

THE VICARÍA DE LA SOLIDARIDAD AND THE PINOCHET REGIME (1976-1980): RELIGION AND POLITICS IN 20TH CENTURY CHILE

Mario I. Aguilar

I. INTRODUCTION¹

When Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez died in March 1999, large numbers of Chileans took part in the funeral and burial rituals that followed. As the body was transported from the Salesian Church (La Gracía Nacional) to the Cathedral in Santiago, two kinds of visual symbols could be spotted around his coffin. There were posters with photos of those who were arrested and disappeared in the years of the Chilean military government carried by their relatives, and there were also flags of the Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez (FPMR) carried by Chilean youth.²

Why were those symbolic representations closer to his coffin? It is possible to suggest that members of the military organization wanted to be seen in public. However, that would not be enough reason for their appearance. Those two groups were there because they recognized that it was the Catholic Church led by Cardinal Silva Henríquez that had defended the human and political rights of Chileans at a time when those rights were suppressed. After the suppression of all political parties, including the Christian Democrats (PDC) by 1974, the only organized voice was the Church and the only organized place to seek support and help was the Vicaría de la Solidaridad.

This paper expands aspects of the history of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad created by Cardinal Silva Henríquez in 1975. I suggest that such history is crucial to understand the opposition to the Pinochet regime before the introduction of the new constitution in 1980. It was the Catholic Church represented by the Vicaría that was the only possible voice on behalf of the persecuted and those stripped of their human rights (Vicaría de la Solidaridad 1992). It was the Vicaría that allowed politicians and intellectuals to continue their public mandate of serving citizens. At the same time, it provided a physical location for those preparing possible grounds for the restoration of democracy in Chile.

II. THE PRE-VICARÍA PERIOD (1973-1975)

The military coup took place on September 11 1973, and as a result thousands of Chileans were arrested, killed, forced into exile, or disappeared (i.e. the *desaparecidos*)³. The military government led by a *junta* gave the recognition of *primus inter pares* to Augusto Pinochet Ugarte, who acted as leader of Chile from 1973 to 1990, when the first democratic elections took place and Patricio Aylwin became President of Chile.

Cardinal Silva Henríquez had tried to find a solution to the political crisis of Allende's government in August 1973, when on the August 19 that year he had invited president Salvador Allende and Patricio Aylwin (then president of the Chilean senate) to his house for dinner. However, the possible political solutions that could have worked at that time were not found. Nevertheless, it was clear that the Cardinal had been involved in the political life of the nation since he was appointed archbishop of Santiago (1961) and Cardinal (1962) by Pope John XXIII.⁴

Cardinal Silva had been sympathetic to the agrarian reform of President Eduardo Frei (1964-1970), and had generated internal reform within the Chilean Church after Vatican Council II (1962-1965). Such reform extended to the landholdings of the Catholic Church that he proceeded to minimize in constant conversation with Pope John XXIII. Between 1970 to 1973, the Cardinal was open to dialogue with all the parties involved in the Popular Unity (UP) government of Salvador Allende, and had to mediate in times when a number of his priests joined the movement 'Cristianos por el Socialismo'.⁵ Therefore, the taking over of the government by force through a military coup took him by surprise and saddened him. On that day (Sept. 11, 1973), and after hearing the news he wrote a 'Letter to God' in which he unfolded sentiments of petition for a more peaceful Chile, and described the events of the day as 'a time of trial, of anguish and pain for all the country'.⁶

His relations with the Pinochet regime were cordial, however the Cardinal used his own contacts in order to be able to alleviate suffering. He started to get disenchanted with the new developments when he became aware of the magnitude of arrests, executions and disappearances. A few days after the coup he visited the National Stadium and invited to dinner the minister of the Interior, General Oscar Bonilla. The Cardinal requested the end of all summary executions, a request that was granted.⁷

Many people started calling at the Arzobispado and at the Cardinal's house requesting help in order to find their arrested relatives or requesting the Cardinal's help in order to be able to leave the country, find employment, or feed their families. It was within those social parameters of

need that the Committee for Peace (Comité Pro Paz) was created on October 9, 1973.

The Comité Pro Paz was supported by several churches and religious organisations. However, it was Cardinal Silva Henríquez who made the first call to constitute such a body. The Comité Pro Paz was officially created by decree 158-73 of the Archdiocese of Santiago and with the official title of Comité de Cooperación para la Paz en Chile, and it had its offices in a house in Santa Mónica Street, Santiago⁸. Its founding members were bishops Helmut Frenz (World Council of Churches), Luis Pozo (Baptist Church), Tomás Stevens (Methodist Church), Julio Assad (Pentecostal Methodists), Augusto Fernández (Lutheran Church), José Elías (Orthodox Church), Rabbi Angel Kreimann (Jewish Community), Patricio Cariola, Baldo Santi, and Fernando Salas (Catholic Church).

