit, tactics, and nature of the agents giving rise to the centuries-long process of deChristianization devastating the nations of the West. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, this process had penetrated reasonably strongly into Catholic circles through its action over the tendencies and even at the level of ideas by means of the permissivist liberalism condemned by the Holy Father Pius IX. At the beginning of the present century, it transformed itself in the laicist and socialist egalitarianism of "Le Sillon" type, against which St. Pius X heroically fought, and passed into collectivist Christian Democracy, finally culminating in Catholic circles in the multiform Communism-progressivism which was born after Vatican Council II.

In its second part, the book analyzes the nature, spirit, and tactics of the action capable of leading Catholics, with the help of the Mother of God, to a final victory over the gnostic, egalitarian, and anti-Christian Revolution.

English, and Italian, it has been published in Brazil, Argentina, the United States, Spain, Italy, and Chile,<sup>23</sup> impelling countless anti-communist Catholics in the entire world to an attitude of serene and decided militancy in favor of the imperishable ideals of the Christian Civilization.

It was a source of no small satisfaction to discover arising in Argentina a small nucleus of youths who were editing the combative ideological magazine *Cruzada*. Outstanding among these young men was the brilliant lawyer and writer Cosme Beccar Varela, Jr. Later, the young men of *Cruzada* founded the courageous Argentine Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property.

At the present time, the societies for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property are expanding in practically all the nations of South America and in the United States. In addition, there are related organizations in diverse countries of Europe.

Each of these groups is naturally autonomous and conserves its autonomy, acting in conformity with its own circumstances and national conditions; this action is always carried forward on the high level of principles and with scrupulous respect for the laws in force in each place. Accordingly, it did not take long for an authentic family of souls to be established among us. Sons as we are of the same Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, joined as brothers by the same Iberian American race, and by our geographic proximity, in difficult hours we would support one another in a Christian way on the moral plane, and exchange impressions, ideas, and publications.

\* \* \*

It is particularly moving for us to acknowledge here the unforgettable Brazilian lawyer and writer Dr. Fabio Xavier da Silveira, who died prematurely. He was an Iberian American Catholic who followed with special vigilance and attention the vicissitudes of the destructive revolutionary process in our country. His work *Frei, the Chilean Kerensky*, which

The young lawyer Cosme Beccar Varela and the Argentine TFP

Naturally autonomous groups provide moral support to one another

Moving memory of Fabio Xavier da Silveira and his book *Frei, the Chilean Kerensky*

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<sup>23</sup>*Revolution and Counter-Revolution* was published in Chile, in 1963, under the auspices of the future directors of the Chilean TFP, by *Ediciones Paulinas*.



*Frei, the Chilean Kerensky*, the best-seller which announced three years beforehand the fall of Chile into Marxism and which the Christian Democratic administration banned because it could not refute.

foresaw the Marxist catastrophe that would descend over our people, will only with difficulty disappear from the memory of Chileans.

In respect to the protracted period of suffering caused by the Allendeist experiment, we cannot fail to mention the decisive moral support given to the Chilean people in all of the countries where the standard of Tradition, Family, and Property was raised. Members and cooperators of the TFP's and entities of the same kind explained in their respective countries the terrible reality endured in our country and made understandable the ideological resistance of the Chileans against Communism.

\* \* \*

We understood then from those first contacts with kindred groups in Brazil and Argentina that we were not merely a solitary island lost in one of the most southerly nations of the world.

For this spiritual and ideological encouragement, we cannot fail to be grateful, in the first and final analysis, to Our Lady, Mediatrix of all graces. Encouraged thus, we began the task of more attentively observing the religious and civic ideological events that were gradually taking shape in our country.

The sad reality succinctly described in the preceding chapters began to form before our eyes.

How many things we could say if we fully opened our hearts letting the memories of the battle that we undertook at such an early age speak freely: How many experienced and carefully analyzed realities of Communism-progressivism were being imperceptibly organized in the beloved land of our Fathers! But the day would come when, like an uncontrollable sun, the Truth would illuminate all the dark corners of the enormous crisis through which the Infallible Spouse of the Divine Holy Ghost is passing, She who always comes out victorious and more resplendent than ever from the combat with Her infernal enemy.

Thus, we saw rise up, like a perverse nightmare, the tragic image of Shepherds in publicly known acts progressively refusing to conduct themselves as leaders of the part of the Church entrusted to them by the Supreme Pontiff and the grace of God. In 1960, when Msgr. Raul Silva Hen-

The TFP's of the world and moral support for anti-communist fight of Chilean people

We are thankful to the Mediatrix of all graces

The nightmarish vision which we saw rising

*Part Three*

riquez had not yet been appointed to the Archepiscopal See of Santiago, a number of us, along with a multitude of senior high school students of the Catholic schools of the capital, made a solemn oath in the metropolitan Cathedral never to directly or indirectly collaborate with materialistic and atheistic Communism. Soon afterwards, we saw the Shepherds of greatest influence give up the fight against Communism. They not only abandoned an essential duty of their sacred charge, but went so far as to support the same enemy with whom they had impelled us to do battle. Thousands of silenced and confused Catholics witnessed the gradual spread of this sore opening in the Mystical and Sacrosanct Body of Jesus Christ.

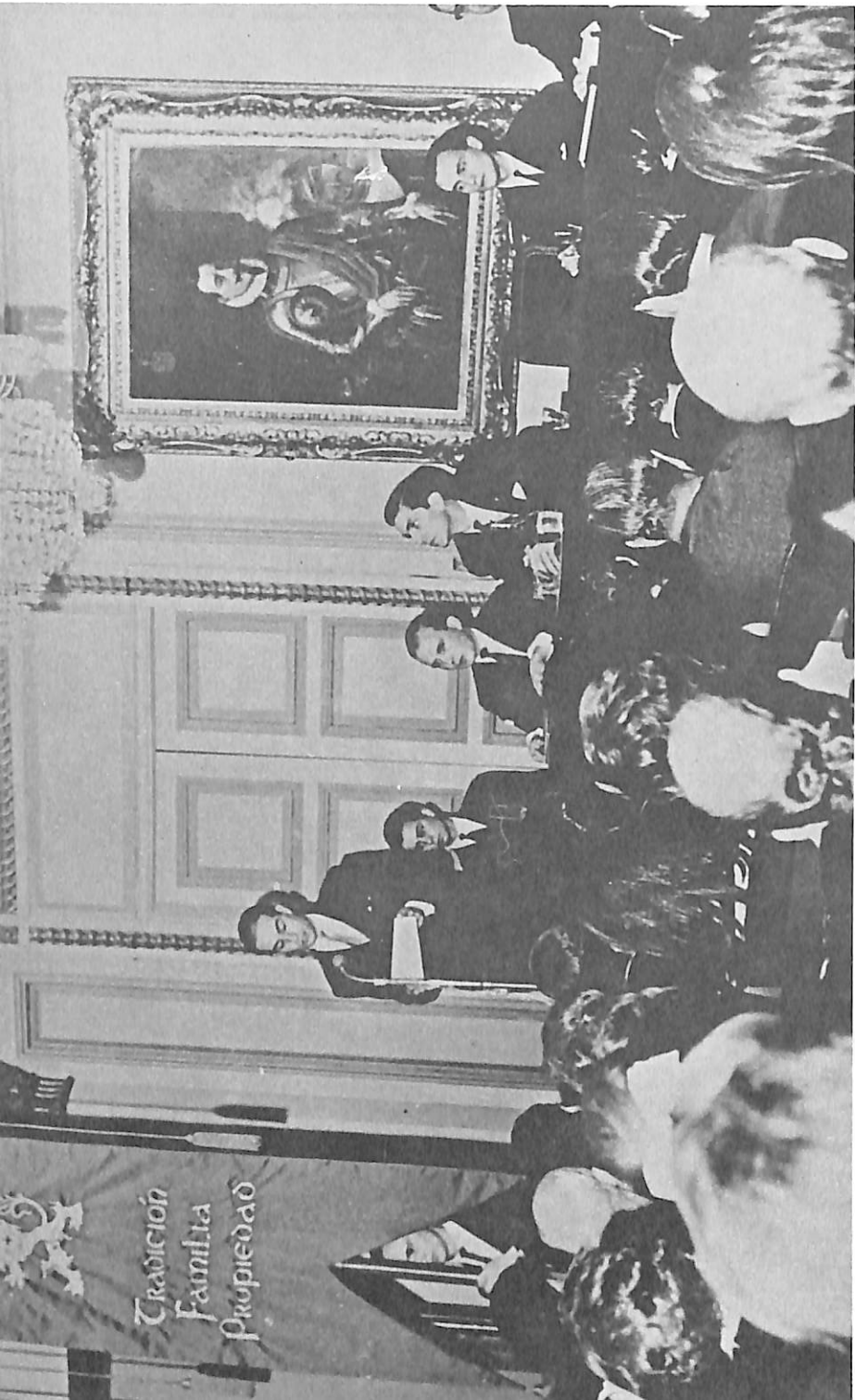
We were able to verify that these ecclesiastical authorities and their Clergy denied orthodox and prudent spiritual orientation to the faithful who had a right to it, especially in fateful moments of Chilean history. Moreover, we noted how the Prelates in question first spread ambiguities, later fomented disorientation; and finally went on to aid, with decisive and numerous public acts and positions, the very progress of the Marxist ( and for that reason anti-Christian) cause.

The moment to speak was slowly drawing near

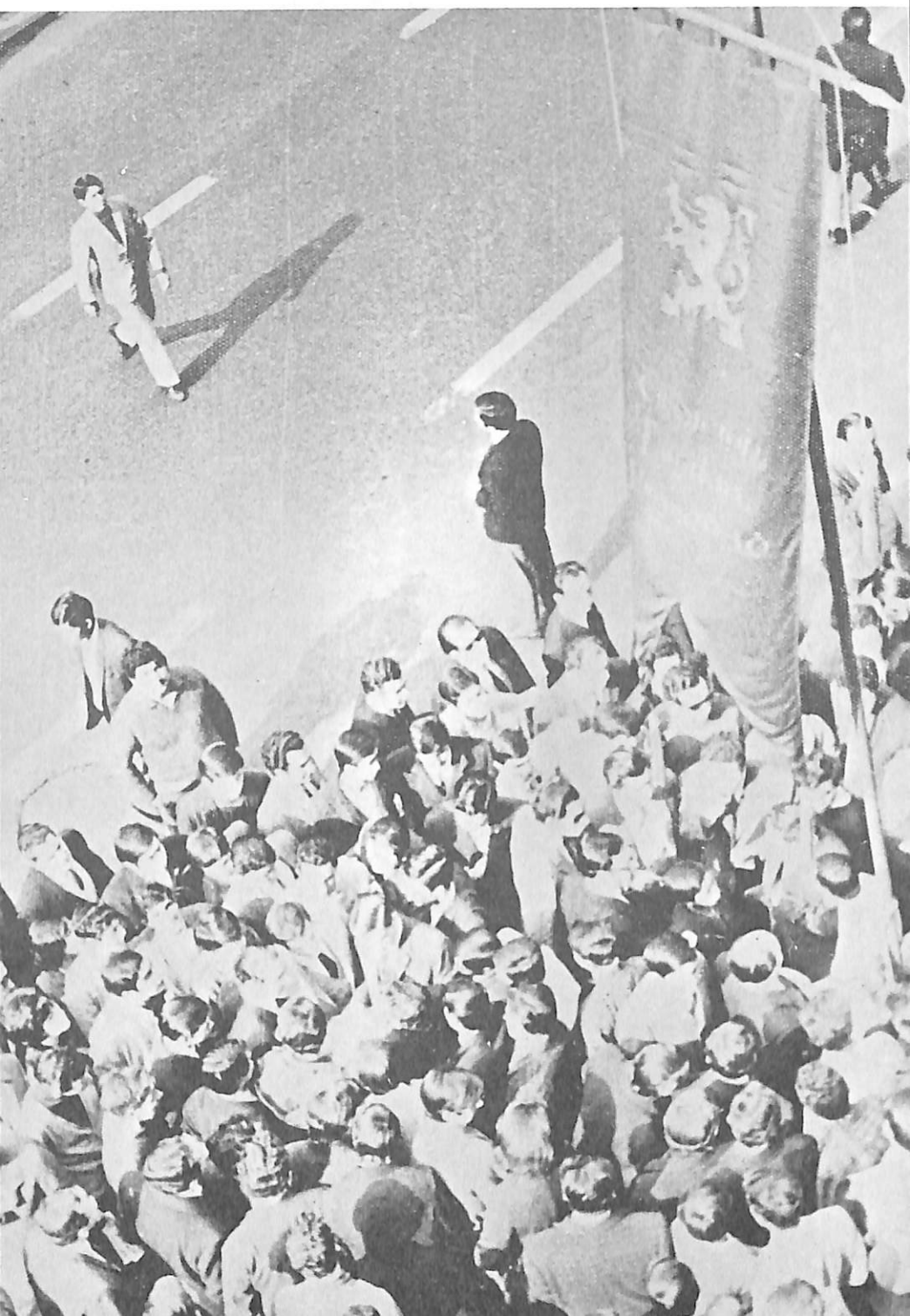
We saw the moment slowly drawing near when we would have no choice but to set forth our thinking to our country, to Latin America, and to the world and to do so in a clear way.

We were progressively breaking the silence...

The countless Catholics who have been passing through a similar conflict of conscience know very well how difficult and heart-breaking it has been to penetrate the frequently deceitful meanderings and shades of meaning with which these Pastors externalized their support of Marxist socialism. During hours of study and reflection upon the marches and counter-marches that events imposed upon these Pastors, we asked the maternal aid of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Queen and Patroness of Chile, along the course of this sad road, while collecting impressions, observations, documents, and irrefutable deeds which led us occasionally to break our silence. Accordingly, now we have accumulated an extensive list of manifestos, open letters, studies, and other writings, with which we accompanied step by step the progressive deviation of the Shepherds, manifesting to them,



In March 1967, the young men of *Fiducia* founded the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property.

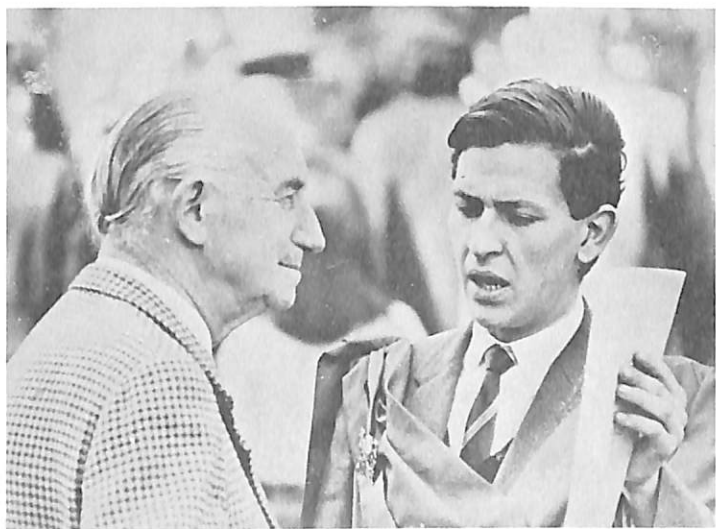




From the Church of Silence little by little emerges the voice of the TFP.



Direct contact with the public in the streets.



Part 3

... with the filial  
hope the nightmare  
would cease

with veneration, respect, and inexpressible affection, the perplexity afflicting our souls.

We had hoped that the horrible nightmare would cease, and those men invested with sacred insignias would recognize that they were victims of an unperceived ideological transhipment slowly leading them to transform themselves into an auxiliary arm of the nefarious designs of international Communism.

From these Shepherds, we always received the same answer: either constrained and contemptuous silence or public reprobation, without any refutation of our positions nor any serious and precise indication of any point where we differed from our mother the Church. Ten million Chileans are witness to this.

In payment for our  
love, we were treated  
as enemies

Like the psalmist (Ps. 108:4), we can say that in return for our affection — which at times though, had to be shown by means of filial protest — we were treated as enemies; however, we sought consolation in devotion to Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, in assiduous prayer to the Blessed Virgin Mary, advocate of the human race, and in an ever more admiring adherence to the Chair of Peter and the whole Sacred Magisterium of the Church, whose traditional and immutable doctrine we studied in the measure permitted by our capacities and limitations.

Our aid was prayer  
and love of the  
Church

The preceding pages provide examples, already inscribed in indelible ink in the history of Chile and of our Church, of the unbending determination with which an enormous sector of the Clergy collaborated in delivering our country over to Marxism.

\* \* \*

Manifesto on the  
"Autodemolition of  
the Church," our  
last attempt...

We made one last, dedicated, fervent manifestation, inviting to reflection those Prelates who were entering a path of which it may be said — at least — that it leads to schism. This statement, published in the newspapers of Santiago and the provinces toward the end of February 1973 and cited several times in this work, was entitled *The Autodemolition of the Church: a Factor in the Demolition of Chile*.

When that manifesto was published, the people throughout Chile were already discussing the malignancy of the illegitimate Marxist regime in their homes, places of work,

and in the streets. Therefore, we believed that it would lead the Chilean Shepherds to reassess the positions they had been maintaining with such a seemingly blind and terrible determination.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, his Auxiliary Bishops, his Vicars General and the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate all became aware of the document of the Chilean TFP. Nevertheless, they maintained a constrained and heavy silence in respect to it.

As a special encouragement to the Catholic faithful, it is necessary to point out here with gratitude and joy that eleven priests had the courage on that occasion to break their silence and send public letters of support for the declaration of the Chilean TFP.<sup>24</sup>

\* \* \*

After the occurrence of all these events, we still waited more than two years before resolving to unburden our consciences before Chile and the world. In the use of this reticence, we were guided by the hope that the extinguishing of the dark radiance of the anti-Christian legions who were trying so treacherously to launch our country on the road to Communism would exert such a beneficial effect that the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago and the Hierarchs and Clergy who followed him would little by little come back to themselves with the perspectives given by time and would find the road back to Catholic unity and the integral fulfillment of the duties of their posts.

We still waited two years

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<sup>24</sup>We state here in writing with great satisfaction the names of these Priests: Rev. Fathers Guillermo Varas A. and Raimundo Arancibia S., of Santiago. And Rev. Fathers Reinaldo Duran Ch., Pastor of San Rosendo; Francisco J. Valenzuela, Pastor of Lirquen; Francisco Veloso C., Pastor of San Juan de Mata; Rev. Fathers Francisco Ramirez, Pastor of San Agustin; Jose Garcia, Cooperating-Vicar; Benedicto Guines, Luis Toledo Sch., Pastor of the Carlos Mahns village; Arturo Fuentes T., Chaplain of the Little Sisters of the Poor, and Bernardo Lobos M., professor of Lyceum 2 for men, all from Concepcion (*Tribuna*, 4/7/73 and 4/11/73; *La Tercera de la Hora*, 4/9/73 and 4/11/73; and *El Sur* of Concepcion of 4/10/73).

*Part Three*

Now it is necessary  
to speak for the  
good of the Church  
and the Country

However, the process of "unperceived ideological transshipment" favoring the Marxist cause had worked on them internally more than we were able to suppose. The public events which we will relate and analyze in the last part of this work reveal that the destructive attitudes adopted by the above-mentioned Hierarchs had more lasting and profound roots.

The hour to speak had arrived.



## Part Four

# The Subversive Clerical Opposition to the Anti-Marxist Government of the Military Junta



## CHAPTER 1

### HOW COULD MARXISM ATTEMPT TO REGAIN POWER IN CHILE?

#### – THE EPISCOPATE, A DECISIVE FORCE IN COUNTRIES WITH CATHOLIC MAJORITIES

Before describing and analyzing the events of the post-Allende period in Chile, it is necessary to try to place ourselves within the real perspectives which the evolving revolutionary process had to confront in Chile and the other countries of South America in the wake of the failure of the Allendeist experiment.

#### 1. The difficulties encountered by Communism in the ideological persuasion of the people

In the twentieth century, the egalitarian and anti-Christian revolution led by Communism, has managed to conquer the governments of many formerly free nations; while this is true, it is, nevertheless, to an attentive observer as clear as midday that the Red sect has never been able to conquer the hearts of the multitudes. The fact is that the peoples dominated by Russia and China have been taken over by violent actions carried out by treason and surprise, by armed Communist invasions, or by the weakness of politicians placed in key situations in the West – for example, the capitulations of Roosevelt after the Second World War at Teheran and Yalta by which many European nations fell into the claws of Marxism.

Communism did not conquer the hearts of the multitudes

Dominated by violence or the weakness of western politicians

*Part Four*

Worldwide ideological imperialism

As was demonstrated with irrefutable brilliance and precision by Professor Plinio Correa de Oliveira in his world famous book entitled *Unperceived Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue* — already quoted in these pages — Communism, as an ideological sect which aspires to worldwide dominion, has failed in its work of persuading the mentalities of peoples.

A tiny minority

This failure has been revealed, in the first place, by the situation of the nations of Asia and Europe who have been subjugated for so many years. Having in these places an all-embracing power unrivaled by any government in the history of humanity, Communism nevertheless, did not succeed, even through the most refined experiments of the social laboratory, in attracting to Marxist ideological militancy more than a tiny minority which constitute the bureaucratic-administrative, police and political apparatus of the Party. Even within this minority scheme, leaders of the Kremlin, such as Leonid Brezhnev, have had to organize gigantic purges in the last few years, in order to maintain the socialist and egalitarian pseudo-mystique.

The purges in soviet CP

Inhabitants held by multiform violence in Communist "paradise"

It can never be emphasized too much that the millions of human beings enslaved in the cruelest manner recorded in the history of civilization are being held in the Communist "paradise" by means of a complex and sinister system of physical and moral violence. In fact, there are chains, of concentration camps, police forces with tremendous and multiform means of intimidation, and the atomization of the subjugated societies, in which people are prevented from gathering together and moving from one city to another without authorization or without being spied upon. In short, the iron and bamboo curtains are maintained with shameless insolence, while the Red leaders are speaking the deceitful language of rapprochement with the West.

Hypocrisy of "detente"

Successive revolts suffocated by Russian tanks

This obvious reality is reinforced as the dominated nations mount successive explosions of legitimate revolt against the yoke of infamy subjecting them: in 1953 it was East Germany; in 1956, Hungary; more recently, in 1968, Czechoslovakia; in December of 1970, Catholic Poland (where a hungry and desperate people rose up in various cities against their oppressors); and in 1971, tiny and glorious Lithuania confronted Soviet tanks and cannons.



## Chapter 1

Furthermore, the rebellion is spreading among the different nationalities within the immense Soviet empire. There is the phenomenon of intellectual and scientific dissidence, and, what is more important, the uncontrollable rebirth of the thirst for God in the young people who have grown up under the sinister Communist winter. All this is known throughout the world.

In addition, another noisy failure has completely shattered the fallacious pretexts of the egalitarian and anti-Christian revolution which is being led by the Red sect. Its agents, while claiming to be in rebellion against the injustices of capitalism, have promised to bring a paradisaical material well-being and an unlimited technical and scientific progress to the "oppressed" people. But it just so happens that the same Communist nations that have failed through conditioning techniques to persuade the masses have also failed through collectivism to organize and produce the promised well-being. Today it is the dollars, technology, and "know-how" of the great capitalists from certain Western powers which have, for mysterious reasons, acted to save the governments of the socialist orbit from their undisguisable bankruptcy.

However, at a certain critical stage in the worldwide revolution, the leaders of Communism launched a propaganda campaign (at times whispered, at times insinuated by theatrical gestures and attitudes) aimed at convincing the West that a change in mentality was occurring among them, or at least among an important group of them. According to the new propaganda line, this change was transforming them from aggressors to pacifists, from totalitarians to democrats, from atheistic and materialistic militants into gentle tolerators of Religion and its ministers.

This propagandistic image is, however, a strategy, which has already been used on other occasions, in different ways, by the Red sect.

*"If we adopt the policy of peaceful coexistence between States — says the Communist leader Waldeck Rochet — it is also because this policy is still the best way to aid the international revolutionary movement for the purpose of reaching its capital objectives . . ."* (Waldeck Rochet, secretary of the French Communist Party at that time, report

Rebellion of nationalities, intellectual-scientific dissidence and religious rebirth in the young

Clamorous failure of the economy

Mythology of change of mentality to overcome failure in ideological persuasion of nations

Publicly acknowledged strategy

#### Part Four

presented to the Central Committee, see *L'Humanite*, 10/8/63).

For its part, *Pravda* has proclaimed the same strategic intention on different occasions. We transcribe here one of them: "*The Marxist-Leninists do not understand the policy of peaceful coexistence as a tactical maneuver constructed for a limited period of time, but as a strategic line conceived for an entire transition period from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale*" (*Pravda*, 12/6/63).

The defeatist credulity of religious and political leaders of the West, which God and History will one day judge

Influential religious and political leaders of the West, perhaps believing in this Communist line in spite of the fact that it is contrary to the most basic evidence, began in recent years a policy of rapprochement with the governments of the socialist orbit. The worldwide moral and psychological consequences of this policy have been lamentable, especially in Europe.

Artificial Communist benefits from detente

Thanks to the fabulous benumbing of the psychological and moral defenses of the free nations of the West, Communism has in recent years been able to achieve a number of conquests without advancing ideologically or increasing its capacity for persuasion. Thus, the Communists have managed to launch Portugal into the Marxist catastrophe which is devastating her, and to crush treacherously (in an aggression that cries out to Heaven for justice) Cambodia, Laos, and South Vietnam, where Catholics fought heroically without the moral support of many Shepherds from whom they had the right to expect it.

The incomprehensible lack of foresight of these Western leaders may yet bear other catastrophic fruits. Thus it is possible that Communism may get its deceitful words of peace accepted among a good part of the non-communist French, Italians, and Spaniards who, insufficiently warned by their natural leaders, may come to believe that Communism has ceased its universal war to achieve domination (see manifesto of the Chilean TFP *Indochina, Detente, and the Future of Chile*, special supplement of *Fiducia*, May 13, 1975).

The mockery of the Angolan case . . .

On the other hand, it must be noted that the recent Soviet-Cuban intervention in Angola has unmasked the blatant Communist lie of detente before all those not blinded by interest or complicity. In fact, even those North Ameri-

can leaders who promoted this rapprochement with Communist governments have now in many cases publicly repudiated this aggression by Red imperialism, which, it may be observed, though directed in the first place against Africa, is also a threat to South America.

... which darkens the South American horizon

## 2. The impasse of the Communist Revolution in South America

In South America the socialist revolutionary process which leads to Communism has met with greater difficulties. Various Pontiffs in the past had already said that the Latin American continent was the land of hope for the Church and the Christian Civilization.

In South America, the greatest ideological failure of Communism

In recent years, we saw the tremendous failure in South America of Communist guerrilla warfare incited from Cuba, which was due, as is known, to the complete failure of the guerrillas to gain popular support for their cause.

Ineffective guerrilla movement despised by the people

In fact, even the poorest sections of our nations have said "no" to Communism, when the latter has shown its true anti-natural and bloody face. The guerrillas who have tried to revive the image of the apostates Camilo Torres and Father Lain, languish in the Colombian Mountains. The attempts at rural guerrilla warfare and urban agitation failed in Brazil in 1964. Che Guevara buried the violent method in the mountains of Bolivia, and the Tupamaro, Montonero, and Mirist terrorism now constitutes only an appendix with no future, though the subversive Communist scheme tries to keep it alive with grand and costly artifices.

The Communist leaders and their Fidel-Castroist agents did not succeed, then, in imposing their imperialistic designs by violence.

The convergence of various factors demonstrates that the road to Red imperialism by electoral democracy had been effectively blocked in South America. Among these factors, we may mention the failure of the "democratic" experiment carried out by the so-called "Popular Unity" in Chile, the electoral defeat of the leftist "single front" in

Defeat of Marxist-democratic attempts

*Part Four*

Uruguay, and the weak socio-political resonance of the Socialist and Communist Parties in so many South American nations.

The Portuguese way or the ecclesiastical revolution

Accordingly, then, only two roads are now being offered as having the potentiality of returning Communism in a significant way to our Continent (with the exception, of course, of a war of aggression which could bring about a worldwide conflagration). These two ways are (1) that of the infiltration of the armed forces in the style of the coup in Portugal or (2) agitation in favor of disguised Marxist revolution demands taken up by an ecclesiastical structure that betrays its Mission.

"Non-communist hands"

*"We must build Communism with non-communist hands"* said Lenin on a certain occasion.

Those "*non-communist*" hands placed our country at the edge of the abyss, from which it was snatched by the Armed Forces and Carabineers, who made themselves the interpreters of the majority sentiment of the nation.

**3. The slogan of Archbishop Helder Camara: to lend an ecclesiastical voice to those who have no voice . . .**

Support given by a revolutionary clergy to the communization of Chile in the years of Frei and Allende

Marxism in Chile could not have reached power, not even through the apparently democratic "Popular Unity," without the long preparatory "Kerensian" process of Frei's confiscatory socialism, which was clearly supported and sustained by the majority of the Chilean Bishops and an influential part of the clergy seconding them.

But by itself the Freist governmental period would have been insufficient to lead the Marxist Allende to the Presidency. In fact, this rise to power would not have been possible without the open intervention of those Sheperds and Priests in favor of Allende during his electoral campaign and during the tense days after the shaky Marxist victory, a support which continued until the taking of power by the

“Popular Unity” in November 1970, in just the way that we have told it (see Part Two, Chapter 3).

We have also recorded (see Part Three) the facts that show how the collaboration of nearly all the Chilean ecclesiastical Hierarchy was decisive in maintaining and prolonging the sinister days of the Allende regime – which was, in all the history of our country, the government that violated most completely and systematically the natural and Divine law and that provided the occasion for the most intense penetration of the Marxist heresy in certain Catholic circles.

And now, then, having arrived at the point of the downfall of that Marxist regime, will we find certain Bishops and Priests once again extending their hands – in different degrees and ways – to the egalitarian Revolution which had been thunderously defeated in Chile and South America? Let us see what the facts show.

Would the Bishops and Priests attempt to save the Marxist revolution from its failure?

In April 1969, the Brazilian Archbishop of Olinda and Recife, Msgr. Helder Camara, responded to an invitation to inaugurate the academic year of the Pontifical Catholic University of Santiago (which was transformed, as we have seen, into one of the pillars supporting pro-Marxist propaganda). On that occasion, the Red Archbishop granted an interview to a team of journalists from the magazine *Ercilla* who questioned him about the movement “Moral Liberating Pressure” which he had launched in Brazil under the name “Action, Justice, and Peace.” In response, the well known Brazilian leftist Archbishop who, as we have said, stayed in Santiago at the residence of the Cardinal made some significant statements.

Advice of Msgr. Camara

Action, Justice and Peace, an inter-confessional committee with humanitarian ends . . .

The leftist Prelate explained that the movement was “*interconfessional, open to all men of good will.*”

This general expression has been applied for all kinds of uses and abuses. . .

The clerical revolution

Soon afterwards, making a poorly veiled allusion to the situation created for the left under the anti-Marxist regime of Brazil, the Archbishop of Olinda and Recife added: “What is happening is that there are countries where the laity do not have much possibility for speaking and acting. The temporary solution is to take advantage of the way of

*Part Four*

clericalism and for the Bishops to lend their voice to those who cannot speak" (*Ercilla*, 4/23/69 to 4/29/69).

Since the leftist propagandistic activities of Archbishop Helder Camara are well known, his expressions (though somewhat ambiguous) are very revealing.

The road mapped out by the so-called Red Brazilian Archbishop is a terrible one for an obvious reason. It provides the means, in a nation that has closed its doors and its posts of influence to the political agents of the socialist revolution, for the reopening of those doors of leftist influence and for the reestablishing of those posts of Marxist pressure. This is so because the road indicated by the Red Archbishop lends itself, according to the circumstances, to the transformation of the clergy into a spearhead of the socialist revolution, in all its hues, and one that is more or less untouchable.

#### 4. A hypothesis that imposes itself

Chileans who had suffered under the revolutionary action of the Allende years and who had begun to experience the post-Allende years could not fail to ask themselves: would the collaborationist Shepherds now lend "their voice" to an unpopular and defeated Marxist left? Would these same Hierarchs permit the apparatus of the violent subversive scheme to take shelter under the protective wing of Priests and radical ecclesiastical organizations?

The events which occurred after September 11, 1973 obliges us, for the good of the Church and our country, to analyze this terrible hypothesis head on.

We came to realize that if this hypothesis was true, the path of these Shepherds must have, according to strict logic, a trajectory based, with one or another variation, on the following plan of action:

a) To do, during the first days of Chile's triumph over Marxism, everything in their power to dampen, either by action or omission, the victorious Catholic anti-Communist fervor and to try to save the legislation that the egalitarian and socialist utopia had imposed on Chile.

b) To continue formulating ecclesiastical action only in "pastoral" terms, thereby making it easy to avoid the con-

Clerical plan of action for leading the socialist revolution in Chile

Extinguish anti-communist fervor and save confiscatory laws

Continue merely "pastoral" orientations

sequences flowing from formal doctrinal definitions (when these are imperiously demanded by the circumstances) and to avoid, moreover, categorical clashes with the official Magisterium of the Church, especially in the case of dogmatic truths implicated in socio-economic questions.

c) To idealize persistently persons who have embodied and continue to embody the defeated Marxism, and to favor a reconciliation that allows them to return little by little to enjoy their lost influence, always, however, placing themselves on a comfortable "pastoral" plane in which the concrete consequences of absolute moral principles are relegated to a really ethereal and platonic Olympus.

d) To exaggerate emotionally the excesses in themselves censurable which might possibly be committed by the repressive anti-communist organisms of the State. And to use this pretext to insist on the upholding of human rights, insinuating that in Chile this requires not only correcting possible abuses but also the tolerating of liberty of expression for the defeated Marxists so long as they do not directly and declaredly preach violence and class struggle. And to lead in this way an offensive against the legitimate and effective war on Marxism, while, at the same time, stimulating in a temperamental and non-ideological manner a public feeling of deformed compassion and fraternity in respect to the conquered revolutionaries so as to create a confusing and paralyzing question of conscience among the faithful by the manipulation of texts of the Gospels and the prestige of the sacred offices.

e) Then, to assume also leadership over the sections most affected by situations of poverty. To dramatize to the fullest extent said situations and to try not to dwell on the terrible penuries endured under Allendeism in order to permit the leftist ideological rank and file, dispersed and disconcerted, to regroup under a religious cloak.

f) To take up again in these circumstances the preaching of egalitarian and confiscatory reformism, once again waving, as if it were an evangelical imperative, the banners of the revolutionary utopia which has morally and economically destroyed so many nations in our century, and which has tortured our country in the so recent past.

g) To continue concealing the subversive action of the directly terrorist machine (which has been dismantled by

Idealize defeated Marxists and favor defeatist reconciliation

Unilateral censure against eventual repressive excesses...

... to demand, little by little, freedom of expression for defeated Marxists

... obstructing effective war on Communism and preaching fraternity which paralyzes the mind

Dramatize situations of poverty, concealing their Allendeist origin and fomenting discontent

To take up again propaganda of egalitarian and confiscatory utopia

Radical clergy to conceal the terrorist apparatus

*Part Four*

the military authorities and which is trying to reorganize itself) within certain ecclesiastical organizations of a more radical revolutionary position – without compromising, if at all possible, the revolutionary Hierarchs of the slow march.

Place anti-subversive authorities up against a false dilemma:

Permit leftist growth under clerical mantle . . .

. . . or effectively fight and run the risk of seeming like a persecutor of the Church

h) Lastly, to ensure that governmental authorities wanting to carry the lawful battle against Communism to the very end will be placed (in a country with a Catholic majority such as Chile) on the horns of a dilemma: whether, on the one hand, to permit, under the guise of a center-left clerical opposition pharisaically clamoring for justice and liberty, the growth of the Marxist left encysted in certain key points of the ecclesiastical structure, or, on the other hand, to confront the new face of subversion in the country, thus running the risk of seeming, in the eyes of the faithful, like persecutors of the Church.

Was that the way the Bishops and Priests, who had already so greatly assisted the Marxist cause in our country, proceeded?

An analysis of the public and notorious facts that have continued to disturb the Church and our country after the anti-Marxist military uprising of 1973 gives us the answer.



## CHAPTER 2

### AT THE FIRST MOMENT, CLERICAL DAMPENING OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST FERVOR AND AN ATTEMPT TO SAVE THE EGALITARIAN UTOPIA

With the defeat of Allende, it was reasonable to expect that the moment had finally arrived for the liberation of that authentic Church of Silence consisting of thousands of faithful handcuffed by iron rings of confusion and by those of fear of the canonical power displayed by the collaborationist Hierarchs.

As they could not fail to do, the concrete facts confirmed what all good Catholics already knew through the Catechism, the Commandments of the Law of God, and the Pontifical teaching: To the extent that egalitarian and confiscatory socialism was applied, the imperishable principles of Christian Civilization were automatically denied. During the time of Allende, this application took on the most obvious Marxist tenor in Chile, and, in addition, contested in many ways the Commandments of the Law of God, outside of which no social order can achieve its true perfection. Finally, the system being implanted by Allende brought moral oppression and economic misery as a consequence of its progressive violations of natural and Divine Law.

As a Christian nation, Chile was on the verge of death. The sacred vineyard of Our Lord Jesus Christ, His immortal Church, had been penetrated by "clouds of the smoke of Satan" to use the expression of Paul VI (homily on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, 1972). Many souls, among whom were even Priests, were swept into the camp of the

A terrible catastrophe still did not lead the revolutionary clergy to the right path

*Part Four*

adversary. There were many who were led to a fatal disorientation. In addition, a countless number of persons were tortured by the conduct of those Pastors who turned themselves into dogs that remain mute when the wolf approaches (like those spoken of by the Prophet Isaias) and who, worse than that, positively assisted the enemy in his efforts to take possession of the flock of Christ.

Spiritual martyrdom  
of silent flock con-  
tinues

The most dreadful catastrophe ever to descend on the Church and the Christian Civilization in Chile was so brutally evident that it was understandable for persons to expect naively and generously, the Episcopate and the Clergy as a whole to come to themselves, as in glorious times past, and to realize once again one of the most sacred obligations of their posts, perhaps putting forward their most dynamic and influential elements to head a magnificent doctrinal crusade that would bury for centuries the possibility of the Marxist-Leninist errors again being of importance in our country.

Some persons went so far as to dream of an Episcopal statement to the world such as the following: "Do not believe in that fallacious change of mentality proclaimed by the present leaders of Communism for the express purpose of making you believe that it has indeed occurred in them! Instead, alert faithful Catholics of the Church all over the world to the danger posed by the Communist scourge that has spread through all nations under the cover of being 'democratic, evolved, and peaceful'! Catholic Pastors, wherever you may be, look at Chile! We are living witnesses of the terrible drama suffered by a people in which a great part of their leaders in the religious, political, and every order allowed themselves to be led by the Satanic seduction of the greatest adversary of the Church and Christian Civilization in our century. This adversary, rejected by the peoples of the world, dressed itself here in sheep's clothing, spoke a language of peace which concealed hate, and pronounced words of pseudo-justice in order more effectively to carry out iniquity!"

This dream was not realized. The spiritual martyrdom of the faithful flock would continue. The dark stain on the History of the Chilean Church would become even blacker

through the stubbornness of some Pastors who seemed resolved to defy the most incontrovertible evidence.

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The echo of the first voices of joy with which the Chilean people had celebrated the military uprising, an uprising legitimate in its essence, which spared the country from the horrors of the civil war prepared by Communism, had not yet died away when — oh dreadful nightmare! — *“the voice which lulls to sleep and the hand which tranquilizes”* made itself felt again clothed in Episcopal insignias.

## 1. The first Episcopal statement after the uprising

Two days after the overthrow of the Marxist government, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate, adapting itself to the new circumstances in Chile, made a statement of cold courtesy to the new Government in which it externalized confidence in the patriotism and the disinterestedness which the members of the Junta “have expressed.” The statement asked Chileans in “the present given circumstances” to cooperate in restoring institutional order and the economic life of Chile. Here you have some paragraphs from it:

Cooperation “granted the present circumstances”

*“It is evident to the country that we Bishops did all we could to keep Chile within the Constitution and the law and to avoid any violent outcome such as that which ended our institutional crisis.”*

Discouragement

Were these Shepherds even at that time unwilling to identify themselves with the anti-communist character of the uprising in which their faithful flock had taken a leading role? By means of that ambiguous expression, did they want to say that the positive law was opposed to the common law of the nations and to the natural law to the extent that a superior precept had been ruling Chile in that circumstance? Were the Pastors displeased with the essential aspect of the final outcome of the “institutional crisis” that had spared Chile from becoming embroiled in a civil war? Did they still deny that the Allendeist majority had done what it had done and that it was preparing, from the height

Positive law, natural law, Divine law

Part Four

of its illegitimately sustained Power, a terrible bloodbath for the nation?

If one was to understand that they might ask for knightly clemency – very different from impunity – for the conquered, why did they not have at the same time words of warm encouragement for the anti-communist Catholic fidelity of the Chileans who gave of themselves in order to give support to men of arms in legitimate insurrection? Why did they limit themselves to cold and restrained words in referring to those men who, while not theologians, moralists, nor specialists in politics, had come to repair, with heroic decision, the errors of so many Prelates and political leaders who unworthily bore the name of Catholic.

The Episcopal statement immediately continued: “We ask respect for those fallen in battle and, first of all, for he who was, until last Tuesday, September 11, President of the Republic.

“We ask for moderation for the conquered. Let there be no unnecessary reprisals. Let us take into account the sincere idealism which inspired many of those who have today been defeated. Let the hatred end, and the hour of reconciliation return.”

For the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate to speak of reconciliation at this point was consistent with its whole line of conduct, which so favored the advance of the enemy of the Christian name. The word “reconciliation,” so legitimate and appealing in itself, was in this context emptied of its true meaning. As we shall see farther on, it became one of the “*talisman words*” which, charged with relativism, was transformed into a new and refined instrument for collaboration with defeated Marxism. In this way, those who were placed to lead the Catholic Church in Chile continued to create confusion among the Catholics of silence.

The statement continues: “We are confident that the advances achieved in previous governments for the rural and industrial working class will not be rolled back and, on the contrary, will be maintained and will grow until they reach full equality and the participation of all in national life” (see *Documents of the Episcopate*, Chile, 1970-1973, page 174. The emphasis is ours).

This first pastoral act after the fall of Marxism in Chile, was already bringing into existence again the ambiguous

To see idealism in many of the destroyers of Chile

Reconciliation while it can be legitimate...

...would be transformed into a talisman-word which paralyzes legitimate anti-communist combat

Ambiguous egalitarian goal reappears...

...which led us to the abyss

preaching of egalitarian reformism, which was the path we had walked toward the abyss.

In fact, in previous governments, especially in those of Frei and Allende, laws had been approved which, though seeming to favor workers and peasants, had violated the natural law. These laws had brought division and disorder to the rich and the poor, to the great, medium and small proprietors, and to the country and city workers, while bringing misery to the whole country. Such legislation was essentially marked by a fanatical acceptance of the myth of total equality among men, and as such it tended toward the Communist utopia of a society with neither class nor hierarchy.

Now, then, when on the basis of a myth violence is done to reality and to the natural order of things, the latter will return to their normal state at the first opportunity, thereby punishing the mythicizers. The authentic Chilean reality avenged itself by itself on the Marxist sectarians who denied it.

But, for a true Catholic, there is something to be added about this matter.

The immutable doctrine of the Church sustains that men are equal in essence but not equal in their accidents. Thus it is that the just and proportioned diversity of orders and social functions is in accord with the Divine plan of creation, and is necessary for true progress in human society.

Why was this truth — for centuries an unquestioned maxim of the ordinary teaching of the Popes — omitted in a sibylline manner at the precise moment that Chileans were finding themselves once again in conditions to begin to establish an authentic Christian progress for their country, in the ways of true social justice and peace? (See, for example, Leo XIII, Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, A.A.S., vol. XXIII, page 657; St. Pius X, Encyclical *Notre Charge Apostolique*, which condemns the liberal egalitarian movement "Le Sillon," B.A.C., Political Documents, pp. 401-423; Pius XI, Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*, A.A.S., vol. XXIX, page 81; Pius XII, Christmas Message, 1944, *Discorsi e Radiomessaggi*, vol. VI, pp. 239-240; John XXIII,

...by means of legislation and collectivist and communizing acts

The trampled reality avenged itself of the myth

Equality and difference in human nature: Catholic Doctrine

*Part Four*

Encyclical *Ad Petri Cathedram*, A.A.S., vol. LI, no. 10, pp. 505-506).<sup>25</sup>

## 2. The Cardinal avoids drawing anti-communist conclusions from the Allendeist experience

Neither an acknowledgement of the malignity of the process that moved Chile to the left

Nor a public retraction ...

Vague emotional expressions covered up the terrible injustice ...

... and promoted false conflicts of conscience

Although Chilean Catholics did not see their Shepherds lead an ideological crusade before Chile and the world, authentic Catholics had the right to expect — after all that had occurred in Chile in the immediately preceding years — that they would at least see these ecclesiastical authorities acknowledge fully the malignity of the process which moved our country to the left and condemn in terms, just as strong, the Marxist experience in which it culminated. Moreover, it seemed necessary for those authorities and a decisive part of the Clergy who had abandoned the essential duties of their posts by notoriously favoring the advance of Marxism, to retract publicly the errors and wrongs they had committed.

