

The Origins of Christian Democracy in Chile:
The Path of the Moral Center

By
Francisco Mackin-Plankey

Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Department of History of Vanderbilt University
In partial fulfillment of the requirements
For Honors in History

April 2020

Table of Contents

Introduction	2
Chapter One	12
Chapter Two	31
Chapter Three	61
Conclusion	86
Bibliography	91
Appendix	96

Introduction

Social Catholicism: A Guiding Vision for Society

Throughout the past few years, a wave of regression has swept across Latin America. There is something foul existing in our democracies making regression possible. Democracy requires a minimum level of material wellbeing, quality education, the spirit of coexistence, and a valuing of generosity and empathy among the people. Instead, we have poverty-stricken masses, malnourished, illiterate, having to act out of desperation.... The seeds of dictatorship grow out of general discontent, and flower in political groups proclaiming popular support.... Chile until now has been free, and will always remain free. Our institutions are under attack, but we will be saved by placing faith in our democracy, instead of debilitating and destroying it.¹

Eduardo Frei Montalva, November 1, 1948

Eduardo Frei Montalva (1911-1982), a rising politician in Chile, made this declaration in support of democracy with his cover essay for *Política y Espiritu*'s November 1948 issue. Published from 1945 into the 1970s, the official journal of the conservative *Falange Nacional* Party (1935-1957) and the Christian Democratic Party of Chile (1957-Present), *Política y Espiritu* professed the Falange Nacional and Christian Democratic Party of Chile's vision for a socially Christian society.

The majority of the November 1948 issue concerned itself with the biggest question facing Chile at the time, what to do about the Communist and Socialist parties in Chile? Large-scale strikes by Communist miners in 1947 flared up domestic tensions, and President Gabriel González Videla proposed a bill, "The Law of Permanent Defense of Democracy," that would outlaw participation in the Socialist and Communist parties of Chile. Eduardo Frei and the Falange Nacional opposed the bill, saying that it would delegitimize Chilean democracy, and push the Chilean left underground, breeding a more subversive and radical movement. For Frei, democracy was not only a vehicle for societal improvement and the development of collective

¹ Eduardo Frei Montalva, "Dictadura y Democracia," *Política y Espiritu* 3, no. 36 (November 1948), 275-78.

well-being, but it was also a protection against all forms of totalitarianism, giving people the opportunity for civic and societal participation.

Twenty-five years later, in 1973, Eduardo Frei supported the military coup d'état, which overthrew the democratically elected Socialist government of Salvador Allende. Does Frei's support for the abjuration of Chilean democracy represent an about-face or ideological continuity amidst extreme circumstances? Across its entire existence, the Christian Democratic movement in Chile postured itself as the moral center between the conservative right and the revolutionary left. The Falange Nacional was formed in 1935 to reform the Conservative Party of Chile. After a complete split in 1938, the Falange Nacional existed for two decades as an ideological vanguard, proclaiming themselves Chile's moral center. The Christian Democratic Party of Chile grew out of from the Falange Nacional in 1957 to support Eduardo Frei Montalva's candidacy for president of Chile.

In this thesis I explore the origins of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile by focusing on the ideology of the leaders of the party. At first, Frei and his cohorts sought to reform the Conservative Party of Chile. However, those calls fell on deaf ears. As a result, the reformers created the Falange Nacional that evolved into the Christian Democratic Party. I examine the journal *Política y Espiritu*, founded by Frei and other reformers and operated from the periodical's inception until the 1970s. The objective is to answer the following question: How does social Christian ideology inform the ideas and values of the founders of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile? How were policies the realization of the moral center? I suggest Frei and other reformers sought, first with the Falange Nacional and later with the Christian Democratic Party, to occupy the moral center in Chilean politics, especially in the campaign prior to the 1964 presidential election.

With the transition from the Falange Nacional to the Christian Democratic Party of Chile in 1957, the Christian Democratic movement in Chile transformed from an ideological vanguard to a movement with popular support. This thesis studies the changes in understandings of *socialcristianismo* and the nature of the moral center produced by the shift. Socialcristianismo refers to a school of thought derived from Catholic Social Teaching and is associated with the papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, published by Pope Leo XIII in 1891. In this encyclical Pope Leo addresses the dramatic economic changes taking place. He criticizes communism for denying God and promoting class hatred, while also rejecting laissez-faire capitalism for its atheism and emphasizing the gains of the few over the needs of the many. Scholars suggest Pope Leo, and succeeding popes who contributed to Catholic Social Teaching, were charting a middle way between the polar opposites of communism and laissez-faire capitalism. That being said, the middle way or moral center was vaguely sketched out by Leo and his successors.²

A lay Catholic philosopher, Jacques Maritain, would also make important contributions to charting the middle way or moral center, with an emphasis on politics. Because Maritain sought to conceptualize how Catholics should view politics and his ideas shaped Christian Democrats in Europe and Latin America, this thesis will seek to explicate his influence on Eduardo Frei and other Chilean reformers. It fell to politicians, such as Eduardo Frei Montalva to translate the abstract ideas of socialcristianismo and especially those of Maritain into policy. As the journal of the Falange Nacional and then the Christian Democratic Party of Chile, *Política y Espiritu* published a variety of documents authored by political reformers that sought to take the ideas of socialcristianismo and transform them into concrete statements of policy. *Política y Espiritu* was a crucial forum for turning Christian Democratic ideas into policy and was not

² David J. O'Brien and Thomas A. Shannon, *Catholic Social Thought: Encyclicals and Documents from Pope Leo XIII to Pope Francis* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2016).

concerned with attracting new members. In *Política y Espiritu*, Christian Democratic politicians put forward competing visions for how a Chile rooted in socialcristianismo would look. Through this quality, *Política y Espiritu* captures internal conversations and arguments about the way forward for Chilean Christian Democracy. It is an ideal prism to understand the process through which ideas were transform into policy.

It was customary for political movements in Chile to publicize their views in journals or newspapers during the mid-twentieth century. *Política y Espiritu* is unique in that it was dedicated to expressing the beliefs of one party. There were other journals which conveyed the views of a social movement but didn't partner with a political party. For instance, *Revista Mensaje* was a journal published by Chilean Jesuits, and struck a similar tone to *Política y Espiritu*, but was not affiliated with a party. Political parties in Chile, such as the Conservative Party of Chile, published essays in a prominent conservative newspaper, "El Mercurio," when they wanted to share something with the Chilean public.

Throughout its existence, the leaders of the Christian Democratic Party in Chile championed democracy as the vehicle for producing a government of the moral center, where widespread participation in elections would confer legitimacy on a popularly elected government. The importance of democracy to Frei and other reformers can be traced back to the early days of the movement when the Falange Nacional operated as a small movement of like-minded elites. Those few founding members would go on to be elected officials, representing the Christian Democratic Party in the Chilean government in the 1950s and 1960s. When Falangist or Christian Democratic figures published policy-focused essays in *Política y Espiritu*, they did so on topics on which they would later legislate. Articles in *Política y Espiritu* provide insight into the perspectives of Christian Democratic leaders as they sought to take the ideas and values

of socialcristianismo and translate them into a comprehensive Christian Democratic political agenda. The study of *Política y Espíritu* provides insight into the evolution of the relationship between prominent Christian Democratic themes, such as democracy and the idea that the Party represented Chile's moral center.

The study of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile is significant because of the Party's enduring importance to Chilean politics. From the 1990s onwards, the Christian Democratic Party of Chile has been one of the dominant parties in Chilean politics. The first two presidents after the end of Augusto Pinochet's military dictatorship were Christian Democrats. Patricio Aylwin (1990) and Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994), the son of Eduardo Frei Montalva, presided over the return of democracy to Chile. The current President of Chile, Sebastián Piñera is a conservative and is a member of the *Renovación Nacional* party; however, he is the son of a Christian Democrat, José Piñera Carvallo, who joined the Falange Nacional in its infancy and was Chile's ambassador to Belgium and then the United Nations during the Presidency of Eduardo Frei Montalva.

Scholarship on early and mid-twentieth century Chile focuses on the Chilean economy, politics, or social movements. After their electoral success in 1964, scholars produced numerous case studies of Chilean Christian Democracy. Works such as Castillo Velasco's *Teoría y práctica de la Democracia Cristiana chilena*³ and Wayland-Smith's *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile: A study of Political Organization and Activity with Primary Emphasis on the Local Level*⁴ were produced in this first era. These works conceptualize the functioning of the

³ Jaime Castillo-Velasco, *Teoría y práctica de la Democracia Cristiana chilena* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial del Pacífico, 1973).

⁴ Giles Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile: A study of Political Organization and Activity with Primary Emphasis on the Local Level* (Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969).

party and its ideology as two distinct things. Almost all the works try to address both but emphasize one.

Wayland-Smith argues that the transition from the Falange Nacional to the Christian Democratic Party of Chile represented a change in the function of the party. Before 1957, the Falange was an idealist movement of friends,⁵ while the Christian Democratic Party was a party with broad ideologically heterogeneous support.⁶ In his section on the beliefs of the movement, Wayland-Smith assigned four cornerstone values to socialcristianismo. Christian Democrats saw “man as a spiritual being”,⁷ “society as an organic and integral whole”,⁸ “cooperation and participation as the foundation of society”,⁹ and “communitarian design as the foundation of economic order”.¹⁰ Wayland-Smith paired party functioning and ideology, arguing that they must be studied together. He made a distinction between the organization of the Falange Nacional and the Christian Democratic Party. Because the Christian Democratic Party of Chile in the 1960s had multiple ideological factions, he did not believe one could produce a comparison between the ideology of the Falange and Christian Democratic Party.

Jaime Castillo-Velasco, in *Teoría y práctica de la Democracia Cristiana chilena*, provides a detailed analysis of the ideology of the Chilean Christian Democratic movement and came to the same conclusion as Wayland-Smith. Divergent factions within the Chilean Christian Democratic Party make ideological comparisons between the Falange Nacional and Christian Democratic Party inappropriate.¹¹ Instead, Castillo-Velasco studied in detail the importance and

⁵ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section I, 26.

⁶ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section I, 28.

⁷ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section II, 6.

⁸ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section II, 8.

⁹ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section II, 12.

¹⁰ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section II, 16.

¹¹ Castillo Velasco, *Teoría y práctica*, 124.

application of concepts such as the vanguardism¹² and humanism,¹³ which were the basis of Christian Democratic ideology.

Christian Democracy in Chile was one of many twentieth-century Catholic social movements inspired by social Catholic identities. Across early twentieth-century Latin America, the Catholic Church created and supported many lay organizations to increase participation in the Church. One such organization in Chile, the National Association of Catholic Students (Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos or ANEC) founded in 1915, would play a significant role in the development of Chilean Christian Democracy.

In *Una revolución del espíritu: Política y esperanza en Frei, Eyzaguirre y Góngora en los años de entreguerras*, Diego González Cañete studies the conservative youth of Chile in the late 1920s and early 1930s, demonstrating that the experiences of members of the conservative youth during those years would produce the beliefs which defined Christian Democracy in Chile. Focusing his study on ANEC, González Cañete argues that a political awakening in college, inspired by Jacques Maritain's theology, set members on the trajectory to break from the Conservative Party.¹⁴

In this thesis I further this scholarship by seeking to explain the way ideology influenced policy objectives of the leaders of the Falange Nacional and the Christian Democratic Party of Chile. Jaime Castillo Velasco and Giles Wayland-Smith do not address the ideology of the party leaders because the emergence of divergent factions within the Christian Democratic Party in the 1960s complicated the analysis. By studying *Política y Espíritu*, I argue differences in policy outlook and ideology can be discerned across periods. Moreover, the discourse of being the

¹² Castillo-Velasco, *Teoría y práctica*, 19-23.

¹³ Castillo-Velasco, *Teoría y práctica*, 75.

¹⁴ Diego González Cañete, *Una revolución del espíritu: Política y esperanza en Frei, Eyzaguirre y Góngora en los años de entreguerras* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2018), 214.

moral center moves away from ideological vanguardism to concrete ideology and policies after Frei Montalva's 1958 presidential campaign. As Frei and the Christian Democrats critiqued their opponents on the right and left, they developed concrete policies that embodied a significantly redesigned idea of what it meant to be the moral center in Chilean society. The Christian Democrats moved from being purely ideological to being a movement that offered clear path towards social change. Throughout its three-decade tenure, *Política y Espiritu* was, in particular, informed by the perspectives of Eduardo Frei Montalva, Radomiro Tomic, and Patricio Aylwin Azócar, whose voices defined this movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Through the study of *Política y Espiritu* as the dominant perspective in the Christian Democratic movement, I compare the Falange Nacional and Christian Democratic Party of Chile and the evolution of ideology into praxis.

Eduardo Frei Montalva is remembered as the father of Christian Democracy in Chile. His definitive biography, *Eduardo Frei Montalva y su época* by Cristián Gazmuri, addresses the defining moments in Chilean Democracy by covering Frei's life.¹⁵ When citing the beliefs or ideology of the movement, Gazmuri often cites *Política y Espiritu*. In fact, across the study of Chilean Christian Democracy, scholars cite *Política y Espiritu* to understand the voice of Chilean Christian Democracy. However, there is an important gap in the historiography. Scholars have not conducted a focused study of this key journal nor have they examined the way that the ideology of socialcristianismo informed the policy proposals presented in *Política y Espiritu*.

This thesis focuses on *Política y Espiritu*, recognizing that it provides a unique perspective on changes in Chilean Christian Democracy over time. By publishing numerous official documents and essays written by the leading politicians of the party, *Política y Espiritu*

¹⁵ Cristián Gazmuri, *Eduardo Frei Montalva y su época* (Santiago, Chile: Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones, 2000).

embodies the evolution in the vision of the leading Christian Democrats. The first vision being vanguardism, and the second derived from popular support.

The longstanding importance of Christian Democracy to Chile is paralleled by European Christian Democracy's role in the creation of modern Europe. In his book, *What is Christian Democracy? Politics, Religion and Ideology*, Carlo Invernizzi Accetti studies the international Christian Democratic movement and asserts that the philosophy of Jacques Maritain serves as the shared global inspiration.¹⁶ He argues that the rise of Christian Democracy internationally occurred through specific domestic contexts, in which "in-between figures" such as "statesmen-philosophers, public lawyers, constitutional advisers"¹⁷ were the interlocutors through which Christian Democracy came to life.

Chilean Christian Democracy was the project of interpreting Maritain, and socialcristianismo more broadly, in the Chilean context. Because Christian Democracy internationally was rooted in shared inspiration from Maritain, ideology must be placed at the forefront of the study of Christian Democracy. A case study of the development of Christian Democracy in Chile helps us better understand socialcristianismo and its influence across the world, and in particular in Latin America.

Rising to prominence at the height of the Cold War, Christian Democrats in Chile had to negotiate the Cold War's ideological battle in a country with a robust leftist labor organizing tradition. Christian Democrats in Chile viewed themselves as the moral center, between conservatives who didn't recognize the desperate need for action, and leftists who counseled

¹⁶ Carlo Invernizzi Accetti, *What is Christian Democracy? Politics, Religion and Ideology*, (New York, Cambridge University Press: 2019).

¹⁷ Jan-Werner Müller, *Contesting Democracy: Political Ideas in 20th Century Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 24.

radical action that, according to Christian Democrats like Frei, would lead to ruin. Understanding Frei and other reformers in Chile provides insights into the negotiation of power required of Latin American Christian Democracy in a highly polarized Cold War world.

I take a chronological approach to studying Chilean Christian Democracy, breaking the pre-1964 movement into three distinct parts. First, chapter 1 explores the reform movement before 1938, when the Falange Nacional split from the Conservative Party of Chile. The Falange was a youth movement, led by Frei and inspired by Maritain, which sought to reform a country mired by economic devastation. Second, chapter 2 discusses the period from 1938 to 1957, when the Falange Nacional articulated a comprehensive vision for how Chile would look if lead by a party inspired by socialcristianismo. Third, chapter 3 examines the Christian Democratic Party of Chile after its birth in 1957. The focus is on the challenge of turning visions into a political reality transforming Chile for the better. In the conclusion, the thesis returns to the question of Frei's legacy, especially in light of his support for the coup d'etat that ended Chile's tradition of democratic rule, launching Pinochet's bloody reign, which included Eduardo Frei Montalva as one of its victims.

Chapter One

“In the Image of Maritain: The Birth of a Political Movement in Chile”

Chile and Social Catholicism in the Early-Twentieth Century

Ever since the late nineteenth-century, two universities have dominated Chilean society. The University of Chile, established in 1842, and the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, established in 1888, have produced generation after generation of Chilean business and political leaders. Under those terms, a young Eduardo Frei Montalva (1911-1982) enrolled in law school at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile in 1929. During his time in law school, the first iteration of what would become the Chilean Christian Democratic movement was born from the meetings of the *Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos* (National Association of Catholic Students, or ANEC).

After graduating from the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile in late 1933, Eduardo Frei was chosen as the representative of ANEC for a four-month trip through Europe, hosted by the Latin American Congress in Rome.¹ The purpose of the trip was to demonstrate to young Catholic lay leaders the potential of Catholic Action, a movement designed by church leaders to deepen the laity's commitment to the church. During that trip, Frei met future Pope Pius XII, when he was still Cardinal Pacelli, and attended a lecture presented by lay Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain at the Catholic Institute of Paris. Maritain espoused Christian humanism as a counter to secular humanism. In addition, he was an early Catholic defender of democracy and

¹ “Object of the Month: The first trip of Eduardo Frei Montalva to Europe,” Casa Museo Eduardo Frei Montalva. Accessed April 17, 2020. <https://www.casamuseoeduardofrei.cl/en/el-primer-viaje-de-eduardo-frei-montalva-a-europa/>.

communitarianism as Christian alternatives to atheistic communism on the left and the religious nationalism of fascism on the right.

Frei returned to Chile, inspired to devote himself to Catholic Action. In early 1934, ANEC put on a conference sharing their mission and beliefs with Chile. The conference, entitled “*Política y Espiritu*” (in English, Politics and Spirit), expressed many of the core beliefs which would guide Eduardo Frei’s political career and the Christian Democratic movement he led. Among them, Frei held an “almost personal hatred against liberalism’s individualism,” argued that “corporatism is the principle through which aspirations become tangible,” and said “I believe in democracy. I think it is imperfect, but it is an improvement on past systems. Our mission is to fix it, to perfect it, to organize it, and to safeguard it.”²

In 1934 Chile was in crisis due to the Great Depression, which led to the collapse of the national economy and skyrocketed already rampant poverty. There was no end in sight. Across Chile, Catholic Action groups were created to address the severe unrest and poverty plaguing Chile. A Catholic Action group themselves, ANEC, led by Frei, wanted to bring the spirit of reform to the Conservative Party of Chile. For that reason, Frei officially joined the party in 1935. ANEC’s youthful enthusiasm for reforms butted heads with the leaders of the Conservative Party of Chile, and the marriage between the two was never a good fit.