At the beginning the Comité Pro Paz offered legal aid and material help to families of those who had lost their jobs. However, soon it started providing legal advice to the relatives of those who had been arrested, had been killed or had disappeared. The first advisors within the Comité were Jaime Irrarrázaval (a lawyer), Alejandro Magnet (a former ambassador), Jorge Murillo (a trade unionist), Cristián Precht (a Catholic priest), and José Manuel Parada (a sociologist and driver). Others such as Hernán Montealegre, José Zalaquett, Fabiola Letelier, Germán Molina and Eduardo Loyola joined the advisory team soon after its creation. Within the archdiocese of Santiago two auxiliary bishops were fundamental in the work for human rights and the defence of the poor. Bishop Fernando Aristía was directly involved in the Comité and Bishop Enrique Alvear was a pillar of the popular Church within the western pastoral area of Santiago.

Already in 1974, the first requests for *habeas corpus* were presented by the Comité to the tribunals. By mid-1974, the Comité had 103 staff members in Santiago and 95 in other Chilean provinces, distributed in 24 different offices. The work of the Comité increased particularly when the Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional (DINA) was created by the regime on the June 14, 1974⁹. The DINA employed hundreds of civilians who were coordinated as a force by militaries and members of the armed forces, under the direction of Major Manuel Contreras. They systematically worked on intelligence as to dismantle and exterminate the leadership and membership of the MIR, the Communist Party (PC) and the Socialist Party (PS).

During this period 1973-1975 the relations between the Church and the military government were difficult and deteriorated towards the end of 1975. General Pinochet was convinced that the Church was supporting 'subversives' and the Cardinal was determined to continue his support for

the Comité. Pinochet threatened to close down the Comité and in a letter dated November 11 1975, he requested the Cardinal to close down the Comité (De la Barra 1987:159-160). Already in previous communications (Sept. 4, 1974) the Cardinal had justified the work of the Comité and had appealed, together with other members of the Comité, to put an end to the declared 'state of war' (August 1974, cf. Cavallo *et.al.* 1997:89).

The Cardinal agreed to the closure of the Comité on November 27 1975, after a publicized incident involving the Columban Fathers and a British Doctor, Sheila Cassidy. After an armed confrontation between Andrés Pascal Allende, Marie Anne Beausire and Nelson Gutiérrez (all leaders of the MIR), Nelson Gutiérrez who was wounded was assisted by the British doctor at the house of some American nuns. As a result, the Columban house was attacked. Dr Cassidy was detained in Villa Grimaldi and the priests and nuns helped the *miristas* to escape. Gutiérrez was brought to the Vatican Embassy where he was granted asylum.

A period of systematic arrest and intimidation of priests, nuns, members of religious orders and all those who had been involved in the Comité followed. The relations between the Church and the Pinochet regime were broken. The Cardinal flew to Rome where he asked Pope Paul VI to exercise pressure on the regime. However, on his return he suspended the December 8 celebrations (Solemnity of the Immaculate Conception), mostly associated with the army, and started plans to create a Vicaría within the pastoral departments of the Archdiocese of Santiago.

III. THE VICARÍA IN TIMES OF PERSECUTION (1975-1980)

The Cardinal asked a younger priest, Fr. Cristián Precht Bañados to become head of the Vicaría with the important title of Episcopal Vicar (Vicario Episcopal). The building of the Vicaría was located beside the Cathedral, above the Christian bookshop *Manantial*.

The choice of Fr. Precht by the Cardinal was an intelligent one. Fr. Precht was a young priest with a good record in his concern for human rights, and the other two possible candidates, bishop Aristía and bishop Alvear were not available. The Holy See had moved Bishop Aristía to the northern diocese of Copiapó and Bishop Alvear was the *de facto* Cardinal's representative when Cardinal Silva Henríquez was away.

The staff employed by the Vicaría consisted of lawyers, social workers, administrative staff, doctors, and many voluntary staff. Soon, those who needed assistance made their way to Plaza de Armas 444. Precht signed a lease agreement for that particular building with the idea that it was central and public. Such characteristics meant that security for those working there and for its visitors was better than in a more isolated place.

There were rooms for meetings, and community organisations that otherwise did not have a venue to meet.

The materials located at Santa Mónica Street were copied, classified and microfilmed before transporting them to their new location. Javier Luis Egaña, a personal friend of Precht, was made in-charge of the delicate operation.