Instead of permitting Chileans to extract indelible, never-to-be-forgotten lessons from the catastrophic consequences of the egalitarian and confiscatory socialism that had penetrated through the open door of the Christian sheepfold, the Cardinal, on the contrary, deemed it opportune to cover that sinister reality with a veil of vague emotional expressions. The Shepherd stimulated the natural feelings of generosity that exist in the hearts of all well-formed men and which are characteristic of the Chilean

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<sup>25</sup> For example, Leo XIII, the celebrated Pontiff on social questions, enunciated a doctrine consecrated for centuries in the ordinary Teaching of the Church:

*"All men are certainly equal; no one doubts that, if he considers well the equal community of origin and of nature, the ultimate end pointed out for each one, and, finally, the rights and duties which arise from them. But since the capabilities of men cannot be equal, and are greatly different from one another in their physical and spiritual*

prototype, launching those feelings, in fallacious contradiction, against the dictates of reason illuminated by Faith.

In the religious sermon given in the "Church of National Gratitude" in commemoration of National Independence and in the presence of the new authorities of the country, Msgr. Silva Henriquez considered it opportune to affirm: "*Let our glance toward the past, be it recent or remote, be more inquisitive than condemnatory, more a detector of*

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*capacities, and there are so many differences in customs, wills, and temperaments, there is nothing more repugnant to reason than to pretend to take it all in and mix it up and to apply to the institutions of civil life a mathematical equality.*" (Encyclical *Humanum Genus*, A.A.S., vol. XVI, page 425, 1906 — The emphasis is ours).

The same Pontiff also taught: "*It must be established that the human condition must be respected, that is, the high and the low cannot be made equal in civil society.* It is true that the socialists are trying to do this, but all attempts against our very nature are useless. In the nature of men the greatest variety exists: not all possess the same talent, nor are all equally active, healthy, or strong; and from such necessary differences naturally there follows inequality of fortune. And that is a benefit as much for the individuals as for society itself, since ordinary life needs different aptitudes and diverse occupations; and it is that very difference of fortune, in each one, which above all impels men to exercise such occupations" (Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, A.A.S., vol. XXIII, page 657, 1890-1891 — The emphasis is ours).

St. Pius X condemned the new order which the "Le Sillon" movement postulated, a new order which demanded a threefold emancipation as follows: "*Today the people are under the tutelage of an authority different from the people; they should free themselves from it: political emancipation. They are dependent on bosses . . . they should shake off this yoke: economic emancipation. Finally, they are dominated by a caste called the ruling class whose intellectual development assures them of an improper preponderance in the management of affairs: they should remove themselves from this domination: intellectual emancipation.*" In this way "*equality among men will be established, and this equality is true human justice.*" This is . . . what

#### Part Four

*experiences than a judge of omissions . . . This task brings forth in us again an immense hope, one that we feel in this religious moment, all of us who in one manner or another, by one title or another, ratify our commitment to the multitudes who are hungry and thirsty for justice."*

Later he continued with the following revealing words: "*In order to be able to complete such a noble task, in these moments all Chileans, by creating a climate of understand-*

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*they want to do with human society; this is their dream of changing the natural and traditional bases of society and of promising a future society built on other principles, which they have the audacity to declare more fruitful and more beneficial than the principles on which the present Christian city rests"* (Apostolic Letter *Notre Charge Apostolique*; see *Pontifical Doctrine*, B.A.C., vol. II, Political Documents, no. 13 and no. 10, pp. 408 and 409).

Pope Pius XI, as was inevitable, reaffirmed the same principle: "*They err shamefully who pretend that in civil society all citizens have equal rights and who deny that there are hierarchies therein"* (Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*, A.A.S., vol. XXIX, page 81, 1937).

We find the same doctrine in the Christmas radio message of 1944 of the Pontiff Pius XII, who explained how the requirements of fraternity are harmonized with the necessary harmonic inequalities (Christmas Radiomessage of 1944, *Discorsi e Radiomessaggi*, vol. Vi, pp. 239-240).

Pope John XXIII is no less categorical in affirming the same doctrine in his Encyclical *Ad Petri Cathedram*. Affirming that harmony should be promoted among the peoples and the social classes, the Pontiff cited his predecessors Leo XIII and Pius XII to reaffirm the same concepts on the necessary and harmonic differences of classes. For his part, Pope John XXIII stated in that same document: "*He who dares, then, to deny the diversity of social classes contradicts the very order of nature. And also those who oppose this friendly and necessary collaboration between social classes undoubtedly, try to perturb and divide society with the greatest harm to the public and private good"* (Encyclical *Ad Petri Cathedram*, A.A.S., vol. LI, no. 10, pp. 505-506, 1959).



## Chapter 2

ing, justice, and good sense, of pardon and fraternity, should overcome our divisions and battles, we should forget our differences and our contrasting opinions"... (El Mercurio, 9/19/73 – The emphasis is ours).

It is true that he who said "that all may be one" (John 17: 21) preached a very noble and beautiful pardon and fraternity. But it would be blasphemous to suppose that the sacred, infinitely serious, and truthful lips of Our Lord Jesus Christ had made a call for an irenic union between the sons of light and the sons of darkness.

What unfathomable and overwhelming determination led the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago to preach that "our differences" should be forgotten, without having made any definition of those differences? The pardon that forgets personal offenses is quite different from a relativistic syncretism between Catholic Chile and Marxist anti-Chile!

As for the faithful who had recently emerged from the night into which Communism had hurled them, how it tore at them to receive this paralyzing exhortation, which, in that it ambiguously distorted the truth, had a nature difficult to discern, and which came to them at that hour from a Shepherd whose Authority they felt obliged to respect with no distinction of importance!

This tortuous but bloodless dilemma was made even sharper because it existed in the interior of the consciences of countless faithful, who, though often not having time or background of study required to form a balanced and overall view of the doctrine and the facts, were nevertheless forced to make a Catholic judgement about the reality that they faced and to do this in the very midst of the confusion.

How very many Catholics silenced by their Shepherds have tried hard not to think about this question!

Who can say the number of those who have made a judgment of the events, conquering with enormous effort the difficulties inherent to the matter and facing resolutely the drama of conscience inherent in assuming a position contrary to that of their Shepherds only later to be goaded by the fear that canonical powers would be used against them?

Evangelical pardon and irenic union are not to be confused

A difficult problem to resolve for the ordinary faithful

Bloodless dilemma on different levels of the Church of Silence

## *Part Four*

What shall we say then of the sufferings of those who saw something more than the opportunity of a passive reaffirmation of the Catholic social principles and something more than a sufficient public reparation slipping through the hands of their Shepherds? What shall we say of those who, led by their love for the Church and the Sacred Hierarchy, desired to see the birth of a peaceful, doctrinal, and victorious crusade that would have united all Chileans as brothers around the men called to be their spiritual guides?

Historic opportunity

In fact, after relativistic liberalism and Communism-progressivism, with their corresponding partisan politics, had worked for years to lessen or to deny the principles of the Catholic social doctrine most specifically opposed to Communism, the moment was entirely opportune to reaffirm that doctrine and to deepen to its ultimate and sacred reasons the true religious, moral, and doctrinal affirmation of the faithful in the face of the greatest and most extensive moral danger of the twentieth century, the one posed by the Red sect which already enslaves millions of human beings.

Affirm the convictions to their ultimate consequences or face the risk of a worse catastrophe

It is a precious hour for which we will one day have to account when God comes to judge the world. It is a providential hour, when we Chileans, hardened by the suffering of the Marxist tragedy that burst over our country, face the possibility of taking full advantage of the shocking experience we have suffered, or of falling more deeply than before.

If we have taken full advantage of it, all Chileans who love order will stand behind the anti-communist position that flows naturally as a logical and necessary consequence of the traditional and immutable Doctrine of the Church. In truth, either this anti-communist position is now affirmed in the mind and heart of all Chileans who love order, or else our country may suffer a catastrophe a thousand times worse than that through which it has already passed and one that is perhaps irrevocable.

The man distinguished with the high rank of Prince of the Church, to whose rule the most populous Diocese of Chile was entrusted, does not bother himself with moral and pastoral questions of this kind. He moves in the quick-

sands of relativism and of his ever urgent program of social justice, which is always undefined and always forgetful of the fact that the greatest cause of misery known in the twentieth century is egalitarian Communism.

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Days after the Sermon in the Church of National Gratitude, Cardinal Silva Henriquez headed a delegation of the Episcopate which visited the governing Military Junta. Upon leaving this audience, the delegation presented an official statement about the reasons for the visit. In it, the Cardinal and Bishops express to the Junta "*feelings of respect and esteem*" and gratitude for "*the deference they have shown them.*" They also point out that "*at the same time the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate has offered its collaboration in the work of the reconstruction of the country and in particular in the task of pacifying the spirit and all that means in guaranteeing and developing the social conquests of the workers*" (*El Mercurio and La Tercera de la Hora, 9/29/73* — The emphasis is ours).

Disturbed, the faithful congregation read that the Bishops wanted to pacify the spirit of the people. There was no clarification by the Bishops as to whether or not the legitimate vigilant struggle of the people against the Marxist sectarians (who still had not abandoned their Satanic designs) was in opposition to evangelical peace.

The cruel rings that handcuffed their consciences were held firm by Episcopal determination.

At the same time, the phrase "*guaranteeing and developing the social conquests*" awakened in the minds of poor and rich alike feelings of sympathy that clashed in a distressing way with the need felt by all to rectify the unjust and accursed laws which had hurled Catholics into class struggle and the whole country into moral and economic misery.

Here you have the ecclesiastical procedure which must of necessity be denounced for all the poisonous subtlety that it contains.

Part Four

3. The theoretically “anti-Marxist” pastoral document published one month after the overthrow of Allende

When the new military government had already been completely consolidated, the Cardinal and Bishops made public a singular pastoral document entitled: *Christian Faith and Political Activity*.

Condemnation after everything had happened

This document carries a printed prohibition to “priests and religious to form part of this organization (Christians for Socialism), and also to carry out in any way, whether institutional or personal, organized or spontaneous, the type of action that we have denounced in this document.”

The action referred to by the Cardinal and the Bishops is partisan political action of a clearly Marxist-Leninist inspiration.

“Too late,” the faithful who came to have a vague idea of the text must have thought. Those persons who had sufficient time to study at length the new 47-paged document found also — in spite of the referred to prohibition—ambiguities and affirmations that gave perfect and tragic continuity to the entire regrettable train of omissions, errors, disorientations, and collaborations that the Cardinal had maintained with the Marxism rooted out of power by the armed uprising.

The “post-factum” Episcopal explanation

In spite of everything, the Cardinal and Bishops felt the need to explain publicly the reason for entering upon the scene at so late a date, that is to say, after the lights had been extinguished and the public had already withdrawn from the room where the impious tragedy was being performed . . .

In April

In an introduction which accompanies the document, the secretary general of the Episcopal Conference affirms that “in the Ordinary Plenary Assembly of the Episcopate from April 6 to 11 of this year, which took place in Punta de Tralca,” the Bishops, six months before the overthrow of Allende, had already arrived at the general decision that “no priest and/or religious may belong to that movement (Christians for Socialism).”

Chapter 2

The secretary general of that body continued explaining that *"it was agreed, however, to postpone publication of that pastoral rule until they had the text of a doctrinal document which explained the foundation and perspective of the said rule. . ."*

TFP's and sister organizations in three Continents

In the months that followed, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate dedicated itself to examining the literature of "Christians for Socialism," which had already been repudiated in the silence of the consciences of many of the faithful guided by the "sensus fidei" and the obvious reality of the facts. As mentioned in the Episcopal explanation, the Permanent Committee undertook this lengthy examination in order to elaborate upon said document.

Examining the literature

And so the time passed.

The explanatory note points out that *"the definitive text of the document was ready by the middle of August. And although the President and Secretary of the Episcopal Conference were authorized by the Permanent Committee to make it public, it was thought preferable to wait for a final reading at the next session of the Committee. Said session was supposed to occur on September 12."* The anti-communist military uprising occurred on the 11th.

September 12th draws near

Eventually, the secretary of the Episcopal Conference related that *"final approval of the text was made at the session of September 13 of this year, some observations still being contributed at that time."*

April 1973 was already late to prohibit Priests and religious from belonging to "Christians for Socialism." At the end of February of that same year, the TFP published *The Autodemolition of the Church: a Factor in the Demolition of Chile*, which has previously been cited. In this manifesto, the TFP made public the malaise of thousands of Catholics over Shepherds collaborating with Marxism and over groups of laymen and more radical Priests manifesting Communist-progressive opinions and boasting of their clearly active, heretical, and organized commitment to the Al-lendeist cause, as did "Christians for Socialism" as well as other groups. About the Episcopal condemnation of "Christians for Socialism" (whose more ardent elements would soon begin to conspire clandestinely with Communism in exile), it can be said that the new ideological-political cir-

April was already late

A manifesto of the TFP

Part Four

cumstances in which that condemnation was made took away from it nearly all of its practical significance.

Thus, we do not need to make an analysis of that document in order to sustain the continuity of our analysis.

Bishops save the root of Communism-progressivism under the cloak of moderation

However, since it is typical of the ambiguous and relativistic technique adopted by the Bishops when they see themselves forced to condemn the extreme Marxist revolutionaries, we will take a bit more of the reader's time in the analysis of this document.

\* \* \*

The substantial part of the document is made up of Title II, which carries the subtitle "The group 'Christians for Socialism.' "

"positive aspects"

The Permanent Committee of the Episcopate discovers, first of all, that the writings published by the group in question contain "diverse positive aspects, such as anxieties and intuitions which seem to us to need appraising . . ."

Seeds which are born of the spirit

It later adds that said aspects, anxieties, and intuitions "*represent seeds which are born of the Spirit given by Jesus to the Church, which have always been present in Her, and which, for that reason, we would like to develop.*"

Point of departure of the revolutionary "prophetic groups"

Immediately afterwards, the Cardinal and Bishops enumerate, in six points, these "seeds" which seem to them to come from the Spirit.<sup>26</sup> Written in a slippery language full of implications, that enumeration is the equivalent of

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<sup>26</sup> The following are positive aspects, anxieties, and intuitions which the Pastoral Letter sees in the writings of "Christians for Socialism":

"a) *The call for a reviewing of the task of the Church, to prevent Her from becoming enfeoffed to predetermined social or institutional forms, so that, purifying Herself of interests or attachment to human prestige, She remains free to be Herself and to come to the aid of those who are most needy.*

"b) *The projection of Christians toward the problems of the world, especially toward the problems of social justice and the transformation of society, in the battle against oppression and misery.*

"c) *Structural sensibility, and a lively sense of the socio-economic conditionings of moral and spiritual life;*

a statement of the whole philosophy and spirit which encouraged the work of ideological transshipment toward Marxism carried out by "Christians for Socialism" under the Allende regime. It is no more and no less than the point of departure of the action of all the Communist-progressivist groups who shake the sacrosanct and indestructible edifice of the Church, not only in Chile but in the entire world.

This tardy document of the Cardinal and the Bishops has then all the characteristics of the action of a person

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*the demand that structures conditioning morals and mentality, negatively, be overcome; and, on the contrary, the necessity for a structural expression of the personal desires of justice and charity.*

*"d) The vitalization of theology by means of its open encounter with historic problems of the present; an impulse formative of new theological categories which make possible encounter with contemporary sciences.*

*"e) Eagerness for a real insertion of the Church into the world of the workers and the peasants, the need to preach the Gospel to the poor as one of the signs of the arrival of the Kingdom (see Luke 7:22), and on the contrary, the need for the Church to take on the mentality and the values of that world in Her own expression of faith, morality, and liturgy.*

*"f) And in general, the critical reviewing of all the ecclesiastical institutions, so that they may truly place themselves in the spirit of the poor, who possess the Kingdom of Heaven" (Documents of the Episcopate, Chile, 1970-1973, pp. 183-184).*

Thus it becomes clear what purpose the formulations of the Cardinal and Bishops will serve in respect to this "positive" program of "Christians for Socialism." These formulations will perfectly allow the Priests and religious (men and women), who participated in the cited movement or who agree with its ideas, to continue the same action within the more cautious limits that the new order of things presently existing in Chile requires for Communistic-progressivism. Obviously, in such a context, the more clever ones will avoid saying they are Marxist-Leninist, and will not commit themselves to partisan political organizations.

Part Four

who, saying he wants to destroy a tree infected by a malignant disease, prunes the peripheral buds but allows the main branches, the trunk, and the roots that sustain it to remain intact . . .

\* \* \*

Relativization which opens the doors of action for those censured

In the very act of formulating theoretical criticisms of the Marxist-Leninist method, the Bishops do not fail to point out in their Pastoral Letter that *"we are not the ones called on to determine up to what point that method can contribute some valid elements to the social and historical sciences, and therefore to social and political action itself."*

The censure previously made, then, is relativized. "Catholic"-Marxist Priests and laymen who are dialectically skillful and who have knowledge of the tactics by which heresy has always insinuated itself like a snake into the History of the Church, here have open to them the road by which they may enter when they deem it necessary.

The postponement

On criticizing the use which "Christians for Socialism" have made of the Marxist-Leninist method, they declare: *"if the attempt to assume, from a Christian vision of history, some elements of that method can have an acceptable meaning, these priests have achieved nothing like that"* (see *Documents of the Episcopate, Chile, 1970-1973*, pp. 176 to 212).

Thus, according to the Bishops, the Marxist-Leninist method can contribute valid elements to social and political action and does have aspects that can be taken on by a Christian . . .

What then, can the ordinary Catholic, lost in a sinuous labyrinth of reasonings such as this one, rely upon?

Could there be a kind of vision of the Marxist method or of Marxism itself, "purified" perhaps of its violent or directly atheistic aspects, that is acceptable for a Catholic?

Metaphysical certainty is diluted . . .

Employing this platonic "impartiality" combined with a positivistic casuistry in which metaphysical certainties do not govern the study of the sciences, these Shepherds emitted words that vaporized the Catholic spirit. Once more, the Dogma of original sin, with its corollary of evangelical vigilance, appears to be absent in the concrete order. Catholic Doctrine and Morality are thus launched into the swamp of a relativism capable of, at a determined moment, driving the faithful insane.

Concrete consequences of Dogma of original sin also absent



We noted earlier that the ecclesiastical authorities were scandalously late in reproving "Christians for Socialism" for their militant Marxism-Leninism. Now we see that that reprobation, when it did come, was, for the greater confusion of the faithful, formulated in terms clearly indicating that the collaborationist position of the Cardinal and the Bishops supporting him was only disguised, not altered.

Unaltered position

Actually, that reprobation could only have been made in a public, clear, and categorical manner, leaving no shadow of a doubt, if it were to repair the scandal, also public, which the conduct of these Shepherds had caused for Chilean Catholics . . .

To magnify the confusion, the document completely avoids condemnatory judgments of the socio-economic reforms implanted by the Marxists in Chile and sustained in principle by their collectivist doctrine.

No condemnatory judgment of the social economic reforms implanted by Marxism ...  
Right to private ownership

Moreover, we do not find in the text even a vague reference to the Catholic doctrine on the natural right to private property, in which its social function appears obviously understandable.

The poison inadvertently drunk

The effect of an erroneous preaching is usually much more harmful and disturbing when it is shielded behind an ineffective reprobation of the consequences of error so as to save the malignant roots of that error. In such a circumstance, some will inadvertently drink of the poison. And those having the sense to perceive the weeds in the wheat will easily fall into an attitude of bewilderment, since they will not find a way to dismantle the terrible psycho-ideological artifice before which they find themselves. Besides, as we have already said, they will see their perplexity increased in the face of the fear of an eventual canonical sanction, if they manifest protest without respecting all of the nuances that the delicate matter requires.

Bewilderment...

... or frightened perplexity

#### 4. The noble and just gesture that never existed

For those of our readers who may lack knowledge of the nature of the Chilean people, we repeat here the following: if those Prelates had at least made a public retraction

#### Part Four

The congregation would have easily forgiven them

of their pro-Marxist collaboration, an enormous happiness would have run through the ranks of the Chilean faithful. We are sure that the silenced congregation, spiritually tortured by those who were called upon to be their paternal guides, would have forgiven with ease and delicate veneration the sufferings and injustices that had arisen from the destructive behavior of said Shepherds.

Then peace in unity and in truth would have returned completely victorious to Chile. One of the most beautiful pages of the History of the Church and of Chile would have been written, capable of erasing with the gold of humility and of penance the sinister blackness of the past that we find ourselves obliged to parade before the eyes of the reader.

As we see, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago and the Hierarchs who follow him did not carry out this noble gesture which could have repaired, with divine grace, the enormous harm committed.

On the contrary, the calvary of the Church of Silence in Chile continued.

### 5. The Cardinal reiterates his socialist aspirations

A few days after the release of the document on "Christians for Socialism," the press announced that the Chilean Cardinal would make a trip to inform the Episcopates of North America, Canada, and Europe of the actual situation existing in our country (*La Tercera de la Hora*, 10/20/73).

Some Chileans thought that at least on this occasion the Pastor would maintain a more discreet and moderate attitude.

In the first days of November however, a cable brought statements of the Cardinal which struck the conscience of Chilean Catholics once again.

Cardinal puts Marxist government and present regime on equal footing

In fact, according to the cablegrammed dispatch, the Chilean Prelate declared in Rome: "*The Bishops offered their collaboration in the job of reconstructing the country, particularly in the task of pacifying the spirits of the people and all that means in reinforcing and developing the so-*

cial conquests of the workers . . . As Cardinal, in the name of the Church, I offered to the new Government of Chile the same collaboration which the Church had given, in all works of general welfare to the Marxist Government of Mr. Allende" (SELADOC, August 1974, no. 2, page 12; *La Segunda*, 11/5/73 – The emphasis is ours).

Here once again the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate repeated the words they had made public after the visit of Msgrs. Silva Henriquez and Oviedo Cavada to the honorable members of the Military Junta (See Part Four, Chapter 2, no. 2), but with one revealing addition: the illegitimate and immoral government of Allende and the one born of the anti-Marxist uprising were placed on the same footing by the ecclesiastical Hierarchy! This is equivalent to saying that those Pastors had renounced in concrete the battle against Marxist sectarians as far as their plans for the gradual collectivization of the country were concerned.

However, we know that not even this "impartiality" is authentic. It was not a matter of cooperation merely in relation to the "general welfare," for the Episcopal Committee led by the Cardinal supported the socialist-Marxist reforms and sustained as much as it could the essentially unjust regime of Allende.

Moreover, the same Episcopal Committee later offered a poorly veiled opposition to the legitimate military regime, precisely in respect to its anti-communism, and as we shall see, this opposition gradually became accentuated.

It began by giving the impression of cold and ceremonial courtesy and by discouraging, as much as possible, the anti-communist stance and enthusiasm of the Catholic faithful.

\* \* \*

But two days later another cable brought more surprising statements.

An AP report (datelined Rome, November 6) says, "*the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago of Chile, Raul Silva Henriquez, trusts that a Christian-Marxist socialism will one day be constructed in Latin America.*"

"Christian" Marxist hopes of Msgr. Silva Henriquez

Part Four

The same cablegrammed dispatch affirms that the Catholic agency ASCA published details of a meeting and talk which the Cardinal had with the pupils of the Seminary High School of the Salesians of Rome, and relates that a Venezuelan pupil "asked the Cardinal if he believed it possible for Marxism and Christianity to live together in Latin America."

Here is the reply of the Chilean Cardinal as it was recorded in the news report: "On responding to this question I would have to make a prophecy. But I am not a prophet. I only hope that this be possible. In the future we are going toward socialization, but in Latin America a socialism without Christian elements is not possible."

New Government is not wanted

The same cabled information says that the Cardinal asserted in the talk that the new military authorities constitute "a government that we have not formed nor desired. A future alliance between it and the Church is unthinkable."

The Cardinal Archbishop reiterates his "Christian Marxist" relativistic chimera after all that has happened in Chile!

Impossible impartiality which shows itself to be partial

The impossible impartiality of the Hierarchs of the Church toward a Marxist government and an anti-Marxist government here shows its true face: It is only a question of these Shepherds finding a way to veil their preference for Marxism.

Contradiction with duties of his charge and moral martyrdom of congregation

In whose presence are we? To what extent will the Cardinal allow his conduct to contradict the duties of his sacred charge and how far does the moral martyrdom to which he submits his congregation go?

For the Cardinal, Marxist Allende was an idealist ...

The news ends with no less surprising affirmations. Referring to Allende, the Cardinal stated, according to the newspaper version: "he was an idealist, a romantic of socialism who did not have around him men capable of translating his ideas into practical socio-economic measures . . . Allende was trying to carry out a long range dictatorship of the proletariat, but he let the Church enjoy an effective liberty. We trust in his promises concerning the Church because Allende listened to us" (*La Tercera de la Hora*, 11/7/73 — The emphasis is ours).

He sought to establish dictatorship of proletariat

One almost does not know what to say in the face of the moral insensibility and frightful coldness of these words.

The man who transformed himself into the scourge of a Catholic people and who was planning to establish in Chile the Marxist dictatorship of the proletariat, under which millions of beings already groan in the immense anti-Christian empire directed from Peking and Moscow — was this man an idealist?

The Cardinal even goes so far as to lament that Allende did not have assistants capable of carrying into practice his ideas, which were leading to the “dictatorship of the proletariat!”

These statements are so terrifying as to tempt one to think that there were journalistic tergiversations in the wording. However, the statements are entirely in accord with the pro-Marxist Episcopal conduct described throughout these pages, and the only thing that astonishes us is that they are so crudely formulated after having been expressed so often by more ambiguous attitudes or words.

It is intolerable for any Catholic Cardinal to attribute such concepts to himself. Therefore, if those journalistic versions were not truthful, they warranted a personal, direct, immediate and decisive denial, that would leave no room for doubt. We have no evidence that such a denial was published, in spite of the fact that the cablegrammed dispatch was transcribed by the press in Santiago.

The man who dresses in the Cardinal's purple garments seems certain that the Church of Silence will remain suffocated indefinitely . . .



## CHAPTER 3

### THE SECOND STEP: THE INSISTENT EPISCOPAL PREACHING OF A FALSE RECONCILIATION

#### 1. On Christmas Eve of 1973, the bitter taste of bile

At Christmas of that year, 1973, a message was issued to Chileans by the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate, which had and still has as its president Msgr. Silva Henríquez and which now has as its secretary general Msgr. Carlos Camus Larenas. The message was entitled: *"Be Faithful to Hope."*

After a preamble, the message discusses the question: *"How can one celebrate Christmas in a divided country?"*

The answer is categorical: it is not possible without reconciliation. . .

After having insinuated, from the first days of the military uprising, that the Church would not commit itself to the anti-communist fight, and after having shown a cold courtesy to the new government and having reiterated the decision to "baptize" the egalitarian utopias of the interposed leftist revolutionary process, the Shepherds went on to exercise a psychological pressure centered on the preaching of a *"reconciliation"* that constitutes a spiritual disarmament before Marxism.

*"Reconciliation has its demands"* — points out the Episcopal statement. For Catholic and anti-Marxist Chile,

Psychological manipulation of Christmas

Part Four

- these demands must be made concrete at the factual level by not having "*the spirit of a conqueror*" a concept which the statement of the Permanent Committee interprets in its own way: not to have the spirit of a conqueror "*means knowing how to forgive and how to ask forgiveness.*" After describing other forms of generosity which, in their judgment, the victors should have, the Shepherds suggest "*inviting the fallen to participate in the job of reconstructing the country, to make them feel that they are needed . . .*"
- Invite the destroyers to participate in reconstruction
- On the part of the defeated Marxists, reconciliation would imply, according to the same Christmas message:
- "*To forgive and ask forgiveness.*"
- Always the saving "distinctions"
- "*To recognize that not everything one thought, said, or did was always just or always good.*"
- "*To recognize that perhaps at some moment one caused suffering, either intentionally or unintentionally.*"
- Mocking the tragedy undergone by Chile
- "*To think that the great ideals for which many fought, the promotion of the poor, equality for all, justice for all, the participation of all, happiness within everyone's reach, are undying goals, which can be achieved by different means.*"
- Relativist refrain
- "*To accept that beyond some ideologies, at times mistaken, at times incomplete, at times illusory, lies the never completely reached but always ardently sought truth.*"
- Invitation to proselytism
- And, lastly, the Episcopal message counsels the Marxist minority to "believe that the truth is served not only with power, but also with study, reflection, the persuasive word, the convincing testimony" (*El Mercurio*, 12/21/73 — The emphasis is ours).
- The taste of bile
- This message was received on Christmas eve, a time which brings to men a thousand imponderables which recall innocence and the good and righteous disposition of all creatures in relation to their Creator who deigned to visit them as well as the pure and enchanting harmony of so many celestial blessings. It was on this occasion that the Episcopal message brought to the faithful the bitter taste of bile.
- Against Catholic doctrine and the historic truth
- As we can see, these ecclesiastical personalities made a terrible use of the natural predisposition to understand correctly and to love, which the celebration of Christmas usually suggests to men. They did this to try to create a



false problem of conscience in the Catholic faithful by means of a monstrous deformation of reality and the doctrine on true charity. Worse still, the celebration of Christmas was taken advantage of to stimulate the Marxists to proselytism!

On the one hand, the Bishops projected an optimistic image of the Marxists by including in the above mentioned, illusory terms of their message that fanatical minority which neither in Chile nor in any other place in the world has failed to demonstrate the intrinsic perversity of their designs and doctrines, where they have been able to reach power by violence, deceit, or mystification.

On the other hand, these same Shepherds seemed to want to convince Chile, by means of a bewildering persistence, that the country was divided into two equally guilty bands, both more or less right and wrong within the general relativism, and which led on by purely contingent personal approaches to the problem, had come to confront each other in a senseless battle.

Thus, some generous efforts, a few smiles, and some embraces, along with 'requests for forgiveness' by each side would be enough. And everything would be resolved: Catholics and Marxists would be able to rebuild Chile . . .

This is false. It is necessary to hold back tears of intense pain upon seeing men who had done all the harm recorded in these pages, have no fear of depositing before the manger of the Infant Jesus this unwholesome present, which is so like the reprehensible sacrifice whose smoke did not ascend to Heaven (Gen. 4:5).

This Episcopal behavior is alarming because it tends to create in people who had realized the epopee of Catholic resistance against the Communism that was subjugating them, what certain modern psychologists would call a "guilt complex" in respect to their legitimate anti-Marxist defense. Yet, it is more dangerous still if the text of the document is considered with attention.

Create a guilt complex

In reality, the document describes as "grand ideals" the ominous utopias which nearly led our country to death.

Praising ominous utopias

The "Christmas" message seems to mock Chileans when it says that many among the defeated Marxist minor-

Part Four

ity fought for “*the promotion of the poor,*” “*justice for all,*” and “*happiness within everyone’s reach.*”

And it is of no use to argue that the Episcopal text speaks of “*many*” and not of all. Mistaken affirmations — as we have seen — are usually much more malignant in their disorienting effects when they are affirmed in chiaroscuro terms than when they are presented bluntly.

Revolutionary commitment

After all that had happened in Chile (which includes these Hierarch’s continuous public support of the Catholic left, confiscatory socialism, and Allendeism), it is evident that for them at this time to issue simply ambiguous expressions which could indicate support of defeated Marxism would be to aggravate their previous behavior. How much more, then, is this true of the expressions that we have just considered, which contain, besides false concepts, the refined sophism of placating vigilance and the repudiation of Marxism and its perfidious agents, which are also moral duties for the true Catholic!

## 2. The Shepherds now favor the Marxists by a sensibility that was lacking when it came to defending their congregation against Allendeist abuses

In May of 1974, the Cardinal considered it opportune to celebrate personally in the chapel of his palace a Requiem Mass for the soul of the Marxist-Leninist Jose Toha, ex-Minister of the Interior of Allende. Like the latter, Toha was an unfortunate suicide.

Once again, “fraternity” against the truth

In April of that same year, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate made public another special document on the topic of “reconciliation” (*Chile, Nation of Brothers — Reconciliation in Chile*, statement of the Bishops of Chile, April 1974). The text was approved by nearly all of the Bishops. The names of the very few Prelates who disagreed with it are unknown.

Formulations which could be used by sectarian campaign against Chile

The text distorts the Chilean situation in the same manner as the previously referred to Christmas message. But it goes further. After presenting some formal and quali-

fied praises of the *Declaration of Principles* of the Chilean Government, it makes guardedly hostile allusions to the governmental authorities, which could easily be used by the international sectarian campaign being waged against Chile.

This statement, as it deals with the "objective obstacles to reconciliation among Chileans," shows a shocking partiality and lack of restraint in its expression of it, for it concerns itself only with the errors, injustices, and outrages which it claims were committed by the non-communist side. The document is signed by Msgr. Silva Henriquez and Msgr. Camus.

Factionous one-sidedness

These same Shepherds, you will recall, showed no compassion for the Chilean people during that systematic, general, and extremely grave violation of natural rights which, in principle, Allende imposed on them. There is even evidence that these Shepherds made any categorical and effective protest against these violations.

On the contrary, their attitude, considered as a whole, was directed toward stirring up enthusiasm and support for the egalitarian, confiscatory, and anti-Christian program of Allende, so long as it was within their power to do so.

Today, these Shepherds, who helped lead their flock to catastrophe and facilitated their cruel devastation in so many ways as they reduced them to silence and abandoned them, stand before the Christian people attempting once again to stand erect among the ruins left by the socialist revolution and raise their voices to ask for reconciliation with the authors of that devastation and ruin.

...when the Christian people try to stand erect in the ruins left by socialist revolution

And what is the reason given for reconciliation with that fanatical minority which, possessing old and unchanged designs, betrayed the fortune of Chile as a Christian nation? Simply compassion! A compassion born of the fact that that minority, so much aided by the Shepherds, was defeated by the just indignation of the majority of Chileans.

To ask that a delinquent be judged in accordance with the laws in force is perfectly legitimate. The showing of magnanimity to mitigate the suffering of the conquered can also be a noble and high attitude. But it is something else when, under the pretext of defending the rights of the human person, the true perspectives of reality are distorted by covering up the malignity and dangerousness of the crime

Corroding the conditions for a true peace

## Part Four

and by asking for a disarmament of social vigilance before the authors of the deed without there being any objective reason for doing so.

Omit the essential to emphasize the accidental

Above all, one plays the game of the adversary in this matter by omitting what is essential, that is, the giving of support to the legitimate and obligatory repression of Marxism to which the new governmental authorities are dedicated, in order to stress that which is accidental, that is, the possible censurable excesses resulting from the repressive action against the implacable foes of the Church and the country.

Cruelty against the honorable and peaceful people

As the great Ecuadorian president-martyr Gabriel Garcia Moreno once said, "*In order to prevent blood from being shed, it is necessary to arm power: compassion for criminals is the greatest cruelty against honorable and peaceful citizens*" (Garcia Moreno, Alfonso Junco, Editorial Aldo Manuzio, Guayaquil, 1975).

The Pastoral Letter of Msgr. Tagle

It is necessary to emphasize that Msgr. Emilio Tagle, Archbishop of Valparaiso, published a parallel Pastoral Letter on the topic of reconciliation. In it many saw an indirect rectification of the relativistic terms that characterized the document of the Permanent Committee. Perhaps it was the objective of Msgr. Emilio Tagle to show, in this discreet manner, his disagreement. For our part, we will confine ourselves to a recording of the fact.

### 3. The irenic myth of "reconciliation": a form of obstinacy in the Episcopal policy of collaboration with error

In thesis

In thesis, the reconciliation of two sides who have been in ardent battle can produce beautiful flashes of generosity and sympathy. This is even more the case if it appears to have been done to defend the weak against the strong. But judging things with only a minimum of objectivity, we can see that the concrete case of post-Allendeist Chile presents a reality quite different from this.

The Chilean case

It is fitting to formulate here some considerations about the irenic myth of reconciliation between Chile and

the Marxist minority. We do this as schematically as possible:

a) For forty years, the Marxists have been claiming they wanted reconciliation, lying everywhere, as History demonstrates. Even Stalin himself, who seems to have concentrated in himself all the most terrifying aspects of cold Communist implacability and cruelty, spoke of dialogue and coexistence when he judged that these would best serve to corrupt the religious resistance in Russia.

40 years of Marxist lying

The Chilean Marxism-Leninism is nothing more than a parcel of international communism. Accordingly, why should Chilean Marxists now be considered sincere about reconciliation after having been part of a common sectarian past of forty years of lies?

In other words, it is not licit to believe in the sincerity of that reconciliation.

And men who were consecrated as Bishops of the Holy Roman, Catholic, and Apostolic Church have less right than anyone to believe in it.

b) On the other hand, the Marxists reached power in Chile. Why didn't they make that reconciliation when they were at the height of their power?

Three years of Allendeist experiment

On the contrary, they encouraged as much as they could, hatred, the class struggle, and the moral, economic, and political destruction of the anti-communist Chilean majority. Only on one occasion did they talk of dialogue. It was on the eve of the downfall of their "peaceful" revolution. This was done then only to gain time, while they were preparing the bloody implantation of a dictatorship, as has been publicly demonstrated.

Is it only now, after they have been defeated, that they want to talk of reconciliation?

c) However, it is necessary to do justice even to the Communists themselves.

Episcopal detente which even the Marxists do not seek

In fact, it is necessary to acknowledge that at present it is not the Communists who are talking of reconciliation in Chile. It may be that they will do it tactically in the future, but now not even they are asking for a reconciliation . . .

The ones who raised the unilateral and corrosive flag of reconciliation were the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago and his followers, the same ones who had already done so much previously to benefit the Chilean Marxist experiment.

*Part Four*

In this context, the “reconciliation” with the Marxists proposed by these Shepherds is even worse than it would normally be, for there is no proof that the minority which sustained Allende in power seeks the reconciliation being offered to it. On the contrary, that same minority acts inside and outside of Chile to conspire against it.

Are we now going to begin — as the height of unilateral folly and suicide — a policy of psychological disarmament and detente with an adversary who has proved its lack of sincerity for forty years and who has notoriously pledged itself to subvert our country and enslave its people?

Chile's recent past shows consequence of Kerenskian reconciliation

d) Prelates such as Msgr. Silva Henriquez and Christian Democratic leaders such as Eduardo Frei had all the time they needed to make that reconciliation before the rise of Allende to power.

The progressivist Clergy and the Christian Democrats were in truth the crucible where reconciliation between Christians and Marxists was being prepared in a never clearly defined way in order to one day arrive at a vague point of convergence and synthesis.

What did they achieve?

Nothing. Or rather, they only achieved advantages for the adversary: Marxism reached power.

A drama which Chile cannot go through again

Do the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago and the Hierarchs who follow him seek perhaps to force events so that Chile will relive once again within the near or distant future, the same dreadful drama from which it has just emerged?

Collaboration rendered to Marxism

e) To talk of reconciliation as these Shepherds do is to lend a precious collaboration to Marxism at a time when it is unable to recover by itself from its defeat. Such a collaboration even spares the latter from the humiliation and loss of prestige it would experience if it took the initiative in searching for a strategic “pardon” in the present circumstances.

Unshakable contumacy

These ecclesiastics thus show themselves to be marked by a kind of contumacy in their policy of favoring error. This leaves the Catholics of our country more than stupidified, since they do not know what attitude to take before such a capitulation, which is contrary to the highest interests of the Church and of the country.

f) On the other hand, Communist doctrine and methods are marked by implacability toward their adversaries.

The Communists know no sincere fraternity. Their designs of vengeance and annihilation of the “enemies of the proletariat” are a fixed and immovable goal, toward which they move slowly or rapidly, according to the convenience of the moment, be it by bloody violence or by the “legal” destruction of the rights of their victims. In any event, they always employ all of the psycho-ideological resources of their propaganda as they move toward their goal.

Marxist crimes of the past and present cry out to heaven

In all of the countries where the Marxist regime has acquired unchecked power, there is no reconciliation whatever: it is the whip, Lubianka, La Cabana . . . or mass extermination, as in Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam.

Why, then, does the man who still remains in the Archbishopric of Santiago and those who make common cause with him falsify the reality they know by presenting Marxists to Chilean public opinion as “idealistic” and “romantic” — though perhaps responsible for one or another error, of no greater magnitude than those committed by any bourgeois politician of more or less ordinary ambition?

By giving such an optimistic impression of the psychology of the Chilean Marxists, these men cloaked in Episcopal insignias abused their positions to call confusingly but effectively on the majority of anti-communist Catholics of our country to disarm their souls psychologically before an enemy who is inflexible in his designs, and thus to fall into a horrendous ambush.

Psychological disarmament preparing for capitulation

What would become of our country if that treacherous call were heeded and produced its proper effects?

#### 4. The “reconciliatory” policy leads certain Shepherds to the extreme of not agreeing to official religious acts on the anniversary of the military uprising that liberated Chile from civil war

With the arrival of the first anniversary of the military uprising which had saved Chile from the clutches of Marxism and from the bloody civil war being prepared by the agents of the Red sect, the government asked the ecclesiastical Hierarchy to offer Masses to celebrate that glorious day in the History of our country.

*Part Four*

Only in some dioceses of the country were there Bishops who accepted the request and gave orders for official liturgical celebrations. Naturally, Msgr. Silva Henriquez and the ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Santiago refused, in an act of hostility, to give their official backing to this noble request.

Msgr. Camus comments on the Episcopal negative . . .

Msgr. Carlos Camus Larenas, Bishop of Copiapo and the new secretary of the CECH, pointed out in an interview with the Italian weekly *Panorama* that the Chilean military were "*not very pleased*" with the Episcopal refusal to offer Masses of thanksgiving for the salvation of Chile from the Marxist dictatorship or from the civil war that had been avoided.

. . . and sets up "divisions"

Trying to set up internal "divisions" within the Armed Forces, Msgr. Camus, in statements bordering on intrigue and without any basis for his remarks, said that the attitude of President General Augusto Pinochet differed from that of his government, which maintained relations with the Hierarchy which were not so good and "*at times frankly bad*" (*El Mercurio*, 9/17/74).

For those who read the preceding pages and especially the description of the "very good" ecclesiastical relations with the Marxist government of Popular Unity, it becomes once more evident in this Episcopal attitude and in the statements of Msgr. Camus in which direction the ideological preferences of the destructive Shepherds are inalterably headed.

In other dioceses, as we said, some Bishops avoided this act of hostility that insinuated to Catholics an Episcopal disapproval of the anti-Marxist uprising. Among the Bishops who decided to accept the governmental request, the press pointed out Msgr. Emilio Tagle Covarrubias, Archbishop of Valparaiso.



CHAPTER 4  
BISHOPS AND PRIESTS  
TAKE UP THE VANGUARD OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY OPPOSITION TO THE  
ANTI-COMMUNIST GOVERNMENT

In his notable speech of September 11, 1975, His Excellency General Augusto Pinochet, President of the Republic, lucidly warned that *"at present, the sovereignty of a State does not depend only on its territorial integrity. The political, economic and social organization should also constitute today an efficacious guarantee against the attempts of international Communism converted into an instrument of Soviet imperialism, to take possession of States from within. To this end they count on branches in each country, which are the Communist Parties, always helped by other groups favorable or agreeable to Marxism, which smooth the way for them or assure their impunity.*

*Direct territorial conquest is replaced . . . by infiltration of vital centers of the free countries, which naively go on permitting them access to control of unions, universities, and especially the mass media.*

*"Even ecclesiastical sectors which by definition should be one of the most solid dikes holding back this avalanche have undergone Marxist penetration within their own ranks."*

His Excellency, the President of the Republic, shows himself to be conscious that *"Communists never abandon their principles, they only modify their tactics to make us abandon our principles."* He rightly emphasizes that the fight against the imperialism of the Red sect can give no quarter and that it is fundamentally a battle to conquer mentalities: *"It is a question then of a combat which is*

A new form of war . . .

. . . which replaces direct territorial conquest

Communists never abandon their principles

Total combat

#### Part Four

*total and which is not decided in the field of economy nor pure strength. It is conducted and resolved basically on the terrain of intelligence and the spirit."*

Denunciation at the Conference of American Armies in Montevideo

Similar concepts about the psychological and ideological aspects of this terrible war by which Communism seeks to dominate the world, were also formulated brilliantly by illustrious representatives of the Armed Forces of different South American countries at the Twenty First Conference of American Armies, recently held in Montevideo.

Obvious reality hidden by destructive Bishops and Priests

The latest events in Angola, already referred to in Chapter 1 of this part, only reinforce the denunciation made by these outstanding men of arms of our Continent and leave more and more without explanation the revolutionary attitude of the Shepherds and Priests who do everything in their power to make the people unaware of the essence of the present life-or-death struggle for Christian Civilization.

We have seen how Communism and its "democratic" coalitions of the left can no longer attract by themselves — even dissimulating their sinister designs — any considerable part of the peoples of Latin America. This was made magnificently obvious with the defeat of Marxism in Chile.

Ever more decisive role of the slow-march revolutionary Clergy

Furthermore, armed violence is, at this moment, an active but secondary element of the communist revolution in our country and in the other countries of South America. It is undoubtedly useful for sowing tension and panic and for facilitating the much more influential and dangerous action of the only ones capable of making the balance tilt toward the left in our Catholic countries: that is to say, the elements of the revolutionary slow-march Hierarchy and Clergy, who are recovering the defeated banners of Marxism by placing them under the Christian mantle.

With their Shepherd's crozier, they slowly lead the congregation that was entrusted to them first to tolerate and later to accept the tendencies, preoccupations, and myths of the egalitarian revolution, which the Marxists cannot directly carry to triumph.

Communism has a real possibility of acquiring significant influence over the mentality of the Catholic South American peoples only if its plan of violent subversion and its "evolutionary" and "democratic" strategies are pre-

sented as a requirement of the times born of an application of the Gospel: that is to say, if its subversive demands appear, in varying degrees, cloaked in the dignity and prestige of Catholic Shepherds.