To best understand the nature and significance of the birth of the Christian Democratic movement in Chile, the genesis of which was in ANEC and the Falange Nacional, one must understand the history of the Conservative Party and Catholic Church in Chile. From 1935 to 1938, there was an uncomfortable alliance between the Falange Nacional and the Conservative Party. As I will show, the early significance of Jacques Maritain’s influence on Frei and ANEC

² Cristián Gazmuri, *Eduardo Frei Montalva y su época* (Santiago, Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones: 2000), 198-199.

was in how it led Falangists to challenge the assumptions of the Conservative Party and led them to new answers about how to govern. Those early Maritain-inspired beliefs would go on to define Christian Democracy in Chile and be the permanent locus for socialcristianismo.

A Brief History of Chile up to the Great Depression

Modern-day Chile, located along the southwestern coast of South America, was one of the last parts of the Americas reached by European settlers. It wasn't until 1536 that Diego de Almagro, a conquistador, set foot on modern-day Chile.³ In the ensuing decades, the Spanish colonial administration established a firm base in Chile, with the first Chilean diocese created in 1561. Under Spanish colonial rule, a territory resembling the modern borders of Chile had its own governor and was ruled under the viceroyalty of Peru.⁴ By the 1700s, Chile had come to be dominated politically, socially, and economically by enormous estates, which exported livestock and cereal grains to Peru.⁵ The colonial status quo in Chile was maintained until a series of revolutions gripped Chile in the early nineteenth century.

Chile gained its independence from Spain along with the majority of South America, when revolution spread like wildfire in the 1810s, and José de San Martín's victorious army marched up the coast defeating the Spanish troops in its wake. In the aftermath of the revolution, protracted battles between royalists and patriot forces across the continent led to the first leaders of Chile abdicating office, some to fight in battles, and other ones deposed.⁶ In 1830 the Conservative Party of Chile ended the cycle of abdication and grabbed the reins of government.

³ Gonzalo Izquierdo, *Historia de Chile: Tomo I* (Santiago de Chile, Editorial Andrés Bello, 1989), 31.

⁴ Izquierdo, *Historia de Chile: Tomo I*, 76.

⁵ Izquierdo, *Historia de Chile: Tomo I*, 153-54.

⁶ Simon Collier and William F. Sater, *A History of Chile, 1808–2002* (Second Edition, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 35-36.

Three decades of Conservative rule “helped lay the foundations of a tradition of political stability unique in nineteenth-century Spanish America.”⁷

While in power, the Conservative Party of Chile produced the first Chilean constitution, establishing an organization of government that would remain in place for a century. Chile’s new laws upheld the partnership between Church and State. During Conservative Party rule, the alliance was administrative and political. The Catholic Church actively promoted the Conservative Party, stepping up its efforts when the Conservative Party was faced with political conflict.⁸ In the mid-nineteenth century, the Conservative Party of Chile represented the interests of ranchers, maintaining a lineage of power from the colonial era.⁹

In the mid-nineteenth century, in opposition to Conservative rule, the Liberal and Radical Parties of Chile were born. In his study on the organization of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile, an American scholar Giles Wayland-Smith wrote:

The Conservative and Liberal parties had grown out of the classical division between those advocating strong and weak, centralized and decentralized government. But by the mid 1800s they increasingly tended to represent certain divisions between the landowning and business classes as well as differences of opinion on the questions of religion and civil liberties. The Radical party, founded in 1861, merely represented the most reform-minded elements of the Liberal party.¹⁰

The Conservative Party dominated Chilean politics until 1861, the end of the period of Conservative hegemony. From that point on, the Conservative Party remained a significant player in Chilean politics, but never again held the dominant position in government, now held by first the Liberal Party and after the 1910s by the Radical Party. Such transitions of political

⁷ Collier and Sater, *A History of Chile*, 51.

⁸ Gonzalo Izquierdo, *Historia de Chile: Tomo II* (Santiago de Chile, Editorial Andrés Bello, 1990), 219.

⁹ Diego González Cañete, *Una revolución del espíritu: Política y esperanza en Frej, Eyzaguirre y Góngora en los años de entreguerras* (Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Centro de Estudios Bicentario, 2018), 214.

¹⁰ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section 1, 12.

power in Chile would be significant for the Christian Democratic Party, as they represented the mechanism through which the Chilean government and society were transformed. Also, significantly, the Liberal and Radical Parties shared a profound anti-clericalism and wanted a secular Chilean government and society. Both Parties pushed forcefully against the Conservative Party's social status quo, in which the Church was responsible for all public education and guided the functioning of society.

The Liberal Party made substantial progress in the 1880s, taking public education out of the hands of the Church.¹¹ The secularization of public education and society in Chile had profound repercussions, opening up elite Chilean society to the ideological currents of Europe and the world. In response, the Chilean Church employed new methods for fostering lay participation, based on nineteenth-century efforts carried out in Italy, the implementation of Catholic Action groups.¹² Catholic Action groups were lay communities, led by a priest, who worked to improve the conditions of their area and improve local Catholic practice. Some Catholic Action groups coordinated relief efforts in Chile's poorest communities. However, on a more significant level, Catholic Action groups were meant to reinforce the Catholic faith among Chileans thereby protecting them from Protestantism and Marxism. Worker communities, in particular, were targeted for the establishment of Catholic Action groups.

The National Association of Catholic Students, ANEC, was founded as a Catholic action group in 1915. Into the late 1920s, the Catholic Church and the Conservative Party maintained a formal relationship. Due to that relationship, ANEC was both a Catholic Action group for the Church and an official youth movement of the Conservative Party. The first crack in the

¹¹ Fredrick B. Pike, "Church and State and Political Development in Chile," *Journal of Church and State* 10, no. 1 (1968): 100. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23913837>

¹² Pike, "Church and State," 102.

relationship between the Conservative Party and the hierarchy of the Catholic Church emerged when the Conservative Party was unable to prevent the separation of Church and State enacted by the Constitution of 1925, passed by the Liberal Party of Chile.¹³

For the future leaders of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile, the destruction of the partnership of the Church and State and the secularization of Chilean society, all occurring during their youth, presented them with new questions about the relationship between religion and politics. To be a Catholic in an overwhelmingly Catholic society and government is to be working through existing power structures to promote change. But when the Conservative Party became an oppositional force in Chilean society, the Church's role in society was no longer a clear-cut matter. Furthermore, the secularization of Chilean society coincided with and was driven by stronger ties between Chile and the outside world, particularly Europe. Eduardo Frei's disdain for liberalism's individualism was a direct response to the penetration of secular thought, largely foreign, into Chile during his lifetime, not some abstract philosophical propositions.

The secularization of Chilean society and government was a byproduct of the success of the Liberal Party and their economic agenda. Whereas the Conservative Party of Chile had maintained an economy reliant on agricultural products, the Liberal Party supported the development of mining and industry and incentivized international investment in Chilean business. The result of the Liberal Party's policies was significant economic growth in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the majority of which came from a burgeoning industrial sector.¹⁴ Growth in the Chilean industrial sector was due in large part to significant international financing, which brought foreign interests into the Chilean political sphere in a way

¹³ Pike, "Church and State," 103.

¹⁴ Guillermo Feliú Silva, "Medio siglo de la industria chilena," *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 120, no. 4 (October-December 1960): 111-25. DOI: [10.5354/0717-8883.2010.27377](https://doi.org/10.5354/0717-8883.2010.27377)

they hadn't in the previous centuries. Industrial hotbeds, such as lumber mills in the south and textile factories in Santiago, led to new migration patterns.

During the colonial era, internal migration in Chile consisted of individuals moving from rural communities in northern and southern Chile to the Central Valley, where the best land, the large estates, and the most populous cities were. In the twentieth century, mines and other sites of industrial activity became population centers. The northern cities of Antofagasta and Iquique, as well as the southern city of Concepción and Chile's main port Valparaíso in particular, experienced a population explosion.¹⁵

Chile's population transition during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a part of an international rural to urban social transformation. What is unique to Chile is the extent to which this transition occurred. According to Frederick Pike, a mid-twentieth century historian at the University of Notre Dame,

Between 1892 and 1920 the country's population rose only from 3.3 to 3.8 million. Yet the urban population, a mere 27 per cent of the total in 1875, was over 43 percent in 1907. From 1885 to 1895, the number of inhabitants in the capital city of Santiago increased over 30 per cent and by 1907 had mounted an additional 22 per cent.¹⁶

In the early twentieth century, Chile found itself poorly equipped to respond to the rise of cities, which resulted in urban squalor across Chile. Nowhere was this more pronounced than Santiago, where, in 1930, 44% of Santiago's residents were illiterate, and many areas in the city operated as slums, with extraordinarily high levels of violence and disease.¹⁷ To make matters worse, the Great Depression undermined the Chilean economy, bringing unrest that had been brewing to a boil.

¹⁵ Pike, "Church and State," 101.

¹⁶ Pike, "Church and State," 101.

¹⁷ González Cañete, *Una revolución del espíritu*, 79.

The political instability, in fact, predated the Stock Market crash of 1929. From 1924 to 1938, Chile's decades of stable governments were interrupted by a series of rapid transitions of power. Between 1925 and 1932—denoted as the decade of crisis—the Radical Party, the Socialist Party, the Liberal-Democratic Party, the Liberal Party, and multiple military juntas held the office of the presidency in Chile. Order was restored when Arturo Alessandri, who had also been president when the series of uprisings began, was able to see out a six-year term as president from 1932 to 1938. Chile's eight-year period of turmoil announced a series of new political actors onto the scene, among them, organized labor in the form of the Socialist Party.

Organized labor first announced itself onto the Chilean political arena at the turn of the twentieth century when two hundred labor strikes took place between 1902 and 1908.¹⁸ From 1919 to 1931, organized labor further expanded its influence onto the national scene, organizing miners and industrial workers in new population centers, producing a more centralized political organization.¹⁹ By 1932, through their labor organizing, the Socialist and Communist Parties of Chile became a prominent political force.

While Chile returned to peaceful transitions of power with Alessandri, the trouble of the previous decade was not yet behind them. According to the World Economic Survey, Chile was the country most hurt by the Great Depression.²⁰ In the realm of mining alone, Chile's chief mineral export Saltpeter saw exports fall by 91 percent from 1929 to 1932.²¹ Therefore, throughout the 1930s, Chile truly remained in crisis. Poverty was soaring, the economy remained

¹⁸ "Primeros movimientos sociales chilenos (1890-1920." Memoria Chilena: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-603.html>.

¹⁹ Bryan Loveman, *Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919-1973* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1976), 95.

²⁰ "El impacto de la Gran Depresión en Chile (1929-1932)" Memoria Chilena: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-601.html>.

²¹ González Cañete, *Una revolución del espíritu*, 77.

stalled, and none of the national problems showed any signs of abating. A government committed to a policy of laissez-faire struggled to respond to the wide-spread national crisis, unable to propose reforms that addressed societal issues.

Birth of the Falange Nacional

During Chile's decade of crisis, a generation of social elites recently graduated from the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile organized politically to respond to the problems plaguing their country. Among them were Eduardo Frei Montalva (1911-1982), Radomiro Tomic (1914-1992), and Patricio Aylwin (1918-2016). As active participants in the Conservative Party of Chile, all three set about reforming their party to address the needs of a struggling Chile. The first political iteration of their community was the Falange Nacional, which after two decades of existence, would eventually merge with the Social Christian Conservative Party to form the Christian Democratic Party of Chile.

Born in the years leading up to World War I, and coming into adulthood during Chile's decade of crisis, Eduardo Frei, Radomiro Tomic, and the other founding members of the Falange Nacional were profoundly Catholic and thus sought a religious agenda to address the problems facing Chilean society. The relationship between the Conservative Party, the political party of the Catholic Church, and the fight against anti-clericalism was their starting point.

The first iteration of the community that would become the Falange Nacional grew out of the restructuring of a prominent Catholic youth organization in 1929, revamped by Frei. The ANEC was a youth organization for the Catholic Church and Conservative Party, comprised of college students at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile. According to the historian Óscar Larson, "Chilean Christian Democracy, ideologically and historically, originated in ANEC. To

verify this, just look at the members of ANEC. Eduardo Frei, Bernardo Leighton, Radomiro Tomic, Domingo Santa María, William Thayer.”²²

Founded in 1915 as a Catholic lay organization, the club was initially limited to “putting on dances and speeches for the annual Spring celebration.”^{23, 24} In 1928, Frei became president of a remade ANEC.²⁵ Under Frei, ANEC’s stated mission was to “work for the restoration of everything through Christ, and with the objective of developing an intense Catholic spirit across all social classes, but particularly among the youth and workers”.²⁶ The remade ANEC met regularly to discuss the nature of social conditions in Chile.²⁷ They took inspiration from the works of Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), a French political thinker who was writing about the relationships between people and government in an ideal Catholic world from a Catholic humanist perspective.

While study of Maritain was incubating humanist attitudes in the ANEC students, leaders were still engaging in the traditional routes for political participation in the Conservative Party of Chile. In 1931, while still a law student at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, Frei served as a regional campaign director for Juan Esteban Montero’s successful campaign for President of Chile.²⁸ Similarly, in his last year in law school Frei became the president of the other most prominent Catholic youth organization in Chile, the Youth for Catholic Action.²⁹ Many older

²² José Díaz Nieva, *Chile: de la Falange Nacional a la Democracia Cristiana* (Santiago, Chile: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2001), 53.

²³ Alejandro Magnet, “Semblanza de Eduardo Frei,” *Política y Espíritu* 12, no. 62-63 (September 1951): 333-66.

²⁴ Magnet, “Semblanza de Eduardo Frei,” 336.

²⁵ González Cañete, *Una revolución del espíritu*, 42.

²⁶ Díaz Nieva, *Chile: de la Falange Nacional a la Democracia Cristiana*, 54.

²⁷ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section 1, 23.

²⁸ Gazmuri, *Eduardo Frei Montalva y su época*, 139.

²⁹ Magnet, “Semblanza de Eduardo Frei,” 338.

members considered Frei and his peers in ANEC to be the next generation of Conservative politicians in Chile.³⁰

It was somewhat surprising then, when the ANEC under Frei began to question the attitudes and beliefs of the Conservative Party. A year after Frei's return from his trip to Europe, and after sharing their vision of Catholic humanism for Chile, members of ANEC joined the Conservative Party of Chile in 1935. Upon entering the Conservative Party, members of ANEC, including Eduardo Frei and Radomiro Tomic, created the Falange Nacional as a group within the Conservative Party, intent on reforming it.³¹ Conservative Party leaders saw the creation of the Falange Nacional as a stirring of the pot and met the Falange Nacional with open hostility.³²

For three years, the Falange Nacional remained within the Conservative Party of Chile, as tensions ratcheted up. The name Falange Nacional reflects their position as a vanguard intent on reforming the Conservative Party of Chile from within.³³ Castillo Velasco suggests that Frei and his fellow reformers were aware they might not succeed in their effort to reform the party; however, articulating their criticisms and the ways the party needed to change would demonstrate the Falange's ideological purity.³⁴

The principles of the Falange Nacional as expressed in the ANEC "Política y Espíritu" conference of the 1930s brings the contrast between the reformers and the Conservative Party establishment into sharp relief. In 1937, Eduardo Frei stated the Falange had "an advanced social plan," whereas the Conservative Party argued for "renovation and liveliness."³⁵ The

³⁰ González Cañete, *Una revolución del espíritu*, 40.

³¹ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section 1, 21.

³² Magnet, "Semblanza de Eduardo Frei," 339.

³³ Jaime Castillo Velasco, *Teoría y práctica de la democracia cristiana Chilena* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial del Pacífico, 1973), 19.

³⁴ Castillo Velasco, *Teoría y práctica*, 23.

³⁵ González Cañete, *Una revolución del espíritu*, 214.

Falange Nacional believed that Chile needed substantive economic reforms, and the Conservative party didn't.

Given such ideological differences, the relationship between the Falange Nacional and the Conservative Party was never a comfortable one. Ultimately, this came to a head in 1938, when the Falange Nacional and the Conservative Party of Chile supported opposing candidates for President of Chile. The Falange candidate, Pedro Cerda, the representative of a coalition led by the Socialist and Communist Parties of Chile, beat Gustavo Ross, the candidate of a coalition between the Liberal and Conservative Parties, by only four thousand votes. After losing, Gustavo Ross blamed his loss on the Falangistas.³⁶ The ensuing fallout of the 1938 election was the split of the Falange Nacional from the Conservative Party of Chile.

After their separation from the Conservative Party, the Falange Nacional continued to champion the values that had placed them at odds with the Conservative Party. The Falange argued that Chileans were suffering, and economic reforms were needed to address the condition of the worker on Chilean society. However, their plans went little further. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Falange's plans were Catholic humanist treatises in Maritain's grammar. Still holding onto the symbolism of the phalanx, some key members of the party, such as Eduardo Frei, ran for public office, but the movement concerned itself with being a statement of purity, critiquing Chilean politics. In 1945, the Falange Nacional began to publish a journal, *Política y Espíritu*, to explore and express their visions for Chilean society.

The 1930s were a time where reform-minded elements of the Chilean Catholic Church gained traction. Falangist efforts to change the course of the Conservative Party of Chile were a part of this greater moment of refocusing. In the decades after the separation of Church and State

³⁶ Díaz Nieva, *Chile: de la Falange Nacional a la Democracia Cristiana*, 98-100.

in 1925, the Catholic Church underwent a phase of insulation from politics, where it worked to solidify the structures and processes of religious influence among the laity.³⁷ The primary form the restructuring of the Chilean Church took was the development of wide-spread Catholic Action programs, of which ANEC had been an early one.³⁸

Out of recognition of the effects of Chile's economic and social problems, many Chilean priests embraced more progressive views. The first case in official publications can be seen when, in 1937, the episcopate in Santiago "issued a progressive pastoral letter concerning workers' wages".³⁹ The Falange Nacional was one point of pressure working to reform the Chilean Church, and throughout the 1940s and 1950s Frei and colleagues increasingly found like-minded individuals in the Church.

Christian Democracy: The International Movement

At the heart of the Falange Nacional and ANEC was Christian humanism, a movement inspired in large part by Jacques Maritain (1882-1973), a French philosopher who brought Saint Thomas Aquinas's works into the twentieth century, to produce a Catholic vision of a modern world. In his works, Maritain reconciled twentieth-century traditions in continental philosophy, which were secular, with Aquinas and Aristotle's wisdom, exploring everything from epistemology to a moral and political philosophy of law.⁴⁰ By the 1930s, Maritain was the most prominent Catholic philosopher of his day. Maritain's distinct brand of humanism went on to

³⁷ Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 87.

³⁸ Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile*, 88.

³⁹ Hugo Latorre Cabal, *The Revolution of the Latin American Church* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 68.

⁴⁰ William Sweet, "Jacques Maritain," *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Summer 2019 Edition), edited by Edward N. Zalta, <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/maritain/>

inspire and shape the global Christian Democratic movement, with particular influence in Europe and Latin America.

Maritain's early works, such as "*La science modern et la raison*" (1910) and *Trois réformateurs: Luther, Descartes, Rousseau* (1925), defended Thomism and Catholic thought against secular critique. Beginning in the 1930s, Maritain began to publish on political philosophy. Works such as *Humanisme intégral* (1936) and *Christianisme et démocratie* (1943) explored Maritain's vision for a democracy grounded in humanist beliefs, as the ideal model for government. The culmination of Maritain's political philosophy, *Man and the State* (1951), further expounded on Maritain's communitarian vision for society.