There was a growing concern in the Pinochet government. In fact, the Comité could have been banned if labeled an 'illegal association'. The Vicaría, however, represented part of the structure of the Catholic Church, and its building was part of an extra-territorial legal entity that could not be touched by the authorities. Pinochet had a serious conversation with the Cardinal who finally suggested that if Pinochet would interfere with the work of the Vicaría, he himself would shelter refugees and persecuted peoples in his house.

Precht and Egaña organised different sections of the Vicaría such as labor, *campesinos* (land workers), employment, medical, education, publications, finance, etc. The Vicaría was financed mainly by the World Council of Churches and therefore funds came from abroad.

The Vicaría became the home for the relatives of the disappeared and those executed by the Pinochet regime. It was at the Vicaría that they were able to talk, and also to create works that reflected their stories and at the same time could be sold and generate funds to sustain their families. Relatives of those arrested, executed or who disappeared produced creative works of art.

As a result, cards, toys, items of clothing, drawings and paintings became well-known in Chile and abroad. However, the *arpilleras* became 'the symbol' of those women who had suffered the loss and indefinite absence of their husbands and companions (Sepúlveda 1996). Marjorie Agosin has described the *arpilleras* as "small wall hangings with figures superimposed on the cloth to create scenes full of vitality and movement, whose principal effect is that of political denunciation. *Arpillera* means burlap in Spanish and since the backing cloth is often of burlap or other feed or grain sacks, the finished work has come to be called *arpillera*" (Agosin 1987:12; cf. Agosin 1996).

The administrative organization of the Vicaría had the possibility of working and forming groups in all parishes of the Santiago Archdiocese, where health, education and legal support was given by mobile teams of qualified professionals. Within a climate of political harassment and suspicion by the Pinochet regime the Vicaría became a trusted helper for those in need, as well as a place where committed Catholics could use their talents to help others. The success and authority of the Cardinal's initiative

meant that even the conservative bishops like Emilio Tagle Covarrubias of Valparaíso opened their own branches of the Vicaría (Cavallo *et al.* 1997:111).

The yearly reports published by the Vicaría show consistent amount of legal aid to people and help to those who suffered the absence of a breadwinner. While it is possible to suggest that most families depended on the father for their needs, the situation of uncertainty and pressure that surrounded women made the common pots (*ollas comunes*) sustained by the Vicaría program a central means of human subsistence and survival. Relatives of those who were arrested usually lost their jobs, and relatives spent most of their time trying to find them. Thus, even if they had a job they found it difficult to sustain it. The network at the Vicaría provided the possibility of finding alternative sources of income mainly through part-time work (*pololitos*).

IV. THE CLASH BETWEEN RELIGION AND POLITICS

The work of the Vicaría created problems for its staff. In May 1976, one of its main lawyers, Hernán Montealegre, was arrested by the DINA, accused of having links with the Communist Party. Montealegre was brought to Tres Alamos, an interrogation and torture center in the south part of Santiago. Cardinal Silva Henríquez contacted General (R) Jorge Court who at that time was the official contact between Pinochet and the Church. The Cardinal was told that Montealegre was *incomunicado* and that he could not see him. The Cardinal forced matters by suggesting that this could create an international incident. Finally he was allowed to visit Tres Alamos. In the meantime, Montealegre was transferred to a smaller place within Tres Alamos known as Cuatro Alamos. The Cardinal visited him together with Bishop Sergio Valech, his auxiliary in Santiago.

Relations between the Catholic Church and the Pinochet regime never improved, and in August 1976 the regime physically assaulted three bishops who were returning from Ecuador. The bishop of Riobamba invited several Latin American bishops to show them his work with the indigenous peoples of Chimborazo. On the August 9, two archbishops and fifteen bishops gathered at the Seminario Hogar Santa Cruz in Riobamba. On the August 12 they were all arrested by armed men, probably acting on orders from the military leaders of Ecuador¹⁰.

On their return to Santiago and at the international airport, bishops Enrique Alvear (Santiago, auxiliary), Carlos González (Talca, titular), and Fernando Aristía (Copiapó, titular) were received by a small group of supporters and some three hundred agents from the DINA. The police verbally abused the bishops, and physically assaulted some of those present

at the airport. Among those directly intimidated were relatives of Bishop Alvear and Javier Luis Egaña of the Vicaría himself. The incident reported by the newspapers *La Segunda* y *El Cronista*, and by the National Red of Television (Televisión Nacional). It aimed at severing future ties between the Catholic Church and other progressive bishops in Latin America, and to restrict the action of the Vicaría within the national sphere of Chilean life.¹¹

It was the legal side of protection of people that the Vicaría exercised on a daily basis that created a constant problem of image and a constant opposition to the military regime. The Vicaría filed requests for *habeas corpus* in the case of people arrested and those whose whereabouts were not known. The files on those cases were kept in the offices of the Vicaría and further details on each case or press cuttings related to each case were added as they appeared. This material was of concern to the military regime and the DINA certainly wanted it destroyed.