\* \* \*

We go on then to consider, bearing in mind the background which has already been given, the deeds subsequent to the document of the Bishops entitled "*Chile, Nation of Brothers – Reconciliation in Chile*" (April 1974).

### 1. Terrorist arsenal in the cellar of a charitable institution of the Archbishopric of Santiago

At 1845 Moneda Street, in the center of Santiago, a charitable institution has been operating for some years now under the direction of the Priest Jose Hermogenes de la Cerda Plaza. The work is under the protection of the Archbishopric of Santiago.

Apparently, the above-mentioned Priest was unaware that the MIR terrorists conducted subversive activities in parts of the old house.

The Service of Military Intelligence discovered that leaders of the MIR met in the house during the months of July and August 1973, which was shortly before the military uprising of September 11, 1973. And afterward, the authorities found hidden in the cellar of the house between one hundred and one hundred twenty anti-personnel fragmentation bombs, which can be exploded with dynamite, nitrate of ammonium, TNT, and other explosives. Upon exploding, the projectiles scatter in all directions, with a deadly result up to a distance of twenty meters; the range of the bombs reaches some fifty meters. They also found nearly seventy large grenades with a type of charge capable of destroying bridges, high tension towers, and other objects of that kind. There were also demijohns and bags with white phosphorus, an incendiary substance that produces extremely painful burns with a devastating effect. (*Que Pasa*, 8/30/74)

Nevertheless, various ecclesiastical organs of publicity continued to preach "reconciliation."

## 2. Christmas message of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate sharpens the discontent

In December 1974, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate published a Christmas message.

This text contains a language which is apparently neutral but is as sibylline as ever.

The message begins in an expansive manner which conceals an emotional charge that distorts the Chilean reality and an insidious tone that begins awakening resentment against the present regime or sympathy for the cause of the defeated left: "*In all men there beats one great desire: the anxious hope for good news,*" says the document.

Immediately, the message concerns itself with those who are out of favor and who wait for good news: "*The sick person, who has been long prostrated, awaits the word of the doctor to say to him: 'You are cured!'*"

It really seems innocent.

However, the phrases with which the *Christmas Message* continues are the following:

"The imprisoned man *awaits the announcement of his freedom.*"

"He who has been many months without work *awaits the call: 'Come work with me.'*"

"He who cries for justice and is not heard *awaits someone to assure him: 'I will do justice to you.'*"

"He who, slave of his pride, of his money, or of his well-being, *feels within himself emptiness, awaits someone who will teach him to love.*"

And so, between ambiguous and insinuating phrases, the message adds that "*Christmas is the awaited good news,*" but that "for many persons Christmas will be sad this year: there is no money, salaries do not suffice, there is unemployment."

"*During the school year, the children have lunch in their schools. In summer, malnutrition threatens them.*"

Pathetic expressions  
without counter-balance

“Let us remember those who are in prison, or who have relatives in prison, or outside the country, or far from home; *those who are sick and the elderly*; the unemployed and those who do not have what is necessary to live with dignity,” (*Christmas Message*, Permanent Committee of the Episcopate, Ediciones Mundo, Santiago, 1974 — The emphasis is ours).

When Marxism was devastating Chile with its moral and economic misery, the Pastors cautiously avoided this pathetic language.

Now the situation is different: we are under an anti-Marxist regime that inherited the greatest economic catastrophe in the history of Chile, produced by the government of Allende, and that suffers from the effects of the international economic crisis. It is a government that must confront the subversive attacks of the Communist hosts and that finds itself obliged to arrest the conspiratorial elements. In the message of the Bishops we don't find one word of cheer for those who are pledged to bring Chile out of the abyss into which the Red sect plunged it with the assiduous collaboration of the Shepherds themselves.

What can be said about such a message? Among its innocent-looking phrases, pathetic touches and scandalous omissions, the message has the elements to sow confusion and stir up discontent. Once again, the blessed date of Christmas has been used to make a psychological attack upon the faithful.

Significant omission of encouragement for those who fight for the reconstruction of Chile

### 3. “Pastoral Orientations” for the present reality of Chile

The publication *Church of Santiago* (March 1975), contains a document entitled “*Plan and Program of Pastoral Action — 1975.*”

It is a document of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, of the Episcopal Vicars of Santiago, and of the Auxiliary Bishops of that diocese, which now number among them Msgr. Jorge Hourton P., who hastened to recognize Allende as virtual president of Chile before his ratification

#### Part Four

by the National Congress in 1970 (see Part Two, Chapter 3, no. 5).

Under the subtitle "*Basic Motivation and Orientations*," the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago describe the Chilean reality in the following manner:

Fraternal and egalitarian call with the usual omissions

*"Our Church wants to be a Church fully incorporated into the world, because She knows that the history of men is for her a meeting place and place of commitment to dialogue with the Lord. In the historic moments which Chile is presently living through, we discern a pressing call from the Lord: in the common and growing desire for a greater solidarity, for the arrival of a more fraternal society, more just and more egalitarian. Our society at this moment is wounded, profoundly divided.*

Secularization

*"This process should be considered in the light of the secularization process which all humanity is undergoing. The advance of the sciences and technology has had, on a planetary level, an accelerated human maturation which leads man to seek new and more just forms of social relation.*

Maturity among dialectic tensions

*"At the root of all these desires for a more just society and in the midst of the tensions and battles which they cause, we can feel the presence of the spirit of God, which wants to make our history mature toward its true goal: our full fraternity in Christ and our full union, in His love, with the Father.*

Liberation

*"We note this in the historic development lived in recent times, which brings a greater awareness of one's value as a person, a desire to liberate oneself from unjust structures and perhaps an opening to God, although they do not know Him.*

"Pastoral" exaltation of revolutionary social changes, shunning doctrinal definition

*"But, as in the bosom of all historic processes, we can also discern here the frustrating dynamic of sin. We feel it in the resistance of many to open themselves up to the call of God to the changes; in the will egotistically to defend structures which insure positions of privilege; in the increase in the sowing of hatred and violence and disregard of the basic human rights; in the tendency to deify social progress and order; in the danger of unilaterally absolutizing new values, of reducing all human liberation to political liberation" (Church of Santiago, March 1975 - The emphasis is ours).*

In other words it appears that the pastoral orientations aim to carry to a paroxysm their insistent disregard of the ominous character of the Communization process which our country was undergoing and against which the overwhelming majority of Chileans justly rebelled. The document has a language of vague generalities, in which the central problem of Communism is skillfully and unjustly silenced. The clearly defined principles of Catholic social Morality are diluted in the midst of "pastoral" appreciations of confusingly evolutionist dialectical tensions, in whose manifestation the Allendeist experiment is assumed. Accordingly, Chilean Catholics felt once more abandoned, and more than that, unnerved by a language full of insinuations and, we would almost say, initiatory.

Communist problem  
insidiously silenced

#### 4. The Priest vice-president of "Caritas" defends the reopening of the mass media

When he was interviewed by the same publication *Church of Santiago*, Father Baldo Santi, of Italian origin and vice-president of "Caritas Chile," made the following declaration: "*We will always have poor, wounded, and people who suffer. It is true that the suffering of yesterday may not be the same as that of today. Yesterday, perhaps, the poor were only those who needed a little bread, a suit of clothing, or who suffered from some illness. Today, he is also poor who does not have, for example, access to the mass media.*" (*Church of Santiago*, May 1975 — The emphasis is ours).

The new poor of  
Father Baldo

Here also we meet with hostile insinuations about the government which are easy to perceive: what is this "yesterday" but the Allendeist period which has recently passed? The vice-president of this Church-related organization depicts in an incomplete, superficial, and non-doctrinal manner the tragedy suffered by all the Chilean people during the Marxist experiment.

On the other hand, who are those without access to the mass media, which Father Santi would like to see expounding their ideas by means of them? The answer is obvious:

*Part Four*

everyone knows that the present authorities have pledged themselves to assuring that the means of communication and other nerve centers of influence are not used to spread the anti-Christian principles that launched the country into the process leading to Communism. . .

Thus we see another manifestation of veiled animosity to the fundamentally Christian combat which the government of Chile is conducting against Marxism.

If in the course of the repression excesses are committed, it is certain that these should be censured. But why censure so heavily that which is accidental, while avoiding the praising and applauding of that which is essentially good in the work of rooting out of Chile the cancer that threatened it with death?

**5. In the Cardinal's message to the workers: no admonition about Communism and a general dramatization of the situation**

On May 1, 1974, the Cardinal gave a sermon in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Santiago, which was directed to the workers.

Paying no attention  
to the Government

Upon reading it, one gets the impression that the present government does not exist. It conveys the notion that the worker and the peasant world are abandoned as long as the leaders of the Marxist parties are not near them to stir up hatred and revolt.

Out of all proportion

The Cardinal, in addressing himself to the workers, exaggerates social injustices out of all proportion before them, and generalizes in such a way that all of Chile seems to be nothing but oppression and despotism directed against the lowly.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago asks himself, for example, how many workers *"have felt driven back from their land, from the right to work to sustain their families, stripped of the fruit of their human efforts and the goods which belong to them as well as to the rest of society."*

At the same time, in his homily directed to the workers, he launches a general and unrestricted apostrophe against .



those who possess the wealth, using a phrase uttered by St. Basil against the captors of Antioch in concrete circumstances very different from the present ones: *"You want to fill the granary, and your granary is the stomach of the poor."*

Finally, in his homily to the workers, the Cardinal demands of the businessmen a *"true reform of business!"* (*El Mercurio*, 5/2/75).

As is typical of the language of these Shepherds, that reform has neither moral nor structural norms to determine it with precision. Even so, it is presented as urgent!

A sermon of this nature — which of course is an obvious exhortation to impatience and discontent — was never heard in the sad hours of the Allendeist misery. The Cardinal's sermon does not offer a single word to defend the workers and peasants from the snares of Communism which is at present attempting to reorganize itself, once again, to threaten Chile.

Reform of business in the characteristic style

Not one word about Communist snares

## 6. Episcopal Vicariate of the Rural-Coast Zone of the Archbishopric of Santiago presents the process of socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform as legitimate

In a letter mailed on May 15, Msgr. Rene Vio Valdivieso, Vicar of the Rural-Coast Zone of the Archbishopric of Santiago, dealt with the agricultural situation in the zone of that vicariate.

The language is more serene than that used by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago when he addressed himself to the workers on May 1.

However, in the midst of the relativism with which so many Shepherds put aside unwaivable principles of Catholic Morality, Msgr. Vio Valdivieso at the outset obliquely pronounces doctrinally on the existing agrarian reform law in the following terms: *"We had gone through a bit more than a decade of tests and realities of agrarian reform. It is not in my spirit nor in my competence to criticize the concrete procedures by which this process of redistribution of land was carried forward."*

Doctrinal evaluation and technical appreciation

*Part Four*

It is evident that the mere concrete procedures which are used to implement a process of legislative reform do not belong, in principle, to the competence of an ecclesiastical Shepherd.

But evaluating the doctrinal principles that sustained the socialist and confiscatory law of president Frei, which Allende later used to initiate the radical collectivization of our fields, is in the area of his competence.

Violation of Divine  
and natural law

At the same time, from a broader standpoint, it is easy to see that under the direction of Mr. Jacques Chonchol, in Frei's time as well as in that of Allende, social agitation, class struggle, and persecution of entire families of honorable proprietors were promoted unceasingly, and injustices were committed which flagrantly violated the seventh and tenth Commandments of the Law of God, which proscribe for all time stealing and coveting thy neighbor's goods.

In order to fulfill  
the function, kill  
the organ

Thus it is not sufficient to warn, as does the Vicar in a paragraph of his letter, that private ownership has a social function, as if this made legitimate the confiscatory plunder and the statist principles which are the very spirit of that legislative program. To work in this fashion is to omit the truth that Catholic Morality teaches about this matter.

The Vicar of the Rural-Coast Zone merely overlooks this question and limits himself to a neutrality which obviously would be proper if it were only a matter of his assessing the concrete technical procedures of a piece of legislation.

It is natural and perfectly legitimate that the Vicar of the Rural-Coast Zone be concerned about the situation of the farm workers and ask the State and individuals to help them.

Despoliation and not  
just expropriation

But our attention is also drawn to the manner in which Msgr. Vio Valdivieso writes to the proprietors unjustly despoiled by a statist law, a law causing much broader expropriations than that which the Chilean reality could rightfully demand and whose indemnification constituted a virtual robbery. *"I take the liberty of addressing myself to the former landholders, who are now businessmen, who suffered bitterly from the expropriation of their lands and the social tension in the fields."*

Msgr. Vio Valdivieso omits to say that the former landholders suffered bitterly not only because they were forced to abandon fields where they had worked for generations, but mainly because of the unjust and confiscatory manner by which they were really despoiled, and not expropriated.

Msgr. Vio Valdivieso continues:

*"I call on them to reflect deeply and recognize if there were errors in the past. I invite them to recognize the social function of ownership and the superior worth of their collaborators in agricultural toil.*

*"It is certain that in the majority of cases the ancestral owners of rural properties and landholders, like the new businessmen, legitimately acquired these lands, either by inheritance or by the purchase and sale of them; but we must also recognize that they would not have been able to enjoy the fruits of them economically, nor the pleasure furnished to them, without the permanent and effective help of their immediate collaborators who were called employees and farm workers.*

*"We must think that they could not continue being proprietors in the conditions which we all know, for an indefinite time period, since, in justice, their true partners were the employees, the tenants, and outsiders who worked from dawn to dusk for the lands of their patrons. How many generations of men and women, even of children, gave years of their lives, the sweat of their brows, and perhaps as well, the poverty of their situation to another's land" (El Mercurio, 6/13/75 — The emphasis is ours).*

The affirmation that the owners of those rural properties acquired their ownerships, but at the same time cannot continue being proprietors "*in the conditions which we all know*" is surprising.

It is really incredible how easily simple general affirmations are put forward in order to tear down fundamental principles, without which justice would become a banal word.

Now it is opportune to observe that using generalizations such as these (and without serious statistical data) the agrarian reformist adventure went on to violate unquestionable rights, thereby throwing the country into the injustice and uncertainty which resulted in the situations which the

Surprising affirmations against law and doctrine

Thus the country was thrown into the unjust confiscatory agrarian reformist adventure

#### *Part Four*

Vicar of the Rural-Coast Zone himself today laments, although he assigns a different cause to them.

Postulation of socialist principle

Moreover, the fact that employees and farm workers labored under the direction of agricultural proprietors does not allow us to affirm with the simplicity of the Vicar of the Rural-Coast Zone that the legitimate possession of the lands was becoming unjust in the hands of its owners. This is all the more so, since the owners carried the work to its conclusion, which as Msgr. Vio Valdivieso himself admits, many of the present peasant land signatories do not achieve.

It would be understandable for the Pastor to ask for a bettering of the conditions of the employees, tenants, and outsiders who worked on the lands of certain proprietors. It would be perfectly logical for him to desire, as much as possible, such conditions as to permit the most efficient employees, tenants, and outsiders who were frugal, and duly aided by State organizations or cooperatives, gradually to attain to the condition of true proprietors.

...and implicit denial of essential legitimacy of a just wage system

To sustain implicitly — as Msgr. Vio Valdivieso does — the principle that the land is for those who manually work it and that the system of wages is unjust in itself is to depart from the principles of Catholic social Morality.

It is evident that the Shepherds who supported the process of socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform of Frei, continue to consider as legitimate the “legalized” injustice which constituted and constitutes that legal entity.

How to return to the norms of true Christian justice and equity, after these legal processes have been unleashed, is a different problem. It is naturally a question full of complex casuistry, which the Vicar of the Rural-Coast Zone understandably did not deal with in great detail in his Letter.

Precise moral norms which it is unlawful to ignore

However, to simply overlook the violations of natural and Divine law committed by that legal corpus, merely on account of the generally affirmed fact that previous social injustices existed, is not in conformity with the social doctrine of the Church.

There exist precise norms of Morality to establish when it is legitimate and when it is not legitimate to proceed with a specific expropriation; when it is or is not legitimate to proceed with massive expropriations; and what paths

should be followed by an authentic Christian agrarian reform. Such a reform should respect acquired rights, be made in conformance with duly proven necessities, exhaust legal recourses so that the proprietors will effectively cultivate their lands, provide appropriate and sufficient conditions for the life and progress of the farm workers, and create possibilities for a gradual rise of many of these peasants to the state of agricultural proprietors. Similarly, the expropriation of individual goods being sometimes indispensable for the general welfare, there exist norms on the conditions of payment for those goods, etc.

All these moral judgments seem to have been relegated to relativistic oblivion. General affirmations with a demagogic flavor are sufficient for the destructive Shepherds to feel themselves authorized to abandon, with the greatest lack of concern, immutable principles wisely defined by Holy Mother Church.

If the Vicar of the Rural-Coast Zone lacked concrete data or elements to form an opinion on the matter, even after so very many madnesses committed in Chile in the last few years, the fact remains that at very least some categorical words were necessary to safeguard essential principles that a Shepherd has no right to ignore.

## 7. The Bishops of Los Angeles, Talca, and Chillan also reaffirm their adherence to the socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform

In a Letter addressed "*especially to the peasant sectors who are suffering the most in these moments*," the Bishops and Priests of Los Angeles, Talca, and Chillan reaffirm their adherence to the statist and confiscatory agrarian reform process which destroyed Chilean agriculture.

Here also the language is less virulent than the homily of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago to the workers on May 1.

The Bishops point out that: "*The Catholic Church supported this reform and made valuable contributions for its realization. We remember especially Manuel Larrain,*

Episcopal reaffirmation . . .

Part Four

*Bishop of Talca; Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez; and other Pastors of the Church."*

... of ecclesiastical support for collectivist legislation

The Bishops are not afraid to affirm that the agrarian reform legislation imposed on Chile by Frei had the support of the Church, in spite of the fact that said reform, as we have seen, was contrary to many fundamental principles of Catholic Morality.

The Prelates later add that "*great hopes were awakened*" and, among them, they place the principle which was one of the slogans of the socialist-Marxist utopia: "*ownership of the land for him who works it.*"

In the agrarian reform legislation upon which we have commented, this same principle, which is affirmed here in such a unilateral manner, acquired a meaning clearly contrary to the teachings of the Magisterium of the Church; yet, the Bishops postulate it now as if there had been an abolition of the various legitimate titles that give access to dominion over an agricultural property.

Incontrovertible aggravating factor

After the moral, political, and socio-economic catastrophe which Chile suffered, they have no right once again to sow the seeds of doctrinal confusion that led us to the abyss, and to do this as if they were dealing with an exigency of true Morality, no less!

After enumerating the various hopes which they think the reform awakened, the Bishops go on to affirm: "*a long night seemed to have been left behind us.*"

That historic reality, whose memory still is a burning issue for all Chileans, showed something other than that. It was precisely the realizing of that reform against the principles of natural and Divine law which led to the establishment of a dark night of injustice and disorder, as anti-natural and collectivizing statism and its sequels of miseries devastated the agricultural world to the detriment of large, medium, and small proprietors, as well as of the peasants themselves who were supposed to be the beneficiaries of the reform.

Thus, the night had not been left behind. The night began precisely when the Pastors decided to encourage the socialist and confiscatory agrarian reformism of the Kereniskian regime of Frei, putting the country on the road to its death by Marxist hands.

It is true that the signers of the Letter admit that "there were errors." But they see those errors, like the Vicar of the Rural-Coast Zone of the Archbishopric of Santiago, as a question of methods, and not as being of the very essence of the confiscatory and egalitarian legislation.

Only criticizing the methods

Using the ambiguous language which had already become habitual in nearly all the Pastoral documents of recent times in Chile, the Letter of the Bishops and Priests of Los Angeles, Chillan, and Talca says that "*the Church supported these aspirations, because it believes in the basic equality of men before God,*" adding farther on that "*for Jesus there is equality of rights and duties.*"

Egalitarianism

Such an affirmation coming from Catholic Pastors is inadmissibly one-sided, especially during the times that Chile is living through today. Given its ambiguous language, it is possible to understand this statement to mean that the utopian ideal of the classless society is a requirement of the Gospels. It is terrible to see the same germs which carried our country into Marxist claws being reborn, dressed in Episcopal robes which speak the insidious language of half truths. The traditional and immutable Magisterium of the Church never proceeded in this manner (see note 25).

Systematic use of equivocations in spreading error

Why is it that precision, balance, and doctrinal solidity — more needed today than ever — have apparently disappeared from the documents of the immense majority of the Chilean Pastors?

Why is it that we find imprecision, one-sidedness, and the diluting of the traditional immutable principles of Catholic Morality on social matters always exercised for the benefit of the socialist revolution?

In the feverish activity of the contemporary world, how many of the faithful have sufficient time and educational background to immunize themselves against this confusing preaching which makes the postulates of the egalitarian utopia seem like a genuine fruit of the Holy Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ?

Now it is not possible for the Pastors who proceed in this manner to allege an inadvertent oversight. More than fifteen years of tragedy question and challenge those who are once again sowing the confusion favoring defeated Communism, and in the best way the majority of the Episco-

...An inadvertent oversight is not possible

## Part Four

pate could favor it: by the ambiguous formulation of principles, which deform mentalities and prepare the way for the return of those who wanted to enslave Chile.

The signers of the letter to the farm workers exhort them to adopt a "*patient defense of their rights*," and warn that there are many Christians who, because of "*ignorance of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, let themselves be led by ideologies and methods which are not what Christ taught and practiced*."

Perhaps this may be an allusion to Marxist preaching, but how vague and diluted it is when considered in the whole context of a document which prolongs the confusion which brought so many evils upon Chile.

Furthermore, it is necessary to note that the Bishops here — as in other pastoral documents — analyze the economic situation of the peasants of their zone (which they consider to be "full of anguish") but take care not to point out that doctrinal causes, prior to the present regime, are the principal factors making the economic recuperation of Chile difficult. We may add to this the fact that during Allende's regime, the Shepherds delayed dramatically in showing the social sensitivity which they show today.

Except for a passing allusion to the government, the Shepherds write as though the present military regime left the peasants to their fate and has been doing nothing of public benefit for them.

The Bishops call the farm workers to an "*active integration*" into "*the life of Christian Base Communities*" (*Letter to Christian Farm Workers*, Ediciones Mundo, 7/31/75).

If the terms of the Shepherds are ambiguous, what formation will the promoters of the fluid and not easily controllable "base communities" eventually give to them?

**8. The "Committee for Peace" begins to reveal its ultimate function: protection and stimulation of the terrorist elements of the non-conformist extreme left**

As is known, after September 11, 1973, elements of the Clergy connected with the Cardinal were principal fig-

A silence favorable to collectivism also made systematic

Invitation to farm workers to integrate into base communities



## Chapter 4

ures in founding and assuming the direction of an "ecumenical" organization called the "Committee for Peace in Chile." It was not very different from that "*interconfessional movement open to all men of good will,*" which the leftist Brazilian Archbishop Helder Camara suggested to enable the Clergy to "*lend its voice to those who cannot speak. . .*" (see Part Four, Chapter 1, no. 3).

Msgr. Ariztia, the Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago, was designated co-president of the "Committee." He is the same man who expressed in a public note, in 1968, the malaise of the Archbishopric of Santiago over the Chilean TFP's denunciation of the Marxist infiltration of the Clergy and who during Allende's regime traveled to Cuba, upon his return praising Fidel Castro's regime.

The Jesuit Priest Fernando Salas was appointed secretary of the "Committee." He is also known for his markedly leftist tendencies.

From the beginning, many Chilean Catholics perceived behind the duplicity of the tasks of this "ecumenical" organization, its ultimate function: the ultimate beneficiaries of this ecumenism would be the "non-Christians," among whom are the "atheists," a classification which includes the Communists,

At the same time, it is certain that more than one member of the apostolic association who cooperated with the legitimate humanitarian labors of the "Committee" may have, through ingenuousness, failed to perceive what that attractive appearance was hiding. However, future deeds would speak in an incontrovertible manner.

On May 16, 1974, the first great scandal involving the "Committee for Peace in Chile" exploded.

The leftist Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* published a confidential report of the "Committee" containing grave denunciations made against the government for supposed excesses in the repression of Communism and for the violation of human rights.

In fulfillment of its legal functions, the "Committee" conducted investigations and gained access to information about the activities of Chilean security organizations that work arduously to dismantle the classic subversive schemes remaining in Chile.

Msgr. Ariztia, co-president of the Committee

Jesuit Salas, secretary

The Committee's first public affair

*Part Four*

When the existence of some abuse was proved, the "Committee" dealt with the governmental authorities.

Then suddenly the newspaper *Excelsior* published a document, with the evident objective of encouraging the international Communist campaign against Chile.

The director of *Excelsior* interviewed agents of the "Committee"

Mr. Scherer, the director of the Mexican newspaper, said that he had an interview with agents from the "Committee" and that he obtained sensational information.

General Bonilla, Minister of the Interior at that time, asked for explanations from those responsible in the "ecumenical" organization (*La Segunda*, 5/16/74; *El Mercurio*, 5/17/74).

Explanations which were not not very clear

The explanations were confusing. Actually, Mr. Scherer had interviewed Father Salas and Msgr. Ariztia. However, in a public statement whose terms were carefully measured, the "Committee for Peace in Chile" said that *"it has never delivered confidential information nor documents through its agents, neither to Mr. Scherer nor to any journalist."*

The Jesuit Salas does not know what he said

Father Salas, the executive secretary of the organization, was a bit more ambiguous and confusing in his verbal statements to the press about the interview with the director of *Excelsior*. Father Salas said: *"One does not really know what one said, and that is fundamental if one wants to say whether it corresponds or not to some kind of document which may exist within the Committee and in any case that would be a private document and strictly confidential . . ."*

Father Salas thus shows himself cautiously uncertain about the problem and seems disposed to surmount it in a confusing sibylline manner.

It was a confidential report

Finally, the facts regarding the process by which the information came to the knowledge of the Mexican newspaper, though not entirely clarified, led to the following result: what *Excelsior* published was a confidential report of the "Committee for Peace in Chile," though no one seemed to know how it reached the hands of the director of the leftist newspaper.

Warning that remained a dead letter

This confusing incident was already enough definitively to confirm the burden of distrust that that ambiguous organization carried from the beginning. This is so much the case that on October 1, 1973, Msgr. Oviedo Cavada,

secretary general of the Chilean Episcopal Conference at that time, warned that “*it should be very much kept in mind that in the present circumstances it is very possible that some people want to use apostolic movements or groups of the Church as a refuge for political activities. Great discrimination should be used in the face of this possible instrumentalization*” (*Documents of the Episcopate, Chile, 1970-1973, page 176* – The emphasis is ours).

As was the case with all of the positions apparently contrary to Marxism which the collaborationist Pastors felt obliged publicly to formulate from time to time, this one also was converted into a dead letter . . .

Subsequently, the morning paper *Excelsior* reaffirmed in an editorial that the document attributed to the “Committee for the Peace in Chile” was obtained by “legitimate means.”

*Excelsior* reaffirms

The newspaper *El Mercurio* disclosed that when it tried to obtain an official reaction from Msgr. Ariztia, the Auxiliary Bishop, and from Fr. Fernando Salas, secretary of the “Committee,” the functionaries of the secretary’s office of the referred- to organization advised: “*We have not been able to locate them.*” “*It appears that Bishop Ariztia is on retreat*” (*El Mercurio, 5/21/74*).

Some time afterwards, the Jesuit Fr. Salas gave up his functions in the Secretary’s Office of the “Committee for Peace in Chile” to Fr. Cristian Precht Banados; however, Fr. Salas continued participating in the activities of the controversial entity.

Later it would become known publicly and notoriously that the “Committee” was serving Marxism, though even then some members of the organization, due to ingenuousness or perhaps to liberalism, did not recognize this clearly.

One of the members of the Committee was the Lutheran pastor, Helmut Frenz. He had to be expelled from the country because of his leftist activities, and as a result was repudiated even by a large portion of his own parishioners. Yet he received the support of Catholic Prelates and Priests who considered the measure taken against him unjust. Among those who supported him was the new secretary of the Committee, Fr. Cristian Precht Banados.

The expulsion of  
Helmut Frenz

Part Four

9. The document *The Gospel and Peace*

The Permanent Committee of the Episcopate made public on September 5, 1975 a new working paper entitled *The Gospel and Peace*.

How it lacks the ancient, luminous, logical, and loyal clarity of the great documents of the ecclesiastical Magisterium!

Ambiguous, confusing, and disconcerting

The document analyzes the Gospel's treatment of violence and peace. But it proceeds in an ambiguous, confusing, and disconcerting manner, which is replete with evangelical quotations provided with no adequate explanation or exegesis, so as easily to lead the average reader in the direction of thinking that evangelical peace might be contrary to a decided, multiform, and legitimate combat against the enemies of Christian Civilization in our country . . .

In order not to impede the movement of the central line of our exposition, we will consider here only some essential aspects of the Episcopal text.

After a highly suggestive use of evangelical texts on forgiveness and peace, the Bishops insinuate that an institutional state of violence exists in our country, one that is essentially unjust and against which a leftist revolt is rising up. This is done without showing precisely what concrete realities justify this grave affirmation capable in itself of arousing distrust, suspicion, and subversive discontent in the name of the peace of Our Lord Jesus Christ.

The "two violences" seen by the Bishops

The Bishops textually say: *"There are two kinds of violence: that which attacks and that which defends . . . The violence of the revolutionary which attacks established order. The violence of the counter-revolutionary which defends the established violence. We reject them both."*

Preparation for new "Kerenskys"

The Shepherds reject violence, but in a language that amounts to throwing fuel on the fire. Above all, they prepare the terrain for new "Kerenskys" to bring old formulas to Chile in order to avoid a final collision between the two violences which they describe; they bring back the gradual leftist reformism that constitutes the most effective way of making the socialist revolution progress in our time.

Human rights

Later on, the working paper discusses a regime of respect for human rights as a condition for peace, which the

very emphasis of the Episcopal concern gives one to understand is at present mutilated in Chile.

Next to true and adequate affirmations, such as reproving the use of illicit methods of birth control, the Bishops speak of other rights in terms which have already become customary for the spreading of their revolutionary preaching.

Speaking of the "right to eat," the Bishops make a tendentious reference to the national economic situation in dramatic phrases: *"We know the complexities of the economic problems. We know the efforts that are being made to get ahead. But we cannot fail to insist on the extreme gravity which it signifies in the light of the Gospel: that because of dismissal, because of unemployment, because of the increase in the cost of living, because of international causes, or for whatever causes, there are homes where now no cooking is done; there are children begging for bread; there are pupils who cannot study because they do not eat sufficiently to concentrate their attention."*

Economic situation

These Shepherds say they know the complexities of the economic problems. Accordingly, then, what motives induce them to hide, with an inflexible tenacity, the fact that one of the principal causes of the Chilean economic crisis was the anti-natural application of socialist and confiscatory reformism, which they applauded and helped decisively to implant?

On referring to the right of physical and moral integrity, the Bishops do so, once again, in language that can be used to feed the international campaign of slander that the left directs against the present Chilean government. While emphasizing the condemnation of abuses, they have no word of encouragement for the energetic anti-Marxist repression that is licitly being carried out in Chile. Moreover, they do not explain what Catholic Doctrine says concerning how natural rights may in exceptional circumstances have a legitimate limitation for the sake of justice and the greater welfare of the nation.

Technique of exposition to impair reputation of anti-Marxist combat

All abuse is certainly censurable. However, it is regrettable that the Bishops did not agree to protest against the multiform and essentially unjust violations of natural rights practiced during the process of the collectivization of the country, including governmental campaigns of defamation

#### Part Four

#### Liberalism and Catholic Doctrine

and moral violence against anti-communist opponents and tortures cruelly inflicted on political prisoners during the Allende regime.

The Prelates later refer to the “right to create” which men have. They understand this to be the “right to study, to think, to express what they think, to seek the truth freely, and to communicate to others what they think is the truth.”

Without the necessary qualifications, definitions, and distinctions, this formulation is clearly relativistic and contrary to what the Magisterium of the Church has sustained for centuries. If men have the right to study, to think, and to seek the truth freely, they do not have the right to spread error, which is contrary to the natural law and a corrupter of society and the consciences of men.

That liberty which the Pastors would permit an agent of error on the sole condition that he sincerely believe his error to be true is called the “liberty of perdition” by Pius IX in a celebrated encyclical. The Pontiff, quoting the words of his predecessor, Gregory XVI, affirmed in that document: “If the free manifestation of any human opinion is always permitted, there will never be lacking men who dare to fight the truth, and who put their faith in the chatter of human wisdom; a totally damaging illusion, which faith and Christian wisdom ought carefully to avoid, in accordance with the teachings of Our Lord Jesus Christ” (Encyclical *Quanta Cura*, B.A.C., Pontifical Doctrine, vol. II, Political Documents, pp. 8 and 9).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Pope Leo XIII, in his famous Encyclical *Libertas Praestantissimum*, also defines in great detail the Catholic position on liberty:

*“There exists the right to propagate in society, with liberty and prudence, all that is true and virtuous so that the greatest number of citizens may participate in the advantages of truth and goodness. But false opinions, the most mortal illness of human understanding, and the vices that corrupt the spirit and public morality should be checked by public authority to impede their gradual propagation, which is harmful in the extreme for society itself. The errors of depraved intellectuals exercise a true tyranny*

Nevertheless, in the "working paper" *The Gospel and Peace*, the Bishops incorporate the liberal-permissivist thesis as part of their own thinking when they insidiously allege that "*we cannot judge the good or bad faith of others.*" This is said as if there were no hierarchy of objective values capable of permitting society to recognize, prohibit, and castigate those who propagate, in principle, the destruction of the Christian Civilization. Naturally, there should be no confusion between the hierarchy of objective values and the internal tribunal of conscience, which is another thing and must remain inviolable.

Since a Catholic Bishop knows these distinctions, he has no right to express himself as if they did not exist, especially having lived through the Allendeist catastrophe.

It is true that, farther on, the Shepherds detachedly recognize that the intervention of the Armed Forces and Cara-

As if the communist danger no longer existed

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*over the masses, and should be repressed by law with the same energy as any other offense inflicted with violence on the weak. This repression is even more necessary, because the immense majority of citizens cannot in any way, or at best with great difficulty, guard themselves against the artifices of style and the subtleties of dialectics, above all when the former and the latter are utilized to arouse the passions.*

*"With respect to the so-called liberty to teach, the judgment to be given is very similar. Only the truth should be allowed to penetrate the understanding, because rational natures find their good, their end and their perfection in truth; therefore, both the ignorant and the wise must be given doctrine which has as its exclusive object the truth; in order to direct the first toward knowledge of it and to preserve the second in the possession of it. This is the foundation of the principal obligation of those who teach: to root error out of intellects and to block effectively the road to false theories. Therefore, it is evident that the liberty with which we are dealing, by trying to usurp for itself the right to teach everything according to its own fancy, is in flagrant contradiction with reason and tends by its own nature to the most complete perversion of minds. Public authority cannot concede to society this liberty of teaching without violating its own obligations"* Encyclical *Libertas Praestantissimum*, B.A.C., Pontifical Doctrine, vol. II, Political Documents, pp. 246-248).

*Part Four*

bineers of Chile freed our country, on September 11, from a Marxist dictatorship in gestation, something of which they previously seemed to have been ignorant. But this recognition made two years after the overthrow of Allende, is limited to the historical fact itself, as though the Communist danger was a phantom battled unnecessarily by exaggerated "nationalist" sectors.

\* \* \*

The document of the Bishops then enters into an analysis of "three currents of thought and action" which seem to them especially dangerous for peace: "*atheistic Marxism, individualistic capitalism, and a deteriorated nationalism.*"

The position of the Pastors with respect to the future that they desire for Chile can be summed up as follows:

Catholic doctrine,  
capitalism, and Epis-  
copal juggling

a) **Capitalism and liberalism** - The Permanent Committee of the Episcopate treats capitalism as if it were inseparable from its excesses and from economic liberalism. In doing this, the Permanent Committee is taking the same position as the one held by the majority of the Bishops during the past 15 years.

It is necessary to point out clearly that the capitalist regime in itself, that is to say, to the extent that it is a system based on private ownership and its social function, on private enterprise, on the principle of subsidiarity, and the making of profits to the degree allowed by Morality, is legitimate and cannot be confused with the abuses to which it has been concretely subjected in more than a few places. Against these abuses, the Church has energetically fought. But it has never condemned capitalism as such.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> It is obvious that all good Catholics will always reject a capitalist regime that permits an excessive concentration of property in a small number of hands to the detriment of the intermediate and more modest social classes. In respect to this question, the reader is referred to Appendix 3 entitled "Principles which orient the Action of the TFP," which is taken from the founding manifesto of this Society, that appeared in the press under the title "A New and Victorious Force at the Service of Contemporary Chile: the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family, and Property."



Against this background, it is interesting to examine the testimony of the French Communist theoretician, Roger Garaudy, in his book *Parole d'Homme*, which was recently published in France. Garaudy is concerned with effecting the convergence of Marxism and Christianity. He says that it may be achieved by establishing equality, so as to root out the very principles differentiating human beings. For this reason, he shows himself to be an exultant partisan of the "base communities" of "prophetic" character which preach "disalienation" in the Church, that is to say, the most radical and complete egalitarianism.

This Communist theorist transcribes a letter written to him by Msgr. Helder Camara, in which the latter advised that the next step for "Catholic" progressivists was the condemnation of capitalism as "intrinsically perverse," while teaching that socialism is not condemnable as such (see note 11).

This being said, we note now that one of the principal reasons given by the Bishops for rising up against capitalism is the poverty it supposedly brings to the most humble classes.

When, however, we see these Bishops keep completely silent about the misery in force in the socialist regimes, one question inevitably comes to mind: Is the fight of these Hierarchs against capitalism really being waged to combat poverty? If it is being fought to achieve this end, why do they remain silent when they analyze Marxism, since the countries under Marxist socio-economic regimes not only have poverty but in fact a much more generalized misery than in the western nations? Therefore, how can we fail to think that poverty is only a pretext for defending the most Marxist socialism public opinion will permit?

b) Marxism and socialism — The Shepherds declare that they are against Marxism. But it is not a retraction. Their criticism is the same as it always has been, that is to say, Marxism seems to them to be evil inasmuch as it is atheistic and avowedly anti-religious. They immediately affirm: "*Of Marxism, as economics, as sociology, as a philosophy of history, few or many things may be accepted, and are accepted daily by men of science who have nothing Marxist about them. But we will never be able to accept their saying that God does not exist.*"

Garaudy and Helder Camara's strategic commitment

Exaltation of poverty: pretext for diffusion of socialist utopia

Same formula: door open for constructing a Marxist socio-economic regime

## Part Four

Here is the key to the problem. The Shepherds do not condemn the socio-economic regime of Marxism. For this reason, before 1970 they supported the rise to power of Frei and assisted him in realizing his socialist and confisatory agrarian reformism. Similarly, the great majority of them had no problem supporting and sustaining, as much as they were able, the regime of the Marxist Allende, since he did not persecute religion directly during the revolutionary phase he succeeded in implanting at that time.

We are faced with a cruel and tragic reality. These Pastors sought and continue seeking an impossible convergence between Christianity and Marxism in political, social, and economic matters.

The Episcopal vision of socialism

Concerning non-atheistic socialism, the Shepherds are much more expansive. Although capitalism appears to them to be nefarious with or without abuses, they have a different perspective of socialism, even Marxist-Leninist socialism. The Shepherds affirm: *"No one can deny either that in the origin of socialism — although not necessarily Marxist-Leninist socialism— there is an aspiration for justice, a desire to improve the situation of the poor, a will to limit the power of money, and an eagerness for equality, which nevertheless grants some loss of all rights for the enemy and the creation of a new privileged class. Well then, those values, at least reinstated in their original purity, are Christian values . . ."* (*The Gospel and Peace*, Working Paper of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate, Ediciones Mundo, Santiago, 9/5/75 - The emphasis is ours).

. . . doubtlessly denying historical evidence

Socialism combats poverty . . . What can be said about an affirmation such as this, which is contradicted by the obvious and brutal evidence of the factual record in so many countries that have adopted its egalitarian and collectivist postulates?

To make it still easier to choose the road to socialism while moving along the comfortable ways of ambiguity, the Bishops point out that there are many variants of socialism.

. . . on the road to an always undefined concept

Well now, it is necessary to observe that although the Bishops and Priests who are partisans of socialism and the "purification" of the atheistic and violent nature of Marxism have for some time been continuously preaching their ambiguous and general postulates, we have not been able to

find in Chile or in any other nation where they have done this, a definition of the principles of that Christian-Marxist socialism.

In this undefined definition, we have the new war horse of the Marxist revolution in our country.

What does this mean? Let us say that we do not expect to see Bishops and Priests with raised fists singing the International. At least, we suppose we will not see this for the time being. But in the name of a chameleon-like socialism having an admiration for the socio-economic aspects of a Marxism purified of its atheistic militancy, we can expect to see a rebirth in Chile of the same principles that nearly carried this country to its death.

And this time Chile is not being driven by a mason and Marxist-Leninist Allende at the head of a vociferous "Popular Unity," formed in part by a Communist Party clearly obedient to Moscow.

Far worse than that! Oh terribly worse than that! We have before us Shepherds who govern nearly all of the Chilean dioceses and an important and decisive part of the Clergy in general – it is they who raise these banners, as if doing so were a requirement of the Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ!

As Pope Pius XII said: *"a fact which is always repeated in the history of the Church is the following: that when Christian faith and morality clash against strong currents of errors or depraved appetites there emerge attempts to overcome the difficulties by means of some comfortable compromise or to put distance between oneself and the difficulties or to close one's eyes to them"* (A.A.S., vol. XXXVI, page 76; see Msgr. Antonio de Castro Mayer, Bishop of Campos, Brazil, *Pastoral Letter on "Problems of the Modern Apostolate" Followed by a Summary of "Timely Truths which are opposed to contemporary errors,"* 1953).

If our readers place themselves in this perspective, they will understand the tragedy that we have endured during these years, and why it is that the Shepherds, while repudiating the armed violence that kills bodies, have always taken an understanding position toward the revolutionaries who poison souls. Their mercy, their sympathy, and their ideological inclination are terribly decided.

... presented in the name of the Gospel

A historic fact which is repeated in the battle between the Church and errors: the emergence of a third force

Revolution which poisons the souls

#### Part Four

It is necessary to look truth in the face while there is still time

This is the reality that we can no longer hide. It is necessary to look it straight in the face. It is the nerve of the present battle between Communism and anti-communism, especially when this battle is considered from the point of view of Catholic convictions.<sup>29</sup>

The events that occurred in Chile toward the end of 1975 showed this nation and the world that the majority of the Chilean ecclesiastical Hierarchy and the Clergy following it had decided to transform themselves into the socialist revolutionary force which would open the way for the rebirth of the left in our country.

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<sup>29</sup> Faith has defined formulations. It has applications in the juridical, moral, and structural order on various planes of human society. It gives rise to a Catholic spirit and Catholic sense that are nourished by the tradition of the Church. If those applications, this Catholic spirit, and this Catholic sense are endangered by a materialistic and anti-Christian sect, would it be licit for Catholics to defend themselves by all the means permitted by natural and Divine law against the action of those agents of evil?

And this is not to say that defense is proper only in the face of a Communism that bloodily persecutes the Church. If the red sect, while dominating a nation were to permit Priests to distribute the Sacraments and the people to receive them in some measure but were to impose on the Pastors a silence about the family, about private ownership and its important social function, about the principle of subsidiarity, about the fundamental role which the Church assigns to private enterprise in a correctly ordered society, etc., Catholics could not accept an immoral pact of this nature without betraying their condition as such.

This thesis is amply developed in the best-seller of Prof. Plinio Correa de Oliveira, entitled *The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State*, which warranted a categorical letter of praise and approval from the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities of the Holy See, which considered it "a most faithful echo of the documents of the supreme teaching of the Church, including the luminous encyclicals *Mater et Magistra* of John XXIII and *Ecclesiam Suam* of Paul VI happily reigning."

More than two hundred Conciliar Fathers, perhaps foreseeing the appearance of this third unacceptable posi-

10. Once again the ecclesiastical denunciation of "misery" and "institutional violence"

The Jesuit organ *Mensaje* and other ecclesiastical publications such as the magazine *Church of Santiago* are dedicating themselves to describing in exacerbating terms the economic difficulties that Chile is facing, for which they always blame the "established order." At the same time, they do not give due recognition to the fact that egalitarian socialism — which until now had its most radical expression in Chile under Allendeism — is the main cause of the privations of today.

Exacerbation of poverty

They blame these privations on capitalism, as if the principles of capitalism had not been psychologically and structurally demolished, precisely in their legitimate expression, in the regrettable years of the collectivist revolutionary process, which was imposed thanks to the collaboration of Bishops and priests.

\* \* \*

This atmosphere of emotive clerical excitation about our difficulties, which encourage discontent with the anti-Marxist government, makes its appearance just when that government is making titanic efforts to reconstruct juridical and productive structures anarchized by socialism and an inflation that would have surpassed 500% at the end of 1973 had Allende continued in power. Moreover, this clerical excitation is directed against a non-socialist government which is facing a number of disadvantageous factors — for

Treachurous demagoguery

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tion between Marxism and Catholicism in political, social, and economic matters, presented to the Second Vatican Council a memorable document asking the Assembly to renew the condemnation of all socialist and Communist errors, thereby undoing the insidious error gestating in Catholic circles.

The reader can find in Appendix 6 the entire text of the historic document which provoked and is still provoking a violent reaction on the part of Communist ideologues who see their falsely pacific strategy unmasked.