Over the course of his life, Maritain's political responsibilities changed. A well-respected scholar in the 1910s, after gaining international prominence, Maritain faced intense scrutiny in France throughout the 1930s into the Second World War. When he published *Humanisme intégral* (1936), which argued that secular forms of humanism were anti-human because they neglected the whole person, he was attacked by the French right and left as being of 'liberal' character.⁴¹ His next major work, *Christianisme et démocratie* (1943) was written after he relocated to the United States due to World War II. In this important work, Maritain called for Spanish Catholics to defy Franco's Fascism. Throughout World War II, Maritain was a strong proponent of the Ally cause. 1951's *Man and the State* was published while Maritain taught at Princeton, with the hope of shaping the post-war order.

In *Man and the State*, Maritain grounds his constructive theories in the reality that

The entire man ... is part of the political society; and thus all his community activities, as well as his personal activities, are of consequence to the political whole. As we have

⁴¹ Sweet, "Jacques Maritain."

pointed out, a national community of a higher human degree spontaneously takes shape by virtue of the very existence of the body politic.⁴²

The mechanism for creating a national community is the state whose responsibility it is to be “concerned with the maintenance of law, the promotion of the common welfare and public order, and the administration of public affairs.”⁴³ To realize national aims of improving the welfare of the people, the foremost concern of democracies must be the fight against authoritarianism.⁴⁴ Maritain believes that there are contradictions within democracy which predispose it towards failure. Therefore, the state must actively uplift society by supporting and producing societal improvements of a socioeconomic nature outside of the boundaries of governance. This process is the basis for Maritain’s advocacy for the implementation of communitarianism.

Taking inspiration from FDR’s New Deal in the United States, Maritain states that communitarianism functions as

Large scale undertakings planned and managed not by the State and not from the center of the country's political administration, but on the spot, by private enterprises coordinated with one another and by the various communities of the very people concerned.... The final step would take place, in such a new regime, when prodding by the State would no longer be necessary, and all organic forms of social and economic activity, even the largest and most comprehensive ones, would start from the bottom.⁴⁵

Democracy is the form of government that derives its legitimacy from the people and is best suited to respond to the will of the people. The development of communitarian societies is another mechanism for uplift and a check against corruption in democracy.

⁴² Jacques Maritain, *Man and the State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 10.

⁴³ Maritain, *Man and the State*, 12.

⁴⁴ Maritain, *Man and the State*, 18.

⁴⁵ Maritain, *Man and the State*, 22-23.

In the late nineteenth century, there was a nascent Christian Democratic movement in Europe which preceded Maritain, which “far from embracing democratic values, predominantly defined itself against modern heresies in favor of an essentially anti-modern Catholicism.”⁴⁶ However, in the wake of Maritain’s work Christian Democracy was transformed. Instead of rejecting modernity, Christian Democrats would seek to mold it.

Furthermore, over time we see greater heterogeneity within the international Christian Democracy movement. Martin Conway, Professor of Modern European History at the University of Oxford writes “[b]road accounts and teleological narratives are likely to be replaced by a more contextual approach, in which the influence of national political systems and mentalities, of internal tensions and external developments, will all come to the fore.”⁴⁷ Christian Democracy springs forth from a shared ideology and must be studied at the level of individual countries, at risk of ignoring the importance of beliefs and local contexts. Guido Dierickx, a political scientist at the University of Antwerp in Belgium, argues that after the influence of Maritain, Christian democracy was united by a “communitarian critique of modernity,” in which social policies have the goal of moderating unjust inequalities towards a “ethically founded notion of solidarity.”⁴⁸

For Christian Democrats in Chile, their core identity and orienting principle was socialcristianismo, which is best translated to English as social Catholicism. It was more than an individual identity; it was an ideological vision for society. That vision was informed by Maritain and before him, Catholic Social Teaching which rejected atheistic communism and laissez-faire capitalism. What is more, the ‘Social Catholic’ vision of society held by Christian

⁴⁶ Martin Conway, “The Age of Christian Democracy: The Frontiers of Success and Failure,” in *What is Christian Democracy? Politics, Religion and Ideology* (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Press, 2003), 16.

⁴⁷ Conway, “The Age of Christian Democracy,” 16.

⁴⁸ Guido Dierickx, “Christian Democracy and Its Ideological Rivals.” in *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective* (London: Pinter, 1994), 23-29.

Democrats in Chile was of a communitarian society, grounded in shared Catholic belief, which strove for the shared freedom of all. At different times, and for different members of the party, the specifics of this communitarian vision were different. However, the overall structure and Maritain's guiding influence never ceased. For Maritain, freedom "does not mean license or pure rational autonomy, but the realization of the human person in accord with his or her nature—specifically, the achievement of moral and spiritual perfection."⁴⁹ The Falange Nacional believed that freedom was to have the socioeconomic autonomy to live out a good Catholic life.

The complexities of the Falange Nacional's application of Maritain's ideas about freedom to the Chilean political arena reflect the nature of their plans in 1938. The Falange Nacional was asking questions about how an ideal Chile would look, while not applying those lessons to Chilean history to legitimize themselves. Catholic humanism was ideological and forward-facing. Only through the principles of Maritain was their vision practical. The Falange's socialcristianismo didn't constitute a comprehensive political agenda. Instead, independent Maritainian principles critiqued existing structures and presented a scope of ideas for what changes to make in the future. Over the ensuing decades, socialcristianismo was fleshed out to articulate a comprehensive policy agenda.

In the meantime, the communitarian and humanist grammar of Christian Democracy was the grounding force for the economic and social policies of Christian Democrats in Chile. As humanists, members of the Falange saw Chileans as united in a common struggle to make the country a better place. In the early days, this took the form of corporatist language, which transitioned to a communitarian focus as time went on.⁵⁰ The Falange squarely rejected the Marxist-Leninist interpretation that rejected God and identified class as the most important

⁴⁹ Sweet, "Jacques Maritain."

⁵⁰ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section 1, 24.

category in society. However, through the collectivist frameworks they employed, the Falange still understood society along somewhat leftist terms. As Chileans, they believed, all citizens are comrades working for the collective well-being.⁵¹

The Falange, particularly Frei, took on Maritain's belief in the importance of democracy. Democracy was seen as an almost sacred government structure and one which guaranteed its citizens human rights.⁵² For Maritain, the beliefs and values of the electorate didn't materialize out of thin air when a government became a democracy. Democracy required citizens to buy into being a part of something larger than themselves. The creation of a national identity was the means of instilling shared beliefs among the citizenry. Collectivism and corporatism were models for imagining the national community as well as local communities. Socialcristianismo was going to be the shared national identity for Chile.

Since humans are spiritual creatures, the Falangist collective identity must be a religious one. According to Maritain, "man is seen as being in the constant process of development, of movement towards an ultimate end which is spiritual unity with the Divine... at base, therefore, man cannot exist apart from his material or spiritual nature."⁵³ Therefore, a Chile rooted in socialcristianismo must uplift citizens from poverty to a place of sociopolitical freedom if human spiritual and material needs are to be fulfilled.⁵⁴

It should be noted that the Falange problematized the establishment of a national identity. As Catholics, the highest level of community is the universal Catholic community. Therefore, while the nation is the unit of realization for collective participation in democracy, it is not the be-all-end-all of human identity.

⁵¹ Castillo Velasco, *Teoría y práctica*, 81.

⁵² González Cañete, *Una revolución del espíritu*, 237.

⁵³ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section 2, 7.

⁵⁴ Wayland-Smith, *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile*, Section 2, 6.

Christian Democracy: Looking Forwards

At the period when the Falange was forming, Christian Democracy as an international movement was in its infancy. Christian Democracy wouldn't emerge onto the global stage in Europe until the late 1940s. In Europe, it was a response to fascism tearing across Europe in the aftermath of World War II. Over the course of the 1960s, and into the 1970s, global Christian Democracy would turn into a more progressive left-wing movement.⁵⁵

Christian Democracy in Europe and Latin America achieved different electoral success in the 1940s and 1950s. While Christian Democratic Parties were in power in Europe, in Latin America, they were on the political periphery. Across Latin America, the concept of vanguardism gave purpose to Christian Democratic movements, and they existed as statements of ideological purity. In Chile, vanguardism entailed walking the path of the moral center between conservatives on the right, and communists and socialists on the left.

⁵⁵ Carlo Invernizzi Accetti, *What is Christian Democracy? Politics, Religion and Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 281.

Chapter Two

“The Falange Nacional: A Party with a Strong Tradition of Print Culture”

***Política y Espiritu*, the Falange Nacional’s Journal**

In July of 1945, the Falange Nacional published its first edition of *Política y Espiritu*. The journal, which would publish six to ten editions a year, remained in print into the 1970s. During its multi-decade run, most authors in *Política y Espiritu* were members of the Falange Nacional, and many of those were members at its birth in 1935, while Frei led the ANEC (Asociación Nacional de Estudiantes Católicos or National Association of Catholic Students). Throughout its history, *Política y Espiritu* exclusively spoke the language of Christian Democracy, expressing the beliefs of socialcristianismo, and the Catholic basis for their policies.

The name *Política y Espiritu* expresses the explicit purpose and vision for the journal. The phrase, which had also been the name of the 1934 conference put on by Frei and other members of ANEC, shortly before they formed the Falange Nacional, relates to the dialectical relationship between spirituality and material action. In other words, politics and the spirit, with spirit encompassing the totality of religious belief, are the two pillars of the Falangist movement. To bring about religious goals on earth is a political act, and political action is carried out because of faith. Throughout its tenure, *Política y Espiritu* provided a Christian humanist conception of how social Christian political action would look in the world.

The Christian humanism at the core of the Falange Nacional espouses that there are natural truths about humanity and the world, which confer rights onto humans. These truths, in turn, are bestowed by God himself. The Christian humanism of the Falange Nacional is best articulated in the grammar of Jacques Maritain, which at the same time connects the ideology of the Falange Nacional to other movements across the globe. As the political journal of the

Falange Nacional, *Política y Espiritu*, placed all party positions and policies within the grammar of Maritain's humanism. In the case of Chilean politics, agrarian and mining reforms were the key issues through which a Christian humanist vision of society criticized the economic order and provided the basis for a comprehensive political reform.

The 1940s Moment

Política y Espiritu joined an already rich Catholic print culture in Latin America in the mid- twentieth century. For instance, a similar Chilean publication, intent on decrying the harms of capitalism was the *Revista Mensaje (Journal of the Message)*. Edited by Padre Alberto Hurtado, and later carried out in his legacy, *Revista Mensaje* was produced by a community of Jesuits in Santiago. Two other comparable journals from the period were the Argentinean *Sur (South)*, and the Spanish *Revista de Occidente (Review of the West)*. Most of these publications shared authors and articles. *Política y Espiritu* regularly republished essays written for *Revista Mensaje*, *Sur*, and *Revista de Occidente*. The relationship went both ways, with *Revista Mensaje* publishing essays from *Política y Espiritu* on a regular basis.

All four of these journals shared a social Catholic conception of society. However, Chilean print culture during the 1940s and 1950s was not the sole domain of reformist Catholic groups. Various Chilean political parties had their own outlets to express their views, with some published in journals, others in newspapers. *Política y Espiritu* was thus one Catholic voice competing with many others. That voice grants perspective on the ideology of the Falange Nacional, and helps us understand the Falange's very existence.

When seen through this lens, the first issues of *Política y Espiritu* become not only a statement of directives, but a claim to existence. Three essays published in the first two years of

Política y Espiritu that established the values of the journal are “Christian Position on our world” by Manuel Garretón Walker, “Christian Principles for a new Politic in Chile” by Radomiro Tomic, and “Defining positions” by Patricio Aylwin Azócar. At the dates of their respective publications, in 1945 and 1946, Radomiro Tomic had been one of the prominent members of the Falange since its inception, and Patricio Aylwin, who joined in the mid-1940s was a newcomer, rising in prominence within the Party.

Manuel Garretón Walker’s “Christian Position on our world” was the only essay in the first edition of *Política y Espiritu* to address the world at large.¹ Other articles focused in on one small aspect of Christian humanism, or constituted a review of a play, or something else similar. In his essay, geared towards European politics, Garretón Walker establishes that *Política y Espiritu* represents the values of just one group of Catholics, and calls out authoritarian Catholic regimes, such as Franco’s in Spain, as bad Catholics.² A proper Catholic doctrine is grounded in socialcristianismo, which Garretón Walker says has reached maturity through Jacques Maritain’s philosophy, and which calls a good Catholic to be in “opposition to capitalism and [to] fight for a new economic system, one built upon social justice.”³ For Garretón Walker, the violence of the 1940s occurred due to the absence of Christian truth in society, a problem to which socialcristianismo is the answer, because it provides a vision of society grounded in Christian truth.

Throughout “Christian Position on our world”, Garretón Walker cites Maritain’s writings on De Galle, unions, and Christian humanism. For Garretón Walker, it is clear that Maritain’s theories provide the basis for a comprehensive Catholic social order. The breadth of Garretón

¹ Manuel Garretón Walker, “Posición Cristiana Frente al Mundo Actual,” *Política y Espiritu* 1, no. 1 (July 1945): 22-33.

² Garretón Walker, “Posicion Cristiana,” 23-25.

³ Garretón Walker, “Posicion Cristiana,” 28.

Walker's analysis is contained within the commentary of Maritain, demonstrating that Maritain's philosophy is relevant to and important for all parts of a Catholic ordering of the world.

Due to their significant positions in the party, Radomiro Tomic and Patricio Aylwin Azócar's words carried significant weight and helped give the journal greater credibility. Throughout its existence, *Política y Espiritu* published both essays and speeches. "Defining Positions" was written for *Política y Espiritu*. "Christian Principles for a new Politic in Chile" was a speech Radomiro Tomic gave to the Chilean senate on September fourth, 1945. Almost all of the transcribed speeches, throughout the entire duration of the journal, are those of Eduardo Frei or Radomiro Tomic, still further establishing *Política y Espiritu* as the face of the Party in the eyes of the Chilean government.

Radomiro Tomic's speech "Christian Principles for a new Politic in Chile" works to defend the Falange Nacional from the political attacks of the day, and to state in explicit terms the values of the Party.⁴ Early on, Tomic says,

The Falange Nacional doesn't accept the Marxist or liberal interpretation of humanity or society. Embedded in Christian philosophy, we believe there is a concept of humanity which is eternal and transcendental. In our politics, we aspire to give the eternal man a civil and political existence, which results in a transformational and revolutionary image, at odds with our unjust and anti-Christian society.⁵

That concept of society Tomic speaks of is socialcristianismo. Tomic gears his commentary towards the works of Maritain, quoting Maritain who stressed the importance of civil society as the mechanism for government to support moral development, towards the

⁴ Radomiro Tomic, "Fundamentos cristianos para una nueva política en Chile," *Política y Espiritu* 1, no. 4 (October 1945): 121-128.

⁵ Tomic, "Fundamentos cristianos," 122.

realization of good Christian lives.⁶ Furthermore, Tomic states in explicit terms that the Falangist agenda in no way abridges on the right of private property.⁷

The rhetorical function of Tomic's speech was to establish that the Falange Nacional was putting forth a Christian vision of society, which would be brought about through governmental reforms, and which was in no way related to Communism. In the early days, socialcristianismo and anti-communism were the two established pillars of the Falange Nacional. Both positions stemmed from Maritain's humanist philosophy and the political climate of the day. While the Conservative Party of Chile and other groups on the right labeled the Falange Nacional communists, the Communist Party said they didn't do enough. To the status quo they were revolutionaries; to revolutionaries they were spineless reformers.

The publications of the party in the mid-1940s, therefore, should be seen as responding to these political attacks. In the third edition of *Política y Espiritu*, which was published from late 1947 into early 1948, nearly identical speeches by Eduardo Frei Montalva and Radomiro Tomic were published. Both speeches touch upon the same points as Tomic's "Christian Principles for a New Politics in Chile," that the party had deeply rooted Christian values and that they opposed communism. The Falange Nacional was always a party with well-established and clear values, but navigating those values was made all the harder by the attacks from the right and left.

No man was more important to the development of the values of the Falange Nacional than Eduardo Frei, the early and permanent leader of the party throughout the mid-20th century. Eduardo Frei Montalva hated both communism and laissez-faire capitalism with a passion. One of the few men who could match Frei's level of conviction was Patricio Aylwin Azócar. Upon graduating from the University of Chile School of Law in 1943, Aylwin Azócar entered the

⁶ Tomic, "Fundamentos cristianos," 126.

⁷ Tomic, "Fundamentos cristianos," 127.

Chilean political arena and the Falange Nacional in 1945. After joining the Falange, Aylwin Azócar rapidly climbed the ranks, and was elected president of the party in 1950 and 1951.

In his essay “Defining Positions”⁸, Aylwin Azócar established his vision for society, and its relationship to the average Chilean. The author begins by saying that an individual has three possibilities for facing adversity in life, one can “Try to escape from it, live vicariously through it, or face it and try to make it favorable.”⁹ The three attitudes towards life match up with the Falange’s vision of its place in Chilean society. Those who escape adversity are the Conservatives, unwilling to acknowledge the problems in Chilean society. At the same time, communists live through their adversity, unable to acknowledge the whole reality of life. Meanwhile, the Falange Nacional recognizes adversity, and proposed pragmatic solutions for it.

In his tripartition of the Chilean political process, Aylwin Azócar comes down much stronger against communism, than in his critiques of the Chilean right. Communism “has broken the equilibrium of our society... lacking morals.”¹⁰ Meanwhile, the problem with conservatives is that they do not recognize the “fiery indignation which consumes the souls of those who live fighting poverty. They can’t conceive that those people have aspirations.”¹¹ The Falange understands the working class and the author suggests that the Falange have an important role vis-a-vis the working class. Aylwin Azócar compares modern Chile to first-century Rome. In Rome, the role of the Falange Nacional is that of Saint Paul, who illuminated the lives of many by converting them to Christianity. In Rome, “...the savages were Christianized. Rome was saved.... Our circumstance is remarkably similar.... The proletarian masses are the savages of

⁸ Patricio Aylwin Azócar, “Definiendo posiciones,” *Política y Espiritu* 2, no. 19 (January 1947): 16-21.

⁹ Aylwin Azócar, “Definiendo posiciones,” 16.

¹⁰ Aylwin Azócar, “Definiendo posiciones,” 17.

¹¹ Aylwin Azócar, “Definiendo posiciones,” 19.

our day.... They bring a vital energy which is needed for the rejuvenation of our society.... They lack many things, above all else a proper spirituality. But, that is precisely what we have.”¹²

While Rome was not invoked often, Aylwin Azócar’s description of the status of the working class represented the standard Falangist view. The working class were a vital unit in society, and must be looked after to ensure their health. This is the role of the Falange and, by extension the Catholic Church. Communism is misguided; therefore, the act of guiding workers would make revolutionary parties unnecessary.