Appeals to the Courts were prepared at the Vicaría and particular questions were addressed to General (R) Jorge Court. He tried to request information from the military authorities but ended up frustrating the Church by not having access to information, and frustrating the government by handling too many requests from the Vicaría.

For example, in July 1976, the Vicaría published a report containing 384 cases of people who had disappeared¹². The report, together with four volumes of documentation related to particular individual cases, was sent to the Supreme Court accompanied by a letter dated August 20 1976, in which the Vicaría requested the appointment of a minister who could investigate all these cases (Ministro en Visita Extraordinario). From those 384 cases already 187 had a minister assigned to investigate each case.¹³

In that letter, Precht takes the opportunity to clarify once again why the Church represented by the Vicaría is concerned about those cases and the families affected. Precht suggests three areas that justify the position of the Vicaría. Firstly, he suggests that the basic rights of every person are of central concern to the Church and he reminds judge Eyzaguirre of the address by Pope Paul VI and all the bishops of the Church on the occasion of the 1974 Synod. In that document, the Pope says that "the promotion of human rights is an obligation from the Gospel and it should occupy a central place in the ministry of the Church"¹⁴. Secondly, Precht suggests that this concern of the Church is a matter of justice and the Chilean law should be able to solve this matter. Thirdly, he writes that the problem of the disappeared is of humanitarian concern to the Church¹⁵. Thus, the relatives of those who have disappeared have the right to know what happened to them, who was responsible for their abduction, and in the case of those who are dead, to bury them according to the Christian tradition.

What can they do, Precht asked, if they want to re-marry, inherit or file for their presumed death?

In 1978, the Vicaría prepared several volumes with the cases of those who had been arrested and had disappeared, and at the start of 1979 seven volumes with the title *Dónde Están?* (Where are they?) were published and publicly distributed. From that moment onwards, the Vicaría provided public recognition to such problem and gained international reputation in the area of human rights.

V. THE END OF AN ERA: LONQUÉN

The public attacks on the Vicaría's invention of the disappeared ends dramatically on the November 30 1978. On that day, a group of people close to the Cardinal and to the Vicaría were invited to a meeting at the Vicaría at 12.00 noon. At that meeting Monsignor Precht informed those present that a priest had received confidential information from an individual related to the existence of bodies in an identified grave in Lonquén, near Caleta de Tango, some 50 kilometres from Santiago. The person had authorized the priest to convey the information to the relevant ecclesiastical authorities, and had given precise details of the location.

The Cardinal decided to investigate this information and formed a Committee with those invited to the meeting. Those people were Bishop Enrique Alvear (Santiago, auxiliary), Monsignor Precht (Head of the Vicaría), Javier Luis Egaña (Executive Secretary, Vicaría), Alejandro González (Chief Lawyer, Vicaría), Máximo Pacheco (Comisión Chile de Derechos Humanos), Jaime Martínez (Director magazine *Qué Pasa*), and Abraham Santibáñez (Sub-director magazine *Hoy*).

The group drove to Lonquén and continued via a side road to a place where there were two ovens with towers from the early twentieth century that must have been used to refine and treat minerals. After removing some material from the top of the first tower, they tried the entrance to the second oven. There, they found human remains of a skull and a body covered in a dark cloth. The group closed the opening once again. They returned to Santiago, informed the Cardinal about their finding and the following day Bishop Alvear, Mons. Precht, Alejandro González and Máximo Pacheco wrote a legal document to the Chief Judge of the Chilean Supreme Court requesting a thorough investigation of the finding.

After a year, fifteen bodies were identified as people arrested by the police (*carabineros*). Another legal battle was fought by the relatives and the Vicaría for permission to bury their dead. Finally, on September 13 1979, the Second Military Tribunal issued orders to the morgue to release the bodies and hand them over to their relatives. Nevertheless, they were

buried without their relatives, one of them in the cemetery of Isla de Maipo (Sergio A. Maureira Lillo) and the rest in a communal grave. The Cardinal wrote a public letter of solidarity with the victims, expressing his surprise for what had happened, and decided to hold a funeral Mass for all of them at the Cathedral on September 15. The Cardinal wrote; "we will do this, finally, for the eternal rest of those who have not been able to get a funeral in the manner that the Church honors her dead"¹⁶.