*Part Four*

example, the deleterious effects of the international economic crisis, the huge external debt which the deposed regime left behind, and the economic pressure exerted by Western nations intensely stimulated by the progressive Clergy and the decadent permissive liberalism of certain political sectors always ready to sympathize with the interests of the world-wide left. It is a government, lastly, which was honest enough to investigate scientifically the sectors concretely affected by situations of extreme poverty in Chile, and to come to their aid by taking costly emergency measures against unemployment and by trying to encourage individual initiative, all of which was done in order to apply State investments in a more skillful way than had been done in the past.

If there have been mistakes in the implementation of this constructive policy, it is nonetheless not possible to deny the concrete reality of the gigantic previous socialist failure and in principle, the good judgment and valor demonstrated up to now by the anti-Marxist government in abdicating decisively the socialist "dogmas." Legitimate concern for the suffering of the more modest classes should be expressed with decision and frankness, but to do it with demagogy in the Chile of today would be something unspeakable.

\* \* \*

The tactic of half-errors mixed with half-truths

We have already seen the dramatic criticisms of the "institutional violence of the established order," the gloomy generalizations made about social problems in Chile, and the accusations leveled against the real or supposed excesses of anti-communist repression in this country. These criticisms have been made in terms which tend to destroy the prestige and moral-psychological resistance of the new regime in order to oblige it to restrain its combat against Marxism in Chilean institutional life.

We are facing an opposition which uses half-errors at times mixed with half-truths to lead the Catholic faithful — confused and silenced by revolutionary Bishops and Priests — to withdraw their majority support from the present government.

\* \* \*

In July 1975, the Cardinal, his Auxiliary Bishops, the Episcopal Vicars, and the secretary general of the Archbishopric of Santiago published its *Pastoral of Solidarity*. The document is presented in a booklet having a cover displaying a poor little girl receiving food and the superimposed evangelical words: "I was hungry and you gave me to eat."

Pastoral of Solidarity

After citing a "great economic crisis" in the Roman Empire in the year 48, the document transcribes words of Saint Paul about fraternal love and emphasizes in capital letters that the Apostle recommends that "they seek equality" (2Cor. 8:1-15).

Ambiguous use of quotes from the Scriptures

This is the usual mechanism of phrases without exegesis. The above phrase seems to contradict in an absurd way the immutable doctrine of the Church that harmonic complements of equality and inequality have been stamped in human nature by the creative act of God. This doctrine teaches that, on the one hand, there is an equality of essential rights and duties in the human being as such and as having been redeemed by God and that, on the other hand, there is a necessary social inequality which is just and beneficial and which cannot be denied without contradicting the very order of Creation. Obviously, Saint Paul does not rebel against the infinitely wise laws of his God and Lord. But, why is this not explained in the document?

The document later goes on to dwell on that solidarity, which has now been darkened by its initial ambiguity in handling the quotation of Saint Paul. And it preaches a solidarity that allows no discrimination to fall back upon others, even because of "their ideas, not even on account of their faults and sins."

Solidarity and relativism

This ambiguous formulation, as it appears here, could serve as the basis, for example, for giving the same type of treatment to the honorable mother of a family as to a woman of the streets. Similarly, it could be used to permit the return to power of the Marxist sectarians who conquered so quickly in Chile during the time of relativistic ideological solidarity which was promoted by the Christian Democratic government.

Lastly, after quoting the texts of the Roman Synod of 1971 against the tortures of political prisoners, the

Part Four

Once more the denouncement of "institutionalized violence"

Pastoral affirms that the ecclesiastical signatories know that with the practice of solidarity "*we are in some way seeking ways to return to the poor that which structural injustices and 'institutionalized violence' (Medellin) have prevented them from having.*"

Naturally, the document forgets to recognize that the Freist and Allendeist attempts to change those structures ended by bringing moral and economic misery for the majority.

The demand for change without any proof or precision

Afterwards, the Shepherds of Santiago proclaim, without proof or precision of statement that "institutionalized violence" has been installed in Chile.

And the revolutionaries of rapid march may take advantage of the consequences

The faithful are once more left disoriented, and the revolutionary Priests of the "rapid march" exploit the consequences . . .

The document points out in passing and in a confused manner that "*the global problems of underdevelopment, of inflation, and of national income are problems that existed before the present emergency,*" but it does not refer to the collectivist socialism that produced and distributed injustices, ignominies, and miseries.

Solidarity exerted by the Committee for Peace

It has a brief eulogy for the present governmental program which is providing funds for the unemployed and aiding those who are most in need. And finally, it emphasizes the works of assistance of the Church, among which it mentions the "Committee of Cooperation for Peace in Chile" see *Pastoral of Solidarity*, Ediciones Paulinas, Santiago, 1975).

\* \* \*

The Fourth Social Week. . .

In September of that same year of 1975, the Fourth Social Week of Chile was conducted under the auspices of the Hierarchy.

. . . about poverty demagogically displayed

Among the conclusions which the Hierarchy drew from the experience was the following: "*it appears obvious that the situation of the poor in the present circumstances is one of extreme gravity.*"

Naturally, no "social week" on the topic of poverty was carried out in Chile while Allende was implanting his socialist regime.

In accord with the habitual formulations of the Hierarchy, Clergy, and laity committed to this revolutionary



process, it was affirmed that "in the last theological-pastoral panel, the poor and poverty are again looked at from the point of view of the Gospel, to postulate the necessary and urgent social change which the situation requires and to point out the task which the Church has fulfilled and is fulfilling today in Chile in relation to the poor" (Church of Santiago, October 1975).

The cause of the poverty to which the "social week" participants refer naturally taking care not to explain its origins is well known to be those two regimes which promoted progressively collectivist social change and which were encouraged by the same clerical currents that supported this fourth social week.

There they are as if the reality did not exist, insisting on their "necessary and urgent" social changes which they have never dared to define concretely.

A few weeks later, one of the Bishops who was responsible for and who signed the document *The Gospel and Peace* gave the Catholics of silence in Chile a new surprise.

...to postulate "necessary and urgent social change"

... in the same terms that brought Chile to misery!

... without daring publicly to define their designs

### 11. The confidential statements of Msgr. Camus: a signer of the statement *The Gospel and Peace* unmasked . . .

Msgr. Camus, secretary general of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate attended a luncheon with foreign journalists, and it seems, being certain that his statements would not be published, spoke in a clearer language than that which had appeared in the official statements of the Episcopate.

Speaking without official "moderation"

These statements of Msgr. Camus became known in Chile because Alfredo Pineda de Castro, a Colombian journalist, later delivered them to the media. Nevertheless, it has been verified that before this was done — as Pineda de Castro himself was later to denounce — the press conference of Msgr. Camus was mysteriously broadcast by Radio Moscow. This occurred only twenty-four hours after the press conference had taken place. Up to now, it has not

Words broadcast 24 hours later by Radio Moscow



**Msgr. Camus.**

He knew of Marxist infiltration in the Committee for Peace. The Chilean Bishops confirmed him as secretary general of the Bishops' Conference in spite of his activities which were hostile to the anti-Marxist authorities.

been determined what means were used to bring to Russia statements so useful in feeding the campaign of disrepute against Chile.

We will emphasize here some of those statements.

Msgr. Camus recognizes in his conversation with the foreign journalists that the majority of the Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in Chile opposes the Chilean government.

Msgr. Camus accuses the government of using violent methods and of wanting to impose itself "by force."

He shows that the majority of the Bishops did not want to celebrate the anniversary Mass on September 11 in commemoration of the liberation from the Marxist dictatorship even though the document *The Gospel and Peace* had said this was inevitable. . .

Especially elucidating are the statements of Msgr. Camus with regard to the "Committee for Peace in Chile."

This "ecumenical" organization promoted by the ecclesiastical authorities had been awakening anxieties and distrust among Catholics. But they had kept their reservations quiet, fearing they would be accused of being inhumane and would be condemned by the Prelates. As we have seen, this "Committee" gave juridical protection of a special kind to the directors of the deposed Marxist regime who were tried by military tribunals, etc. In official statements of the Episcopate, this "Committee for Peace in Chile" was praised as being one of the best achievements of the Hierarchy in its efforts to benefit "the most needy."

Externally, it all seemed to be no more than a humanitarian gesture for the defeated, a gesture, let it be said parenthetically, that the Pastors had not extended to the countless victims of the Allendeist regime.

However, Msgr. Camus permitted us to see, by his statements to the foreign correspondents, that there was more to it than this, and that from the outset there had been Marxist infiltration in the Committee. We will refer to this subsequently.

Msgr. Camus recognized also that many Communists had shown their gratitude to the Church for the protection that it had afforded them. . .

Finally, Msgr. Camus severely criticized the economic policy of the Government, and described as a palliative the

Ecclesiastical opposition to the government

Accusations

Refusal of anniversary Masses

Revelations about the "Committee for Peace"

Communist "gratitude"

More criticism of the government

## Part Four

selfless and edifying work that the worthy wives of the honorable members of the Military Junta and other high officials of the Armed Forces are doing for the neediest classes (see *La Tercera de la Hora*, 10/12/75).

The resignation of Msgr. Camus ...

An enormous scandal was produced when the opinion of the secretary general of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate was made known. Before that time, it had only been possible to glimpse the truth between the lines of the many communications and the general strategy of action of that organism. In view of the scandal, Msgr. Camus presented his resignation to the Episcopal organization.

...not accepted by Permanent Committee, which considered his more substantial words to be in accord with "The Gospel and Peace"

However, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate considered it more timely not to accept the resignation and to delay consideration of the problem for several months, at the same time affirming in a public statement that "The most substantial judgments that he (Msgr. Camus) has manifested have already been expressed in the document *The Gospel and Peace*."

The Committee also affirms, by way of vain justification, that the "*more controversial opinions*" of Msgr. Camus, "*outside of not having the meaning which some have sought to attribute to them, have not desired to offend either persons or institutions*" (*La Tercera de la Hora*, 10/12/75 — The emphasis is ours).

Disagreement of other Bishops ...

It is necessary to observe that Msgr. Emilio Tagle, the Bishop of Valparaiso, and some other Prelates — Msgr. Manuel Sanchez, Archbishop of Concepcion; Francisco de Borja Valenzuela, Bishop of San Felipe; Augusto Salinas, Bishop of Linares; Orozimbo Fuenzalida, Bishop of Los Angeles; Eladio Vicuna, Archbishop of Puerto Montt; and Tomas Gonzales Morales, Bishop of Magallanes — made clear that the statements of Msgr. Camus were inopportune and did not represent their thinking. (*El Mercurio*, 10/17/75).

...did not prevent ratification of Msgr. Camus as secretary general of Permanent Committee

As we shall see, this did not prevent the Bishops gathered in Plenary Assembly, toward the end of 1975, from manifesting their complete confidence in Msgr. Camus, ratifying him in his position as secretary general of the Permanent Committee of the Chilean Episcopate.

CHAPTER 5  
ALLIANCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
CLERGY OF THE RAPID MARCH  
WITH TERRORISM, UNDER  
THE EPISCOPAL GAZE

1. First priestly manifestations of complicity with terrorism

After the defeat of Marxism, it soon became clear that the revolutionary Priests of the "rapid march" were fulfilling, as always, their advanced task of collaborating with extremists.

In October of 1973, an investigation by security agents led to the discovery that the Dutch Priests Gilberto S. de Jones and E. Dielis had in their possession the elements for setting up a clandestine field hospital designated for terrorist resistance.

The authorities found surgical equipment, specifics, sedatives, a case of bandages, boxes of penicillin, gauze, vitamin pills, blood pressure gauges, etc., hidden in the residence of these two Priests in the village "Nueva Aurora."

Lt. Col. Hernan Podesta the Commander of the "Coraceros" Regiment, declared to journalists that the confiscated equipment corresponded to modern units having a receiving capacity of nearly one hundred persons. The instruments had a capacity to carry out operations ranging from simple sutures to complex surgical incisions and blood transfusions.

In addition, the military authorities found, in that priestly hiding place, propaganda printed in Chile and

Dutch Priests . . .

. . . were hiding equipment for setting up a complete clandestine hospital

*Part Four*

There were also urban guerrilla manuals and a large quantity of Marxist works

abroad, which included manuals of urban guerrilla warfare and a large collection of Marxist publications, even some which dealt with ideological infiltration of the Clergy and Catholic circles in general.

... and bombs for personal attacks

But that was not all. In the residence of the Dutch Priests, the military found very peculiar devices for making dynamite attacks against people. These devices are small books with heavy cardboard covers which, upon being opened, activate a mechanism that detonates a bomb capable of killing the chosen victim. In order to show the unity between the different forms of revolutionary error and vices, we emphasize now what the press published at that time: one of the book bombs in the possession of the Dutch Priests was entitled *Erotic Readings (La Tercera de la Hora, 10/15/73)*.

\* \* \*

There were also, in those first weeks after the fall of Allende, other cases indicating that the revolutionary Priests of the "rapid march" had made an extreme commitment to the Communist anti-Christian Revolution.

In Quillota, a Spanish priest participated in the leadership of rural guerrillas

The authorities proved that in Quillota the Spanish Priest Antonio Llido (apparently an apostate) participated in the leadership of a terrorist group trying to organize guerrilla resistance in rural zones of the region. (*La Tercera de la Hora, 10/15/73* and *El Mercurio 9/29/73*).

...and another one collaborated with terrorist groups in Casablanca

In the O'Higgins district of Valparaiso, Father Alfredo Hudson was discovered to be collaborating with terrorist groups operating in the interior of the locality of Casablanca, groups closely tied to the extremist organization MIR (*La Tercera de la Hora, 10/15/73*).

\* \* \*

Another publicly known example of a Priest collaborating with murderous Communist terrorism, was proved on December 13, 1974.

Hiding place of arms in Parish of Santiago denounced

The Intelligence Services arrived at the parish of Nuestra Senora de la Victoria, at 4721 Ranquil street, in Santiago, to carry out a search.

Some neighbors had denounced the Pastor of that Church for hiding arms of the MIR terrorists under cover of

the Holy Place. An imprisoned extremist, Gabriel E. Campillay, had confirmed this accusation in a confession.

The investigators made the following discovery: the cash box of the parish, whose keys were held by the Curate Renato Giavio, contained Marxist political books and propaganda.

And there was another discovery which was much worse than that. In the tabernacle of the Church; that sacrosanct place designated to safeguard Jesus Christ truly present in the Eucharist, the sacrilegious Pastor had hidden arms destined for terrorist violence.

The ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago, following their first natural inclination, immediately came out in defense of the Priest who had committed so great an offense against God, the Church, and the Nation.

Acting in a precipitous manner, Father Gustavo Ferraris, Episcopal Vicar of the South Zone of Santiago, issued a violent statement to be read in all the parishes of that zone and in others where it was necessary.

In this statement, as has now become customary in so many ecclesiastical attitudes, the Vicar expressed his indignation not against the Marxist Priest but against the horrified neighbors of the parish who had denounced the sinister deed. The Episcopal Vicar insinuated that the military investigation had falsified the facts. Father Ferraris had the audacity to declare that *"the faith and moral integrity"* of Father Renato Giavio *"will enable him, with the help of God, to offer his present sufferings and loss of freedom as a testimony of his interior veracity and his adherence to the Church . . ."* This singular statement of the Episcopal Vicar added further that his *"prayers and sympathies will help"* the sacrilegious Priest and accomplice of Marxist terrorism to *"associate his passion to that of the Lord!"*

In culmination, he advised that he had named a substitute Pastor *"to continue the same apostolic task of Father Renato, in communion with the Bishop."*

The statement is dated Saturday, December 14, 1974.

This unusual document, which was made public the day after the police actions, presented the governmental authorities as unjust persecutors of the Church.

The Pastor Renato Giavio had Marxist propaganda in cash box . . .

. . . and arms in the tabernacle

The Episcopal Vicar came out in defense of extremist Priest...

...showing indignation against the neighbors who had denounced him

. . . insinuating that military investigators falsified the facts

. . . and comparing situation of Marxist Priest with the Passion of Our Lord

. . . reporting the naming of another pastor "to continue same apostolic task"

#### Part Four

Interview of Msgr. Valech with Military Chief of la Plaza

On the following Monday, General Sergio Arellano, Military Chief of la Plaza, received in his office Msgr. Sergio Valech Aldunate, Auxiliary Bishop and Vicar General of the Archbishopric of Santiago, who began to present the official protest of the ecclesiastical authorities of the Capital against the arrest of the terrorist Priest.

General Arellano, according to press reports, was cordial but categorical in his defense of the military procedure and in the presentation of irrefutable evidence.

On Tuesday, the Auxiliary Bishop again went to the office of the Chief of la Plaza, but this time he was accompanied by the Episcopal Vicar, Father Gustavo Ferraris.

On that occasion, the military authorities presented the Pastor who had conspired with terrorism and who was the author of the sacrilege in person, and he confirmed the truth of the accusations which the military authorities had made against him. General Arellano, according to the press, made known to the ecclesiastics that he hoped that it would be they themselves who would make clear — by the same method used the previous Sunday, an official statement to be read in the parishes — what had really occurred.

Episcopal Vicar rectifies his statement, admitting the truth of the military accusation

Actually, the Episcopal Vicar of the South Zone delivered a statement dated December 17, 1974 in which he admitted that "*the statement read in the Christian communities of the South Zone last Sunday*" was in error. He also pointed out, among other things, the following:

*"I commit myself to send all the details of what really happened to the Christian communities of our South Zone so severely affected by those disconcerting and painful events, next Sunday, for its due diffusion."*

He likewise thanked the military authorities who "*have conceded the necessary time*" for him to arrive at his "*personal conclusions and for not having taken it upon themselves to formulate the corresponding retraction*" (*El Mercurio*, 12/14, 17-18/74; *La Segunda*, 12/18/74).

The Episcopal Vicar of the South Zone thus publicly admitted the error committed.

While this rectification was an indeclinable duty, the effort it meant for that ecclesiastical authority can be appreciated.



However, neither this nor any other equally scandalous deed revealing the protection that the "rapid march" revolutionary Priests offered to the terrorist network of Marxist subversion, seemed to awaken the zeal and the vigilance of the revolutionary Shepherds and Priests of the "slow march." The destructive over-all revolutionary process, in which each velocity has its own function beyond the superficial tensions, continued on its gradual course, interrupted from time to time by extremist spasms without being stopped by them.

The play of the velocities

In fact, in the communique of December 17 from the Episcopal Vicar of the South Zone about the criminal incident of Father Renato Giavio, we find neither a categorical condemnation nor a doctrinal reprobation of that pastor who had embraced Marxist heresy in such radical terms.

An instructive reprobation should have been formulated publicly on the same day that the Episcopal Vicar was obliged to see the indisputable reality of the criminal conduct of the referred-to pastor, even though it might have been formulated in the prudential terms which the circumstances required.

## 2. The Marxist infiltration in the "Committee for Peace" recognized by Msgr. Camus

In Msgr. Camus's extemporaneous private conversation with foreign journalists which we cited previously, the statements of the secretary general of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate about the "Committee for Peace" merit special emphasis.

Msgr. Camus said, in this respect, that which was really obvious, but that which the Episcopate had not seemed to perceive when they officially praised the "Committee for Peace in Chile."

In fact, the Bishop signatory of *The Gospel and Peace* pointed out that: "*There are many functionaries of the Committee for Peace who have Marxist ideas. . . because it*

Marxists in the Committee

Part Four

*is logical . . . many had Marxist ideas from the beginning. . . besides they were the ones who were left unemployed . . . so . . . there was also an obligation to take care of them by giving them work. . . . But, mainly, they were people who took more risks, because it wasn't known up to what point they would be risking their lives by involving themselves in something when it was not known what degree of respect the Government would have for it. . . ."*

...and also showing up at religious ceremonies

When one of the journalists present asked if it were true *"that Marxism has nothing to do but go around encouraging priests,"* Msgr. Camus answered *"Partly yes."*

Immediately, another of the journalists present, referring to the religious act carried out for "reconciliation" in the church of Maipu, affirmed that *"communists who in their entire lives have never believed in anything sang at the top of their lungs". . .*

The secretary general of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate then said the following: *"A great many of them have told me, with great honesty, too. . . Ab? . . . With honesty, I say, because they are people I know through a more personal friendship. Ab? . . . They have told me: Look, you know that I am not Catholic and I believe in nothing. . .but I am so grateful for what the Church has done. . .that I am going to go. . .to attest to my gratitude. . ."* (*La Tercera de la Hora*, 10/12/75).

Necessity of keeping alive the pseudo-mystique of terrorist groups

The Communist revolutionary policy had changed in Chile, adapting itself to new circumstances. The strategists of Communism saw very well that only limited results could be obtained from violent subversive activity in a country where the majority had rejected the "peaceful and democratic" mask worn by the Marxist-socialist Allende. However, if the Revolution did not mount a violent resistance to the Chilean military government, the shock troops of the Red sect in Chile and abroad would have a great difficulty to understand why it was not being done.

Accordingly since such violent resistance always obtains some auxiliary result, the revolutionary Clergy of the "rapid march" took charge of covering up, encouraging, and "pastorally" protecting many of these violent Communists participating in the strategy of dominating Chile.

### 3. Like a fetid tumor, a shocking scandal explodes: an organized alliance between terrorism and a significant sector of the ecclesiastics

We said previously that after the Bishops had decided "post-factum" to prohibit Catholics from serving in the Marxist organization "Christians for Socialism," the most ardent elements of the revolutionary Clergy which had found refuge in that organization continued their action in other ways. The most radical elements of the revolutionary Clergy, who had so openly served therein during the Allendeist period, would go on to act, either from abroad, like the Jesuit Gonzalo Arroyo who joined the campaign of calumnies against Chile, or in the interior, dedicating themselves to clandestine activity. The others would continue more cautiously propagating their "individual option" in favor of Marxist socialism, an option whose possibility the Chilean Bishops have not — even at the present moment — clearly opposed.

In the first half of November 1975, the security agencies of the State denounced in detail the clandestine activities of an organization called "Patriotic Front of National Liberation" (FPLN) in Chile.

This organization was constituted with the support of the Communist Party in a form sufficient for maintaining its violent subversive action, but at a level of intensity that would not go beyond what the circumstances permitted.

Spokesmen for the Directorate of National Intelligence pointed out that *"the main task which the FPLN had proposed for itself, as an organization, was to set up different Committees throughout the country, trying to unite elements of the Socialist Party, MAPU, Christian Left, and Christian Democracy of the Left, around this movement directed by the Communist Party."*

Elements of the clandestine subversive organization were detained in Santiago, Talca, Temuco, and Valdivia.

According to documents seized by the security organs, the FPLN had the goal of constructing, from then until the end of that year, sixty Committees in Santiago, ten in Concepcion, ten in Valparaiso, four in La Calera, four in Ovalle,

Communist front of  
clandestine resistance

...tries to unite elements ranging from socialists to leftist Christian Democrats

*Part Four*

three in Temuco, four in Valdivia, four in Osorno, four in Puerto Montt, two in Ancud, and two in Castro.

University students  
and high school  
teachers

The spokesmen for the Directorate of Intelligence also pointed out that the majority of the militants of the FPLN were "*university students, high school teachers, and grammar school teachers*" (see magazine *Que Pasa*, 11/6/75).

\* \* \*

Another subversive  
plan denounced

It should also be emphasized that Gustavo Leigh, a member of the governing military junta and a general of the Air Force at that time, denounced another subversive attempt which planned to murder on November 15 His Excellency the President of the Republic, Gen. Augusto Pinochet, as well as the highest authorities of the government.

Scandal

It was in this immediate context that the subversive connections between ecclesiastical elements and the clandestine terrorist group, MIR, exploded into a public scandal.

At this point, we are ready to present a brief review of the publicly known facts, which upon being discovered led the military authorities to make an exhaustive denunciation at that time.

Confrontation in  
Malloco

In the second half of the month of October, the security agencies discovered that the leaders of MIR were using as a refuge a plot of land belonging to an employee of the publishing house of the Salesian Congregation, in the location of Malloco, a few kilometers from Santiago.

At present, the best known leader of that terrorist organization is Andres Pascal Allende, a nephew of the Marxist ex-president and an ex-student of St. George's School.

When the security forces located the Mirist hideout, a confrontation occurred between them and the terrorists. During that clash, the Mirist leader Nelson Gutierrez was wounded, but he managed to escape from the scene of the conflict.

Discovery of chain  
begins

As a result of this event, a surprising chain of compli-  
cieties was discovered by the Intelligence Services.

The Mirist Gutierrez,  
Jesuit Salas, and  
Sister Nelson

Nelson Gutierrez was led to the Convent of Notre Dame by the Jesuit Priest Fernando Salas (formerly secretary and at present a collaborator of the "Committee for

Peace in Chile”) and the North American Sister Helen Nelson. Father Salas and the nun drove the fugitive Mirist leader in a red Volkswagen stolen from a person whom they had assaulted on the road between Santiago and Valparaiso.

Moving ahead of our story for a moment, we note that the convent of Notre Dame provided a temporary refuge for Nelson Gutierrez before he was transferred to another hiding place. We also note, at this point, that Maria Elena Bachman, the mistress of Andres Pascal Allende, and Marie Anne Beausire were found hiding out there.

According to the denunciation made by the military authorities, Father Salas abandoned the stolen automobile in a district of Santiago. In another action, that same Father Salas was implicated with Father Gerardo Wheelan, a member of the Holy Cross Congregation and an ex-rector of St. George’s School. Father Wheelan was already prominent for his Marxist post-synodal propaganda, as we reported in preceding pages (see Part Two, Chapter 2, no. 7). The two Priests took from the Convent of Notre Dame, seemingly at the request of some of the nuns, two AKA rifles which had been left there, and they abandoned the weapons in a district of Santiago.

In the Convent of Notre Dame, the mistress of Pascal Allende

The Priest Wheelan

Jesuit Cariola and meetings in CIDE

Bishop Alvear

But the network discovered by police authorities did not end here: it extended also to meetings carried out in CIDE (Center of Investigation and Development of Education), a group dedicated to the “pastoral of solidarity” preached by the Episcopate. CIDE is directed by the Jesuit Patricio Cariola, a personal representative of the Cardinal before the “Committee for Peace,” and is under the protection of Msgr. Alvear, Auxiliary Bishop of Santiago. It was in meetings carried out in CIDE that it was decided to move the Mirist leader Gutierrez and his mistress to the Convent of Notre Dame. According to declarations of the military prosecutor who investigated the scandalous case, Msgr. Alvear had knowledge of these meetings (*La Segunda*, 11/11/75).

Dr. Cassidy arrives on scene

The English doctor Sheila Cassidy arrived at the Convent of Notre Dame to tend to the fugitive Mirist leader.

In the search for Dr. Cassidy, the security forces discovered that another religious house was acting as an accomplice of Mirism: the Casa de Reposo of the Columbine

## *Part Four*

Fathers in Santiago, where Dr. Cassidy was taking refuge together with an unidentified individual.

Armed defense at Casa de Reposo of Columbine Fathers

Upon arriving at said religious house of repose, the national security services were received with pistol and AKA rifle fire, and a gunfight began between the police forces and the fugitives hidden in the House of the Columbine Fathers.

Finally, the security personnel were able to enter the building, and found the doctor hidden in a closet. Her companion had fled.

Again the AKA rifles

Inside the House, the authorities found three magazines for AKA rifles and three magazines for 7-65 caliber pistols.

As the search for the subversives proceeded, it continued to reveal a clerical complicity with Communist terrorism.

Fr. Wheelan hidden in Fr. Devlin's

Father Gerardo Wheelan, ex-rector of St. George's School, had hidden himself in the house of the North American priest John Devlin, also of the Holy Cross Congregation.

Other Mirist detained at Fr. Wheelan's house . . .

On November 2, in the house of the ex-Rector Father Wheelan, another fugitive Mirist was apprehended: Martin Humberto Hernandez Vasquez, alias "Jaime" or "Leonardo." Hernandez had fled from the confrontation in Malloco and had arrived at the parish of San Gerardo. . . The Priest Victor Grislain led him to another location where there was another Priest of the western zone of the Episcopate. From there he was picked up by the ex-Episcopal Vicar of the Archbishopric of Santiago, the worker-priest, Rafael Maroto, with whom we will deal later. Father Maroto took Hernandez to the parish of Santa Rosa, where he was put up for one night by the Priest Fermin Donoso. The following day, the Mirist Hernandez was taken to the house of Father Wheelan where — as we have just said — he was found by the police forces.

..had fled from Malloco to San Gerardo Parish

later taken by Father Grislain to other clerical refuge

Worker-priest Rafael Maroto took them to Priest Fermin Donoso

It was also learned that Father Maroto offered to hide Hernandez in the parish of Las Condes. . .

Sisters Armstrong and Lepsig

In addition, it was discovered that the nuns Pabla Armstrong and Peggy Lepsig, of the Catholic Maryknoll congregation, had collaborated in the cover-up of the Mirist Gutierrez.

The Mirist leader Nelson Gutierrez was removed from the Convent of Notre Dame by the Priest Wheelan in a white Peugeot automobile, normally used by the nuns of the Congregation of Notre Dame.

Gutierrez flees with Father Wheelan in auto used by Sisters of Notre Dame

Later on, the press disclosed that the Jesuit Priest Fernando Salas, of the "Committee for Peace" took charge of carrying the MIR terrorists, Nelson Gutierrez and his mistress, to the seat of the Apostolic Nuncio, where they were to be given shelter. They were taken to the Nunciature, hidden in the trunk of an automobile which had been given to Father Salas by Fernando Castillo Velasco, ex-rector of the Catholic University. Fernando Castillo Velasco had been elevated to that post in 1967 by the intercession of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago.

Transfer to Nunciature

The authorities also apprehended the Priest Patricio Cajardo, a member of the "Committee for Peace in Chile" and chaplain of the House of Correction for Women of the Good Shepherd.

The activities of the Priest Cajardo, from the Committee for Peace, at the House of Correction for Women

Father Cajardo acted as a "courier" in contact with the women, who had been confined in that House of Correction because of terrorist activities. From the "Committee for Peace," he brought different types of instructions, recommendations, and orders to the detainees of the House of Correction.

For example, that member of the "Committee for Peace" ordered the women in that House of Correction to make items of embroidery and other handwork, which contained highly offensive words about the Chilean government and which were later sent abroad for sale.

Moreover, the authorities found that the Priest Cajardo had confidential names and addresses belonging to the security services in his possession (*El Cronista*, 11/12/75).

List of confidential names and address belonging to security services

#### 4. The ex-Episcopal Vicar of the Archbishopric of Santiago, Rafael Maroto, carried on "pastoral activity" in the company of the most radical revolutionaries

Among those detained for their subversive activities is the Priest Rafael Maroto, who in 1960 collaborated in the

## Part Four

Catholic anti-communist oath made at that time by hundreds of youths in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Santiago. . .

Father Rafael Maroto occupied the post of Episcopal Vicar of the Archbishopric, and in this position he was, in 1971, responsible for the fulfillment in Santiago of the "pastoral orientations" given by the Episcopal Assembly of 1970 in Concepcion. Afterwards, he served as interim Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Santiago.

Singular path of Fr. Maroto until the police discovered his subversive militancy

Father Maroto was named religious chaplain of the Presidential House during the time of the Marxist government of Allende.

We emphasize his case, among the shameful events related above, because significant documents were found in his possession which provide a better understanding of the nature of clerical-communist subversion in Chile.

Mirist medal

Father Maroto was wearing at the time he was imprisoned — according to what the security forces reported — a medal with the following legend: Miguel (meaning the former Chief of MIR, who died in a confrontation with police forces): "*the popular resistance will triumph. Until victory, always! October 5, 1975.*" On the other side of the medal were several hands and a machine gun together with a trident (*La Segunda*, 11/5/75).

His "pastoral" function with violent subversive scheme

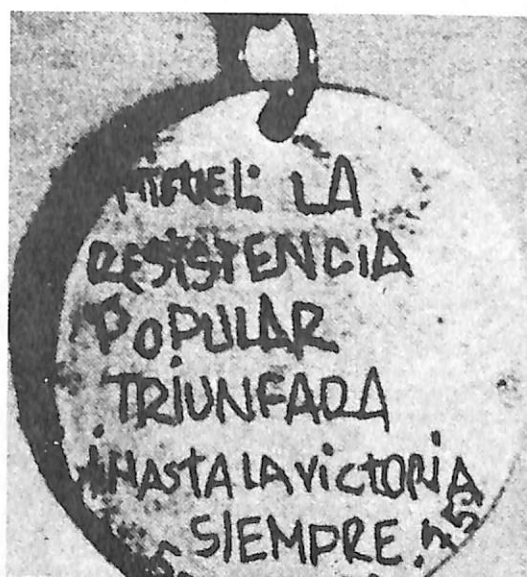
One of the documents seized in the residence of Father Maroto disclosed that the revolutionary policy of "slow march" of the ecclesiastical Hierarchy was disconcerting to many Priests and religious of the extreme left. The manuscript text pointed out that among those activists of the extreme left, who still remain in Catholic ranks, there are many who "*become desperate and look for an alternate channel, they seek to assume desperate prophetic attitudes if they are not accompanied by a patient and rigorous organizing work, of information, of enlightenment on the Christian fronts and on the fronts of the masses.*"

Those groups inside the many-sided Communist scheme who represent the radical and violent "aile marchante," experience disappointment at seeing the failure of the Allendeist "democratic way" and upon discovering that the present revolutionary strategy does not count on them as the most dynamic elements. The document found in Father Maroto's house seems to want to bring this reality into focus.





The scandalous connection between influential elements of the Clergy and the MIRist left bewildered public opinion. The headlines above read: "Gutierrez and girlfriend in the Nunciature;" "Mirist fugitives hidden in Nunciature;" "Priests hid Mirist fugitives;" "Church protected the extremists." Below, the front and rear of the "medal" carried by Father Rafael Maroto, former Episcopal Vicar of the Archbishopric of Santiago, when he was detained by security forces. In the rear, one reads: "Miguel. The popular resistance will triumph. Until the victory, always! October 5, '75."



## Part Four

The manuscript adds that “*a correct policy for Christians, to be effective, should begin with a scientific analysis, of a characterization of this social sector. It should take into account the aspirations, the state of mind, the idiosyncrasy, the ideological attitude of the different Christian layers, raising up a policy which permits the channeling of these aspirations and demands, making them converge with the resistance*” (*El Cronista*, 11/12/75).

Significant blasphemous parody of the Our Father

Another of the documents seized from the Priest Maroto is a blasphemous parody of the Our Father, portions of which we transcribe below:

“OUR FATHER, who art in Heaven,  
I want to talk to you and tell you of my sorrow  
and tell you of the immense pain of my people [ . . . ]

I lived many years believing in the decency  
of those in uniform who were our defense;  
and who today assault the people, covering themselves with shame.  
It is easy to know them: they search, they violate, they rob,  
they walk with sub-machine guns frightening people  
With arms and uniforms bought by the people;  
they burn La Moneda, they kill the President,  
they persecute Ministers and massacre people.

What do they look for, what do they pursue?

To prostitute the country, to surrender it again  
to convert us into pariahs, throwing out the Cubans  
to give us to the Yankees.  
They seek to have us forget that we took the first step  
and want us to think naively that the rifle has achieved this.

How little they know us, how they have misjudged us!

This bath of blood consolidates the ties  
and calls us to a more revolutionary future.

Do they dissolve the CUT, and take Corvalan prisoner?  
Do they deny us readjustment, dismiss us en masse?  
Do they loot the house of the greatest poet?  
Are there families undone, are there orphans, widows?  
Are there many comrades taking refuge in embassies?  
Has Congress ended, and journalism died?

Is the dignity of Chile now only a memory?  
Is socialism receding, are the gringos reviving?

**IT DOESN'T MATTER!  
THERE IS A TOMORROW, we still have strength and sons,  
and a very certain phrase that we say silently today:  
THE PEOPLE BEING UNITED, WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED  
SOONER OR LATER WE WILL HAVE WON!!!!"**

(*La Tercera de la Hora*, 11/11/75, — The emphasis in capital letters is from the text itself).

## **5. Marxist Priests arrested in the North. Plan of subversive infiltration by way of the Cordillera of the Andes**

The following facts complete this picture of the violent subversive apparatus sheltered in clerical institutions: two Italian Priests, Father Giuseppe Murinedu Rossu and Father Cano Salvatore Angelo, were arrested in the northern city of Copiapo for their Marxist activities.

At the time that he was taken prisoner, Father Murinedu had a pamphlet-type text against the authorities, which was ready to be mimeographed, hidden under the table where the vestments for celebrating Mass were placed. This Priest participated actively in the work of MIR, exercising his proselytism by means of the so-called "Center of Christian Youths." The second Italian Priest, Father Salvatore, had large posters of Che Guevara exhibited in his room, one of which displayed a signed message from the Marxist guerrilla to this unworthy representative of the Church.

Father Salvatore confessed to being an organizer of the Christian base communities, in which he exercised an open proselytizing action against the government of Chile. He had in his possession abundant Marxist literature, a list of vehicles which officers of the Armed Forces used to travel in Copiapo and their respective licensing data, a book which gives instructions for operations of guerrilla infiltration, and an expensively bound volume inside of which

In Copiapo other Priests engaged in violent subversion

Father Murinedu and his center for "Christian youths"

Father Salvatore, organizer of Base Communities

Marxist literature, manuals for guerrillas, programs of Radio Moscow, and list of vehicles used by Armed Forces

#### Part Four

Infiltration of guerillas was being prepared via Cordillera of the Andes

was hidden a revolver. He also had some cassette tapes containing Communist programs broadcast by Moscow radio (*El Mercurio*, and *La Tercera de la Hora*, 11/11/75).

About that time, the press also made public a plan of Communist infiltration from abroad which aimed at promoting violent subversion. According to the denunciation, there were more than one thousand two hundred activists prepared to enter Chile by way of the Cordillera of the Andes (*El Mercurio*, 11/11/75).

### 6. The ambiguity of the Archbishopric of Santiago ties it to openly declared Marxist subversion

Reflecting now upon the pro-communist revolutionary commitment of nearly all the Chilean Shepherds and the decisive sectors of the Clergy who follow them, we find that this revolutionary commitment has arrived at a point of paroxysm.

Indeed, this time the malignant tumor incubating in the ecclesiastical structure has effectively shown all of its repugnant purulence. The ambiguous words, the subtle sleights of hand, and the tactical steps backward are not now able to fool even the most naive of the faithful having any contact, however superficial, with the terrifying reality.

Religious congregations, parish houses, and other organs motivated, and supported by the Hierarchs of the Church were mixed up with Communist subversion. The platonic euphemisms about the eventually positive aspects that the "Marxist method" purified of its materialistic and atheistic aspects would perhaps come to have in a yet unknown prism had become an embarrassingly transparent curtain which no longer served to conceal by a comfortable chiaroscuro the commitment of these Pastors and Priests to the anti-Christian subversive action.

The encounter of the security forces with the MIR terrorists, whose Marxist-Leninist connection and whose methods of bloody violence cannot be denied without denying the truth known as such, has made flagrantly evident the

traitorous and clandestine militancy of elements of the Clergy in support of the egalitarian and anti-Christian Revolution which today threatens the Church and the remaining free nations of the West.

The fact is that the circumstances had placed the Chilean Episcopate and the revolutionary Clergy of the "slow march" in front of an unavoidable dilemma: they would be forced to make a pronouncement about a religious scandal without precedent in the history of Chile. In this context, silence would be a useless shield, since it would inevitably be interpreted as complicity.

Complex dilemma for the revolutionary Clergy of the "slow march"

The dilemma may be stated as follows: On the one hand, if the Hierarchs and Priests who had previously assumed the leadership of the Marxist socio-economic revolution in Chile — by concealing its true design under the dual mantle of Christianity and evolution — were now to retract publicly all of the injuries which they had inflicted on the Church and the nation, they would by this retraction close the road to the revolutionary process which aims to destroy what remains of Christianity in our country. On the other hand, if they publicly showed their support for ecclesiastical institutions which helped to sustain terrorist revolutionaries and radicals, their rupture with the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church would be consummated in such a brutally notorious manner that their means of leading public opinion would be rendered largely useless.

It is obvious that resolving this dilemma would be by no means easy for the Hierarchs and Priests disposed to lead the egalitarian and anti-Christian Revolution in Chile, particularly considering the present conditions which that Revolution faces in South America.

On the following pages, we will see just what path the destructive Bishops and Clergy acting with them decided to take in order to continue their corrosive work against the Church and the country.

Continuation of the destructive work

The Archbishopric of Santiago pronounced itself on November 5 by means of its "Department of Public Opinion," which issued a statement that, by a dialectic wonder, managed to be ambiguous. But the ambiguity in the present case is not an attenuating circumstance but an aggravating one.

Dialectic wonder

Part Four

Chilean public opinion knows the text of that statement, whose principal paragraphs we will transcribe here:

*"The position of the Church with reference to violence and those who believe in it as a method and end for a political strategy is sufficiently known. It has just been reaffirmed in the document The Gospel and Peace. Whoever professes a morality based on the Gospel of Christ cannot praise hatred and destruction, nor collaborate for the success of its postulates, however much they may invoke presumed reformist ideals. The ecclesiastical authority of this Archdiocese reprovves, therefore, as contrary to the spirit of Christ, any duly proven action of Priests, religious, or laymen which involves their adherence and direct cooperation in those postulates of violence and of hatred."*

Some reader may imagine that this part of the statement condemns Marxism. But whoever reads these words attentively will see that:

a) In the first place, the ecclesiastical authority of Santiago fails, with the most disconcerting impassiveness, to explain how it was possible that so many institutions belonging to the teaching Church had so clearly committed themselves to the terrorist groups of the Communist revolutionary apparatus.

Besides, a reproval cast in subtly deceiving terms is insufficient, particularly in view of the fact that its meaning remains ambiguous throughout the document. Moreover, it is indefensible that the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, his Auxiliary Bishops and other authorities did not know that which in Chile was common knowledge. This lack of knowledge is all the more inexcusable in that in its statement of October 1, 1973, the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate had warned that perhaps an event would occur which in actuality was practically certain to occur, that is to say, that the Marxist revolutionary schemes would withdraw to the protection of ecclesiastical institutions.

But there is an even more revealing fact, if this be possible. The reader will remember that a few pages back we discussed a confidential statement made by Msgr. Camus who has been the secretary general of the Permanent Committee since 1974. In this statement, the Hierarchy recognized that the "Committee for Peace in Chile" was full of

An explanation that was not given: how and why the Shepherds let the heretical subversive gangrene grow in such a way?

Everything called for vigilance and foresight

Msgr. Camus confessed to the infiltration

Marxists from the time of its inception (see Part Four, Chapter 4, no. 11).

b) As we have seen, the "Department of Public Opinion" of the Archbishopric of Santiago now states that the position of the Church with respect to violence is sufficiently known and has just been reaffirmed in the document *The Gospel and Peace*. In other words, even now the Archbishopric of Santiago feels it has the right to establish a distinction for condemning some aspects of Marxism, as if such a platonic laboratory distinction capable of achieving no result except the paralyzation of the morale and defensive forces of our country could possibly be legitimately injected into the war directed against Chile from Moscow, Peking, or Cuba.

c) As in the document *The Gospel and Peace*, the Hierarchs now would allow a simultaneous condemnation of what they have called the revolutionary violence that attacks the established order and the counter-revolutionary violence that defends it, which is significant since they have defined the existence of an institutionalized violence. Accordingly, we see that we are once again before a text capable of serving as an impulse for the Marxist revolution in Chile, so long as that revolution does not use crime and sub-machine guns as its principal elements of action.

d) Lastly, in the quotation cited above, the ecclesiastical authority of Santiago, after an intolerable preamble when one considers what was being done, goes on to make concrete the meaning of its ambiguous condemnation with respect to the impressive collection of clerics, religious, and laymen involved in armed and clandestine subversion. As we have already seen, the statement made in the name of the Archbishopric of Santiago says that it reproves "*any duly proven action of Priests, religious or laymen which involves their adherence and direct cooperation in those postulates of violence and of hatred.*"

In other words, these phrases put in doubt the flagrant nature of the subversive complicity in which many of the Priests were discovered when they were apprehended by the legitimate power of the State.

Furthermore, this text clashes with the whole tradition of the Church in its way of estimating the position and attitude of a heretic.

Distinctions and sub distinctions of document *The Gospel and Peace*

Handling of the question of "two violences"

Providing the least possible reproof

Clashing with the tradition of Holy Church in the battle against heresy

*Part Four*

Really, the statement insinuates that only a duly proven action is reprehensible, and not that which gives foundation to the suspicion that a Catholic — whether he be a Bishop, Priest, religious, or simple layman — is favoring or has embraced the heretical cause.

Besides, the condemnation of the Archdiocese limits itself, in this part of the statement, to “adherence and direct cooperation” with violent subversion. If the cooperation is indirect, does it then cease to warrant the Archbishop’s reprobation?

Throwing sand in eyes of an indignant public opinion

But this is not all. After this stammering condemnation, which in the circumstances only aggravates the ecclesiastical commitment of the authorities of the Archbishopric of Santiago to the Marxist revolution, there is a paragraph in which the ambiguity of terminology is multiplied by itself.

Let us consider the textual words of the statement: “The case of those who, inspired by the requirements of the evangelical message, have believed in their conscience that they should offer to those who required it elemental aid for the preservation of life, whatever be their political option, is different. It is fitting to remember that the originality of Christian love is rooted, precisely, in its indiscriminate mercy. Those who have acted thus have the right to be heard, understood, and respected by a public opinion formed in its majority in the Christian spirit. The Church is confident that those responsible for the security of the citizenry will know how to appreciate it in this light” (*La Segunda*, 11/6/75 — The emphasis in the entire quotation is ours).