Throughout the first issues of *Política y Espiritu* Eduardo Frei Montalva, Patricio Aylwin Azócar, and Radomiro Tomic established that the Falange Nacional was a Christian voice, advocating for a Chilean society grounded in Christ. Other Catholics, it claimed, are on the wrong path, in that they have an incorrect understanding of God’s truth, while Communists were fixated on material conditions and needed Catholic truth more than anyone. In vocalizing these values, Eduardo Frei Montalva, Radomiro Tomic, and Patricio Aylwin Azócar were responding to political attacks from the left and the right. At all times, it is essential to recognize the political context of *Política y Espiritu* articles to understand how they respond to their historical moment. In *Política y Espiritu*, socialcristianismo, the vision of a just Catholic society is always placed in conflict with capitalism and communism. A middle ground, that of a non-communistic communitarianism is placed as the vehicle for the realization of a just Catholic society.

The Falange’s Communitarianism in the 1940s and 1950s

During the late 1940s and early 1950s political moment, the first years of *Política y Espiritu*, many essays discussed the implications of socialcristianismo for politics. The concept

¹² Aylwin Azócar, “Definiendo posiciones,” 20.

of communitarianism was central to the discussion especially as a contrast to Communism. The leaders of the Falange sought to show they were pro-worker but decidedly opposed to anything associated with Communism.

The first essay in *Política y Espiritu* to take on the topic of communitarianism was “Work and Man” by the French Catholic philosophers Etienne Borne and François Henry.¹³ “Work and Man” sees the establishment of communitarian economic practices as a mechanism for the moral and spiritual uplift of workers. The masses of society have the tools to appreciate the world, but lack the Catholic perspective to understand it. On a fundamental level, this relationship in “Work and Man” is the same as in Patricio Aylwin Azócar’s “Defining Positions.” For Aylwin Azócar, the function of the Falange and communitarianism is to provide the social and religious awakening to workers. The Falange articulates a communitarian vision of the economy, out of recognition of the importance of work to everyday life. In their essay, Borne and Henry argue that work must be an essential aspect of a Christian humanist agenda because “Work births a moral consciousness.”¹⁴ Being a laborer under capitalism produces “a spontaneous humanism, inconsistent with Christian values.”¹⁵

Marxism is built out of the spontaneous humanism of the worker, but takes it a little further. The flaw of a materialistic attitude towards society is that it fails to acknowledge and ground itself in God’s truth. As such, the political awakening produced from the acknowledgement of the alienating forces of capitalism, a spontaneous realization produced by being a laborer, lacks the Catholic morality needed to build a community.

¹³ Etienne Borne and François Henry, “El Trabajo y el Hombre,” *Política y Espiritu* 1, no. 11 (May 1946): 135-38.

¹⁴ Borne and Henry, “El Trabajo y el Hombre,” 135.

¹⁵ Borne and Henry, “El Trabajo y el Hombre,” 136.

Catholic humanism, according to Borne and Henry, puts forth a communitarian vision for society to turn workers towards God's truth. This is in contrast to Communism and liberalism, which either deny God exists or makes God irrelevant. Organizing society around community organizations is in opposition to an individual driven society. In *Política y Espiritu* the various aspects of communitarianism together build a multi-faceted vision of socialcristianismo.

A few months after Borne and Henry's essay, *Política y Espiritu* published an essay detailing key aspects of communitarianism. In the paper "Towards a Community of Work", the French intellectual Jacques René Rabier describes how a communitarian economy would function.¹⁶ Rabier states that "within a communitarian work structure, hierarchies continue to exist, but the dependencies derived from capitalism are eliminated... a community of work can make sure that profit isn't monopolized by a capitalist oligarchy."¹⁷ Communitarian economic proposals are an attempt to mitigate the nature and power of capitalism, and produce an economic system that does not degrade the individual. Communitarianism is at odds with liberalism's support for free markets, because the widespread adoption of communitarian practices requires government take a more interventionist role in the economy. While communitarian utopian communities might exist, for communitarianism to function as the mechanism for uplifting the national community of workers, it must be taken on as a governmental project.

To produce a vision for what a communitarian economy would look like, Rabier contrasts the works of two theorists, Hubert Maltzer and M. Maire. The author's objective is to demonstrate the superiority of the communitarian position vis-a-vis Marxist analyses of the economy. Maire is a Marxist and argues that private property, as bearing on the laborer in the

¹⁶ Jacques René Rabier, "Hacia la comunidad de trabajo," *Política y Espiritu* 2, no. 19 (January 1947), 3-9.

¹⁷ Rabier, "Hacia la comunidad de trabajo," 3.

form of a wage, must be abolished in a communitarian society.¹⁸ Extensively quoting Marx's views on political economy, Maire finds that in capitalist societies, the existence of private property results in the alienation of the worker. Meanwhile, Miltzer has a less aggressive communitarian approach, and finds that "the participation of workers in the grouping of business necessitates a structural modification of business,"¹⁹ and that communitarianism demands a politics of government intervention in the economy, breaking from liberal illusions of a "self-regulating market, which is supposed to meet the needs of the individual."²⁰

Not surprisingly, Rabier sides with Miltzer and believes that the establishment of a communitarian economy would necessitate widespread government intervention, but should fall far short of abolishing private property. To explore visions of communitarianism, Rabier also introduces the example of the "Community Barbu," which was a small utopian community led by Mr. Barbu.²¹ While Rabier does not believe that case studies of utopian communities can be applied to describe how a government supported communitarian economy would function, he takes one nugget of wisdom from the Barbu example. In his community, Barbu ruled with an iron fist, and Rabier believes that communitarian societies can only exist when significant powers are given to the leaders of local communities. The functioning of communitarian collectives is not a democratic process, but a strictly hierarchical one.

Published in January of 1947, "Towards a Community of Work" appeared at the same political moment that Eduardo Frei Montalva and Radomiro Tomic were responding to the domestic accusations that the Falange Nacional were communists. The vision of a communitarian society outlined by Rabier conflicts with the perspectives of the other important

¹⁸ Rabier, "Hacia la comunidad de trabajo," 4.

¹⁹ Rabier, "Hacia la comunidad de trabajo," 5.

²⁰ Rabier, "Hacia la comunidad de trabajo," 6.

²¹ Rabier, "Hacia la comunidad de trabajo," 9.

Chilean Parties in significant ways. The Liberal, Radical, and Conservative Parties of Chile were all advocating a liberal economy, one in which the government plays a limited role in the functioning of the economy. For Rabier, if communitarian practices are going to be widespread, they need to be carried out by the government. In 1947, believing that the government should have the capacity to intervene to a significant degree in the Chilean economy is at odds with the values of the other important political parties in Chile.

It is here we see the dilemma which the Falange confronted throughout its short life. To criticize laissez-faire capitalism without being labeled Communist and, at the same time, to criticize Communism without being identified as a fascist. In the turbulent 1920s, the Conservative Party of Chile had supported the establishment of Catholic aid societies, but didn't propose government intervention. Potentially for that reason, the majority of the other essays on communitarianism from this period prioritize differentiating the author's perspective from the communist and conservative one, most often along Aylwin Alcózar's already established lines.

One such essay, published in the following issue of *Política y Espiritu*, that of February-March of 1947, characterizes the differences between communitarianism and communism. The essay, "Christian Humanism and Marxist Humanism" by Jaime Castillo compares three different forms of humanism, Classical, Marxist, and Catholic Humanism.²² Castillo believes the three different kinds of humanism to be radically different propositions, where Catholic humanism is far superior to both Marxist and classical humanism. Furthermore, what is central to Catholic humanism is not present in the two other forms of humanism.

²² Jaime Castillo, "Humanismo cristiano y humanismo marxista," *Política y Espiritu* 2, no. 20 (February-March 1947): 54-61.

Classical humanism, Castillo claimed, was a bourgeois movement meant to “soften the necessity of progressive action.”²³ While classical humanism produced a newfound appreciation for humanity, its focus on aesthetics and art ignored the nature of the human condition. Marxist humanism remedies this mistake, placing “the full richness of humanity in harmony with itself.”²⁴ The problem of Marxist humanism is that it attributes “a class attitude towards human ideas... which results in a limited vision of humanity.”²⁵ Possessing a class attitude towards human relations is problematic in that it creates barriers not divined from religious truth. Catholic humanism possesses the correct answers for the nature of humanity because it is only reducible to God’s truth.

For the Falange Nacional, their Christian humanist conception of society was always framed in terms of socialcristianismo. The Catholic Church is a supranational organization with adherents across the globe. If the purpose of Catholic humanism is to produce global changes and the uplift of everyone towards a proper Catholic life, then all barriers to global Catholic unity are problematic. Both in their class analysis of society and in their secular attitudes, Marxists are turning away from the Catholic doctrine. Because of their class analysis, Castillo says, “the basis of Marxist action is not love, but hate.”²⁶

In the late 1940s, as the Falange Nacional was continuing to establish itself in the Chilean political arena, there was an upswing in anti-communist sentiment in Chile. The upswing was tied to the growing influence of the Socialist and Communist Parties of Chile, who, as a part of the “Democratic Alliance” successfully supported Gabriel González Videla to the presidency of Chile. González Videla was chosen as the candidate of the “Democratic Alliance”, because as

²³ Castillo, “Humanismo cristiano y humanismo marxista,” 55.

²⁴ Castillo, “Humanismo cristiano y humanismo marxista,” 56.

²⁵ Castillo, “Humanismo cristiano y humanismo marxista,” 58.

²⁶ Castillo, “Humanismo cristiano y humanismo marxista,” 59.

one of the most conservative politicians in the alliance, he would appeal to moderate voters who would otherwise not support leftist parties. Shortly after his victory the alliance fell apart and González Videla turned against the Socialist and Communist Parties of Chile.

The fulfillment of Gabriel González Videla's attack on the Chilean left was the "Permanent Defense of Democracy Law," which made participation in the Communist Party of Chile illegal, jailed the leaders of the Communist Party of Chile, and purged the members of the Party from electoral rolls. Passed in 1948, the Falange Nacional fought against the law for the two years while it was being formulated and then passed. At the time, the charge was led in the Chilean senate by the two most visible members of the Falange Nacional, Radomiro Tomic and Eduardo Frei Montalva.

In May of 1948, a few months before the law passed, Radomiro Tomic presented the speech "Communism, Capitalism, and Christian Democracy"²⁷ before the Chilean Senate. Tomic spoke up to say that exiling the Communist Party of Chile from the democratic process would "degrade the future of democracy and liberty in Chile" and that removing the Communist Party from the electoral process would only lead to other forms of Communist action.²⁸ Chiefly, instead of pursuing their agenda through the established governmental process, they would do so through violent insurrection. However, the chief focus of Tomic's speech was the politics of the Falange, and not the repercussions of passing this law.

Over the course of the speech, Tomic sketched out the Falange's belief in democracy and the implications Falangist beliefs had for government. In sum, the Falange stood to "defend liberty of opinion. We are against political reigns of terror, and believe in a country which

²⁷ Radomiro Tomic, "Comunismo, capitalismo y democracia cristiana," *Política y Espíritu* 3, no. 32 (May 1948): 94-119.

²⁸ Tomic, "Comunismo, capitalismo y democracia cristiana," 94.

maintains its laws.”²⁹ On that level, a restructuring of the political process, to the exclusion of Chileans is flawed because it undermines the legitimacy of laws and the electoral process.

Inclusion in the democratic process must be shared with all groups because “to achieve economic and social justice, which unions in France achieved, requires active participation from the masses of society, which is the most secure guarantee of national independence and liberties, and strengthens the fight against all forms of totalitarianism.”³⁰

The Falange Nacional recognized that under capitalism, working and living conditions for most Chileans were exploitative. Moreover, through work, one is awakened to the reality of one’s own exploitation. The problem that the Falange Nacional had with Communist workers was that their awakening was flawed, and produced a negation of God’s truth through a focus on materialistic ends and a class reductionist approach to humanity.

Within Tomic’s vision for Chile, democracy and communitarianism had a shared purpose for the Falange. Both democracy and communitarianism were mechanisms for the government to uplift society towards a Catholic truth, leading to a fundamental restructuring of capitalism. Making communism illegal would not only push many Chileans out of the political process, and likely lead to an insurrection, but would remove them from the form of society the Falange is working to uplift.

On the topic of insurrection, Tomic is decisive, saying that “A society founded in the unjust inequality between classes, is a society ripening for communism.”³¹ Furthermore, many of the dominant political groups in Chile are working to grow and uplift capitalism.³² Thereby, a continuation of the status quo, even one that doesn’t make participation in the Communist Party

²⁹ Tomic, “Comunismo, capitalismo y democracia cristiana,” 97.

³⁰ Tomic, “Comunismo, capitalismo y democracia cristiana,” 108.

³¹ Tomic, “Comunismo, capitalismo y democracia cristiana,” 103.

³² Tomic, “Comunismo, capitalismo y democracia cristiana,” 109.

illegal, is one that is unable to confront and defeat communism. For Tomic, the solution to communism is to create a communitarian, democratic society where individuals are treated as humans.

In fact, an essay from the same volume of *Política y Espiritu*, “Manifiesto of the Catholic Youth of Chile,” went on to place that argument on even more explicit terms:³³ The Catholic Youth of Chile were the organization, along with ANEC, which had formed the Falangist movement in the early 1930s. Frei had been president of both organizations in the leadup to the 1935 introduction of the Falange into the Conservative Party of Chile. “The Manifiesto of the Catholic Youth of Chile” was a declaration of intent, along the lines made a decade earlier by Frei and others, which signaled the vision of this prominent Catholic student movement.

The majority of Chilean Catholics are sterile and harmful in their anti-communism, they are uncomfortable with delivering the people, who are suffering under horrible conditions, the recognition they deserve.... We think that the way to fight communism and to deliver good conditions to the people, is to establish a positive and comprehensive doctrine... The social-Christian doctrine (socialcristianismo) is fundamentally positive. It is grounded in recognition of the dignity God conferred onto humanity, and promotes the practice of fundamental rights.³⁴

In the “Manifiesto of the Catholic Youth of Chile,” the need to reform society was the first and most important point, demonstrating the importance of socialcristianismo to the Falangist ideology. The social doctrine of the party is the point of origin for their many policies, and the grounds for their comprehensive policy. Later on, the essay argues that the best way to carry out socialcristianismo is through the unions. However, since “unions in Chile have a

³³ “Manifiesto de la juventud Católica de Chile,” *Política y Espiritu* 3, no. 27-28 (November-December 1947): 124-126.

³⁴ “Manifiesto de la juventud Católica de Chile,” 124.

criminal absence of Christians,” Catholics must reform unions to bring them in line with socialcristianismo.³⁵

Five years after publishing Tomic’s speech, *Política y Espiritu* published a paper by Máximo Pacheco Gómez entitled “Social Doctrine for Unions.” Originally presented at a conference on unions at the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile,³⁶ the article expresses the need for Catholic unions and their function within the social doctrine of the church, which for the Falange is presented in the form of socialcristianismo. For Pacheco Gómez, the function of a union always has spiritual overtones because humans need community. Unions are an expression of community and “the goal of a union is to cultivate growth of the body, the spirit, and good fortune... and moral and religious perfecting.”³⁷ The guiding principle: Catholic unions will strengthen the faith of believers and bring back many workers who have left the church.

Within the communitarian vision of society, unions are the unit of individual civic participation, moral maturation, and where the realization of a more just world occurs. Pacheco Gómez believed that Catholic unions are the mechanism for confronting and addressing inequality through what he called,

...An urgent plan seeking justice for the oppressed: Granting them the peace and harmony they fight for was not the peace of a graveyard, nor resignation of the weak to the injustices carried out by the strong. Justice in unions raises the worker towards equality with owners, producing a mutual respect and duties between owners and workers. When this has been achieved, the fight between the classes will have ceased.³⁸

³⁵ “Manifiesto de la juventud Católica de Chile,” 125.

³⁶ Máximo Pacheco Gómez, “Doctrina social sobre el sindicalismo,” *Política y Espiritu* 8, no. 80 (November 1952): 2-6.

³⁷ Pacheco Gómez, “Doctrina social sobre el sindicalismo,” 3.

³⁸ Pacheco Gómez, “Doctrina social sobre el sindicalismo,” 4.

Admittedly, Pacheco Gómez's plan for the realization of equality between workers and owners was sparse on details, with his focus more on a macro-analysis of the function of unions. Repeatedly Pacheco Gómez seeks to establish the differences between Catholic unions and Communist ones. In his definition of unions, he describes them in non-conflictual terms presenting a vision that is incompatible with Communist doctrine. Unions are the arena for the realization of human potential, Pacheco Gómez argues, which necessitates the correcting of the injustices done to workers under capitalism. However, he goes no further; unions for him are always apolitical.³⁹

By defining unions in this way, Pacheco Gómez walks a line that the Falange is always delicately tip-toeing. What does it mean to carry out political action? The name of the Falange's political journal, *Política y Espiritu*, expresses a relationship between political action and religiosity that is absent in the communitarian literature. Religious truth is the motivation for political action. In turn, political action is carried out to realize religious truth. According to those precepts, to spread Catholic truth in the world is a political action. At the same time, can the religious awakening of the workers of Chile truly be an apolitical act?

The prescription of communitarian reforms as apolitical is not a lapse in understanding, but itself a political statement. To say that Falangist reforms are apolitical is to say that they do the bare minimum to address the subjugation of workers. They are not radical, by the common sense response meant to abate the worst characteristics of capitalism.

Throughout *Política y Espiritu*, many essays discuss socialcristianismo, but only explore it on conceptual terms. Eduardo Frei Montalva, by contrast, was rarely one to speak in hypotheticals and when talking about socialcristianismo he turned towards Franklin Delano

³⁹ Pacheco Gómez, "Doctrina social sobre el sindicalismo," 5.

Roosevelt's New Deal in the United States as the basis for his vision of economic transformation. One such essay, published as the cover story of the November 1948 issue of *Política y Espiritu* was titled "Dictatorship and Democracy."⁴⁰ Frei says that through the New Deal, the United States had achieved "a minimum of economic well-being" and that "a democracy requires a minimum level of material wellbeing, political education, a positive attitude towards coexistence, generosity and understanding."⁴¹ A democracy that does not achieve economic well-being for citizens doesn't actually confer full participation unto all. Unrest brews discontent and violence against the government.⁴² The cure for unrest, and thereby communism, is to provide a governmental system which addresses the problems of capitalism. For Frei, the United States had already produced one such system through the rollout of FDR's New Deal.

When the Falange Nacional discussed plans for the economic establishment of socialcristianismo, they did so with the New Deal in mind. Subtly, the promise of socialcristianismo is the realization of a radical transformation of the Chilean economy, producing a rise in quality of life for everyone, particularly workers. Looking towards the United States was also a political act, in which the Falange promoted itself as a Cold War ally of the United States. This allyship was very real, but it was also a further posturing against accusations of being communists. Over the course of the 1950s, the Falange's appreciation towards the United States grew, and their vision for socialcristianismo became a more concrete economic proposition.