The Lonquén finding is the first of many in which the Vicaría is involved, by providing photographers, lawyers, and personnel to move concrete and stones. It is a central event within the social processes that follow. Through the events of Lonquén, the Chilean public had access to public information about human rights abuses, and the Vicaría was able to assert that the disappearance of people was not an invention but a reality. For the relatives of the disappeared it was a very difficult moment. For the first time they realized that their relatives could be dead and not prisoners. As a result, the supportive work of the Vicaría intensified activities relating to moral/psychological support and counseling work. Nevertheless, the central role of the Vicaría was to provide authenticity and publicity for the findings of the human remains.

The intention to gain some public sphere of influence was clear, when on February 25 1979 the Association of Relatives of the Disappeared (AFDD), together with the Vicaría, staged a pilgrimage to the ovens of Lonquén. The Eucharist was celebrated at the chapel in the town and then some 1 500 people marched to the place of the findings singing and praying under the intense summer heat. They were addressed by Clotario Blest (an old trade unionist), a relative of the disappeared (AFDD) and Monsignor Precht (Head of the Vicaría). Even when the ovens were subsequently destroyed, this was the first public gathering of those who had affected by the regime's human rights abuses. The Vicaría and its concerns for human solidarity were finally at the center stage, as it would be so many times during the 1980s.

In summary, the picture that starts emerging by the end of the 1970s is of a massive organization that supplies information, benefits, support and solidarity to people who could otherwise have got from the social or communal organizations. In the case of those who visited the Vicaría, the economic boom of the Chilean economy did not create or offer opportunities for them.

The Pinochet regime continued its security operations against political opponents, even after DINA was replaced by another body, the Central Nacional de Informaciones (CNI), created on August 13 1977. The Amnesty Law – highly contested by the Vicaría – was promulgated April

19 1978, and therefore any accusations against perpetrators of human rights violations were not investigated any longer.

The regime held a referendum to approve a new constitution (1980). It was within that year that the Cardinal once again encouraged the Christian Democrats to guide voters on their decisions. The Vicaría provided the physical space for discussing particular points related to the new constitution.

The historical period from 1976 to 1980 was probably the most difficult for the Vicaría, as organizational structures needed to be put in place, and the violations of human rights were systematic and ruthless. However, the 1980s brought other challenges to the Vicaría – a period of increasing protest against the military regime, with public demonstrations, wounded civilians, and massive arrests on the streets of Santiago.

VI. CONCLUSION

It would be difficult to understand Chile's history during the Pinochet regime without understanding the challenges and pressures brought by Cardinal Silva Henríquez and the staff of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad on the military government. Indeed, throughout those years, the Catholic Church provided public statements that allowed citizens of all political leanings to reflect on the national social processes within Chile. Furthermore, as I have suggested somewhere else (Aguilar 2000), the Catholic Church until 1980 provided the only public challenge to what the Church called "a nationalism that excludes"¹⁷. That was so because all political parties had been already suppressed by 1974, and therefore the public arena was in the absolute hands of the military regime. The Chilean Episcopal Conference was, in those circumstances, the only social body with some freedom to express opinions and influence developments within the public sphere.

As a result, the Catholic Church through the Vicaría became extremely well-known in the international *fora*, and provided the encouragement and the physical space for politicians and intellectuals to plan for a return to democracy. In terms of popular participation, the Vicaría provided a place of shelter and a meeting place for the relatives of the disappeared, community organizations, the youth, the lawyers, and the social workers who did not have that space within the neighborhoods and the *municipalidades*.

Thus, it was not strange that at Cardinal Silva Henríquez' funeral, participants at Eucharistic celebrations clapped and cheered when the name of the Vicaría was mentioned. The ideology of solidarity of the Vicaría had been an action expression of the Catholic Church's ideology of preference

for the poor, sharply expressed in the sentence "the Church does not want, nor could ignore human suffering"¹⁸.

After its closure in 1992,¹⁹ the vast documentation on cases of abuse of human rights was organized in the Archives of the Vicaría de la Solidaridad. This documentation is still being used as a central source of evidence for the judicial processes against General (R) Pinochet. Thus, the work of the Vicaría continues through the lawyers that shape cases and social histories with the help of folders, texts, and photocopies that represent part of the history of Chile in the late twentieth century.

I would finally suggest that it would be difficult to understand the social and political processes of Chile, and indeed of Latin America, within the time of the military regimes (late twentieth Century) without researching on the actions, documents and policies by the Catholic Church. After all, South America is a continent where Catholics are numerous and where the local episcopal conferences exercise some influence on national events, national policies, and political decisions.