As can be seen by the wording of the Archbishopric’s statement, it has formulated half-truths, and thrown sand in the eyes of a public opinion that was already showing its indignation in the streets of Santiago.

And in this way, the statement has filled the road with obstacles for the military authorities who are repressing Communism.

This document of the ecclesiastical authorities of the most populous and influential Archdiocese of Chile reaffirms once again the irrevocable decision of those Shepherds to defend, as completely as they can, the Marxist revolutionary process, not only in its most effective and up-to-



date strategic phase (which is the “peaceful and evolutionary” one), but also the very apparatus of violent subversion itself, even when it is being installed under the protection of the ecclesiastical structures.

If the ecclesiastical authorities had taken simply a pallid and inexpressive attitude toward this public scandal (which is one of the greatest in the Church of our days), this would have already amounted to collaboration with the Communist enemy. Therefore, how much more is this the case with this document, so brief but so full of errors and ambiguities, in the moment that it was made public.

It is easy to understand why the press not committed to the Communist revolution immediately rose up against the document. The Portaliano Circle, in a public declaration, asked Cardinal Silva Henriquez to show in the most categorical way the thinking of the ecclesiastical Hierarchy with respect to the events, and pointed out that we cannot remain silent before them. It quotes, in this respect, the expression of Saint Catherine of Siena: “*The world is rotted by silence. Shout, shout as if you had one thousand tongues*” (*La Segunda*, 11/6/75).

Public demonstrations were held in front of the Nuncio’s Palace where some of the fugitive extremists were being sheltered, and later, at the airport of Santiago, during the departure of some nuns expelled by the Government, because of their complicity with Communist subversion.

The state of exasperation of the immense majority of the faithful handcuffed by the iron rings of confusion and fear of the collaborationist ecclesiastical authority has reached a point that demands an urgent solution — one that will break the iron rings that immobilize and prevent the Church of Silence in Chile from speaking.

For the good of the Church and the country, it is imperative to open a path of expression for the authentic Catholics of Chile, by which they can manifest their opposition to the Hierarchs and the Clergy who have transformed themselves into the most influential and powerful part of the Marxist revolution in the country. It must be a luminous path situated within the secure, precise, and wide margins offered by the Doctrine, Tradition, spirit and canon laws of Holy Mother Church.

An inexpressive attitude would have been approval

Cry of anguish and pained rejection

Exasperation of the Church of Silence

It is urgent to find luminous path within Doctrine, tradition, and canon laws of the Church

*Part Four*

7. The Priest Jose Kuhl, treasurer of the Cooperative of the Clergy of Santiago, apparently broke the pledge of confidentiality between the government and the ecclesiastical authorities

Governmental disposition to avoid conflict

As was widely reported in the newspapers of Santiago, the Chilean government, in order to avoid clashing with the ecclesiastical Hierarchy as much as possible, arrived at an agreement with them by which investigations that brutally implicated an enormous number of ecclesiastical institutions in subversive Communist activities would not be entirely revealed to the public.

Agreement which was not respected

The Chilean government, confronted by the paradoxical and terrible situation of repressing Communist subversion clothed in the sacred garments of ministers of God, perhaps allowed this agreement to be dictated by political sense and good will; however, it was not respected either — no, not even this. Once more the will was shown to place the Church at the head of the egalitarian and anti-Christian Revolution.

A distorted international cable dispatch of Fr. Kuhl . . .

In fact, the press of Santiago reported that Father Kuhl, who lives in the same house with Msgr. Camus, the secretary general of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate, delivered news about the conflict between the Clergy and the Chilean government to foreign correspondents.

More concretely, the newspaper *La Segunda* (11/7/75) related that Father Kuhl, director of a Catholic news agency, sent a cable dispatch to Washington, on Tuesday, November 4, in the morning, to be distributed in the United States and Europe. *La Segunda* transcribed the dispatch. The cable of Father Kuhl notoriously distorted the facts, giving the impression that at least the organs in charge of national security in Chile had taken arbitrary, brutal, and unjust measures persecuting Priests and religious in this particular case.

When we analyze the behavior of the revolutionary ecclesiastics (whether they be of the rapid march or of the slow march) we perceive that we are facing a combat which the "moderate" Pastors who head it may not be

## Chapter 5

seeking to carry, at this moment, to a level of general and excessive violence, but in which they are disposed to take it as far as circumstances and public opinion will permit.

It is fitting to note that, as in the case of the disclosure of Msgr. Camus' "confidential" conversations with foreign journalists, once again an official news organ of Communist Russia was the first to release the news of which the public was unaware.

In fact, Radio Moscow made public scandalous incidents in which Priests connived with the revolutionary terrorist apparatus (naturally, with attacks on the Chilean government) long before the latter made an official statement about the facts.

Radio Havana, subsequently, joined its voice docilely to that of the Soviet transmitter . . .

Again, the news primacy of Moscow

. . .which presented anti-Marxist authorities as persecutors of the Clergy



CHAPTER 6  
THE FIGHT AGAINST SUBVERSION IS  
PRESENTED AS PERSECUTION  
OF THE CHURCH

1. The Cardinal surprises Chilean Catholics by censuring them for their indignation over the scandal of the Clergy being involved in terrorist plotting

Upon being interviewed by journalists, Msgr. Emilio Tagle Covarrubias, the Archbishop of Valparaiso, and Msgr. Augusto Salinas, the Bishop of Linares, reproved the attitude of the Priests who conspired with the MIR terrorists; meanwhile, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago surprised his congregation in a painful manner once again.

Naturally, he could not fail to censure in some way the Priests and religious who helped the MIR terrorists flee from the police. But, as in all of the similar cases, his restrictions are made in the least categorical and most elusive possible manner.

The Cardinal said: *"We cannot anticipate the verdict of Justice. It may be that someone has erred. In this case, charity itself demands that we reprove his error. But not even he who errs or sins gravely is deprived of his dignity as a person. It pains us greatly if a Priest does not fulfill his sacred pledges. But more still, it pains us when the fallen one is judged without mercy, or when some seek to soil any testimony of evangelical charity with the stigma of cooperation with error and crime. And our sadness overflows when sons of the Church are scandalized in Her instead of venerating Her as Mother and making atonement,*

The greatest censure of the Cardinal is directed against reactions of protest of the traumatized faithful . . .

*Part Four*

*in their own flesh, for the sins which are committed in Her” (El Mercurio, 11/9/75).*

...providing moral torture for Church of Silence

As usual, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago makes each of his pronouncements one more occasion of moral torture for the authentic faithful of the Church of Silence in Chile.

Not long before this, Msgr. Camus had declared, in his “confidential” conversations with foreign correspondents that Marxist infiltration was present in the “Committee for Peace in Chile.” The latest incidents have made the complicity between radical revolutionary Priests and the MIR terrorists more than evident. And the “Committee for Peace in Chile” is now known to be flagrantly involved, by means of various of its members, in the disreputable case.

The first thing that the Cardinal tried to do was to minimize the dreadful gravity of the deeds.

A terrible insult is launched into the faces of the faithful sons of the Church

And as if this were not enough, the Pastor of the most important diocese of the Chilean Church, who had allowed the wolf to penetrate the sheepfold, decided to take advantage of this occasion to launch a terrible insult into the faces of the the justly indignant faithful: they, for being anti-Marxist, and for repelling the error which is a consequence of years of corruption tolerated — not to say favored — by the majority of the Chilean ecclesiastical Hierarchy, are accused by the Prelate of being sons of the Church who are scandalized in Her instead of venerating Her as Mother . . .

There is here such an inversion of values and situations, such a contempt for the meaning of the errors making contemporary Catholic circles tremble, such a cruelty to the faithful who were disoriented, abandoned, and handed over to the fury of the revolutionary machines which are nearly destroying our country, that it is really difficult to find an adequate expression to classify this heart-breaking situation.

Doesn't the Cardinal know that true Catholics never attribute to the Holy Church, always immaculate, the errors of ecclesiastical personalities? How unjust it is to attribute to the anti-communist Catholics of Chile a lack of veneration for Holy Mother Church, divinely pure, because they vehemently protested the subversive proceedings of certain Priests?

Faithful sons who are scandalized with their Mother . . . At least the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago could have spared his afflicted congregation this pain.

There are circumstances when what is in our soul is expressed adequately only by raising our gaze to Heaven and asking Our Lord Jesus Christ, through the all-powerful entreaties of Mary, a love so fervent and a combativeness so efficacious and operative that, in this sad hour of the History of the Church, we can say with all the strength of our soul: Who can be compared to Her? Our Holy Church, our pure Church, our strong, and immortal Church shines in her present sufferings like the servant Job in the midst of the most terrible ignominies, "*beautiful as the moon, resplendent as the sun, terrible as an army in battle array*" (Cant. 6:9).

We trust, oh Lord, with indestructible certainty, that thy mercy will accompany us to the death, according to thine invincible promise: "*The gates of hell will not prevail against Her*" (Matt. 16:18).

There are times when man can express himself only by looking toward Heaven and invoking the all-powerful intercession of Mary

Indestructible certainty

## 2. Surprising revelations of a Mirist document on the Episcopal opposition to the Chilean military government

In the midst of these events, an even more surprising revelation was made public.

The official response of the Chilean Government to the accusations made in the United Nations against Chilean anti-communist repression includes a document taken from the MIR terrorist organization.

This Mirist document affirms that the secretary of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago requested a meeting with elements of that clandestine terrorist organization. According to the document, the Mirists found the secretary of the Cardinal to be radically and openly against the Chilean Military Junta, though he did not claim to represent the opinion of the Cardinal. The document emphasizes that Bishop Camus showed himself to be of the same mind as the secretary of the Cardinal, and it makes reference to his

Mirist document: secretary of Cardinal radically and openly against the Government

Bishop Camus as well

## Part Four

rank as secretary of the Episcopal Conference. It points out, moreover, that Msgr. Camus showed himself to be interested in knowing the philosophy and social projects of the Mirists.

The document also indicates that there are possibilities of a meeting with some of the directors of the Chilean Christian Democratic Party (*La Segunda*, 11/6/75).

### 3. Popular reaction against the ecclesiastical subversion increases

Various writers for the principal newspapers have observed that it is necessary to expell the evil Priests from the country. One of them went so far as to say that they should begin "*with the Cardinal himself*" (*La Segunda*, 11/8/75).

In a letter to the management of *La Segunda*, one person affirms that now that it has been discovered that "*there exists a Mirist branch in the Church, I think it would be timely . . . to join in a silent strike, that is, nothing for Masses, marriages, etc., etc., as long as the ecclesiastical authorities do not clarify their position. I don't think that any Christian who values himself, can bring himself to receive a blessing or a Host, given by the hand of a priest such as that appearing in the photograph of the 6th*" making an obscene gesture with the "*right hand (that of the blessing) and with a gesture of hatred on his face with nothing to do with Christian love*" (*La Segunda*, 11/8/75).

The Federation of Students of the Catholic University of Valparaiso sent the Cardinal a letter, noted previously, about the statement that the Department of Public Opinion of the Archbishopric formulated about the sad events.

The young students say that those statements of the Archbishopric of Santiago are entirely insufficient and the doubt remains and, furthermore, grows. The youths affirm that they have searched for light in these words and have not found it. The university students also point out that it is easy to suppose that from here on the extremists will not hesitate to commit crimes, knowing that after having per-

Letter to Cardinal  
from Federation of  
Students of Valparaiso



petrated them they will find immediate aid and protection in *"those ecclesiastics who have mistaken their vocation and who use and abuse their position to give shelter to those elements and, even more, participate in their Marxist ideas, thus detracting from the Holy Gospel."*

*"Finally"* — the young Catholic leaders say in their letter to the Cardinal — *"in the statement a climate of moderation and serenity is spoken of, knowing with certainty that that climate of moderation and serenity has not existed in ecclesiastical affairs for quite some time now; at least among Catholic laymen regarding the behavior of men dressed in the habit of the Church"* (El Mercurio, 11/8/75).

There were also manifestations of another kind, such as that which occurred in a Church of Nunoa, in Santiago, when during the reading of the petitions at the celebration of the Mass according to the Novus Ordo a woman read aloud her own prayer which said: *"That Thou will guide Thy Holy Church and defend her from the destructive action of atheistic and materialistic Communism, we pray to Thee O Lord . . ."* (La Tercera de la Hora, 10/14/75).

In the newspaper *La Segunda* of Tuesday, November 11, 1975, various other letters of protest from the disturbed Chilean Catholics appeared.

One of them says the following:

*"Chilean Christians have tried to forgive all the weaknesses of the Hierarchy, the compromising attitudes during the period of the Popular Unity. But in the presence of events such as those latest there again comes back to our memory, the taking of the Catholic University; the taking of the Cathedral; the Eighty; the Christians for Socialism; the Cardinal priest; the theology of liberation; the magazine Mensaje; the statements of Camus, etc., etc.*

*"All these facts are a sad memory because they are the reiteration of errors which indicate a very bad leadership of the Chilean Church . . ."*

*"Too many things have already happened, and the trail of the Church in mistaken attitudes is indelible. It is time definitively to alter their course because the Hierarchy is appearing as the worst obstacle to the propagation of the Faith."*

The letter is signed: Soledad Reinoso V., I.D. card no. 4,371,635 of Santiago.

In the Church of  
Nunoa

"The hierarchy is  
appearing as the  
worst obstacle to  
the propagation of  
the Faith"

#### Part Four

Young Catholic protests and reaffirms his Faith

Another missive relates an incident witnessed in the parish of San Andres on November 9 in Santiago. The letter writer affirms that he saw in that Church those present sing the National Anthem (perhaps as a sign of protest for the scandal of the clerical-terrorist complicity and the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago regarding the same). The Priest officiating at the Mass sat down and remained seated until the singing was finished.

He says he witnessed aggression in earnest against *"a young woman by a vile Marxist who respected neither the place nor the fact that she was a woman."*

The author of the letter explains that he also saw *"the attitude of other 'priests' who tried to intimidate the faithful with postures and words which have nothing at all to do with the Christian spirit and the Church."* He describes how *"organized elements were gathered with ease, to assume a bullying attitude toward peaceful Catholic observers and believers."*

The author of the letter also says that he was struck by the contrast between the attitudes mentioned before and the *"temperate, clean, and patriotic words of a young man who paid homage to the Catholic Church and censured those lying in ambush who function sheltered by their habits."*

The sender declares in his letter: *"I am Catholic, am studying secondary studies in a Church-related High School of the same sector as the 'San Andres' Parish, a middle class sector, without complexes or fears, which gives me the most absolute assurance that as long as there exists only one Chilean of those who were in that church, we will be free and will be able to recover the values of the Church, which some of those who claim to be Her representatives, made idiots by Marxism, seek to destroy with such unconcern."*

The author ends by asking *"all the inhabitants of this country, in this month dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to lift our prayers for those anonymous members of the Armed Forces, who make up the National Security Services, who for God and for Country, are giving their blood and their lives to assure us tranquility and a future."*

## Chapter 6

The letter is signed J.M. Cesareo Lecanda Ricalde, Identity Certificate no. 56051, Providencia district of Santiago.

We transcribe these facts so that the reader can have an appropriate idea, within the entire picture, of the critical situation attained by the process destroying the Church and the country, and whither, impelled by the majority of the Chilean Hierarchy and a powerful part of the Clergy, it is leading Catholics of different ages and conditions, Catholics no longer able to bear the greatest moral tragedy in the history of Chile.

For these faithful sons of the Church, their Pastors have no words of understanding and solidarity.

On the contrary, any gesture of unmeasured ardor, which these Catholics faithful to their Church in spite of these Pastors may manifest in the midst of their pain, will be severely criticized by the ecclesiastical authorities. In fact, some Prelates will present these reactions of afflicted consciences as an anti-clerical campaign against the Church, thereby falsifying the reality so as to paralyze the just indignation of those who are not willing to make a pact with the destruction of the Church and the country. They will even brandish clerical threats of canonical sanctions.

The revolutionary Bishops and Priests of the "slow march" are thus transforming themselves into the most effective and powerful leftist force. This force is effective, because it leads gradually (and therefore with less popular reaction) to a socialist road which the extremists could not make the Chilean people accept all at once and by violence. It is powerful because it hides behind the sacred garments and the sacrosanct name of the Church, transforming itself into an enormous revolutionary spearhead which is immune and which possesses spiritual sanctions to intimidate the faithful who want to oppose such an ominous work.

Critical situation of the process of ecclesiastical destruction

No words of understanding and solidarity, but rather often severe or threatening criticisms

Revolutionary Bishops and Priests transformed into the most effective and powerful leftist force

*Part Four*

**4. In extreme amazement Catholics are faced with the threat of excommunication by the Cardinal**

The historians of the future will have difficulty believing that matters reached such a gigantic extreme of distortion as they, in fact, did.

The intervention of lawyer Jaime Guzman

As we previously noted, the disclosure of the scandalous, notorious, and duly proven clerical-terrorist connivance produced a great reaction in Chilean public opinion. In the midst of the immense psychological and emotional clash which occurred, the lawyer Jaime Guzman criticized, as did thousands of other Chileans, the ambiguous statement of the Department of Public Opinion of the Archbishopric of Santiago.

That same permissivist and conciliating Pastor

And then paroxysm came on top of paroxysm: that same Pastor who was pleased to see socialist and confiscatory reformism imposed on our fields so as to destroy the circumstances of entire families of proprietors and peasants and, above all, to trample on the essential principles of Catholic Morality in social matters; that same Cardinal who tolerated unpunished the misbehaviors and excesses practiced in the Catholic University from 1967 until the fall of the Allendeist regime; that same Cardinal who found perfectly acceptable a professorship which taught atheism and Marxism in a University of the Church; that same Cardinal who in a television debate showed his understanding attitude toward Msgr. Gabriel Larrain (the one who had abandoned his position as Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese of Santiago because his ideas were too advanced); that same Cardinal who declared that he understood Camilo Torres; that same Cardinal who confessed himself to be open to a consideration of the so-called "rebel Priests"; that same Cardinal who deemed it licit for Catholics to vote for a Marxist candidate; that same Cardinal who judged Allende to be an idealistic and honest man; that same Cardinal who supported the socio-economic reforms of the Popular Unity and who did all in his power to sustain the Allendeist regime; that same Cardinal who ignored the enormous suffering of his people under the Marxist experiment as much as possible; that same Cardinal who, after the fall of Marxism

in Chile, used the language of relativistic reconciliation when speaking of those who had sunk the country into ignominy; that same Cardinal who today dramatizes beyond measure the poverty affecting some Chilean circles without making any mention of its socialist cause; that same Cardinal who made of fraternity and peace empty and confusing slogans capable of impeding the legitimate reaction of Chileans against the Marxist heresy; that same Cardinal who displayed an unbending line of conduct in favor of the leftist revolution, even when he saw himself forced to formulate criticisms of it; that same Cardinal, who after the shocking facts discovered by the security forces as a result of their confrontation with the terrorists at the farm of Malloco, avoided punishing with the full vigor they deserved those who had introduced the baneful leprosy of Marxism into Catholic circles — that is the Prelate who now raises his authority so he can use it to strike. That is the permissivist, fraternal, conciliator, who today stands threateningly erect. He is displaying the ancient language of the terrible canonical sanctions: he is speaking of excommunication.

...now talks about  
terrible canonical  
sanctions

Will it at last be directed against those Priests who are traitors to their Church and their country — the ones who embraced the cause of the most unnatural and monstrous heresy in the history of humanity?

No. It is the culmination. It is frightening. The weapon of tremendous canonical and spiritual sanctions is raised with a violence that Chilean Catholics had forgotten, against Mr. Jaime Guzman who had become indignant, as had thousands of other Chileans, over the fact that the Marxist heresy was still cropping up with impunity in the midst of congregations, parishes, and institutions created by the ecclesiastical authorities, with no word of vigilance, warning, or severity from the Cardinal who could not possibly allege ignorance of the facts gestating and being produced in his sight and presence.

Didn't the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago know who Father Rafael Maroto was? Didn't he know who Father Fernando Salas, the first executive secretary of the "Committee for Peace in Chile," was? Didn't the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago read, along with all other Chileans, the statements that the secretary general of the Permanent

#### Part Four

Committee of the Episcopate made during his “confidential” conversations with foreign journalists, in which he said that the “Committee for Peace in Chile” was infiltrated with Marxist elements from the beginning?

The Pastor who gives reconciliation and understanding to the Marxists and compassion to those who embraced heresy and supported terrorism is terrible against those concerned Catholics who discover personalities of the Church turning against the Gospel of Our Lord Jesus Christ. These Catholics are presented by the Pastor as conspirators against the ecclesiastical authority. Thus, the destructive Prelates remain with their hands free to continue their corrosive work.

The reaction of Mr.  
Jaime Guzman

After the threatening statement formulated by the Archbishopric of Santiago in compliance with direct orders of the Cardinal, Mr. Jaime Guzman stated, among other things: *“I prefer to remain silent in the face of the violent personal attacks which, directly or indirectly, are aimed at me in the referred-to Episcopal communique. I leave it to the sense of justice of Chileans to appraise the profound disproportion between my comment and their reply.”*

Mr. Guzman later added: *“On closing, on my part, an episode which has acquired a magnitude which I have never sought nor desired, I reiterate my convinced adherence to the Catholic Church, to its unity, and to its Ecclesiastical Hierarchy in all the fields inherent to its Magisterium, maintaining the right which she herself recognizes for Catholics to dissent, with respect and prudence, on those points which are not included in said Magisterium”* (*La Segunda*, 11/13/75).

#### 5. The dissolution of the “Committee for Peace,” presented by the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago as an unjust limitation imposed by the Government on the Church

On November 22, 1975, the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago officially announced the end of the activities of the “Committee for Peace.”

Their statement subtly told Chileans that the dissolution of the Committee was an arbitrary and improper act of the temporal authority against the liberty of the Church in spite of the fact that ecclesiastics had been nourishing the international campaign mounted against Chile by all kinds of leftists and directed from Moscow.

The statement issued by Msgr. Enrique Alvear, who took the place of the Cardinal at that moment in the government of the Archdiocese of Santiago, says:

*"The different churches which make up the Committee for Peace have attentively considered a demand of the supreme government, with regard to putting an end to the activities of said committee, for the sake of the tranquility of the citizenry.*

*"Said churches feel that the work of assistance carried out by the Committee, in the midst of very difficult circumstances, has obvious evangelical roots, and has always been within the framework of existing legislation. That the purity of the service rendered may occasionally have been tarnished by the interference of elements foreign to its original meaning, is a risk inherent to all good works; and there is no institution which possesses an infallible formula to free itself from such a risk."*

After everything we have seen, the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago still refuse to accept the facts and disguise as much as they can a reality which has become flagrantly evident to the whole country. It is impossible for public opinion not to be left with the impression that the Pastors of Santiago are hushing up the embarrassing events, instead of defending the integrity of the Faith of their afflicted congregation.

The statement issued by Msgr. Alvear continues: *"The judgment which the supreme government seems to have arrived at is very different; according to it, the Committee for Peace was simply a means used by Marxist-Leninists to disturb the tranquillity of the social body. The churches recognize — as Cardinal Silva Henriquez publicly expressed at the celebration of the second anniversary of the Committee on October 30, 1975 — that in this humane work, as in all of them, there are limitations and insufficiencies; but noble and sincere desires prevail, whose fruits it is possible to appreciate."*

Ecclesiastical authority of Santiago defends Committee for Peace, in spite of everything ...

misrepresenting the reality

... insinuating exaggeration and injustice in the Government's estimate of subversive activities encysted in the Committee

#### Part Four

The declaration continues to coverup, as much as the circumstances will permit, the seriousness of the subversive activities of the "Committee for Peace," and affirms "*that the best intentions clash, at times, with insurmountable images or prejudices, and that the efficacy of a work of mercy is weakened when it generates — without trying to — animadversions out of proportion to the good which it seeks.*"

For the authors of the declaration, the "animadversions" awakened in Chilean public opinion are "out of proportion."

Since the revolutionary activities of this Committee were publicly known in the first instance through the statements of Msgr. Camus, secretary general of the Chilean Episcopal Conference, and were confirmed by the police confrontation with terrorists in Malloco, the unconcerned statements recorded here cannot fail to arouse serious concern in faithful Catholics.

In fact, everything leads one to think that the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago would have continued to tolerate at least that which this statement euphemistically calls the occasional "meddling of elements foreign to its original meaning," if the indiscretion committed by Msgr. Camus in his confidential conversations with foreign journalists had not become known to the public and the security forces had not discovered the web of complicities related in the preceding pages.

The statement also adds that "*the churches have agreed to accept the demand of the Supreme Government with regard to dissolving the cited Committee.* They do formulate the express reservation that the charitable and religious labors carried out by the Committee, in favor of those who suffer different forms of poverty, will continue to be done within the ecclesiastical organizations belonging to each one of them" (*El Mercurio*, 11/22/75 — The emphasis is ours).

That same day, an A P cable dispatch carrying a New York dateline was published by *El Mercurio* with the following title: "Disagreement of Cardinal Raul Silva about the Committee for Peace."

The news agency reported that the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, who was in New York at that time, had

Cable dispatch indicates analogous attitude of Cardinal



apparently shown his disagreement with General Augusto Pinochet, President of the Republic, in respect to the latter's judgment of the Committee for Peace. The cable dispatch repeated fairly closely that which is in the statement issued by Msgr. Alvear to the press in Santiago (*El Mercurio*, 11/22/75).

In view of the circumstances, the Directorate of Government Information made publicly known the text of the letter that the President of the Republic had sent to Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez on November 11, to explain to him the governmental points of view about the situation created by the Committee for Peace.

The communique from the Directorate of Information says that "*faced with statements formulated by some Bishops who have interpreted as a requirement of the Government the dissolution of the Committee for Peace in Chile, the Directorate of Government Information delivers for public knowledge*" the above-mentioned letter. We transcribe below the text of the president's letter to the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago:

*"Eminence, — I have wanted to bring to the attention of Your Eminence the profound concern which I feel about a campaign that has reached levels which cannot be ignored, and whose evident objective is to produce the mistaken impression that differences exist between the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church and the Government of Chile.*

*"This action developed by the most diverse means, has been pushed by third parties and it would be a grave error for the harmony which must exist between the Catholic Church and the Government over which I preside, to permit these sectors, in concomitance with the declared enemies of the country, to continue with their baneful attempt. If these deeds bear fruit, many of them in an artificial way, they would bring as a result a painful effect and the only loser would be Chile.*

*"From the above, and after a calm analysis of public events and what may be projected from them inside as well as outside the country, we are led to look for the roots of some of the events, finding them in the Committee for Peace.*

Letter from President of the Republic to Msgr. Silva Henriquez about the Committee

## Part Four

*"For that reason we have considered that the organism in question is a means by which the Marxist-Leninists create problems which alter the tranquillity of the citizenry and the necessary calm, the preservation of which is my main duty as principal member of the government.*

*"It would thus be a positive step to avoid greater injuries, if the Committee in question were dissolved.*

*"Faced with this situation, Eminence, and calling on your good understanding, I feel it most suitable to adopt measures pertinent to putting an end to this organism.*

*"Your constant friend who esteems you greets you with the same affection as always — Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, General of the Army, President of the Republic" (El Mercurio, 11/23/75).*

This was the careful and measured text of the letter of the Chilean President.

A message of "solidarity"

According to the French leftist Catholic magazine *Informations Catholiques Internationales*, the Episcopal Conferences of Canada and the United States sent messages of solidarity to the Church supposedly being persecuted in Chile (see *I.C.I.*, 12/1/75).

In other words, a new and grave revolutionary strategy of these Prelates and Priests is beginning to take shape which, unless it is denounced, can create in a more or less short time conditions enabling certain people to try again to lead Chile down the pluralist-socialist path by which "Kerenskyism" led us to Marxism.

### 6. The Head of the Emergency Military Zone of Santiago denounces a Marxist plan involving a religious pilgrimage to the Sanctuary of Maipu

As an official act at the close of the Month of Mary in Santiago, the ecclesiastical authorities resolved to organize a processional march from Santiago to the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel in Maipu under the motto: "Committed with Christ to serve man, together with Mary, the Church, and its Pastor."

The act was supposed to be celebrated December 8, the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God.

On December 4, the press of Santiago published proclamation no. 91 signed by Brigadier General Roland Garay Cifuentes, chief of the Emergency Zone of the Province of Santiago. The document denounced the Marxist-Leninist elements who sought to transform the religious pilgrimage into a subversive act of protest against the Government.

Proclamation no.91

We transcribe the document verbatim:

*“Considering:*

*“a) That it has been planned to carry out a religious ceremony the 8th day of the present month in the votive church of Maipu, on the occasion of the day of the Immaculate Conception.*

*“b) That this Headquarters of the Emergency Zone has antecedents which permit it to presume that on the occasion of this ceremony, Marxist-Leninist elements will try to infiltrate themselves into the ceremony, carrying posters, pamphlets, or signs with political slogans, the plan being to shout the propaganda of their ideas, and will carry prayers with the evident intention of criticizing the acts of the Government;*

*“c) That it is the obligation of this Headquarters to assure all Catholics who assist at this procession of faith of absolute calm, and to impede the extremist elements foreign to the Church from trying to take advantage of her spiritual ends to provoke disorder and accidents;*

*“d) That, likewise, it is the obligation of this Headquarters to assure the members of the diplomatic corps accredited in Chile, ecclesiastical dignitaries and government authorities who take part in this act, the same calm and safety, in the face of excesses which may be committed by individuals impelled by partisan political reasons;*

*“e) That the supreme Government has repeatedly stated that in Chile there exists the most absolute liberty of belief but that the exercise of this liberty cannot be a pretext for elements who are traditionally enemies of all religion to take advantage of a religious act to alter public order and the end of the religious act to be celebrated; and*

*“f) By the powers conferred on me by article 34 of law no. 12927, I dictate the following proclamation:*

#### Part Four

"1. *The religious act programmed to take place on the 8th day of the present month will be carried out inside the votive church of Maipu, including also the external area which makes up part of the church;*

"2. *On that day all types of marches or pilgrimages are prohibited, and*

"3. *The persons who meet at the votive church of Maipu should do so individually and by no means in organized groups.*

*"Previous notification to be communicated to the organizers of the religious act and to be complied with by same" (La Tercera de la Hora, 12/4/75).*

Ecclesiastical protest presents military authority as unjustly against religious freedom

As we previously indicated, the Chilean military authorities, trying to contain the subversive action in Chile would be placed in an extremely difficult situation, that is to say, the ecclesiastical authorities who are favorable to the socialist revolution would present these military authorities as if they were persecuting the Church.

The following day, the newspapers published a communique of the Auxiliary Bishops and the Episcopal Vicars of the Church of Santiago, resolving to suspend the announced meeting to end the Month of Mary in the church of Maipu, which was to be preceded by a pilgrimage on foot to the church. In this way, the ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago manifested their protest against the proclamation of the military Chief of the Emergency Zone. Once again, and this time in even clearer terms, the Prelates presented a military measure as an anti-religious and persecuting act against the Church.

The communique of the Bishops is entitled: *"The Church Protests With Sorrow."*

The ecclesiastical authorities of Santiago explain the objectives of the act: *"To culminate the month of Mary on that feast day which our people feel so close to and which is so much theirs in the church which is a testimony to the predilection which the Virgin of Mt. Carmel has for Chile, to celebrate the Eucharist with our Pastor, renewing to him the fidelity, affection, and obedience which we owe him as the presence of Christ in our Diocese and, finally, to ratify the commitment made also in Maipu on closing the Holy Year, to offer to all our Chilean brothers the service of reconciliation through peace and justice."*

The Bishops add that *"the act would have begun with the delivering, by the Cardinal, of the cross of Chile to the youth march which would unite our bicentennial Cathedral Church, seat of the Bishop, with the votive Sanctuary of the Mother and Queen of all the Chileans."*

The bishops affirm that the *"authorities in charge of public order and security were informed ahead of time about the plans for this genuinely Catholic expression of piety. All of the precautions that could be reasonably requested to assure the normal carrying out of the event in accord with its specific purpose, were agreed upon with them."*

The Bishops add that they absolutely prohibited *"the use of any unofficial banner, sign or slogan, including those of an evangelical motivation."*

They also point out that the experience of the closing ceremony for the Holy Year of 1974 and *"the adequate motivation imparted in our Christian communities and through the mass media in the days preceding the act, permitted us to take comfort in the moral certainty that its proper objective would not be detracted from."*

The Bishops lament that they learned of proclamation no. 91 through the press and add that *"the restrictions decreed by proclamation no. 91 affect in a direct manner the very nature, which is essentially communitarian, of the religious act which we had convoked. In addition, they do decisive harm to the climate of confidence and spontaneity indispensable for a religious celebration of this type,"* later pointing out that *"the zeal for integral preservation of the public order cannot and should not lead one to the extreme of prohibiting the free exercise of clearly religious acts."*

The ecclesiastical authorities cite the decree of religious liberty of Vatican Council II and adopt a radical attitude fitting to someone who wants to show that he has been gravely and unjustly persecuted. In fact, the Prelates declare that: *"Under the sway of these conditions, we have decided to suspend in its entirety the celebration foreseen for December the 8th in Maipú.*

*"We have also decided as a sign of our pained protest, at a situation so unexpected as well as strange to our traditions, that during all day on December 8 there be no litur-*

Episcopal decision suspends religious celebration and any liturgical act in Sanctuary of Virgin of Mt. Camel during entire day of December 8.

*Part Four*

gical act at all in the Sanctuary of the Virgin of Mt. Carmel, *Mother and Queen of the people of Chile*.

*"These resolutions of ours do not imply and should not be interpreted as a renunciation of the later exercise of the rights and obligations incumbent upon us as a society founded by Jesus Christ for the free announcement of the Gospel, at all times and in all places, and under all forms legitimately consecrated by the law and tradition of our people."* (*El Mercurio*, 12/5/75 — The emphasis is ours).

We do not have at our disposal other concrete antecedents relating to this incident.

But we may make an observation on the basis of the sad and gigantic chain of facts analyzed in these pages. If the military authorities had at their disposal serious indications of the political intentions of Marxists to take advantage of the processional march from Santiago to the votive church of Maipu, a simple guarantee given by the ecclesiastical authorities, who have shown themselves so indifferent to the penetration of Marxist errors in Catholic circles, does not seem to have reassured the Chief of the Emergency Zone.

We would like also to note that the complete suspending of that act, of which the march supposedly would be only an accidental aspect, and the closing of the church on that day of such significance for Chilean Catholics, constituted an act of hostility perhaps without precedent in the religious history of Chile in the last decades.

**7. In place of the march to Maipu, a vociferating show of raised fists in favor of the Cardinal in the Metropolitan Cathedral**

Chief of Emergency Zone's denunciation had surprising corroboration in the Cathedral of Santi-

The denunciation by the Chief of the Emergency Zone of a plan to transform the march to Maipu into a political act of subversive nature received a surprising corroboration. It happened in no less than the venerable Metropolitan Cathedral of Santiago, which was celebrating its bicentennial.

The act took place on December 8, and it can be said that it constituted the replacement of the march to Maipu.

Strange "parishioners" entered to participate in the religious act. The Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago made his solemn entrance through the side aisle of the church to proceed toward the altar through the center aisle. There began an unbelievable spectacle: vociferating shouts of "Long live the Cardinal!" and frantically chorused slogans such as "Freedom! Freedom!" began to make themselves heard within the venerable church. Persons with faces showing no piety and with clenched fists raised high at different points of the assembly in the classical Communist sign celebrated the passing of the Shepherd. Those present, perhaps unaccustomed to religious ceremonies, accompanied the slogans with the rhythmic clapping of hands characteristic of the meetings of the Popular Unity. Different protesters climbed on the side altars with the most complete lack of respect; indeed they did not even spare the chapel where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed.

In that atmosphere resembling a leftist political rally, the Cardinal's address was comparatively moderate; however, he did not fail to provide words of understanding for the Priests who were detained for protecting MIR terrorists.

At the end of the act, the strange group of "faithful" who had in an organized manner directed the oppositionist slogans accompanied by obvious Marxist gestures took it upon themselves to organize a protest march through the center of Santiago. They tried to carry Fr. Joaquin Alliende, Rector of the Votive Church of Maipu on a litter. But they finally clashed with the police, who prevented the carrying out of that subversive political act under the cover of a religious mantle.

Here we have a sample of what is gestating inside the structures directed by Pastors and Priests who, having entered into flagrant conflict with the sacred duties of their office, allow themselves to become more or less invulnerable conductors of a gradual process returning our country to the march of the socialist Revolution, which had been interrupted.

The clerical-terrorist alliance, the groups of Catholics and Marxists in open and organized collaboration, the clenched fists raised high, the convulsed faces, and the radical revolutionary slogans constitute an ominous and repug-

Strange "parishioners" also penetrated the Temple

and shouted slogans when the Cardinal passed, raising their clenched fists in the air

and there were "liberty" slogans with rhythmic clapping of hands characteristic of political meetings of Popular Unity

Others laid down on the side altars

Cardinal has words of understanding for Priests detained for protecting extremists

Attempted to stage demonstration of protest as they came out of church

What is in gestation inside the structures directed by revolutionary Shepherds and Priests of the "slow march"

*Part Four*

nant carnival. However, these manifestations are much less dangerous than the subtle and devastating work of the revolutionary Pastors and Priests of the "slow march." The latter are in the best position to attempt the task of ecclesiastical and civil destruction.

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Bishops keep Msgr. Camus as secretary general of the Chilean Episcopal Conference

After the brutal shock of the police findings which came to the knowledge of the public last November, the final Plenary Assembly of the Episcopate in 1975 spoke a more peaceable language. However, it continued to provoke the country by maintaining Msgr. Camus as Secretary General of the Chilean Episcopal Conference.

We Chilean Catholics do not know what new and painful surprises will be in store for us during this year of 1976 which is beginning.

As the preceding pages indicate, the situation has reached such a paroxysm that small and superficial conciliatory ecclesiastical tricks will not be able to hide it, though of course they may be used.

We face a question of conscience which must be resolved without delay

The terrorist organizations of the egalitarian and anti-Christian Revolution, which Communism is interested in maintaining in spite of their relative idleness, have found refuge in radical ecclesiastical organizations, and no guarantee has been given to the faithful that this disreputable situation will cease.

The destructive Hierarchy and Clergy have initiated an opposition to the government and the anti-Marxist majority of Chile, and are continuing this movement in the name of the Holy Gospel, using the authority they received from Our Lord Jesus Christ to revive the defeated revolutionary socialist process.

Subversion in our country, at its different levels and in its progressive and radical expressions, is dressed in the venerable and sacred insignias of the Hierarchs of the Holy Church and of the ministers of God. In affirming this, we do not doubt that it is one of the greatest tragedies in the history of the Church and Christianity.

This creates for Catholics disposed to fight against the work of destruction aimed against the Church and the country, a question of conscience that must be urgently resolved.



To shirk its solution at this moment would be to leave the road free for the Pastors and Priests committed to favoring the Marxist cause to impose with ease conditions which would effect a political change in the country, one which would lead to the reimplantation of the Marxist-“Christian” revolutionary utopia.

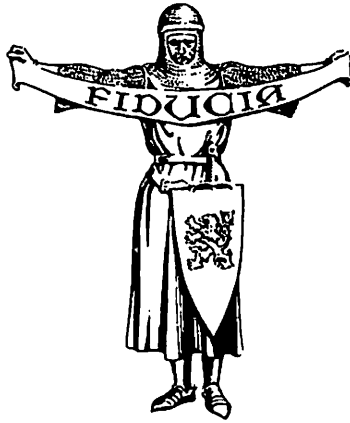
\* \* \*

Before going on to the conclusion of this book, where we will attempt to face that delicate question of conscience, we would like to recall the words of the famous Pope Pius XI, who from the height of the Seat of Peter seemed to foresee the future difficulties of the Church when he affirmed:

*“It is not superfluous, on the contrary, it is even timely and exceedingly necessary, it is really a duty for Us to place the entire world on guard against the stratagem by means of which the heralds of the subversive forces try to create some possibilities for rapprochement and collaboration with Catholics, by distinguishing between ideology and practice, between idea and action, between the economic order and the moral order”* (Speech to Spanish Catholics taking refuge in Italy in 1936: *Actes de S.S. Pie XI*, T. XIV, pp. 123-125).

It has befallen us to be the witnesses of even more tragic days: The ones who are prompting Catholics to embrace the Marxist socio-economic regime, in ambiguous but sufficiently effective terms, are the majority of the Shepherds and a decisive part of the Clergy in a Christian nation.





Conclusion

In Defense of the  
Church and of  
the Country



CONCLUSION

IN DEFENSE OF THE CHURCH  
AND OF THE COUNTRY

The foregoing presentation provides the principal facts and documents which the TFP has had to record. They are all accompanied by corresponding citations, by documented proofs, or (sometimes) by testimonials.

It may be that, in one or another exceptional case, some journalistic version we have quoted does not reflect with complete exactitude what the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago and the referred-to Bishops or Priests expressed on that specific occasion. A hypothetical variation of that kind would in no way alter the overall line which characterizes the behavior of the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, the other Prelates, and the Priests committed to the revolutionary process that we have described.<sup>30</sup>

These events, which assume greater gravity if the full scope of their overall direction is considered, have been

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<sup>30</sup> In the Appendix, we emphasize the categorically anti-Marxist position of some important ecclesiastics who it may be supposed disagree with the destructive process of the Pastors and Priests referred to in the pages of this book.

The reader will also find summed up there the objective and ponderable differences of position assumed by some less radical Prelates in their support of the revolutionary process which has presided over Chilean ecclesiastical History during these last years. In fact, most of the nuances that differentiate the position of a minority of Prelates from those held by the rest of the Episcopate, the Chilean

## *Conclusion*

engraved with indelible strokes in the memory and agrieved hearts of Chilean Catholics, who in their great majority remain silent!

\* \* \*

A history which would take up several volumes

Besides this, the history of these fifteen years has had its day to day occurrences, and several volumes would be required to depict the tragic and terribly real content of these details.

Here we remind the reader, only in passing, of the existence of that peripheral history, by means of which the facts referred to in this book were extended in a more immediate and concrete way to the spiritual torture of the faithful flock. This reminder is sufficient to serve as a word of understanding and moral encouragement for each of the Chilean faithful who suffered directly and personally, the impact of destructive ecclesiastical manifestations, whether it was in a private conversation, a general parish contact, a sermon during a religious ceremony, or in the course of charitable apostolic, or pastoral activities of diverse order.

We likewise address a word to those thousands and thousands of Chilean Catholics who have suffered the small but terrible expressions of this ecclesiastical revolution — for example, in the midst of the tensions of an ideologically divided family, while attending classes in high schools, technical institutions, or officially Catholic universities; in the course of their working life, whether in the country or in the city; in political, civic, or cultural activities; and, everywhere, in the hours of bitter and afflicted interior reflection on the violent psychological and spiritual shocks received.

All those Chileans have lived and witnessed elements of this minute history, and have their personal dilacerating situations to relate.

We think most especially of those faithful who, because of their age or modest cultural or social condition,

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reader either already knew or has found recorded in the pages of this book. We point them out in the Appendix in order to facilitate a having of the most precise view of the ecclesiastical panorama that we have found ourselves obliged to relate.

were poisoned and led astray in their legitimate desires for individual or social justice.

Such individual facts are implicit in the general events which constitute the tragic, public, and notorious continuity of the process referred to in this volume.

\* \* \*

We go on now to make a recapitulation of the public conduct of the destructive Prelates and Priests; later we proceed to an analysis of that conduct through the prism of Catholic Doctrine and Canon Law; and, finally, we consider the action imposed on us in these circumstances by right and by duty in our condition as Catholics and Chileans.

1

RECAPITULATION OF THE CONDUCT  
OF BISHOPS AND PRIESTS  
IN FAVOR OF THE  
MARXIST REVOLUTION IN CHILE

As has been demonstrated by the facts and documents set forth in this book, the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, nearly all of the Chilean ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and a decisive part of the Clergy have developed a line of action in our country whose characteristics are defined, in synthesis, as follows.

\* \* \*

Nearly the entire Chilean Hierarchy and an overwhelming part of the Clergy and official Catholic institutions actively worked to legitimize in the eyes of the Chilean faithful, a third position between the Christian concept of society and the Communist concept.

THE FACTS

1960-1964: legitimization of a third position in political, social, and economic matters between Christianity and Communism

## *Conclusion*

**This work lead by the Hierarchs consisted of:**

1. A relativistic dilution of the already defined and immutable principles of Catholic Morality in political, social, and economic matters.

2. Insistent and official exhortations calling on the laity, in the name of the Gospel, to carry out structural reforms, without fixing their doctrinal and moral limits, at the same time that the Chilean Marxist-Leninists parties were conducting an active campaign of excessive demands aimed at promoting these reforms. Thus, enormous confusion was created among the faithful.

3. Exaggerated descriptions of the abuses, injustices, or deficiencies which existed in the Chilean socio-economic structure at the beginning of the decade of the 1960's, creating three false impressions in the people:

a) that the allegations of Marxist demagogy about social injustice in Chile were in essence true;

b) that capitalism itself – and not just the abuses committed in its application – was reprehensible; and

c) that the socialist egalitarian system – whose economic failure in the nations where it has been applied is a historical fact that can only be denied in bad faith – could contribute substantially better solutions to the country.

4. The formulation of partial and misleading criticisms of Communism, wherein militant atheism and the violent persecuting methods of that sect were condemned with emphasis, while recognition was nevertheless given in general to the existence of certain positive aspects in Communism, and there was a systematic avoidance of any reprobation of its socio-economic regime as such.