Socialcristianismo and Runaway Inflation

⁴⁰ Eduardo Frei Montalva, "Dictadura y democracia," *Política y Espiritu* 3, no. 36 (November 1948): 275-278.

⁴¹ Frei, "Dictadura y democracia," 275.

⁴² Frei, "Dictadura y democracia," 276.

The movement of socialcristianismo continued to form the basis of the ideology of the Falange Nacional throughout its history. Whereas early essays in *Política y Espiritu* tended to be philosophical, over time the number of essays providing the Falange's specific solutions to Chilean problems grew. This shift coincided with the various restructurings of the journal, which occurred every four years or so from its birth in 1945 into the 1970s.

In 1945, editions of *Política y Espiritu* were comprised of various essays on topics of Catholic belief, and short book or play reviews. For instance, in the index for the third issue of *Política y Espiritu* there were four essays and three book reviews published (see Figure 1). Essays always accounted for the majority of the pages in each publication. Over the course of the 1950s, various restructurings eliminated the book review section and began to provide coverage of current events in Chile and around the world. The table of contents for the November of 1952 issue contains no book review section, but rather a section on current events (see Figure 2). Two years later, in 1954, the section on current events was expanded, and over time the current events section became more political, cataloguing the failures of the Chilean government.

The change in focus of *Política y Espiritu* is especially reflected in the articles by Eduardo Frei Montalva. The author who contributed to the journal the most, Frei Montalva provided increasingly detailed plans for reforming Chile as the years went on. At first, however, Frei Montalva's essays and transcribed speeches limited themselves to the tenants of socialcristianismo. The first essay Frei Montalva published on the economy in *Política y Espiritu* kept its analysis at the ideological level. "Organizing the Economic," published in 1946⁴³ begins by stating that "accepting an organizing structure for the economy is, in a certain way, accepting a philosophy of humanity, because nothing litigates the personal and social

⁴³ Eduardo Frei, "La organización de lo economico," *Política y Espiritu* 2, no. 16 (October 1946), 104-109.

destiny of an individual like their economy.”⁴⁴ Frei Montalva’s ideal economy would not litigate responsibilities from the top-down, believing that “intervention in the economy must occur from the bottom up, constituting a representation of the people, a representation which is essentially authentic.”⁴⁵

At the same time, across his essays establishing the Falangist beliefs of the late 1940s, Frei Montalva demonstrates remarkable consistency in how he applies important principles. The ideals of democracy are the mechanism for participation in government, the economy and society. Whether discussing the economy or the representation of an ideal society, the grammar of socialcristianismo remains the means through which Falangist plans are expressed. While socialcristianismo continued to be the endpoint of the Falange’s economic agenda, concern for material conditions in Chile, beyond the level of the ideological, provided new possibilities for expressing their vision.

Two years later, in October of 1948, *Política y Espiritu* published its first in depth analysis of the Chilean economy, with a focus on material existence. “Reforming Worker Safety,” written by Gabriel Valdés sketched out the laws governing the Chilean economy as they related to workers, but did not propose ways to improve or significantly change them.⁴⁶ Laws on worker compensation, maternity leave, and sick leave were quoted extensively. Over the 1950s, *Política y Espiritu* would devote many similar essays to exploring the legal status and functioning of unions. These essays were meant to give context to other essays detailing plans for reform.

⁴⁴ Frei, “La organización,” *Política y Espiritu*, 104.

⁴⁵ Frei, “La organización,” *Política y Espiritu*, 109.

⁴⁶ Gabriel Valdés, “Reforma seguro obrero,” *Política y Espiritu* 3, no. 35 (September-October 1948): 246-254.

The next time *Política y Espiritu* put forward a detailed sketch of the Chilean economy, it was in the form of a speech Eduardo Frei Montalva would present on March 1st, 1951 to the United Nations, given in advance to *Política y Espiritu*.⁴⁷ In the speech “Consequences Suffered by Underdeveloped Countries Because of the Global Economy”, Frei Montalva not only characterized the problems facing the Chilean economy, but placed them in a Latin American context. The main problem facing Chile, and much of Latin America, was inflation. “Economic insecurity, produced by unemployment and inflation is the phenomenon which emerges from fundamental economic decisions made by developed nations,”⁴⁸ he argued. In Chile foreign investment has “...dominated the exportation of minerals, establishing minimum quotas, nulling the ability of countries to carry out industrial and agricultural interventions.”⁴⁹ The global economy was holding developing nations hostage.

To address the control the global economy exercises over developing countries, Frei Montalva proposed that the United Nations “establish regulations for the pricing of fundamental materials.”⁵⁰ The lack of such regulation in the global economy was the main source of runaway inflation in Chile. As Chile experienced a population boom, it took out new lines of credit to finance economic growth.⁵¹ Chile’s economy was slow to recover after the collapse of the global economy due to the Great Depression, and runaway inflation rose with a Chilean population boom.

An important aspect of inflation was the relationship between mining, industry, and the international economy. In his speech, Frei notes that companies from developed countries

⁴⁷ Eduardo Frei, “Consecuencias que tienen para los países poco desarrollados los cambios sufridos por la economía mundial,” *Política y Espiritu* 7, no. 55 (January-February 1951): 15-25.

⁴⁸ Frei Montalva, “Consecuencias,” 15.

⁴⁹ Frei Montalva, “Consecuencias,” 20.

⁵⁰ Frei Montalva, “Consecuencias,” 23.

⁵¹ Frei Montalva, “Consecuencias,” 17-18.

dominated developing economies, and paralyzed their agrarian, industrial, and mining sectors. Under these constraints, developing countries were at the whim of the global economy and lack the tools to address runaway inflation. An important part of that relationship was foreign ownership of mineral extraction, which led to a significant level of wealth produced within lopped off, with profits going to the foreign-owned business. The Falange Nacional's plans for Agrarian and Mining Reform were a response to this set of relationships and sought to grow and stabilize the Chilean economy.

The first time *Política y Espiritu* put forth an idea for major economic reforms was in July of 1952 when it published the speech "Copper Policy," presented by Eduardo Frei Montalva to the Chilean senate on May 28, 1952.⁵² In his speech, Frei Montalva established the same relationship between inflation and mining that he had presented to the United Nations. Foreign ownership of mines and mines not maximizing their production meant that Chile had missed out on significant wealth. In recent decades both of these factors had gotten worse: "Since 1913, big mining companies have grown their stake in Chilean mining of copper from 19 percent to 95 percent."⁵³ Furthermore, the biggest problem with foreign ownership of mines was that "big mining companies don't spend their profits in Chile, instead spending them elsewhere, only paying Chile the costs of their exploitation and taxes."⁵⁴ These problems had continued to worsen since 1939, when companies figured out new ways to pay Chile less of their dividends.⁵⁵

To ensure that the profits generated by mining companies were spent in Chile, Frei Monalva argued for a policy where "foreign mining companies must relocate to Chile to

⁵² Eduardo Frei Montalva, "Política del cobre," *Política y Espiritu* 8, no. 73 (July 1952): 219-223.

⁵³ Frei Montalva, "Politica del Cobre," 219.

⁵⁴ Frei Montalva, "Politica del Cobre," 219.

⁵⁵ Frei Montalva, "Politica del Cobre," 221.

continue operations”.⁵⁶ Furthermore, the total value of good produced must be subject to Chilean taxes.⁵⁷ To demonstrate that the government of Chile could carry out this process, and indeed had done so before, Frei Montalva turned to the example of the securities industry, which was nationalized a few years earlier and resulted in “all foreign companies leaving.”⁵⁸

At this point in time then, economic reforms for the Falange Nacional were about the ability to fully tax the products made in Chile. While the nationalization of the securities industry was presented as a demonstration that the government has the ability to carry out sweeping reforms, Frei didn’t make any allusion to nationalizing copper in this essay. Instead, the focus remained on the ability to fully tax the Chilean mining industry.

In the early and mid-1950s, the Falange Nacional was still a small political party, comprised of a limited number of political figures with a shared vision for society. The authors of *Política y Espíritu* were prominent members of the party who would be the ones to implement the party’s reforms in the 1960s. Essays in *Política y Espíritu* from this time capture the thinking out of proposed reforms.

The first succinct and comprehensive vision of agrarian reform put forth in *Política y Espíritu*, for instance, came in a March 1953 article by Jacques Chonchol,⁵⁹ who would go on to work in both the Frei Montalva and Allende administration, serving as Allende’s Minister of Agriculture for Chile from 1970 to 1972. In his essay, “Agrarian Reform in Chile,” Chonchol placed agrarian reform on human and economic terms: “Above all else, it is needed for human and societal reasons.”⁶⁰ Agriculture in Chile, he argued, had maintained a “feudal” structure,

⁵⁶ Frei Montalva, “Politica del Cobre,” 222.

⁵⁷ Frei Montalva, “Politica del Cobre,” 222.

⁵⁸ Frei Montalva, “Politica del Cobre,” 222.

⁵⁹ Jacques Chonchol, “La reforma agraria en Chile,” *Política y Espíritu* 9, no.88 (March 1953): 2-7.

⁶⁰ Chonchol, “La reforma agraria en Chile,” 3.

where the peasantry “experienced a physical and moral lessening, compromising the integrity of future generations.”⁶¹ For Chonchol, socialcristianismo reigns supreme in shaping his plan for reforms, even when proposing economic reforms.

But agrarian reform was also “needed for strictly economic reasons.”⁶² What Chonchol proposed was an answer to what he defined as the “three defining aspects of Chilean agriculture. First, it does not produce enough for the country; second, what it does produce is too expensive; and third, production is disorganized and anarchistic, which aggravates the previous two conditions.”⁶³ To confront these challenges, Chile must augment production, better use human and natural resources, and organize the sector to be in accordance with the needs of the country.⁶⁴

During the mid-1950s, all other essays in *Política y Espiritu* maintained the same core principles for producing policies of agrarian and mining reform. In the current events section of the August 1953 issue of *Política y Espiritu*, the journal criticized government policies for being disorganized and failing to maximize production.⁶⁵ When the Popular Socialist Party of Chile released a plan for Agrarian Reform in 1954, the editorial board of *Política y Espiritu* scolded the Conservative, Liberal, and Radical Parties of Chile for not acknowledging the human cost of Chilean agriculture and the ways in which Chile was failing to maximize production.⁶⁶

The significance of the early 1950s Falangist attitude towards reform was in how it differs from their later proposals. The first shift towards proposing an intervention in Chilean business came in the form of Juan de Dios Carmona’s 1954 essay “The Problem with

⁶¹ Chonchol, “La reforma agraria en Chile,” 3.

⁶² Chonchol, “La reforma agraria en Chile,” 4.

⁶³ Chonchol, “La reforma agraria en Chile,” 2.

⁶⁴ Chonchol, “La reforma agraria en Chile,” 5.

⁶⁵ “Política nacional: Plan anti-inflacionista,” *Política y Espiritu* 9, no. 97 (August 1953): 2-4.

⁶⁶ “Reforma agraria, tema en debate,” *Política y Espiritu* 10, no. 122 (October 1954): 1-2.

Saltpeter.”⁶⁷ In his essay, Carmona followed the Party line and called out the Chilean mining sector for not maximizing production. What is unique about Carmona’s essay is that in it, he targeted one company in particular as being a source of trouble. The company in question, “Anglo Lautaro,” (which would indeed be disbanded under Frei Montalva’s government in 1968 as a part of mining reforms) was paying a prominent Chilean newspaper, “El Mercurio”, to ignore the extensive layoffs they were carrying out to cut costs.⁶⁸

Carmona connected the layoffs to an international agreement from “1945 that Chile should limit itself to 15 million tons of saltpeter per year,” despite global consumption increasing 7% annually, and many American companies ignoring the internationally set quotas.⁶⁹ The solution Carmona put forward was to regulate mining companies, to hinder their ability to control the Chilean economy. Anglo Lautaro’s decision to lay off 1500 workers had sent local governments into a frenzy, trying to address the disruption caused by unemployment. The case of massive layoffs at Anglo Lautaro, while the company’s profits were increasing, demonstrated the irrationality of laissez-faire capitalism. Carmona and his fellow Falangists underscore the need for an interventionist state, one that regulates private firms so that owners and workers benefit with minimal social disruption.

The Presidential Campaign of 1958

With the problem of inflation still dominating and subjugating the Chilean economy in the late 1950s, *Política y Espiritu* began to place Eduardo Frei Montalva on a pedestal, as the champion of the Falange Nacional, proposing solutions to Chile’s problems. This attention grew

⁶⁷ Juan de Dios Carmona, “El problema salitrero,” *Política y Espiritu* 10, no. 109 (February 1954): 27-32.

⁶⁸ Carmona, “El problema salitrero,” 27-28.

⁶⁹ Carmona, “El problema salitrero,” 27-28.

on a yearly basis into 1958, when Eduardo Frei ran as the Party's candidate for president. From 1945 to 1958, the attention *Política y Espiritu* has placed on the Chilean economy, and the solutions they proposed to the problems of inflation, grew every year. In 1956, this attention was employed to support Frei Montalva's candidacy.

Partly as a result of *Política y Espiritu* focusing more on his platform and track record as a politician, Eduardo Frei Montalva gained new prominence as a politician in Chile. An article published in December of 1956 enthused about Frei Montalva's potential to lead Chile, tracing⁷⁰ his rising political trajectory from one moment in May 1954 when, "Chilean politics were given a spectacular announcement: President Ibáñez named senator Eduardo Frei to be in charge of an anti-inflation task force."⁷¹ Ibáñez's action was remarkable in that reached across party lines to grant Frei Montalva an important position. Prior to the creation of the task force, Ibáñez had no comprehensive plan to address inflation, yet, heading the advice of the task force, he was able to halve inflation during the second half of his presidency. As leader of the task force, Frei Montalva showed Chile that he had policy credentials and that he was willing to work with other parties for the betterment of all Chileans.

While the article "Frei or Antidemocracy" doesn't state explicitly that Frei Montalva should be the party's candidate for president, it could hardly describe his potential in more glowing terms. For Magnet, Frei's strengths were his impeccable record, his pragmatic approach to politics, and his understanding that "it is impossible to have a coherent policy vision without an organic vision of the relationship between humans and society. This synthesis of thought and material action... is what Frei has worked to realize."⁷²

⁷⁰ Alejandro Magnet, "Frei o la antidemocracia," *Política y Espiritu* 12, no.169 (December 1956): 23-31.

⁷¹ Magnet, "Frei o la antidemocracia," 23.

⁷² Magnet, "Frei o la antidemocracia," 26.

Sparse on details on Frei Montalva's plans for agrarian reform, the 1956 issues of *Política y Espiritu* published two speeches detailing Frei Montalva's plans for reforms. Together, these three essays constituted a greater focus on the specifics of Frei Montalva's reforms than any previous year. The first of Frei Montalva's two speeches was "Position of Senator Frei towards the Plan to Freeze Prices and Salaries," presented from his position at the head of the anti-inflation task-force.⁷³ Frei Montalva concluded his speech by saying, "I began researching the freezing of salaries with serious doubts about its efficacy. But, I didn't want to lose an opportunity to fight inflation, so I studied it. Ultimately, I have concluded that the freezing of salaries would create tremendous societal difficulty."⁷⁴ Instead, Frei Montalva encouraged a restructuring of Chilean monetary policy, focusing on improving Chile's exports.

The other speech Frei Montalva presented to the Chilean senate that year was the already-mentioned "Referendum on Saltpeter," a deep dive into how to fix the saltpeter industry.⁷⁵ In the speech, Frei Montalva repeated his stated views, that steps need to be taken to maximize Chilean exports, and that those exports need to be taxed effectively to the benefit of Chile. What was new about this speech of Frei Montalva's is that he took on a new political posturing, where he prefaced all of his points with his own experiences.

In the late 1940s Frei had presented the views of the Falange Nacional as a coherent ideology, working to correct the status of the worker in Chilean society. Throughout the early 1950s, with every passing year, there was a new focus on the details of the Falange's reforms. However, never in those earlier essays in *Política y Espiritu* had Frei Montalva presented as

⁷³ Eduardo Frei Montalva, "Posición del Senador Eduardo Frei Montalva frente al proyecto de congelación de precios, sueldos y salarios, expuesta en el Senado de la República, el martes 3 de enero de 1956," *Política y Espiritu* 12, no. 150 (January 1956): 29-32.

⁷⁴ Frei Montalva, "Posicion del Senador Eduardo Frei Montalva," 32.

⁷⁵ Eduardo Frei Montalva, "El referendum salitrero," *Política y Espiritu* 12, no. 154 (April 1956): 20-32.

himself as a citizen of Chile. His arguments had always been expected to stand on their own merits. And in every instance, the bedrock of Falangist positions remained socialcristianismo, and their policies' relationship with God's supreme truth.

Frei Montalva's speech in to the Chilean senate in January of 1956 was on the question of how the Chilean government should respond to economic duress in northern Chile, produced by layoffs in the mining industry, largely as the result of decades of inflation. Deciding how to address the central problem of his time, Frei Montalva began his speech by saying "I take my stances not just because I think they are the right positions, but also as someone who has lived in the north and knows the importance of saltpeter, and saw Tarapacá paralyzed after the crisis of 1931."⁷⁶ He later concluded his speech, given in support of economic support for the region, claiming that "the evidence indicates that compensation for workers, in the form of a necessary salary and investment will build the character of Northern Chile, and grow the aspirations of all provinces."⁷⁷

Política y Espiritu's coverage of Eduardo Frei Montalva in 1956 marked a turning point. While Frei had always been one of the leaders of the Party, and was the most visible member of the Falange, as published by *Política y Espiritu* on a year-in-year-out basis, he had primarily been championed for his policies. The various publications by or about Frei Montalva in 1956 portrayed him as a man who understood Chile's problems, not as a theorist, but as a fellow citizen. Magnet termed him a "Prophet speaking on behalf of everyday Chileans."⁷⁸ But in the lead-up to the 1958 presidential election, *Política y Espiritu* became more pronounced in its promotion of Frei Montalva. In 1957, no longer were the opponents the Chilean right and

⁷⁶ Frei Montalva, "El referendum salitrero," 20.

⁷⁷ Frei Montalva, "El referendum salitrero," 32.

⁷⁸ Magnet, "Frei o la antidemocracia," 26.