Notes

- 1 I visited the Vicaría in the years 1986, 1987 and 1990. I am extremely grateful to the staff of the Vicaría Archives who made research possible in the years 1998 and 1999.
- 2 'Banderas del FPMR acompañan cortejo fúnebre', *La Tercera*, Santiago Chile, 12/3/99. For a concise and interpretative history of the FPMR see Vidal (1995).
- 3 For reports and literature related to violations of human rights in Chile during the Pinochet regime see the Rettig Report (CNVR I,II,III 1991, summary in Comisión Chilena de Derechos Humanos 1999), the report of the Corporación Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación (CNRR 1996), and the accusation by judge Garzón against General Pinochet (Garzón 1999). A good summary of the combined security efforts by different military governments in South America, the so-called Operación Cóndor, is found in Martorell (1999).
- 4 For biographical and intellectual narratives on the life of Cardinal Silva Henríquez see AHC (1984), Fernández (1987), Pinochet de la Barra (1987), and Henríquez (1997, n.d.).
- 5 The Christians for Socialism movement was formed by a group of Catholic priests and lay people who advocated that socialism and Marxism were closer to the teachings of Christ than capitalism (Castillo 1977). Therefore they concluded that they had to support a single option, socialism within the coalition of President Allende, i.e. Popular Unity (UP). After the military coup their leaders such as Gonzalo Arroyo and Mariano Puga had to leave the country, and the movement was attacked by writers close to the militaries (Loero 1975).
- 6 'Carta a Dios', 11/9/73 (Henríquez 1997).

- 7 General Bonilla died in a helicopter 'accident'. Those who have suspected foul play have suggested that he was too compassionate as to continue being part of the military government.
- 8 A picture of the house is available in AFDD (1997: 11).
- 9 However, future personnel of the DINA had already being active in arresting members of the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR) since December 1973. On December 13 1973, two members of that organization were arrested in the Capuchinos Parish of Santiago, and brought to the Villa Grimaldi in Peñalolén on the Santiago hills for interrogation. Those two, Bautista van Schouwen and Patricio Munita were killed at the beautiful villa that was going to be the central torture and interrogation centre of the DINA in the following years (Donoso & Pey 1996; Guzmán 1998). A photo of the beautiful old house of Villa Grimaldi is available in Ballesteros (1995:70 ff.) after the conclusions.
- 10 The Chilean Episcopal Conference gave a public communication in which it reaffirmed the right of bishops 'to gather in freedom in any place of Latin America and to discuss their own problems without any outside intervention'. See 'Declaración del Secretario General Sobre la Detención de Obispos en Ecuador, entre los cuales hay tres chilenos', Ref. No. 317/76, 13.8.76 (SGCECh 1982: 157).
- 11 The Comité Permanente of the Chilean Episcopal Conference addressed the press after the incidents condemning the attack and suggesting that the Church could not remain passive or neutral faced with systematic signs of a police state. Further, the bishops reminded attackers that within Canon Law an attack on a bishop or archbishop carries excommunication, reserved for lifting to the Holy See (CIC 2343, 3). The same penalty applied to those who could make the pastoral life of the Church difficult (CIC 2334). See 'Declaración Sobre La Detención y Ataque en Pudahuel a 3 Obispos Chilenos Detenidos en Ecuador', Comité Permanente del Episcopado, Ref. 319/76, 17.8.76 (SGCECh 1982: 159-161). A detailed narrative of these events can be found in Blanco (1977) and Cavallo, Salazar and Sepúlveda (1997: 113-115). Actions and reactions by bishop Alvear (from the archives of the Fundación Alvear) can be found in M. Salinas (1991:384-390).
- 12 Vicaría de la Solidaridad, 'Informe sobre 384 casos de personas desaparecidas', Secretaría de Comunicaciones, Arzobispado de Santiago, AVS 6.7.2, v628I, T. I-II, v.1, c.2.
- 13 Letter from Cristián Precht Bañados, Vicario Episcopal, Vicaría de la Solidaridad to Don José María Eyzaguirre, Presidente de la Excm. Corte Suprema de Justicia, 20/8/76.
- 14 'Mensaje del Papa y de los Padres Sinodales al Mundo', No. 4, Ciudad del Vaticano, 1974.
- 15 Further declarations on the disappeared and the humanitarian concern by the Chilean bishops followed. See, public request by the Permanent Committee of the Chilean Episcopal Conference in which it requested the intervention of General Pinochet as to clarify what happened to the disappeared, 'Declaración: Nuestra Convivencia Nacional', Comité Permanente del Episcopado, 25/3/77, section 3, p. 166 (SGCECh 1982:162-172); 'Declaración sobre la huelga de hambre de los familiares de los detenidos-desaparecidos', Comité Permanente, Ref. No. 345/78, 6/6/78 (SGCECh 1982:330-331); 'Comunicado de Prensa: Informa sobre gestiones para investigar situación de los detenidos-desaparecidos',