5. The establishment of a situation of complacent tolerance and even the provision of a more or less direct encouragement of the action and growth of an intellectual minority of Priests and laymen who more openly promoted a revolution to transform the socio-economic structures of Chile in a socialistic and confiscatory way. That minority, placed in key spots of teaching and propaganda, also postulated, as a necessary good, an ideological and political pluralism which conceded freedom of action for Commu-



## Conclusion

nism in terms clearly contrary to the requirements of Catholic Morality.

6. In that way, there came to be:

a) the creation of an ambiguous and unacceptable intermediary terrain between the essential and immutable principles of the Christian Civilization and the Marxist anti-civilization in relation to the evolutionary transformation of Chile toward socialism;

b) the preparation of the ideological and psychological climate for the faithful to accept the formula of undefined collectivist social communitarianism of the so-called Chilean Christian Democratic Party and its secularist and liberal-permissivist conception of the democratic life. The CDP — which was born and grew with decisive ecclesiastical encouragement — postulates as a desirable good the active participation of the Marxist-Leninists in the political process;

c) a development of the conditions required for that Christian Democratic Party to reach power and initiate a phase in Chilean structures and mentalities which would provide a transition to a subsequent clearly Marxist phase of the egalitarian revolution in progress.

\* \* \*

During the regime presided over by the Christian Democratic leader Eduardo Frei (the Chilean Kerensky), conditions were prepared for the ascent of Marxism to power.

The Bishops and Priests in question proceeded to act more and more radically. Their commitment to the revolutionary process was shown by:

7. Their support, by omission, of a Constitutional Reform which would convert the natural right of private ownership into a mere stataal concession.

8. Their indirect support and then formal solidarity with the essentially socialistic and confiscatory law of Agrarian Reform, promulgated by President Frei, in open contradiction to the immutable moral requirements of Catholic Doctrine. This ecclesiastical commitment to the unjust law was aggravated by the public warning of faithful Catholics who demonstrated the anti-Christian character of

1964-1970: ecclesiastical aid to the electoral victory of the Marxist-Leninist candidate and his installation in power

## *Conclusion*

that reform in great detail and also its strategic role so highly favorable to the comunization of Chile. In fact, that reform would destroy in the important agrarian sector of our country the capacity to resist the Marxist advance.

9. Their participation, by action and omission, in the dismantling of civic-cultural centers of ideological resistance to Communism, such as what happened in the case of the Pontifical Catholic University of Santiago.

10. Their permissivist tolerance of groups of Priests and laymen who were already working to get Catholics to accept a more radical revolutionary process than the confiscatory socialism of the Christian Democratic brand.

11. Their manifestations of a direct or indirect disgust toward Catholics who warned, in the light of the Doctrine of the Church and sound natural reasoning, that the egalitarian and confiscatory socialism of the Frei government, and the evident circulation of Communist principles among Priests and laymen who were active and powerful in ecclesiastical circles, was unmistakably preparing the inauguration of a Marxist phase in the Chilean revolutionary process.

12. Their ambiguous and generic condemnations of the scandalous excesses of more radical "Catholic" Marxist groups, which always managed to point out the so-called positive aspects of Marxism.

13. Their decisive collaboration in the electoral victory of the Marxist candidate, Salvador Allende. This was done by clearly giving prestige to figures representative of national or international Communism, by inviting the faithful to shed their fear of revolutionary changes, by avoiding any orientation against Communism and its closest allies during the electoral process, by permitting some Priests (without suffering sanctions or being obliged to make any rectification whatsoever) to proclaim their procommunist preferences in a scandalous manner, and by going so far as to declare that it was licit for a Catholic to vote in conscience for a Marxist candidate.

14. Their formulation of an ambiguous statement influencing the Congressmen of the Catholic and non-communist majority to elect the Marxist candidate, Salva-

## Conclusion

dor Allende, in the National Congress. Since the latter had achieved only a scanty edge over his nearest opponent in the presidential election, his definitive ratification was very difficult, the reason being that in order to be constitutionally installed in power he had to be elected in a vote of both Chambers, where the Catholic and non-communist representatives made up an overwhelming majority. A Bishop and numerous Priests and organizations of the hierarchical apostleship had shown themselves to be in favor of recognizing Allende as President before the verdict of Congress. Accordingly, the statement of the Bishops was of great influence in the final victory of the Marxist candidate.

During the years 1970-1973, there was an Episcopal and Priestly procedure which favored the sustaining of the Marxist-Leninist minority in power. It was manifested in diverse ways:

15. Numerous declarations of sympathy for the Marxist program of Allende.

16. "Pastoral" orientations to encourage the process of revolutionary change, mobilizing in this way the full determination and all of the resources of the ecclesiastical apostleship.

17. Greater insistence than ever on the necessity of transforming the socio-economic structures of Chile in order to impose justice and end the poverty into which capitalism had supposedly precipitated the majority of Chileans.

18. Careful omission of any attitude which could be interpreted as support of the just disgust of the faithful Catholics of Chile, even though they faced the popular indignation of a majority and it continued to grow as collectivist socialism was being implanted in all of the areas of national activity.

19. Condemnation of those who opposed the collectivization of the country in the name of Catholic principles.

20. Silence about the economic misery without precedent in the History of Chile, which was the result of the progressive application of Marxist socialism in the country. There was a flagrant contrast between this silence and the

1970-1973: Episcopal and priestly aid decisive for sustaining Marxist regime in Power

## *Conclusion*

previous allegations of these Bishops and Priests in defense of the poor against a social structure based on the natural right of private property, which, while subject to censurable abuses, never led to the general injustice and bankruptcy of the Marxist "experiment."

21. Ambiguous reproaches of the ravings of priestly groups that were scandalizing Chile and the Catholic world in general, for having embraced the Marxist heresy. Such reproaches were, besides, principally directed toward the organized political militancy of the Priests and not against their personal option in favor of the Marxist cause.

22. Ambiguous appeals for unity and social peace in union with the government and its process of structural change, appeals issued in the face of generalized manifestations of protest in the entire country, especially in the classes of more modest social condition. These manifestations were so extensive that they made the Marxist minority's hold on the government continuously more precarious.

23. Theoretical condemnations of the atheistic, militant, and dictatorial aspects of Communism in other parts of the world, which left it up to the individual consciences of the Catholics to judge whether it was possible to collaborate with Marxists in the construction of a never defined humanitarian socialism.

24. Tardy recognition, imposed by the circumstances, of the existence of the poverty reigning in the country in 1973, while carefully avoiding any mention of its ideological causes and while persisting in condemning in relativistic terms the division of Chileans. At that time the country was practically paralyzed by strikes and the just rebellion of Chileans of the most diverse social conditions who were rising up against Marxism. Nevertheless, the Bishops were calling for a collaborationist pacification of the minds of Chileans in relation to the President, Allende.

25. Disregard of the pronouncement of the Legislature and Supreme Court of the Republic and all the vital sectors of the Nation who, in the face of the madness of the intrinsically unjust and immoral process of the communization of the country, proclaimed the illegitimacy of the Allendeist

## Conclusion

government. The Pastors went so far as to exploit their authority by treating the Marxist minority as if it legitimately continued to retain power.

26. Until the last moment, attempts to prolong, by action or omission, the pernicious days of the government of the egalitarian mythomaniacs. Already convinced of their failure, these mythomaniacs were making preparations for the bloody implantation of a Communist dictatorship.

\* \* \*

Adapting themselves to the new circumstances accompanying the change in governments, the revolutionary Shepherds and Priests transformed themselves into a most powerful and effective subversive force, by means of a gradual action which has gone through the following stages:

27. Discouragement of the Catholic anti-communist fervor of the majority of Chileans, in spite of their recognizing, after many vacillations, that the Armed Forces and Carabineers had saved the country from a Communist dictatorship.

28. The carrying out of an action aimed at protecting the persecuted Marxists. This action has been carried out by protesting against the alleged excesses of police repression and by avoiding applauding the character of the governmental work of rooting out the Marxist influence in Chile, which is essentially in accordance with Catholic Doctrine and the general welfare.

29. Exacerbation, in dramatic terms, of the difficult economic conditions which the country is passing through, as a result of the Marxist bankruptcy and the international financial crisis, while at the same time being disposed to avoid, as much as possible, the pointing out of the true causes of this pressure and again taking up the old reformist and anti-capitalist preaching.

30. The preaching of an imprudent and unacceptable reconciliation of Catholic Chile with the Marxist minority, presenting this in a falsely optimistic light.

31. The condemning of Communist revolutionary violence and its manifestations of militant atheism, while at

1973-1975: Allende overthrown, the destructive Clergy become the most powerful and effective force in defense of the socialist revolution

## *Conclusion*

the same time calling on Catholics to repudiate capitalism and to consider the “positive aspects” of socialism. At the same time, the Bishops proclaim the need to establish in Chile the recognition of human rights – conceived in mistaken terms – by means of which they seek to enshrine officially once again the relativist ideology that led Chile to the Marxist catastrophe.

32. Lastly, tolerance so that the Priests and institutions created by the Episcopate for the purpose of defending “human rights” would become refuges for the revolutionary terrorist apparatus. In this way, the Bishops give the military authorities the false dilemma of permitting the progressive rebirth of the socialist revolutionary germs that devastated our country or of appearing to be a government that persecutes the Church, in the eyes of the majority of the Chilean Catholics.

## 2

### ANALYSIS OF THE REALITY IN THE LIGHT OF CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND CANON LAW

#### DOCTRINAL ANALYSIS

As we have just seen, the commitment of these Shepherds and Priests to the favoring of the Marxist cause has reached a level that obliges one to ask: How should this conduct be considered from the theological-canonical point of view?

\* \* \*

Before answering this fundamental question, we want to reiterate here once more the unwaivable testimony of our faith and our unrestricted adherence to the Catholic Church, which is hierarchical by Divine institution. We have not formulated in these pages, nor will we do so in this con-

clusion, judgments that are outside the scope of our competence.

What we have done in this book and what we shall do in our final considerations, is what any faithful placed in the presence of ideas or facts which, objectively, are not in accordance with Catholic Doctrine, shall do: record on the doctrinal and practical terrain the terms in which this discordance is placed.

Dom Gueranger, illustrious Abbot of Solesmes, synthesizes with exactness and clarity the right which Catholics have in this respect, in commenting on the feast of Saint Cyril of Alexandria in his famous Liturgical Yearbook. In effect it says: *"When the pastor becomes a wolf, it is of course up to the flock to defend itself. As a rule, the doctrine descends from the Bishops to the faithful people and the subjects should not judge their leaders in their faith. But there are in the treasure of revelation certain essential points which all Christians, by the very fact that they bear the name, must know and which they are obliged to safeguard. The principle does not change, whether it be a question of science or of conduct, of morality or of dogma"* (Dom Prospero Gueranger, *El Ano Liturgico*, Editorial Aldecoa, Burgos, 1956, vol. II, pp. 744-745).

\* \* \*

Let us go on to record the terms of the conflict between this ecclesiastical conduct and Catholic Doctrine:

1. It is imperative to recognize that the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, the majority of the Chilean Hierarchs, and that part of the Clergy who, in their respective jurisdictions, tacitly or explicitly support and follow them, progressively refused throughout the whole course of these fifteen years to conduct themselves in essential matters as spiritual Chiefs or Guides of that part of the Church entrusted to them. In fact, they abandoned the most fundamental duties inherent to their sacred posts, including the duty to do battle against the adversaries of the Church, such as Communism and its fellow travelers. They refused to give the faithful the sound doctrinal orientation to which

### Conclusion

the latter had the right, especially in moments particularly fateful for Chilean history.<sup>31</sup>

But, in this gradual withdrawal from the duties of their posts, these Pastors and Priests went even further. In reality, they did not hesitate first of all to sow error and disorientation among the faithful and then later to stand behind the enthronement in Chilean legislation of socio-economic principles opposed to Catholic Doctrine. They did not desist in this conduct, in spite of being respectfully warned that it was resulting in a proximate benefit to the Communist cause. They finally carried their procedure to the extreme of aiding with numerous and decisive public activities the victory of a Marxist-Leninist presidential candidate, assuring him consolidation in Power and sustaining him in

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<sup>31</sup> It is necessary to keep in mind that, according to the teachings of the theologians, a Bishop can fall into schism not only by separating himself from the Pope, head of the Church, but also in other ways, such as the following:

- by refusing his flock the spiritual orientation to which it has the right;
- by ceasing to behave himself as spiritual leader, for example, to live as a mere temporal ruler;
- by withdrawing from an act of the Church when this is sacramental and achieves the unity of the Church, for example, by separating himself from the Sacraments;
- by rebelling against the duties of his post;
- by ordering that which is contrary to natural or Divine law in such a way that he comes to deny the supreme principle of unity in the Church, which is Jesus Christ;
- by refusing to observe the universal customs of the Church based on apostolic tradition, etc. (see Card. Turcremata, *Summa de Ecclesia*, Tramezinus, Venetiis, 1561, book II, chapter 102; book IV, chapter 11; Card. Cayetano, Com. on the *Summa Theologica*, II-II, q. 39 article II; Suarez, *De Caritate*, Vives, Parisiis, 1858, pp. 733-737; Congar. *Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique*, Schisme, cols. 1303 ff; Card. Journet, *L'Eglise du Verbe Incarne*, vol. II, Desclee, Bruges, 1962, pp. 823 ff).



## *Conclusion*

that Power whenever possible, with enormous harm to the interests of the Church and the country.

After the occurrence of the popular action which culminated in the overthrow of the Marxist President, the referred-to Bishops and Priests aggravated their revolutionary conduct by manifestly persevering in it, notwithstanding their merely formal backward moves imposed by the new circumstances. In other words, they reaffirmed, by means of different attitudes, their determination not to stop the peculiar process of gradual Marxization of national mentalities and structures.

2. This ecclesiastical behavior conflicting with the theological-canonical requirements of the Priestly and Episcopal mission thus took on such grave and generalized proportions that it can be affirmed that:

a) Nearly the whole of the Chilean Prelates have so used the sacred offices with which they have been invested that they have become transformed into the most prestigious and intellectually affirmative part of the forces which seek the destruction of the Church and temporal society in Chile.

b) Such Prelates drag behind them, by persuasion or by fear of the hierarchical authority on which they rest, an important part of the Clergy, religious, Catholic institutions, and apostolic works;

c) By the confusion which they generate and by the fear of canonical powers which they inspire, those same Prelates reduce the great majority of their congregations to the sad condition of the Church of Silence, hushed by perplexity and inhibited by the respect which they have always had for ecclesiastical authority;

d) The action of those Prelates, seriously harmful to the interests of the Church, is also revealed as injurious in a high degree to the life of the country. In fact, that action, being seconded by evil citizens of all orders and by agents of foreign powers (even imperialist powers such as Soviet Russia), constitutes for our country not a medium or long term danger but a very proximate danger that any circumstance can transform from one moment to the next into an imminent danger.

## Conclusion

3. It is impossible to analyze these facts in the light of Catholic Doctrine without thinking of the canonical figures of schism (see note 31), the favoring of heresy and the suspicion of heresy; if not of heresy itself.<sup>32</sup>

In view of this, grave problems arise, which are not lacking in complexity.

Which of those canonical situations is constituted by the Episcopal and Priestly conduct related in this book? And in what measure?

It does not seem possible for us to leave these two questions floating unpleasantly, like heavy clouds, over

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<sup>32</sup> It is common doctrine among theologians and canonists that the favoring of heresy takes very different forms, that is to say, not only by means of words but also by attitudes or omissions which directly or indirectly favor the spread of errors in matters of faith. It is particularly important to note here that the favoring of heresy can take the form not only of some very characteristic isolated attitude. It can also take the form of an ensemble of attitudes which, while perhaps not including some ambiguities, redounds in the concrete order to fomenting the expansion of errors contrary to the Faith.

The favoring of heresy, by virtue of the penal dispositions of Canon Law, has definite effects. According to Canon 2316, "*he is suspect of heresy who spontaneously and consciously helps in any way with the propagation of heresy.*" According to the teaching of the canonists, such suspicion may be slight, vehement, or violent. In the case of slight suspicion there is no place for sanctions, but rather for explanations, warnings, and interpellations. Extreme penalties — such as excommunication and the loss of ecclesiastical post — are only applied when the suspicion, perhaps beginning as slight, has become vehement; has later come to be violent, or finally, has ceased to be a suspicion to become a certainty (see Cans. 2314-2317, Card. de Lugo, *Disputationes Scholasticae et Morales, Vives, Paris, 1868*, pp. 201 ff., 205 ff.; Wernz-Vidal, *Ius Canonicum, Romae, 1937*, tom. VII, pp. 423 ff.; Vermeersch-Creusen, *Epitome Iuris Canonici*, Desclee, 1946, tom. III, pp. 316-317; Sipos, *Enchiridion Iuris Canonici, Romae, Herder, 1954*, p. 609).

Chilean religious life. They do exceed, however, the limits of this book.

To study them, we here call with respect and confidence on all Chilean ecclesiastics conscious of the seriousness of the problem and of the dramatic character of the hour in which we are living.

We hope that their Catholic fervor will not subside into a comfortable silence in this hour, but rather, on the contrary, that they will adopt, in the face of these problems, the position which their culture and their zeal indicates to them, and will come to the aid of the Church and the country.

3

IN DEFENSE OF THE CHURCH  
AND OF THE COUNTRY:  
TO RESIST IN ACCORDANCE  
WITH DIVINE AND HUMAN LAWS

Advancing in the analysis of the impressive national reality, guided by the light of Catholic Doctrine and Canon Law, and compelled by the unavoidable force of logic, we don't see how we can fail to affirm that, in the concrete order, the conduct of the revolutionary Bishops and Priests referred to in this book has redounded to a favoring of schism and heresy.

In view of this, a concrete question is imposed on our minds: What is the attitude which we should assume as Catholics and Chileans before said Bishops and Priests?

We answer by considering the question from two points of view:

WHAT TO DO?

## Conclusion

### 1. The interests of the Church and of the Christian Civilization in our country

Those Catholics who have become fully conscious of the frightful consequences which the present situation, considered as a whole, has for the Church and the country, objectively have the right, and in accordance with the circumstances, the duty as well — even though they be simple faithful — to resist such Pastors and the Clergy who follow them.

Therefore, we declare here our firm and irrevocable determination to resist.

By resisting we mean:

To declare and proclaim before Chile and the world, by all the licit means authorized to us by natural and positive law, whether canon or civil, what the conduct of the destructive Hierarchs and Priests consists of, to make clear its seriousness, in view of the harm it is causing the Church and Christian Civilization in our country, and to oppose by all the measures permitted to us by Morality and law, those Hierarchs and Priests who are using their prestige to do the evil that the facts related in these pages indicate — a prestige which thus becomes a fruit usurped from the sacred posts which they still utilize.

\* \* \*

This conclusion will perhaps cause surprise to some readers. However, there is no reason for surprise.

It would be exhausting for us to refer here to all the Pontiffs, Fathers of the Church, Doctors, theologians, and canonists, some elevated to the honor of the altar, who defended the right of the faithful to resist, in circumstances such as the present ones, decisions of the ecclesiastical authority which are objectively erroneous, dangerous for the faith, or injurious to the integrity of a nation.

We cite here only some outstanding examples.

The Apostle of the Gentiles in his Epistle to the Galatians says:

*“There are some who upset you and pretend to corrupt the Gospel of Christ. But, even if we ourselves or an angel*

*from Heaven announced to you a different gospel from that which has been announced to you, let him be anathema"* (Gal. 1:7-8).

Here is an absolute and admirable profession of faith by Saint Paul, who fills Catholic hearts with enthusiasm and, down through the ages, tramples on perturbing and corrosive relativism.

From the apex of his Catholic wisdom, the great Angelic Doctor, Saint Thomas of Aquinas, as if he had foreseen painful hours of the kind described by the Apostle, drew crystal-clear teachings from the edifying episode in which Saint Paul "*resisted to his face*" Saint Peter, who had taken disciplinary measures in favor of the permanence in Catholic worship of practices remaining from the ancient Synagogues. Saint Paul resisted, because he saw in such measures a grave risk of doctrinal confusion and harm to the faithful (Gal. 2:11). The first Pope did not see in the inspired and fiery move of the Apostle of the Gentiles an act of rebellion but rather one of fraternal love. And knowing well in which areas he was infallible and in which he was not, he gave way before the arguments of Saint Paul.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Canonists and theologians of the most serious and esteemed kind, such as Wernz-Vidal and Palmieri, affirm that it is not rebellious and much less schismatic for one to disobey those who retain ecclesiastical authority after having become suspicious (Wernz-Vidal, *Ius Canonicum*, Romae, 1937, tom. VII, p. 439; Palmieri, *Tractatus de Romano Pontifice*, Romae, 1877, pp. 194-195). (And the great Dominican theologian Cardinal Cayetano — the celebrated defender of Pontifical Power against nascent protestantism — commenting on the adage "*ubi Petrus ibi Ecclesia*" even went so far as to write: "*The Church is in the Pope when the latter conducts himself as Pope, that is to say, as the head of the Church, but in the event that he did not want to act as head of the Church, neither would the Church be in him nor would he be in the Church*").

Along the same lines see: Vitoria, *Obras de Francisco de Vitoria*. BAC, Madrid, 1960, pp. 486-487; Suarez, *De Fide*, Vives, Parisiis, 1858, disp. X, sec. VI, no. 16; Cornelio a Lapide, ad Gal. 2:11; Peinador, *Cursus Brevior Theologiae Moralis*, Cocusa, Madrid, tom. II, p. 287.

## Conclusion

Saint Thomas concludes his discussion of the referred-to episode by stating a truth capable of serving as a beacon during more serious occasions than the error committed by Saint Peter without evil intentions or obstinacy, "*when there is a proximate danger to the Faith, Prelates should be disputed even publicly by their subjects*" (*Summa Theologica*, II-II, 33, 4-2).

Concerning the matter related in the Epistle to the Galatians, the Angelic Doctor adds that "*this example of humility was given to Prelates so that they would not refuse to accept reprimands from their inferiors and subjects, and an example of zeal and freedom was given to subjects so that they would not fear to correct their Prelates, above all when the crime was public and would redound with danger for many*" (ad. Gal. II, 11-14).

## 2. Our relations, as faithful practicing Catholics, with the destructive ecclesiastical authorities

Having set forth our attitude of resistance, we turn our attention once again to our spiritual life as Catholics, and it becomes inevitable to pose another question:

Are we obliged, according to sound doctrine, to go to those Pastors and Priests, in matters different from those treated in this book, to receive the teachings of the Church from their lips and to receive the Sacraments from their hands?

In this respect, it is necessary to point out that:

a) In order for there to be a full ecclesiastical filiation, even though it be only in matters different from those treated in this book, there must be in the spiritual relations between sheep and shepherd, as between son and father, a minimum level of mutual confidence and harmony.

b) Given the extension and importance that these Pastors and Priests have assigned to the destructive action which we have denounced (marshalling, so to speak, the best of their dedication in order to perform this task which so benefits the Marxist cause), we consider that in the concrete order there are no conditions for the habitual exercise

## Conclusion

of those relations. We cannot see how such an exercise could fail to bring with it a proximate risk for the Faith and grave scandals for the good.

c) This being so, and save for better judgment, we affirm that the cessation of ecclesiastical relations with such Bishops and Priests is a right of conscience of Catholics who judge it to be unbearable, that is to say, harmful for the Faith itself and the life of piety, and scandalous for the faithful people.

We do not believe that there is any moralist or canonist – above all in the atmosphere so characteristic of this post conciliar era – who might affirm that such relations are obligatory in concrete circumstances as grave as the present ones.

d) On the other hand, our present dramatic situation is only the most recent stage of a long process. Now then, it is in the nature of this process that its peculiarities do not develop in a manner absolutely simultaneous throughout the entire country. On the contrary, it is a bit more advanced in one place and a bit more retarded in another. It is also necessary to consider the case of some ecclesiastics whose commitment to the process of destruction exists, but in a limited way and to a very tenuous degree. All this means that various concrete situations which have been created by this process can still be considered, in some aspects, as not being completely defined. Accordingly, it is understandable that some of the faithful frequent the churches of the Shepherds and Priests whom we denounce, and that others refuse to do so and separate themselves from all habitual spiritual and religious relation with such ecclesiastics, even relating to the sacramental life.

\* \* \*

The Church in Chile is in a state of silence, the immense majority of its members being in deep disagreement with the process of Marxization to which they are being submitted. We write this work so that those countless Catholics of unquestionable authenticity, may acquire a full awareness of their rights and duties and then feel free to act in accordance with the legitimate dynamism of their souls, but to do so with serenity, within an unbreakable fidelity,

So that silenced Catholics may acquire full awareness of their rights and duties and feel free to act in accordance with the legitimate dynamism of their souls

## Conclusion

and firmly united in orthodoxy and the Faith. Otherwise, Chilean Catholics of silence will seem to face an absurd dilemma:

— that of transforming themselves into more or less disheartened and crushed onlookers — and even defenseless little guinea pigs of the process of destruction of the Church and the Country, paralyzed by a supposed need for obedience to some Shepherds and Priests who, in reality, they are no longer obliged canonically to follow;

— or that of adopting a desperate position, which leads to the loss of Faith and the rupture of the union with the Church, a very grave sin to which the Catholic should never consent, whatever the situation in which he finds himself.

A path of strengthened battle and irrevocable fidelity

We do not accept this absurd alternative. We categorically affirm that the way open to us is not this absurd one, but, on the contrary, a path of reinforced combat, a way of irrevocable fidelity which brings tranquility to consciences.

We are removing the gag from the Church of Silence in Chile, by untying its hands and helping to remove it, with Divine assistance, from the terrible state it is in. In this manner, we want to provide elements so that Catholics who have been until now silenced and handcuffed by iron rings of confusion and moral fear, may breathe, make use of the freedom which legitimately belongs to them in an acutely afflictive situation such as the present one, gather their energies, and keep in sight the necessary ways to defend — as Catholics — the Church and our country, attacked in such a disconcerting and powerful way.

\* \* \*

After publicly formulating these charges and making the consequent proclamation of active and legitimate resistance to the destructive Shepherds and Priests, we reaffirm here once again our full adherence to the Holy, Roman, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

“Remember what you have received and have heard, and keep it”

This step which we are taking today is, itself, a consequence and a manifestation of our love for and our obedience to the doctrine taught by the infallible Magisterium of the Church and with it we do homage, with veneration, to the precept of the Scripture: *“strengthen the rest which*



## Conclusion

*was about to die . . . Remember what you have received and have heard, and keep it" (Acts 3:2-3).*

In this act, we have no other title to invoke except that (perhaps simple in the eyes of the world but great and noble in the eyes of God) of baptized faithful and sons of the Holy Catholic Church, to which we wish – with all the impetus of our souls – to live and die united.

In respect to the storm of darkness which broke over the Church and our country, we know that our brothers in the Faith, who accompanied it as we did from its first manifestations, understand very well to what point that entire situation filled our minds with anguish during these years, since that anguish is also theirs. If we – who as laymen and young persons constitute the least category within the Church – are the ones who now pronounce what is in many afflicted, silenced, and spiritually tortured Catholic hearts, we do so because until this time no more qualified voice was raised to say all that we now state in writing.

Furthermore, the defense of Christian Civilization and of our country, has made it impossible to postpone the fulfillment of this duty. Indeed, those Shepherds, whose conduct involves in the concrete order an undeniable favoring of schism and heresy, personify one of the most active causes that contributed to the precipitation of Chile into the clutches of Marxism and that threatens to precipitate it there once again.

\* \* \*

By the time of the delivery of this book for printing, some very incipient symptoms of detente between the Chilean Episcopate and the Government have been manifested.

One may ask as this relaxation of tensions begins, if it is not reasonable to affirm that there is no longer any foundation, at least where the future is concerned, for our publicly expressed apprehensions over the revolutionary Shepherds and Priests proceeding to stimulate the advance of the evolutionary process toward leftist socialism in Chile once again.

In this respect, it is necessary to point out that:

a) In view of the evidences of good will already given by the government, it is reasonable to expect that it will do

The Government



The Miraculous pilgrim statue of Our Lady of Fatima which shed tears in 1972 in New Orleans, La. In the photograph the image appears dressed in the habit of a Carmelite.

## Conclusion

everything in its power to establish normal relations with the ecclesiastical Hierarchy, without damage to the indispensable guarantees demanded by good order and national sovereignty.

b) However, in the case of the destructive Hierarchy and Priests, the numerous facts accumulated during these past fifteen years speak to the contrary, that is to say, the slightly more peaceful intention revealed in some ways in the last Plenary Assembly of Bishops in San Jose de la Mariquina, does not provide elements capable of assuring us that we are in the presence either of a conciliatory attitude to be maintained for very long or much less of a backward step in the socialist revolutionary commitment.

Destructive Hierarchy and Priests

This Episcopal Assembly was carried out under the impact of the trauma suffered by the Chilean faithful upon coming to know the kind of ties existing between the radical revolutionary Priests and the terrorist network recently dismantled by the security forces.

Moreover, the ratification of Msgr. Camus as secretary general of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate as it is placed in the same context with the conciliatory expressions of the Prelates, certainly renders them highly ambiguous.

c) Aside from this, in order for us to take seriously any intention of the revolutionary Shepherds and Priests eventually to alter their line of conduct ( a line of conduct so terribly continuous and systematic in the midst of small circumstantial adaptations), it would be indispensable for them to prove with eloquent, categorical, and numerous deeds that they admit to having tried to lead the Chilean people down a profoundly mistaken path and that they are now decidedly committed to leading them in the opposite direction.

Now then, a change of mentality and conduct of that kind would be so great that, for that very reason, it could not have been produced suddenly: "*nemo repente fit summus.*" One cannot admit that mere smiles, kindly words, or small and superficial modifications that may eventually appear in the behavior of these Prelates and Priests, can be taken as sufficient proof that, like King Clovis, they are

"Nemo repente fit summus"

## *Conclusion*

disposed to burn what they once adored and adore what they once burned.

d) In such conditions, the grave problems set forth in these pages continue at the present moment with all their dramatic actuality, meriting their urgent study by theologians, by canonists, and in a general way by Catholics of serious religious culture.

We conclude with eyes and ears attentive to what is done or said by theologians, canonists and Catholics of solid formation who are not associated with the destructive process

Thus, we conclude our considerations with our eyes and ears attentive to what those theologians, canonists, and Catholics of solid formation do or say, especially concerning the resistance and the cessation of ecclesiastical relations with the destructive Bishops and Priests.

Having published the present book and having invited a dialogue with those who can and must analyze with seriousness and precision the reality that afflicts the Catholic faithful in our country, the TFP has complete assurance of having fulfilled its duty.

For the love of the Church and Chile, it is now necessary, especially for those members of the Clergy and the laity who have not associated themselves with the destructive revolutionary process, to speak clearly before the entire Nation and to say whether they agree with our evaluations or whether they disagree with them.

\* \* \*

With peace in our consciences and with the resolution, greater than ever, to continue the battle against Communism based on the teachings of the immutable Catholic Doctrine, we turn finally to Our Lady of Mt. Carmel.

This was one of the sacred titles under which the Mother of God appeared at Fatima, when in 1917 She announced to the paganized world trials such as the ones which our country is presently undergoing.

To Her, who as the Queen and Patroness of Chile has made Her maternal predilection for this Her flock felt so often, we pray that She preserve it in the integrity of the Faith, in the expectation of the glorious moment when She will obtain for us the grace of granting us Shepherds who

*Conclusion*

can say of themselves before the Divine Shepherd, the words that He said here on earth: "*Holy Father, [...] those Thou gavest to Me, I watched over them, and none of them perished*" (John 17:11-12).

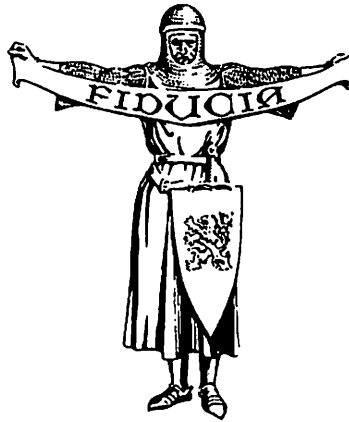
Santiago, January 1, 1976

THE CHILEAN SOCIETY

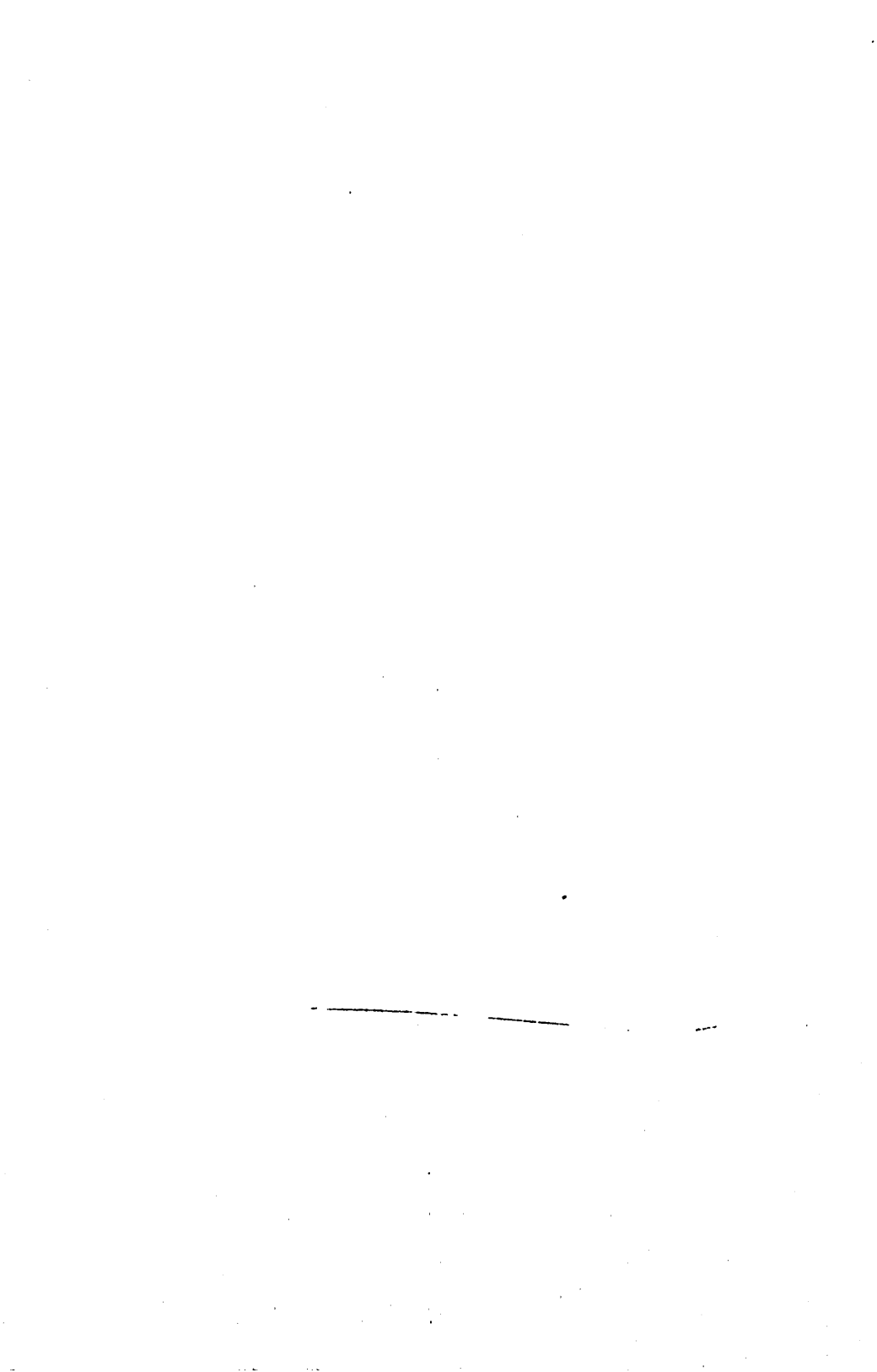
FOR THE DEFENSE OF

TRADITION, FAMILY AND PROPERTY





## Appendices





## APPENDIX 1

### RESPECTFUL INTERPELLATION DIRECTED TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC, MR. EDUARDO FREI MONTALVA

Private property, one of the foundations of the Christian Civilization and one of the conditions for the freedom of the Church, is exposed to mutilation and death in the Chilean Constitution.

His Excellency, Mr. Eduardo Frei Montalva,  
President of the Republic.

Addressing ourselves to Your Excellency as Chileans and Catholics, we first of all extend to you the homage of our respect and the expression of our constant esteem for the Public Powers, at the head of which stands Your Excellency.

This respect and esteem does not exclude, Mr. President, pride or frankness. And at this moment we would not be fulfilling our duty to our country, to civilization, and to the Catholic Church if we failed to address ourselves to Your Excellency, with the respectful Christian frankness and pride characteristic of the Chilean in the exercise of his constitutional liberties, in order to request from Your Excellency a public explanation about a fact which profoundly surprises us.

I. — We comprise a group of young men, almost all of us university students. Gathered around the Catholic maga-

## *Appendix 1*

zine *Fiducia*, we devote ourselves to the propagation and defense of principles shared by innumerable Chileans. We wish for our country prosperity and grandeur. And we wish that that grandeur be Christian, and that that prosperity also be Christian at its very roots.

II. — We are certain, then, that the fact which so profoundly surprises us has also left perplexed and apprehensive thousands of Chileans, many of whom, if they voted for Your Excellency as President of the Republic, they did so to prevent the victory of the Marxist candidate and to maintain our country on the blessed paths of Christian Civilization.

III. — We are sure, then, that Your Excellency will not decline to give a public, substantial, and profound elucidation of the problem which concerns us:

a) On the initiative of Your Excellency, the National Congress is now meeting to reform Article 10, no. 10 of our Political Constitution in such terms that it abolishes the guarantee that the right of private property is inviolable;

b) That proposition, if it is accepted, will mean that Chile will have ceased to recognize the right of property as one of the corollaries necessary for the dignity of man and one of the rights emanating from the natural order instituted by God and which no human authority can violate;

c) The right of property, which on the basis of the principles mentioned above all of the Popes have pointed to as one of the foundations necessary for Christian Civilization, will become susceptible to being mutilated or suppressed by any ordinary law, thus transforming Chile without great difficulties into an anti-Christian socialist or Communist State;

d) Besides the grave risk which the constitutional amendment proposed by Your Excellency poses to Christian Civilization itself, freedom of worship is also in danger.

The intimate and unavoidable connection between the institution of private property and freedom of worship is founded on numerous arguments extracted both from the sacred Scriptures and from the teachings of the Supreme Magisterium of the Church.

In synthesis, Catholic doctrine in this respect consists of the right of property being a corollary of the right which God gave to man as a being gifted with intelligence and reason, to dispose above all, for his own benefit, of the fruits of his labor. It is on the basis of this right that it is appropriate for man to take possession of material goods, transform them, and make them produce for his own benefit. His Holiness Leo XIII could thus affirm in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* that capital is but "transformed wages." And the right of ownership is so characteristic an attribute of human dignity in relation to material goods that it is by this right that man distinguishes himself from the animals. In fact, His Holiness Leo XIII went so far as to write, in this respect, in the same Encyclical: "*Man has not only the simple use of the goods of the earth, like the beasts, but he also has the right of ownership, not only of the things consumed by use but also of the things not consumed by use.*"

Thus one understands that the suppression of private ownership leads to an order of things fundamentally contrary to human dignity, and, therefore, incompatible with the sanctifying mission of the Church, which consists in promoting everything which elevates and dignifies the soul.

Catholics cannot, then, accept an order of things where-in private ownership does not exist.

This consideration, deduced from that which is most essentially religious in the mission of the Church, becomes even clearer if we consider that She is the born tutor of the natural order, expressed in the commandments of the Law of God, among which there are two which consecrate for all time the principle of private property: "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods."

These and other reasons lead to the conviction that the Christian conscience could never make a covenant with the monstrous and permanent injustice which would come from the abolition of private ownership by civil law. And it would never cease to protest and fight, until it had made that injustice cease.

Now then, a collectivist State and one that is "ipso facto" totalitarian in nature would not be able to tolerate in its laws and in its means of battle that sacrosanct reaction

## Appendix 1

of the Catholic conscience. From there to the coercive measures against religious liberty and to the final proscription of the Clergy truly faithful to their mission, there would merely be an inevitable and rapid step.

As we can see, to suppress the constitutional guarantees that protect private ownership is to place in jeopardy, by that mere fact, freedom of worship.

This, which is so obvious from the arguments set forth, has just received a confirmation from an important organ of the Holy See, a confirmation which it is not superfluous to refer to here in passing. A recent letter from the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities gave the most complete approval to a thorough and irrefutable study in which a Brazilian intellectual demonstrated the total impossibility of the Church coexisting peacefully with a socio-economic regime based on the abolition of private property. It is a study by Dr. Plinio Correa de Oliveira, Professor of the Pontifical Catholic University of Sao Paulo, and we take the liberty of attaching, as complementary documentation, a copy translated into our language.

e) Considering the argumentation that we have set out briefly above, Mr. President, it seems unexplainable to us for the referred-to constitutional amendment, so harmful to the right of ownership and for this reason to Christian Civilization and the freedom of worship, to be proposed precisely by a Head of State elected under the title of a political party from which it would seem right to expect the opposite, given the label of Christian with which it tries to attract the sympathy and confidence of Chileans.

For all this, Mr. President of the Republic, we ask Your Excellency respectfully, but with the greatest insistence, to enlighten us please on the following:

I – Does Your Excellency consider that private property is not a foundation of Christian Civilization?

II – Does Your Excellency deny the connection between the right of property and freedom of worship, which is clearly deduced from so many reasons founded in Catholic doctrine and which the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities has just affirmed in such an express way in connection with the essay *The Freedom of the*

*Church in the Communist State* by the university professor Dr. Plinio Correa de Oliveira?

III. — Or is Your Excellency indifferent to all this, and do you really want, whatever it costs, to pull down the barriers so as to allow for the mutilation or even the abolition of private ownership?

On making these very grave inquiries of Your Excellency, we exercise a legitimate right recognized expressly by our Fundamental Charter. We await a direct reply from Your Excellency personally, which represents the personal and non-transferable attitude taken by you as a man and, mainly, as Chief of State on so important a matter.

We entreat you, then, not to create problems for the Venerable National Episcopate for this initiative of ours, as citizens and, to which it corresponds to Your Excellency as President of the Republic, to respond personally.

Thanking you in advance, we remain very respectfully yours.\*

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\* Initially 804 signatures accompanied this letter, to which were added 57 more by university students and those of 4326 persons who signed spontaneously in brief street collections, as well as the support of important national personalities and institutions. The document was published in *El Mercurio* on 5/13/65 and in *Fiducia*, no. 17, May-June 1965.



## APPENDIX 2

### PUBLIC DECLARATION TO THE CHILEAN NATION ON THE PROJECT OF AGRARIAN REFORM OF PRESIDENT EDUARDO FREI

Public opinion of the country is following the development of a tense and decisive debate, having a conclusion in the future which shows itself to be filled with anguished questions. The center of that debate is the agrarian reform project which Mr. Frei, under his signature and responsibility, has brought to the consideration of the National Congress.

While that project goes through the proceedings of discussion in Congress and specialized agitators travel through the countryside stirring up artificial pressure and class hatred, the press, television, and radio have been reflecting the alternatives posed by a generalized polemic and by the patriotic concern of the most diverse national sectors faced with this or that aspect of the project in question. In the middle of everything — although no one expresses it openly — it is clearly perceived that this is no mere discussion of a project of law and that behind it something immensely decisive for the life and the future of Chile is at stake.

#### **The agrarian reformist propaganda and inadvertent ideological transshipment toward Marxism**

A tendency of adersion toward private property is blowing over Chile like a wind. All illusions that that "wind" is not really blowing have been convincingly de-

## Appendix 2

stroyed by the presentation, with the full support of Mr. Frei, of the agrarian reform project now being discussed by the country. For some time now that "wind" — which is not founded on technical principles but rather on ideological and doctrinal ones — has been making itself noticed with growing clarity: thus public opinion has seen the presentation of a project of constitutional reform which leaves the right of private ownership, without guarantees, at the discretion of the State; has seen a back-breaking and unjust tax policy applied; has heard the threatening tone of declarations and speeches; today, Mr. Frei, at the head of his Government, takes one more step, and we have a persecuting, socialistic, and confiscatory agrarian reform; tomorrow, we will have urban reform. The curtain, then, is drawn and it becomes absurd to deny that a "wind" is blowing filled with dislike for private property, a "wind" of an ideological and doctrinal character. And it is precisely in this that we find something decisive and determining for the life and the future of Chile, which everyone perceives behind the agrarian reform project being debated: it is the ideological mystique of complete equality and with it, in the final analysis, and in a more or less conscious and explicit way, the mystique of Communism itself which is blowing over Chile today. The university professor Dr. Plinio Correa de Oliveira vividly describes the development of this type of propaganda in his latest essay *Inadvertent Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue*, published in its entirety by *Fiducia*, nos. 21-22, last January. According to the author, "the most recent stratagem to conquer world opinion" is this "ideological transshipment," skillfully manipulated by means of talismanic words, such as "reform," "co-existence," and "dialogue," in their Marxist meaning. Now it is notorious that the agrarian reformist campaign has made use of innumerable talismanic words of similar meaning, such as "equality," "social revolution," etc., thereby leading many Chileans inadvertently to undergo an ideological transshipment: they were enemies of the socialist agrarian reform, but they were made tolerant and even sympathetic to it, they were definitely anti-communists, but little by little they are becoming converted to Marxism, in different degrees of intensity and awareness.