Marxism, they were the campaigns of Alessandri and of the FRAP (*Frente de Acción Popular*, or Popular Action Front), a coalition of left-wing groups operating from 1956 to 1969 and supporting Salvador Allende Gossens in his campaigns for the president of Chile in 1958, 1964, and 1970. The current events section of *Política y Espiritu*, which had expanded in 1952, became especially critical of the office of the president of Chile. Until then, the section had been focused mainly on presenting various happenings around the world, and was not another outlet to express socialcristianismo doctrine. However, in 1957 the current events sections, in addition to their normal commentary, were employed to champion Frei Montalva's candidacy for president. The November of 1957 edition of *Política y Espiritu*, for instance, gave three paragraph summaries of updates on the Alessandri and Allende campaigns. After those two sections, it had a section of the same length arguing that Frei Montalva was the best candidate for Chile.⁷⁹

Across the first thirteen years of *Política y Espiritu*, Frei Montalva articulated his vision for Chilean society many times. In earlier editions of *Política y Espiritu*, he talked about the need to confront the concentration of agricultural lands in the hands of a few wealthy property owners. He stressed the need to better plan the economy, to maximize production and to employ workers more efficiently. In a speech accepting an endorsement for his campaign for president,⁸⁰ Frei Montalva said, regarding his plan for agrarian reform, "Those who leave their lands untilled, through a new law which requires you to use your lands, will give it up to someone who will use it."⁸¹ Besides this point, Frei Montalva's plan for agriculture reform remained the same. The 1956 moment began a reframing of Frei Montalva's position as a politician, one in which he was being uplifted in preparation for his campaign for president of Chile. When Frei Montalva

⁷⁹ "Política Nacional," *Política y Espiritu* 13, no.190 (November 1957): 5-8

⁸⁰ Eduardo Frei Montalva, "Sólo una política racional y popular será capaz de afrontar los problemas del país," *Política y Espiritu* 13, no.183 (August 1957): 25-32.

⁸¹ Frei Montalva, "Sólo una política racional," 28.

stressed that he was just another person, he did so in the context of this upcoming campaign. The one other change Frei Montalva made to his persona was a significant change to his policy of agrarian reform.

Chapter Three “A Revolution in Liberty”

Division and Consolidation: The Social Catholic Movement in Chile

In 1949, the Conservative Party of Chile, from whom the Falange Nacional split in 1938, underwent their own schism, resulting in the formation of the Social Christian Conservative Party and the Christian Conservative Party. Six years after their creation, in 1953, the Social Christian Party began the Social Christian Federation, a coalition of their party and the Falange Nacional, in mutual support for the 1953 general elections. Angered by the ongoing alliance with the Falange, members of the Social Christian Party left, joining with the Christian Conservative Party to form the United Conservative Party. Weakened, after continuing to work with the Falange Nacional, the Falange Nacional and Social Christian Conservative Party decided to combine and form the Christian Democratic Party of Chile.

The official date of the merger between the Falange Nacional and the Social Christian Conservative Party was July 28, 1957. The newly formed Christian Democratic Party supported Eduardo Frei as its candidate for President of Chile in 1958. For the most part, the Christian Democratic Party of Chile was led by the politicians of the former Falange Nacional. Socialcristianismo was still the basis of the party's policy, and the party identified agrarian and economic reforms as two important mechanisms for improving the conditions for workers. The economic measures put forth by the party were a response to inflation, which had been plaguing the Chilean economy for decades.

On September 4th, 1958, the ballots for President of Chile were cast, and Eduardo Frei Montalva placed third with 20.7 percent of the vote, behind Jorge Alessandri, who won 31.6 percent of the vote, and Salvador Allende, who won 28.8 percent. With their newfound electoral

success, the Christian Democratic Party announced that they were a force to be reckoned with in Chilean politics. Led by Eduardo Frei, the Party was producing increasingly detailed plans of reform for Chile, and were moving away from the purely ideological organization that had formed in the 1930s.

A Jorge Alessandri presidency was the product of a coalition between the Liberal and United Conservative Parties and promised few reforms. Salvador Allende, the candidate of the Popular Unity coalition, led by the Socialist and Communist Parties of Chile, promised enormous changes to Chile's economy. That Frei and Allende finished such a close second to Alessandri and represented a significant majority of Chileans, reflected Chile's desire for change in 1958. After 1958, the Christian Democratic path of the moral center, more than ever before, was in strict opposition to, on the left, the FRAP and on the right, the Liberal-Conservative union. What had first been a predominantly ideological proposition, that of charting a moral center, became the immediate positioning of the movement.

Cold War Reality

In six years, from 1952 to 1958, Christian Democracy in Chile emerged from electoral obscurity to vie for the office of the presidency. Outsiders, Christian Democrats were not optimistic for Chile's future under Jorge Alessandri. However, Christian Democrats were optimistic about the potential for close relations between the United States and Chile.

Radomiro Tomic, a prominent member of ANEC, the Falange Nacional, and future candidate of the Christian Democrats for president in 1970, gave a speech to students at the University of Chile on January 31, 1958, months before the next election, where he presented

students with a vision of how Chile would enact radical reforms.¹ Tomic planned for Chile to play a more significant part in the Cold War, understanding that “the United States, when considering its existence, has essential interests in Latin America, requiring solidarity against Russia. For our solidarity, we look for financial and technical assistance.”² For all of Latin America, a “reciprocal relationship with the United States” would be the source of funding for large-scale economic development.³

Two characteristics of Tomic’s plan were particularly important for foreshadowing the 1960s moment. The Christian Democratic Party of Chile, in its first year of existence, had already turned towards the United States as an economic partner and source of funding for economic reforms. In the following years, Christian Democrats would work to strengthen this relationship, celebrating the potential for United States financial support, and continuing to champion the United States economy as a model to work towards.

The second important aspect of Tomic’s analysis was that he talked about Latin America as a cohesive region. As Christian Democratic groups spread across Latin America, Chile became a center for Christian Democracy in Latin America. From this position, the vision of the party was often presented as relating to both Chile and Latin America in general. The path of the moral center, now carried out on explicit terms by comparing the policies of Alessandri, the FRAP, and the Christian Democratic Party of Chile, was of importance to Latin American Christian Democracy as the basis for popular support of the movement. The significance of articles published in *Política y Espiritu* wasn’t exclusively in how they could contextualize

¹ Radomiro Tomic, “Las problemas del mundo subdesarrollado y su influencia en el destino americano y mundial,” *Política y Espiritu* 13, no. 196 (March 1958): 13-22.

² Tomic, “Las problemas del mundo subdesarrollado,” 17.

³ Tomic, “Las problemas del mundo subdesarrollado,” 18.

Chilean reforms, but proposed reforms that Christian Democrats across Latin America should adopt.

Capturing the Momentum

The ballots for the Chilean presidential election of 1958 were cast on September 4, 1958. Four months later, the January 1959 issue of *Política y Espiritu* established a new vision for the Christian Democratic Party of Chile and began a year of change for *Política y Espiritu*. Whereas in the past *Política y Espiritu* published once a month, in 1959 it published twice a month, once on the first, and again on the fifteenth. This trend did not continue into the future, instead, making 1959 an outlier in the annals of the journal. Besides the abundance of content, the 1959 issues of *Política y Espiritu* are significant because they stated the Christian Democratic Party line with clarity the journal had never possessed before. Seeking to capitalize on the newfound visibility of the Party, *Política y Espiritu* left no Christian Democratic policy unexplained in 1959.

The Christian Democratic Party's tone for 1959 was established by the beginning of year address by the president of the party, Patricio Aylwin Azócar:⁴

1958 was a historic year for our Party. It saw us bring the intense and transcendental battle for socialcristianismo out into the open, for all of Chile to see. We lost, but there was no bitterness in it, because 255,000 Chileans gave testimony to our cause. 1959 should be a year for consolidation. The party must "get in line" and unify, gaining as much as we can with the popular support behind Frei. That is our responsibility in this hour. If you think this journey will be easy, you are wrong. In our world, the materialism of the rich, and the materialism of the poor leaves little room for those who want to, above all else, remain authentic to God and affirm his truths. The comfortable thing to do is get behind simple ideas which produce impossible to solve dilemmas: capitalism or communism, the individualist right or the totalitarian left. We are clouding our judgement

⁴ Patricio Aylwin Azócar, "Mensaje de Año Nuevo del presidente del Partido Demócrata Crsitiana, Señor Patricio Aylwin Azócar," *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 216 (January 1959): 30-32.

if we allow ourselves to be caught in the current. We are here to prove the falsity of that dilemma; to denounce inequity and tyranny, and to propose and construct a new order which realizes justice through the prism of liberty...

This transformation is most important for workers. Through democratic organizations, unions and cooperatives, they have recognized their power and will fight for their rights and welcome their responsibilities.

This is what Christian Democrats have achieved in Germany and Italy, and what we aspire to do in Chile...⁵

We are people who don't go along with the bland path of conformity, picking the difficult path of rebellion. We believe that nothing comes out of contentment. We are anxious to create a new world, one which truly respects the dignity of the entire person, one in which the nature of work is of supreme importance, and one in which no one is indispensable while others are expendable...

We have faith that the people of Chile, the workers who suffer and desire justice, will broaden their horizons. We want to be worthy of the support they are placing in unions and universities, and continue to deserve that confidence more and more with every month...

We don't want to be the last bastion of hope against communism. We aspire to be the group the Chilean peasantry chooses as their path forward, instead of foreign communism, choosing to create a just and free Chile that they want to live in.⁶

With his address to begin 1959, Aylwin Azócar articulated a sophisticated vision for the party, building on the results of 1958, and rooted in socialcristianismo. Christian Democrats in Chile, as reflected in the 1959 structuring of *Política y Espíritu*, saw the 1958 election as proof of their ability to be competitive in the Chilean political arena, and put forth a more comprehensive policy agenda in 1959 than they had in 1958. Patricio Aylwin Azócar's address established many of the same norms and positions that had governed the Falange Nacional. However, the positioning of successes of the international Christian Democratic movement, and the Christian Democratic Party of Chile's claim to popular support began a new era for understanding the function of the party.

⁵ Aylwin Azócar, "Mensaje de Año Nuevo," 30.

⁶ Aylwin Azócar, "Mensaje de Año Nuevo," 32.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, the Falange Nacional had placed themselves as the moral center of Chilean politics. Beholden to vanguardism, their mission was not electoral success but ideological purity. Patricio Aylwin Azócar's 1959 address made claims for popular support in a number of ways that the Falange never did. The 255,000 votes which Frei garnered in the 1958 election, constituting 20.7 percent of the vote was a basis for popular support. Successful Christian Democratic governments in Europe too were statements of popular support for the ideology of Christian Democracy. The year 1959 began a new era in the identification of the function of Christian Democracy of Chile, with socialcristianismo still the ideological basis for the policies of the party.

In this new era, the fight against rightwing and leftwing materialism took on a completely concrete form. The Chilean right, in the form of the Conservative-Liberal coalition, and the left with the FRAP, were the two antagonists of the Christian Democratic Party. The task of the Christian Democratic movement was to demonstrate to Chilean workers that the moral center was the path they wanted. Furthermore, the Christian Democratic agenda would better improve their socioeconomic condition than other movements, while being the only proposal grounded in Catholic truth.

By 1959, Patricio Aylwin Azócar had been a member of the Christian Democratic movement in Chile for fifteen years and had been president multiple times. In 1959, the prominent authors delivering the policy proposals of the Christian Democratic Party of Chile for *Política y Espiritu*, Eduardo Frei Montalva, Radomiro Tomic, and Patricio Aylwin Azócar among others, were the same ones who had published regularly in the magazine during its first decade of existence. Policy proposals in 1959 added new wrinkles to persistent problems, such as

inflation, which had defined the Chilean economy for decades, and presented new framings of the relationship between Christian Democracy and Chilean politics.

In April of 1959, Eduardo Frei delivered the speech “Our Country’s Economic Situation” to the Chilean senate.⁷ Frei’s speech was a response to the plan Jorge Alessandri, the President of Chile, was putting forward to fight inflation and stated that Alessandri’s project would lead to a “reduction in the buying power of salaried workers.”⁸ The problem with Alessandri’s plan was that it failed to acknowledge the condition of the Chilean worker and resolve problems in Chilean society. “Our Country’s Economic Situation” put forward six essential aspects of a plan to fight inflation. Most important, “salaried workers must be compensated for the value they lose to inflation.”⁹ The other aspects of the plan constituted administrative reorganization, and economic support for the agriculture industry, conditional upon a restructuring of foreign trade.¹⁰

One of the mechanisms driving inflation in Chile was a significant deficit between imports and exports. Improving economic efficiency was a central mechanism for addressing the deficit for both the Falange Nacional and the Christian Democratic party of Chile. However, the need for the government to play a significant role in guiding foreign trade was a new concept, increasing the role of the government in the economy.

In the leadup to the Chilean presidential election of 1958, Eduardo Frei Montalva worked to craft his image as a politician, such that he had a distinct personal brand, in which his beliefs were communicated through the medium of his personal experiences. Frei was no longer just an idealist dreaming up a better future for Chile, but someone whose beliefs and policies were tied

⁷ Eduardo Frei Montalva, “La situación económica del país,” *Política y Espíritu* 14, no. 219 (April 1959): 21-28.

⁸ Frei Montalva, “La situación económica,” 23.

⁹ Frei Montalva, “La situación económica,” 22.

¹⁰ Frei Montalva, “La situación económica,” 22.

to important life experiences. After the 1958 election, Frei continued to grow and exercise the brand he had built in the lead-up to the election. “Our Country’s Economic Situation” was a statement of political purpose and a furthering of his brand. By placing himself in opposition to the official presidential plan to fight inflation, Frei Montalva was promoting himself as an opposition politician in the Chilean political consciousness. So too, *Política y Espiritu* continued to cast an almost presidential spotlight on Frei, singling him out as crucial in 1959, and in consecutive years of the journal.

That Eduardo Frei Montalva was presenting speeches in the Chilean senate against official policies was a product of the Christian Democratic Party’s newfound status in Chilean politics. Whereas the Falange Nacional’s opposition had often been on purely ideological terms, Christian Democratic challenges to rival forces in domestic politics were concrete formulations. By placing themselves in opposition to Alessandri’s plans, Christian Democrats took on new propositions related to being the party of Chile’s moral center.

The June 15, 1959 issue of *Política y Espiritu*, more so than any other issue of *Política y Espiritu* placed the agenda of the party on clear and explicit terms. Even in this moment of directness, the ideological need for the policies, rooted in socialcristianismo was the starting point for their articulation. The three articles in the June edition putting forth the policies of the party were all published as documents, rather than as essays by a particular Christian Democratic figure. An editorial board article, “Resolutions for Our Union Policy,”¹¹ stated that “Unions are the forge for worker consciousness and social movements, and the instrument for the liberation and dignification of the proletariat ... the biggest barrier to the consolidation of union power is

¹¹ “Resoluciones sobre política sindical,” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 224 (June 1959): 22-23.

political interference.”¹² Christian Democrats supported strong and independent unions, with one caveat. Unions should operate on the trade-union model, rather than being affiliated with political organizations.¹³

Support for unions by the Christian Democratic Party of Chile was a policy position complicated by widespread union allegiance to the Socialist and Communist Parties of Chile. Trade-unions were a useful model for unions on both practical and ideological terms. On practical terms, it means that unions would not operate in tandem with the Chilean left. Practically, unions were meant to be a vehicle for democratic representation in the workforce, giving workers a platform from which to improve their economic and social conditions, and trade-unions were no different from other unions in this regard.

The way to affect change in unions was to increase the participation of Christian Democrats in unions so that they would help define union positions. Towards this goal, *Política y Espiritu* would go on to extensively cover the meetings of the CUT (Central Única de Trabajadores de Chile), one of the larger unions of Chile. Unions were one mechanism for the creation of a truly democratic Chile. Another necessary course of action was to revamp Chilean electoral policy.

Following “Resolutions for Our Union Policy,” the June 15 edition of *Política y Espiritu* ran articles on electoral, economic, and agrarian reforms. “Perfecting of the Political System and Institutions” proposed electoral and administrative reforms for Chile.¹⁴ The article argued that Chilean institutions were undemocratic, in that they did not offer equal representation in

¹² “Resoluciones sobre política sindical,” 22.

¹³ “Resoluciones sobre política sindical,” 23.

¹⁴ “Perfeccionamiento del sistema político e institucional,” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 224 (June 1959): 28-29.

government, that there were socioeconomic barriers to voting, and that provincial and municipal governments did not have enough power to carry out reforms. Within the status quo, the Chilean peasantry was unable to have their voice heard on any level of government.

The editorial board for *Política y Espiritu* stated that to correct the distribution of power in Chile, the country needed to carry out a census and re-apportion representation based on the results of the census. Instead of presenting this as a radical idea, it was portrayed as the “confirmation of the electoral system on the national level.”¹⁵ If democracy was going to be the basis for the legitimacy of the Chilean government, the government needed to be truly democratic.

All of the reforms put forward in the June 15, 1959 issue of *Política y Espiritu* positioned reforms as the common-sense response to Chile’s problems. The next article in this issue was “The Fight against Misery: Economic Development and Improved Distribution of Wealth,” which put forward a five-step plan for economic development:¹⁶

Change the structure of industry, unions, the legal system, and modify the Chilean constitution...Establish systems to redistribute income without impacting economic development...Achieve full employment of workers, at a level of income where they are able to meet basic needs...Improve the level of wealth for salaried workers, so that they win a larger share of the wealth they produce, establishing the conditions for permanent and just ideology...Make sure that workers of low income don’t sacrifice more for the economy, and see their quality of life lowered. It is unacceptable that they suffer injustices and errors from the implementation of policies.¹⁷

¹⁵ “Perfeccionamiento,” 28.

¹⁶ “Lucha contra la miseria: Desarrollo económico y mejor distribución de la riqueza,” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 224 (June 1959): 29-30.

¹⁷ “Lucha contra la miseria,” 29.

Under their tripartition of the Chilean political environment, the Christian Democratic Party of Chile were the reformers. Even when they shared similar goals or attitudes to the far left, the difference between the two movements was that the endpoint of leftism was, for Frei Montalva and other Christian Democrats, a totalitarian government. That the Christian Democratic Party was proposing modifications to the Constitution as a series of economic reforms is an augmentation of what it meant to be reformers. The expansion of the possibilities of reform was an attack against industrial and agrarian business interests, which were a driving influence in the Liberal-Conservative coalition. Under that coalition, the leaders of Chilean agriculture and industry had left behind their nineteenth-century rivalry and partnered together to be the voice of social conservatism.

Where “The Fight against Misery” constituted a reformation of the Chilean industrial sector, “Agrarian Reform and Access to Land” would reform Chilean agriculture. Together, these two essays challenged the dominant economic interests in Chile, who were also the backers of then President of Chile, Jorge Alessandri. “Agrarian Reform and Access to Land” put forth a plan where:

Property and tenancy of land, such that only these three types exist: Family owned property and communitarian property... Only in a transitory phase will the current system of private property governed by capitalism, where wage workers work on large estates, continue to exist.

Workers will have access to property and land...

The reforms will result in... Increase in land cultivated, and improved efficiency of land, water, and resource use.

A credit-based and taxation system where production of goods is leveraged to combat exploitation, improving the level of services offered in rural areas, and producing a more direct relationship with the government.

Reorganization of insufficiently small farms, and changes so that the excess of agricultural workers can be absorbed by Chilean industry.

Betterment of the level of the peasantry. This will be measured in the ability of structural changes to increase the efficiency of government services in education, the economy, society, and assistance. These plans require the policies:

Unionization of agricultural workers,

Organization of cooperatives for production and consumption,

Increase in earnings of agricultural workers through the elimination of middle-men and reductions in the costs of production,

The substitution of a system of wages, participation in the profits of business, and a social contract for the current system of tenancy.¹⁸

The plans are published in something nearing their totality, specifically because they are a more detailed policy agenda than *Política y Espíritu* had ever seen before. Some updates to the plans, such as the guarantee that the rollout of plans will not lower the quality of life of workers, are subtle changes meant to bring existing policies in union with the spirit of old ideas. However, in particular, aspects of the plan for agriculture reform were radical and new.