- Comité Permanente, Ref. No. 429/78, 13.7.78 (SGCECh 1982:331-332); and 'Declaración acerca de los Detenidos-Desaparecidos', Comité Permanente, Ref. No. 746/78, 9.11.78 (SGCECh 1982:391-393).
- 16 'Declaración del Arzobispado de Santiago en relación con la entrega de los cadáveres de las víctimas de Lonquén', 14/9/79 (Pacheco 1980:299-301).
 - 17 Against such nationalism the Church provided a Christian vision that is 'universal, fraternal and *solidaria*'. See 'Evangelio y Paz: Documento de Trabajo', Comité Permanente del Episcopado, 5.9.75, part C (SGCECh 1982:123-128).
 - 18 Documento de Trabajo 'La Iglesia: Su Misión Ayer y Hoy', Comité Permanente del Episcopado, Mayo 1977, I.3 La Iglesia y los pobres (SGCECh 1982:173-186).
 - 19 The Vicaría was awarded several international prizes. For example, on December 10 1978, Cardinal Silva Henríquez received the Human Rights Prize awarded by the United Nations in New York from the hands of the UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim, and in the presence of the president of the UN General Assembly, Indalecio Lievano. National recognition to the work of the Vicaría was given by President Aylwin (Aylwin Azócar 1991) and by the Chilean Congress in a special session. On May 13 1993, the Cámara de Diputados (the lower Chamber of the Chilean Congress) paid public homage to the Vicaría. Those who spoke included former opponents and supporters of the Pinochet regime, including Evelyn Matthei, daughter of the Air Force General who replaced General Gustavo Leigh in the last years of the military *junta*. Diputado José Viera-Gallo spoke of the culture of solidarity that the Vicaría created, whereby Catholics and non-Catholics were helped and listened to. Other speakers included Guillermo Yunge, Mr. Naranjo, and Martín Manterola.

References

- Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos – AFDD (1997), *20 Años de Historia de la Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos de Chile: Un camino de imágenes que revelan y se revelan contra una historia no contada*. Santiago, Chile: Corporación Agrupación de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos.
- Agosin, Marjorie (1987), *Scraps of Life: Chilean Arpilleras*. Trenton, N.J.: The Red Sea Press.
- ____ (1996), *Tapestries of Hope, Threads of Love: The 'Arpillera' movement in Chile 1974-1994*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Aguilar, Mario I. (1999), 'The Disappeared: Ritual and Memory in Chile'. In *The Month: Review of Christian Thought and World Affairs* 32/12: 472-475.
- ____ (2000), 'The Pinochet Regime and the Catholic Church in Chile 1973-1990: Inventing Past and New Visions of Nationalism'. Unpublished paper presented at the 'Dictators in Latin America' panel, Society for Latin American Studies Annual Meeting, University of Hull, England, 14-16 April 2000.
- Academia de Humanismo Cristiano – AHC (1984), *Raúl Cardenal Silva Henríquez: Aventura de una Fe*. Santiago, Chile: Academia de Humanismo Cristiano.
- Americas Watch (1987), *La Vicaría de la Solidaridad en Chile* [original in English]. New York, NY: Americas Watch.