## The position assumed by *Fiducia*

It is for this reason that *Fiducia*, a magazine devoted to the defense of the immutable precepts of natural law (which provide the only bases for the existence of true social justice and peace), has decided to address itself publicly to the country. In so doing, it takes upon itself the responsibility of pointing out with the absolute frankness and clarity that the moment requires, some of the latest and real consequences of the agrarian reform project which Mr. Frei is promoting, in intimate concordance with other similar legal initiatives. And it does this in order to show the country the state of affairs which the application of this reform would generate in our country — a state of affairs which in all of its profound injustice would mean the persecution of some social groups and be collectivist and enslaving for its supposed future beneficiaries.

Some months ago, when not one voice was yet being raised in the nation, *Fiducia* had already raised its own to ask the President of the Republic to elucidate publicly the initiative prompted by him to reform the constitution with respect to the right of ownership, a reform which so pointedly serves the ends of international Communism. The suggestive silence observed by Mr. Frei at that time, in spite of the vast repercussions of that appeal, came to be, for any who knew enough to hear it, an eloquent cry of alarm at the direction taken by the Government which he leads, one which can now be appreciated with greater force. Today the situation has become worse, and for this reason, *Fiducia* believes that the need to consider, without any more hesitations or qualifications, a profound question posed by the agrarian reform has become undeferrable. This question is, first of all, one of morality and principles. In the public debate which the country is witnessing, those opposed to the cited project have progressively provided arguments of great skill and high patriotic interest at the technical, economic and political levels, opposition arguments which have shed considerable light on certain aspects of the problem. But *Fiducia* believes, without disregarding the significance or the scope of such arguments, that the agrarian reform proj-

## Appendix 2

ect should be considered from the final and definitive standpoint of principles, since otherwise any patriotic movement of opinion raised up against the ideological theses at the base of the government's project will lack force and will thus not achieve the success anxiously desired by those of us who, from the depths of our Chilean souls, want a grandeur and prosperity for our country that is based upon an authentic social justice and peace.

This is the call for which we assume responsibility today, a call to all Chileans to enter upon a vigorous ideological battle without looking to personal interests, a call for a sound, peaceful, and beneficent reaction distilled from the purest common sense stamped on the Christian history and traditions of our nation.

Upon considering the agrarian reform project from the standpoint of the guiding principles of the social order (which are none other than those pointed out by the immutable precepts of Natural Law) there is a principle which takes on the greatest emphasis and importance: it is that of the private ownership of goods, including productive ones, since the central attacks of the project prompted by Mr. Frei converge together against that fundamental principle of all just social ordinance.

In the light of the precepts of the natural law (and in brief synthesis), it may be said that the right of private property is a necessary corollary of the dignity of man and one of the rights emanating from the natural order instituted by God, which, for that reason, no human authority may violate.

This right is an attribute of human dignity and is to such a degree characteristic of it that in relation to material goods, for this reason, man is distinguished from the animals, since — using the expression of the eminent Pontiff Leo XIII in his Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* — “man has not only the simple use of the goods of the earth, like the beasts, but also the right of property, not only of the things consumed by use but also of the things not consumed by use.”

## The right of ownership, Natural Law, and the Decalogue

There is, thus, in the attempt to attack or mutilate the right of property, something essentially unjust and radically opposed to morality, which is not ordinarily given the weight of consideration that its unmistakable gravity requires. To attack and mutilate this right emanating from the natural order instituted by God, and which constitutes an attribute of human dignity, not only leads to the economic ruin so often demonstrated already by the experience of history but also means the raising up of an unnatural and utopian state of things. The weakening or abolition of private property carries with it the gradual negation of values of the highest significance in human life, (which are the religious), whether it be by the deformation to which they become subjected as often as they passively undergo the pressure of a collectivist structure (contrary to the order which the Creator Himself has given to man and society) or by the repression which a collectivist regime, for the sake of its own survival must apply against those who, urged on by their conscience, refuse to accept this state of things contrary not only to the natural law but also to the Divine law, two of whose precepts consecrate for all time the natural right of ownership upon ordaining: "Thou shalt not steal" and "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's goods." Such is the vigorous doctrinal position which the above-mentioned Brazilian professor, Dr. Plinio Correa de Oliveira, assumes in his celebrated study *The Freedom of the Church in the Communist State* (*Fiducia*, No. 9, July 1964), a work praised and recommended by the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities and which established the basis of the respectful appeal presented by the magazine *Fiducia* to the President of the Republic, last May.

After the presentation of the agrarian reform project and its eventual approval (whether we want it or not), we will move along the road not only to the destruction of private ownership but also toward the destruction of the highest religious values and of all order in the nation. This is put in its ultimate and radical terms so as to expose the

## *Appendix 2*

deep-down problem, the true and grave problem which needs to be faced with frankness, clarity and realism, in order to understand the essential injustice that is closing in over our country unless a sound and beneficial reaction from the people intervenes. It is for this reason that *Fiducia* makes a call to Chileans to initiate a campaign of ideological enlightenment against the ideas of leftist agrarian reformism inspired by the present Government. This illumination is all the more necessary, in view of the fact that the project of agrarian reform is worded with such skill that much within it that is unjust or pernicious may pass unnoticed even by lucid and well-intentioned minds, if they do not have all the time required to study it down to its last details.

### 1. THE RIGHT OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP IN SEVERAL OF THE DISPOSITIONS OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROJECT

Private ownership being a natural right whose subject of inherence is the individual and the human person being ontologically prior to the State, we can conclude, in principle, that the State not having been the one to institute private ownership, may not suppress it, and accordingly has to take in a confiscatory and arbitrary manner what belongs to one person in order to give it to others. To affirm the contrary is to give acceptance to a socialist and Communist totalitarianism, thereby trampling on sound Christian social relations.

Thus, according to Catholic doctrine, when "citizens and families, made participants of human associations and society, find prejudice in the public powers instead of help, and a lessening of their rights instead of a protection of

them, society would be, instead of desirable, worthy of repulse" (Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum*, No. 9, B.A.C. Doc., Soc. pp. 319-320).

Catholic doctrine is contrary to the socialist spirit which subordinates to the limitless descretion of the legislation of the State those rights which have their foundation in natural law.

### **Under the pretext of social function, the abolition of individual private ownership is nearly reached in practice**

The nature of man is individual and at the same time social. Property, because it is a right inherent to that nature, in turn shares in both attributes, that is, of being individual and of having a social function. Therefore, it is evident that ownership has a social function. But to try to establish that private property is purely a social function constitutes a deceit and a violation of this right.

It is illegitimate to invoke the social function of individual rights in order to mutilate and almost annul these rights in practice. It is fitting to point out in this regard that when we speak of a function, we speak of an organ. Thus, the social function of a right is for that right like any function would be in relation to its respective organ. And trampling on or destroying the organ — in this case, the individual right — is certainly not the way to improve its function. To amend or improve the function of something does not consist in destroying it or essentially diminishing it.

### **The State by means of a general confiscatory action is established as the absolute arbiter of private rights**

The proper action of the State does not consist in establishing a compulsive regime over agricultural property. Rather, the State should try, first of all to collaborate with

## *Appendix 2*

the necessary means so that agriculture can raise its productivity and provide greater well-being to the community. If in certain cases it should prove necessary to divide the lands into lots, the State would subsidiarily favor the owners who did this, and only in extreme cases would it intervene directly out of exigencies of the common welfare, and always in exchange for a just and equitable compensation. But it would do this only if it was certain that the measure would obtain a greater social and economic benefit for the community.

The expropriation of private goods in a just order is the ultimate and extreme action to which public authority should have recourse. But it would be reversing the sound juridical order to proceed the first place by expropriatory action, which involves a strong burden on the public economy, without having first exhausted all of the other measures which were necessary.

It would be much less conformity with justice to establish, as a basic starting point for the improvement of agricultural activity and those who work in it, a general action, aprioristically instituted, of an expropriating, stateist compulsion over private ownership. For to destroy is not to remedy. To violate acquired rights is to alter the juridical order of the nation. And to leave ownership to the all-embracing discretion of the public powers is to subordinate individuals to an absolutism of the State, proper to a socialist or Communist regime.

In fact, it is characteristic of socialistic ideology to establish a dialectical contradiction between the rights of the individual and those of society and to set up a juridical system which resorts, when conflicts are produced, to the simplest solution: to immolate the rights of persons in a holocaust to the State. Such is what is effectively contained in the second article of the project: "With the objective that agrarian property fulfill its social function, the total or partial expropriation of the rural properties which are found in any of the situations expressed in articles 3 to 10 inclusive of the present law is declared of public usefulness and is authorized." Now then, as we will see farther on, on account of these articles all lands come to be subject to expropriation, not only the uncultivated lands but also the

cultivated lands of the country. Catholic doctrine is entirely opposed to this position because it sustains: "The right of private ownership of goods even of the productive ones has permanent value, precisely because it is a natural right founded in the ontological priority and finality of individual human beings with regard to society. On the other hand, it would be useless to insist on free personal initiative in the economic field if said initiative were not permitted to dispose freely of the indispensable means for its affirmation" (*Mater et Magistra*, No. 59, Social Encyclicals, Edit. U. Catolica, 1961).

### **All agricultural property is left subject to arbitrary expropriation by the State**

For a better understanding of the matter, we present below a resume of the reasons for expropriation included in articles 3 to 10 inclusive, according to which all private property is subject to expropriation:

a) If its size is greater than 80 basic irrigation hectares (Articles 3 and 5);

b) If the land is situated in the zone of application of the Law of Austral Property, where legal questions relating to the ownership of the land (Article 9) have occurred. The zone of application comprises the provinces of Malleco, Cautin, Valdivia, Osorno, Llanquihue, and Chiloe, and up to the northern limit of the province of Magallanes (Decree No. 1600 of 3/31/1931);

c) If it is comprised within one of the areas where the State is carrying out or will carry out irrigation works or the improvement of the same and it is declared an irrigation area (Article 10);

d) If it belongs to communities which have not put an end to its state of undividedness within two years after the law goes into effect (Article 8);

e) If the land belongs to juridical persons (Article 6);

## *Appendix 2*

f) If the land is rented or ceded to third parties for exploitation, when its owners infringed upon legal dispositions which regulate the renting and other forms of exploitation by third parties (Article 7);

g) If the land is abandoned or badly exploited. (Judgment of which to be made by the Corporation for Agrarian Reform, CORA – Article 4).

If we consider these reasons and even the exceptions to possibilities for expropriation (Articles 15 to 22) which the project establishes, we find that all property, cultivated or not, thus remains subject to the confiscatory action of the public powers.

This makes clear to anyone who takes time to analyze the consequences of these dispositions, that once this project has been eventually approved by Mr. Frei, to be a proprietor will be to live on a benign state concession which can be restricted or snatched away here or there whenever or however the State itself chooses to do so. In this way, then, the inviolability of the right of ownership will have been abolished, and with it, all security for individuals and families will have been destroyed in the political, economic, and social orders.

The right of private ownership is only one. There are not two kinds of rights: one for the indispensable, which would therefore be inviolate; the other for the superfluous, which would not be inviolate. This unity of this right should now be firmly remembered, in order to avoid having the agrarian reformist propaganda introduce the false and cunning idea of a division, by which it can provide an evil justification for its eagerness for spoils.

In principle, if the rights of the proprietors are rights acquired legitimately in conformity with natural and civil law, a subsequent law – according to the norms of strict justice and morality – must respect them. Therefore, with respect to the size, a law may not retroactively delimit that which constitutes an acquired right and one which precedes said law, much less in so absolute and general a manner as that established by the project. And if it were necessary to apply such a measure in very concrete and precise cases, the public authority would be obliged to pay the compensation



due according to commutative justice. For this reason, Leo XIII affirms: "The most fundamental thing is that the Government should assure private property by means of the prudent laws." (*Encyclical Graves de Communi*, AAS., vol. XXXIII, p. 388).

On the other hand, the harmonic and proportioned coexistence of great, medium-sized, and small properties, complementing one another among themselves and not submitted to State control but rather supplementally helped by public entities, constitutes a sound structure in a right order of things.

It is for this reason that Pius XII, praising the class of small proprietors in Italy, warned that "this does not mean the denial of the usefulness and, frequently, the necessity for vaster agricultural properties" (Speech of 7/2/2/49, to the International Congress on Problems of Rural Life – *Discorsi e Radiomessaggi*, vol. 13, pp. 199-200).

Besides, this inequality originates from the natural constitution of society, since the latter is made up of a diversity of social classes which give rise to diversity in patrimonies, which are normally expressed in agriculture by diversity in the size of the properties. These legitimate inequalities are not contrary to social order, as long as they remain proportioned among themselves. It is the mission of the State to see that they do not produce dangerous social imbalances, that they do not threaten to carry society to a climate of violent social tensions. But it is not the natural mission of the State to want to implant a social egalitarianism, disregarding the natural and advantageous diversity of social classes; or an economic egalitarianism, doing violence by different means to private patrimonies.

**According to the project, private property would in principle be liable to expropriation by reason of its not being used**

With respect to the agrarian reformist thesis stated in this subtitle, Catholic doctrine leaves no room for doubt. It teaches that the right and the use are distinguished, and

## Appendix 2

that the right to use or not to use a possession is inherent to ownership. Thus, Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno* says: “. . . so as to place within their just limits the controversies raised surrounding ownership and the inherent duties of same, let it be established, as a fundamental principle, what Leo XIII already proclaimed; namely, that the right of ownership is distinguished from its use (Encyclical *Rerum Novarum*). Simply to respect the division of goods and not to encroach upon the right of another by going beyond the limits of one's own dominion are mandates of justice, which is called commutative; for the proprietors not to use their possessions except honestly does not concern this justice but other virtues, the fulfillment of whose duties may not be required juridically (*Rerum Novarum*). And farther on: “. . . it is even further from the truth to say that because of the abuse or the simply not using of things the right of ownership comes to an end or is lost” (Encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. 1931, AAS, vol. XXIII, p. 192).

This right may only undergo restriction in the event that insufficient use or non-use of the land brings a serious injury to society, which cannot be remedied any other way. But, that injury or damage to the common welfare needs to be proved and must not only be stated rhetorically. A certain right may not be restricted or destroyed on the basis of an uncertain fact.

Up to now the Government of Mr. Frei has not published studies containing sufficient proofs — if they have even done any! — to establish as a matter of fact the need for such violent measures against the right of ownership. And Article 16 is an elucidating example of the violence of these measures, as it establishes: “In order for a proprietor to resort to the regime as an exception established in the preceding article, he must, on all the farm properties (which may never be more than 320 basic irrigation hectares — Article 15) which he asks to have exempted, meet all of the following requirements: (we present below a resume of the same):

1. — At least 95% of the irrigated surface planted with annual, permanent crops or artificial pastures;

At least 80% of the unirrigated land with annual or permanent crops or natural improved or artificial pastures.

2. — Develop the farm property in technical conditions superior to the average of the commune farm properties. The Ministry of Agriculture will attest to same, in conformity with rules and regulations.

3. — To maintain the soil and other renewable natural resources in good condition or carry on a conservation or recovery plan which is adequate in the judgment of the Ministry of Agriculture.

4. — To grant the workers a share in the profits.

5. — To pay to the farm workers wages at least twice as high as the minimum wage of a farm worker, and to the office employees wages twice as high as the necessary provincial wage.

6. — To comply with all the legislative and regulatory dispositions regarding housing, social security, social legislation, labor, education, and health.

Now then, what the cited Article 16, as well as Article 19 establish with regard to private property, exceeds the very limits of the public laws regarding the inviolability and sphere of sovereignty of the private right of use which the proprietor has over what belongs to him.

In addition, point 4 of Article 16, imposing the participation of the workers, is in contradiction to Catholic doctrine, which teaches:

“Nor would it be correct to affirm that all private companies are by their nature a society, in such a manner that relations among the participants are determined by the norms of distributive justice. So that all without distinction — whether or not they are owners of the means of production — have the right to their share in the property or at least in the profits of the firm. A conception of that kind departs from the hypothesis that all firms by their nature enter the sphere of public right.” (Pius XII, Speech of May 7, 1949 to the XI Conference of the International Union of Catholic Employers’ Associations — *Discorsi e Radiomessaggi*, vol. XL, p. 63).

## **The forms of payment for expropriated lands: a flagrant and immoral injustice**

All expropriations warrant a just and immediate compensation. For, according to the natural order of things, the right of the legitimate owner is based on natural law and is therefore above and superior to the State.

Therefore, the latter cannot abolish such a right, except in concrete and specific exceptions required by the common welfare. And even in these cases, the State is required to do it in exchange for a just compensation, according to strict commutative justice.

Commutative justice is that which governs commutations, that is, it regulates the reciprocal equality exchanges between parties, who in this case are the expropriated proprietor and the State. The compensation must be equal to the real value of the expropriated goods. Then, commutative justice is determined by the equality according to the proportion of one thing to another. This requires considering: a) the true real value of the expropriated thing; and b) making payment of a compensation equal to that real value.

Now then, if we consider along general lines what the project establishes in this regard, we will see that, in fact, neither of the two aspects pointed out are found present.

a) The value which will be considered will be the value assigned by the tax assessment, which does not necessarily agree with the real value of the farm property. Thus, the value of compensation is determined not by what the farm property is objectively worth, as required by justice, but merely on a basis for determining certain taxes.

b) The evaluation of the improvements realized, after the assessor evaluation, will be made by CORA, that is, by the very expropriating State agency.

c) The portion paid in cash is the minimum.

d) The deferred payment, in most of the cases, is made over a period of 25 years, in bonds which are practically non-negotiable and with a very inferior readjustment.

In accordance with its principal idea of breaking the principle of private ownership, the project manifestly does not comply with the essential norms for all just compensation. This constitutes an open spoliation that offends directly against justice, which requires us to give to each that which corresponds to him according to his right: and against morality, which obliges us not to steal.

If justice does not support the robbery which one individual commits against another with regard to his legitimately acquired and possessed goods and rights, neither can it permit this robbery by the authorities whose conduct like that of individuals is subject to the norms of justice and morality.

## Collectivization of agricultural property

According to what is established by the project in Article 59, we have: "The lands acquired by the Corporation of Agrarian Reform will be made up of family sized agricultural units in conformity with letter "h" of Article 1 and will be assigned to peasants under individual control."

Now then, letter "h" of Article 1 defines the family sized agricultural unit as: "the extension of land which, given the quality of the soil, topographical location, climate, and other characteristics, in particular the utility of the lands, which being personally exploited by the producer, allows a family group to live and prosper thanks to its rational utilization."

In other words, this unit is hypothetically the minimum indispensable for the subsistence of a person and his family. Surrounding this minimum unity once again is manifested the myth of complete equality which constitutes the ideological nucleus implicit in the entire project. A unit of size is sought which arbitrarily levels in a compulsory manner the farm properties which will ultimately become the basic agricultural structure of the country, should the project be approved. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that, according to the letter of the project, the possible and

## *Appendix 2*

future assignees of this minimum unit of land would be affected by all kinds of restrictions and subjections to State agencies which, by this single fact, makes their control over the reduced farm property to be illusory. (Further on, in other paragraphs of this analysis, we will linger over this point).

It is of interest, then, to establish a fundamental fact here: the project tends to restrict individual rule to its lowest possible expression: the so-called family unit.

But if the project manifests a collectivist tendency in reference to the individual rule over the so-called common unit, that tendency becomes even stronger and more obvious when we find that the project is inclined to the integration of agricultural activity in a kind of "cooperative" that leads directly to collective ownership. In this respect the same Article 59 is revealing in its 2nd clause, which states: "However, when in the judgment of the Council of the Corporation of Agrarian Reform this type of consignment is not possible, for reasons of a technical kind due to the nature of the exploitation . . . the lands may be assigned to the exclusive dominion of farm-labor cooperatives and to co-ownership of farm laborers and labor cooperatives. The lands may also be assigned in any of these ways when the farm-workers selected to be assignees request this of the Council by common agreement."

By favoring this process of collectivization, the project gives rise to the so-called "policy of the settlement," according to which the farm-workers who have been assured of a definite assignment of a farm to be received in the future, continue in the meantime to remain under the direction of CORA. Now then, according to what is indicated by clause 3 of Article 59, this seemingly transitory situation may be prolonged indefinitely. If the entire spirit of this legal corpus is taken into consideration, the gravity of the referred-to clause is easily perceived. Accordingly, then, a second fact must be emphasized here: Not only does individual dominion tend to be restricted to its minimum possible expression, but also forms of collectivism are pushed.

In this way, private dominion over productive goods is weakened almost to destruction. With this, the doors for the implantation of socialism are opened. And one of the

fundamental pillars of western Christian Civilization is annihilated: individual private property. And with this comes the whole sequel of disastrous economic, social, political, and (especially) moral consequences which that annihilation brings for the nation, as we have already warned at the beginning of this public presentation under the subtitle "The right of ownership, natural law, and the Decalogue."

In this regard, it is fitting to emphasize here, even though briefly, that the minimizing of the right of individual private ownership by making it dependent on State discretion brings as a consequence the crumbling of all of the rights of the individual that are intimately related to ownership, and in which they find their guarantee and encouragement. Among these, for example, are the right of inheritance, the independence of family life from the intrusions of civil power, the affirmation of one's own freedom and personal initiative, and so forth. Catholic doctrine teaches that these aspects, among others, are linked to the institution of private property.

In summary, then, this project (as we have seen throughout this study of it) will establish, in practice, a state of affairs that facilitates the surreptitious implantation of Marxist collectivism in Chile. This has not been hidden by high directors of Marxism in our country, who are fully satisfied with and ardent partisans of the project in question.

In support of this affirmation it is fitting to quote a significant passage from a declaration by the Communist Party which appeared in the government newspaper *La Nacion* on last January 10 (and which constitutes a ratification of the reciprocal publicity pact signed by representatives of the Christian Democratic Party and the Communist Party): "In connection with the agrarian reform project, conditions are developing for a new alignment of forces, and a political situation is being created which makes ever more clearly manifest which persons are for progress and which persons are against it."

Moreover, it should be added that if this is legislated for agriculture, if this trampling on the right of individual ownership is accepted, and if an erroneous collectivist concept of the ownership of productive goods is established,

## *Appendix 2*

then this will be tomorrow the juridical precedent necessary to extend the same to commerce, to industry, and the other productive activities of the country — a transgression which it will be easy to carry out if the constitutional amendment of Article 10, No. 10, of our Constitution is approved, an amendment which suppresses the guarantee of the inviolability of the natural right of ownership, an initiative which Mr. Frei also tenaciously prompted.

## 2. THE STATIST INTERVENTIONISM WHICH IS ESTABLISHED BY THE AGRARIAN REFORM PROJECT

On the one hand, the agrarian reform project undermines the right of property, be it by its arbitrary and unjust grounds of expropriation in the terms already commented on, by the spoliation signified by the manners of payment which it establishes, or by the egalitarian itch which is an ideological constant in the whole system. On the other hand, and as a strict corollary of the preceding, the statist provisions which establish an ironclad State interventionism abound in its different clauses. And just as the principle of private ownership is crushed, so too that other fundamental principle of the social order, free enterprise, is crushed.

With regard to this principle, it is fitting to make a brief explanation here, before going on to a general analysis of some of the dispositions of the project which seriously transgress it.

The spiritual nature of man (that is to say, his being gifted with intelligence and will) qualifies him to labor for his own subsistence, thus instituting the principle of free enterprise. The right to which it gives rise, like all the



others, has its limitations: it cannot be exercised with prejudice to the rights of third parties or of society, but, for his part, a person cannot satisfy all of his needs entirely by himself — for this he needs the complementary action of — not the absorption by — higher groups. Thus, for example, the individual is complemented by the family, the family by diverse superior and intermediate social groups until they reach the State. And then we have the State which, in order to respect the free initiative of individuals, must carry out a supplemental mission governed by the principle of subsidiarity, which plays a fundamental role in the right ordering of society, especially in the action which should be carried out in it by the public powers (in this concrete case, in the sound planning of an agrarian reform). If the State does not respect this principle, it crushes individual initiative, and it falls into socialism which proceeds progressively by its own internal logic to construct the overwhelming and unnatural monster of complete Statist absolutism.

It is timely to recall, in this respect, what His Holiness John XXIII tells us in his memorable encyclical *Mater et Magistra* (No. 29): “The action of the State, which has the character of orientation, of encouragement, of coordination, of supplementation, and of integration, should be inspired by the principle of subsidiarity formulated by Pius XI in the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. Above all, this very important principle of social philosophy should be safeguarded: that as it is not licit to take that which individuals can achieve with their own efforts and industry away from them and entrust it to the community, so also it is unjust to reserve to a greater or higher society that which the lesser or inferior communities can do.”

“And this is precisely a grave injury and disturbance of the right order of society, because the natural object of any intervention of society itself is that of helping in a supplementary manner the members of the social body and not of destroying and absorbing them.”

In light of the preceding notions, the destructive consequences which the violation of the cited principle imply are clearly perceived. The project of President Frei, as we shall see, will openly injure it. A demonstrative example of this is constituted by the institution of Agrarian Tribunals,

## *Appendix 2*

in whose make-up the Executive will have the majority of the members at its disposal (Articles 124, 125, 126) and these members, if the law is approved, will be in charge of resolving the claims of those who are affected by its deplorable dispositions.

### **Control by means of abolishing the stable system of wages**

The socialist directives which inspire the project of agrarian reform include the abolition of the stable system of wages. This can be easily verified by observing that Article 67, establishing the obligations to which the assignees will be subjected, institutes as an obligation the so-called "personal exploitation" (letter b). According to Article 1, letter f, it is considered within the norms of "personal exploitation" that "salaried persons be employed only occasionally, in limited numbers, and in proportion to the scope of the farm property and the nature of its utilization."

Such an affirmation shows once again the contrast between the project and Catholic doctrine.

The teaching of the Pontiffs, in referring to the stable system of wages, judges that the work contract maintained in a stable manner (not in an occasional manner as the project proposes), and regulated according to the laws of justice, is something good in itself.

It would thus be timely to recall what His Holiness Pius XI teaches in this respect: ". . . those who say that the work contract is by its nature unjust and who seek to replace it by a contract of society speak foolishly and slander malevolently Our Predecessor, who in the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* not only accepts the legitimacy of wages but also seeks to regulate them according to the laws of justice" (*Quadragesimo Anno*, No. 64).

### **Control by means of the system of waters**

Within the specifically Statist aspects of the project, it is fitting to consider first of all the grounds for expo-

priation of properties included in the so-called "irrigation areas" (Article 10 and Articles 51 to 58). Said grounds are based on the following socialist thesis which it is important to analyze here: all property which is benefited by an increase in value by a public work is thereby expropriable.

This thesis involves a complete inversion of just terms. The truth in this matter is very different. The State has as its goal the common good; and the common good is the good of the person attained in community (Vitoria), the good of the individual. In other words, between the common good and the good of individuals there is an indissoluble connection. Therefore, when the State benefits individuals, it fulfills its duty.

Now, it is just for the State to require that these individuals contribute equitably to the cost of such works, in view of the greater benefit which they confer on them. But the State cannot go from this measure to the violation of the right of another, especially when this is a right founded on natural law and not on civil law.

Furthermore, agriculture can be submerged in Statal absolutism by the very powerful weapon which the project concedes (in an arbitrary and painfully unjust manner considering the historic reality) to the Executive on granting it a practically unrestricted control of the irrigation waters. To that end, Title V of the project ("System of waters," Articles 86 to 119) prepares a whole legal apparatus of control, which is initiated with the automatic confiscation by the State of all the presently existing rights relating to irrigation waters. In this manner, the whole legal order established up to now is altered. And the State, far from complying with the principle of subsidiarity by respecting and fostering the possible and reasonable initiative of individuals, turns against this and leaves in suspension the whole extraordinary effort which has been carried out during many long years in incorporating, at great cost and sacrifice, countless lands to the benefit of irrigation.

Our agriculture depends to a great extent on the system of irrigation. Accordingly, then, by the socialist and confiscatory dispositions which the project proposes so as to transform the State into the absolute owner of the waters, the state will come to obtain a decisive dictatorial power in the agricultural life of the country, which, added

## *Appendix 2*

to all we have been analyzing, gives a pretty clear measure of the danger which is hovering over the entire nation.

This great injustice becomes easier to grasp if we consider that 80% of the irrigated land in the country has been entirely developed by individuals, which signifies the incorporation by individual initiative of 1,200,000 hectares into agricultural exploitation.

Ignoring all of this individual effort, the project passes over legitimate acquired rights, legalized by custom and recognized by justice, and thus annuls "a real right which individuals have over waters in the public domain and which consists in the use, enjoyment, and disposition of them according to the requirements and in conformity with the rules which the present code prescribes" (Article 12 of the Code of Waters) as well as that which they have over the waters which rise and die within one farm property. It establishes in exchange a right of "utilization" without further guarantees and which is subject to lapse on the basis of the most multiple and diverse grounds many of them determined by State discretion.

In the face of all this, it is appropriate to ask: "is it possible to think that all the individual effort which has so benefited the country, will be able to continue developing itself under the action of such a statist and confiscatory legislation and spirit? If the State up until now has been unable to equal private enterprise, how will it now be able to do it overnight? What does experience tell us about the efficiency of State bureaucratic companies in these tasks?

As we have seen, it is not reasons of the common good which guide such legislation, but rather the ideological mysticism of the egalitarian and collectivist utopia, which has given the impetus to so many revolutions whose disastrous epilogue we all know.

As one proceeds with a careful study of the whole project, beginning with the series of articles against private ownership which reveal the permanent hostility of the project toward it, and going on to its dispositions on expropriation and compensation as well as its countless dispositions favoring statist interventionism, including the confiscation of waters and the repeated violation of acquired rights, one has an ever stronger impression that a Marxist principle is

entering, more or less surreptitiously, into Chilean legislation: that the society and the State are no longer for the person, but rather the person is now for the State. This represents the establishment of the total subordination of the rights, the efforts, the work, and the initiative of individuals to the management of the State, the latter being able at any time to decree the abolition of the rights of individuals, as it does today in the case of the waters.

### **Control by means of a socialist cooperativism over the individual converted into a pseudo-proprietor**

According to our analysis, the law creates a state of affairs in which the State, which absorbs and progressively crushes the individual, is raised up as the all powerful master. Such a State, as absolute arbiter in all fields and matters, would act irresistibly over the economic and social fabric formed by thousands of eventual pseudo-proprietors who, tied to the cold bureaucracy of State agencies, would receive everything from the State: technical assistance, financing, education, live stock, implements for cultivation and farming, and so forth. In short, the farm worker, which the law apparently converts into a proprietor, would be the prisoner of an unmerciful financial control and thus become a servant of the public power, docile to its political exigencies.

The law establishes that all assignees of land are obliged to affiliate themselves to a cooperative system (Article 67, letter d); in turn, all those assignee cooperatives of land are obliged to submit themselves to the technical, economic, political and directive control of the State (Article 76, letter c): The assignee cooperative of lands will be subject to the following obligations: to use the lands according to the norms indicated by the Corporation of Agrarian Reform, which will be subject to the general plans which the Ministry of Agriculture has established for the region.

Furthermore, the titles of property assigned will be subject to the following prohibitions established by Article 68, letters a, b, c, and d:

## *Appendix 2*

a) That of transferring the lands assigned to exclusive ownership or the rights to lands assigned in co-ownership, except when CORA authorizes this to farm workers who comply with the requisites indicated in Article 63 and the respective Cooperative so approves same;

b) That of dividing by action among living persons the assigned lands. CORA may authorize the division, as long as other family-sized agricultural units are formed;

c) That of ceding the lands under any title for exploitation by third parties or of handing them over for sharecropping, except by the authorization of CORA and the respective cooperative;

d) That of encumbering the lands in any way, except in favor of financial institutions expressly authorized by the President of the Republic.

These are some of the prohibitions which, according to the law, should be made evident in the title of property.

Since these assigned properties are indivisible by law, given their minimum size, the assignees will not enjoy the right inherent to human nature of freely disposing of a patrimony to leave it to their descendants (Article 72). Again, we have the State as absolute dictator determining what will be done with and who will receive that small property. Who will take charge of those members of the family who receive nothing? The State? If this should occur the family (which is the fundamental cell of society, whose vitality is the vitality of society) will constitute – as in the Communist countries – only the simulation of a family, where there is no intimacy nor activity which is not interfered with or controlled by public powers.

In the face of all of this, when we think of future agricultural activity oppressed by this spoliative intervention, we cannot erase from our minds the unnatural and overwhelming image of socialism. And for this reason we ask ourselves: Won't our agriculture then become an immense collection of kolkhozes, where human flocks will work, submissive and docile to the will of the State? And, at the same time, we should also ask ourselves: what will become of the wage-earners of this system who, given its new organ-

ization contrary to the system of salaries, rentals, and share-cropping, will be displaced from agriculture in great numbers? Those who remain in agricultural work, won't they be conveniently unionized into organizations servile to the State for their easier and surer political handling and utilization?

Finally, there is in this a moral aspect to consider, as we noted in the first part of this manifesto. In fact, if we keep in mind that those lands distributed in this way were first taken from their legitimate proprietors by confiscation, and that this legislation will be weighing on the consciences of these new pseudo-proprietors, we will have an idea of the moral climate in which those caricatures of proprietors will subsist. And we will have an idea as well of the moral climate in which society in general will live.

We will then understand why Pope Pius XI points out that: "the suppression of private ownership, far from redounding to the benefit of the working class, will constitute its most complete ruin" (*Quadragesimo Anno*, No. 44, B.A.C., Doc. Soc., page 713).

\* \* \*

Having quoted so many pontifical documents in this work, we wish finally to devote filial and particular attention to the letter which Cardinal Cicognani, Secretary of State of the Holy See, recently sent to the Third National Social Week of Chile.

This document was interpreted as an approval of the agrarian reform project of President Frei. Nothing leads us to understand it in that way.

First, the document affirms that the right of ownership is an institution essential to the normal order of all peoples, at all times, and that, for this reason, it may never be abolished.

It also describes a situation of harsh and extreme penury, in the face of which the exercise of the social function of property becomes particularly extensive, making necessary its redistribution, but never its suppression. In addition, a means for redistribution is indicated, which is expropriation.

## Appendix 2

Once these considerations are set forth, it is evident that the illustrious Secretary of State of the Holy See wanted to remind Chileans of the doctrinal principles which they must apply in taking their stand regarding the project of agrarian reform of President Frei.

It is now fitting to ask with greater precision: Did His Eminence the Cardinal Cicognani want to go further than this doctrinal position by directly intervening in the civic life of Chile, to impose the acceptance of this project on all Catholics? This is nothing more than mere conjecture, because nowhere is such a thing formally affirmed. Even more, this conjecture is unfounded.

In the first place, because it is evident that the picture of the situation of misery painted by the document as existing everywhere, even in what it says regarding the urban workers, while still giving an impressive outline of reality — as that observed by the document of the Holy See — does not describe this reality completely. This situation is mixed with positive aspects as well which are very important. In this regard it is fitting to recall the teaching of His Holiness Pius XII to “Katholikentag” of Vienna: “If the signs of the times do not deceive, in the second phase of social controversies which we are already entering, other questions and problems (with relation to the labor question which dominated the first phase) have precedence. We quote here two of them.

“There is the overcoming of class warfare by reciprocal and organic arrangements between employer and employee. For class warfare will never be an objective of Catholic social ethics. The Church knows that it is always responsible for all the classes and layers of people.

“Besides, there is the protection of the individual and the family, in the face of the current that threatens to drag us to a total socialization in whose end the frightful image of Leviathan would become a terrible reality. The Church will fight this battle until the last, since here it is a matter of supreme values: the dignity of man and the salvation of the soul” (*Discorsi e Radiomessaggi*, vol. XIV, page 314).

Up to what point, in Chile, are those two aspects of the situation mixed? There is not a word in the letter of the Venerable Cardinal Cicognani which goes into this



detail. There is only a recommendation to study reality carefully: "Experience in addition teaches that all reform much be previously studied and with all deliberation, in the light of wisdom and political prudence, and should be accompanied by those indispensable measures which assure a good result and efficiency."

The project of President Frei has been proposed to Congress in a hasty manner with little reflection. Moreover, even had it been presented with all the study advisable in this case, Catholics would maintain an absolute freedom to judge the matter. For in matters of this kind, the Holy See does not usually include, as an object of its Magisterium, descriptive considerations on concrete facts of an economic nature, which by their nature are situated on a technical plane, different from that corresponding to the ecclesiastical Magisterium.

Since the scope of the eventual restrictions to be made to the right of property is contingent upon an appreciation of the present situations, it follows that a doctrinal appreciation of the reform of President Frei is dependent upon the diversity of appreciations which each person may make of the concrete situation. Therefore it is absurd to imagine that the letter referred to has sought to be a passport for the cited reform.

In addition, according to all the evidence, the document, while extolling the importance and legitimacy of an eventual distribution of lands, did not wish to affirm that the division into fractions of the property is always, in all places and everywhere, indicated as a means for improving the situation of rural workers. This is another problem which should be resolved by prudence, in the light of economic and social data, about which, in its concrete reality, the letter says nothing. Finally, while admitting the legitimacy of eventual expropriations, the letter does not make any pronouncement about the way in which such expropriations are proposed in the project.

\* \* \*

In short, for all these reasons, *Fiducia*, while expressing

*Appendix 2*

its respectful esteem for the principles and norms of the letter, considers that no objection may be taken from it against the criticisms made here of the project of President Frei.\*

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\* This manifesto was published in *El Mercurio* of 2/26/66, *El Diario Ilustrado* of 2/27/66, and *Fiducia*, no. 23 of February 1966.

APPENDIX 3

PRINCIPLES WHICH ORIENT  
THE ACTION OF THE TFP

(Taken from the manifesto: "A new and victorious force at the service of contemporary Chile: The Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property").

In defending our position as anti-leftist throughout the present manifesto, we foresee that the Communist or Christian-Democratic propaganda will try to use their classic stratagem against us, that is, of accusing us of being neo-Fascists or, adepts of the most ferocious and inhuman capitalism. In order to forestall this maneuver, it is fitting that we clarify our position immediately. We are in fundamental disagreement with Nazism and Fascism, because we do not accept the philosophical systems of a pantheistic, naturalistic, and neo-pagan nature upon which they are based. On the socio-political plane, we are opposed to Nazi-Fascism, because it has shown itself to be a system of life in which the State absorbs the whole life of the nation. We affirm that Nazi-Fascism in fact was nothing more than an extreme form of socialism. Contrary to that system, we desire for Chile the organic society based on the famous distinction that His Holiness Pius XII made between people and the masses (Radiomessage of Christmas 1944 – *Discorsi e Radiomessaggi* vol. VI, pp. 238-349), which was carried to its ultimate consequences by His Holiness John XXIII, when he dealt with the principle of subsidiarity in the Encyclical *Mater et Magistra*. We repudiate the false racist scientism of Nazism and we condemn the cruelties practiced by Nazism and Fascism with all of the energy they deserve.

### Appendix 3

Concerning capitalism, we affirm that this system is licit in itself, but has suffered considerable deformations against which the Church has been effectively fighting all over the world. To accept the capitalist regime in no way involves accepting its abuses, since (as the Roman adage says) "abuse does not take away use."

Affirming that private ownership is one of the pillars of the natural law, we consider that the right of property has a social function which it must fulfill in all of its extension. But this extension should not be such that it destroys that right. For if the right of ownership is an organ which has a social function, it is contradictory and monstrous for the exercise of that function to destroy the organ.

We defend the institution of the family based on the indissolubility of the conjugal tie. We consider Chilean society to be an immense conglomerate of families, constituting harmonious and distinct social classes. For the sake of the grandeur of our country, we desire that all of its families may have, through many generations, that longevity from which true tradition spontaneously buds. It is through family tradition that the nation conserves identity with itself down through the centuries. A country without traditional family continuity is an ephemeral country, a transitory conglomerate of individuals which does not even merit the name of country.

We speak of social classes. We categorically declare that an organic society in conformity with the natural order of things must be constituted of different social classes and hierarchies. In order for this hierarchy to be just, two conditions must be met. First, it must not produce such a concentration of wealth in one class as to deprive the others of the abundance, security, and dignity inherent to the condition of man and a Christian. Second, the superior classes must not transform themselves into castes, and must remain open for the assimilation of authentic values arising in the lesser groups (John XXIII, *Ad Petri Cathedram*, A.A.S., vol. X, pp. 505-506; Leo XIII, *Quod Apostolici Muneris*, A.A.S., vol. XI, page 372; Pius XII, Christmas Message 1944, *Discorsi e Radiomessaggi*, vol. VI, pp. 239-240).

*Appendix 3*

As can be seen, there is nothing more opposed simultaneously to Communism, to the Christian Democratic Party, to socialism, to Nazism, and to Fascism.\*

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\* This manifesto was published in *El Mercurio* of 5/5/67.



APPENDIX 4

BELGIAN PRIEST FAVORS  
SUBVERSION IN BRAZIL

*In June 1968, Professor Plinio Correa de Oliveira, president of the National Council of the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property, sent a letter to Msgr. Helder Camara, Archbishop of Olinda and Recife. This letter, which was reproduced at that time by the Chilean press (see El Diario Ilustrado, 7/19/68), is as follows:*

The Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property, presenting its respectful greetings to Your Excellency, requests the attention of Your Excellency regarding the content of the opinion in the report destined for the Latin American Episcopal Conference, an opinion written by Rev. Fr. Comblin, professor of the Theological Institute of Recife.

In spite of its volume and wordiness, the document is perfectly clear in depicting the objectives of its author and the methods praised by him.

### **Against landlords and stockholders**

The opinion of Rev. Fr. Comblin seeks to implant a triple reform (urban, agrarian, and business) in Brazil, taking as his point of departure the concept that the leasing of urban and rural real estate and the investment of capital in the form of shares or stocks in commercial busi-

#### *Appendix 4*

nesses is anti-social and unjust. The logical consequence of this assertion of the Belgian Priest is that such investments of capital and leasing should be prohibited by law.

### **Praise of Cuban Communism**

Conceiving as one of the principal ends of development the implanting of the absolute leveling of classes, Father Comblin praises – as highly favorable to development – the Communist revolution which broke out in the first decades of this century in Mexico, as well as the revolution of Fidel Castro.

### **Dictatorship to crush the majority**

In respect to carrying out the reforms of notably Communist spirit which he desires for Brazil, Father Comblin affirms that it is impossible to persuade the majority of the country of the usefulness of these reforms, and he accuses the people of being indolent and impervious to revolutionary measures.

For this reason, the professor of the Institute founded by Your Excellency plans two revolutions, one in the State and the other in the Church.

### **Socio-political revolution**

The revolution in the State consists in overthrowing the government by the agitation of fanatical pressure groups which skillfully maneuver public opinion.

Once this result is obtained, Father Comblin wants the leaders of that minority of agitators to establish a stern dictatorship over the country – one which would impose confiscatory and egalitarian reforms analogous to those imposed by Fidel Castro in Cuba.



## **Revolution in the Church**

For the purpose of giving this minority dictatorship the support which he considers to be indispensable, Father Comblin — who classes our Episcopate and our Clergy as indolent and accomplices in the thousands of abuses attributed by him to the ruling elite — proposes the virtual nullification of the authority of the Bishops, subjecting them to the dictatorship of an organ which one perceives to be, in fact, an ecclesiastical “politburo.” Apparently, Father Comblin has the hope that the members of that organ will be constituted of a clique of extremist Bishops who will dominate the Church in Brazil.

In addition, Father Comblin wants the abolition of all religious orders, by uniting the religious in one sole non-organic and totalitarian institution placed at the service of his dreamed-of leftist episcopal politburo. He also asks that Priests from abroad be prohibited from coming into the country; at present they are self-denyingly coming to Brazil in order to make up for the numerical deficiency of the national Clergy.

## **Liquidation of the Armed Forces**

To arrive at the realization of all those ends, the professor of the Theological Institute of Recife proposes as eventually necessary measures (in addition to the demoralization of the government and the Armed Forces) the dissolution of the National Army and the distribution of arms to the people.

## **Censorship**

At the same time, Father Comblin asks that the discontented be reduced to silence by an energetic censorship

#### *Appendix 4*

of the press, radio, and television. He wants the elites who do not conform to that policy to leave the country.

### **Extraordinary Tribunals**

Accusing the judicial power of being corrupted by the bourgeoisie and the Clergy, Father Comblin calls for the institution of Extraordinary Tribunals to pass rapid judgment on all those who oppose that Communist-reformist dictatorship.

### **Praise of violent revolution**

If these processes fail to produce results, the next step (according to Father Comblin) would be to use violence, which he considers to be legitimate in order to achieve the regime dreamed of by him.

Here you have the sinister aspect of the opinion of the Belgian Priest.

### **Impostures**

In addition, the above-mentioned opinion appears to have the character of a ridiculous imposture. It considers the modern social structure of Brazil and Latin America to be "one of the most aristocratic that ever existed in history." This social structure is viewed as consisting of two classes, one of white oppressors and exploiters and the other of the exploited and oppressed (Indians, Blacks, Mestizos). Any Brazilian knows how much that picture contains not even an image of reality, not even a caricature of the same, but rather a wholly unfounded invention, and an integral falsehood that it is impossible not to classify as a clumsy imposture.

This is a synthesis of the voluminous opinion published extensively by the press.

## **The document is authentic**

In his statements to the press, Father Comblin did not deny the authenticity of the text attributed to him. He limited himself to alleging that it was a mere rough draft. Nothing, however, can justify that imaginative "rough draft" which brings together: a call for subversion against the country; a call for a revolution in the Church; a calumnious attack against the civil power, the ecclesiastical Hierarchy, the Armed Forces, and the magistracy; and the outline of a crudely false picture of national reality.