Past plans had promised access to land ownership for peasants. This plan was going to bring about the extinction of large estates. That is quite a radical proposition in the name of improving the conditions of the Chilean peasantry. Christian Democrats in Chile had made improvements to the status of the Chilean peasantry the newfound focus of their policy for agrarian reform. Ideological opposition to capitalism turned into a complete undercutting of the Chilean capitalist agricultural model.

In earlier years, the Christian Democratic plan for agrarian reform had been presented as a mechanism for addressing Chile's problem with inflation and as a means of improving the quality of life for peasants. All of the changes brought about that would improve the status of peasants would have the beneficial side-effect of improving agricultural output and thereby

¹⁸ "Reforma agraria y acceso a la propiedad y la tierra," *Política y Espíritu* 14, no. 224 (June 1959): 30-31.

fighting inflation. A wholesale restructuring of the Chilean economy would present new challenges to other aspects of the plan for reform. The 1959 plan dreamed far bigger than Chilean Christian Democrats ever had before.

The basis for the elimination of large estates is in their relationship to efficiency and output. The Chilean agriculture sector was producing significantly below maximum output, and the main culprit were large estates which left lands untilled. Instead of fighting them head-on, their dissolution would be a form of working around them. Small family-owned farms would hold less individual power to push back against government policies. Therefore, the plan for a restructuring of the Chilean economy would also be an enormous power grab for the state.

Transitioning the Chilean agriculture industry from a cohort of dominant commercial estates to family-owned farms would challenge capitalism and build a Chilean middle class. Large estates which monopolized production, with the goal of maximally concentrating wealth, in disregard for the condition of their workers, were the capitalist boogeyman. The 1959 reforms established that the existence of large estates was at odds with Christian Democratic plans for societal uplift. Importantly, this meant that the dominant forces of the Chilean Conservative movement were implicated as predatory capitalists.

In 1960, workers across Chile had the Christian Democratic Party and the FRAP fighting for their vote. For centuries in the Chilean Central Valley, the owners of large estates had, as the main donors of the Catholic Church, wielded enormous power over the Church. Living under that relationship, “The Church in the minds of the rural poor was closely identified with the *latifundio* (large estate) system and the Conservative Party which protected it.”¹⁹ The explicit

¹⁹ Brian Smith, *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 99.

naming of large estates as the villains of capitalism differentiated Christian Democrats from conservative Catholics. It singled out the Conservative Party of Chile as, along with the leftist FRAP, the bitter rivals of Christian Democracy.

At the same time, the movement towards family-owned farms was an effort to give peasants a route to the middle class. Just as the industrial reforms of 1959 wanted to rewrite Chilean labor laws in support of workers, agrarian reform did the same thing. In the United States, FDR's New Deal had grown the United States middle class by improving the quality of industrial jobs. The 1959 twin plans for agricultural and industrial reforms would both lead to the transformation of the Chilean economy towards the United States ideal, by growing the Chilean middle class.

The Liberal Party of Chile had long supported foreign investment in Chile. By 1959, the majority of foreign-owned companies were based in the United States. Christian Democratic reforms were a threat to good relations with the United States. To salvage their relationship with the United States, the Christian Democratic Party of Chile pivoted their general friendliness towards the United States to a partnership with U.S. Catholics. The Cold War United States was celebrated for its past economic reforms and the newfound success of a reform-minded Catholic movement.

Over the course of the 1960s, but beginning in 1959, the Christian Democratic grammar of reform began to employ prominent communist terminology. Hector Valenzuela Valderrama's October 1959 essay in *Política y Espíritu*, "Routes for Transforming Capitalist Business" was the first essay by a Christian Democratic politician in *Política y Espíritu* to express

socialcristianismo within a communist grammar.²⁰ At the time a member of the Chilean House of Representatives, Valderamma argued that “the fundamental object of Christian Democracy is to transform the Capitalist economy to a natural state, by solving the antagonism between capital and the worker, towards the collective well-being of those working within a business, and for the betterment of the entire nation.”²¹ For communists, the antagonism between capital and worker was rooted in the existence of private property. A decade earlier, Valderamma’s argument would have led to widespread smears that the Christian Democrats were communists.

When, after 1959, *Política y Espiritu* articulated plans for substantive reforms, the vigor of the journal was not matched by prominent Christian Democratic voices. The Christian Democratic movement molded around the idea of being the moral center of Chilean politics. All members of the party wanted to carry out substantive reforms. However, important figures, such as Eduardo Frei Montalva and Patricio Aylwin Azócar, were uncomfortable with employing a communistic grammar to express the need for reforms. Instead, by holding up the New Deal as the goal of Christian Democratic economic reforms – and not the democratic socialism of Allende or the revolutionary communism of Castro – meant Christian Democrats were palatable for Chile’s elites. At the same time, the Christian Democratic movement sought to convince the public that conservatives were defending an immoral version of capitalism.

A month after Valderamma’s article was published, in the November 1959 issue of *Política y Espiritu*, the journal published an interview with Eduardo Frei Montalva, “The United States and Us: Opinion of Eduardo Frei.”²² Frei gave the interview after returning from spending

²⁰ Hector Valenzuela Valderrama, “Vías para transformar la empresa capitalista,” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 231 (October 1959): 21-25.

²¹ Valenzuela Valderrama, “Vías para transformar,” 22.

²² “Estados Unidos y nosotros: Declaraciones de Eduardo Frei,” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 234 (November 1959): 13-25.

months in the United States, meeting with top officials and studying the United States' economy, as a representative of the Chilean state department. In the interview, Frei Montalva maintained that the United States economy was the model for Christian Democratic reforms.²³

Amidst the development of separate ideological currents in Chilean Christian Democracy, Eduardo Frei re-emphasized his promise of friendship between the United States and Latin America. Across Chile, the FRAP and Alessandri's government argued that Christian Democratic reforms were too expensive and that the Christian Democratic Party was banking on the United States support to carry out their plans for change. These attacks intensified in 1960 when then United States president Dwight Eisenhower said "it was unclear what role Latin America would have in his foreign policy."²⁴ In response, in an essay published in *Política y Espiritu*, Radomiro Tomic rebutted that whatever the President of the United States might say, the United States would be giving out aid, and that what Chile needed to do was work to ensure they received significant aid. To make his argument, Tomic dissected the 1958 United States budget, demonstrating that even in an off-year, the United States financed comprehensive global aid programs.²⁵

1961: A New Phase for *Política y Espiritu*

In 1961, *Política y Espiritu* underwent a restructuring and came out with a new statement of purpose, saying "This journal will stick with its mission in Chile, but will place a new focus on being informational, and capturing the Christian Democratic spirit across Latin America, which calls for unity of thought in the quest to produce an America built upon mutual well-being

²³ "Estados Unidos y nosotros," 18.

²⁴ Radomiro Tomic, "Ayuda exterior de Estados Unidos," *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 240 (March 1960): 13.

²⁵ Tomic, "Ayuda exterior," 13.

and justice.”²⁶ The essay, titled “New Phase” did exactly that, and was the most definitive change in the journal’s history. The following year’s issues would move away from policy specifics towards the implications of Christian Democratic ideology for all of Latin America. After two years of this focus, the journal would return to its primary focus on Chilean politics in the leadup to the elections of 1963.

When discussing Latin America as a whole, *Política y Espiritu* expressed Frei’s position over that of Valenzuela Valderamma’s. Aid from the United States would be the source of financial backing for expansive reforms, promising that “Kennedy and those carrying out his foreign policy hope to work with the countries of Latin America to improve domestic societies and economies, to be in sync with the demands of the people of each country.”²⁷ Through Kennedy, significant aid from the United States became a realizable goal. In Kennedy, Christian Democrats had the United States governed by a shared Catholic humanist ideology.

The following month, *Política y Espiritu* published the essay “Agrarianism and Land in Latin America” by Harry Kantor, a professor at the University of Florida.²⁸ Kantor’s thesis was that “breaking apart large estates is the most urgent task for Latin American countries who want to improve their agricultural sector.”²⁹ The significance of Kantor’s essay, beyond his message, is that it was addressed to all of Latin America and that he was an academic in the United States. No longer was *Política y Espiritu* primarily the domain of Chilean politicians and European intellectuals. From 1961 onwards, it served to include many new voices from outside Chile.

²⁶ “Nueva Etapa,” *Política y Espiritu* 15, no. 258 (April 1961): 1-2.

²⁷ Roberto Marchant, “El Presidente Kennedy y la América Latina,” *Política y Espiritu* 15, no. 258 (April 1961): 22-29.

²⁸ Harry Kantor, “Agrarismo y tierra en Latinoamérica,” *Política y Espiritu* 15, no. 260 (May 1961): 15-20.

²⁹ Kantor, “Agrarismo,” 20.

Moreover, even when it was Chilean authors, they talked in terms of Latin America, as opposed to just Chile.

From July 27-30, 1961, Santiago, Chile hosted the International Conference for Christian Democracy, and published multiple documents produced at the conference. One such report was “Definition of Socio-Economic Structures according to Christian Democracy.”³⁰ According to the document, the current structure of property produces a system where “economic speculation can govern markets.”³¹ Furthermore, “Christian Democracy, in the interest of the greater good, believes that governments have the right to nationalize property and sectors of economic activity, when private interests are incapable of guaranteeing the organized meeting of societal needs, for the security and good of the nation.”³²

That Chile hosted the International Conference for Christian Democracy is a statement to the importance of Chile to the global Christian Democratic movement. The documents produced at the conference are insightful for understanding the conclusions of the international movement, and are a point of comparison for the Chilean movement. “Definition of Socio-Economic Structures according to Christian Democracy” employed a communistic grammar to describe the condition of workers. For the international movement, communitarianism was the economic system put forth, which would resolve the contradictions from capitalism. Chilean Christian Democracy advocated a communitarian economy but argued about how to express that vision. While others were comfortable with the communistic grammar, Frei Montalva opposed it.

³⁰ “Definición de las estructuras económico sociales, según la Democracia Cristiana,” *Política y Espíritu* 15, no. 263 (August 1961): 34-37.

³¹ “Definición de las estructuras,” 35.

³² “Definición de las estructuras,” 36.

Where Frei Montalva was adamant about discussing socialcristianismo on expressly anti-communist terms, even other major figures wavered. Radomiro Tomic, a founding member of the Falange Nacional, who championed a close relationship with the United States as visibly as Frei Montalva, would deviate further from Frei Montalva's grammar for socialcristianismo throughout the 1960s. An early sign of Tomic's transformation were two essays he published in the January 1962 issue of *Política y Espiritu*, attacking capitalism.³³ The first essay put forth the traditional Christian Democratic criticisms of capitalism, that capitalism was the cause of the socioeconomic and spiritual diminishing of the Chilean worker. However, the second essay put forward an expressly communistic grammar to describe socialcristianismo.

Where the traditional Christian Democratic response to capitalism was to carry out national reforms, and Chileans were asked to act in solidarity with one another and imagine a national community, Tomic argued for something different. The premise of his essay "The Signal Conductor", was "the question we should be asking is 'What have you done for your brother.' You don't do things for 'your country' or Democracy, or the people."³⁴ Instead of asking for support for a national agenda of reform, Tomic called for a reframing of socialcristianismo towards the communistic collectivist grammar Frei Montalva was actively avoiding.

Tensions within the movement heightened in 1963, as the party prepared for regional and municipal elections at the end of the year, and the Chilean presidential election in late 1964.

Política y Espiritu returned from two years of ideological questions about Latin America to a

³³ Radomiro Tomic, "Radomiro Tomic: La incapacidad del sistema capitalista," *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 267 (January 1962): 15-16. ; Radomiro Tomic, "El signo conductor," *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 267 (January 1962): 25-26.

³⁴ Tomic, "El signo conductor," 25.

pronounced focus on Chilean elections. Articles in 1963 simultaneously summarized the state of Chilean politics, spelling out the policies of the FRAP (*Frente Radical Acción Popular*, Radical Popular Action Front) and the Alessandri-led conservative coalition, arguing in the same passages that Christian Democracy was the way forward. In earlier volumes, political commentary and arguments in favor of Christian Democracy were kept separate.

The first article looking towards the new election cycle was “FRAP and Christian Democracy.”³⁵ The article stated that “the Socialist and Communist Parties of Chile see themselves, through the FRAP, as being in a fight for the future of Chile, against all others, pushing for national liberation.”³⁶ Christian Democratic plans were different from those of the far left in that they were resolved to operating within the Chilean legal structure. For the author of the unsigned piece, liberation was the means for communism and socialism to move beyond the democratic system and establish an authoritarian regime.

Another Frei Candidacy

A few months later, in the July 1962 issue of *Política y Espiritu*, Radomiro Tomic officially announced that he was “renouncing [his] candidacy for president because the presentation of various candidacies frays the Christian Democratic base in our proselytizing work and preparation for municipal elections.”³⁷ In the leadup to the national elections of 1963, *Política y Espiritu* once again worked to establish the vision of the party. Throughout 1963, articles on Chilean politics were published less often than they had been in 1961.

³⁵ “El FRAP y la Democracia Cristiana,” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 267 (January 1962): 8-11.

³⁶ “El FRAP,” 11.

³⁷ Radomiro Tomic, “Las circunstancias concretas dan a la D.C. una oportunidad excepcional para ganar el poder in 1964,” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 272 (July 1962): 21-23.

In 1962 and 1963, the two most cited figures in *Política y Espiritu* were Eduardo Frei Montalva and Radomiro Tomic. While they both represented the central wing of Chilean Christian Democracy, Tomic and Frei Montalva were presenting different visions for socialcristianismo in 1963. Beginning with the issue in which Tomic announced he was not running for the candidacy of the party, *Política y Espiritu* began to focus on and champion Frei Montalva, as they had in 1957. The first article with this prerogative lambasted coverage of Frei Montalva in a prominent conservative newspaper, “El Mercurio.”³⁸ The editorial board of *Política y Espiritu* charged “El Mercurio” with being statist in their coverage of a speech Frei Montalva presented to the Chilean Senate in which he laid Chile’s inflation problems at the feet of the Chilean president.³⁹ In his speech, Frei Montalva argued that Alessandri’s government wasn’t doing enough to fight inflation and that it needed to enact new policies combatting currency manipulation.

A year later, in 1963, in preparation for the municipal and regional elections, *Política y Espiritu* added one more policy point to the Christian Democratic agenda. The Christian Democratic Party published plans to improve access to public education, promising free education through high school.⁴⁰ In *Política y Espiritu*, Radomiro Tomic was the architect of Christian Democratic education reforms and wrote at length about how Chile could afford to subsidize public education.⁴¹

Half a year out from the regional elections in late 1963, the May-June of 1963 edition of *Política y Espiritu* announced Eduardo Frei Montalva as the Christian Democratic candidate for

³⁸ “El Mercurio y el discurso de Eduardo Frei en el Senado,” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no.272 (June 1962): 6-7.

³⁹ “El Mercurio,” 6.

⁴⁰ Radomiro Tomic, “Igualdad de oportunidades para todos los niños chilenos,” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 276 (November 1962): 25-36.

⁴¹ Tomic, “Igualdad de oportunidades,” 33.

President of Chile. Frei accepted the nomination, saying “The country has admiration for us. We have grown popular among the people during more than thirty years of earning their trust, taking on necessary challenges and this new electoral cycle they will choose Chile’s destiny. With their support, we will be the strongest political force in our nation.”⁴²

Months later, a year prior to the Chilean presidential election, the editorial board for *Política y Espiritu* published the essay “A Year of Promises.”⁴³ The essay declared, “Peace is in our hands, due to Vatican II, which opened the door for better understanding of Christianity throughout the world, and because of the relaxation of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.”⁴⁴ The 1964 election was placed in conversation with world currents, as a statement of support for Christian Democracy in Chile and the world. Unfortunately for Christian Democrats in Chile, John F. Kennedy’s death on November 22, 1963 would derail some of the global momentum for Christian Democracy.

To commemorate John F. Kennedy, Radomiro Tomic presented the speech “On the Death of John F. Kennedy” to the Chilean Senate.⁴⁵ The speech eulogized Kennedy as the face of a potent Catholic humanism in the United States but did not discuss the implications of his death for Chilean-United States relations.

Ballots for the Chilean presidential election of 1964 were cast on September 4. In the last issue before the election, Eduardo Frei Montalva and Patricio Aylwin Azócar presented detailed

⁴² Eduardo Frei Montalva, “El Senador Frei acepta su designación como candidato a la Presidencia de la República,” *Política y Espiritu* 17, no. 280 (May-June 1963): 58-60.

⁴³ “Año de promesas,” *Política y Espiritu* 17, no.283 (October-December 1963): 1-4.

⁴⁴ “Año de promesas,” 1.

⁴⁵ Radomiro Tomic, “Ante la muerte de John F. Kennedy,” *Política y Espiritu* 17, no. 283 (October-December 1963): 14-16.

accounts of Frei Montalva's policy positions.^{46, 47} The three key elements of Frei Montalva's plan were agrarian, mining, and educational reform. Electoral reforms had been a basis of Christian Democratic campaigns in 1963. Mining reform targeted "increasing production, and maximizing employment opportunities for Chileans."⁴⁸ Meanwhile, Frei's educational reforms were as Tomic had presented them a few months earlier.

Frei's plans for agricultural reforms were less aggressive than those put forward at the 1961 international Christian Democratic convention and more expansive than those of his 1958 campaign. In 1964 Frei Montalva didn't call for the elimination of large estates but did promise expropriation of underutilized lands. Those lands would be given to Chilean peasants, creating 100,000 new property owners, who would operate small family farms. To address the poor condition of the worker on large estates, Frei called for a new "system of wages that allows agriculture workers to receive the value related to their product."⁴⁹

The specifics and grammar of Frei Montalva's 1964 policies demonstrated that his vision for socialcristianismo had won out over other Christian Democratic interpretations when preparing the 1964 platform. That being said, Frei Montalva's plans were significantly more ambitious and progressive than they had been in 1958. Radomiro Tomic had pledged his support to Frei Montalva, and Patricio Aylwin Azócar did too. The article following Frei Montalva's agenda, in the last issue of *Política y Espíritu* before the 1964 election, was Patricio Aylwin Azócar's "The Institutional Reforms of Frei's Government." In his article, Aylwin Azócar said that "More than reforms to the political diet, Eduardo Frei's Popular and National plan for

⁴⁶ Eduardo Frei Montalva, "Mi programa de gobierno," *Política y Espíritu* 18, no. 285 (June-August 1963): 3-21.

⁴⁷ Patricio Aylwin Azócar, "Las reformas institucionales en el gobierno de Frei," *Política y Espíritu* 18, no. 285 (June-August 1963): 37-41.

⁴⁸ Frei, "Mi programa de gobierno," 6.