- Arzobispado de Santiago (1984), *La Vicaría de la Solidaridad*. Santiago, Chile: Arzobispado de Santiago, Vicaría de la Solidaridad.
- Arzobispado de Santiago – AVS. Fundación Documentación y Archivo de la Vicaría de la Solidaridad. Santiago, Chile.
- Aylwin Azócar, Patricio (1991), 'Gracias, Vicaría de la Solidaridad'. Discurso de S.E. el Presidente de la República, Dn. Patricio Aylwin Azócar en el 16º aniversario de la Vicaría de la Solidaridad, Iglesia de Santiago 16/October.
- Blanco, Guillermo (1977), *Los Incidentes de Riobamba y Pudahuel en Tres Diarios Chilenos*. Santiago, Chile: ICHEH.
- Castillo, Fernando (1977), 'Christians for Socialism in Chile', *Concilium* 105: 106-112.
- Cavallo, Ascanio, Manuel Salazar and Oscar Sepúlveda (1997), *La Historia Oculta del Régimen Militar: Memoria de Una Epoca, 1973-1988*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Grijalbo.
- Chuchryk, Patricia M. (1993), 'Subversive Mothers: The Opposition to the Military Regime in Chile', Marjorie Agosin, ed. *Surviving Beyond Fear: Women, Children & Human Rights in Latin America*. Fredonia, NY: White Pine Press.
- CNRR (1996), *Informe Sobre Calificación de Víctimas de Violaciones de Derechos Humanos y de la Violencia Política*. Santiago, Chile: Corporación Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación.
- CNVR I, II, III. (1991), *Informe de la Comisión Nacional de Verdad y Reconciliación, Informe Rettig*. Texto Oficial Completo, 3 volumes. Santiago, Chile: La Nación.
- Comisión Chilena de Derechos Humanos (1999), *Nunca Más en Chile: Síntesis Corregida y Actualizada del Informe Rettig*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- Donoso Ch., Dante and Coral Pey G. (1996), *Villa Grimaldi Un Parque Por La Paz: Por el derecho a la memoria*. Santiago, Chile: Asamblea Permanente por los Derechos Humanos.
- Donoso Loero, Teresa (1975), *Los Cristianos por el Socialismo en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Vaitea.
- Fernández B., Juan (1987), *Cardenal Raúl Silva Henríquez: Coherencia de un mensaje*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Araucaria.
- Garzón, Baltasar (1999), *La Acusación del Juez Baltasar Garzón Contra el General (R) Augusto Pinochet*. Auto de procesamiento contra Augusto Pinochet Ugarte (10.12.98). Procedimiento: Sumario 19/97 Terrorismo y Genocidio. 'Operativo Cóndor'. Juzgado Central de Instrucción Número Cinco, Audiencia Nacional, Madrid. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones ChileAmérica – CESOC.
- Guzmán J., Nancy (1998), *Un Grito Desde El Silencio: Detención, asesinato y desaparición de Bautista van Schouwen y Patricio Munita*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- Martorell, Francisco (1999), *Operación Cóndor: El Vuelo de la Muerte. La Coordinación Represiva en el Cono Sur*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- O'Shaughnessy, Hugh (2000), *Pinochet: The Politics of Torture*. London: Latin America Bureau and New York, NY: New York University Press.
- Pacheco G., Máximo (1980), *Lonquén*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Aconcagua.
- Padilla Ballesteros, Elías (1995), *La Memoria y el Olvido: Detenidos Desaparecidos en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Orígenes.

- Pinochet de la Barra, Oscar (1987), *El Cardenal Silva Henríquez: Luchador por la Justicia*. Santiago, Chile: Editorial Salesiana.
- Salinas C. Maximiliano (1991), *Don Enrique Alvear: El Obispo de los Pobres*. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Paulinas.
- Salinas, Luis A. (1999), *The London Clinic*. Santiago, Chile: LOM Ediciones.
- Schirmer, Jennifer G. (1993), 'Chile: The Loss of Childhood', in Marjorie Agosin, ed. *Surviving Beyond Fear: Women, Children and Human Rights in Latin America*. Fredonia, NY: White Pine Press.
- Sepúlveda, Emma. Ed. (1996), *We, Chile: Personal Testimonies of the Chilean Arpilleristas*. Falls Church, VA: Azul Editions.
- Secretariado General de la Conferencia Episcopal de Chile – SGCECh (1982), *Documentos del Episcopado Chile 1974-1980*. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Mundo.
- Silva Henríquez, Raúl Cardenal (1997), *El Amor De Cristo Nos Urge*. Santiago: Fundación Raúl Silva Henríquez.
- _____. (n.d.), *Solidaridad ... Un Modo de Vida Una Pastoral para la Iglesia. Documento de Trabajo*. Santiago, Chile: Arzobispado de Santiago.
- Smith, Brian H. (1982), *The Church and Politics in Chile: Challenges to Modern Catholicism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Vicaría de la Solidaridad (1977), *Vicaría de la Solidaridad: Un Año de Labor*. Santiago, Chile: Arzobispado de Santiago.
- _____. (1978), *Vicaría de la Solidaridad: Segundo Año de Labor*. Santiago, Chile: Arzobispado de Santiago.
- _____. (1979), *Vicaría de la Solidaridad: Tercer Año de Labor*. Santiago, Chile: Arzobispado de Santiago.
- _____. (1980), *Vicaría de la Solidaridad: Cuarto Año de Labor*. Santiago, Chile: Arzobispado de Santiago.
- _____. (1992), *Vicaría de la Solidaridad 1976-1992: Abierta a Todos*. Santiago, Chile: Vicaría de la Solidaridad.
- Vidal, Hernán (1995), *Frente Patriótico Manuel Rodríguez: El Tabú del Conflicto Armado en Chile*. Santiago, Chile: Mosquito Editores.
- _____. (1996), *Dar La Vida Por La Vida: Agrupación Chilena de Familiares de Detenidos Desaparecidos*. 2nd Edition. Santiago, Chile: Mosquito Editores.