## **How can a Priest plan this?**

Public opinion is shocked at the idea that a Priest can think, say, and plan such things. It is perplexed and apprehensive over this Priest (who is a foreigner) daring to intervene in such a way in Brazilian matters.

The nation feels alarmed and indignant that such an agitator has been able to infiltrate himself into the teaching body of the Theological Institute founded by Your Excellency, and to do so for the precise reason of studying the Brazilian reality and mobilizing the people to civic and political action.

## **Counter-measures are indispensable**

Thus, the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property is certain it reflects the desires of millions of Brazilians in asking Your Excellency to expel from the Theological Institute of Recife (and from the illustrious Archdiocese where the glorious memory of Msgr. Vital still stands out) the agitator who takes advantage of the Priesthood in order to stab the Church and who abuses Brazilian hospitality in order to preach Communism, dictatorship, and violence in Brazil.

Those measures, Archbishop, are the only ones which can right this wrong to the nation.

*Appendix 4*

The attitude of the Church in severely punishing and repulsing the subversive Priest will make it clear that She of course supports the measures that the civil authority will surely take to defend national security against the intrigues of Father Comblin.

Having brought to the knowledge of Your Excellency this which is (we would say) another vindication of all those who love Brazilian tradition and the Brazilian family and who see in the exercise of the double function of property (individual and social) and imperative of justice and a condition for national prosperity, we ask its favorable acceptance by Your Excellency.

With the expression of all the consideration which we render to the high ecclesiastical dignity with which Your Excellency is invested in the Church of God, I remain,

Very truly,

Plinio Correa de Oliveira,  
President of the National Council

**APPENDIX 5**

**REVERENT AND FILIAL MESSAGE**

**TO HIS HOLINESS PAUL VI**

Considering that in the forthcoming month of August a Successor of Saint Peter will come to Latin America for the first time in history, having chosen for this historic occasion – as the site of the 39th International Eucharistic Congress – our sister nation of Colombia;

Considering that, in the course of that visit, which is an honor for the whole family of Iberoamerican nations, the August Pontiff will be closer in body and soul to Chileans, the undersigned members of the National Council of the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property resolve to avail themselves of the happy presence of His Holiness on our continent to:

1. Present to the Vicar of Jesus Christ the homage of their respect and filial love, as well as their intention to do everything possible – in the civic field as is proper to this Society – to aid our country (blessed kingdom of Our Lady of Mount Carmel) to persevere and to make progress in fidelity to the principles of natural order taught by the Church with profound wisdom;

2. Proclaim that fidelity, above all in view of the continuous intrigues (at times obvious, at other times concealed) which Communism is carrying on to take over Chile, transforming it from a Catholic nation into a vile colony of Moscow, Peking, or Havana;

## Appendix 5

3. **Manifest** for that reason, publicly and with all energy, their execration of Communism:

a) because the philosophical system on which it is based is atheistic, materialistic, and amoral;

b) because its totalitarian socio-economic regime denies the family, individual ownership, and the legitimacy of a proportioned and harmonious hierarchy of classes;

4. **Proclaim** its unshakable conviction that it is not by apostasy, nor by the destruction of the family, nor by violence and confiscation, but rather exclusively through the sacred ways of the Christian Civilization that Chile must reach its eagerly desired development;

5. **Bring**, consequently, to His Holiness Pope Paul VI the cry of anguish which comes from the depth of their souls upon seeing that the Communist danger is growing thanks to the continuous agitation of a minority of ecclesiastics and laymen who proclaim themselves to be Catholics. In fact:

— beginning principally with the indoctrination of the Bellarmine Center, expressed with incontestable clarity in its respective organ, the magazine *Mensaje*, as well as in the Center for Social and Economic Development of Latin America (DESAL) with its well known and symptomatic publications in our country, a current of intellectuals and men of action became established, having important ramifications in political, ecclesiastical, and university circles. From the doctrines (now confusing, now tendentious, now obviously erroneous) emanating from those two institutions, from their unilateral and impassioned vision of Chilean problems, and from the demagogic and even violent methods of action which they praise, it came about that in Latin America our nation is, after Cuba, the most impetuous and efficient one in promoting the leftist offensive on the road toward Communism.

— that offensive brought with it (as a result) the formation of a Christian Democratic extreme left, which was able to take over important public posts, and which does everything to move our country in the direction of an “evolution” whose final end must inevitably be Communism.

— in university circles they formed turbulent minorities with fanatical leaders of the extreme left whose ideological tendency was expressed in a characteristic manner on various occasions — for example, in the march which they undertook from Valparaiso to Santiago, together with the Socialists and Communists in support of North Vietnam;

— the Bellarmine Center, *Mensaje*, and DESAL, have attempted to find in Catholic doctrine support for the ideals which move those who make up this whole wave of the extreme left. In other words, they have tried to find support for the following: the implanting of divorce, which brings with it the dissolution of the family; socialist and confiscatory agrarian, urban, and business reforms; the establishment of a social and economic communitarianism which is barely distinguishable from Communism and which must result in the elimination of all inequalities among classes, etc.;

— in spite of the fact that the cited elements affirm that they advocate all of these confiscations by peaceful means through the so-called “Revolution in Freedom,” they insinuate that the use of violence will be legitimate if the proprietors refuse to consent to the projected spoliations;

— this whole program would not achieve the slightest acceptance in our country, if it were not presented in the name of Catholic doctrine and supported by numerous Priests and religious in general, including some having a very high office. Only inside the Trojan horse of an unauthentic Catholic doctrine did it become possible for such unjust and violent ideas to penetrate in this most Christian Chilean nation;

— although all of this does not represent at present more than the thinking of a minority of Chileans (lent prestige in the electoral field by Catholics who have not yet realized the spirit and the intentions which move that minority) and although the great majority in this Chilean nation, (including the worthy class of manual workers) are showing themselves to be ever more at odds with the minority of the extreme left, the devastating effect of all this upon the young people in the universities and seminaries and

## *Appendix 5*

its disastrous effect on the legislation of the country lead us to fear the most serious dangers for the Chile of tomorrow.

6. **Emphasize** that affirmations and intentions such as these were clearly enunciated in a document by Father Joseph Comblin (professor of the Theological Institute of the Archdiocese of Olinda and Recife whose presence in Chile was and still is characterized by an incontestable leftist performance), a document which was analyzed in a masterly letter addressed to Archbishop Dom Helder Camara by Professor Plinio Correa de Oliveira, President of the National Council of the Brazilian Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property.

7. **Add** that affirmations and intentions similar to these cropped up in the conclusions of the Latin American Congress for the Apostleship of the Laity carried out in Buenos Aires from October 7 to 9, 1966, which were published with a thorough analysis by the magazine *Cruzada* of Buenos Aires in its issue no. 66. Two years having elapsed since that publication, experience shows that the deliberations of the referred to Congress did not remain a dead letter, but rather, on the contrary, they endure in diffused and more or less continuous symptomatic manifestations;

8. **Implore** filially, then, His Holiness Pope Paul VI to adopt with all urgency measures to eliminate entirely the action of progressivist ecclesiastics and laymen which is favorable to Communism.

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\* This document was published in *El Diario Ilustrado*, 7/22/68; *El Mercurio*, 7/23/68; and *Fiducia*, no. 26, January-February 1969.



## APPENDIX 6

### TWO HUNDRED CONCILIAR FATHERS

### ASK VATICAN COUNCIL II FOR A

### CATEGORICAL CONDEMNATION OF

### THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST ERRORS

*Perhaps foreseeing the appearance of a third, unacceptable position between Marxism and Christianity in socio-economic-political matters, two hundred and thirteen Conciliar Fathers from 54 countries presented a memorable document to Vatican Council II in which they asked the Assembly to renew the condemnation of all socialist and Communist errors and thereby to undo the insidious equivocation which had been gestating in Catholic circles.*

*The document was delivered to His Eminence Cardinal Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, who at that time was Secretary of State of the Holy See. Its integral text (cf. Fiducia, No. 6, March 1964) is as follows:*

Most Eminent and Reverend-Sir:

Moved by the desire for Vatican Council II to produce the greatest fruit for the good of souls, and extending my respectful greetings to Your Eminence, I send to you this petition, entreating you to submit it to the Commission over which you preside, and to present it immediately, if it is your will, to the Holy Father.

#### Basis

The Ecumenical Council provides an excellent occasion for dealing with questions of great importance for the good

## *Appendix 6*

of the Church and the salvation of souls. Among such questions are apparently those which are related to the socialist, Communist, or Marxist sect, since this whole issue involves to a high degree the salvation of a great number of faithful: on the one hand, there are those who, living under the Communist yoke, are already deprived of the freedom of serving God, as is required by Catholic conscience, and, on the other hand, there are those who find themselves in danger of falling under that same yoke. Moreover, as the Communist goal of dominating all nations is being increasingly accomplished day by day, it can be said that in numerous regions the Church finds itself in imminent danger of cruel bondage and atrocious persecution.

That the Council should deal with so grave a question seems to me not only timely but even necessary. I will explain some of the more profound reasons for that necessity.

I. Numerous errors and attitudes having their origin in the French Revolution are being spread by Bolshevik propaganda and may be found circulating among Catholics. These errors and attitudes make the mind disposed to accept Marxist doctrines and the social and economic structures of Communism. Captivated by such ideas, many Catholics consider Communism with sympathy, admire Communist nations, and place in doubt the very foundations of the Christian social order (or conceive it in a manner that pleases the Communists). What is more, there are many faithful who experience a certain feeling of guilt because they still do not openly profess Communism or socialism.

The principal errors and deviations of spirit are the following:

1. There is an opinion that is daily becoming more common: that all social or economic superiority is unjust and that, therefore, in respect to fortune only an all-embracing equality among men is consistent with the Gospel and that, moreover, any other social diversity must also be eradicated.

Those Catholics holding the above opinion accordingly understand that if some men (whether they be citizens of a country or foreigners) suffer from the effects of a certain poverty, then all other men having wealth in excess of what

they strictly need to live, should renounce not only that which is superfluous but even that which is absolutely necessary to preserve the way of living characteristic of their social position. For that reason, such Catholics believe that all domestic or national opulence should always be considered to be a robbery and an unjust retention of wealth that should belong to the more modest classes. From this they deduce the most grave consequence, which can be stated as follows: the more modest classes have a strict right to wealth which should be considered to be necessary for them, not only in order for them to live but also in order for them to have the way of living characteristic of the social position of another. And since they have the right to this wealth, they can take it by force. When these doctrines are applied to society in general, it follows that those nations of less culture and less wealth have the right to demand of the more cultured and wealthier ones the goods (either of culture or resources) which the latter possess. And it follows, moreover, that it is licit to seize the riches of those who are more fortunate by violence if it is necessary. Such a consequence is accepted by those Catholics in theory at least, if not in practice.

2. Those Catholics understand that the Holy See should divest itself of the treasures of the Vatican and the Roman Basilicas, as well as the works of art in its possession, in order to distribute them to the poor and those in need. The Bishops, monasteries, and parish houses should renounce all riches, keeping only those necessary to maintain life.

3. Such errors are spread by many teachers belonging to the ranks of the Clergy. Propagating these errors under the cloak of justice and charity, they induce numerous faithful to admit false doctrines and principles, and create a spirit contrary to the Catholic social order, one which tends toward social egalitarianism.

II — I will proceed to treat another aspect of the present situation of Catholicism.

In the last few years, the Communists have been sagaciously applying a new strategic method. The Russian government proclaims the necessity for peaceful coexistence and makes a show of a fictitious liberality. This momentary

## *Appendix 6*

decrease in the rigor of the political system creates the illusion of a certain evolution of the Communist nations which are thought of as moving, imperceptibly, toward a kind of society that could be tolerated and even desired by Catholics.

In that new Marxist society, the State would permit a certain freedom of speech and thought, would lessen its police rigor, would tolerate religion, but would not allow the right of ownership nor consent to its use.

Among modern Catholics, there are many who consider that system to be tolerable, and who understand that the Church would have nothing essential to oppose in such a socialist State. They favor the opinion of those who say that private property does not bring advantages to the Church but only to the proprietors, and, according to their way of looking at it, the Church would therefore have no reason to fight in favor of the right of ownership. It would be licit, then, for a Catholic to give his adherence and lend his support to a social regime which did not allow or which gravely restrained that right of ownership.

Being supported in such opinions, many Catholics consider the so-called Western society to be worse than the Communist society, because of the abuses in the capitalist system under which they live.

They really consider the abuses of capitalism to be irremediable, and for that reason they say that it makes no difference to the Catholic cause whether we live under a free Western regime or under Communist servitude. What is more, they are not ashamed to affirm that they prefer the Marxist regime to that of the capitalist nations, as they call them.

III – We see then that the general infestation of Marxist ideas and mentality is such that it absolutely requires from the Council a word that can calm the Christian conscience. That word, it seems to me, cannot be omitted without very grave harm to souls. Really, Marxism and Communism should be ranked as the greatest and most dangerous heresies of this century; the faithful, therefore, would be left perplexed if the Council did not take up so important a question at this time.

## **Petition**

Since a doctrinal and pastoral constitution regarding Marxism, socialism, and Communism would not create the least obstacle to the action of the Holy See in favor of the peaceful existence of all men and all nations, I beg, on the basis of the very grave reasons set forth herein, that the Commission for Extraordinary Matters of Vatican Council II deign to present to the Holy Pontiff the desire of many Bishops and numerous faithful to the effect that the Holy Father determine the elaboration and study of a sketch for a conciliar constitution in which:

1. Catholic social doctrine is set forth with great clarity, and the errors of Marxism, socialism, and Communism are denounced from the philosophical, sociological, and economic point of view;

2. The errors and mentality which prepare the minds of Catholics to accept socialism and Communism (and which makes them disposed in favor of the same) are combated.

## **Conclusion**

I know for certain, Eminent and Reverend Sir, of the opinion of numerous Conciliar Fathers who, moved by the same solicitude and anguish, desire to deal with these things in the Council. I nourish the hope that Your Eminence will heed such intense desires, will present this petition to the eminent members of the Commission over which he presides, and will later carry the desire and the petition of so many Conciliar Fathers to the knowledge of the Supreme Pontiff.

Kissing your sacred robe, I am Your Eminence's devoted.



## APPENDIX 7

### THE MARXIST MINORITY WAS PREPARING FOR THE BLOODY IMPLANTATION OF A DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

Allende never made a secret of the fact that his regime was a transition step to a future dictatorship of the proletariat. He himself and other representative leaders of the Popular Unity insinuated on various public occasions that strategic necessities could make them depart from the gradual and evolutionary way of implanting socialism, and launch forth on the rough seas of violent imposition, which evidently was already being prepared from the beginning.

1. On the one hand armed paramilitary cadres of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) were constantly increasing and attempting to control decisive agricultural zones of the South. While enjoying this growth and conducting this action, the MIR had known ties to the Socialist Party of Allende.

2. On the other hand, the socialist leaders, especially the president of the Socialist Party, Senator Carlos Altamirano, did not hide the fact that sectors of the Popular Unity were preparing to go from the "democratic way" to the "armed way." That party even went so far as to have an Army of National Liberation, which was the most powerful paramilitary organization of the Popular Unity.

3. In addition, the Marxist President had organized, in connection with his personal security, the so-called GAP (Group of Personal Friends), which was a paramilitary organization with 250 powerfully armed men.

4. In the very presidential residence in Santiago on Tomas Moro street, an authentic general quarters of defense had been installed little by little, having immense quantities of arms of Czechoslovak and Soviet origin. The revolu-

## *Appendix 7*

tionaries went so far as to set up, in Allende's house, right in a residential area of the capital, a school for guerrillas with teachers, textbooks, courses in target practice, the handling of explosives and so on.

5. The Secretary's Office of the President had under its direction a second presidential home called El Canaveral, situated on the outskirts of Santiago. This presidential house served as the base for the operation of a second school for guerrillas, and contained mines and other specialized instruments of warfare. After the overthrow of the Marxist regime, the military forces seized photographs in which the ex-president Allende is shown receiving training in the use of submachine guns from the socialist police chief, Eduardo Paredes.

6. This preparation of an authentic "popular army" relied upon the help of specialists in rural and urban guerrilla warfare who came from abroad, especially from Cuba. The number of foreigners destined to form part of the forces of agitation and combat of the Popular Unity ranged from ten to thirteen thousand in 1973, according to official calculations made public by the military authorities who deposed Allende.

7. The regime of Fidel Castro, which had sent numerous contingents of Cuban extremists to Chile, was one of the main suppliers of arms for the violent way of Allende, as was abundantly demonstrated by the Chilean army when it discovered powerful armaments at different points of the national territory. Moreover, the scandal of the "bundles of personal gifts" which the Cuban dictator sent to his colleague, Allende, is even more widely known, since it provoked the protest of the Chamber of Deputies against that suggestive cargo which did not comply with the formalities of customs in force. On that occasion, Allende hypocritically alleged that these "gifts" were "objects of art." However, as was publicly demonstrated, these "objects" were nothing more than modern armaments of war.

Finally, according to what has been verified through a letter in the handwriting of Fidel himself, which was sent to Allende during his last days in power, the dictator of the Caribbean sent Rafael Rodriguez, Castro's vice-minister of Foreign Relations, and a gentleman named Pineiro to Chile,



under the pretext of discussing a meeting of the non-aligned countries. "The real objective" says Castro in his letter to Allende – "is to have you inform them of the situation and to offer you as always our disposition to cooperate in the face of the difficulties and dangers which hinder and threaten the process" (see also Part Three, chapter 3, no. 9).

8. As a part of the preparation for civil war, the Marxists contracted phantom "workers and employees" who were nothing more than agitators and guerrillas financed by official organizations. Such is the case, for example, with the Corporation of Municipal Works, which in three years increased its plant of "workers and employees" sixty times, and reached the point of constituting a new branch of the popular militia in formation.

9. In addition, the Communist Party had its own militias, publicly named "Ramona Parra Brigades."

10. Other guerrilla schools were set up in several points of the country, such as the one in the agricultural settlement of Nehuentue in the southern Province of Cautin, where the Chilean army would later discover great implements of war which included anti-tank mines.

11. The hidden arms found immediately after the overthrow of Allende were alone sufficient to permit the complete equipping of an army of more than five thousand men. Later, other clandestine arsenals were systematically discovered.

12. During Allende's regime, several terrorist militias proceeded to take over strategic plants in industrial areas of the great urban centers. At the same time, medical supplies and surgical material were disappearing from the hospitals of the State and were being used to establish various clandestine clinics, as was subsequently discovered by the military forces which overthrew Allende.

13. The army even found documents demonstrating that a congress of the Popular Unity in March of 1973 designated a "Permanent Security Commission" to prepare the Marxist dictatorship. This central command was composed of 65 people divided proportionally among the parties making up the coalition government.

## *Appendix 7*

14. Carlos Altamirano (the Socialist Party president), Oscar Garreto (secretary of the dissident branch of the Christian Democratic Party called MAPU), and Miguel Enriquez (head of the MIR) were put in charge of the infiltration of the navy. They held several meetings in the locality of Puente Alto and had already made preparations for the simultaneous bombardment of the Naval School of Chile and the Vergara Fort in Valparaiso, when the battle broke out.

15. The center of guerrilla warfare was established in the southern province of Valdivia in the Cordillera zone, where the so-called Panguipulli Lumber Complex is located.

16. The army discovered significant secret reports in the cash box of the Directorate of Investigations (civil police, whose headquarters was in the hands of the militant socialist Alfredo Joignant).

In the reports, Marxists inside the civil police (under the direction of Joignant) told of military-political espionage carried on in the South and the North. The spies reported especially on the Marxist infiltration achieved in the Air Force and the Army, and provided a political and social profile of each one of the commanding officers in the spied-on zones.

The offices of Joignant also disclosed a series of instructions for military operations relative to the violent action which the Allende regime expected to unleash in all of Chile.

17. Lastly, the new military authorities discovered the diverse details of the so-called "plan Z" (apparently authored by an extremist of Spanish nationality named Garces), which was to go into operation on September 17. That plan advised the assassination of the high commanders of the Army in Santiago by taking advantage of their presence at the acts of preparation of the solemn and traditional military parade in which the independence of Chile is celebrated. These preparatory acts are carried out at the same time throughout Chile and involve the presence of most of the officers. According to the documents in possession of the authorities, the most dynamic leaders of the anti-communist opposition on different fronts were to be assassinated.

*Appendix 7*

It was the prior knowledge of a large portion of these preparations for the installation of the Marxist dictatorship that hastened the decisive intervention of the Armed Forces and Carabineers of Chile, resulting in the overthrow of Allende (see *Ercilla*, 10/26/73; *White Paper on the Change of Government in Chile – September 11, 1973*, Santiago).



APPENDIX 8

ANTI-MARXIST CLERGY AND  
RESTRICTIVE OR LESS RADICAL  
ATTITUDES OF SOME PRELATES FACED  
WITH THE PROCESS OF THE DEMOLITION  
OF THE CHURCH AND OF CHILE

At this point, we wish to remind the reader that until 1969 Archbishop Alfredo Cifuentes Gomez gave his public support to certain positions assumed first by *Fiducia* and later by the TFP against the process of Marxization of the Clergy and Chile. The support which he gave on different occasions has already been noted at the appropriate places in this book.

We also wish to observe that Archbishop Alfredo Cifuentes showed in numerous other ways that he disagreed with Communism-progressivism, thereby encouraging the Catholic faithful in their battle against Communism.

These manifestations lead us to believe that the former Archbishop of La Serena and present titular Archbishop of Tapso, in spite of not having declared his express disagreement with the majority of the Chilean Prelates for their collaboration with the Marxist regime of Allende, does not share in the destructive ideas and designs which we have described in respect to the past 15 years of the history of the Church and of Chile.

\* \* \*

Concerning the Prelates cited in our description of this revolutionary process, it is necessary to note in respect to some of them certain qualifying aspects, which may be more or less considerable according to the particular case.

## *Appendix 8*

1. The thinking of Bishop Gilmore (the military Vicar), though not publicly known, is conceivably in disagreement with the revolutionary Clerical behavior denounced by us. However, we have no hard facts which make it possible for us to affirm this categorically.

2. Among the residential Bishops, we want to emphasize Msgr. Emilio Tagle Covarrubias (Archbishop of Valparaiso) for some of the positions he assumed.

While it is certain that Msgr. Emilio Tagle never objected to (and accompanied with a certain sympathy) the socialist and confiscatory Christian Democratic reform, his position is known to be contrary to a clearly liberal and relativistic concept, which considers it to be good to give freedom of political action to the Marxists.

However, this position was never made felt in such a way as to lead Catholics to separate themselves from the liberal and laicist "ideological pluralism" of the Christian Democratic Party.

Although the Archbishop of Valparaiso did not show his disagreement with the collaborationist position of the Shepherds and Priests who so favored the ascent to, installation in, and conservation of the Marxist regime in power, he energetically rejected certain aspects of Marxism and especially the educational project of the ENU, where his public attitude was the most categorical among the prelates.

After September 11, the Archbishop of Valparaiso also publicly encouraged the anti-communist fervor of the faithful, taking care not to hinder the legitimate action of the military government.

Msgr. Emilio Tagle has not publicly disagreed with specific positions assumed by the General Committee of the Episcopate or by the Plenary Assemblies, but in some circumstances he has let show through an indirect disagreement, such as in the case of his statement regarding the theme of "reconciliation," which contained divergences from the collective Pastoral Letter of the Bishops approved by a majority of votes.

It should also be said that Msgr. Emilio Tagle criticized the scandalous excesses of the Priests allied with Mirist terrorism.

3. Msgr. Augusto Salinas, the Bishop of Linares, showed himself to be a partisan of the socialist and confiscatory agrarian reform promulgated during the administration of Eduardo Frei. His disagreements with the ecclesiastical policy of collaboration with the Marxist cause to the extent that they exist, have been in relation to cases of the most declared and extreme commitment, such as, for example, the Priests who concealed the MIR terrorists, about whom he made categorically condemnatory references.

Although it is certain that after the overthrow of Allende he continued to embrace socialist and confiscatory theses, it should be noted that at this point he began to make more categorical criticisms of the disastrous Marxist experiment, writing an explanatory article on the Chilean situation for foreign newspapers in terms which justified the anti-Marxist uprising.

His attitude has thus been shown to be more moderate than that of the other destructive Prelates and Priests. It is not possible, however, to determine clearly the differences that separate him from them.

4. Although Msgr. Francisco Valdes Subercaseaux, Bishop of Osorno, accepted the confiscatory socialism of Frei as did nearly all of the Chilean Prelates, he did make some categorical criticisms of certain aspects of the Marxist regime of Allende, and shortly after September 11, 1973, he expressed a discreet encouragement of the new conditions in the wake of the anti-Marxist military uprising.

We know no instance in which Msgr. Francisco Valdes Subercaseaux opposed the ecclesiastical collaboration with Marxism referred to in this book.

It is also worth noting that Msgr. Valdes Subercaseaux referred to the need for reconciliation in more moderate terms than those employed by the official Episcopal statement. But we do not find in his writings an acknowledgement of the life-and-death battle occurring in Chile and the world between anti-Christian Communist imperialism and those Catholics faithful to the Doctrine of the Church.

5. Msgr. Polidoro Van Vlierberghe, the Apostolic Administrator of Illapel, is known for his moderation. Recently, on the occasion of his visit to Belgium, he ex-

## Appendix 8

pressed his discontent and that of other Belgian Priests in his Diocese, as well that of the public over the malicious and distorted information being disseminated about the Chilean reality (*El Mercurio*, 11/19/75).

We know of no instances during these past fifteen years in which the Apostolic Administrator of Illapel expressed his disagreement with the ecclesiastical and civil demolition process denounced in this book.

Evidently, his position is contrary to the excesses of the Priests and laymen impudently tied to Marxism. But, as we have seen, the revolutionary position of "slow march" of the majority of the Episcopate and a great part of the Chilean Clergy is more effective than that of the extremists in conducting the Church and Chile toward a socialist egalitarian revolution, a state of affairs which is opposed to Catholic Doctrine in socio-economic and political matters.

6. Lastly, we want to note that the statutes of the Chilean Episcopal Conference are such that some of its joint statements may not have been adopted unanimously.

And moreover, we want to indicate that the fact that the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate is empowered to represent the Bishops in a situation of urgency may have at times impeded due consultation with each one of them.

Nevertheless, this does not obviate the right of each Bishop to make evident his own criterion in the diocese in which he governs, and, therefore, to make known his true thinking to the faithful.

Considering this question from the standpoint of the Clergy, we know that there are many Priests in religious congregations, parishes, cathedral chapters, and chaplaincies throughout Chile, who do not agree with the revolutionary conduct of the "rapid march" or "slow march" which has been assumed by the ecclesiastics denounced in this book.

We emphasize with joy, for example, the names of the eleven priests who publicly supported the manifesto of the Chilean TFP published under the Allende regime, in February of 1973, with the title *The Autodemolition of the Church: a Factor in the Demolition of Chile*.

That manifesto lamented the ecclesiastical support given to Marxism in various degrees, before and during its



period of power under Allende.

The names of those Priests (already indicated in footnote 24) are as follows: Father Guillermo Varas A. and Father Raimundo Arancibia S., of Santiago; and Father Francisco Ramirez, Father Jose Garcia, Father Benedicto Guines, Father Luis Toledo Sch., Father Arturo Fuentes T., Father Bernardo Lobos M., Father Reinaldo Duran Ch., Francisco J. Valenzuela, Father Francisco Veloso C., of Concepcion.

In addition, we call attention to the fact that during the time of Allende, Father Pedro de la Noy B., a professor of philosophy as well as a Priest, wrote a most significant letter repudiating the so-called "Group of 80" Priests collaborating with Marxism. We also cite the televised polemic maintained by Father Hasbun during the last days of Allende. Although we do not know the position of both these Priests in respect to the whole (more than 15-year old) process of destruction in the Church and Chile which has been described in this book, it does nonetheless seem necessary to record here their conduct in the concrete cases we have just mentioned.

It is also appropriate to point out that after September 11 nearly 40 Priests made public a letter giving support to the anti-Marxist military government.

Among the Priests known to be opposed to Communism-progressivism and to the moderate forms of indirect collaboration with Marxism, we cite Reverend Father Osvaldo Lira, S.S.CC., a theologian and professor of philosophy, who has often personally encouraged those Catholics doing battle against Communism. He has made publicly manifest his adherence to the governing military Junta and his esteem for the anti-Marxist character of its conduct, while making note of the character, legitimate and in accordance with Catholic doctrine, of the military uprising which overthrew the immoral regime of Allende.

It is also necessary to emphasize, on a theological plane, the categorical position assumed by Reverend Father Miguel Poradowski against the infiltration of Marxist ideas in the clergy in a highly esteemed essay which was recently published.



## APPENDIX 9

### NOTE OF THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF THE EPISCOPATE OF CHILE ON THE CHILEAN TFP

“For some time now there have been diverse tendencies in one direction or another to construct in the Chilean Catholic Church a parallel magisterium. The ultimate concrete expression of this we see in the book *The Church of Silence in Chile* edited by the so-called Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property.

“We know that we have been placed by the Holy Spirit to govern the Church of God (Acts 20: 28). And we are in profound communion with the Holy Father Paul VI, who has always accompanied us in our decisions with enormous clarity and tender kindness. We recall the words of Jesus Christ: ‘He who hears you, hears me, and he who despises you, despises me’ (Luke 10: 16) and we find ourselves obliged to express publicly:

“1. The persons who have collaborated in these writings and in this campaign whether it be by writing, editing, or distributing this publication, have put themselves by their own actions at the margin of the Catholic Church, whose spirit is absolutely opposed to what they are doing.

“2. We ask Catholics that they keep in mind that the Church is built on Jesus Christ in communion with the Holy Father and the legitimate bishops. He who does not accept this doctrine does not belong to the Catholic Church.

*Appendix 9*

“3. It seems strange to us that in the present situation such an attack is permitted, and that in a regime of authority proclaiming the Christian orientation of its principles, people are allowed freely to offend Holy Mother Church in this manner and call for disobedience to its legitimate shepherds.”

Juan Francisco Fresno, Archbishop of la Serena,  
President of the Episcopal Conference of Chile

Carlos Camus Larena,  
Secretary of the Episcopal Conference of Chile

Santiago, March 9, 1976

## APPENDIX 10

### THE CHILEAN TFP COMMENTS ON THE NOTE OF THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF THE EPISCOPATE

A note of the Permanent Committee of the Chilean Episcopal Conference signed by Bishops Juan Francisco Fresno and Carlos Camus Larena, President and Secretary respectively, was released the 9th of this month on the book *The Church of Silence in Chile: the TFP Proclaims the Whole Truth*, written and edited by this Society. The aforementioned note contains many points which in themselves make one wonder and even give rise to protest. In the interest of brevity, we shall point out only some of them:

1. In the book referred to, the TFP on the basis of 220 documents affirms that almost the whole Chilean Episcopate and a great part of the clergy have left the mission confided to them by the Holy Ghost, to "Rule the Church of God," and have dedicated all of their authority and prestige to promoting the late Marxist President Salvador Allende's rise to power and to keeping him there. Strengthened by this support, the president of the Republic at that time and his collaborators applied the gravely anti-Christian, unjust, and tyrannical principles of Communism as much as they could in Chile. One of the consequences of this was the misery that spread all over our country.

These same Bishops and Priests, far from fighting for the Church, for Christian Civilization, and for their hungry people, supported Allende up to the last moment, and after he had fallen, they dedicated themselves to raising up again the Marxist power that the Chileans had overthrown.

## Appendix 10

2. Any judgment that may be expressed about the conduct of the TFP, and about those who have collaborated with it by printing and distributing this book, can only be considered serious and efficacious on the condition that it answer clearly and categorically the following questions:

a) Are the facts related in the book of the TFP well documented?

b) Are they true?

c) Are they analyzed objectively?

3. If these questions are answered in the affirmative, the inevitable conclusion is that the aforementioned Prelates and Priests are in a state of schism and are suspect of heresy, according to Canon Law (*The Church of Silence in Chile*, conclusion, items 1 and 2, pages 337 to 349).

As a consequence, they thus lack the power to declare schismatic and suspect of heresy those of the faithful who have denounced their gravely irregular conduct and who have drawn from it the conclusions that every one of the faithful may licitly draw in circumstances like the present ones.

Far from giving a clear answer to the questions enunciated above, the representatives of the Episcopate have cautiously eluded dialogue about the matter in their public declarations. They are not offering the least explanation to the faithful – who are buying the book with such interest and sympathy that it could be said to amount to an ovation – of their reasons for considering the affirmations of the TFP to be unfounded.

4. On the contrary, the Bishops, who are so zealous about being up-to-date, respond merely with the argument of authority. The reason adduced to prove that they have not departed from the fulfillment of their mission is their own word – “Hoc volo, sic jubeo: sit pro ratione voluntas,” Juvenal, Sat. VI (“So I will, so I command: my will is my reason”).

5. Naturally, since the authors of the declaration realized the obvious lack of basis for their arguments which are contorted into a vicious circle, the Bishops appeal to the supreme authority by alleging that their lamentable behavior is not schismatic nor suspect of heresy because they

supposedly have been approved by Paul VI. Taking up this matter with the unlimited veneration that we profess for the Chair of Peter, we merely call to mind in passing that, on the one hand, the Chilean public does not know of a single document in which the Sovereign Pontiff has officially expressed his approval for the over-all activity of the Episcopate which is related in the book by the TFP. On the other hand, and even more summarily, we emphasize that the note of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate does not take into consideration the principles contained in Revelation – and carefully studied by theologians, canonists, and moral theologians – in respect to the distinction that exists between the doctrinal documents of the Supreme Magisterium and the conduct of the Popes considered as a norm for the thinking and action of the faithful.

It would be indispensable for the Bishops to make this distinction before they, in order to resolve the difficult situation that they have created for themselves, seek to declare us to be as it were persons who have resigned from the Church.

Their attitude, which is canonically unfounded, has a summary character that differs from the respect and charity the Sovereign Pontiff and the Bishops of the whole world in conformity to a tradition coming from the beginnings of the Church, have always gloried in showing in dealing with their sheep.

6. A serene analysis of the note demands still another observation on our part. The amply ecumenical sentiments of the Cardinal and the other ecclesiastics of our country have been manifested on several important occasions. One of these was the official presence of rabbis and protestant ministers at the “Te Deum” sung in the cathedral of Santiago on the occasion of President Allende’s inauguration.

It is obvious that the premise underlying the holding of such activities is the acceptance of the broadest religious liberty. In view of this fact, we do not understand how the signers of the note are able to ask, or even more, to demand that the civil authorities fall with their power upon us, Roman Apostolic Catholics, who in the book *The Church of Silence in Chile* do no more than evaluate in respectful language the attitude of these prelates, thus fulfilling an

*Appendix 10*

obligation of our faith in accordance with the law of the Church. We act in this matter also within the liberty that the Chilean State allows to all those who, like us, take their position in an essentially religious sphere.

Emphatic ecclesiastical repression, affecting not only the TFP but also all those who collaborate with it in the publication and distribution of this book. Threat of possible police repression. With measures such as these – never, absolutely never adopted by anyone in the present Chilean Episcopate against Communism – the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate is trying to intimidate and reduce the faithful to silence. If no other evidence existed, this would already be enough to demonstrate that there does indeed exist a Church of Silence in Chile, as our book affirms . . .

\* \* \*

The Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property manifests sadly its profound disagreement with these attitudes of the Permanent Committee of the Episcopate.

The National Council of the Chilean TFP  
Santiago  
March 11, 1976



## APPENDIX 11

### NOTE OF THE NUNCIATURE ABOUT THE CHURCH OF SILENCE IN CHILE

“The book entitled *The Church of Silence in Chile* for whose publication the ‘Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property’ makes itself responsible constitutes a grave accusation against the episcopal hierarchy of this country and against the greater part of the priests and religious who are our collaborators in the tasks proper to their ministry. It is, in addition to an offense, a call to resist their teachings and decisions as is understood explicitly from the pages of this publication.

“As representative of the Pope in this country, I can do no less than reject with all force such a painful accusation and condemn such an inadmissible suggestion.

“In the course of the more than five years of my stay in Chile I have been able to admire the generosity and the elevation with which the Shepherds of the Catholic Church, even in the midst of situations that were by no means easy, have put the interest of the Gospel and the Kingdom of God above any partisan option.

“In the exhortation that the Holy Father addressed on the 8th of December 1974 to the Episcopate, the Clergy, and the faithful of the whole world on the subject of reconciliation within the Church, one reads these words: ‘The authority with which they (the shepherds) propose (the Gospel) is binding, due not to men’s acceptance but because Christ has conferred it (authority).’ As a consequence, since those who hear them or despise them hear or despise Christ and Him who has sent Him, this obligation of obedience of the faithful to the authority of the Shepherds, is an ontological demand of their very being Christian.

*Appendix 11*

“The obligation already inculcated by Vatican Council II is also none other than this: ‘The faithful for their part must be united to their bishop like the Church is to Jesus Christ and like Jesus Christ is to the Father so that all things may harmonize in unity and grow for the glory of God.

“With all my soul I deplore the attitude of those who by means of partial versions of documents and postures seek to separate the faithful from their communion with their Bishop and Priests: may the Virgin Mary make them see their error so that they may promptly reconcile themselves with the legitimate authorities of the Church of God.”

Sotero Sanz V,  
Apostolic Nuncio

Santiago, March 11, 1976

## APPENDIX 12

### THE CHILEAN TFP ANSWERS THE NOTE OF THE APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE

The Hon. Apostolic Nunciature widely distributed yesterday a note about the book *The Church of Silence in Chile: the TFP Proclaims the Whole Truth*.

In view of the high respect due to the Apostolic Nunciature as the representative of the Holy See in our country, we direct without delay to his Eminence the Most Rev. Archbishop Sotero Sanz Villalba, Apostolic Nuncio, who signed the aforementioned note, the explanations which the latter requires from us.

Before doing so, we proclaim in the full measure established by the doctrine and by the laws of the Holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church, our entire and loving obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff and our profound respect for him who acts as his representative among us.

\* \* \*

Respect for authority is an obligation. Frankness in relation to the same authority is also an obligation, especially in circumstances like the present ones.

We begin then by expressing how much it pains us that, without hearing us or previously admonishing us, Archbishop Sotero Sanz has publicly expressed in such a categorical way — better yet we would say a rude way — his “rejection with all force,” and his condemnation of the “inadmissible invitation” to resist ecclesiastical authorities who favor Communism, which is contained in our book.

The gates of the Apostolic Nunciature, which were recently opened with so much concern and cordiality to

## *Appendix 12*

grant asylum to mirists (*Editor's Note: Communist guerrillas of the MIR — Movement of the Revolutionary Left*), were closed to us.

Once more, we deplore this.

\* \* \*

Let us go on now to the facts.

The Apostolic Nuncio occupies almost the entire length of his communique in affirming a principle that we do not deny but, on the contrary, love from the depths of our hearts. It is that of the obedience of the faithful to the shepherds of the Holy Church.

Nevertheless, his Excellency passes over in silence the key point of the book. Citing St. Thomas Aquinas and doctors and canonists of great authority, *The Church of Silence in Chile*, (pages 345, 349, and 352, affirms that obedience to the Holy Church, in the case of a Shepherd who has separated himself from his mission by teaching or ordering that which is contrary to what the Church teaches and orders, consists in not following the disobedient Shepherd.

Why did the communique of the Most Rev. Nuncio not treat this point, when it is precisely the point on which we base our position?

Perplexed, we must say that we do not find an answer to this question, which we here place in the hands of His Excellency.

\* \* \*

Let us proceed.

Have almost all the Chilean Archbishops and Bishops and the great majority of the Clergy acted in a way that is opposed to their sublime mission by favoring the rise of the Marxist President, by implementing the false Marxist postulates in the political, social, and economic life of our country, and by lending prestige to the shattered remnants of Chilean Communism? We have published a careful study of nearly 500 pages, based on 220 documents, and written in clear and respectful language, to affirm that this is so.

In order to explain to the Chilean public the reason for his harsh rejection, the Apostolic Nuncio satisfies himself by affirming that this considerable and attentive study is

nothing more than a (compilation of) “partial versions of documents and postures.” And he fails to state how these “versions of documents and postures” are partial.

By His Excellency’s leave we ask him: does he imagine by any chance that with such a succinct commentary he will satisfy the legitimate intellectual demands of a people as intelligent as ours?

Moreover, does His Excellency imagine that with no more than this he will convince the thousands of readers eagerly acquiring the work in our bookstores?

Does His Excellency think that these words of his are enough to change the conviction of the thousands of Chileans who – sunk in anguish, pain, and hunger – witnessed the march of so many of their Shepherds toward Marxism?

The moral and juridical authority of an Apostolic Nuncio is indeed very great. We respect it with all our souls. Nevertheless, according to the doctrine and the laws of the Church, it does not reach the point of being able to impose on the faithful the acceptance of this authority in that which is contrary to the evidence of the facts.

Let us ponder this respectfully.

\* \* \*

The Apostolic Nuncio affirms that his “rejection with all force” is made “as the representative of the Pope in this country.” We are certain that everyone in Chile would like to have a clarification in this respect.

Does His Excellency here manifest his personal opinion, making use for this end of the faculties ordinarily inherent to an Apostolic Nuncio? Or does he express, more than that, the very thinking of the Holy Father Paul VI in respect to the events that have occurred in Chile and that have been related in our book?

Moreover, it is precisely the immense majority of Catholic Chileans who would like to know whether it is in his own name or officially expressing the thinking of the Holy Father, that His Excellency has affirmed in an explicit or implicit way:

a) That the bishops and priests referred to in our book did not do what was mentioned in it.

## *Appendix 12*

b) That such actions, so evidently favorable to Marxism, did not constitute, nor do they constitute, an advance in a direction manifestly opposed to the pastoral mission confided to them.

If an expression of the august thinking of the Sovereign Pontiff exists, is it to be found in an official document of the Holy Church? This is another important question, to which finally one more is to be added.

If such a document exists, dealing with an evaluation of concrete facts, to what degree does this evaluation impose itself on the conscience of Catholics according to the doctrine and laws of the Church?

We know very well that as such, an Apostolic Nuncio does not have an obligation stemming from his high mission to make a public pronouncement on these delicate matters.

Nevertheless, since His Excellency has publicly expressed his thinking and position in regard to the book of the TFP, it appears to us that it is natural for us to desire to know this thinking and stand to its full extent. This is all the more the case, since this thinking and stand are crucially related to our own thoughts and our own stands.

\* \* \*

The Apostolic Nuncio concludes his declaration by "beseeching" the Virgin Mary to make us see our error, that we may thus be promptly reconciled with the legitimate authority of the Church of God.

We, for our part, while expressing our gratitude for the good intention of these prayers, beg the most Holy Virgin that She grant us the grace to be always faithful to legitimate authority, that is, that which does not lead toward either Marx or Brezhnev.

The National Council of the Chilean TFP

Santiago, March 12, 1976

## APPENDIX 13

### 32 PRIESTS DECLARE THE TFP IS RIGHT

The Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property has received the following letter\* of support for its best-selling book entitled: *The Church of Silence in Chile: The TFP Proclaims the Whole Truth*.

“Honorable Directors of the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property

“We, the undersigned Catholic priests, have read with full attention the book *The Church of Silence in Chile* which was written and edited by members of the Chilean Society for the Defense of Tradition, Family and Property.

“We must declare frankly that a prolonged analysis of this work permits us to affirm publicly and without fear of being contradicted that there is nothing objectionable in this work. In other words, all of the events related in its pages are solidly documented and the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church is perfectly well expounded in them.

“This being the case, one can only applaud the integrity of faith and courage which moved the youths of the TFP to publish *The Church of Silence in Chile*.

“We consider, however, that the controversy which the book has aroused, demands from us not only a word of applause but also an expression of sadness. We lament, indeed, that by a mistake — perfectly attributable to the influence which human passions have in times of crisis — the ecclesiastical authorities have adopted an attitude of rejection in relation to the aforementioned work which it by no means merits.

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\* Published as an Open Letter in *La Tercera de la Hora*, June 9, page 13.

*Appendix 13*

“We believe, therefore, that in formulating this declaration of support for and praise of the work *The Church of Silence in Chile* and its authors, we are performing an act of justice. In making this declaration, we wish to make clear that we are not motivated by any intention to stir up polemics or to show lack of due respect of the authorities.

Most cordially your in Christ,

Fr. Ernesto Alcayaga; Fr. Luis Alvarado; Fr. Raimundo Arancibia; Fr. Alfonso Araya; Fr. Alberto Chandia; Fr. Estanislao Domenech; Rev. Fr. Alfonso Donoso; Fr. Manuel Escalona; Friar Damasceno Espinoza, OFM; Fr. Luis Gutierrez; Fr. Hugo Herrera M.; Rev. Fr. Jose Anibal Iluffi, CSR; Fr. Tadeo Lagorski; Fr. Luis Lineros; Rev. Fr. Francisco Llerena; Fr. Jaime Manrique, OP; Fr. Francisco Martinez de Quintana; Fr. Francisco Martinez Ortiz; Fr. Guillermo Mateluna; Fr. Jose Gregorio Mesa; Fr. Humberto Moatt; Fr. Humberto Montes; Friar Milton Pino OP; Rev. Fr. Estanislao Ramor CMF; Fr. Edmundo Rivera; Fr. Pedro Ruiz; Fr. Francisco Salgado; Rev. Fr. Luis Santamaria CMF; Fr. Domingo Soto; Fr. Manuel Valderrama; Fr. Guillermo Varas A.; Fr. Jorge Wilde.

May, 1976





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