⁴⁹ Frei, "Mi programa de gobierno," 4.

government realizes the need for institutional reforms... It tries to modernize the legal systems of government so that they actually function.”⁵⁰

“A Revolution in Liberty”

Eduardo Frei Montalva won the 1964 Chilean presidential election with a commanding 56.1 percent of the vote, beating Salvador Allende, the candidate of the FRAP. Registering 1,409,012 votes, Frei Montalva did six times better in 1964 than 1958 and entered the office of the presidency with a mandate. Now in power, the Christian Democratic movement had to ask new questions about their role in Chilean politics.

From 1935 through to 1964, the Christian Democratic movement had existed as an opposition party. Throughout that time, one of the core elements of the movement’s vision for society, socialcristianismo, was that Christian Democracy occupied the moral center of Chilean politics. In the 1930s, the Falange Nacional placed themselves as Chile’s moral center on almost exclusively ideological terms. After Eduardo Frei Montalva’s 1958 campaign for president of Chile, the moral center became an increasingly concrete proposition. From their position of the moral center, Christian Democrats argued that the FRAP had plans to overthrow the Chilean government and establish a totalitarian one, while the Conservative and Liberal Parties of Chile personified capitalism’s evils.

Christian Democracy’s claim to the political center was always adaptive, responding to the attacks of the day, and more strongly targeted against forces in power. After a decade of conservatives in power, after the 1958 election, factions within the Christian Democratic Party

⁵⁰ Aylwin, “Las Reformas,” 37.

grew comfortable using overtly anti-capitalist and, at times, communistic grammar, abandoning the political line they had tiptoed for decades.

Conclusion

Frei's Presidency and Beyond

My analysis of *Política y Espiritu* ends with Eduardo Frei's victory in the Chilean Presidential election of 1964. As President, the characteristics of policy creation became divorced from their earlier context. The 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s chronicle a period where Christian Democracy in Chile gained political power and produced an ever more detailed policy agenda toward the goal of realizing the values of socialcristianismo. On an abstract level, gaining power should just be the advancement of this process. However, because of the significance of outside forces on Chile during Eduardo Frei Montalva's presidency, it is difficult to draw conclusions along those lines.

The mid-twentieth century saw economic conditions in Chile worsen over time. As the Christian Democratic policy agenda became more specific, it produced more aggressive solutions to Chile's problems. In the late 1950s, the Christian Democratic Party of Chile began to look towards the United States for support in carrying out their reforms. John F. Kennedy's 1961 Alliance for Progress promised to subsidize Christian Democratic Reforms. As United States funding for Latin America and Chile evaporated throughout the 1960s, following Kennedy's death, it became harder for Frei to accomplish his agenda.

Absent anticipated financial support, carrying out Christian Democratic reforms became a protracted affair. Frei's government was able to pass significant mining reforms, purchasing a majority stake in Chile's three largest copper mines, but it occurred in 1969, five years into his six-year term. Similarly, the reality of agrarian reform fell short of its lofty ambitions. While the Frei Montalva government expropriated underutilized lands from major estates and gave them to

the Chilean peasantry, caveats were inserted into the law, which challenged its effectiveness. The laws established a committee to oversee the expropriation of lands and confirm the designation of properties as underutilized and thus eligible for peasant ownership. In the latter stages of negotiations, business interests restructured the committee so they would have a more definite say in deciding purchases. The result of this policy is that estates were able to control which lands they gave up, and all expropriated lands were of low quality.

The election of Salvador Allende Gossens as President of Chile in 1970, a socialist backed by the left-wing Popular Unity coalition, promised the fulfillment of significant economic reforms. On September 11, 1973, a United States sponsored military coup d'état overthrew Allende's democratically elected socialist government and installed a military junta government to rule Chile. Over time, General Augusto Pinochet won the internal power struggle to become the dictator of Chile and ruled until 1990.

When the Chilean Christian Democratic movement was founded by the Falange Nacional, the movement saw itself as Chile's moral center. Over the course of the 1930s, 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, the position of the moral center pushed the Chilean Christian Democratic movement to ideological and policy framings that would shape and define the movement. Under Allende and then Pinochet, Christian Democrats in Chile continued to identify themselves as Chile's moral center. Staunchly Anti-Communist, Frei Montalva, and other leading Christian Democrats believed that a Socialist government, even Allende's democratically elected one, could only result in authoritarianism.

Amidst worsening economic conditions under Allende, driven in large part by United States efforts to, as President Richard Nixon said, “make the Chilean economy scream,”¹ Eduardo Frei Montalva, Patricio Aylwin, and other prominent Christian Democrats supported the military coup. They did so out of steadfastness in their position as Chile’s moral center. Acceptance of the coup wasn’t a betrayal of the importance of democracy, but instead reflects the belief that the end goals of socialism are never democratic. Opposition to Pinochet occurred on those same terms, as the Christian Democratic Party of Chile maintained their position as the country’s moral center.

The same internal debates which resulted in forceful Christian Democratic opposition to Allende’s government had been going on decades earlier in *Política y Espíritu*. Democracy was the best form of government, in no small part because it brought people into the political system, discouraging other ways of pursuing their agenda, such as regime change. However, Christian Democrats believed that socialism and communism would inevitably result in an authoritarian government. For that reason, in 1973, the decision wasn’t between democracy or the lack of democracy, but between two nondemocratic forms of governance.

The conversations present in *Política y Espíritu* demonstrate that the characteristics of democracy were not immutable for Christian Democrats. Being a Christian Democrat was about realizing the truths of socialcristianismo. Over the course of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, conversations about democracy became less about abstract principles, than the fulfillment of a society and economy that offers everyone full participation, as humans. The language of

¹ Peter Kornbluh, “Chile and the United States: Declassified Documents Relating to the Military Coup, September 11, 1973,” National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 8, n.d. <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/nsaebb8i.htm>.

democracy became attached to support for unions, which was seen as the realization of democracy on a small scale in the economic sphere.

By studying *Política y Espíritu*, I provide new robustness to understandings of the values of Christian Democrats, and how they informed policy proposals. Through the organizing principle of the moral center, the Christian Democratic movement placed themselves in opposition to leftism and conservatism. Precipitated by the transition of Christian Democracy from an ideological vanguard to a project with popular support, over time the grammar of the moral center transformed ideological differences into substantive critiques of the Chilean left and right, and the basis for the 1964 Christian Democratic policy platform.

In the 1980s, the Christian Democratic pursuit of socialcristianismo lost its longtime leader to an untimely death. Augusto Pinochet's dictatorship murdered more than forty thousand Chileans. Frei was one of the most famous. In December of 1981, Eduardo Frei Montalva, then seventy-one years old, had successful hernia surgery. During the ensuing month of treatment, Frei Montalva was regularly poisoned by medical workers, at the discretion of Pinochet's government. On December 22, 1982, Frei Montalva died after a rapid decline in his health.

Only in 2019 was it confirmed for the general public that Pinochet poisoned Frei Montalva. With his death, Frei Montalva joined other prominent Chileans, such as Pablo Neruda, the Nobel Prize-winning communist poet, and thousands of others as casualties at the feet of a repressive dictatorship. The modern Christian Democratic Party of Chile has been an important voice in post-dictatorship Chilean politics, establishing a long-standing coalition with the Socialist Party of Chile, among other smaller parties. This coalition, called *La Concertación* has dominated Chilean politics for thirty years. With the responsibility of being one of Chile's most

prominent political parties, the modern Christian Democratic Party shows a willingness to reach across the aisle that wasn't there before Pinochet.

While several prominent Christian Democratic figures collaborated with Pinochet, most did not. In the first election after Pinochet's removal in 1990, Patricio Aylwin Azócar, one of the original Christian Democrats, apologized for supporting the coup. His election and the prominent role Christian Democrats played in the movement to oust Pinochet demonstrates that Christian Democrats saw themselves as the moral center for the return to democracy in Chile. Their role in establishing the norms of post-transition Chilean government has played and will continue to play a significant role in modern Chilean governance.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- “Año de promesas.” *Política y Espiritu* 17, no. 283 (October-December 1963): 1-4.
- Aylwin Azócar, Patricio. “Definiendo posiciones.” *Política y Espiritu* 2, no. 19 (January 1947): 16-21.
- . “Mensaje de Año Nuevo del presidente del Partido Demócrata Crsitiana, Señor Patricio Aylwin Azócar,” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 216 (January 1959): 30-32.
- . “Las reformas institucionales en el gobierno de Frei.” *Política y Espiritu* 18, no. 285 (June-August 1963): 37-41.
- Borne, Etienne and François Henry. “El trabajo y el hombre.” *Política y Espiritu* 1, no. 11 (May 1946): 135-38.
- Carmona, Juan de Dios. “El problema salitrero.” *Política y Espiritu* 10, no. 109 (February 1954): 27-32.
- Castillo, Jaime. “Humanismo cristiano y humanismo marxista.” *Política y Espiritu* 2, no. 20 (February-March 1947): 54-61.
- Chongchol, Jacques. “La reforma agraria en Chile.” *Política y Espiritu* 9, no. 88 (March 1953): 2-7.
- “Definición de las estructuras económico sociales, según la Democracia Cristiana.” *Política y Espiritu* 15, no. 263 (August 1961): 34-37.
- “El FRAP y la Democracia Cristiana.” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 267 (January 1962): 8-11.
- “El impacto de la Gran Depresión en Chile (1929-1932).” Memoria chilena: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-601.html>.
- “El Mercurio y el discurso de Eduardo Frei en el senado.” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 272 (June 1962): 6-7.
- “Estados Unidos y nosotros: Declaraciones de Eduardo Frei.” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 234 (November 1959): 13-25.
- Frei Montalva, Eduardo. “La organización de lo económico.” *Política y Espiritu* 2, no. 16 (October 1946): 104-109.
- . “Dictadura y democracia.” *Política y Espiritu* 3, no. 36 (November 1948): 275-78.
- . “Consecuencias que tienen para los países poco desarrollados los cambios sufridos por la economía mundial.” *Política y Espiritu* 7, no. 55 (January-February 1951): 15-25.

- . “Política del cobre.” *Política y Espiritu* 8, no. 73 (July 1952): 219-223.
- . “Posición del Senador Eduardo Frei Montalva frente al proyecto de congelación de precios, sueldos y salarios, expuesta en el Senado de la República, el martes 3 de enero de 1956.” *Política y Espiritu* 12, no. 150 (January 1956): 29-32.
- . “El referendun salitrero.” *Política y Espiritu* 12, no. 154 (April 1956): 20-32.
- . “Sólo una política racional y popular será capaz de afrontar los problemas del país.” *Política y Espiritu* 13, no.183 (August 1957): 25-32
- . “La situación económica del país.” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 219 (April 1959): 21-28.
- . “El Senador Frei acepta su designación como candidato a la Presidencia de la República.” *Política y Espiritu* 17, no. 280 (May-June 1963): 58-60.
- . “Mi programa de gobierno.” *Política y Espiritu* 18, no.285 (June-August 1963): 3-21.
- Garretón Walker, Manuel. “Posición cristiana frente al mundo actual.” *Política y Espiritu* 1, no. 1 (July 1945): 22-33.
- Kantor, Harry. “Agrarismo y tierra en latinoamérica.” *Política y Espiritu* 15, no. 260 (May 1961): 15-20.
- “Lucha contra la miseria. Desarrollo económico y mejor distribución de la riqueza.” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 224 (June 1959): 29-30.
- Magnet, Alejandro. “Semblanza de Eduardo Frei.” *Política y Espiritu* 12, no. 62-63 (September 1951): 333-66.
- . “Frei o la antidemocracia.” *Política y Espiritu* 12, no. 169 (December 1956): 23-31.
- “Manifiesto de la juventud Católica de Chile.” *Política y Espiritu* 3, no. 27-28 (November-December 1947): 124-26.
- Marchant, Roberto. “El Presidente Kennedy y América Latina.” *Política y Espiritu* 15, no. 258 (April 1961): 22-29.
- “Nueva Etapa.” *Política y Espiritu* 15, no. 258 (April 1961): 1-2.
- “Object of the Month: The first trip of Eduardo Frei Montalva to Europe.” Casa Museo Eduardo Frei Montalva. <https://www.casamuseoeduardofrei.cl/en/el-primer-viaje-de-eduardo-frei-montalva-a-europa/>.
- Pacheco Gómez, Máximo. “Doctrina social sobre el sindicalismo.” *Política y Espiritu* 8, no. 80 (November 1952): 2-6.

- “Perfeccionamiento del sistema político e institucional.” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 224 (June 1959): 28-29.
- “Política nacional: Plan anti-inflacionista.” *Política y Espiritu* 9, no. 97 (August 1953): 2-4.
- “Primeros movimientos sociales chilenos (1890-1920).” Memoria chilena: Biblioteca Nacional de Chile. <http://www.memoriachilena.gob.cl/602/w3-article-603.html>.
- “Reforma agraria, tema en debate.” *Política y Espiritu* 10, no. 122 (October 1954): 1-2.
- “Reforma agraria y acceso a la propiedad y la tierra.” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 224 (June 1959): 30-31.
- Rabier, Jacques René. “Hacia la comunidad de trabajo.” *Política y Espiritu* 2, no. 19 (January 1947): 3-9.
- “Resoluciones sobre política sindical.” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 224 (June 1959): 22-23.
- Tomic, Radomiro. “Fundamentos cristianos para una nueva política en Chile.” *Política y Espiritu* 1, no. 4 (October 1945): 121-28.
- . “Comunismo, capitalismo y democracia cristiana,” *Política y Espiritu* 3, no. 32 (May 1948): 94-119.
- . “Los problemas del mundo subdesarrollado y su influencia en el destino americano y mundial.” *Política y Espiritu* 13, no. 196 (March 1958): 13-22.
- . “Ayuda exterior de Estados Unidos.” *Política y Espiritu* 14, no. 240 (March 1960): 13.
- . “Radomiro Tomic: La incapacidad del sistema capitalista.” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 267 (January 1962): 15-16.
- . “El signo conductor.” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 267 (January 1962): 25-26.
- . “Las circunstancias concretas dan a la D.C. una oportunidad excepcional para ganar el poder en 1964.” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 272 (July 1962): 21-23.
- . “Igualdad de oportunidades para todos los niños chilenos.” *Política y Espiritu* 16, no. 276 (November 1962): 25-36.
- . “Ante la muerte de John F. Kennedy.” *Política y Espiritu* 17, no. 283 (October-December 1963): 14-16.
- Valdés, Gabriel. “Reforma seguro obrero.” *Política y Espiritu* 3, no. 35 (September-October 1948): 246-54.

Valenzuela Valderrama, Hector. "Vías para transformar la empresa capitalista." *Política y Espíritu* 14, no. 231 (October 1959): 21-25.

Secondary Sources

Castillo Velasco, Jaime. *Teoría y práctica de la Democracia Cristiana chilena*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial del Pacífico, 1973.

Collier, Simon and William F. Sater. *A History of Chile, 1808–2002*. Second Edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Conway, Martin. "The Age of Christian Democracy: The Frontiers of Success and Failure." In *European Christian Democracy: Historical Legacies and Comparative Perspectives*, 43-67. Edited by Thomas Kselman and Joseph A. Buttigieg. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003.

Díaz Nieva, José. *Chile: de la Falange Nacional a la Democracia Cristiana*. Santiago, Chile: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2001.

Dierickx, Guido. "Christian Democracy and Its Ideological Rivals." In *Christian Democracy in Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, 15-29. Edited by David Hanley. London: Pinter, 1994.

Feliú Silva, Guillermo. "Medio siglo de la industria chilena." *Anales de la Universidad de Chile* 120, no. 4 (October-December 1960): 111-25. DOI: [10.5354/0717-8883.2010.27377](https://doi.org/10.5354/0717-8883.2010.27377)

Gazmuri, Cristián. *Eduardo Frei Montalva y su época*. Santiago, Chile: Aguilar Chilena de Ediciones, 2000.

González Cañete, Diego. *Una revolución del espíritu: Política y esperanza en Frei, Eyzaguirre y Góngora en los años de entreguerras*. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Centro de Estudios Bicentenario, 2018.

Invernizzi Accetti, Carlo. *What is Christian Democracy? Politics, Religion and Ideology*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Izquierdo, Gonzalo. *Historia de Chile: Tomo I*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1989.

Izquierdo, Gonzalo. *Historia de Chile: Tomo II*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Andrés Bello, 1989.

Kornbluh, Peter. "Chile and the United States: Declassified Documents Relating to the Military Coup, September 11, 1973." National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 8, n.d. <https://nsarchive2.gwu.edu/NSAEBB/NSAEBB8/nsaebb8i.htm>

- Latorre Cabal, Hugo. *The Revolution of the Latin American Church*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.
- Loveman, Bryan. *Struggle in the Countryside: Politics and Rural Labor in Chile, 1919-1973*. Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1976.
- Maritain, Jacques. *Man and the State*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.
- Müeller, Jan-Werner. *Contesting Democracy: Political Ideas in 20th Century Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.
- O'Brien, David J. and Thomas A. Shannon, Ed. *Catholic Social Thought: Encyclicals and Documents from Pope Leo XIII to Pope Francis*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2016.
- Pike, Fredrick B. "Church and State and Political Development in Chile." *Journal of Church and State* 10, no. 1 (1968): 99-113. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23913837>
- Smith, Brian. *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- Sweet, William. "Jacques Maritain." In *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Edited by Edward N. Zalta, Summer 2019 Edition. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/maritain/>
- Wayland-Smith, Giles. *The Christian Democratic Party in Chile: A Study of Political Organization and Activity with Primary Emphasis on the Local Level*. Cuernavaca, Mexico: Centro Intercultural de Documentación, 1969.

Appendix

INDICE

NOSOTROS. LOS OPTIMISTAS.....	103
LA PRIMERA CRISIS DE LA POST-GUERRA, por <i>Luigi Sturzo</i>	105
UN NUEVO IDOLO: EL DINAMISMO, por <i>Julien Benda</i>	113
MANIQUEISMO HISTORICO Y UNIVERSALISMO CRISTIANO, por <i>Hernán Escalona</i>	115
FUNDAMENTOS CRISTIANOS PARA UNA NUEVA POLITICA EN CHILE, por <i>Rudomiro Tumaí R.</i>	121
<i>LOS LIBROS:</i>	
Charles Péguy: NUESTRA JUVENTUD, por <i>Alejan- dro Magnet P.</i>	128
Denis de Rougemont: LA PART DU DIABLE, por <i>X. V.</i>	129
Jaime Ross: BASES PARA UNA FILOSOFIA DE LA LEY, por <i>Alejandro Magnet P.</i>	130
<i>COMENTARIOS</i>	130
* * *	
<p style="font-size: small; margin: 0;">Este tercer número de <i>POLITICA Y ESPIRITU</i>. Cuadernos me- morias de Cultura, Política y Economía Social, se terminó de imprimir, bajo el sello editorial de Empresa Editorial y Periodística DEL PACIFICO S. A., el día 30 de Septiembre de 1945, en las prensas de Imprenta Universi- taria (Estado 63, Santiago de Chile).</p>	

Figure 1. Index of *Política y Espíritu* 1, no. 3.



Figure 2. Index of *Política y Espiritu* 8, no.76.